

A Comparative Critical Discourse Analysis of Twitter Posts of the Saudi Royal Decree of
Women Driving: A Corpus-Assisted Discourse Analysis

by

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A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Approved April 2021 by the
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ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

May 2021

ABSTRACT

The dynamic and rich expressions in social media such as Twitter are regarded as instigators of social change. The tweets from the debates on the Saudi royal decree granting women the right to drive in Saudi Arabia provide a platform for examining the public's role in shaping national ideologies and societal changes. These tweets are subjected to Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies, guided by the theories of Critical Discourse Analysis. Twitter's Application Programming Interface, Hashtag selection, and Sketch Engine, is utilized to analyze a corpus comprising of 6,000 tweets from the supporters and opponents of the royal decree on women driving. The corpus includes tweets posted when the ban lifted in September 2017 and when licenses were issued in June 2018. The researcher further supplemented the computer processing of text with manual examination. The outcomes revealed discursive strategies and themes of opponents and supporters discourse. The Findings show that the anticipated negative and positive outcomes from the decree are used to justify the tweeters positions. Furthermore, the analysis shows that while the conservative oppositions' pleas are from a protectionist stance, the supporters' excitement are from the initiation of societal change that will advance the welfare of women. The major two themes of the anti-decree tweeters are (a) disappointment of the decree through supplication and (b) negation of visible presence of woman drivers. On the other hand, the major two themes of the pro-decree tweeters are a) analogy comparisons and b) celebrations. The findings further indicate the classification of tweeters to an in-group and out-group membership which justifies the referential and predicational strategies used by tweeters.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I express my gratitude to my chair Karen Adams whose instruction, support, supervisory style complimented my needs and helped me push past the obstacles and accomplish what seemed at times to be impossible. Her teaching style and care for her students showed me how to truly be an impactful mentor in the future to my students. I also thank my committee members Elly van Gelderen and Aya Matsuda, both for my in-class experiences and for all the invaluable insights and feedback during my journey in the Ph.D. program.

A special thanks goes to my father and mother for their unconditional love and support, and to my siblings and family in law for their unwavering support through the ups and downs of this journey.

Finally, I'm deeply grateful to my husband for his tremendous support and encouragement, without his help this dissertation would not have come to fruition, and to my daughters Maysan and Sarah, who were my partners during this arduous process.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The royal decree allowing women to drive in Saudi Arabia is one of the historical milestones in Saudi Arabian society's recent social sphere. For so long, since 1990, women have awaited to receive the specific privilege of driving, which many anticipate leading to the social transformation of Saudi society. King Salman recognized the negative consequences of prohibiting women from driving vehicles and the positive effects of providing this liberty. Although many senior religious scholars supported the decree, the public expressed divided views on the debate, which had been ongoing since women's rights activists took to the streets to pursue the right to drive. Social media has been a significant outlet for people to express views on women driving in Saudi Arabia. With the proliferation of technology and the popularity of social media platforms, which organically solicit reactions from the public, they have the means to present their views. The dynamic and rich corpus of expressions in Twitter have been an interesting focus of sociological and behavioral science studies and language research. A corpus of Saudi tweets containing debates on the matter after the royal decree was released to examine the discourses surrounding lifting the ban on women's driving. These tweets were from the period beginning September 26, 2017, the day the royal decree was announced and June 24, 2018, the day the royal decree took effect. By employing research methods from corpus linguistics (CL) and critical discourse analysis (CDA), the researcher aims to identify some of the strategies frequently employed by Saudi Tweeters from people of both genders when discussing the royal decree in ways that reflect their attitudes and ideologies.

Social media has played a critical role in the public sphere as it has provided a platform for discussion of sensitive issues and forums for criticism. The accessibility of social media has provided the public a convenient means for expressing ideas, such as political views, which may otherwise keep the individual unsafe from administrative regulation. The anonymity provided through social media has spurred the volume and intensity of engagement, particularly on Twitter. Social media has supported political movements and helped construct public discourse on these issues. Social media's interactive aspects allowed the portrayal of dichotomous views on Saudi women driving. Activists have regarded social media to initiate change because it engenders widespread awareness and support. Twitter has stimulated the discourse on women's driving, and has been instrumental in initiating social change in Saudi Arabia. Through this medium, social change discourse has continued concerning perceptions of Saudi women's cultural, historical, and social milieu.

CDA concerns the relationship between language and society. The method is used to evaluate social media interactions, which contain rationales such as backing or opposing women's right to drive. This study is guided by a corpus-assisted discourse studies approach, which combines the discourse-historical approach (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001) and corpus linguistics (Baker, 2006; 2010). The use of discourse strategies, specifically nomination and predication strategies, guided the approach to questioning arguments or prevailing ideas to expose powers and unrecognized beliefs. This type of analysis uses a micro-level of social interaction and focuses on linguistic strategies. On a macro-level social structure, the study draws on the socio-political and cultural context to link discourse to society and text to context. Using CDA for the current study, social

issues, and society's stances on women's driving are revealed. The researcher also used CL to discovering language patterns from the large volume of texts.

Road Map of This Dissertation

Following this introductory chapter, chapter two contains a review of existing literature and relevant concepts, which serve as background for the issues presented in the texts and the basis of linguistic interpretations. The review includes a description of the Saudi Arabian political system and culture and details about the Saudi women's driving campaigns. The timeline of events concerning women's driving campaigns, the movement's development through social media, and attempts to resist the ban are utilized to reflect the cultural change and society's involvement in the change. Moreover, this section of the review describes Twitter as a platform to engage the public in discussions of social, cultural, and political views. The chapter includes social change, the historical resistance to social change, and finally, the main events that affected women's positions in the country. At the end of this chapter, the research questions are presented, which are aimed to investigate the linguistic features that help to construct an image of the royal decree and society's views.

Chapter three contains an exploration of the theoretical and methodological literature, including concepts of Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics, and the incorporation of both to detect ideological stances. The chapter begins by introducing CDA and the three main approaches that guide this study. The topics include CL, how the combination of CDA and CL has enabled researchers to investigate discourses and ideologies, and the essential concepts within CL like keywords, collocations, and

concordances. These analysis techniques facilitated investigating of the salient linguistic representation of the royal decree allowing women to drive.

Chapter four explores the hashtags investigated, justifications for their selection, the analytical software used in analyzing the corpora, and the sample size of the data of each group. Also, the percentages of males and females supporting and arguing against the royal decree in each of the hashtags will be presented. Chapter five presents the analysis of the anti-decree corpus followed by the pro-decree corpus. It presents two levels of analysis, the textual analysis of the ideological search term *decree*, and the main frequent themes uncovered from the keyword analysis.

Chapter six concludes the study and summarizes the major research findings in chapter five. In addition, it identifies its limitations, and makes recommendations for further studies.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This section contains an analysis of the literature concerning women's driving campaigns and the development of this movement through social media and Twitter as instruments to initiate social change. I also address social change in Saudi Arabia and the main historical events affecting women's positions in the country so that the religious, social, and political context in which the ban arose can be fully understood. To further understand how the ban was initiated and lifted, I begin by providing a background of the political system and cultural aspects of Saudi Arabia.

Political System in Saudi Arabia

An overview of the political system is needed to understand the ban on women's driving inside Saudi Arabia and the many failed attempts to lift it before 2017. To further understand the political system, a brief history of the circumstances surrounding the kingdom's establishment is essential.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is ruled as suggested by its name, by a King. The government is a monarchy that follows Sharia, i.e., Islamic law, based on the Quran and the Sunnah. Saudi Arabia was the birthplace of Islam and is the custodian of the two holy cities Makkah and Madinah. As Bowen described, "One of the most important reasons that the government is legitimized is its willingness to enforce Sharia in the land that gave birth to Islam" (p. 13). Al-kandari and Dashti (2014) explained the legal sources of Islamic law, which I provide here to give a full understanding of how, in the context of this study, fatwas related to women's driving were released:

Islamic laws stem from the Koran, Sunnah, and Ijtehad. The Koran is the word of Allah to the Prophet Muhammad and consists of instructions about rules for society, the economy, war, politics, and so on. The Sunnah contains the deeds of the Prophet and sayings to his companions who asked him for further clarification on various issues that the Koran did not elucidate. The Ijtehad consists of the fatwa or opinions of Muslim clerics about new occurrences. These opinions are based on their understanding of the Koran and Sunnah. (p. 129)

In 1744 Mohammad Ibn Saud, the founder of the Saudi nation, and Mohammed Ibn Abdual Wahhab, the founder of the Whabbi reformist or Salafi movement, made a pact to work together “to establish a state ruled according to Islamic principles” (Metz, 1992, p. 15). Abdual Wahab’s main message was to cleanse Islam from any form of innovation (bid’ah) and return Islam to its purest form as during the era of the Prophet and his companions or salafi. He emphasized, “the unity of God (tawhid), not just in the sense of believing in one God but also that he alone should be the focus of worship and rituals and is totally unique in every way” (Aarts & Meijer, 2012, p. 4). The followers of this school of thought are called Unitarians or Salafis, which is a word derived from al salaf al salah or pious ancestors; outsiders refer to them as Wahhabis (Curtis, 2010; Wagemakers, 2012). This state collapsed in 1818; however, the oath and alliance between the religious and political elements remained strong during the second Saudi state and the current third Saudi state established in 1932 (Metz, 1992; Wagemakers, 2012). The ideological legacy of the first Saudi state influenced Islam's practice in Saudi Arabia, in the sense that the Saudi state is perceived to be the political expression of the Wahhabi school of thought. However, the third Saudi State was differentiated from the first two by the discovery of oil in 1938. The discovery brought Saudi Arabia instant wealth and transformed it from one of the world's poorest countries to one of the richest in a short time (Nydell, 2006).

The most important power-holders in the political landscape are the elites, the Saudi rulers, and the religious scholars or Ulama*. Religious scholars in Saudi Arabia are influential in the Kingdom (Bowen, 2008) and are revered and respected by many Muslims (Al-Kandari & Dashti, 2015), who seek their guidance. Thus, the Ulama are under public pressure (Alamri, 2018). Metz (1992) explained the nature of the alliance between the Al Saud ruling family and the Ulama within the Wahhabi establishment:

Islam was a pervasive social and political force in Saudi Arabia. Because there was no separation of Religion and State, the political role of the religious scholar, Ulama, was second in importance to that of the ruling Al Saud family. The close association between the Ulama, advocating the strict Islamic Interpretations of Mohammad Ibn Abdulwahhab and the Al Saud, originated in the eighteenth century and provided the dynasty with its primary source of legitimacy. The Ulama acted as conservative voice in maintaining the traditional social and political values that characterized Saudi Arabia in the early 1990s. (p. 191)

The main religious establishment, the Board of Senior Ulama (BSU), was created in 1971. The board is “an advisory body to the government as well as the citizens” (Alhargan, 2012, p. 127). Alsweel (1993) described the BSU as essential in giving legitimacy to the governments’ handlings of controversial policies. For example, in 1979, when dissidents were driven from the Grand Mosque, and in 1990, after the BSU gave their approval for foreign non-Muslim United States troops to enter Saudi Arabia during the Salafis’ opposition (Alsweel, 1993). Alhargan (2012) stated that the Grand Mufti issued a fatwa and the head of BSU at the time, Sheikh Ibn Baz, approving the coalition forces to enter and condemn the anger and uproar expressed by the Salafis.

* Ulama: Religious scholars

Saudi Cultural Aspects

There are a few features that distinguish Saudi culture. First is the religious-based nature of Saudi society. Saudi Arabia is considered one of the most traditional Muslim countries because the social, political, legal systems are founded on Islamic instruction (Esmaeili, 2009). The influence of religion and cultural traditions on social and governmental activities is one of the dominant factors shaping Saudi identity. Islam is essential to Saudi social traditions and values.

Second, Saudi society is segregated by gender in public venues (Geel, 2016; Le Renard, 2008). As a result, women-only spaces existed across the country, marginalizing and restricting their participation in the public domains (Al-Rasheed, 2013; Geel, 2016; Le Renard, 2008; Le Renard, 2014). The deeply embedded nature of gender segregation in society should be considered when investigating women's issues, and for this study, the prolonged driving ban imposed on women. Metz (1992) explained that the threat of women interacting with unrelated men and consequently corrupting the community's ethics and morals is the reasoning underlying the ban on women driving cars and other restrictions related to their movements. Metz described,

If, in fact, society held as a basic moral premise that a woman should not be seen by any man outside her own family, how could the same society allow her to drive a car, when anyone passing by could see her face? (p. 109)

Third, Saudi Arabia consists mostly of tribal families. Thus, some of the public laws are shaped and influenced by tribal laws (Esmaeili, 2009). Because the legal system implemented in Saudi Arabia is the Islamic law in all areas of the country, the institutionalized discrimination against women is often mistakenly attributed to Islam,

when restrictions on women are due to adherence to tribal traditions and customs.

Esmaeili (2009) defines tribal customs as

a set of practical rules observed by the people and, in many cases, sanctioned by unofficial forces, including tribal *Sheikhs* and members of their extended family. These customary practices have been rooted in the Bedouin culture of Arab tribes since, and even before, the advent of Islam. (p. 20)

Esmaeili (2009) stated that some of these customs might contradict Islamic law or be inconsistent with the laws of the country. Yamani (2000) pointed out that “although interpretations of ‘correct’ Islamic behavior influence all sections of society, local customs, norms, and tribal traditions dictate women’s roles and are enforced through familial structure” (p. 96). For example, although the traffic laws in Saudi Arabia are gender-agnostic and the content does not exclude women; nonetheless, women have been prohibited from driving by traditional customs that define driving as a masculine act that jeopardizes women’s modesty.

