

The Saudi Online Discourse on the Right to Drive:

A Contrastive Critical Analysis

by

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study was to investigate the issue of Saudi women's right to drive through a critical analysis of the Saudi online discourse on women's right to drive. In the study, the attempt was made to provide a critical contrastive analysis of the online debate for and against Saudi women's right to drive. A review of the literature indicated that very little research has been done about critical discourse analysis (CDA) of online texts focusing on the representation and rights of Saudi women. Employing Fairclough's three-dimensional framework, a corpus of written posts on the right to drive, written by Saudi women, was analyzed at three levels: (a) textual analysis, (b) discursive practice analysis, and (c) sociocultural practice. The findings of the analysis on the textual and discursive practice levels showed that the theme of ingroup and outgroup presentation was significant in the data. The findings also indicated that ideologies were expressed linguistically by means of naming, presuppositions, predication, and intertextuality. At the sociocultural practice level, the controversial struggle about the right to drive was situated in its broader sociocultural context, in which the complexity of the sociocultural practice of the Saudi Society was revealed.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my beloved parents who instilled in me a passion for learning, challenging, and helping others. It is also dedicated to my beloved sisters who dream of a better life of opportunities for themselves and for women everywhere.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the background and objectives of the study and the research questions that guided it. It begins by providing background information on the topic investigated in the study, that is, online discourse on Saudi women's right to drive and what opinions are expressed about this right in the society. After that, the purpose of the study and research questions are discussed. Toward the end of this chapter, the position of the researcher and organization of the dissertation are presented.

Overview

During the last decade, the debate over women's rights in Saudi Arabia has been receiving increased attention in both traditional and new media. One of the most controversial political/social issues, it attracts ongoing debate between progressives and conservatives in Saudi society. This debate has been taking place on private TV channels' talk shows, in local newspaper columns, and online blogs and websites. However, after activists used social media and the Internet as a tool for social change during the Arab Spring, Saudi women are increasingly turning to the Internet to present their identities and struggle for their rights (Arab Social Media Report, 2011). Among these rights is Saudi women's right to drive, which has received considerable media and public attention in the last few years. The social controversy about women driving can be seen in two different campaigns: the women's right-to-drive campaign and those who oppose the women's right-to-drive campaign. Those involved in both campaigns have used the Internet to express their members' positions and opinions on this issue.

In the present study, an attempt was made to investigate this issue through a critical analysis of the Saudi online discourse on women's right to drive. Online discourse is defined, for the purposes of this study, as the written discourse that is created through digital media such as blogs and other Internet websites. The aim of this study was to provide a critical contrastive analysis of the online debate for and against Saudi women's right to drive. A review of the literature indicated that very little research has been done about critical discourse analysis (CDA) of online texts focusing on the representation and rights of Saudi women. Therefore, the aim of this study was to contribute to the field of CDA through investigating the Saudi online discourse about women's rights as seen through the right-to-drive campaigns. A further discussion of the study's purpose and background will be presented in the following sections.

Background

Overview of the Culture and Society of Saudi Arabia

The historical socioeconomic and political contexts of Saudi Arabia are crucial factors in understanding women's status in Saudi society. Saudi Arabia is an Islamic country that is considered the largest country in the Arabian Peninsula. It has its own unique culture that distinguishes it from any other country in the world (Hamdan, 2005). Islam plays a crucial role in regulating the social norms, traditions, obligations, privileges, and practices of Saudi society. Therefore, all the aspects of Saudi life are determined by the rules of Islam. Saudi Arabia is also the only country that stems its rules and regulations from the Islamic law and whose constitution is the Holy Quran. In

sum, Islamic law is the crucial source in legitimizing the policies of Saudi Arabia and its political, social, and intellectual regulations (Aljuwair, 2008).

Since 2000, some notable sociopolitical transitions have been taking place in Saudi Arabia. Some of these important transitions include expanding the Consultative Council to include 120 members and the establishment of the first independent human-rights association in the country (Kechichian, 2003).

Clary and Karlin (2011) identified two governmental initiatives that, during the 2000s, emphasized education reform efforts in Saudi Arabia. The first initiative was the establishment of the King Abdullah Foreign Scholarship Program (KASP). Since its establishment in 2005, KASP has become the largest scholarship program in Saudi Arabia's history with approximately 100,000 Saudi students studying in the United States in 2013/2014 (Taylor & Albasri, 2014). This program may have some impact on the culture and future of Saudi Arabia through the experiences, entrepreneurial energy, and cultural moderation brought back to Saudi Arabia by those young Saudi students (Taylor & Albasri, 2014; Clary & Karlin, 2011). The second initiative was the rapid increase in the number of government universities, from 7 to 24, over the last decade. A remarkable outcome of these rapid developments includes the inauguration, in 2008, of Princess Nora University, which is considered the world's largest women-only university, indicating that women's education is a crucial part of the government's educational reform efforts.

In sum, although Saudi Arabia is still considered a conservative Islamic nation, it recently has been undergoing some social and cultural changes as a result of the cautious, gradual pace of reform led by the Saudi government. These changes incrementally

increase the social and political participation of Saudi citizens in general and Saudi women in particular, as will be seen in the next section.

The Status of Saudi Women in Society

Saudi social life is generally bounded by a mixture of religious and cultural traditions. Saudi women are often perceived, especially in the West, as dominated by men in most aspects of life and, therefore, treated as if they were unequal to men socially and economically (Abdulaziz, 2007). In addition, the role of women in Saudi society formerly was basically attached to maintaining the structure of the family and, thus, of society (Alireza, 1987).

The debate about Saudi women's rights and status can be traced back to 1960 when the late King Faisal decided to establish girls' public schools. A large number of ultra-conservatives opposed this decision and protested against the establishment of girls' access to public schools. In an attempt to end opposition to girls' education, government officials emphasized that girls' education would be in line with Saudi traditions and would be under the supervision of a separate administration called the General Presidency for Girls' Education (Jawad, 1998).

In recent years, the debate on women's rights and roles in Saudi society has received more attention. As part of the government's recent, gradual political, social, and educational reforms, women's status and rights have become two of the important political and social issues in Saudi society. Moreover, issues related to women's rights and roles in the political and social development of the country have been equally controversial among both Saudi conservatives and progressives (Hamdan, 2005).

During the last decade, there were increasing intentions and efforts made to change both the perception and the reality of the status of Saudi women. Abdulaziz (2007) argued that, although Islam plays a crucial role in shaping and guiding Saudi society, many Saudi women believe that Islam is not against economic and political participation of women in society. In addition, they believe that the reason behind denying them the right to access significant positions in the society is located in the culture rather than in the religion. Abdulaziz also indicated that the Saudi society experienced dramatic changes in recent decades. For example, while the opportunities in education and employment for Saudi women were limited one generation ago, the funding of women's education increased in the last two decades, has led to an increasing number of female graduates. She also emphasized that some features of Saudi society have changed, such as Saudi women's tendency to marry at a later age than in the previous generation, and an increasing number of Saudi women who tend to work to support their families economically. Abdulaziz concluded that, in contrast to the past, there are many Saudi women artists, photographers, film-makers, journalists, writers, and fashion designers who have achieved significant positions at national and international levels.

In 2011, the political and social changes that took place across the Arab region during the Arab Spring played an influential role in challenging images about Arab women as oppressed and subservient. In particular, women have played leading roles in social movements in Tunisia, Egypt, and Yemen. Arab women's participation in the Arab Spring established their positions as almost equal partners to men in changing the political platforms in their countries (Arab Social Media Report, 2011). These

transformations inspired Saudi women to appear more confident in public life and to convey their own opinions without fear. They also motivated the government to pay more attention to the role of women in society. Therefore, in 2011, two governmental decisions granted Saudi women the opportunity for greater political participation. The first decision allowed Saudi women to vote and participate in the municipal elections in 2015. The second decision granted Saudi women the political right to take seats in the Shura Council (the Consultative Assembly) (Abu Ras et al., 2012; Chaudhry, 2014).

However, many Saudi women are not completely satisfied with these achievements because they believe that there are many other issues which influence the role of Saudi women and their status in society. Most of these issues are related to the social and cultural restrictions that have been imposed on the lives of Saudi women. For example, all Saudi women, regardless of age, are required to have a male guardian. They are required to get permission from their male guardians to be able to travel, obtain a job, get married, get a national passport, and perform many other related daily life activities. There are also restrictions on women's mobility through the ban on driving. Finally, gender segregation is applied in many aspects of private and public life. Women are still not allowed to mix with unrelated men in education, banking, and restaurants. These restrictions recently become controversial among the members of Saudi society.

According to the Human Development Report (2014), Saudi Arabia ranks 39th out of 188 countries in the Human Development Index. Despite this high ranking in the Human Development Index, women's empowerment and participation relatively lags behind. Saudi Arabia ranks 134th out of 145 countries in the Global Gender Gap Index Report (2015). This index measures gender equality in a country through four aspects: (a)

reproductive health, (b) empowerment, (c) educational attainment, and (d) economic participation. This indicates that Saudi women still need to make more effort to overcome these obstacles and advance women's empowerment and participation in the society.

Saudi Women and the Right to Drive

It is unusual to read an article or a report in local or international media about Saudi women's rights without mentioning the fact that women in Saudi Arabia are still not allowed to drive. Conservative clerics who oppose women's right to drive see this as a step towards Westernization and a destruction of positive social values. On the other hand, progressive clerics argue that there is no basis for this prohibition and ask that the ban on women driving be lifted (Alhazza, 2015).

The struggle of Saudi women to drive can be traced back to November 6, 1990, when a group of 47 women participated in a demonstration of driving 15 cars in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. After thirty minutes of driving, they were arrested, fired from their government jobs, and barred from travel outside the country for a year. They were defamed in mosques. Additionally, a number of leaflets listing their names were circulated across the country to warn the society against their hidden agenda to westernize the society and destroy its values. In 2013, Dr. Aisha Almanea and Dr. Hissa Alsheikh, two of the 47 participants, published a book documenting that first demonstration to lift the ban on women driving. The book, entitled *The Sixth of November—Women and Driving 1990*, provided detailed information about the event, as well as the social and cultural context that surrounded it at that time. Their book was

presented at the Riyadh Book Fair in March 2014. These developments indicate that some social and cultural changes have occurred during the past 15 years because, not long ago, Saudi publishers would have been forbidden to distribute this type of book.

Two decades later, a new generation of Saudi women started another struggle for their right to drive. During the Arab Spring in 2011, Saudi women started to rely heavily on the Internet and social networking to practice their social activism and express their opinions. A number of online campaigns, such as *Women2Drive* and *I Can Drive My Own Car*, were launched to raise awareness about Saudi women's rights in general, and the right to drive in particular. These types of online campaigns are often supported by progressive men and women in Saudi society. However, these online campaigns were challenged by other Saudi women's campaigns that opposed women driving. For instance, online campaigns were launched against women driving such as *Saudi Women against Driving*. Similarly, the supporters of this type of campaign seem to be conservative men and women. Both campaigns continue to use the online space to defend their views and gain more social support.

One of the modern Saudi preeminent activists is Manal Alsharif, a 32-year-old Saudi woman, who established the *Women2Drive* campaign. She chose June 17, 2011 as a date for women to drive their cars, film themselves, and post their videos on YouTube. A number of Saudi women participated in different cities and posted their driving on YouTube. Some of them were arrested and released after signing a pledge not to drive again.

Two years later, another campaign chose October 26, 2013 as the date for women to protest the ban on driving. However, three days before the event, the Interior Ministry

spokesman warned women not to join the protest against the driving ban. Nevertheless, Saudi women still continue their debate and struggle against the ban on driving by utilizing the Internet and social media to raise awareness of this issue in an attempt to achieve their goal to lift the ban on women driving.

Accordingly, the debate on women driving has been highlighted in both local and international media. Merely typing some key words such as ‘Saudi women driving’ into any Internet search engines will locate a large number of reports and articles from various Saudi newspapers, as well as from prominent international newspapers and news sites such as *The Guardian*, *The New York Times*, BBC and CNN. Furthermore, these reports and articles started to attract some social science researchers to investigate the topic. This study is an attempt to investigate this issue from a CDA perspective. The study is motivated and guided by the rationale and research questions presented in the following sections.

Purpose of the Study

The aim in this study was to examine and contrast, within the framework of CDA, the online debate between the two opposing campaigns on Saudi women’s right to drive. The attempt was made to analyze a corpus of online texts posted by the two campaigns during the period between 2011, the year of the first recent campaign for driving, and 2015, four years after the establishment of the June 17, 2011 campaign.

Research Questions

The study’s research questions are aimed at addressing how the two campaigns, using online discourse, discuss and represent the Saudi women’s right to drive and the

protest against the ban on driving. The research questions also address how the two campaigns represent the protests and the female protesters against the ban on driving. Using Fairclough's (2003) three dimensional framework, the two opposing campaigns' online discourses were investigated both at the level of textual analysis, by analyzing referential and nomination strategies, predication, and presupposition, and at the level of discursive practice, by analyzing intertextuality. The aim in the study was to answer the following main research questions:

1. How does the campaign that supports and advocates for women's right to drive represent Saudi women in online conversations about women's driving?
2. How does the campaign that argues against women's right to drive represent Saudi women in online conversations about women's driving?
3. How do the two campaigns represent the protests and those who protest against the ban on driving?
4. What processes of discursive practice can be identified in the online discourse on women driving?

To answer the main research questions, the following sub-questions were addressed to provide a textual and discursive analysis of the data:

1. What type of referential and nomination strategies are utilized in the two campaigns' online discourse on women driving?
2. What types of predicational strategies can be identified in the online discourse on women driving?
3. What types of presuppositions are used in the online discourse on women driving?

4. What types and functions of intertextuality can be identified in the online discourse on women driving?

By answering these questions, the aim was to provide in-depth analysis of the data, seeking deeper understanding of the ongoing controversy, the contradictions and tensions between the two campaigns, and the relationship between language, discourse and society.

Position of the Researcher

This study was bounded by a specific topic (the debate on Saudi women's right to drive) and a specific theoretical framework (CDA). CDA was selected as a theoretical framework because it contains the aim to investigate "the relationship between texts, processes, and social conditions, both the immediate conditions of the situational context and the more remote conditions of institutions and social structures" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 26). Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999, p.9) argued that "CDA, like other critical social sciences, needs to be reflexive and self-critical about its own institutional position and all that goes with it." Therefore, the aim of this study was to provide a systematic critical analysis and position it in the social and political contexts of the topic under investigation. An additional aim was to provide a critical understating of a social problem (i.e., Saudi women's struggle for the right to drive), and to shed light on the crucial role of discourse in "the reproduction of or resistance against dominance or inequality" (Van Dijk (1995, p. 18).