Women’s Driving Campaigns and Social Media

This section provides a summary of the main driving campaigns and events that occurred before the ban lift. Many of these campaigns sparked controversial debates between the opponents and the supporters of women driving in social media sites. Previous studies analyzed the strategies of legitimization and self, and other representations, that were used by both supporters and opponents during the campaigning times. The common perceptions between the supporters and the opposers in these studies are discussed.

The Timeline of Women's Driving Campaigns and Events

Saudi women challenged the driving ban a few times throughout the years. The movement's history can be summarized in a timeline of the major pro-driving campaigns and events to support resisting the ban (Table 1).

Table 1
Timeline of the Main Driving Campaigns and Events

Year	Participants and events
Nov 6, 1990	47 women drove their cars in Riyadh to resist the ban. Academics, teachers, businesswomen and university students gathered and drove their own cars in Riyadh streets.
Sept 2007	Wajeha Alhuwaider and a group of women submitted a petition with 1,000 signatures to King Abdullah asking for women to drive.
March 2008	Wajeha Alhuwaider posted a video of herself driving on YouTube (Colesman, 2013)
June 17, 2011	During the Arab Spring and revolutions occurring in neighboring countries, Manal Alshareef starts a Facebook campaign called #Women2drive, which she later takes to twitter to take advantage of twitters' popularity in Saudi Arabia in spreading her message (Alshareef, 2017). Her message was encouraging women to drive on June 17.
Oct 26, 2013	A message spread on Twitter encouraging women to take the wheel on this day and share their videos online. However, the interior ministry spokesman warned women not to join and violate the law. The debate continued in hashtags like #Driving_26October #Saudiwomendriving (Almahmoud, 2014)
Dec 2014	Lujain Alhathloul drove her car from UAE into Saudi Arabia
June 15, 2016	After the release of the vision statement of 2030, pro driving supporters disappointed of the absence of any mention of women driving, created the hashtag #I_will_drive_my_car_June 15 (Aljarallah, 2017).
Sep 26, 2017	The ban on women's driving has been lifted

The two-decade gap shown above between the first and second campaign represents the evidence of the importance of social media emergence and the power of online campaigning. Social media has become a powerful tool for spreading information and a key platform for sharing and persuading people of specific ideas and beliefs. People turn to social media to learn topical information and updates on current events and issues. The idea of women driving in Saudi Arabia is an issue that was consistently raised on social media, and diverse beliefs and ideas emerged as people use social media to voice

their opinions. The timeline of events shows that social media was not only a means of transmitting information but was instrumental in creating new realities of culture (Table 1).

Common Perceptions Found in Pro and Against Discourse on Saudi Women's Driving in Social Media Studies

Social media has become an interesting topic and study site for linguistics research as the platform has provided a venue for participating in public discussions about sensitive issues. Due to social media's interactive nature, language in social media has played a significant role in portraying dichotomous views on Saudi women's driving. As social media allows anonymity, Saudi Arabians principally used Twitter (Aljarallah, 2017; Almahmoud, 2015; Altoaimy, 2017; Alotaibi, 2017; Yuce et al., 2014; Zamakshari, 2018), YouTube (Alamri, 2017), and blogs (Alharbi, 2016; Al Maghlouth, 2017) to express sentiments on this socio-cultural dispute. The tweets, blogs, commentaries, and replies to these posts reflected charged viewpoints or stands for and against women driving in Saudi Arabia.

Proponents of change in women's status in Saudi Arabia have discovered social media as an effective means to initiate such change. The anonymity feature of social media fuels many to express fractious opinions (Almari, 2017). Female activists took advantage of the anonymity to draw worldwide awareness of the movement to permit Saudi women to drive (Aljarallah, 2017; Altoaimy, 2018). In these activist efforts, tweets, blogs, and commentaries are written in Arabic and English to increase public engagement. Although the mother tongue is a prominent mode of engaging in social media for Saudi Arabians, writing in English created an intended impact on larger global

audiences that appears to inflame the issue. As Al Maghlouth (2017) described, the use of English by Saudi Arabians is rationalized as bilingual creativity to stimulate a social change. The social media posts became stepping stones for a pro-driving campaign for women (Alharbi, 2016; Almahmoud, 2015). Yuce et al. (2014) demonstrated how English hashtags were used to advance the campaign internationally while Arabic hashtags were used to attract local support. Almahmoud (2015) also noted that activists used English versus Arabic as a tool to involve the outside world and attract a wider audience with their tweets.

Some researchers have used CDA to analyze social media interactions and the rationales for and against Saudi women's driving. Supporters of women's driving expressed the goal of liberating women from personal and economic struggle (Alamri, 2017; Aljarallah, 2017; Altoaimy, 2018). Women driving is suggested as a practical solution for such struggles, perhaps on a less profound level. This practical desire, however, seems to allude to disputing strappingly ingrained socio-cultural structures involving women in the Saudi Arabia. Women's plight in this society is illustrated in the tweets describing victimization, disenfranchisement (Altoaimy, 2017), the lack of agency and power (Al Maghlouth, 2017), struggling to gain fundamental rights (Altoaimy, 2018), and perceptions of male and female inequality and power struggles (Zamakshari, 2018). The pro-driving position for women is characterized in posts as progress from women's traditional Saudi society roles (Aljarallah, 2017).

To explore the legitimizing of driving, Alamri (2017) investigated the social media arguments suggesting women's driving as enlightenment, authorized under religious and state laws, morally adherent, and rational. Moreover, women proponents are

viewed as dynamic social actors who exhibited commendable defiance to unjust rules. In contrast, researchers portrayed opponents' views of the campaign by classifying or interpreting them in three ways. The opinions defile religious principles as these are impolite (Zamakshari, 2018) and blatantly sacrilegious (Aljarallah, 2017; Al Maglouth, 2017). The sentiments violate the law as these are inciting disorder, violating the law, and reflect rebelliousness (Alamri, 2017; Alotabi, 2017; Al Maglouth, 2017), and indicate a conspiracy by westerners attempting to target a conservative society through liberalizing their women (Alamri, 2017; Alharbi, 2016; Aljarallah, 2017; Alotaibi, 2017). A third interpretation of the opponents' perspectives is that allowing women to drive could obliterate well-defined gender roles in Saudi Arabian society (Aljarallah, 2017; Alotaibi, 2017).

When viewing the opposition from these different angles, the resulting perspective from those against women's driving is that the online discussions are divisive because an Us versus Them mentality has grown from the interactions. The contrasting ideologies imply positive self-representation and negative other representation. Referential terms for supporters of women's driving include liberals (Alamri, 2017; Aljarallah, 2017), atheists, advocates of viciousness and vice (Aljarallah, 2017), and people of lust and desires (Alharbi, 2017); while opponents are referred to as religion guardians, slaves, backward, ignorant, disabled, puppets of the masculine society, and stupid (Aljarallah, 2017).

The continuing focus of studies in social media use in Saudi Arabia proves only the impact of social media in encouraging people to participate and to express sides in the public sphere. The primary observation in the literature is the evident use of Twitter as a

critical platform for voicing opinions and ideas on Saudi women's right to drive. This study contributes to how social media depicts ideologies and power struggles that describe societal structures.

Twitter as a Microblogging Platform

Recently, considerable research has developed concerning the theme of social media and its active role in communication. With the rise of technological devices such as smartphones and tablets, communication across technology is made easier. Using these devices, information and ideas are quickly sent across and through various audiences without the barrier of distance. Computer-mediated communication (CMC) has changed the essential definitions of interaction, information, and opinion-sharing. CMC includes "e-mail, instant-messaging/chat, social media, and blogs, all of which have become an increasingly prevalent" (Ho et al., 2016, p. 394). Notably, the idea of CMC is distinctly different from the traditional forms of communication. Remote communication suggests that "the influence of physical cues are reduced when compared with face-to-face (F2F) communication" (Ho et al., 2016, p. 395). Some aspects of social media might compensate for what cannot be appreciated from a distance or CMC. Emoticons, photos, memes, and videos all attempt to send messages that align with face-to-face communication. Whether CMC can replace in-person communication remains an ongoing discussion. Nonetheless, social media creates many possibilities for people from various locations to connect, communicate, and interact online.

One of the most popular social media and relevant social media platforms is Twitter, a microblogging site that limits messages to 280 characters. Twitter's popularity is second to Facebook. Twitter's distinction from other social media forms is that it

“allows users to exchange small elements of content such as short sentences, individual pages, or video links” (Mukherjee & Bhattacharyya, 2012, p. 1850). Additionally, the platform features searchable text functions using hashtags to find specific content posted online. The innovation of hashtags is that their use commands a topic’s popularity and reflects current issues for users with common interests. A hashtag starts trending if the issue captures the interest of other users. Interested parties respond to the trending topic and tag the hashtag, becoming part of social intercourse and context, and on some level, displaying their social competence. Their social competence dictates the content of the tweet. As a post is discussed or shared through hashtags, more and more users become part of that social context, and ideas are passed on or shared within the social community. Twitter connects global users worldwide through hashtags and ease of access to these common interests, which has made the platform surpass all other social media outlets in Saudi Arabia and elsewhere.

Saudi women utilized the hashtag function to expose their struggles and draw attention to their causes. The two most noteworthy women’s rights campaigns in Saudi Arabia, the #Endmaleguardianship call and the #Women2drive campaign, developed from using hashtags (Thorsen & Sreedharan, 2019). These two hashtags fall under what Konnelly (2015) has described as cause hashtags: “The Cause Hashtag is used or created with a specific goal in mind—to advance a cause, raise awareness, or rally support for a particular social issue” (p. 2). By its nature, Twitter connects global users quickly and cause hashtags from around the world can bring national and international attention to local social campaigns. These international campaigns for Saudi women came to fruition

when a royal decree gave them the right to drive in 2017, and again in 2019 when they could conduct their matters without a guardian.

Reflectively, this makes Twitter a medium for evidence to analyze textual discourse that interestingly contradicts the traditional natural language processing to create and establish coherent texts. More importantly and observably, Twitter has become the venue for posts relating to social and power struggles through language. This has been the premise of social networking sites. Issues relating to political or social events are commonly spread through many social networking sites, including Twitter. Because Twitter's format is short and straightforward, disseminating and distributing information is quick, simple, and is easy. Users can respond to issues affecting their lives by viewing trending hashtags. These features make Twitter a perfect medium for ideas and information to be quickly passed to others. In this sense, it would be interesting to investigate the role Twitter plays in solving or creating language-related issues across the world.

Twitter as an Instrument to Initiate Social Change in Saudi Arabia

Unlike traditional forms of media, such as newspapers and the press, users of social media have become "(privileged) producers rather than just (ordinary, powerless) consumers" of texts (Khosravini & Unger, 2016, p. 206), who can express their opinions and attitudes with a great degree of freedom. Social media is interactive, unlike traditional media, that is unidirectional and dominated by members of the elite. In general, and specifically in Saudi Arabia, distinct power relations are present in these social media platforms as in traditional media. When investigating the power relations embedded in Twitter discourse with critical discourse studies analytical approach and

associated frameworks, understanding the context and history underlying the topic is essential. For this study, the analysis requires understanding the history of how and why Twitter became a catalyst for social change and sociopolitical discussions in Saudi Arabia.

“Twitter has the most meaningful implications for the sociopolitical landscape”(Winder, 2014, p.2).The largest demographic group tweeting is between 18-35, and women made up 45% of the market for Saudi Twitter accounts (Winder, 2014). These statistics regarding the Saudis use of social media are pivotal considering that “70% of the Saudi population are under the age of 30” (House, 2012, p. 5) and have access to the Internet, suggesting the probable influence of social media on these young adults.

Twitter in Saudi Arabia is more popular than other social media and traditional outlets. Saudi Arabian has been the number one user of Twitter in the Arab Twitter market, “with an average of 50 million tweets posted per month” (Winder, 2014, p.2), and 47% of Arab tweets originate from Saudi Arabia (Arab Social Media Report, 2013). Winder (2014) attributed the Saudi’s inclination to use Twitter due to the potential to voice opinions without the likelihood of being identified, due to the anonymity afforded by the platform. Traditional media does not reflect people’s needs and desires, and “blogs are exposed to government control much more than Twitter” (Le Renad, 2014, p. 102).

Another reason is that the features of Twitter provided a unique platform for exchanging ideas and joining and supporting political movements; hence citizens found themselves for the first time constructing the public discourse. Among those who are most vocal in sharing their experiences and networking online are Saudi women. They

have a vehicle for voicing opinions on various issues for the first time in the country's history. The rise of women's voices in the online sphere changed the country's dynamics of power relations. Women challenged the state and transitioned from being voiceless, invisible, and therefore powerless to women who took advantage of Twitter to raise issues and prove they exist and matter. This redistribution of power results from women having access to public discourse even if controlled or limited to the virtual world. With Twitter, a multimodal tool, becoming available to large communities of frustrated young women, notions of male hegemony that have become normalized along with the status quo are being challenged for the first time in Saudi history.

We have a young demographic of women users that changed the sociopolitical landscape by raising awareness and bringing women's issues to the forefront, challenging the masculine hegemony in the cultures where they live, and resisting the social taboos in a manner previously not possible. They raised a gender discourse that was feminist in its demands and legitimized their demands using an Islamic framework. Yamani (2000) stated that women understood that

according to Sharia, there is no distinction between a man and a woman from the legal age of sixteen in terms of ownership, control, and use of money. These general Islamic foundations for equality act as an inspiration for the recently educated female members of the new generation. (p. 100)

She further explained the importance of this Islamic discourse in empowering them to challenge the patriarchal norms that hinder their progress. Mostafa and Troudi (2019) explained, "Islamic feminists believe that the current practices against women are the result of a corrupt patriarchal interpretation of the Quran, and societal practices and customs." Women started to use the Quran as their "shield and even occasionally as their sword" (House, 2012, p. 86) to achieve their goals and confront the status quo. Women

used religious language against the opposers on Twitter to resist the ban. Women in favor of lifting the ban disagreed with the relationship between driving and religion as raised by their opponents (Aljarallah, 2017). Aljarallah (2017) illustrated the delegitimizing of religious discourses by women who supported lifting the ban lift. For example, Aljarallah presented this tweet from a woman supporter of lifting the ban,

“#I_will_enter_my_kitchen_June15 Islam does not prevent women from driving, nor does it consider cooking obligatory for women. This is Islam. This is Quran. You have your own religion, tell us about it??” (p. 65).

In summary, the women who supported the lifting of the ban defended their positions and delegitimized the arguments of those opposing their rights using these opponents' counter-arguments. The women defended their demands to lift the ban using the same Islamic language as their opposers. These arguments and counter-arguments are the interests of the CDA analysts. Ideologies and attitudes present in the tweets based on socially shared knowledge are investigated in this research.

Social Change in Saudi Arabia

Sociologists identify consequential modifications of cultural patterns and social structure through time as social change (Leicht, 2013). They refer to culture as people sharing the same ways of living and thinking, including people's knowledge, beliefs, values, and norms. Alternatively, social structures signify the continuing systems of interactions that form the relationships between people and groups. These two determinants of social change describe the transformations occurring in society.

Various transformations have emerged over time, especially as the world ushers in modern societies created by technological developments. The world-wide-web has

created waves of cultural impacts on people all over the world. With the integration of the Internet in many human activities, the new world has presented diverse ways of living and thinking, and interactions and relationships. The Internet's uses have evolved from communicating to executing business transactions that are novel, such as profiting from cryptocurrencies. A culturally impactful feature of the internet has been the emergence of social media, which has provided alternative modes of expression, especially where the rights to specific freedoms in some countries have been restricted.

The civil societies in the Arab world are going through many political changes due to “the combination of communication technology and social media” (Aman & Jayroe, 2013, p. 321). In Saudi Arabia, the groups of people demanding social and political change online consist of diverse groups with opposing ideologies. As Almestad and Stenslie (2014) described, the “virtual opposition is a diverse group, consisting of Shiites, women, liberals, and Salafis” (p. 501). Thus, the Saudi Arabian government could face challenges in balancing modern and conservative traditions in Saudi society. Meijer (2010) explained that the state is divided between reformists and conservatives and that the conflict between conservative and liberal citizens is an ongoing battle. Meijer described that liberals “speak a language that is alien to the world of official Wahhabism and the majority of Saudis and is therefore hardly likely to influence them” (p. 94). This perspective argues that the Saudi people are unlikely to be influenced by liberal ideas. For example, conservative traditionalists tend to be against women driving, while liberal progressives support women's right to drive. However, generalizations such as these do not always hold; not all conservatives are against women driving or consider it a threat to the moral community. Some conservative clerks supported lifting the ban (Alharbi,

2016). Often conservatives opposing women's driving object to it as a western-influenced act motivated by the liberals to disrupt the social norm and positive traditional societal values (Alharbi, 2016; Aljarallah, 2017; Almahmoud, 2014; Alotaibi, 2017). Thus, it is difficult for some conservatives to accept women's driving because they perceive it to belong to the liberal school of thought.

Although the cultural openness and the acceptance of new technology was challenged because of the strong impact of religion and family values (Al-Ariefy, 2011), it nonetheless, helped in my opinion, transform the Saudi societies' once very slow adaptations to rapid cultural and social changes, into a more receptive society to social change. Although the debate between modernists and traditionalist remains, the country is undergoing rapid social changes and is moving towards a modern state at the time of this study. The nature of this social change is summarized by Mustafa and Troudi (2019),

Saudi Arabia, that once adopted Wahhabi teachings beyond its theological nature to become the official and only basis for laws and conduct, is now slowly moving towards a modern state with fewer religious influences. The Saudi government has taken many steps to diminish extremism and promote moderation by appointing moderate scholars in the Council of Senior Scholars, taking initial steps to ease the sex segregation rules in public places, reconsidering the legal guardianship issue, and most recently allowing women to drive (p. 134).

Historical Resistance to Change

In this section, I investigate the historical resistance to change by Saudi society and the political events that have influenced women's social position. Emphasis is on those social factors related to marginalizing Saudi Arabian women. I discuss the rise of the revival movement and how women become the center of Islamic and national identity.

Throughout history, the process of change and progress in Saudi society is rarely smooth or effortless (Hamdan, 2005). In 1971, former American Ambassador to Saudi Arabia Eilts described a country that was hardly at peace with the galloping changes in the world. The transformations abroad had not provoked the Kingdom to reflect social changes, despite the fact that the country had emerged from a desert kingdom to an economically progressive state (Eilts, 1971). The traditional culture has remained ingrained; for example, Doumato (2009) described the continuing regulations affecting women, including prohibiting them from driving. This time, however, the women were portrayed to be less-compliant, unlike their forerunners.

Winder (2014) stated that Saudi Arabia has a “history of systematically rejecting outside influence” (p.3). In 1965, for example, the introduction of television broadcasts met with protests, which resulted in the death of Prince Khalid bin Musa'id Al-Saud. Before disapproving the installation of a television broadcast system in the 1960s, radios and telegraphs in the 1930s were opposed “in line with their opposition to every innovation considered by the Ulama to be unlawful (bid'ah)” (Bligh, 1986, p. 40). The controversy was settled by using the radio for news broadcasting and reciting the Quran only. Integrating these innovations into mainstream culture and adjusting to them proved difficult for those who rejected any change that might compromise the country's Islamic identity.

With the influx of oil revenues, many significant changes occurred, including the initiation of public schooling for both genders (Hamdan, 2005). Social changes regarding the role of women in Saudi society can be traced back to 1959 when a royal decree gave girls the right to attend school (Coleman, 2013; Yamani, 2000). King Faisal initiated

girls' public education, amidst a strong resistance from the religious scholars (the Ulama). They believed “that education would corrupt girls’ morals and destroy the foundations of the Saudi Muslim family” (Geel, 2016, p. 5). In an attempt to persuade the religious establishment and the conservative populace, girls’ schooling was promoted as a way to produce better Muslim mothers (Almunajjed, 1997) and homemakers through Islamic teachings (Yamani, 2000). Also, to address their concerns, girls' schooling was not compulsory and was regulated under the Department of Religious Guidance, whereas boys’ education was under the Ministry of Education (Al-Rasheed, 2013; Coleman, 2013; Hamdan, 2005). After the religious establishment was persuaded, they gave their approval and confirmed that girls' public schooling was in accordance with Islam and tradition, and in the aftermath of the approval, conservative families started to send their girls to school (Almunajjed, 1997).

In summary, religious scholars’ objection to girls’ education in the early 1960’s “marked the first clash between the state as modernizer and the religious nationalism” (Al-Rasheed, 2013, p. 90), and these objections represent the start of gender segregation and women-only places (Geel, 2016, Hamdan, 2005). Since then, the role of women has been a point of conflict in Saudi society. In the next section, I present the main political and historical events that affected women’s positions in Saudi society, which could be viewed as hindering women’s progress. These events also represent the rise of the Islamic revival movement in the 1980s and how the movement gained momentum in the 1990s.

Major Historical Events Affecting Women’s Positions

Understanding the political and social context is crucial for considering the ban on women’s driving and the different attitudes towards lifting it. Before investigating

women's status in Saudi Arabia, I review the main historical, political, and social events that have shaped and influenced their positions in Saudi society

The 1979 Seizure of the Mosque. Changes brought by education, urbanization, and oil-generated revenues in the early 1970s introduced significant economic and social changes (M, 1992, Yamani, 2000). Tension was felt by conservatives threatened by this fast pace of developments and perceived jeopardy for the Muslim family structure. Inspired by the successful Islamic revolution carried by the religious clerics in Iran in early 1979, which overthrew the Iranian royals, a group of rebels from among the religious conservatives seized the Grand Mosque in Mecca. This siege endangered Saudi Arabia's position as an Islamic leader, and hence, a more conservative stance was needed to preserve the country's reputation against accusations of Western influence.

Gulf War in 1990. Secondly, when Iraq invaded Kuwait in August of 1990, Western troops entered the country despite the apprehension and opposition of conservative groups. Later that year, on November 6, 47 educated women decided to drive cars in Riyadh as a symbol of resisting the ban and other restrictions imposed on women. This demonstration was described as a symbolic gesture of women's rights and a movement to change Saudi women's reality. As Almanae and Alsheikh (2014), two of the participants explained that after a long period of silence they decided to take an initiative with a symbolic gesture to capture the attention of the authorities on one hand and to serve as a wake up call to the Saudi people on the other hand, who have denied women from their approved religious and legal rights because of their adherence to customs and traditions.

Saudi Women witnessed the American female troops' ability to maneuver around in their country (Almanae & Alsheikh, 2014) and their Kuwaiti sisters (Hamdan, 2005), who had fled their country in a crisis mode. Some Saudi women believed that they should be able to do the same in their country. The conservatives were already in moral panic from the entrance of infidel troops to Saudi soil, and the incident of women driving was viewed as a direct attack on the foundation of the Saudi Muslim family values. In effect, the timing of women's protests was attributed to influence by American troops' presence and not as a request to self-mobilize without entirely relying on foreign drivers.

In the aftermath of the incident, the participating women were arrested and temporarily expelled from their government jobs, and further, they were banned from traveling. Pamphlets were circulated over the country, defaming and documenting the event with sensationalized wrongful information about the participants and their male guardians. Accusations were made that the West motivated the demonstration, and liberal corrupt Saudi women carried it out as a conspiracy to target pious conservative Saudi women. Consequently, the religious establishment had no choice but to address this significant event because it had become widely discussed and sensationalized. A fatwa was issued in the aftermath, banning women from driving and making the once unofficial ban an official prohibition. The ban was based on reserving women's modesty and dignity and "reserving the nations moral integrity" (Al-Rasheed, 2013, p. 130). The prohibition on driving also derived from a jurisprudential principle called *Sadd Aldharayie* (blocking the means), which means if the outcomes of a lawful act might lead to sins or temptations (*fitan*, sing. *fitnah*), then it must be prohibited (Geel, 2016; Lacroix, 2005). Abou El Fadl (2001) explained in *Speaking in Gods Name* how preventing and

avoiding *fitnah* emerges as a core value when dealing with women's matters, like their education and mobility. Abou El Fadl wrote, "Hence we observe that women can be banned from driving, working, serving in the military or appearing in public life under the guise of *fitnah*" (p. 235). This concept is present in the fatwa released by the Grand Mufti at the time. The fatwa stated that women driving entails :

unlawful *khallwah* (seclusion between a foreign man and women), unveiling the face, and careless *ikhtilat* (mixing of the sexes in public forums), and committing adultery which is the main reason for the prohibition of these practices. (The religious opinion on women driving , 2020)

Essentially, the Saudi people were in support of the outcome by the state and the Ulama. Metz (1992) explained that the people's approval was congruent with the ruling aligned with the values of modesty and sex segregation embedded in Saudi society. The fatwa ended the debate within Saudi society on women's driving until it resurfaced in 2011 with the Women2drive movement.

The Rise of the Revival Movement

After the events described above, conservatives felt increasingly threatened. The fast pace of social changes brought by the oil boom and the governments' stance on women's rights and their roles in developing the Saudi nation are the underpinnings that many analysts suggested as triggers for the siege (Coleman, 2013; Geel, 2016; Hamdan, 2005). Women played an active role in society at that time; they were educated at domestic institutions as well as abroad, worked in all-female office jobs, interacted with men in public, appeared on television without a veil, and openly discussed driving cars to work without relying on foreign drivers (Coleman, 2013). However, all these trends halted after the Iranian revolution and the Mecca siege in 1979.

Although a small number of radicals carried out the siege, their message of condemning social progress was consistent with their perceptions of Western morals, which deviate from Islamic values, elicited agreement from many Saudi people (Metz, 1992). The state embraced the conservatives' demands to prove legitimacy as an Islamic state and "increased its restrictions on women and relied on the ulama's opinions as a framework for regulating women's lives" (Al-Rasheed, 2013, p. 133). In the aftermath of the siege, Saudi Arabia went through a "period of consolidation compared with the previous two decades of openness to change" (Yamani, 2000, p. 52). A trend of Islamic awakening prevailed to purify the country of western influences. During the 1980s, the Islamic revival movement gained relevance and stature (Geel, 2016), and the period was described "as a decade of exclusion and control of women, a reflection of the general trend toward Islamizing and, by implication, the state, that followed the treat of 1970" (Al-Rasheed, 2013, p. 131).

Saudi Arabia appeared to settle on a conservative stance as a consequence of associating with the contemporary world (Doumato, 2009). The increasing presence of foreigners in the country, especially foreign women whose clothing and public displays of affection, created disagreements with Islamic beliefs and practices. The religious leaders intended to protect the Saudi Arabian society from naively imitating the inappropriate ways of foreign women. With the aftermath of the seizure of the Grand Mosque in Mecca, the Saudi Arabian society had turned inward as they feared contamination from the unseemly foreign behavior (Doumato, 2009). Since then, Saudi women had taken pride in wearing the niqab and abaya. They had withdrawn as announcers on television news and were restricted to work in women-only offices. The

segregation of women from men and the control of women flourished after that time. The country's political leadership enforced these actions to reaffirm people's identities as Muslims (Doumato, 2009). In 1983, to further protect Saudi women from exposure to foreign women's clothing style, foreign women were required to wear the *abaya*. These enforcements increased the importance of religion as a subject in the mass education system and resulted in developing religious bureaucracy. Included among these bureaucratic roles are the regulation of girls' education and the imposition of observance in personal behaviors. Prohibitions that did not exist in the 1960s and 1970s were imposed on them (Metz, 1992). Aside from driving, among the prohibitions for women were traveling internationally, working outside the home, going to court. Attempts to reform these prohibitions have met with threats of arrests and censorship as in media.