As a Saudi male researcher, I prefer to acknowledge my position as a moderate progressive member of the Saudi society. I pursued my master's studies in linguistics in

the UK, and I am currently completing my Ph.D. degree in the United States. In addition to my academic interests in CDA, I enjoy reading about history, politics, and literature. During my undergraduate years, I used the Internet to write about and discuss some social issues in my society. My interest in this topic stems from my belief that the debate on Saudi women's rights is a contemporary complex social issue that deserves more academic research in order to reveal the underlying ideologies that play a major role in producing this type of discourse. In addition, one of the roles as a CDA researcher is to address social problems and seek to provide insights through the analysis of discourse and linking it to the broader social and political context. By doing so, I hope to provide a better understanding of this social issue that may help to overcome and solve this social problem.

Organization of the Chapters

Chapter 2 presents the theoretical framework and review of the literature. The theoretical framework section provides an outline and definitions of CDA and highlights some of its main approaches. Next, a discussion and review of the concept of Islamic feminism is presented, followed by an overview of online discourse and women's online activism. The literature review section contains a discussion of previous studies on the representation of women. In it, the impact of early women's movements on media representation of women in the West is examined. Also investigated are the relevant previous studies on Muslim women and Saudi women.

Chapter 3 presents the methodology and data of the study. The selection of the method and data used for analysis are justified. Finally, the method used for data collection and analysis is described.

Chapter 4 presents the analysis of the first corpus (i.e., pro-driving data set). It presents two levels of analysis: the textual analysis and the discursive practice analysis.

Chapter 5 presents the analysis of the second corpus (i.e., con-driving data set). It presents two levels of analysis: the textual analysis and the discursive practice analysis.

Chapter 6 summarizes the findings in Chapters 4 and 5. In addition, a discussion on the sociocultural practice and conclusion are presented.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter is divided into two main sections: the theoretical framework section and the literature review section. First, the theoretical framework in which this study was conducted is presented. Second, the previous studies on issues related to the topic of this study are discussed.

In the theoretical framework section, the definition and notion of CDA is discussed followed by a presentation of its main principles and approaches. Second, the concept of feminism and Islamic feminism is reviewed. The review is focused on Islamic feminism and Saudi feminism as part of a broader feminism concept. Third, the online (digital) discourse is discussed. The discussion highlights the concept of computer-mediated discourse (CMD) and its influence on people's personal and social lives. It also discusses the use of the Internet and the online sphere as a space for social activism, especially by women.

In the literature review section, previous studies that have been carried out on the issues related to women's status and representation in the West are discussed. The aim of this review is to provide a background and understanding of media representation of women and how early women's movements helped to change this representation overtime. Relevant studies on the representation of Muslim women and Saudi women are also reviewed.

Theoretical Framework

Critical Discourse Analysis

The present study was conducted within the framework of CDA, which emerged from the development of critical linguistics by a group of scholars at the University of East Anglia in the 1970s (Fowler, Hodge, Kress, & Trew, 1979; Kress & Hodge, 1979). The terms Critical Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) are used interchangeably; however, scholars have come to prefer the use of CDA and it is used to refer to the theory of CL (Wodak & Meyer 2009). Other scholars, such as Van Dijk, prefer to use the term Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) rather than CDA. Van Dijk (2009) argued that CDS is a more general term that suggests involvement not only of critical analysis but also of critical theory and critical application. In recent decades, CDA has become well established as a problem-oriented interdisciplinary approach to the study of the relationship between language and society (Fairclough, Mulderrig, & Wodak, 2011). According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997), use of CDA involves seeing “language as social practice” (p. 258). CDA practitioners also considers “the context of language use” to be crucial (Wodak & Meyer 2009, p. 9). The notion of CDA is best described in the following quote from Fairclough & Wodak (1997):

CDA sees discourse—language use in speech and writing—as a form of “social practice.” Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s), which frame it: the discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned—it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power. Discursive practices may have major ideological effects—that is, they can help produce and

reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people. (p. 258)

Van Dijk (2001, p. 352), defined CDA as “a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context.” In other words, CDA scholars are “typically interested in the way discourse (re)produces social domination, that is, the power abuse of one group over others, and how dominated groups may discursively resist such abuse” (Van Dijk, 2009, p. 63). Fairclough and Wodak (1997, pp. 80-271) summarized the main principles of CDA as follows:

1. CDA addresses social problems
2. Power relations are discursive
3. Discourse constitutes society and culture
4. Discourse does ideological work
5. Discourse is historical
6. The link between text and society is mediated
7. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory
8. Discourse is a form of social action

Although the notion of CDA suggests having particular shared aims and purposes, CDA scholars use different methods in their CDA works. In their book, *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*,” Wodak and Meyer (2009) named six different CDA approaches and their relevant distinguished figures: the Discourse-Historical Approach (Martin Reisigl & Ruth Wodak), Corpus-Linguistics Approach (Gerlinde Mautner), Social Actors Approach (Theo Van Leeuwen), Dispositive Analysis (Siegfried Jäger &

Florentine Maier), Sociocognitive Approach (Teun Van Dijk) and Dialectical-Relational Approach (Norman Fairclough) (pp. 25-27).

CDA seemed to be the appropriate theoretical framework for the present study because it addresses the relationship between language (the discourse on Saudi women's right to drive) and society (the Saudi social contexts). It also addresses how social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are presented by texts (on Saudi women driving) in the social and cultural contexts.

Islamic Feminism

The terms "feminism" and "feminist" have become ubiquitous since the women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Baumgardner and Richards (2000) defined feminism as "the movement for social, political, and economic equality of men and women" (p. 56). They argued that the aim of feminism as a movement is to achieve the political and social change that women demand for gender equality. Another aim of the feminist movement is to provide women with access to enough information to enable them to make informed choices.

Literature reviews (Humm, 1992, 2003; Walker, 1992) indicated that the history of feminism is divided into three waves. The first feminist wave emerged in the 19th and early 20th centuries, and it focused on the suffrage of women and demanded women's right to vote. The second wave appeared in the 1960s and 1970s, and it urged social equality for women. The third wave is considered as a continuation of the second wave, and it began in the 1990s and continues to the present. These feminist movements led to the emergence of the feminist theory that became a truly interdisciplinary discourse

across a variety of disciplines, such as history, philosophy, anthropology, and literacy criticism (Humm, 1997).

The emergence and development of feminist movements in the United States and Britain had a widespread impact on women's rights and movements around the world. The existence of feminism in the Arabic and Islamic world can be associated with the growing body of research on feminism in the West and the evolution of universal human rights declarations such as the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* (CEDAW), which was adopted in 1979 by the United Nations General Assembly. The term Islamic feminism began to be noticed in the literature in the 1990s in different Islamic countries. The early contributors to Islamic feminism include Iranian scholars Najmabadi (2005) and Mir-Hosseini (2002). They discussed the emergence and use of the term Islamic feminism by women writing in *Zanan Magazine*, a women's magazine that was established in 1992 and was focused on women's issues and rights. The term also appeared in the book *Feminism and Islam: Legal and Literary Perspectives*, written by Mai Yamani, a Saudi Arabian social anthropology scholar (Yamani, 1996). Turkish scholars such as Arat (2000) and Gole (1996) contributed to the concept of Islamic feminism through their works on the emergence of Islamic feminism in Turkey.

As the literature on Islamic feminism continues to grow, a controversial debate has arisen on the definition and notion of Islamic feminism. In her book *Feminism in Islam: Secular and Religious Convergences*, Badran (2009), a distinguished feminist scholar, attempted to define Islamic feminism as a "feminist discourse and practice expressed within an Islamic paradigm" (p. 242). This definition implies that the aim of

Islamic feminism is to contribute to the broader discourse of feminism and is concerned with role of women in Islamic societies through their demands for gender equality for Muslims in public and private life within Islamic norms. However, Mir-Hosseini (2011) argued that the term “Islamic feminism” creates a labeling controversy among feminist women. She asserts that women activists who came from religious backgrounds rejected the “feminism” term. On the other hand, secular women activists who address women’s rights within a broader feminism discourse rejected being called “Islamic.”

Correspondingly, Moghadam (2002) explained that many Muslim women reject this labeling because they argue that “feminism” is a secular movement developed by the West. In contrast, secular feminists reject the “Islamic” term because they consider religions generally, and Islam especially, oppressive to women. Badran (2009) provided a significant discussion on this conflict between secular and religious feminism. She argued that claiming a confrontation between “Islamic feminism” and “secular feminism” can be either the result of a lack of historical knowledge or a political endeavor to obstruct broader solidarities among women in Islamic societies. She asserted that the articulation of Islamic feminism within a more exclusively Islamic paradigm creates the distinction between secular feminism discourse and Islamic feminism discourse. She pointed out that imbrications of the secular and religious exist in both discourses.

In sum, Islamic feminism is a movement the aim of which is to challenge the patriarchal interpretations of the Holy Quran and Islamic law toward creating a more equal society that grants women complete political and social rights within Islamic traditions. Both secular and religious women activists have contributed significantly to these movements since their emergence in the 1990s.

Similar to other Islamic countries, a controversial debate exists in Saudi Arabia between religious women's activism and progressive women's activism. Yamani (1996) argued that Saudi women in the 1990s modified their strategies to gain more freedom and rights. She indicated that women who sought reforms from a liberal perspective could not reach their goals because of the strict Islamic nature of the society that confronted these attempts. As a result, women tended to find new paths within the Islamic traditions of the society to confront social obstacles that hinder their empowerment. Yamani pointed out that women successfully achieved progress in the area of segregated education and employment. They also gain more physical mobility in the public sphere while maintaining Islamic values such as wearing veils.

Alomran (2013) indicated that there are Saudi conservative female academics and writers who reject the term "feminists" and argue against what they describe as westernized women's empowerment. He stated that some conservative women, such as Dr. Rokaya Almohareb and Juhayyer Almesaad have used their newspaper columns to confront the feminist activism promoted by liberal female activists such as Manal Alsharif and Wajiha Alhuwaider. Alomran also referred to the statement of Dr. Norah Alsaad, a conservative academic and consultant—a statement made during a local conference on women's issues. Norah Alsaad stated that women who support implementing CEDAW are either unaware of its source or content, or they are aware of that, but they want to eliminate religion from family affairs and public life.

This study's focus is on Saudi women's activism for their rights through investigating the controversial debate on Saudi women's right to drive. Saudi women's activism is part of the broader Islamic context from which Islamic feminism emerged. In

the last decade, Saudi women activists began to have more space and freedom to present their arguments and demands for more social and political rights. They turned to use of the Internet as a tool for social change through writing online about women's issues and rights in their local context. The role of the Internet in modern women's activism in general, and Saudi women's activism in particular, is discussed further in the next section.

Online Discourse and Women's Online Activism

Over the past two decades, the rapid development of computers and the Internet has created a vast sphere of digital texts and online interaction among people through emails, instant messaging, tweets, blogs, Facebook, discussion forum posts, and the like. The rapid transformation in communication attracted social scientists to study this phenomenon. They have attempted to understand the nature of computer-mediated communication (CMC) and how it can be optimized in specific contexts of use (Herring, 2004). Herring (2001) defined computer-mediated discourse (CMD) as the communication produced when people interact online using the Internet. The study of CMD stems from CMC; however, CMD is distinguished by its focus on investigating language and language use in online environments using methods of discourse analysis (Herring, 2001).

It is indisputable that the Internet has provided virtual sites on which people can share their opinions, stories, and reflections. Blogs are one of the most preferred sites for online sharing of ideas and stories. Herring, Kouper, Scheidt, & Wright (2004) defined blogs as "frequently modified web pages in which dated entries are listed in reverse

chronological sequence” (p. 1). Blogging has been one of the most popular means of CMC communication in recent years. It can be argued that blogging has replaced traditional diary writing and provides a virtual sphere for individuals to present themselves and construct their self-representations. Blogs allow users to represent and explore the “self” in a social sphere that is not controlled by the constraints of face-to-face interaction (Lievrouw et al., 2001).

Individuals have various reasons and goals for blogging and posting their written texts online. Through online posting, some individuals seek status and also rely upon acts of self-presentation (Lampel & Bhalla, 2007). Others use blogs and online posts to express their feelings, experiences, criticism of their societies, and other issues. In addition, the online interaction provides a safe place for people to construct, test, and transform their identities (McCorduck, 1996). Therefore, bloggers are involved in an ongoing activity of identity construction and creating channels for progressive action (Myers, 2010).

Vogt and Chen (2001) argued that the Internet has provided an alternative space for feminist activists. In their study, they investigated feminist perceptions of the Internet in the broader context of postmodern feminism. They found that the Internet has become a crucial method for feminist activists to achieve their goals. Online activism provides several ways to organize action through launching online organizations, developing collective identities, providing knowledge and resources, and facilitating information transmission and communication. Vogt and Chen concluded that using the Internet has a positive impact on women’s activism through reinforcing feminist groups for advancing social change.

According to Khalil (2011), Saudi Arabia is considered to be the second most active blogging community in the Arab world—behind Egypt, which has a population more than three times Saudi Arabia’s size. Blogging has increased in Saudi Arabia since 2006. Although the government does not impose clear restrictions on the online blogging communities, a blogger may be arrested if he/she touches upon the cultural taboos. In 2007, the arrest of the popular Saudi male blogger Fuad Alfarhan was considered to be the first arrest of an online critic (Ambah, 2008). Most of the Saudi bloggers attempt to shed light on social inequities in Saudi society and include a significant number of female bloggers, such as the prominent Saudi female blogger Eman Alnafjan who started blogging in 2008. She uses her blog to write about Saudi social and cultural issues with a special focus on women’s issues. Her blog seems to be the most popular Saudi woman’s blog. It was in the top ten must-read Middle East blogs in 2011, according to CNN (Davies, 2011). In addition, she writes for the British newspaper *The Guardian*, *Stern Magazine*, *Foreign Policy*, and *Arab News*. Her active blogging was the reason she was nominated to be among the Top 100 Global Thinkers of 2011 according to *Foreign Policy* magazine (Pavgi, 2011). There is an increasing number of Saudi female bloggers who, like Alnafjan, post online texts on a variety of topics related to gender equality, the educational system, and women’s rights. Posting their texts online allows Saudi female bloggers the freedom to construct their online identities without the influence of the social restrictions imposed on them in their real world.

In the last decade, Saudi women started to use the Internet as a virtual space to overcome the social restrictions of their reality and to assert their arguments and demands for their rights. At the present time, an increasing number of modern Saudi women are

using Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and blogs as a way to raise issues about women's rights in Saudi Arabia (Chaudhry, 2014). Social media and online websites were quickly used by individuals, organizations, and movements to create awareness campaigns of many types. For example, in Saudi Arabia, websites like "www.saudidivorce.org" present information about divorce laws and women's rights in order to raise women's awareness of their rights both in Islam and under the law (DeLong-Bas, 2011).

Written texts have "causal effects upon, and contribute to changes in, people (beliefs, attitudes, etc.), actions, social relations, and the material world" (Fairclough 2003, p. 8). Similarly, online texts are reflections of social and cultural practices and can be used to promote resistance to dominance and gender inequalities. The aim in this present study was to analyze online texts posted by Saudi women on issues related to women's right to drive. Within the theoretical framework of CDA, an attempt was made to investigate the online debate of the two opposing campaigns on women's right to drive by analysing a corpus of online texts posted by the two campaigns.