The Gulf War in 1990 was another historical event “that marked another dramatic shift toward conservative sentiment” (Metz, 1992, p. 87). Conservatives were enraged by the King’s decision to allow United States troops into Saudi territory, and more importantly, “were angry with the clerical establishment’s sanctioning of the move” (Aarts &Meijer, 2012, p. 5). The decision brought the legitimacy of the Saudi Monarchy into question (Coleman, 2013), and their approval for infidel troops to enter the holy land of Mecca and Medina was denounced. The opposition of a group of Salafi clerics known as the awakening clerics was problematic to the state. They petitioned the government and demanded a sharia state free from western influences and a more significant role for the Ulama in running the country. Thus, the state needed to confirm its legitimacy as an Islamic State.

As a result of these political events, Saudi society became divided between traditionalists and progressives. Most of society shifted towards conservatism, and the topic that most often brought tensions between these groups was the role of women in Saudi society (Metz, 1992). Women's issues were at the forefront of this struggle, and as these crises brought the legitimacy of the Saudi Monarchy into question (Coleman, 2013), women were used as a symbol of piety and tradition (Al-Rasheed, 2013, Yamani, 2000). Yamani (2000) described this power struggle between the religious scholars and the state and how women were at the forefront of the struggle:

One of the main characteristics of the contemporary political situation is that the issue of women's rights and behavior has been placed at the center of a potential power struggle between the 'ulama' [religious scholars] and the state. The state uses the role of women within society to make symbolic gestures to confirm its commitment to Islam, for example by enforcing the wearing of the veil and the legal ban on women driving cars and by limiting the choice young women have in education and career choices, thus preserving the strict gender segregation in all public spaces. (p. 95)

Women Status in Saudi Arabia - Government Reforms Regarding Women in the Past Two Decades

After reviewing some of the main political and social events that influenced women's positions in Saudi Arabia, I present the main governmental reforms regarding women in the past two decades. In recent years, the government has taken extraordinary measures to elevate women's status in the country. Although Saudi women's rights and roles have been controversial among Saudi conservatives and progressives (Hamdan, 2005), the state began implementing some reforms despite the resistance. Although the religious establishment and the state may not agree on matters related to women, "the decisive factor has always been the political decision" (Hamdan, 2005, p. 55).

After 9/11, there was a new urgency for reforms demanded by the Saudi people and the outside world, especially regarding women's social positions (Geel, 2012). I begin a discussion by exploring women's reforms in the early 2000s, followed by the reforms implemented during King Abdullah's rule (2005-2015) and the reforms implemented during the more recent leadership.

Identification Cards and the National Dialogue

The first reform regarding women's issues was creating women's identification cards (IDs) in 2001. Before women's ID cards, women used to be an extension of their male guardians' IDs with names but without their photographs. The significance of the IDs laid in women's ability to present themselves in institutions without a male representative to identify them. The use of an ID card "seeks to establish a more direct relation between women and state institutions" (Le Renad, 2014, p. 113). Conservatives opposed women taking photographs for their IDs by arguing that photos of unveiled women violated Saudi customs and traditions.

In 2003, King Abdullah, as the crown prince, launched and initiated the "National Dialogues" (Coleman, 2013; Geel, 2016; Le Renard, 2008; Thompson, 2019). The national dialogue was a series of meetings aimed at "consolidating national unity and promoting moral principles such as respect for others, tolerance, moderation, freedom of expression, and public interest" (Ansary, 2008, p. 127). It consisted of 70 educated participants, half of whom were women. In 2004, a third National Dialogue was held to discuss "Women Rights, Duties and their Relationship to Education." Disagreements erupted "between those who oppose women's full participation in society and those who are 'with' women" (Le Renard, 2008, pg.619). Although there were not many proactive

changes regarding women's status and rights after the heated debate between the conservatives and the liberals, the discussion brought women's issues to the forefront (Coleman, 2013; Le Renard, 2008). The public debate's significance was that it was the first approved by the state to discuss women's rights and women's driving. Along with bringing women's topics to the mainstream, women's participation alongside men in discussing matters relevant to them in a state-organized conference was also a milestone.

Reforms During King Abdullah's Rule

At the beginning of 2009, "King Abdullah announced significant changes to the leadership and membership of several influential institutions" in Saudi Arabia (Blanchard, 2009, p. 1). Butler (2015) stated, "that many of these changes, while incremental, benefit a specific subset of Saudi society: women" (p. 1242). Among these noteworthy changes, Noura Alfiaz was appointed deputy education minister for women's affairs (Aarts & Meijer, 2012). The King also announced in 2011 that women could run as candidates in the municipal election in 2015 and have the right to vote (Chaudry, 2014). In 2013, 30 women were sworn to Majls Alshoura, the Saudi Arabian consultative all-male council (Gardner, 2013). King Abdullah "framed his decision as fitting with Islamic history, in which he said women played an important role" (Geel, 2016, p. 6). This royal decision allowed women to participate and have a role in the public political domain for the first time.

In higher education, the limitations on the fields that women could study started to ease as women gained access to fields once considered against their nature, such as studying law and engineering. In 2005, King Abdullah also launched the King Abdullah Sponsorship Program, which enabled Saudi students from both genders to study abroad

and seek higher education opportunities (Taylor & Albasri, 2014, p. 110). The mission of this program is:

To prepare and qualify Saudi human resources in an effective manner so that they will be able to compete on an international level in the labor market and the different areas of scientific research, and thereby become an important source of supply of highly qualified individuals for Saudi universities as well as the government and private sectors.

Because women are included within the Saudi human resources definition mentioned in the program's mission statement, women are considered assets upon their return. This program prepares them for careers in Saudi universities and government and private sectors. Mustafa and Troudi (2019) described how the “the political decision to spread education to all in Saudi Arabia and open the door of scholarships to both genders has empowered women and clearly made a difference to their lives” (p. 136). They can hold higher positions alongside their male counterparts in the future and become part of the change in the socio-political spheres in Saudi Arabia. These changing roles for women in employment are evidenced by the women appointed in leadership positions presented in the next section.

Women's employment is mostly restricted to teaching in girls' schools and social work positions in women-only spaces (Al Rawaf & Simmons, 1991), “an exception is made for the medical professions” (Nydell, 2006, p. 45). In 2011, women started to work in unconventional jobs once considered available only to men, for example, working as cashiers in a women's section or department. Expanded job opportunities started when King Abdullah issued a decree announcing that women could start working in lingerie shops. An attempt was made in 2005 for lingerie stores only to hire female staff; however, the initiative failed because of the strong opposition from the religious police

who closed these stores. Their opposition was based on their objection to gender mixing that would be encouraged if women started to work in these unconventional jobs. After that, The Ministry of Labor started a process they referred to as the feminizing of stores to sell women's products like abayas, wedding dresses, and cosmetics. These stores were required to employ female staff (Zoepf, 2013).

In regards to family matters, domestic violence law was implemented, and abuse was criminalized. Domestic violence is rarely discussed between society members and is considered a private family matter. In 2013, the Protection from Abuse Regulation was passed by the Saudi Arabian Council of Ministers, which marks the first time abuse was criminalized, and abusers could be punished (Butler, 2015). Abusers could receive prison sentences up to one year and fined up to \$13, 000. This regulation was a step forward in providing women with more independence because, under the male guardianship law, women were required to bring their male guardians to file a complaint at the police station. This process was problematic when the abuser was the male guardian. This regulation gave women the right and freedom to report the abuse and hold the abuser accountable for violating them while remaining anonymous.

To summarize, King Abdullah initiated the reforms on women's rights. It appeared that “bringing their issues to the mainstream of society is a key element of his efforts” (Coleman, 2013). Women were included for the first time in the political landscape, included in the study abroad programs, started working in unconventional job environments that were once socially taboo, and laws were passed that helped report abuse cases while being protected by the law.

Recent Governmental Reforms

As King Salman, the successor of King Abdullah, has assumed power, he has continued reforms for women. His son, crown prince Mohammad bin Salman rose to power in 2016 and issued the Vision 2030 statement for the Kingdom. The vision statement was aimed at creating economic and social change in Saudi Arabia. While the statement did not mention any relevant women related issues, such as lifting the ban, women were addressed as equal partners with their male counterparts in building the country's economy. For example, it was stated in the vision statement, "Together we will continue building a better country, fulfilling our dream of prosperity and unlocking the talent, potential, and dedication of our young men and women." (Mohamed Bin Salman, Vision 2030, 2016, p. 7). Furthermore, women's workforce involvement was emphasized with a vision of increasing their participation by 25 to 30%.

In an interview by CBS, matters were discussed related to women, for example, driving, working in mixed environments, dress code, and male guardians. He traced most of related restrictions on women to the post-1979 religious rhetoric.

After 1979, that's true. We were victims, especially my generation that suffered from this a great deal. This is not the real Saudi Arabia. I would ask your viewers to use their smartphones to find out. And they can google Saudi Arabia in the 70s and 60s, and they will see the real Saudi Arabia easily in the pictures. We were living a very normal life like the rest of the Gulf countries. Women were driving cars. There were movie theaters in Saudi Arabia. Women worked everywhere. We were just normal people developing like any other country in the world until the events of 1979. (CBS, 2018)

Under the current leadership, the legislation was aimed at empowering women's positions. After women were granted the right to drive in 2017, which according to the crown prince was considered the norm pre-1979, many other political decisions followed. A month before women would be able to take the streets, the Saudi Shoura Council

approved a new anti-harassment law. A leading lawyer, Dimah Alsharif, informed Arab News that this law is beneficial in “imposing clear and specific clauses to match the driving aspects and to assure people’s freedom in practicing this right” (Arab News, 2018).

Women received many unprecedented rights in regards to sports, mobility, travel, and child custody. These rights allowed women a broader role in society and raised women’s participation in the workforce. In 2016, Princess Reema was appointed as the Undersecretary of the Women’s Division in the General Sports Authority of Saudi Arabia. In 2017, she became the President of the Saudi Federation for Community Sports, becoming the Kingdom’s first-ever woman to lead a federation in managing sporting activities for both genders. She advocated for physical education to be included in state schools, and in 2017 Minister of Education announced that state schools include physical education programs for the girls' schools. In 2019, she became the first-ever female ambassador to the United States of America. Saudi Arabia has put forth appointments for other leading women. Among these women appointees, Sarah Al Suhaimi was named chairman of the Saudi stock exchange, the largest stock market in the Middle East, Hind Alzahid was the creative executive of Dammam airport, eventually becoming the Deputy Secretary for Women’s Empowerment for the Saudi Civil Service Ministry, and Tamadour Alramah was named Deputy Minister of Labor and Social Development.

Much effort has been spent to facilitate women’s sports, an activity that has been vehemently opposed by the Ulama and the conservatives (Meijer, 2010). The ministries of Labor, Rural affairs, and Commerce started to issue licenses for women's gyms and

establishing female sports facilities in every neighborhood. In 2017, it was announced that women would be allowed into sports stadiums for the first time.

Male Guardianship Law and Family Law Reforms

Saudi women were dependent upon their male guardians, whether they are fathers, husbands, brothers, or sons. Women needed permission to issue a passport, travel, study abroad, run their business, obtain a job, and make important life decisions. The male guardianship law eased gradually and lifted significant restrictions on women. In 2017, a royal decree allowed women to access government and health services without consent from their male guardians. In 2018, the Ministry of Commerce and Investment spokesperson announced that Saudi women are free to start a business without a guardian's permission. In 2018, divorced Saudi mothers can gain custody of their children without filing a lawsuit or going through lengthy legal proceedings as they had previously. In 2019, a royal decree granted women over 21 the right to receive and renew their passports. They are also allowed to travel abroad without male guardians' permission. Women gained control of other family issues like obtaining family records, registering their children's birth, and registering as a family co-head.

These reforms that started mostly in King Abdullah's era and continue under the succeeding leadership aim to create change for Saudi women by reducing gender inequality. These changes are among many other changes that are in line with the vision statement of 2030, which aims at bringing social and economic change to the country.

Aim of the Study

In the proposed study, a combination of methods was used to carry out a comparative analysis of the ban lift representations from September 2017 and June 2018

in the emerging trending hashtags. I examined these discourses created over the announcement of the decree granting Saudi women the right to drive and those created ten months after they began legally driving to determine. The study aims at examining the linguistic features that contribute to the construction of a positive or negative image of the royal decree and the act of women driving in the created hashtags through the use of different discourse strategies, with specific reference to nomination and predication strategies. The study included the micro-level of social action, which deals with linguistic strategies, and macro-level social structure, which draws on the socio-political and cultural context to link discourse to society and text to context.

Importance of this Study

The proposed study is timely because the topic regards the recent historic social change in Saudi Arabia. Other similar studies concern the discourse during the campaigning times, while the current study is novel by examining the discussion after the social change occurred. Thus, this study contributes to the literature as the first with analysis of texts after the significant social change in Saudi Arabia, and it can add to the critical examination of the discourse discursively. To achieve the study's goal, I used CL tools combined with some CDA methodology to investigate how ideological meanings could be actualized as collocations across clashing tweets. Few studies contain an approach combining CDA and CL on Arabic texts. Hence, this study contributes to the corpus-assisted discourse studies on Arabic texts

Research Questions

Utilizing a CDA approach and CL techniques, the aim was to identify the ideological groups constructed in the tweets and the positions and attitudes these groups represented

regarding the new reality of women's freedom to drive. Specifically, the focus was on how Twitter users addressed the royal decree by investigating how they represented the royal decree by answering the following questions:

1. How do Saudi Twitter users discursively debate the royal decree ending the ban on women driving?
 - 1a. What thematic contents are invoked to support or oppose the royal decree allowing women to drive?
 - 1b. How are the supporters of the royal decision celebrating discursively this social change?
 - 1c. How are the opposers of the royal decision contesting discursively this social change?

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

1. What does a concordance analysis of the lexeme *Decree* reveal about the attitudes of the Saudi public towards it?
2. What do concordance and collocational analyses of the keywords in the two corpora of both groups reveal about themes and the attitudes of the people to the change of law?
3. What kinds of referential and predicational terms are used to refer to the royal decree and groups of Self and Other in the tweets related to granting women the right to drive?

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Critical Discourse Analysis

This study was designed to use CDA, an established framework that emerged from critical linguistics (Kress & Hodge, 1979). In this sense, CDA could be considered an extension of critical linguistics. Before examining the definitions of CDA and its models, discourse analysis (DA) is explained. Discourse analysis is the study of meaning beyond the sentence level “or above the clause, and therefore to study larger linguistic units, such as conversational exchanges or written texts” (Stubbs, 1983, p. 1). The relationship between language and society has been studied and investigated using DA. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) viewed discourse as a social practice, in which discourse “is socially constitutive as well as socially shaped” (Wodak, 2011, p. 39). In this paper, discourse is defined using Burr’s (1995) explanation:

a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, image, stories, statements and so on that in some way together produce a particular version of events ... surrounding any one object, event, person etc., there may be a variety of different way of representing it to the world. (p. 48)

As the name suggests, CDA is “discourse analysis with critical stances” (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258). Researchers use CDA to justify arguments and ideas through scrutinizing beneath the surface meaning. The interweaving elements in CDA draw upon the identity and social change in society (Wodak, 2011). In Fairclough’s (1995) explanations, CDA includes “integrating analysis of text, analysis of processes of text production, consumption and distribution, and sociocultural analysis of the discursive event.” The implementation of CDA emphasizes the use and processing of text from the

social perspective, which suggests that interaction and interpretation are significant. Van Dijk (1995, 1998) confirmed "text and talk" to be critical in exposing the sociocultural function of language.

In this study, through CDA, a revelation of social issues such as use or abuse of domination, power, and resistance to power was demonstrated. Because CDA includes a framework for analyzing text, the approach is useful to analyze social media interactions, particularly as the messages signify involvement in societal issues. Discourse practice in this study draws from discursive events where historical details are unfolded and contemplate why the texts about Saudi women's driving were produced.

Social media has become a stimulating platform for expressing ideas and sentiments, primarily when the freedom of speech is underwritten through anonymity. Social media has given a haven for women whose freedom of expression is constrained. The social media platform Twitter motivates and supports the production and use of authentic language. This authenticity is described by Wodak as "'naturally occurring' by real language users instead of a study of abstract language systems and invented examples" (2011, p.36). Considering the cultural, historical, and social milieu of Saudi women, social media discourse represents the continuing perception of their discrimination. Their voices on Twitter also symbolize an increasing awareness of their status in Saudi society.

As an approach to analyzing texts, CDA addresses the relationship between language and society. In the case of this researcher's study, the attention is placed on the discourse of Saudi women's right to drive in their social contexts on Twitter. CDA also

contributed to drawing in the idea of social power abuse, dominance, and inequality presented in the texts, found in tweets about Saudi women who drive.

Critical Aspect of CDA

While the term critical might have a negative connotation attached to it, “in CDA it means the use of rational thinking to question arguments or prevailing ideas; that is, more generally implying not to take anything for granted and challenging surface meanings” (Wodak, 2011, p. 40). CDA is critical because it challenges the status quo by uncovering hegemonies, unrecognized ideologies, and social wrongs, mostly supported by society's powerful elite. Although other discourse analysis approaches might start with a question related to language, CDA starts with addressing a problem in society and then investigating the language used in which these hegemonies are maintained (Page et al., 2014). Thus, CDA is problem-oriented research motivated by social and political issues.

Due to the complex nature of these social problems and phenomena, CDA consists of an interdisciplinary approach (Van Dijk, 1995; Wodak, 2011). Van Dijk (1995) described CDA as “the toughest challenge in the discipline” (p. 253.). The challenges relate to making connections between text, power, ideology, opinions, and society. One of the essential goals of CDA is to make the relationship between discourse practices and social practices clear and transparent, whereas these might not be clear on casual observation. Fairclough (1985), Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) suggested that CDA analysts should go beyond the descriptive phase of the discursive event, providing a thorough interpretation and explanation of the text and its social context. These researchers suggested that CDA could be viewed as both theory and method. CDA consists of multiple approaches that provide the social analysis of discourse, and these

approaches “differ in theory, methodology, and the type of research issues to which they tend to give prominence” (Fairclough, 2012, p. 452).

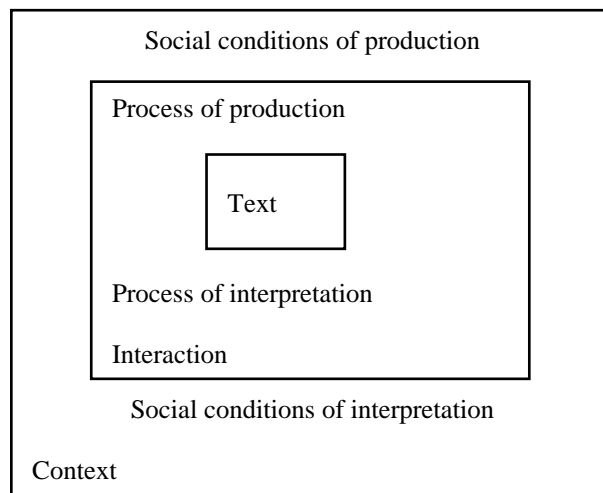
Main Approaches to CDA

The main three components or concepts of CDA are power, ideology, and language. Thus, CDA consists of interdisciplinary approaches to describe, interpret, and explain the relationships among power, ideology, and language. Fairclough, Wodak, and Van Dijk are key contributors to explaining these relationships and the underlying ideologies. These researchers have developed unique approaches in CDA: Fairclough’s social discourse approach, Van Dijk’s socio-cognitive approach, and Wodak’s discourse historical approach. All these approaches emphasize the need for any textual analysis “to take place at a number of different levels” (Baker, 2010, p. 122).

Fairclough’s Discourse as Social Practice. Fairclough’s view of CDA includes a three-dimensional model conceptualizing discourse. Discourse refers to the whole process of the communicative event (Fairclough, 2001a). The three dimensions of his framework are textual analysis, discursive practices, and sociocultural practices.

Figure 1

Fairclough’s 3D Model of CDA (2001a, p.21)



Fairclough’s CDA model of analysis is based on three components, description, interpretation, and explanation. In the first stage, a researcher analyzes text linguistically, and in the second stage, investigates the production and reception of the text. Finally, after delineating the relationship between the linguistic findings and the social contexts, these findings are then linked in the explanation stage to the broader cultural context. In this last stage, the text is related to the broader social, political, and historical contexts. According to Fairclough (1995), to analyze any discursive event, CDA analysts should go beyond analyzing the texts descriptively; moreover, they must combine description with interpretation and explanation (Table 2). Using this approach, how discourse mediates textual and socio-cultural practices can be seen.

Table 2
Fairclough’s CDA Social-Cultural Approach

Aspect	Description
The text (description)	The object of analysis (including verbal, visual or verbal and visual texts)
Discourse practice (interpretation)	The processes through which the object is produced and received (writing/speaking/designing and reading/listening/viewing) by human beings
Sociocultural practice (explanation)	The social, cultural, and historical structures that govern these processes

Fairclough (2001) stressed the importance of intertextuality as “the idea that any text is explicitly or implicitly ‘in dialogue with’ other texts (existing or anticipated) which constitute its ‘intertexts’ (p.233).” Texts consist of fragments of previous texts, and they cannot be produced or consumed in isolation from these texts (Richardson, 2007). Blommaert (2005) explained that “intertextuality refers to the fact that whenever we speak we produce the words of others, we constantly cite and recite expressions, and recycle meanings that are already available” (p. 46). Thus, a full understanding of a text is only achieved by linking or relating it to other texts and social practices.

Wodak's Historical Approach. As suggested by the title, Wodak's approach is mainly concerned with the historical context in analyzing and interpreting texts. The emphasis on "integrating all available background information in the analysis and interpretation of the different layers of a text" (Mayr, 2009, p. 9). Thus for this study, I provided the relevant information about the social, political, and historical contexts regarding women issues in Saudi Arabia and investigated the topic of granting women the right to drive. Such background is essential in integrating tweets posted to debate this matter with the analysis and interpretation. The historical aspect of this framework is similar to Fairclough's intertextuality under the second dimension of the framework, the discursive practice. As Fairclough (1999) pointed out that intertextuality refers to "the productivity of texts, to how texts can transform prior texts and restructure existing conventions (genres, discourses) to generate new ones" (p. 102).

The Discourse Historical Approach accounts for three required procedures: "the content of the data, the discursive strategies employed and the linguistic realization of these contents and strategies" (Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999, p. 91). Reisigl and Wodak (2016) listed five essential discursive strategies representing the ideological struggle between ingroups and outgroups. The first strategy, nomination, includes referential terms of social actors or events, followed by predication, argumentation, perspectivization and framing, and mitigation and intensification strategies. Reisigl and Wodak (2016) described out that these strategies are constructed according to these questions:

1. How are persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions named and referred to linguistically?

2. What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events and processes?
3. What arguments are employed in the discourse in question?
4. From what perspective are these nominations, attributions and arguments expressed?
5. Are the respective utterances articulated overtly, are they even intensified, or are they mitigated? (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p. 32)

Van Dijk Socio-Cognitive Approach. Van Dijk's (2019) conceptual framework is based on discourse, cognition, and society. Van Dijk (1995) perceived discourse analysis as ideology analysis, pointing out that "ideologies are typically, though not exclusively, expressed and reproduced in discourse and communication, including non-verbal semiotic messages, such as pictures, photographs, and movies" (p. 17). Van Dijk (2016) differentiates his work from the other CDA approaches by using the cognitive component that links discourse and society; thus, connecting discourse structures and social structures. Van Dijk pointed out that these structures are distinct and "can only be related through the mental representations of language users as individuals and as social members" (p. 64). For Van Dijk, these mental representations formulate group members' background knowledge, attitudes, and ideologies.

According to Van Dijk (1995), these mental representations "are often articulated along us versus them dimensions, in which speakers of one group will generally tend to present themselves or their own group in positive terms, and other groups in negative terms" (p. 22). This notion has been essential in Van Dijk's writings and is termed the ideological square (Van Dijk, 1998). Van Dijk's ideological square framework is used to

interpret some of the findings of the research conducted in this study, to identify specific discourse structures that identify in-groups and out-groups and reveal underlying attitudes and ideologies. As Van Dijk explained, when opposing groups with conflicting interests are involved, their group ideologies tend to be polarized as us versus them. The discursive strategies adopted to realize this polarized representation are demonstrated (Table 3).

Table 3
Van Dijk's Ideological Square

Positive In-Group Representation- US	Negative Out-Group Representation-Them
Emphasis of positive representation of the in-group members	Emphasis of negative representation of others
Mitigation of their negative actions	Mitigation of their positive actions

According to Van Dijk (1995), the reproduction of rhetoric from elite groups is not limited to enacting inequality by political decision-making but can also consist of influencing others. In the context of this study, the enactment of the decree occurred after getting wind of the sentiments of the Saudi public, who may also comprise the powerful elite. Van Dijk (1995) explained how “political power is not just limited to decision making, that is, enforce or lift the ban, but it also creates ‘mental models’ that are used to develop attitudes that may favor or disapprove the unequal treatment of others” (p. 168). Hence, some who argued against women’s driving in the past may have changed opinions after the government has embraced women’s driving. A fresh, positive attitude towards the concept of women driving may have developed, and all the negative perceptions that some held could be changed.

In summary, the common dominator among these CDA approaches is to raise awareness regarding the discursive strategies that establish, maintain, produce, and reproduce unequal power relations disclosed in discourse. All the approaches include discourse as ideological and suggest that unequal power dimensions in language use result in inequality in social practices. However, power is mostly invisible, and evidence for this invisible power is manifested linguistically, and revealing these manifestations is the aim of these approaches. These CDA approaches presuppose that macro-level social structures, such as institutions and power relations, are linked to micro-level social practices, for example, texts of different communicative events. As Luke (2002) suggested,

CDA involves a principled and transparent shunting back and forth between the microanalysis of texts using varied tools of linguistics, semiotic, and literary analysis and the microanalysis of social formations, institutions, and power relations that these texts index and construct. (p. 100)

Accordingly, in this dissertation, I aim to use distinct CDA approaches. The strategy followed in this thesis is inspired by the three primary schools of CDA: Van Dijk, Wodak, and Fairclough. The strategies included the three-dimensional framework proposed by Fairclough, the discursive strategies of Wodak, and the notion of the ideological square as proposed by Van Dijk. CDA is appropriate because it addresses how social power and inequalities are presented in the tweets discussing Saudi women's right to drive. The aim is to connect the tweeter users' ideologies and attitudes with the broad socio-culture context.

Criticism of CDA

In this chapter, I introduced CDA as a framework and the prominent authors who contributed to its development. In this section, I further discuss the criticisms and

possible shortcomings of CDA. Reviewing the literature indicated that most of the literature was aimed at researchers' bias and the issue of representation. Schegloff (1997) criticized CDA for not providing detailed and systematic analyses of the produced texts. Widdowson (1995a, 1995b) and Stubbs (1997) argued that CDA is politically and not linguistically driven. Widdowson (2004) explained that although the purposes of CDA and the social causes are morally and ethically driven, he criticized CDA for methodological procedures. They argued that CDA depends mostly on small fragments of unsystematically selected texts rather than larger fragments, questioning the notion of representativeness. Stubbs (1997) stated, "there is very little discussion of whether it is adequate to restrict analysis to short fragments of data, how data should be sampled, and whether the sample is representative" (p. 7).