Literature Review

Historical Overview of Representation of Women

The academic study of the portrayal of women is not a modern trend in the social sciences. It can be traced back to the women's movements of the 1960s and 1970s. These movements encouraged academic feminists to research and criticize the exploitation and discrimination against women by the media (Meyers, 1999). Earlier studies on images of women in the media highlighted under-representation of women. As indicated by van Zoonen (1994), "the women that do appear in the media tend to be

young, conventionally pretty, defined in relation to their husband, father, son, boss, and other men, and portrayed as passive, indecisive, submissive, dependent, etc.” (p.17).

Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media's Book (Tuchman, Daniels, & Benét, 1978) is one of the early works that investigated the portrayal of women in television, women's magazines, and newspapers. In this book, Tuchman, Daniels, & Benét (1978) used the term “symbolic annihilation” to describe the way in which the media ignored, condemned, or trivialized women's social roles and accomplishments in labor market. In contrast, sex-role stereotypes were highlighted in the media.

Goffman (1979) studied the display of femininity and masculinity in print advertisement. He used five coding categories: (a) relative size, (b) feminine touch, (c) function ranking, (d) ritualization of subordination, and (e) licensed withdrawal in analyzing visual images in print advertisements. His analysis indicated that women tend to be portrayed as soft, fragile, powerless, and submissive.

Two decades later, Meyers (1999) investigated the meanings behind the portrayal of women in mass media by using qualitative textual analysis. Meyers used the term “fractured” to characterize the representations of women in the contemporary media. She argued that “the images and messages [are] inconsistent and contradictory, torn between traditional, misogynic notions about women and their roles on the one hand, and feminist ideals of equality for women on the other” (p.12).

Byerly and Ross (2006) provided a cross-cultural investigation of the different ways in which both women working in the media and activists have contributed to change and to the improvement of media representations of women since the 1970s.

They discussed the approaches by which women's media activists, from inside and outside media organizations, organize their actions to achieve gender equality in the media, and how these efforts contributed to positive social change. Byerly and Ross's empirical research on media women's activism in 20 nations indicated that noticeable progress occurred. They argued that this progress included more positive representation of women in the media and better positions for women in the media industry. Their study provided significant insights for universal feminist activism and the relationship between women's media activism and public social change.

Relevant Literature on Muslim Women

Kahf (1999), in her book, *Western representations of the Muslim woman: From termagant to odalisque*, provided an historical analysis of Western representations of the Muslim woman from medieval times to the 19th century. She indicated that the portrayal of veiled and oppressed Muslim women in the traditional colonial narratives was not marked in the medieval period. She argued that the Western images of Muslim women were shaped and structured by political and cultural developments over time.

Previous social and media studies on the representation of Muslim women indicated that Muslim women tend to be represented as passive and oppressed in their societies, and in need of western liberation (Abu-Lughod, 2002; Roushanzamir, 2004; Mishra, 2007a).

Several studies on images of Muslim women in the media indicated that wearing the veil is often associated with the portrayal of Muslim women as veiled, oppressed, and passive women (Bullock & Jafri, 2000; Jafri, 1998; Khiabany & Williamson 2011).

In sum, the literature about the representation of Muslim women in Western media indicated that there is a general consistency in depicting Muslim women as oppressed, passive victims, and in need of rescuing.

Relevant Literature on Saudi Women

Research on the representation of Saudi women by the media in general is very limited. While there are several masters' theses and doctoral dissertations in which the representations of Saudi women are investigated, scholarly articles on this topic are still limited.

Zurbrigg (1995), using a feminist perspective recognizing differences between women, examined the portrayal of Saudi women in both popular and academic literature. She found that Saudi women were represented as exotic, erotic and oppressed.

Mishra (2007b) used feminist criticism, the critique of Orientalism, and postcolonial discourses as theoretical frameworks to analyze the representations of Saudi women in the American press. She compared the representations of Saudi women in The Washington Post with those of American women in the Arab News. She concluded that The Washington Post mainly portrayed Saudi women as oppressed victims in need of Western liberation, while the Arab News portrayed most freedoms enjoyed by American women as shallow.

Kaufer and Almalki (2009) analyzed the portrayal of powerful Saudi women who achieved high positions in the Western and Arab media. Their study revealed that the Western media tends to show a wider variation when representing pioneer Saudi women.

In addition, the Western media often refers to these achievements as positive action against a wider context of women's oppression.

In a recent study, Almahmoud (2015) investigated the intersection of framing and intertextuality in Twitter posts on Saudi women's right to drive. She analyzed a corpus of Twitter posts by Saudi women activists supporting women's driving and male clerics opposing women driving. Her study revealed that both groups use intertextuality as a primary means to frame and justify their position on women's driving through creating and employing a collection of prior local texts. The study also showed that women activists sometimes post their tweets and hashtags in English in an attempt to situate their driving campaign within international contexts. In contrast, men use Arabic in their posts and frame the women's driving campaign as a conspiracy supported by Western resources to corrupt the cultural and social values of the Saudi society.

In sum, it seems that critical research on media discourse in Saudi Arabia in general, and on representation and rights of Saudi women in both traditional and new media in particular, needs more attention. The aim of the present study was to fill gaps in CDA research on Saudi online discourse on women's rights, as seen through the right to drive.

Conclusion

In this chapter, the theoretical framework and review of relevant literature have been thoroughly discussed. The theories and concepts of CDA, Islamic feminism, and online discourse were presented. Their correlations to the present study were indicated and justified. The previous studies on the representation of women by Western media

indicated that the early women's movements contributed to changing the typical representation of women by the media. The relevant social science studies on Muslim women and Saudi women indicated that research on Muslim women in general and Saudi women in particular still needs more attention. The present study was aimed at addressing this lack of research through analysing the online discourse on Saudi women's right to drive within the framework of CDA. Chapter 3 discusses, in detail, the specific method and data used to conduct this analysis.

CHAPTER 3

DATA COLLECTION AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter is divided into two main sections: the data collection section and the methodology section. First, the process of data collection is presented. Second, the method employed in this study is introduced beginning with a discussion of the shortcomings and critiques of CDA. Next, the selected method of this study, (i.e. Fairclough's framework) is discussed. After that, selected tools for textual analysis and discursive practice analysis are discussed.

Data Collection

The data for the present study are a corpus of online posts about women driving, written by Saudi women who support and oppose it. The posts were collected from personal blogs and online websites. The search period was from 2011, the year the recent campaign for driving was established, to 2015, four years after the beginning of the campaign. This search period was chosen because it contained some pivotal events, such as launching the June 17, 2011 and October 26, 2013 campaigns, and the arrest of some women who participated in the protests to lift the ban on driving.

The corpus size was bounded by three factors: (a) restricted search period (2011-2105), (b) particular medium (online posts), and (c) specific participants (Saudi women writers). Since the length of the posts varied by writers, a word count was used to determine the size of each corpus. First, the corpus of posts written by women who supported the driving campaign included a total of 33 posts, comprised of 21,612 words. Second, the corpus of posts written by women who were against the driving campaign

included a total of 23 posts, comprised of 21,534 words. The first corpus included 24 English posts and 9 Arabic posts. The posts of the second corpus were all written in Arabic. For the Arabic data, excerpts were first translated into English and then analyzed. During the analysis, any example that was taken from the Arabic data was presented in Arabic followed by its English translation. All the posts in the data were written by Saudi women activists from both campaigns: women supporting the driving campaign and women against the driving campaign.

It should be noted that most of the pro-driving writers used English in their posts. Using English can be seen as a means to attract a broader audience to this issue, including foreign readers from different countries. It should also be noted that using English enhanced the pro-driving writers' opportunities to be referred to and reported by a number of international news agencies.

Data Collection for Pro-Driving Data Set

Data were collected from online posts written by progressive Saudi women who supported the driving campaign. Saudi progressive women are active in the Saudi blogosphere. A number of Saudi women journalists and writers had their own personal blogs. Most of the Saudi women bloggers attempted to shed light on social inequities in Saudi society. They focused on a variety of topics related to gender equality, the educational system, and women's rights. Therefore, the data from the women-to-drive campaign were selected from personal blogs of selected prominent Saudi women writers, such as Manal Alsharif (<http://manal-alsharif.com>), Samar Almogren (www.salmogren.net/), Eman Alnafjan (www.saudiwoman.me), and Sabria Jawhar

(www.huffingtonpost.com/sabria-jawhar/). See Appendix A for more information about these writers.

Data Collection for Con-Driving Data Set

Data were collected from online posts written by Saudi conservative women who were against the driving campaign. Saudi conservative women seem to be considerably less active in the Saudi blogosphere. It was difficult to find a popular blog run by a conservative Saudi woman. Instead, conservative women used some popular Islamic and conservative websites to post their writings and opinions on issues related to women's rights and other social issues. Therefore, the data of women against the driving campaign were collected from two popular local Islamic websites which are *Said Alfawaed* (<http://www.saaid.net/>) and *Lujainiat* (www.lojainiat.com/). *Said Alfawaed* is a popular Islamic website. It is run by Abu Hamzah, and contains no details about the host. The website contains several sections, such as religious clerics, the library, for women only, female religious clerics, preaching of Islam, and articles. The section entitled “for women only” is divided into subsections that contain articles on topics related to women's issues, such as Hijab (veil) of the Muslim woman, female Muslim preachers, working woman, woman status, and women driving. The subsection on women driving contains a number of articles on women driving written by conservative Saudi women professionals—including academicians, journalists, and religious clerics.

Likewise, *Lujainiat* is also an Islamic website and is owned by the well-known conservative Saudi Prince Khalid Bin Talal and the conservative Saudi writer Abu Lojain Ibrahim. It represents conservative views on many issues related to Islam and Muslims

all over the world. The website contains two main sections: the news, and the articles. The articles covered several issues and topics, such as social issues, women, Muslim family, education, and contemporary reality. The website contains a number of articles on women driving written by conservative Saudi women from different backgrounds, such as journalism, academia, and religious studies. See Appendix B for more information about these writers.

During the data collection process, it was noted that women supporting the driving campaign seemed to be more active, because each writer had a large number of posts. On the other hand, women against the driving campaign were less active since each writer had a few posts. As a result, 10 writers who argued against the driving campaign were selected for data collection, whereas only four writers were selected for the group supporting the driving campaign (See Appendices A and B).

Methodology

Critical Discourse Analysis: Shortcomings and Critiques

Chapter 2 introduced the CDA as a framework for this study and provided a discussion on the emergence of CDA and its main principles. The present section will acknowledge the criticism and shortcomings of CDA as a theoretical approach in order to appraise the nature of my study's contributions to the field of linguistics and applied linguistics.

Reviewing the literature indicated that most of the criticism of CDA was focused on issues related to interpretation, context, and accusations of bias. In a number of notable review articles, Widdowson (1995, 1996, 1998, as cited in Blommaert &

Bulcaen, 2000, p. 455) criticized CDA for its fuzzy distinctions between notions, disciplines, and methodologies. Widdowson argued that many concepts, models, and methods of CDA seem to be vague. He also argued that relying on the rhetorical use of popular concepts from social theory does not help to clarify this vagueness. In addition, Widdowson accused CDA practitioners of providing biased interpretations of texts. He argued that those using CDA as a theoretical framework also neglected the different ways in which a text can be read as well as the social contexts in which texts are produced and consumed (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000, p. 455).

Similarly, Verschueren (2001) claimed that CDA researchers tend to select and analyze texts that fit well with their analytical point of view. In a similar vein, Schegloff (1997) argued that CDA researchers project their political biases onto their data and analysis.

This critical debate on the issue of analytical bias was also addressed by other scholars such as Toolan (1997) and Stubbs (1997) who highlighted the weakness of CDA in providing a systematic analysis of texts. Stubbs (1997) argued for using a quantitative and comparative method that allows analysis of a large representative body of texts.

In sum, most of the criticism of CDA was based on some methodological concerns related to the ways in which texts are selected, the researcher's bias, and relying merely on the qualitative approach that does not provide generalizable results. Forster (2014) argued that some of these weaknesses can be avoided if CDA scholars present their analysis in "a well-formed argument, one that can remain authoritative over time and have concrete, focused applications" (p.19). Other scholars, such as Stubbs (1997) and Mautner (2009) argued for using corpus approaches to enable CDA researchers to

analyze a large, representative collection of texts. Baker et al. (2008) also indicated that using corpus approaches in CDA helps to reduce the researcher's bias.

Fairclough's Framework

Fairclough (2003) indicated that Systemic Functional Linguistics developed by Halliday (1978, 1994) provided valuable contributions to CDA. In Halliday's (1978) work, it was argued that language in use performs three metafunctions: (a) ideational, (b) interpersonal, and (c) textual. These three processes focus on the relationship between language and other social aspects. With reference to Halliday's view, Fairclough (1989) developed a framework that outlines three integrated levels of discourse: (a) text, (b) discursive practice, and (c) social practice. In his view, analysis should be performed by considering these three elements. Fairclough proposed a three-dimensional framework that consisted of (a) textual analysis, (b) discursive practice, and (c) sociocultural practice. These levels and their interrelations should be taken into account when analyzing a specific discourse (Fairclough, 1995).

The textual analysis level deals with the structuring, combining, and sequencing of propositions. Textual analysis can be sorted into four main categories: (a) vocabulary, (b) grammar, (c) cohesion, and (d) text structure.

The discursive practice level of analysis "involves processes of text production, distribution, and consumption, and the nature of these varies between different types of discourse according to social factors" (Fairclough 1992a, p. 78). At this stage, texts are analyzed discursively in relation to social conditions of production and consumption.

The sociocultural practice level involves “the social and cultural goings-on which the communicative event is part of” (Fairclough 1998, p. 311). Fairclough distinguishes between three aspects of sociocultural practice that enter into CDA: (a) economic, (b) political, and (c) cultural.

In the present study, Fairclough’s approach was selected because it addresses most levels that are important for a comprehensive analysis of a specific discourse. Using this approach allows consideration of elements that help to explore both the relationship between text and discourse, and the relationship between discourse and society. This leads to a full understanding of discourse in society.

Textual Analysis

In this study, tools for textual analysis included referential and nomination strategies, predicational strategies, and presuppositions. Each tool was applied to the data to collect significant findings based on frequencies and collocations.

Referential and Nomination Strategies. Referential and nomination strategies refer to the ways in which social actors are named or referred to in a discourse. According to Fowler and Kress (1979, p. 200), “the different possibilities [of naming] signify different assessments by the speaker/writer of his or her relationship with the person referred to or spoken to, and of the formality or intimacy of the situation.” Reisigl and Wodak (2001) argued that referential and nomination strategies are used to construct ingroup and outgroup categorization of social actors through using membership categorization devices and tropes.

Analyzing referential and nomination strategies in the present study revealed what strategies each campaign used to establish its ingroup and outgroup categorization of social actors. It also helped to understand how each campaign identified its relationship with other social actors referred to in the data.

Predicational Strategies. Predicational strategies appear in the form of “stereotypical, evaluative attributions of positive or negative traits and implicit or explicit predicates” (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 27). Reisigl and Wodak (2001, p. 55) indicated that predicational strategies are realized through specific forms of reference, attributes, predicative nouns/adjectives/pronouns, collocations, and explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors and other rhetorical figures.