Most criticism of CDA is related to concerns about researchers' bias when selecting the linguistic features that support their argument or political positioning. Consistent with Baker et al. (2008), Baker (2006, 2010), and Hardt-Mautner (2009), Stubbs (1997) argued for using corpus approaches to enable CDA researchers to analyze large texts, and thus, reduce researchers' bias and provide a quantitative dimension to the qualitative analyses.

Combining Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics

The growth of CDA use has attracted scholars. Interest in investigating relationships between language, power, ideology, and society have intensified (Van Dijk, 1995). CDA scholars were observed to undertake close qualitative analyses of single or small text collections while considering the historical, social, and political contexts most relevant to the texts' production and comprehension (Wodak, 2001). Meanwhile, CDA

approaches have also been criticized by proponents of CL, who have argued that the data typically examined in such work is a result of “cherry-picking” (Haider, 2017) rather than an objective analysis. The criticism arises from CL's traditional concern with the quantitative analyses of relatively large quantities of text, much of which is computational, and at least partially, performed automatically. Alternatively, CDA scholars argued that CL is unsuitable for studying texts unless the social, political, and historical contexts are considered (Haider, 2017).

However, over about 20 years, an explosion of work emerged which combined aspects of these two approaches into a mutually beneficial methodological synergy (Baker, 2010). Baker's research (2010) argued that the most fruitful approach is to combine CL's quantitative and CDA's qualitative approaches and use them cyclically, such that claims arising from one analytical position are testable with the tools of the other. Combining both approaches has been advocated by scholars to complement each method's weaknesses and strengthen research findings.

Corpus Linguistics

Before further discussing CL, a discussion of corpora is appropriate. McEnery and Wilson (2001) defined corpora as “the study of Language based on examples of real-life language use” (p. 1). Similarly, Xiao (2008) stated that corpora “comprise samples of spoken/written language which has already occurred naturally in real linguistic context” (p. 990). Additionally, Baker (2010, p. 124) defined it as “repositories of naturally occurring language, and they are large enough to reveal repetitions or patterns which may run counter to intuition and are suggestive of discourse traces.” Because corpora are built from naturally occurring language, their analysis provides information about the societies

from which they originate as much as knowledge of the language system (Baker, 2010). This method became popular after personal computers were developed in the 1990s (Baker, 2010). Fundamentally, CL concerns uncovering language patterns using computer software. Corpus-based research depends on quantitative and qualitative techniques, as the researcher remains responsible for making sense of the quantitative outcomes from the analysis.

From Baker's (2010) definition, CL appears to compensate for the criticisms of CDA. Baker considered the large-scale corpora, the repeated patterns of information, and the intuition of an analyst. These considerations address the CDA weaknesses related to dependence on unsystematically chosen small fragments of texts that could fit the researchers' predisposed ideas.

Using CL, researchers can analyze larger amounts of data that might provide a more representative sample than a small data set utilizing manual techniques. The multi-faceted complex layers needed to analyze a discursive event in CDA "often results in a small-scale, qualitative approach being taken, whereby a single text or small is interrogated in detail and analysis goes well beyond the linguistic level" (Baker, 2010, p. 123). However, CL enables researchers to work with larger data volumes and could create more generalizable findings. For example, when I analyzed the tweets posted to debate the ban on women's driving using only a qualitative method on the textual data, I analyzed only 450 tweets of the 6,000 tweets collected for this study.

CDA analysts have been criticized for choosing less representative or less frequently present exemplars for analysis, thus, providing unreliable or unrepresentative results. Identifying patterns in the text are essential in showing "that evaluative meanings

are not merely personal and idiosyncratic, but widely shared in a discourse community” (Stubbs, 2001, p. 215). Moreover, Subtirelu (2013) explained that combining CL and CDA provides “results that are not idiosyncratic to a specific analyst” (p. 43). Therefore, using frequencies from large-scale data sets potentially reduces researchers’ biases and compels them to examine as many occurrences as possible, even those that do not conform to their political or social positions or those predicted by intuition. As Degano (2007, p. 363) suggested, “the quantitative approach forces to a closer observation of data, with a view to the frequency with which a certain characteristic occurs, so that uses which can be identified as recurring are considered as more relevant than isolated examples.”

Corpora can be categorized as different types “depending on the sorts of research goals they have in mind” (Baker, 2006, p. 26). General corpora are usually representative of general language use. They consist of millions of spoken and written words from different genres. “For example, the British National Corpus (BNC) is a reference corpus consisting of one hundred million words” from many contexts (Baker, 2006, p. 30). On the other hand, corpora can be compiled to answer specific questions about language and particular topics. These corpora are specialized and are designed differently than those general corpora that aim to represent general language use. Specialized corpora focus on what they aim to represent. For this study, a specialized corpus was compiled, as it only contains written texts (tweets) from a specific genre (Twitter) in a particular period to investigate how Saudis debated the royal decree allowing women to drive.

Corpus Linguistics Method or Theory

A current debate surrounds the nature of what CL represents. Although some consider it an independent discipline, others view it as a methodology to explore language theories. Tognini-Bonelli (2001) argued that CL has become an independent discipline because it has gone well beyond its methodological role. Alternatively, McEnery et al. (2006) argued that CL does not stand alone as an "independent branch of Linguistics in the same way as phonetics, syntax, semantics or pragmatics" (p. 7). They argued that CL could be used to examine any of these areas of languages.

The discussion regarding whether CL represents a method or a theory is extended between corpus-based and corpus-driven research. Some following a corpus-driven approach have claimed "that the corpus itself should be the sole source of our hypothesis about language" (McEnery & Hardie, 2012, p. 6). Therefore, they view CL as a theory versus a method (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001). Tognini-Bonelli (2001) maintained that the corpus should be analyzed without any preconceptions by generating keywords instead of search terms as starting points in the analysis process.

Moreover, a corpus-based analysis uses the corpus as a source to investigate a theory or pre-corpus hypotheses, whether to validate or refute it. McEnery et al. (2006) argued that it is difficult for a researcher to approach a corpus from a complete naïve place. Similarly, Anthony (2013) agreed and further argued that the researcher is "unable to completely remove all pre-existing ideas about language before observing corpora" (p. 142).

Studies Combining CDA and CL

Some CDA studies that combined corpus tools investigated related topics, such as women's right to drive in Saudi Arabia (Altoimy, 2017), Wahabi/Salafi Islam (Alzahrani, 2013; Salama, 2011), the representation of Islam/Muslims (Baker et al., 2013), the representations of refugees and asylum seekers (Baker et al., 2008, Baker & McEnery, 2005), the representations of the former Libyan president Qaddafi (Haider, 2016). These studies included examining ideologies present in their data by benefiting from supplementing the manual qualitative analysis with the computational analysis.

Other researchers using corpus-based methods examined corpora of two or more languages; thus, providing different cultural contexts to the investigated topic. Shi-xu (2005) stated, "that individual languages constrain different worldviews and therefore represent the world slightly differently" (p. 14). Most of these studies dealt with media representations; for example, Kandil (2009) examined how Arabic, British, and American news websites reported the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Kandil examined three corpora from the news websites of CNN (English), Al-Jazeera (Arabic), and BBC (English). Similarly, Haider (2016) examined the Libyan case and how Qaddafi is represented in Arabic and English newspapers. This study included four newspapers: Asharq Al-Awsat and Al-Khaleej (Arabic), The Guardian and The New York Times (English). Jaworska and Krishnamurthy (2012) conducted a corpus-based analysis of the attitudes and representations of feminism in British and German newspapers. Similarly, Johnson et al. (2003a, 2003b) analyzed political correctness in the British and German newspapers, and Taylor (2004) analyzed immigrants' portrayals in the British and Italian Press.

However, Haider (2016) found that the number of discourse studies conducted with corpus methodologies is still considerably limited compared to studies published in each field separately. Baker (2006) attributed this finding to factors, such as researchers lack of familiarity with computers, misconceptions about CL, the ability to determine “what counts as ‘good’ research in both corpus linguistics and discourse analysis” (p. 6) and the resistance of discourse analysts to venture away from their qualitative methods (Partington, 2004). Baker et al. (2008) examined “the extent to which a CL approach is able, on its own, to contribute” (p. 297) to critical discourse analysis in general and Wodak’s historical approach in particular. Baker et al. employed a corpus-based approach to investigate the presentation of refugees and asylum seekers in a 140-million-word corpus of UK articles. The study provides other discourse analysts with the different steps and stages to follow when conducting studies combining the two methods, usually referred to as corpus-assisted discourse analysis (Table 4).

Table 4

Possible Stages in Corpus-assisted Critical Discourse Analysis

1. Context-based analysis of topic via history/politics/culture/etymology. Identify existing topoi/discourses/strategies via wider reading, reference to other CDA studies.
2. Establish research questions/corpus building procedures.
3. Corpus analysis of frequencies, clusters, keywords, dispersion, etc. – identify potential sites of interest in the corpus along with possible discourses/topoi/strategies relate to those existing in the literature.
4. Qualitative or CDA analysis of a smaller, representative set of data (e.g., concordances of certain lexical items or of a particular text or set of texts within the corpus) – identify discourses/topoi/strategies (DH approach).
5. Formulation of new hypotheses or research questions.
6. Further corpus analysis based on new hypotheses, identify further discourses/topoi/strategies, etc.
7. Analysis of intertextuality or interdiscursivity based on findings from corpus analysis.
8. New hypotheses.
9. Further corpus analysis, identify additional discourses/topoi/strategies, etc.

(Baker et al., 2008, p. 295)

Ideally, researchers should systematically conduct background research for the topic under investigation. In this dissertation, I gathered some contextual information about the social, political, and historical contexts surrounding the issue of women's driving in Saudi Arabia, as shown in chapter one. I applied this methodology to conduct a comparative analysis of the representations of the royal decree allowing women to drive. The method combines the different notions and approaches to CDA using CL.

CDA was appropriate in this study because it supported addressing how social power and inequalities are presented in the tweets concerning women's rights to drive in Saudi Arabia. I show how analyzing linguistic selections from Twitter users regarding the

royal decree allowing women to drive can reveal particular ideology hidden to casual observers. Using CL techniques, I investigated the descriptions used to refer to the royal decree and the negative or positive characteristics and qualities attributed to women and the act of driving.

Corpus Techniques

The following section regards the distinct corpus-based techniques used to investigate the relationship between language and ideology. By employing CL and CDA, the current research includes identifying some of the discursive strategies frequently employed by Saudi Twitter users in response to the royal decree allowing women to drive and their representations of the social actors and actions in ways that reflect their attitudes and ideologies in social and political contexts. Corpus techniques such as keywords, concordances, and collocate analysis can significantly connect these discursive strategies with the ideological presuppositions of the tweeters.

Frequencies/Keywords. A keyword is “a word that appears in a text or a corpus statistically significantly than would be expected by chance when compared to a corpus which is larger or of equal size” (Baker et al., 2006, pp. 97-98). In this definition, a keyword is a word that occurs statistically more frequently in one corpus when compared against another corpus.

The frequency of these keywords in corpora provides essential insights about the salient terms and topics and provides the analyst with an initial focus on those revealing ideology. Stubbs (1996, p. 196) confirmed that “the study of recurrent wordings is of central importance in the study of language and ideology, and can provide empirical evidence on how the culture is expressed in lexical patterns.” Keywords are identified by

carrying out tests such as log-likelihood or chi-squared on the frequent words of the corpora under investigation.

Collocations and Concordances. The more frequent co-occurrence of specific lexical terms in natural language is referred to as collocations (Krishnamurthy, 2006). A variety of specific features of collocations appear in the literature. Krishnamurthy (2006) further explained that Baker detailed the word 'blind', which appeared in metaphorical meanings in the 1990s more than in the literal meaning used in the 1960s. Since the 1990s, the word blind is also used as blind ambition, blind panic, blind patriotism, and blind to change. Firth (1975), the linguist who gave prominence to the concept of collocation, indicated that “you shall know a word by the company it keeps” (p. 179).

Halliday and Sinclair emphasized the significant proximity of the words and signified collocations as a cohesive device (McCarthy et al., 2013). These two researchers also described collocation as an enabler of the lexical analysis of language separate from grammar. Sinclair specified that collocational environments define the lexical terms and that collocations are parts of the idiom principle and indicated that all lexical items contain collocations. Hoey regarded collocation under a lexical priming model and suggested that many sentences contain interlocking collocations; thus, he saw that collocations are reproductions of previous sentences (Xiao & McEnery, 2006). Only Leech (1981) relegated collocation as an idiosyncratic property and could not lead to simplifications.

Nevertheless, many linguists have agreed that collocations imply a quantitative perspective as there is the frequency of incidence of words and that collocations might only be deliberated through probability. I adopted Sinclair's (1991) definition of

collocation as the frequent “occurrence of two or more words within a short space of each other in a text” (Sinclair, 1991, p. 170), usually five words on either side of the node. A node word is one on which a discourse analyst is focused. According to Sinclair (1991) and Baker (2008), collocates of the node word can provide useful information about semantic preferences attached to it. According to Sinclair (1991), “many uses of words and phrases show a tendency to occur in a certain semantic environment. For example, the verb happen is associated with unpleasant things—accidents and the like” (p. 112).

In contrast, concordances are described as a display format, with the search word at the center and the context listed on each side (Mahlberg et al., 2016). This tool allows researchers to examine many aspects of the language almost at once, which aids in investigating the meanings of words, both in context and co-text. Concordance analysis is a method in which CL and CDA intersect, as “a concordance is also referred to as “keyword in context or KWIC” (Baker, 2006, p. 71). Concordance analysis is crucial because examining the language strategies in the co-text and investigating the contextual background of the analyzed communicative events can reveal much about society's attitudes and behaviors (Baker, 2006).