In the present study, analyzing predicational strategies helped to see how each campaign represented Saudi women in online conversations about women’s driving. It also helped in identifying which positive and negative attributes were used by each campaign to describe people, objects, events, and actions in the data.

Presupposition. Presuppositions refer to what a writer/speaker believes to be common knowledge and known by a reader/listener. Wodak (2007, p. 214) stated that presupposed content, in normal situations, is accepted without critical attention. In contrast, the asserted content and evident implicatures are likely to undergo some level of evaluation.

Fairclough (2003) used the term “assumptions” to refer to presuppositions. He outlines three main types of assumptions:

- Existential assumptions: assumptions about what exists

- Propositional assumptions: assumptions about what is or can or will be the case
- Value assumptions: assumptions about what is good or desirable (p.55).

Analyzing presuppositions in the present study was important because it indicated what types of presuppositions are used in the online discourse on women driving. It also indicated if there was a difference between the two campaigns in the types of presupposition and the way they are used in the respective campaign's arguments.

Discursive Analysis

In this study, tools for discursive analysis included use of intertextuality in the arguments and sourcing. Types and functions of intertextuality were examined and analyzed in the two data sets.

Intertextuality. Fairclough (2001, p. 233) explained intertextuality as “the idea that any text is explicitly or implicitly ‘in dialogue with’ other texts (existing or anticipated) which constitute its ‘intertexts.’” In addition, intertextuality refers to “the productivity of texts, to how texts can transform prior texts and restructure existing conventions (genres, discourses) to generate new ones.” (Fairclough, 1999, p. 102). Similarly, Blommaert (2005) argued that the concept of intertextuality points to “whenever we speak we produce the words of others, we constantly cite and recite expressions, and recycle meanings that are already available” (p. 46). Fairclough (1992b) identified two types of intertextuality: manifest intertextuality and constitutive intertextuality, or interdiscursivity. Manifest intertextuality refers to the cases “where specific other texts are overtly drawn upon within a text,” and “interdiscursivity is a

matter of how a discourse type is constituted through a combination of elements of orders of discourse" (Fairclough, 1992b, pp. 117-18).

In the present study, analyzing intertextuality was important because it showed what types of sources and reports each campaign relied upon to support their arguments. It also indicated how each campaign attached itself to the ingroup through representing its members as reliable sources who have more positive attributes, and how it distanced itself from the outgroup by criticizing its members and representing them negatively as unreliable sources.

Sociocultural Practice

After applying tools of textual and discursive analysis to the data, sociocultural practice, the third level of analysis, is presented in Chapter 6 in an attempt to situate the findings within the broader social and cultural context that bound the production and consumption of the discourse on the right to drive. In addition, sociocultural practice draws on the social, economic, and cultural forces that influence the contexts in which this type of discourse is produced and consumed. Understanding and analyzing these social and cultural practices can provide a fuller picture of the issue.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS OF PRO DRIVING DATA SET

This chapter presents the analysis of the corpus of posts written by women who support and advocate for women's right to drive. The corpus consists of 23,814 words. The data are analyzed using three textual analysis tools: (a) referential and nomination strategies, (b) predicational strategies, and (c) presupposition, and one discursive practice tool: intertextuality. The aim of the analysis was to answer the following research questions: (a) what types of referential and nomination strategies are utilized by women who support women's right to drive? (b) what types of predicational strategies can be identified in the data? (c) what types of presuppositions and assertions are used in the data? and (d) how intertextuality is utilized in the data?

Textual Analysis

In this study, tools for textual analysis included referential and nomination strategies, predicational strategies, and presuppositions. In the present chapter, each tool was applied to the pro-driving data set to collect significant findings based on frequencies and collocations.

Referential and Nomination Strategies

In the present study, analysis of the referential and nomination strategies revealed what strategies those in the campaign for women's right to drive used to establish its ingroup and outgroup categorization of social actors. It also helped in understanding how those in this campaign identified the campaign's relationship with other social actors referred to in texts. The results of the analysis of referential and nomination strategies

were classified according to frequencies of words into three categories: (a) proper names, (b) collective nouns, and (c) campaign vs. conspiracy.

Proper Names. The analysis of proper names in the corpus indicated that one individual name was used with high frequency in the texts. It is the name of Manal Alsharif, the Saudi woman activist who created the women-to-drive campaign and who attempted to drive her car as a way to attract public attention to lifting the ban on women’s driving. Manal Alsharif’s name appears 71 times in the texts. Table 1 describes how her name appears based on the frequency and the form:

Table. 1

Use and Frequency of Manal Alsharif’s Name

Name Formalization	No. of hits
First name only: Manal	52
First and surname: Manal Alsharif, Manal Alsherif	17
First, middle, and surname: Manal Masoud Alsharif	1
First and surname in Arabic: منال الشريف	1

It is not surprising that Manal Alsharif’s proper name was mentioned in the texts with high frequency given the earlier discussion about her role as a prominent Saudi women activist who established the women-to-drive campaign. The women writers who advocated for women’s right to drive were inspired by Manal and saw her as a brave role

model who fights for their rights. The examples below show how Manal's proper name is mentioned in the texts by Saudi female writers:

1. After I was inspired by Manal Al Sharif's campaign I asked my brother to teach me how to drive.
2. Last week Manal Al Sharif won the Vaclav Havel Prize for Creative Dissent and gave a 17-minute speech at the Oslo Freedom Forum.
3. The movement particularly caught fire when a face for it emerged. A Saudi woman, Manal al-Sharif, came forward and posted a YouTube video advising how to go about the campaign.
4. Brave Manal later wanted it to take it a step further and actually went out driving and posted the video on May 19th.
5. To the Custodian of the two holy mosques peace be upon you, we the children of this country have been very hurt by the news of the arrest of your citizen Manal Masoud Al Sharif on Saturday 22//5/2011 on the grounds of her driving her car in the streets of Khobar in the company of her brother.

The above examples indicate that *Manal*'s identity is associated with her function and roles in the driving campaign. She is represented as a model role who inspires other

Saudi women, as in example 1, and who becomes recognized not only locally but also internationally for her struggle for Saudi women's rights, as in example 2. *Manal's* name is also referred to in terms of her activity in guiding women in how to participate in the campaign, as in example 3, and in practicing driving and posting videos of her driving, as shown in example 4. The only occurrence of *Manal's* full name (first, middle, and last) can be seen in example 5, which was mentioned in a letter of petition to the King to release Manal after she had been detained. The representation of *Manal* as a social actor in the texts indicates how those Saudi women writers see *Manal* from their own perspectives and ideological bases. It also indicates that they identify themselves as members of this campaign (ingroup) through supporting Manal and writing about her achievements and activities.

Analyzing the contexts in which Manal's name appeared indicated that two types of contexts can be identified. Manal's detention was the pivotal event that divided the contexts into: (a) before detention contexts and (b) after detention contexts. The second context type was the most frequent with approximately 49 occurrences. In the first context type, Manal usually appeared as an agent (driver, YouTube poster, winner, speaker...), as seen in examples 1-4. In the second context type, Manal often appeared as a recipient (detainee, imprisoned, oppressed...), as seen in example 5.

The analysis also showed that other proper names appeared in the data; however, the frequency of most of these names—except the King's name, which appeared 11 times—was limited to one occurrence throughout the data. These proper names can be divided into: (a) names of government authorities (King Abdullah, Prince Naif, Prince Ahmed, and Prince Mohammed bin Naif); (b) names of members of the royal family who

support lifting the ban (Princess Adelah, and Princess Loloah); (c) names of religious clerics who oppose the driving (Sheikh Nasser Alomer, Sheikh Monjed, Sheikh Alhabdan, and Sheikh Ghazi Alshammari); (d) names of religious clerics who support the driving (Sheikh Eissa Alghaith, Sheikh Albani, Sheikh Ahmed bin Baz and Sheikh Mohammed Alahmari); (e) names of male activists who support the driving (Dr. Mohammed Alzulfa, Dr. Abdullah Alalami, and Waleed Abualkhair); (f) names of women who support the driving (Maha Alqahtani, Kholod Alfahad, and Haifa Khalid); and (g) name of the American broadcast journalist Barbara Walters.

Collective Nouns. The analysis of nomination strategies also indicates that the collective actor “women” appears in the texts as a salient social actor. Use of the word “women” as a social actor was mentioned in different variations. Table 2 shows the grammatical category and frequencies of “women” as a social actor:

Table 2.

Grammatical Category and Frequencies of “Women” as a Social Actor

Word	Grammatical categories	No. of hits
women	plural	304
woman	singular	57
women in Arabic: النساء	plural	16
woman in Arabic: امرأة	singular	8
the woman in Arabic: المرأة	definite + singular	69

This high-frequency occurrence of the word “women” in the texts indicates that the writers emphasize women as a prominent social actor in their texts and their attempts to create a collective women identity. Contexts analysis showed that the collective noun “women” is used to refer to a particular group of women, that is, Saudi women. However, it should be noted that the collective noun “women” and “Saudi women” are used interchangeably in the data to refer to Saudi women as collective social actor. “Saudi women” appears 50 times as a plural, “*Saudi women,*” and 14 times as a singular, “*Saudi woman,*” in the texts. This high frequency indicates that the writers identify “Saudi women” as an important social actor in their texts. Examples 6-11 show how the writers use the term “women” to create a collective group and identity based on their views:

6. We women are fully aware that society will not advance unless its advancement is with our support, our efforts, our productivity and with us.

In example 6, the writer used the authorial voice to speak out on behalf of all other women in the society. The writer used the first-person pronouns “we” and “our” to include herself, the reader (who is assumed to be a woman), and all other women in the society. The writer in this example created a collective identity of women who share the same good characteristics (our support, our efforts, our productivity) without which the society cannot advance. This can also be seen as a positive representation of the self (the ingroup: we, us).

7. Thus, the ban and the religious misinterpretation on which it is based causes damage to millions of women based on assumptions and scenarios of a few that have no basis in reality.

In example 7, the writer used the collective word *women* to refer to millions of women who suffer from the ban on driving. Women appeared as recipients of damage imposed by the ban on driving. The writer gave priority to those women (ingroup) against a few (outgroup) who caused their suffering. A negative representation was attributed to those who are against women's right to drive by describing them as "a few" and their assumption as "have no basis in reality."

8. المهم أن النساء لم يخرجن يوم ٢٦ أكتوبر لا في مسيرات ولا مظاهرات، مما يؤكد على نقاء هذه المطالب وحرص الجميع على الأمن في بلادنا.

It is important that the women did not go out on October 26 and did not join any demonstrations or protests, which confirms the purity of these demands, and that everyone is keen on the security of our country.

Example 8 is similar to example 7 in attributing positive representation to women who support the right to drive. The writer used positive representations such as "the purity of these demands" and "keen on the security of our country" to argue that those women are just asking for a civil right in a peaceful way.

9. We want the state to begin to lift this injustice by issuing a decree to allow women who want to drive, to do so. Those women who do not want to drive are not forced to.

In example 9, it can be seen that the writer used the same term, “women,” to identify two subgroups of women: women who want to drive (us) and women who don’t want to drive (others). The writer uses the first-person plural pronoun (we) to identify her membership in the group of women who want to drive (ingroup).

10. The driving ban is no longer a distraction to Saudi women's quest for their rights, but could very well be the centerpiece of our struggle to obtain rights long denied us.
11. There’s a mistaken assumption that Saudi women thirst for equal rights as women enjoy in the West.

In example 10, the writer used the collective “Saudi women” to describe all Saudi women as one group and who all share the same struggle to obtain their rights. The writer also used the pronoun “our” to confirm her membership in this group and its struggle for rights. However, in example 11, the writer emphasized that Saudi women, as a group, seek different rights compared to Western women’s rights. This claim can be seen as a

response to those who argue that protests for women's right to drive are part of a conspiracy to westernize the society.

A collocations analysis of the collective term “women” also indicated that the noun “*women*” appeared as an agent in relatively few cases where it was used to refer to women protesters and activists such as “women protested the ban,” and “Saudi women have mastered social media.” In contrast, most of the collocations of the noun “women” presented women as recipients (of the ban on driving, hardship, exclusion, punishment...) when referring to the general perception of Saudi women.

Finally, other important collective membership nouns were used in the data to create a minor category of social actors who were distinguished from the social majority. These collective nouns included: “a few, some minority, some of them, some Saudi, some Sheikhs, small group, and group of those.” The aim of using these terms was to present people who oppose the driving campaign as a minority in contrast to the majority of Saudi society. The collective noun “society” appeared 32 times and it was mainly used to refer to the Saudi society as a whole.

Driving Campaign or Conspiracy. As discussed earlier, Saudi women’s right to drive is opposed by part of the society, who see it as a conspiracy to westernize the society. Others, who support Saudi women’s right to drive, disagree with this view and argue that it is just a civil right with no hidden agenda. Therefore, in this subsection, the texts are analyzed to see what terms women writers who support this campaign used to refer to the driving campaign. The frequency analysis indicates that the writers mostly preferred to use the term “campaign” to refer to their struggle for their right to drive. The

word “campaign” appears 46 times in the English texts and three times in the Arabic texts. The writers deny any conspiracy or hidden agenda behind their campaign. The word “conspiracy” is used five times in the English texts and four times in the Arabic texts in the writers’ arguments against others who used this term when referring to the women’s-right-to-drive campaign. Table 3 shows the frequencies of the terms "campaign" and “conspiracy” in the texts.

Table 3.

Frequency of Use of the Terms "Campaign" and "Conspiracy" in the Texts

Word	No. of Occurrences
Campaign	46
Campaign in Arabic: حملة	3
Conspiracy	5
Conspiracy in Arabic: مؤامرة - تآمر	4

As can be seen in Table 3, the high frequency use of the term “campaign” in the texts contrasts with the term “conspiracy,” which has a low frequency that is restricted to conspiracy denial. This can indicate that the writers see their struggle to drive as a “human right” rather than as a “conspiracy” or a step to liberation. Examples 12-16 provide further explanations of the ways the writers used these referring terms in their texts:

12. What makes this campaign special is that it's the first real civil movement to occur in Saudi Arabia.

In example 12, the writer used the term “campaign” and emphasized that it is an important civil movement to obtain the right to drive. Her view indicated that this campaign is mostly seen as a civil movement by women who advocate for the right to drive.

13. This campaign does not seek to disrupt the government or to violate any national laws or regulations. Here it is important to point out that there is no explicit law banning women from driving. We are not in cooperation with any foreign organizations or bodies nor do we represent a political party or opposition. We do not intend to start a public protest.

In example 13, the writer used negation to emphasize that the driving campaign is not associated with any agenda other than obtaining the right to drive. She denied any intent to violate any national law. She used the first-person pronoun "we" to explicitly emphasize that she and other women who support this campaign have no connection with any foreign organizations. This denial indicated that they view any conspiracy accusation as a fallacy argument. The same denial technique is repeated in example 14.