CHAPTER 4

DATA COLLECTION AND STUDY DESIGN

This chapter discusses the procedure that was used for the compilation of the corpora and design adopted in this study to investigate comparative possibilities of the ban lift debate and the royal decree announcement. It discusses which trending hashtags were selected as a source of data, which tweets were included in the corpora and what criteria was followed in the selection of these hashtags and tweets to ensure representation of each groups' ideologies. After discussing the justifications for their selection, the sample size of the coded data of each group, and the analytical software used in analyzing the corpora, the steps followed to organize and analyze the compiled data will be presented.

For analysis, a small specialized corpus (BYS) with a total of 6,000 tweets was compiled. The corpus of this study is specialized as it consists of tweets in the days that followed the royal decree's pronouncement and the day it took effect. These tweets were collected from six different trending hashtags. Corpus-assisted studies allow for larger sets of data, however due to the manual coding needed in this dissertation, which is time consuming in order to identify tweeters' positioning in regards to the royal decree allowing women to drive as well as their genders, the researcher opted to this number of tweets. However, specialized corpora do not need to be large as other general corpora, because the important element is the ability for the corpus to generate reliable results for the subject matter being investigated (Flowerdew, 2004). Baker also points out (2006, pg.29), that when building specialized corpora 'the quality or content of the data takes equal or more precedence over issues of quantity'. This project falls within Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (Baker and McEnery 2005; Baker et al. 2008; Baker; 2010,

Gabrielatos and McEnery 2012) where the researcher further supplements the computer processing of a text with manual examination. Therefore, I adopt CDA to investigate the interdisciplinary nature of the women driving issue and maintain a proper understanding of the intertextual relationships between tweets and the different using of argumentation to identify the arguments via which Saudi tweeters try to legitimate their different stances.

Data Collection from Twitter

Twitter allows users to use their Advance Search where the user can search for tweets by several options including keywords, hashtags, time frame or language among others. The user then is given a list of tweets, and as the user scrolls down, more tweets are retrieved that match the search criteria. Therefore, the user can retrieve historical tweets using this method. However, to retrieve huge number of tweets, this method is restrictive. Alternatively, software programs can be developed to automate the process of fetching tweets using Twitter's Application Programming Interface (API).

Twitter provides standard and premium API which programmers can use in their programs to search and retrieve tweets . The standard API can retrieve at most seven-day-old tweets. Searching for archived tweets older than seven days requires the premium subscription which I used to retrieve the tweets used in this study.

The following two API endpoints were used in our data collection:

- *Counts endpoint*: this endpoint returns the number of tweets that matches the specified criteria.
- *Data endpoint*: this endpoint retrieves the tweets that matches the specified criteria.

Hashtag Selection

Bruns & Burgess (2011) demonstrate how Twitter over time has become essential “in covering breaking news and major crises”, and in the case of this study a major social change. They further explain how:

The central mechanism for the coordination of such coverage on *Twitter* is the hashtag: a largely user-generated mechanism for tagging and collating those messages – tweets – which are related to a specific topic. Senders include hashtags (brief keywords or abbreviations, prefixed with the hash symbol ‘#’) in their messages to mark them as addressing particular themes. For *Twitter* users, following and posting to a hashtag conversation makes it possible for them to communicate with a community of interest around the hashtag topic without needing to go through the process of establishing a mutual follower/followee relationship with all or any of the other participants; in fact, it is even possible to follow the stream of messages containing a given hashtag without becoming a registered *Twitter* user. (Burns & Burgess, 2011, P.2)

Twitter’s counts endpoint was used to determine, for each candidate hashtag, the number of tweets that were posted within three days when the two events described above occurred. The researcher focused on the first three days because of the prolific numbers of tweets posted during these specific days and to capture the initial reactions and attitudes to the shifting cultural norm. Figure 2 shows how to retrieve the number of tweets for a certain hashtag during a specified period. The retweets were eliminated from the count using the option “-is:retweet”.

Figure 2

Using the Counts Endpoint From Twitter API to Retrieve the Number of Tweets Posted During September 26-28, 2017 With the Hashtag ‘The King Prevails for Women Driving’

```

$ curl -X POST "https://api.twitter.com/1
.1/tweets/search/fullarchive/dev/counts.json" -d '{"query":"#الملكة_
المرأة_ينتصر_لقيادة_المرأة -is:retweet", "fromDate":"201709260000", "toDate
":"201709290000", "bucket":"day"}' -H "Authorization: Bearer XXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXX" > king_triumphs_count_2017.json
18925 https://api.twitt 121 https://api.twitt
```

Table 5 summarized the number of tweets for the candidate hashtags of the two periods when the two events occurred. The hashtags for the first period (Sep 26-28, 2017, when the ban was lifted) that were selected for this study are:

1. #The_King_prevents_women_driving (#الملك_يُنصِر_لِقِيَادَةِ الْمِرَاءِ) with 216,587 original tweets (excluding retweets). This was selected as it was the most trending hashtag supportive of the decree.
2. #The_people_reject_women_driving (#الشعب_يُرفض_قِيَادَةَ الْمِرَاءِ) with 65,113 original tweets. This was selected since it was the most trending hashtag against the decree.
3. #Saudi_women_driving (#قِيَادَةُ الْمِرَاءِ السُّعُودِيَّةِ) with 5,651 original tweets. This hashtag was selected because it was neutral to the decree. Although it was not the most trending neutral hashtag, it was selected over the hashtag #Permitting_women_to_drive_cars (#السماح_بِقِيَادَةِ الْمِرَاءِ لِلسَّيَّارَةِ), with 15,794 original tweets. The reason was unlike the hashtag #Permitting_women_to_drive_cars, the hashtag #Saudi_women_driving was trending in the second period as well.

For the second period (Jun 24-26, 2017, when the decree took effect) the trending hashtags were neutral, so the most trending hashtags were selected:

1. #Saudi_women_drive (#المرآة_السُّعُودِيَّةِ_تَسُوقُ) with 52,897 original tweets
2. #Saudi_women_drive_cars (#المرآة_السُّعُودِيَّةِ_تَقُودُ السَّيَّارَةَ) with 39,340 tweets.

3. #Saudi_women_driving (قيادة_المرأة_السعودية) with 7,148 original tweets. This was the only hashtag trending in the second period that was trending in the first period.

Table 5

*Number of Tweets of the Candidate Hashtags. Hashtags in **Bold** were Selected for This Study*

Hashtag		Tweets count	
<i>Arabic</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>SEP 26-28, 2017 Ban Lifted</i>	<i>JUN 24-26, 2018 Driver licenses issued</i>
#مبروك_لنساء_الوطن	#Congratulations to the nation's women	27,477	1
#الملك_ينتصر_لقيادة_المرأة	#The king prevails for women driving	216,587	35
#الشعب_يرفض_قياده_المراه	#The people reject women driving	65,113	35
#قيادة_المرأة_السعودية	#Saudi women driving	5,651	7,148
#ستقودي_ولن_تعودي	#you'll drive and not come back	4,764	0
#السماح_بقياده_المراه_للسياره	#Permitting women to drive cars	15,794	19
#المراه_السعوديه_تسوق	#Saudi women drive	0	52,897
#سوقي_كلنا_معك	#Drive we're all behind you	0	345
#المراه_السعوديه_تقود_السياره	#Saudi women drive cars	18	39,340

Tweets Collection

Twitter's data endpoint was used to retrieve the tweets of the selected hashtags.

Figure 3 shows how 500 tweets, the maximum number of tweets that can be retrieved at once, from the hashtag # The_King_prevails_for_women_driving were retrieved. Similar to the counts datapoint, the option “-is:retweet” was used to exclude retweets.

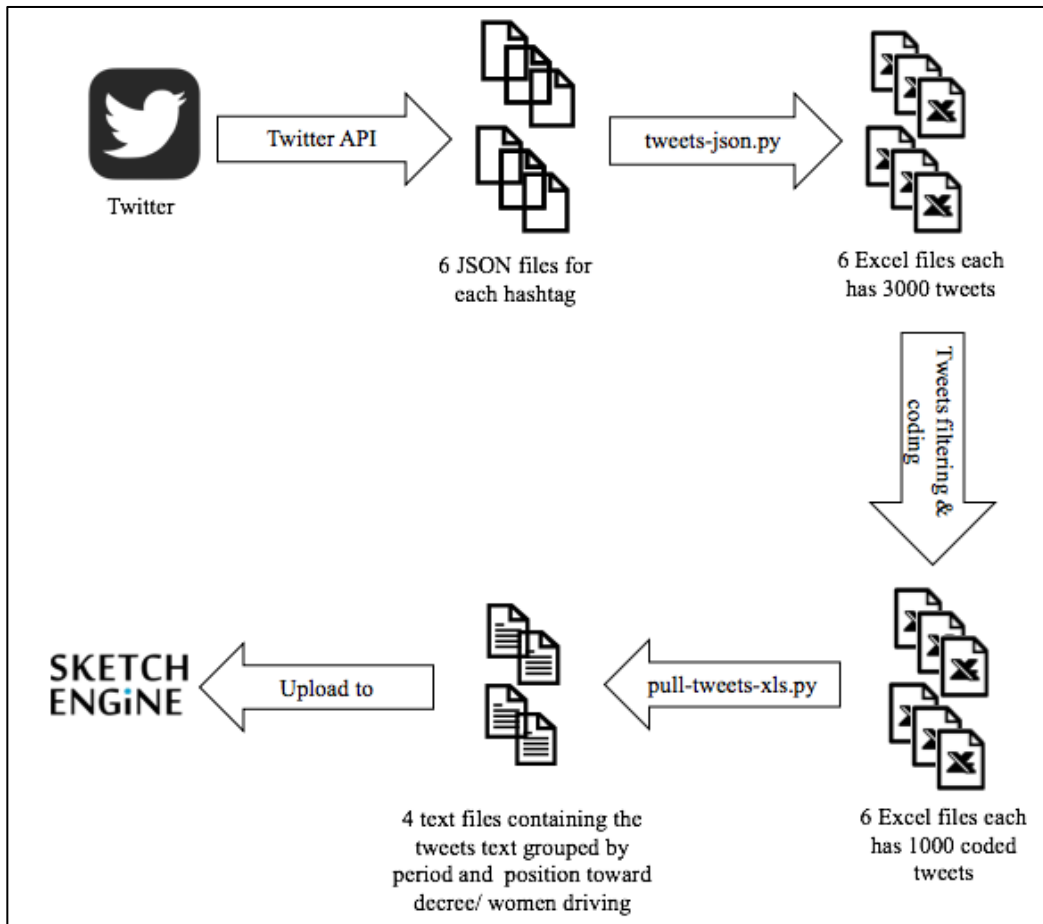
Figure 3

Using the Data Endpoint from Twitter API to Retrieve Tweets Posted During September 26-28, 2017 with the Hashtag ‘The King Prevails for Women Driving’

```
$ curl -X POST "https://api.twitter.com/1.1/tweets/search/fullarchive/dev.json" -d '{"query": "#الملكينتصرلقيادة_المرأة -is:retweet", "maxResults": "500", "fromDate": "201709260000", "toDate": "201709290000"}' -H "Authorization: Bearer XXXXXXXXX" > King_Prevails_For_Women_Driving_2017.json
```

Figure 4

Data Collection Process



In order to collect the tweets used in this study, the following steps illustrated in Figure 4 were taken:

1. For each hashtag, I collected 3000 tweets using the data endpoint shown in Figure 3.
2. The tweets were saved in a JavaScript Object Notation format, known as JSON. This is a format for storing and transporting data from/to web servers. Figure 5 shows part of the JSON file that contains tweet objects resulting from executing the command shown in Figure 3.

Figure 5

A Sample of a Tweet Object in JSON

```

JSON Raw Data Headers
Save Copy Collapse All Filter JSON
6:
  created_at: "Thu Sep 28 23:51:54 +0000 2017"
  id:
  id_str:
  text: "عضو هيئة كبار العلماء الـ https://t.co/m8NjToub8n"
  display_text_range: [...]
  source: "<a href='\"http://twitter...>Twitter for Android</a>"
  truncated: true
  in_reply_to_status_id:
  in_reply_to_status_id_str:
  in_reply_to_user_id:
  in_reply_to_user_id_str:
  in_reply_to_screen_name:
  user: {}
  geo: null
  coordinates: null
  place: null
  contributors: null
  is_quote_status: false
  extended_tweet:
    full_text: "عضو هيئة كبار العلماء الشيخ عبدالله التركي: إن قرار السماح بقيادة المرأة فيه \"خير كثير\"#مشايخحسبِالطلب#الملكينتصرليقيادة_المرأة https://t.co/BEqYHERMgp"
    display_text_range: [...]
    entities: {}
    extended_entities: {}
  quote_count: 0
  reply_count: 0
  retweet_count: 5
  favorite_count: 9

```

3. The resulting JSON files were parsed using a customized python script (*tweets-json.py*) which produced an easy-to-use excel file that had the data summarized in Table 6 for each retrieved tweet. This script, shown in Figure 6, was

developed by a programmer for the purpose of this study. Figure 7 shows a sample of the resulting excel files.