14. وفي كل مرة يتم تخويف من يُطالب بهذا بالتأمر الخارجي وخلخلة الأمن الاجتماعي، وهذا الكلام غير صحيح ولا يمت للواقع بصلة، لأن مطلب قيادة المرأة هو مطلب حاجة وحق...

And every time, anyone who demands this (the right to drive) attempts are made to intimidate them by association with foreign conspiracy and harming social security, which is totally incorrect and has no connection to reality, because women's' right to drive is a demand for a right and need...

Example 14 is another statement of denial of any link between the driving campaign and a foreign conspiracy or violating social security. The writer defended her view of the campaign as a demand for right and needs.

15. The religious establishment has also been staunch in its demand to maintain the ban. Some of them have even gone so far as to call the campaign western-backed "female terrorism" and "soft terrorism." Others claimed that the campaign to allow women to drive is an Iranian/Shia conspiracy to destabilize the country.

In example 15, the writer argued that referring to the campaign as western-backed and a conspiracy was made by “the religious establishment” (the others; outgroup). She used the negative verbal process “claim” to indicate that their arguments and accusations are claims with no evidence or proof.

16. He (a religious cleric) insists that June 17th was not chosen randomly. That the campaign date is evidence of a Shia conspiracy because it falls on the Hijri date 15th of Rajab, which he claims is a Shia holiday or has religious implications for Shia...

In example 16, a context similar to that in example 15 can be seen. In 15, the writer referred to “the religious establishment” as a collective noun, while in 16, the writer referred to an individual religious cleric. In 16, the writer provided another example that religious clerics tend to refer to the driving campaign as a conspiracy, a Shia conspiracy in this particular example. Using the negative verbal process “claim” instead of “say” or “state,” for instance, may imply that the cleric’s view is based on a fallacy argument.

Theme of “Us vs. Them.” The previous analysis of naming and referring terms also showed that the theme of “Us vs. Them” appeared in the data. These deictics were used by the writers to characterize themselves and others and to represent the relations between themselves and the “others” through associating themselves (we/us) with positive attributes and associating the “others” (they/them) with negative attributes. As we have seen in example 7, the “others” who oppose women’s driving were represented as “a few,” which implies that they are a minority compared to us, the majority. Similar terms that emphasize this theme also include using “some of them” and “others” in example 15 that denote distance between the writers and the “others.” Some other examples of membership and othering that appeared in the data are “some minority,”

“some Saudi,” “some Sheikhs,” “small group,” and “group of those.” These phrases were used to refer to those who oppose women’s driving. The theme of “othering” or “us vs them” were used by the writers to distance themselves from a different social group, “the others,” that used to be represented with a person or group having more negative attributes. Further discussion on the positive attributes of us (ingroup) vs. negative attributes of them (outgroup) is presented in the following section on predicational strategies.

Predicational Strategies

The aim of this section is to answer the second research question: what types of predicational strategies can be identified in the online discourse on women driving? Analyzing predicational strategies helps to see how Saudi women who support the right to drive cars describe social actors, objects, events, and actions in their online posts that discuss the issue of Saudi women’s right to drive. Also examined here which positive and negative attributes are used when referring to social actors who advocate for the right to drive as well as those who are against the right to drive. The analysis of predicational strategies showed that it can be divided into three categories: first, how the writers describe the ban on driving; second, how they describe the driving campaign; and third, how they describe the religious clerics who oppose women’s right to drive and those who support it.

In the first category, the Saudi women writers denied the fact that the ban on women’s right to drive is relevant to any law. In their posts, they made the argument that

it had no legal basis by associating this ban with descriptors such as *injustice*, *implemented with threats*, and *the driving ban oppresses us*, as shown in examples 17-19.

17. Since the ban on women driving is implemented with threats of firmness and strength against all who defy it...
18. We want the state to begin to lift this injustice by issuing a decree to allow women who want to drive, to do so
19. It's not because the driving ban oppresses us but instead we should have the right to choose whether we want to drive and not.

In examples 17, 18, and 19, the negative image of the ban on women's driving is created through the negative representation of the ban as an unfair act that is implemented with threats, restricts women's right to choose. This negative image is further supported by another negative quality attributed to the ban—that it has no roots in the government law, as shown in examples 20-22.

20. Here it is important to point out that there is no explicit law banning women from driving.

21. This despite the fact that it was made official only after a group of women protested the ban.
22. Since the issue of women's driving is not a violation of any official law or any religious law, then women should not be arrested for driving their cars.

In examples 20, 21, and 22, the legitimacy of the ban on women's driving is represented negatively. These examples emphasize the idea that there is no law banning women from driving. This can imply that this ban is illegal, since it is irrelevant to any law and does not violate any official law. The legitimacy of the ban continues to be questioned by women who support women's right to drive as they describe those who implement it as *a limited number of men*, they *exclude* women, *women who protested is much larger than men who issue the ban*. This type of negative labeling is shown in examples 23 and 24.

23. The ban was issued on the basis of the views of a limited number of men with the exclusion of women.
24. That group of women who protested is much larger than the number of men consulted when issuing the ban.

In sum, the analysis shows that Saudi women who support women's right to drive view the ban on women's driving as an illegal ban that caused oppression and injustice to women and was made by a limited number of men who excluded women from expressing their views. This view is framed through the use, in their posts, of negative qualities attributed to this ban and those who implemented it.

In the second category –how writers describe the campaign– the analysis of the data indicated that the driving campaign is always associated with positive attributes. The data showed that the driving campaign is described 11 times as a movement. The driving campaign is described through the data as a peaceful right movement. Emphasizing these positive qualities of the driving campaign can add more positive attributes to the women who support it (ingroup) as shown in examples 25-27.

25. What makes this campaign special is that it's the first real civil movement to occur in Saudi Arabia...
26. Now they are showing the world that Saudis are capable of peaceful civil movements...
27. This campaign does not seek to disrupt the government or to violate any national laws or regulations.

Examples 25 and 26 show how this campaign was described as a movement. In addition, positive attributes were added to this movement, such as *first real civil* and *peaceful*. In example 27, the positive attributes of the movement were fostered by denying any involvement in law violation or disrupting the government. The results of this analysis support the previous results that emphasized the positive image of the campaign and the women who support it (the ingroup) throughout the data.

The data were examined to identify the third category—how religious clerics who oppose or support women’s right to drive are described in the data. The analysis indicated that negative attributes were often used when describing those clerics who oppose women’s right to drive, such as using evaluative terms like *ultra-conservative*. In addition, the doctoral titles are neglected, and only the term Sheikh (title for Islamic clerics) is used as a title. Example 28 shows that *ultra-conservative* is used to introduce Sheikh Nasser Al Omer, whose doctoral title was neglected. In addition, in example 29, Sheikh Monjed's first name (Mohammed) and doctoral title were neglected, and irrelevant information—“*who is originally Syrian*”—that can be interpreted negatively is added to introduce him:

28. The ultra-conservatives have come out in full force against Manal. Sheikh Nasser Al Omer gave a sermon on the matter of women driving...
29. Then you have Sheikh Monjed who is originally Syrian...

Turning to the religious clerics who support the driving campaign, positive attributes are used to describe them, and their doctoral titles are maintained. In example 30, Eissa Al Ghaith, who supports women's right to drive, is introduced by two titles: Sheikh and the doctoral title (Dr.). His name is also followed by his profession, *a judge* which adds a more positive attribute to him. Similarly, in example 31, Mohammed Al Ahmari is introduced by Sheikh and doctoral title. His support is described as *very outspoken*, which is usually a positive attribute. In example 32, the positive attribute *the highly respected* is used to describe Sheikh Abani, who is against prohibiting women from driving. Also in example 32, the verb "*laughed at*," which has a negative connotation in relationship to those who oppose women driving, is used.

30. Shiekh Dr. Eissa Al Ghaith, a judge, posted an article on his Facebook page in support of women driving.
31. Sheikh Dr. Mohammed Al Ahmari was very outspoken in his support for Manal and lifting the ban on driving.
32. And in the recent past you had several sheikhs including the highly respected Albani who laughed at the suggestion that women driving should be prohibited in Islam.

In sum, the analysis shows that positive attributes were often added to the ingroup (we, us) while negative attributes were added to the outgroup (they, them). Those who support the driving campaign are the ingroup, so they are good (positive). In contrast, those who oppose the driving campaign are the outgroup, so they are bad (negative).

Presupposition

In the present study, analysis of presuppositions was important because that analysis indicated what types of presuppositions were used in the online discourse on women driving. The analysis also indicated if there was a difference between the two campaigns in the types of presupposition and the way they were used in their respective arguments. The analysis showed that the writers used presuppositions to transfer their ideologies and knowledge about the women's driving issue to the readers from their own perspectives. The analysis indicated that the use of presuppositions can be divided into two main groups: (a) presuppositions related to the reasons behind the ban on driving, and (b) presuppositions related to the government's position on women's rights.

In the first group, the women writers used presuppositions to emphasize their ideas that the ban on women's driving has no roots in law or religion. Rather, it is a result of misinterpretation and misconceptions. Examples 33-37 show how presuppositions are utilized in the posts written by those supporting women's right to drive.

33. A right that has been denied us by some customs and traditions that are not of God.

In example 33, the writer used the authoritative voice to provide the reader with a presupposed fact that the ban on women driving is denied by customs and traditions that are not related to religion. The reasons behind the writer's attempts to persuade the reader that religion is not against women's driving can be explained by the fact that she knows that Saudi society, in general, is religious and conservative, so this information should be highlighted to the reader.

34. Thus, the ban and the religious misinterpretation on which it is based causes damage to millions of women...

Here, in example 34, is another presupposition that emphasizes the previous idea in example 33. If the ban is based on religious doctrines, the responses to these doctrines are presupposed to be a result of *religious misinterpretation*.

35. Saudi society comprises of the religious conservatives who continue to object to this simple right, although there is no religious foundation to prevent women from driving.

In example 35, the use of the verb “continue” presupposes that religious conservatives used to object women’s right to drive in the past and continue to object to it. Then, the presupposition that religion is not against driving is emphasized again in “*there is no religious foundation to prevent women from driving.*”

36. It's questionable because Manal broke no laws, yet she was arrested...

37. Manal Al Sharif is in jail for no crime that she committed.

In examples 36 and 37, using an authoritative voice, the writers argued that *Manal broke no law*, and she is *in jail for no crime*. This argument conveyed the presupposition that women driving is legal.

In the second group, presuppositions are used to emphasize the idea that the government should take positive steps to improve the status of Saudi women as shown in examples 38-44.

38. All we want from the state is to stop issuing unfulfilled promises and conflicting internal and international statements about the ban on women driving.

39. The only position that is not clear is the governments'.

40. So far, the government has been silent.

In example 38, the use of the verb *stop* presupposes that the government's act of issuing unfulfilled promises is still going on. In example 39, using *only* presupposes that all other positions are clear except the government's position. Using the present perfect tense in example 40 indicates that the government used to be silent and is continuing to

be silent. These presuppositions imply that the government should take a positive role and do something toward lifting the ban on women's right to drive because it is already presupposed in the first group's examples that women driving does not contradict any religious or civil laws. However, the government's position is considered to be one of the reasons behind the current status of Saudi women with which the writers are not satisfied, as shown in examples 41-44. In these examples, the writers argued that Saudi women suffer from *injustice*, as shown in example 41; from living in a *patriarchal* society, as in example 42; and from being *considered* and treated as *minors*, as shown in examples 43 and 44. These arguments conveyed the presupposition of the existence of social, legal, and gender inequality against women in society.

41. We want the state to begin to lift this injustice by issuing a decree to allow women who want to drive, to do so.
42. The de facto ban on women driving is one of the main things that perpetuates this governmental patriarchy.
43. No matter how long you live, you remain a minor in the eyes of the government.
44. Women in Saudi Arabia are considered minors under the law until the day that they die.

In sum, the analysis indicated that presuppositions have been utilized to emphasize the ideological basis of the writers regarding the women's right to drive. Presuppositions were used to transfer the writers' beliefs about the ban on women's driving to the readers. This can be seen through the significant use of presuppositions to highlight that the ban on women's driving has no religious background. In addition, presuppositions were also used to foster the idea that Saudi women do not have a good social status because they are prohibited from some essential rights, such as the right to drive, while the government is not taking any serious steps to improve women's status.

Discursive Practice

Intertextuality

Analyzing intertextuality is important because it shows what types of sources and reports the women who support the driving campaign rely on to support their arguments. It also shows how the writers attach themselves to the ingroup through representing its members positively as reliable sources and how they distance themselves from the outgroup by criticizing its members and representing them negatively as unreliable sources.

The analysis of the data shows that those who support women's right to drive used intertextuality significantly for two purposes. The first purpose was to recite some effective resources that supported their arguments. The second purpose was to report samples of the harsh attacks that they received from those who opposed the women's right to drive.

Beginning with the first purpose, reporting King Abdullah's words was significant. The writers reported the king's words to emphasize that the king, who is an absolute monarch, is not against women's right to drive. In examples 45-48, some of King Abdullah's words were reported using direct speech (as in example 45) and some using indirect speech (as in examples 46-48). These reported words emphasize that the ban was not issued by the King, but it is a societal issue and the society can determine when to lift it.

45. These steps that you summarized in your historical speech on September 25th, 2011 when you said, "We will not approve the marginalization of women."
46. ...and Saudi King have repeatedly stated that this is a matter for society to decide.
47. King Abdullah said that only Saudi society could determine the appropriate time when women can drive cars. He said he believed that time was soon.
48. When government officials are asked about the driving ban, they respond that there is no legal or Islamic basis for it and that it is only socially maintained. The King himself stated so.

In examples 49-51, the writers reported the King's interview with Barbara Walters, an American broadcast journalist, specifically to emphasize the same ideas

presented in the previous examples, that the King is not against women's right to drive, and it is just a matter of time and acceptance of society. Reporting the content of the same interview three times in the texts showed how important and valuable the content of this interview is for the pro-driving writers. The interview was also aired on a famous American broadcasting company, which enhanced its high reputation and popularity among audiences.

49. King Abdullah in a 2005 interview with Barbara Walters said that it was only a matter of time and that Saudi women have to be patient.
50. King Abdullah said in an interview with Barbara Walters in 2005 that women driving is a social issue.
51. King Abdullah in an interview with Barbara Walters, and virtually every Saudi minister from the Ministry of Interior to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, unequivocally said that women driving is a societal issue.

In addition to the King as a significant reported source, the writers also reported three Sheikhs (Mohammed Alahmari, Eissa Alghaith, and Albani) who support lifting the ban on driving, as seen previously in examples 31-33.

Moving to the second purpose of using intertextuality, it can be noted that the writers tended to report only the harsh attacks and comments they received from some of

those who oppose women's right to drive and neglected any other types of responses they received. Reporting these savage attacks can be explained as a way to emphasize negative attributes of some of those who oppose them (the outgroup) and deemphasize these negative attributes to the ingroup. Example 52 shows reporting some harsh gendered attacks, and examples 53 and 54 show reporting some negative attributes said by some who oppose the women's right to drive campaign.

52. The comments sections on news website are rife with accusations of immoral behavior, lack of patriotism, lewd remarks on women's physical characteristics, speculation about their sex lives, and why the men in their families cannot control them.

53.to stop these "rebellious women."

54. Some of them have even gone so far as to call the campaign western-backed "female terrorism" and "soft terrorism."

Furthermore, the stances of two Sheikhs (Nasser Alomer and Monjed) who oppose women driving were reported and criticized negatively as seen previously in examples 28 and 29.

In sum, the analysis of intertextuality showed that the writers made reference to other texts and sources in order to bolster their arguments, support their claims, and strengthen their positions. Uses of intertextuality by the writers can be divided into two

ways. First, reporting texts that implied that the King was not against the right to drive in order to add more positive support to their positions. Second, reporting samples of the type of attacks they received from some of those who oppose the demand for women's right to drive. The first way added more positive attributes to their demands, while the second way added more negative attributes to those who oppose their demands to obtain the right to drive.

Conclusion

The results showed that the theme of ingroup and outgroup existed through the data. The analysis of nomination strategies showed that some social actors, such as the Saudi woman activist Manal Alsharif, and "women" as a collective noun were significant in the data. Positive attributes were emphasized about Manal and the group of women who support the driving campaign (ingroup). In addition, the driving campaign was referred to as a campaign for demanding a simple right that has no hidden agenda, which emphasized positive attributes.

Moving to the predicational strategies, the analysis showed that predications were used to add positive attributes to the ingroup, such as religious clerics who support the driving campaign, and negative attributes to the outgroup, such as the religious clerics who oppose it. The driving campaign was also described as a civil movement for a right, which emphasizes positive attributes.

In the presupposition analysis, the results indicated that the writers presented their arguments and claims to convey the following presuppositions: (a) women driving is

legal by law and religion, (b) the government should take a step to lift the ban, and (c) the existence of social, legal, and gender inequality against women in society.

Finally, analysis of the intertextuality showed that this tool was used in a way similar to the previous tools. In other words, intertextuality was used by writers to make reference to other texts and sources that reinforced their argument, supported their claim, and strengthened their position. Reports and resources that support the campaign are highlighted positively (ingroup). On the other hand, the negative side of some of those who opposed the campaign (outgroup) was emphasized through reporting their harsh attacks, while the positive side was neglected. In Chapter 5, the same tools are applied to analyze the corpus of posts written by Saudi women who were against the right to drive to see if they revealed similar or different results based on the ideologies represented in the texts.

CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS OF CON-DRIVING DATA SET

This chapter presents the analysis of the corpus of posts written by women who argued against women's right to drive. The corpus consists of 21.534 words. The data were written in Arabic, so each Arabic example will be followed by its English translation. The data were analyzed using three textual analysis tools: (a) referential and nominations strategies, (b) predicational strategies, and (c) presupposition, and one discursive practice tool: intertextuality. The aim of the analysis was to answer the following research questions: (a) what types of referential and nomination strategies are utilized by women who oppose women's right to drive? (b) what types of predicational strategies can be identified in the data? and (c) what types of presuppositions are used in the data? and (d) how intertextuality is utilized in the data?

Textual Analysis

In this study as a whole, tools for textual analysis, including referential and nomination strategies, predicational strategies, and presuppositions, were used in the analysis of both sides of the issue. The previous analysis of the pro-driving data set showed that the patterns of positive self-images (ingroup) and negative other-images (outgroup) are visible. For the present chapter, the same analytical tools were used to see if these group polarization patterns appeared in a similar or different way in the against-driving data set.

Referential and Nomination Strategies

Analysis of referential and nomination strategies in the present study revealed what strategies the campaign against women's right to drive used to establish its ingroup and outgroup categorization of social actors. It also helped understand how this campaign identified its relationship with other social actors referred to in the texts.

According to frequencies of words, the results of the analysis of referential and nomination strategies were classified into three categories: (a) referring to individuals, (b) referring to the driving campaign supporters, and (c) referring to the driving campaign. A detailed discussion of each category is presented in the following subsections.

Referring to Individuals. The analysis of proper nouns in the corpus indicated that proper names of individual Saudi women activists and some other international women received high frequency in the texts. Table 4 describes how women's individual names appeared, based on the frequencies:

Table 4.*Frequency of Individual Proper Names*

Name	No. of occurrences	Role
Manal Alsharif	15	Saudi women activist
Angela Merkel	9	German Politician
Maha Fitaihi	8	Saudi women activist
Lujain Hathlol	3	Saudi women activist
Ameera Kashgari	2	Saudi women activist
Hala Aldosary	2	Saudi women activist
Suhaila Zain Alabdeen	2	Saudi women activist
Hillary Clinton	1	American Politician
Aziza Almanea	1	Saudi women activist
Wajiha Alhuwaider	1	Saudi women activist
Najla Hariri	1	Saudi women activist
Huda Sharawi	1	Pioneer Egyptian feminist

Table 4 showed that proper names of individual women can be classified into two groups: (a) names of individual Saudi women activists who support women driving (nine names) and (b) names of foreign women who are known for advocating for women's rights (three names). Interestingly, this result is different compared to the previous analysis of the pro-driving data set where no names of women who oppose driving appeared in the data. However, analysis of the contexts in which these names appear

showed that the main purpose of mentioning these names was to criticize them and refute their claims, as shown in examples 55-57.

55.

دوامة منال الشريف التي هي تحاول أن تكون هدى شعراوي جديدة وتتولى كبرها في هذه الحملة المتغابية...

The whirlwind of Manal Alsharif, who is trying to be a new Huda Sharawi, and takes upon herself the greater portion of this foolish campaign...

56.

ثم جاءت حملة (سأقود سيارتي بنفسي) لتنتقل في يوم ١٧ يونيو ٢٠١١م وتقودها منال الشريف في وقت ما يسمى بثورات الربيع العربي في تحذ صارخ للنظام وبتغطية إعلامية أجنبية كما ظهر من مقاطع الفيديو التي ظهرت فيها.

Then, the “I Will Drive My Car Myself” campaign started on June 17, 2011 and was led by Manal Alsharif during the time of the so-called Arab Spring revolutions in a flagrant defiance of the law and covered by foreign media as shown in the video clips where she appeared.

57.

بعض من أطلق علي انفسهن اعلاميات وكثير منهن بالحقيقة مجندات لخدمة الأعداء ومثال ذلك تلك المدعوه بـ لجين هذلول وما قامت به من تحدي واضح للدولة...

some women who called themselves journalists, and most of them in fact, are recruited to serve the enemies such as the so-called Lujain Hathlol who acted in explicit defiance of the country...

In example 55, two women's names appear "*Manal Alsharif*" and "*Huda Sharawi*". The writer tried to create a connection between Manal Alsharif and Huda Sharawi, who decided to stop wearing the veil and led a feminist movement in Egypt in the 20th century. Huda Sharawi is seen as a negative model by conservative Saudi women. So these two names were mentioned for the sake of providing an unfavorable comparison. In a similar way, Manal Alsharif, in example 56, is referred to as someone who incited an unlawful campaign that was covered by foreign media, which also emphasized the negative connotations associated with her name. In example 57, another Saudi women activist, Lujain Hathlol, is mentioned and associated with two negative connotations: the term "so-called" preceding her proper name, which implies creating a distance between the writer and the reported name and being described as someone whose acts resisted the country's law.

In sum, the analysis showed that the names of individual women who support the driving campaign appear fairly frequently in the data written by women who oppose the driving campaign. However, these names tend to appear in a context associated with negative connotations. These negative connotations emphasize the notion of "othering" shown in Chapter 4, in which the ingroup vs. outgroup categorization was emphasized. In this chapter women who support the driving campaign became the "outgroup;" therefore, their names and characteristics are associated with negative attributes. In contrast, names of women who oppose driving have never been referred to in the data. This can indicate that one main goal of their writings is to refute the opposition's claims.

Referring to the Driving Campaign Supporters. The analysis done for this chapter also examined terms and lexical choices used to refer to the supporters of the driving campaign. Examining these terms was important because choosing a referring term can assign negative or positive attributes to social actors (i.e., driving campaign supporters). In addition, analyzing these terms indicates what type of relationships between the writer and other social actors can be identified through choices of naming and referring terms. The analysis showed that naming and referring terms assigned to supporters of the driving campaign can be divided into two groups: (a) female supporters and (b) supporters in general.

In the first group—female supporters of the driving campaign—the analysis showed a significant use of negative terms to refer to women activists who support the right to drive. These negative terms included accusations of national betrayal and recruitment by enemies, as shown in examples 58-60.

58.

فكيف لنا أن نتجاهل وقوف البعض الخائنات علي منصة أوسلو؟ واستعانتهن بالغرب للضغط علي وطنهن

How can we ignore some (female) traitors standing on the Oslo Stage? And their attempts to ask for help from the West to intimidate their country...

59.

بعض الخائنات اللاتي لم يخجلن في طلب يد المعونة من هيلاري كلينتون... بالضغط علي وطنهن واستدرار عطفها بوسم المظاهرة بتاريخ ميلادها.... وهذا إن دل فيدل على الإنهزامية للناعقات والمؤيدات...

Some (female) traitors, who didn't feel ashamed of asking for help from Hillary Clinton...to press their country and to have her sympathy by starting the protest on her birthday... this indicates the defeatism of those crowing females and female supporters...

60.

ليس لكن مطالب الا مطالب سبقتكن اليها بعض من أطلق علي انفسهن اعلاميات وكثير منهن بالحقيقة مجنادات لخدمة الأعداء

...some women who called themselves journalists, and most of them in fact, are recruited to serve the enemies...

In example 58, an accusation of national betrayal is expressed by describing some Saudi women, who performed at the Oslo Freedom Forum, which took place in May 2012, as national traitors. However, Manal Alsharif was the only Saudi woman who delivered a speech on the status of women in Saudi Arabia at the Oslo Freedom Forum. Using “some” and omitting Manal’s name can be seen as a strategy to emphasize the action rather than the name. In other words, the focus here was on their negative actions (standing on the Oslo stage and seeking help from the West), which were seen by the writer as a type of betrayal of their country. A similar accusation appears in example 59, where those women who asked for help from Hillary Clinton were also described as

national traitors who suffer from defeatism. In example 60, another accusation of being recruited to serve the enemies of their country was attributed to some female journalists.

In sum, the analysis showed that negative naming and referential terms were used to refer to female supporters of the driving campaign. Strategies of emphasizing negative attributes, such as being traitors, being recruited by enemies, having a defeatist attitude, and seeking help from the West, were highlighted in the previous examples. On the other hand, strategies of de-emphasizing the positive attributes, such as being real journalists, and being honest citizens were also used in the examples.

Moving to the second group, the analysis showed a significant use of negative terms, such as “*malicious teenagers*,” “*people of lust and desires*,” and “*traitors*” to refer to driving campaign supporters in general, regardless of gender. In addition, the use of the term “*who call themselves*,” which can imply a negative connotation, appears when referring to driving campaign supporters in general, as shown in examples 61-64.

61.

وما يحصل بالساحة الإعلامية خلاف يهدف لإيقاظ فتنة وذلك بنشر مقالات اشبه مايقال عنها انها كتابات مراهقين
حاقدين ارادوا الشهرة مطبقين حكمة (خالف تعرف) وتصريحات غير مسؤوله ممن اطلقوا على انفسهم حقوقيين
وناشطين

And what is happening in the media arena is a dispute that aims to awaken sedition through publishing articles that look like malicious teenagers' writings, who are seeking fame through following the Arabic proverb “dissent and you will be known”... and irresponsible remarks from those who call themselves human rights advocators and activists...

62.

طالب بعض مؤيدي القيادة من التنويريين كما يسمون أنفسهم وضع ضوابط أولية للمرأة حتى تقود

Some of the women-driving supporters, who call themselves enlighteners, ask for conducting primary regulations for women to drive...

63.

وغالب أهل الشهوات والأهواء يتحايلون على الشرع للاستدلال على باطلهم، ومن ذلك استدلالهم بجواز قيادة المرأة
السيارة

Most of the people of lust and desires circumvent the Islamic law to infer their falsehood, such as inferring that women's driving is permissible (in Islam).

64.

المطالبة بالقيادة وتحديدًا ٢٦ أكتوبر لم يكن وليد الصدفة بل هناك أيدي خارجية... تريد العبث بأمن البلاد عن طريق
بعض الخونة الذين يضعون أيديهم بأيدي الأعداء

Demand for driving specifically on 26 October is not a coincidence, but there are foreign hands... want to disturb the homeland security through some traitors who put their hands in the hands of the enemies...

In example 61, the supporters who write for the driving campaign are referred to as "*malicious teenagers*," which emphasizes negative attributes. In addition, the phrase "*who call themselves*," which appears in examples 61 and 62, may be employed in this context to create some doubt about their eligibility to be called by these positive terms (human rights advocates, activists, and enlighteners) as well as creating a distance between the writer and the reported names and content. Moving to examples 63 and 64,

other negative terms can be identified such as “*people of lust and desires*” and “*traitors*.” This continued use of these negative referential terms is an indicator of the general negative perception of those social actors (the supporters) as people with negative qualities (outgroup) who attempt to disturb the security of our country and destroy the social values of our society (ingroup).

Referring to the Driving Campaign. In Chapter 4, the analysis showed that women who support the driving campaign refer to it as a civil movement for rights and deny any hidden agenda associated with this movement. In contrast, in the present data set, the analysis showed that women who argue against the right to drive perceive this campaign as a suspicious campaign that aims to fulfill a hidden agenda. In other words, the campaign is seen as “*a foolish campaign*,” as in example 65, and “*a gate for other demands*,” as in example 66. It is also labeled as “*a battle that has no justification at all*,” as in example 67, and “*a satanic pioneer step*,” as in example 68. Moreover, the campaign and its supporters are seen as “*an uprising on the stability of the society*” and “*a rebel on its laws and values*,” as in example 69, and “*a threat to the society*,” as in example 70.

65.

في هذه الحملة المتغابية.

In this foolish campaign

66.

وتعتبر قيادة المرأة للسيارة بوابة المطالبات الأخرى التي تدعو إليها اتفاقية السيداو

and women driving is considered a gate for the other demands that CEDAW calls for...

67.

لنقف أمام قيادة المرأة للسيارة ونقول بصدق هي: معركة لا مبرر لها البتة.

Let's stand in front of women's right to drive and say honestly: it is a battle that has no justification at all.

68.

الخطوة الرائدة شيطانية...

The satanic pioneer step...

69.

بما يُعرَف بحملة ٢٦ أكتوبر ٢٠١٣م لقيادة المرأة للسيارة، فهو (انقلاب) على استقرار المجتمع وأمنه وأمانه بـ (التمرد) على قوانينه وقيمه وعاداته وأعرافه...

What the so-called the campaign of 26 Oct 2013 for women's driving is an uprising on the stability and security of the society through the rebellion on its laws, values and traditions.

70.

إن الأمر يهم المجتمع كله، وليس فئة معينة فقط، وحملة ٢٦ أكتوبر تهديد لهذا المجتمع

This issue concerns the whole society and not just a particular group, and the 26 October campaign is a threat to this society.

In sum, the results of the analysis of the referring terms for the driving campaign concur with the previous results of the referential strategies that emphasize the negative labeling of the social actors, events, and actions that are associated with the women's-right-to-drive campaign. Negative labeling and attributes were identified in the analysis and were used in the present data to refer to individual women activists, female supporters, general supporters, and the driving campaign. Table 5 below provides a summary of additional examples of negative naming and attributes. In the table, it is noticed that negative qualities were also attributed to well-known foreign women who supported the right to drive such as Angela Merkel who was criticized for her visit to a forum organized by the Saudi woman activist Maha Futihi.

Table 5.*Summary of Naming and Referential Examples*

Arabic Phrase	Translation	Attributee
منتداها التغريبي	her westernized forum	Forum of Maha Futihi
فارسات الجياد الخشبية	horsewomen of wooden horses	Aisha Almanea & Hissa Alsheikh
الناعقات باسم الحرية	crowing for freedom	women activists
قدوتهن أنجيلا ميركل	their role model Angela Merkel	women activists
كانت نادلة بمقهى ليلي	was waitress at night club	Angela Merkel
عنصريتها ضد المسلمين	her racism against Muslims	Angela Merkel
ضجة إعلامية مخطط لها	planned media fanfare	driving campaign
رغباتهم الحقيقية في فرض القيم الغربية	their real desires to impose Western values	women activists
لم تستطع المحافظة على أسرته وزوجها	couldn't maintain her family and husband	Hillary Clinton
العملية مدبرة عن طريق رجال معهم امرأة ظهرت تنفذ المطلوب	planned process by men and a woman who follows commands	driving campaign
يعبرن عن مكنونات صدورهن بأفعال فجأة	express their innermost beliefs with immature actions	women activist
واهمة بأنها الشخصية المثقفة	she fancies herself as a cultured person	Maha Futihi

Predicational Strategies

The aim of this section is to answer the research question: what types of predicational strategies can be identified in the con-driving data set? The analysis of the predicational strategies helped to see how Saudi women who are against women's right to drive describe social actors, objects, events, and actions in their online posts in which the issue of Saudi women's right to drive was discussed. It also helped to identify which positive and negative qualities were attributed to social actors who advocate for the right to drive. The analysis of predicational strategies showed that women who support the driving campaign are the main, if not the only, social actors who received negative qualifications in the data. These negative qualifications were used to describe both their characteristics and actions as shown in examples 71-74.

71.

قرأت وقرأ معي الكثير عن منال الشريف وتابعت بعض مقاطع اليوتيوب فوجدتها: امرأة مغرر بها تردد كلاما طلب منها حفظه بعقلية تبدو غير واعية.

I read, as many did, about Manal Asharif, and I watched some YouTube videos. I found her to be a deceived woman who repeats what she was asked to memorize with an unaware mentality.

72.

وقررت وفعلت، ثم استدعت بعدها العقل ليشتر عن طيشها...

...and she decided and did it. Then she recalled her mind to justify her indiscretion.

73.

ومصلحة الوطن الذي لم تكثرث به المتظاهرات، ولا بطروفه الحرجة آنذاك بل تعاملن مع أزمته بانتهازية...

...the interest of the country that the (female) protestors did not care about, and they did not care, either, about the *precarious conditions at that time*...however, they deal with the country's crisis with opportunism...

74.

كل ما يقمن به إملاءات من أجندة غربية تهدف لزعزعة أمن هذا الوطن.

All that they are doing is dictated by the Western agenda that aims to disturb the security of this country.

In example 71, negative qualities are attributed to Manal Alsharif, who is seen as “a deceived woman” who repeats what she is not aware of because of her “unaware mentality”. In example 72, the decision and actions of another Saudi woman activist (Maha Futihi) are described negatively as “indiscretions.” Moving to examples 73 and 74, the negative attributes can be identified by use of the term “*opportunism*” in example 73 to describe the female protestors’ attitudes during the country’s crisis, and this carried a negative connotation. Another negative attribute is used in example 74 to describe their actions as “*dictated by the Western agenda.*”

In sum, it can be noted that using negative attributes to describe the characteristics and actions of women who support the driving campaign are notable in the data. These negative attributes stem from the ideologies and perspectives of the writers and how these ideologies and perspectives lead to the negative evaluation of other social actors (women

supporting the driving campaign). They are also part of a continued categorization process that set boundaries between two different groups: the good group (us) and the bad group (them).

Presuppositions

In this section, presuppositions found in the con-driving data set are examined to see what perspectives can be identified in the texts, either explicitly or implicitly. This helped when determining what types of presuppositions were made by the authors of the posts. The analysis showed that the writers' beliefs and perspectives can be inferred from what they argued and claimed. Similar to what previous analysis tools have indicated, presuppositions are used to emphasize the writers' perspectives on the women driving campaign as a conspiracy aimed at disturbing the nation's security and destroying its social values. The analysis indicated that the use of presuppositions can be divided into two main categories: (a) statements that presuppose the negative side of the driving campaign, and (b) questions that contain existential presuppositions.

In the first category, presuppositions are used to share with the readers the writers' perspectives on women driving. They are also used to share the writers' beliefs that women's driving harms the social values and the stability of the society and country as shown in examples 75-77.

75.

فقيادة المرأة للسيارة سيقود غالبا إلى ضعف الحجاب والسفور والاختلاط والتحرش.

Women driving will often lead to the unveiling, adornments, gender mixing, and harassment.

76.

وبذلك يستمر مسلسل الخيانة الوطنية تحت ذريعة (حقوقنا).

Thus, the series of the national betrayal continues under the pretext of “our rights.”

77.

وما زال الوطن يعانى منذ زمن - ولا سيما في الفترة الأخيرة - من هجمات شرسة تستهدف الشريعة الإسلامية، ونمط الحياة الاجتماعية المحافظ

Our country has been suffering for a long time—especially in the recent period—from fierce attacks that target its Islamic law, and its conservative social lifestyle.

In examples 75, 76, and 77, presupposition statements are used to make the writers’ beliefs on women driving taken for granted. In example 75, the writer presupposes that the eventuality of “*unveiling, adornments, gender mixing, and harassment*” will happen if women allowed to drive. In example 76, using the verb “*continue*” indicates that “*the national betrayal*” does exist and will continue to exist. Finally, in example 77, the adverbial phrases “*for a long time,*” “*in the recent period,*”

and the adverb “*still*” are used to form the presupposition that “*our country*” has suffered (in the past), and is still suffering (even now) from “*fierce attacks that target its Islamic law, and its conservative social lifestyle.*”

Turning to the second category, questions containing existential presuppositions are used by the writers to present what they thought to be taken-for-granted beliefs. For example, in example 78, the presupposition can be identified through the use of the wh-question, “Who *made you dare to...*,” which implies that the action of “*overcoming the country’s law...*” already exists. It also implies that others/foreign hands are to blame for encouraging these unlawful behaviors.

78.

وهنا فقط نقول لكل مثيري الشعب على هيئة حملات الكترونية أو مظاهرات.... : من جرأكم على تحطي أنظمة الدولة والخروج الصارخ عليها علانية؟

Here we just say to all those who incite disturbance in the form of electronic campaigns or protests... Who made you dare to overcome the country’s laws and to dissent from them publicly?

Another question that implies presupposition can be seen in example 79. Using the wh-question “*why does this issue appear during times of crisis?*” presupposes that “*the issue*” used to appear and exist “*during times of crisis.*”

79.

ولم تظهر هذه القضية على السطح في وقت الأزمات؟

Why does this issue appear on the surface during times of crisis?

In examples 80 and 81, two questions are used to presuppose two statements about the supporters of the women driving campaign. In example 80, using “*why aren't you persuaded...*” presupposes that the supporters are not persuaded by religious clerics who oppose women driving, and the writer asks “Why?” It also implies that religious clerics who support lifting the ban are not acknowledged by this group. Similarly, in example 81, the writer's question about the reasons for excluding the voices of women who oppose driving presupposes that the exclusion of the voices of women who oppose it already exists.

80.

وأني اسأل كل مؤيدي فتح باب الفتن ومنها القيادة: لماذا لم تقتنعوا بعلماء بلادنا؟

I want to ask all proponents of sedition's gate opening, such as women driving:

Why aren't you persuaded by our country's religious clerics?

81.

لماذا غيب صوت النساء الرافض؟

Why are the voices of women who oppose it [women driving] excluded?

In sum, the examples and discussion above have shown that presuppositions are evident in the data. The purpose of analyzing presuppositions is to describe and analyze what the writers believe to be common knowledge– or what they have taken for granted. The writers’ beliefs are conveyed through statements that presuppose the negative side of the driving campaign, and questions that also reference existential presuppositions.

Discursive Practice

Intertextuality

In this section, intertextuality is analyzed to see what types of sources and reports are mentioned/referenced by the women who oppose the driving campaign to support their arguments. Also examined is how these women attach themselves to the ingroup by representing ingroup members as authoritative voices that have positive qualities, and how they distance themselves from the outgroup by criticizing its members and representing them with negative qualities. The reported sources and voices in the data can be divided into four categories: (a) Sources reported as ingroup, (b) Sources reported as outgroup, (c) Sources reported to confirm foreign conspiracy, and (d) Sources reported to confirm that Manal repented. A summary of each category is presented in table and discussed below.

Table 6.*Summary of Sources Reported as Ingroup*

Reported source	Reported Position	Purpose
King of Saudi Arabia	The Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques	Representing his voice as ingroup
Prince Ahmed	Vice Minister of Interior	Representing his voice as ingroup
Dr. Mohammed Alsaedi	Religious cleric (Sheikh)	Representing his voice as ingroup
Dr. Saad Alotaibi	Professor at Higher Institute of Judiciary	Representing his voice as ingroup
Dr. Abdulmohsen Almutairi	Religious cleric (Sheikh) from Kuwait	Representing his voice as ingroup
Dr. Tareq Altawari	Religious cleric (Sheikh) from Kuwait	Representing his voice as ingroup

The first category in Table 6 includes sources and voices that are seen as ingroup by the writers. This category includes texts created by the King, Vice Minister of the Interior, two Saudi religious clerics, and two Kuwaiti religious clerics. The voices of the ingroup are attributed with titles and credentials that denote their authoritative quality. These positive attributes include using the royal title “*the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques*” when reporting the King’s voice, using the official position “*Vice Minister of Interior*” when reporting Prince Ahmed’s voice and “professor at Higher Institute of Judiciary” when reporting on Dr. Saad Alotaibi’s voice, and frequently using the religious title “*sheikh*” along with the doctoral title “*Dr.*” when reporting religious

clerics. These titles and credentials are utilized to emphasize the reliability of what those people say and that their voices are legitimized.

Other expressions are also used to emphasize the ingroup membership. These expressions include: “*God bless him*” after uttering the name of Prince Ahmed, and “*God Save him*” after uttering the names of two religious clerics, “*Dr. Mohammed Alsaedi*, and *Dr. Tareq Altawari*”. Two examples of this category are presented in examples 82 and 83.

82.

وعقب الأمير أحمد نائب وزير الداخلية - وفقه الله - على الأحداث بقوله، إنَّ القرار الذي اتخذته السلطات في المملكة عام ١٩٩١ الخاص بمنع المرأة السعودية من قيادة السيارة لا يزال ساريًا.

Prince Ahmed, the vice Minister of the Interior—God bless him—remarked on the incidents, saying that the decision taken by authorities in 1991 that ban Saudi women from driving care is still in effect.

83.

فرد بأن الأستاذ بالمعهد العالي للقضاء الدكتور سعد مطر العتيبي، أكد أن قيادة المرأة للسيارة من أقدم الممنوعات نظاماً في السعودية...

and we respond that the professor at the High Institute of Judiciary, Dr. Saad Matar Alotaibi, has confirmed that women driving is one of the oldest prohibitions in law in Saudi Arabia...

Table. 7

Summary of Sources Reported as Outgroup

Reported source	Reported Position	Purpose
Dr. Suhailah Zain Alabdeen	Female writer	To criticize her opinion
Aziza Almanea	Female writer	To criticize her opinion
Halah Aldosary	Female writer	To criticize her opinion
Wajiha Alhuwaider	Female writer	To criticize her opinion
Aisha Almanea	Author of <i>The 6th of November</i> (a narrative book on the 1990 women driving protest)	To criticize the book and its content
Hissa Alsheikh	Co-author of <i>The 6th of November</i> (a narrative book on the 1990 women driving protest)	To criticize the book and its content

The second category, in Table 7, includes six Saudi women writers who support the driving campaign. When reporting the names of those writers only the term “*the writer*” is used to introduce them except for “*Dr. Suhailah Zain Alabdeen*” where her doctoral title is mentioned. On the other hand, the doctoral titles of three women writers “*Aziza Almanea, Aisha Almanea, and Hissa Alsheikh*” are neglected and omitted. The aim of reporting those women writers, who represent “the outgroup,” is to criticize their opinion and represent them as unreliable sources through neglecting the titles and

credentials of most of them. Two samples of this category are presented in examples 84-85.

84.

كما ورد في مقال الكاتبة د. سهيلة زين العابدين حماد (حملة سأقود سيارتي بنفسي) بجريدة المدينة....

As reported in an article by the writer, Dr. Suhailah Zainalabdeen Hammad, entitled (I Will Drive My Car Myself Campaign).....

85.

هي الكاتبة عزيزة المانع في عمودها اليومي (أفياء) بجريدة عكاظ....

that was the writer Aziza Almanea in her daily column (Afyaa) in Okaz newspaper...

Table 8.

Sources Reported to Confirm that Manal Repented

Reported source	Reported Position	Purpose
Alwatan	Saudi Newspaper	To report that Manal Alsharif repented

The third category, in Table 8, includes reporting one Saudi newspaper. The aim of reporting this newspaper is to refer to its news report that Manal Alsharif repented and regretted what she has done. This report is cited to emphasize that what Manal (outgroup) had done was wrong (negative attribute) so that she repented (example 86),

even though Manal Alsharif and her supporters argued afterward that this report was totally false.

86.

كما نشرت صحيفة الوطن عنها: منال الشريف تنهار وتطالب أن يتسع التحقيق ليشمل أسماء نسائية أخرى بعضهن يقمن خارج المملكة هن اللاتي حرضنها...

Alwatan newspaper has reported about Manal Alsharif that she had broken down in prison and asks to question other women, some of them who live abroad, who incited her...

Table 9.

Sources Reported to Confirm Foreign Conspiracy

Reported source	Reported Position	Purpose
The Independent	British Newspaper	To emphasize the foreign conspiracy
The New York Times	American newspaper	To emphasize the foreign conspiracy
Bloomberg News	American news agency	To emphasize the foreign conspiracy
Al Alam	Iranian TV channel	To emphasize the foreign conspiracy
Human Rights Watch	UN organization	To emphasize the foreign conspiracy
Amnesty International	Human rights organization	To emphasize the foreign conspiracy

The fourth category, in Table 9, includes a British newspaper, an American newspaper, an American News agency, an Iranian TV channel, Human Rights Watch, and Amnesty International. One common feature of this category is that they are all “foreign” agencies and organizations that comment and report on Saudi women’s right to drive. This common feature is employed by citing these foreign sources to emphasize the existence of the foreign conspiracy that incites and supports the driving campaign. Two samples of this category are presented in examples 87-88.

87.

نشرت شبكة بلومبرغ الأمريكية "نساء يتجرأن على القيادة في تحد للقوانين السعودية."

The American network, Bloomberg, published “Women Dare to Drive, Defying Saudi Ban on Driving”...

88.

وقد نشرت صحيفة الإندبندت خبرا بعنوان: اعتقلت امرأة سعودية بعد تحديها لقانون حظر القيادة،...

The Independent newspaper published a report entitled: Saudi Women Arrested after Defying the Ban on Driving...

In sum, analyzing intertextuality reveals that the theme of “ingroup” and “outgroup” continues to appear in the data. The texts written by ingroup members are represented as reliable sources and their authors are attributed positive qualities, such as titles and credentials. On the other hand, the texts authored by outgroup members are criticized and represented as unreliable sources, and their authors’ titles and credentials

are either neglected or partly mentioned. However, it was noted that the King's voice was reported as ingroup by both sides. His statement that women driving is "a social decision" was reported by both sides, however, the phrase "in accordance with Islamic law" was mentioned and emphasized by women who oppose driving. Finally, foreign sources are also used to emphasize the ingroup's ideology that there is a foreign conspiracy behind the driving campaign which undermines the campaign.

Conclusion

It can be argued that the analysis emphasizes the notion of categorization of social actors into ingroup versus outgroup. The notion of ingroup and outgroup was detected and identified in almost all of the textual analysis processes. The aim of this categorization was to frame a negative image of those who support driving (outgroup) and a positive image of those who oppose women driving (ingroup).

Analysis of the nomination strategies revealed that proper names of women supporting the driving campaign appeared associated with negative connotations in the context. Similarly, negative naming and referential terms were used to refer to the female supporters of the driving campaign, such as referring to them as traitors, recruited by enemies, having a defeatist attitude, and seeking help from the West. Additionally, the analysis of the referring terms to the driving campaign paralleled the previous results of the analysis of the referential strategies, which highlight the negative labeling of the social actors, events, and actions that are associated with the women-to-drive campaign.

Analysis of the predicational strategies showed that negative attributes are used to describe the traits and actions of women who support the driving campaign. These

negative attributes contribute to framing the negative image of women who support the driving campaign (outgroup) by portraying them as duped by foreign hands, as immoral, and as disturbers of the peace of the country.

Analysis of the presuppositions indicated that the writers used arguments and claims to convey their beliefs in the form of presuppositions. Presuppositions were conveyed in the data through both statements that presupposed the negative side of the driving campaign and questions that contained existential presuppositions about its agenda and origin.

Analysis of intertextuality emphasized the existence of the “ingroup” and “outgroup” categorizations. While the texts authored by ingroup members were represented as reliable sources, and the titles and credentials, that were attributed to them, were also positive, the texts by the outgroup members were criticized and represented as unreliable sources, and their titles and credentials were neglected or rarely mentioned.

To conclude, the results of this chapter are in accordance with the previous chapter’s results in underlining the role of ideologies and views in framing positive or negative images of social actors, objects, events, and actions. The positive image tended to be framed when the writer presented a positive evaluation of her relationship with the social actor she referred to as “ingroup.” In contrast, the negative image tended to be framed when the writer presented a negative evaluation of her relationship with the social actor she referred to as “outgroup.” Further interpretations and implications of the findings are presented in the discussion in the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The aim in this study was to examine how the right to drive and the protest against the ban on driving are expressed discursively in the online controversial debate between Saudi women who support this right and those who are against it. A corpus of online texts posted by the two opposing campaigns was analyzed within the framework of critical discourse analysis, to answer specific research questions. The study's research questions were aimed at addressing how the two campaigns discussed and represented Saudi women's right to drive and the protest to lift the ban on women driving. A summary of the findings and interpretations of the analysis is provided in the following section.

Findings and Interpretations

Findings and interpretations of the study are presented under the following four themes that represent the four main research questions that guided the study.

Theme #1: Referential and Nomination Strategies in the Right to Drive Discourse

The results showed that the theme of constructing an ingroup and an outgroup categorization existed throughout the data. In the pro-driving data set, analyzing naming and referring terms showed that:

1. Positive qualities were attributed to Manal Alsharif, whose proper name was overwhelmingly referred to in the data. These positive attributes included portraying her as a role model for modern Saudi women, as a

women's rights activist, as a brave woman, and as an international speaker and a prize winner.

2. The high frequency of the collective social actor "women" in the texts that can be interpreted as an attempt to attract a wider audience to this issue.
3. Extremely low frequency of proper names of other social actors such as:
(a) government authorities, (b) members of the royal family supporting the right to drive, (c) religious clerics who support and those who oppose the right to drive, and (d) names of other men and women who support women driving appeared in the texts.
4. None of the names of women who oppose the right to drive were acknowledged in the texts.
5. Positive qualities were attributed to women supporting the right to drive.
6. The driving campaign was referred to as a civil movement with no hidden agenda which denoted positive attributes.

In contrast, the analysis of the con-driving data set revealed that:

1. Proper names of women supporting the driving campaign appeared with negative connotations, such as associating them with western women and the pioneer of Egyptian women's liberation.
2. Negative naming and referential terms were used to refer to the women supporting the driving campaign, such as duped by foreign hands, traitors, and westernized.
3. Negative labeling was used to refer to the times, events, and actions that

are associated with the women to drive campaign, such as foreign conspiracy, foolish campaign, satanic step, threat, rebellion, and times of crises.

The findings indicated that nomination strategies were used to construct ingroup and outgroup categorization of social actors based on ideological group beliefs (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). Referring to the driving campaign by different names, such as civil movement vs. foreign conspiracy, emphasized the existence of two ideological ways of perceiving it (Clark 1992). Van Dijk's (2006) ideological discourse strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation was also evident in the findings.

Theme #2: Predicational Strategies in the Right to Drive Discourse

The findings showed that predications were used differently by the two groups. In the pro-driving data set, predications were used to serve three main purposes:

1. Adding positive attributes to the ingroup members, such as religious clerics who support the driving campaign, through portraying them as highly respected, very outspoken, and credential obtainers.
2. Adding negative attributes to the outgroup members, such as the religious clerics who oppose women's driving, through describing them as ultra-conservative, and neglecting their credentials.
3. Adding positive attributes to the driving campaign through portraying it as the first real civil movement, and a peaceful civil movement.

Finally, it should be noted that women who oppose the right to drive were not recognized and hence not spoken of negatively in the texts.

On the contrary, in the con-driving data set, predications were used to serve two main purposes:

1. Adding negative attributes to the traits of women who support the driving campaign through portraying them as deceived women recruited by enemies.
2. Adding negative attributes to the actions of women who support the driving campaign, such as having an opportunistic attitudes during the country's crisis, and receiving dictates from the West.

The findings of the predications' analysis showed that ingroup and outgroup polarization continued to be emphasized linguistically by assigning positive qualities to the ingroup and negative qualities to the outgroup (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). These positive and negative attributes were employed discursively to express ideologies in the form of ingroup positive description (such as describing a woman activist as a brave woman if she belongs to us/ingroup) and outgroup negative description (such as describing a woman activist as a traitor if she belongs to others/outgroup) (Van Dijk, 2006). The findings also showed that women supporting driving were recognized and assigned negative attributes in the con-driving data set, while women opposing driving were not recognized and hence not spoken of negatively in the pro-driving data set.

Theme #3: Presuppositions in the Right to Drive Discourse

The findings indicated that presuppositions were used in the pro-driving data set to highlight two facts:

1. The ban is illegal and Islamic law does not object to the right to drive.
2. The status of Saudi women is affected negatively by this illegal ban, and the government is presupposed to do something to lift this ban.

On the other hand, presuppositions were employed in the con-driving data set to serve two purposes:

1. Constructing statements that emphasize the negative side of the driving campaign.
2. Constructing questions that contain existential presuppositions with negative reference to the driving campaign.

The findings showed that presuppositions were used to serve ideological purposes similar to the one discussed in the previous two themes. Presuppositions were also used to convey evaluative assumptions that contribute to ingroup and outgroup polarization.

Theme #4: Intertextuality in the Right to Drive Discourse

In the pro-driving data set, analyzing intertextuality showed that this tool is used to perform three functions:

1. Adding positive qualities to the reported ingroup voices and negative qualities to the reported outgroup voices.

2. Positively framing reports and resources that support the campaign (ingroup).
3. Framing the negative side of some of those who oppose the campaign (outgroup) and neglecting their positive side.

In the con-driving data analysis, the findings emphasize the continuous existence of the ingroup and outgroup categorizations by:

1. Reporting ingroup voices as reliable sources and attributing them to positive qualities such as titles and credentials.
2. Criticizing outgroup voices and representing them as unreliable sources by neglecting their titles and credentials.
3. Reporting foreign sources to create an association between outgroup members and foreign hands and agencies in an attempt to undermine the driving campaign through emphasizing that there is a foreign conspiracy behind it.

The findings of intertextuality analysis appeared in accordance with previous findings in framing the positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. The findings also showed that con-driving writers acknowledged the names of some of the women who support driving and reported their opinions and texts. However, the purpose of recognizing these names was to criticize them and refute their claims. On the other hand, pro-driving writers made no attempt to recognize the names of women who oppose driving or to report their opinions and texts.

The findings also confirmed relatively previous findings by Almahmoud's (2015) study on framing and intertextuality in Twitter posts on Saudi women's right to drive in which intertextuality was found to be used as a main tool to frame and justify positions on women's driving.

In sum, the findings of the analysis on the textual and discursive practice levels showed that the theme of ingroup and outgroup presentation was significant in the data. It also indicated that ideologies were expressed linguistically by means of naming, presuppositions, predication, and intertextuality. However, it should be noted that it is not clear what boundaries or criteria are employed in this ideological categorization of ingroup and outgroup. The general view seems to be that pro-driving members tend to be progressive while con-driving members seem to be conservatives. However, this is not always true. The analysis showed that there are some religious clerics who support lifting the ban. Therefore, the notion of ingroup and outgroup seems to be more complicated and influenced by cultural beliefs and practices.

The following section attempts to present these findings in a broader context by investigating the sociocultural practice that may participate in shaping this type of discourse.

Sociocultural Practice

The textual analysis showed that writers for and against the right to drive both used a variety of strategies and resources to convey their beliefs, support their positions, bolster the veracity of their arguments, and present persuasive logic.

The analysis also indicated that a controversial debate occurred between the two

groups on the right to drive. One group demanded social change and provision of more opportunities for Saudi women, and the other group resisted these changes. In order to understand the reasons for this conflict, it is important to situate the issue in its broader sociocultural practice.

There are major events that have impacted Saudi society over the past generation. Oil discovery and production had transformed Saudi Arabia from a primitive country to one of the wealthiest countries in the world (Clary & Karlin, 2011). Oil production led to rapid changes in people's lives, education, and health care. However, the complexity of the society was enhanced after the Makkah uprising in 1979 when political authorities determined to preserve the country's religious and social traditions (Huyette, 1985). In 1990, the country participated economically and militarily in the Gulf War in response to the Iraq invasion of Kuwait. During the Gulf War, Saudi society went through some economic and social challenges. American women were seen in some cities driving military vehicles. Correspondingly, a number of Saudi women led the first protest to lift the ban on driving (Alsharif 2012; Hamdan, 2005). These events affected the Saudi society somehow, socially and culturally.

Since 2005, the government has attempted to promote gradual reforms; however, some of these steps, such as expanding job opportunities for women, were opposed by some social forces. It has been noted that most attempts to change used to be opposed by some religion, tradition, or tribalism forces that resisted change in Saudi Arabia (Bryant, 2012). As presented in Chapter 1, a typical example of this resistance was the protests against girls' public education in the 1960s. In addition, a similar resistance attitude was

noticed when new innovations, such the telegram, radio, television, and the Internet started to appear in the society.

In conclusion, the controversial struggle about the right to drive can be seen as located in and influenced by this broader context. It reveals the complexity of the sociocultural practice of the Saudi society. It is also part of a conflict that appeared between a progressive perspective, which demands progress and modernization, and a conservative perspective, which tends to resist progressive changes (Hamdan, 2005). As a result, resistance to this right may continue until the society becomes more flexible to change. However, future governmental reform plans should consider addressing this issue within its sociocultural context.

Study Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research

The aim of the present study was to examine, through the lens of critical discourse analysis, women's online posts about the right to drive. A contrastive critical analysis was conducted to examine and contrast the online debate between the two opposing campaigns on Saudi women's right to drive. The findings of the study were restricted by the following constraints:

1. **Search period.** The data were collected during a specified search period (2011-2015) that contained pivotal events relevant to the topic of the right to drive.
2. **Sample size.** The data were restricted to online posts written by Saudi women about the right to drive. This restriction affected the size of the corpus.

However, the purpose of the study was in-depth qualitative analysis rather than quantitative analysis. As Fairclough (2003) emphasized, qualitative analysis is

“labor-intensive” and can be fruitful when applied to samples of research texts rather than large texts (p. 6).

As indicated in the literature, most controversial social issues in Saudi Arabia still have not been covered by critical research studies. One aim of the present study was to fill the knowledge gap in this area. While the present study was limited by the previous constraints, future studies are encouraged to include both different discourse types, such as analyzing newspapers, TV shows, and interviews, and different methodologies, such as employing the quantitative method to analyze large bodies of texts, which would promote the generalizability of the findings.

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APPENDIX A

BIOSKETCH ABOUT THE PRO-DRIVING WRITERS

Name	Biographical Information
Eman Alnafjan	Freelance writer, blogger, linguist and teacher.
Manal Alsharif	An information technology consultant, a women's rights activist, and organizer of the driving campaign.
Sabria Jawhar	Saudi journalist and columnist for the Jeddah-based Arab News. She has an expertise in Arabic/English linguistics.
Samar Almogren	Saudi journalist and novelist.

APPENDIX B

BIOSKETCH ABOUT THE CON-DRIVING WRITERS

Name	Biographical Information
Qamra Alsubaie	Saudi Academic and writer, interested in women's issue and media, pursuing her PhD in curriculum and teaching methods.
Malak Aljuhani	Saudi Academic and writer, interested in women's studies, MA in Islamic culture.
Nawal Aleid	Professor of Sunnah sciences at Princess Norah University.
Ameerah Alsaedi	Associate professor in Quran and Sunnah at Um Alqura University, interested in women's issues.
Hayat Ba Akhdar	Academic at Um Alqura University, PhD in Islamic Doctrine.
Ameera Alahmed	She has research interests in social issues and new media research.
Hind Alqahtani	Academic faculty at Dammam University
Mariam Alharbi	Saudi Writer
Huwaida Alfayez	Saudi Writer
Samar Amin	Saudi Writer