Table 6

The Collected Data for Each Captured Tweet. Not All Items were Used in This Study

	Data	Description
Tweet	ID	The ID of the tweet
	Text	The tweet itself
	Retweet count	The number of times the tweet has been retweeted
	Favorite count	The number of times the tweet has been favored by twitter users
	URL	The hyperlink that can take us to the tweet on twitter website.
	Has media	Whether or not the tweet has media (image, video, etc.)
	Created at	The date and time that tweet was posted
Tweeter	ID	The ID of the tweeter
	Screen name	The screen name of the tweeter
	Name	The name of the tweeter
	Description	The description the tweeter writes about themselves
	Verified	Whether or not the tweeter account is verified
	Tweets count	The number of tweets the tweeter has posted since joining twitter
	Followers count	The number of tweeters that follows this tweeter
	Following count	The number of tweeters this tweeter follows

Figure 6
The First Python Script (tweets-json.py)



```
tweets-json.py
No Selection

worksheet.write(0, 11, "Tweeter Description", bold)
worksheet.write(0, 12, "Tweeter tweets count", bold)
worksheet.write(0, 13, "Tweeter followers count", bold)
worksheet.write(0, 14, "Tweeter friends count", bold)
worksheet.write(0, 15, "Tweet URL", bold)
worksheet.write(0, 16, "Has Media?", bold)
worksheet.write(0, 17, "Created at", bold)

count = 1
row = 1

twts = ""

try:
    l = len(datastore["results"])
    for key in datastore["results"]:
        twt_txt = ""
        twt = ""
        if 'extended_tweet' in key:
            twt_txt = key["extended_tweet"]["full_text"]
            twt = twt_txt
            if 'hashtags' in key["extended_tweet"]["entities"]:
                for hashtags in key["extended_tweet"]["entities"]["hashtags"]:
                    twt = twt.replace("#"+hashtags["text"], "")
            if 'media' in key["extended_tweet"]["entities"]:
                for media in key["extended_tweet"]["entities"]["media"]:
                    twt = twt.replace(media["url"], "")
            if 'user_mentions' in key["extended_tweet"]["entities"]:
                for mention in key["extended_tweet"]["entities"]["user_mentions"]:
                    twt = twt.replace("@"+mention["screen_name"], "")
            if 'urls' in key["extended_tweet"]["entities"]:
                for urls in key["extended_tweet"]["entities"]["urls"]:
                    twt = twt.replace(urls["url"], "")
        else:
            twt_txt = key["text"]
            twt = twt_txt
            if 'hashtags' in key["entities"]:
                for hashtags in key["entities"]["hashtags"]:
                    twt = twt.replace("#"+hashtags["text"], "")
            if 'media' in key["entities"]:
                for media in key["entities"]["media"]:
                    twt = twt.replace(media["url"], "")
            if 'user_mentions' in key["entities"]:
                for mention in key["entities"]["user_mentions"]:
                    twt = twt.replace("@"+mention["screen_name"], "")
            if 'urls' in key["entities"]:
                for urls in key["entities"]["urls"]:
                    twt = twt.replace(urls["url"], "")
```

Figure 7

A Sample of Tweets in an Excel File Produced by the First Python Script

Tweet ID	Tweet	R+F	Retweet Count	Favorite Count	Tweeter tweets count	Tweeter followers count	Tweeter friends count	Tweet URL
91:	480 #الملك_ينصّر_لقيادة_المرأة من زعم أن قوى العلماء المانعين لقيادة السيارة كانت فترة ظلامية أو اصطفاوية فقد ظلم نفسه واضطهده هواه #الملك_ينصّر_لقيادة_المرأة عبد الرحمن الرائد - أكثر من قيادة السيارة https://t.co/xtCzJQ6VB #الملك_ينصّر_لقيادة_المرأة @alrashed تقرير موقع 3alyoum عن رأي المجتمع تجاه قرار #الملك_ينصّر_لقيادة_المرأة. شاهد التقرير تواجداً الحرية الإعلامية #أميرة_العاس (Amira_alh@) https://t.co/5grPy270ue	34	16	18	14887	349	1010	https://twitter.com/...
91:	416 #الملك_ينصّر_لقيادة_المرأة https://t.co/xtCzJQ6VB	30	26	4	21162	10216	186	https://twitter.com/...
91:	344 #الملك_ينصّر_لقيادة_المرأة @alrashed	26	16	10	80251	6656	1760	https://twitter.com/...
91:	600 هذا الانتصار الي نتخون عنه #الشعب_يرفض_قيادة_المرأة_2 #إغلاق_المحلات_وقت_الصلاه #الناس_الغخمة #الملك_ينصّر_لقيادة_المرأة https://t.co/CLf59aIeCg	26	10	16	67983	7776	1405	https://twitter.com/...
91:	504 #الملك_ينصّر_لقيادة_المرأة #mh111r222 اللهم ان تسودك مائتي من دينا اللهم لانجعل فصينا في دينا https://t.co/8uDcIewH2W	24	8	16	445	114	277	https://twitter.com/...
91:	224 جراک الله حیر الحراء كلام جميل للشيخ : محمد المختار الشنقيطي عضو هيئة كبار العلماء عن قيادة المرأة السيارة https://t.co/9s1aMsv2fh	22	20	2	12045	3405	3826	https://twitter.com/...
013290130722985344	#الملك_ينصّر_لقيادة_المرأة	22	10	12	24047	9687	252	https://twitter.com/...

4. Of the 3000 tweets for each hashtag, I selected the most influencing 1000 tweet posted by persons. In order to do that, I sorted the tweets by the total number of favorite count and retweet count combined. I then manually went over the tweets and removed the disqualified tweets until I reached 1000 qualified tweets. To ensure that the data is representative of the Saudi public’s views of the royal announcement, some criteria are devised in filtering and coding the data. The criteria also specify what is included and excluded. Baker (2006, p. 18) quoted Fairclough (1989, p. 25) indicating that “issues surroundings the social conditions of production and interpretation of texts are important in helping the researcher understand discourse surroundings”, which supported the establishment of these criteria. The disqualification criteria were:

- The tweet is irrelevant to the subject of women driving, such as advertisements.
- The tweeter is not considered a person, such as news agencies, bots etc.

The screen name, name, description, verified status and followers count of

the tweeter were inspected to conclude whether or not the tweeter is a person.

- The tweeter is non-Saudi. While the topic attracted many users from the world, who either celebrated or condemned the decree on women driving, non-Saudi tweets were disregarded. The tweets are identified through the examination of the names, ID, and bio of the Twitter users. If the information could not be clearly defined by these factors, the researcher checked the users' timeline feed and the pronouns the tweeters use to refer to themselves and their country.
 - This study further specifies the scope and limitations of the corpus of tweets. Only the textual part of the tweets is considered. Visual images and videos are not included in the data, as the multimodal approach using corpus tools is difficult to achieve. Thus, tweets with links to multimedia without any textual statement were eliminated.
5. Consistent with Baker's (2006) assertions of "Questions involving production such as who authored a text, under what circumstances .. ", I manually inspected each qualified tweet and coded it with the gender of the tweeter, the position of the tweeter towards women driving, whether it is pro-driving/decreed or against it.
6. Another python script (pull-tweets-xls.py), shown in Figure 8, was developed to read the coded excel files and produced four text files that contains only the tweets text to form our corpora. The four text files were:
- File 1: all tweets that were pro-decreed from the first period.
 - File 2: all tweets that were anti-decreed from the first period.

- File 3: all tweets that were pro-driving from the second period.
- File 4: all tweets that were anti-driving from the second period.

Figure 8

The Second Python Script (pull-tweets-xls.py)

```

import xlrd
import codecs

print("Enter Excel file name:")
filename = input()
fn = filename.split(".")[0];

wb = xlrd.open_workbook(fn+'.xlsx')
wb.sheet_names()
sh = wb.sheet_by_index(0)
i = 1
twts = ""
twts_pro = ""
twts_anti = ""
while i < sh.nrows and sh.cell(i,6).value != 0 :

    Load = sh.cell(i,6).value
    twt = str(Load) + "\n=====\\n"
    twts = twts+ twt
    if (sh.cell(i,2).value == 'P'):
        twts_pro = twts_pro + twt
    else:
        twts_anti = twts_anti + twt
    i = i + 1

twtsfile = codecs.open(fn+".txt", "w", "utf-8-sig")
twtsfile.write(twts)
twtsfile.close()

twtsfile_pro = codecs.open(fn+"_PRO.txt", "w", "utf-8-sig")
twtsfile_pro.write(twts_pro)
twtsfile_pro.close()

twtsfile_anti = codecs.open(fn+"_ANTI.txt", "w", "utf-8-sig")
twtsfile_anti.write(twts_anti)
twtsfile_anti.close()

```

7. Lastly, I fed these four files to Sketch Engine , an online text analysis tool, which I used to perform the corpus linguistics analysis including keywords and concordance.

Analytical Software

Once the corpora were gathered, and prepared for use with a corpus tool, a suitable CL software was needed. The software used in the present study is Sketch Engine. Sketch Engine was developed by Adam Kilgarriff, Pavel Rychly, Pavel Smrz and David Tugwell (Kilgarriff *et al.*, 2004) Sketch Engine is available as a web-based tool through which users via a monthly subscription have access to a number of corpora in different languages including Arabic as well as enabling users to upload personal corpora and accepting it in several file formats.

Gender Distribution and Tweeters Positions

The criteria consisted of a few factors in labelling and identifying the tweets. One factor is to distinguish by gender to reflect the themes arising from the socio-cultural perspective of the study. However, the analysis did not focus on gender, and instead was based on people's positions. The gender perspective added value to the contextual information as the tweets indicate how many males and females debated the issue. Although the issue revolved around women, this social issue initiated the involvement of all society's members, consisting of both genders. Following is a detailed description of gender distribution and tweeters positions for all the hashtags used in this study. Figure 9 illustrates the result of the #People_Reject_Women_Driving:

Figure 9

Gender Distribution and Tweeters Positions for the Hashtag

#People_Reject_Women_Driving during the Period of September 26-28, 2017

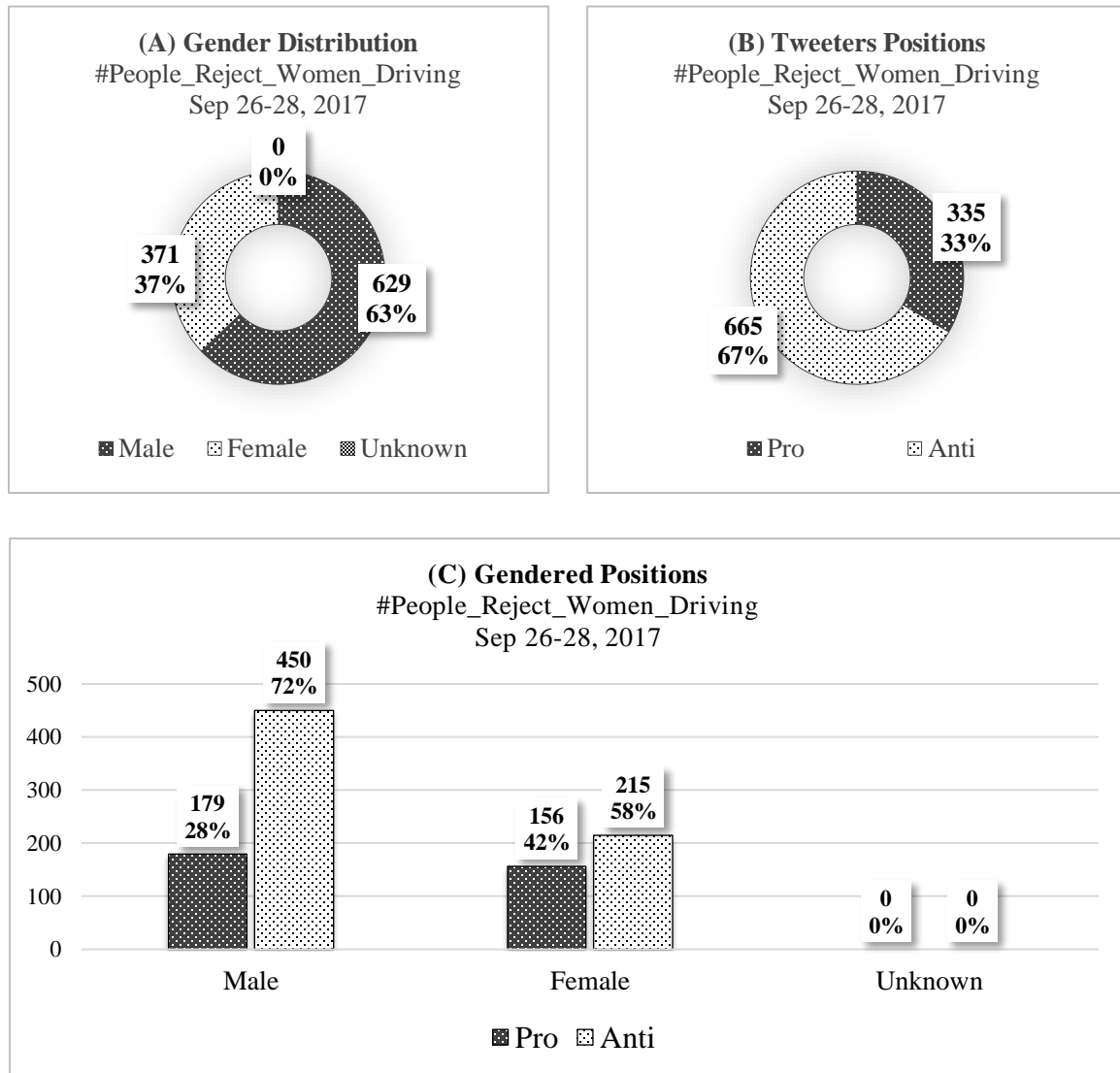


Figure 9 illustrates statistical data for the hashtag #People_Reject_Women_Driving.

Figure 9 (A) shows the gender distribution where the majority were identified as Male at 63%. The female tweeters represent 37% of this data sample. 67% of the tweets were anti-decree whereas 33% of them were pro-decree as shown in Figure 9 (B). The percentage of anti-decree tweets are significantly higher among males at 72% in comparison to females at 58% as illustrated in Figure 9 (C).

Figure 10

Gender Distribution and Tweeters Positions for the Hashtag

#The_King_Preavils_For_Women_Driving During the Period of September 26-28, 2017

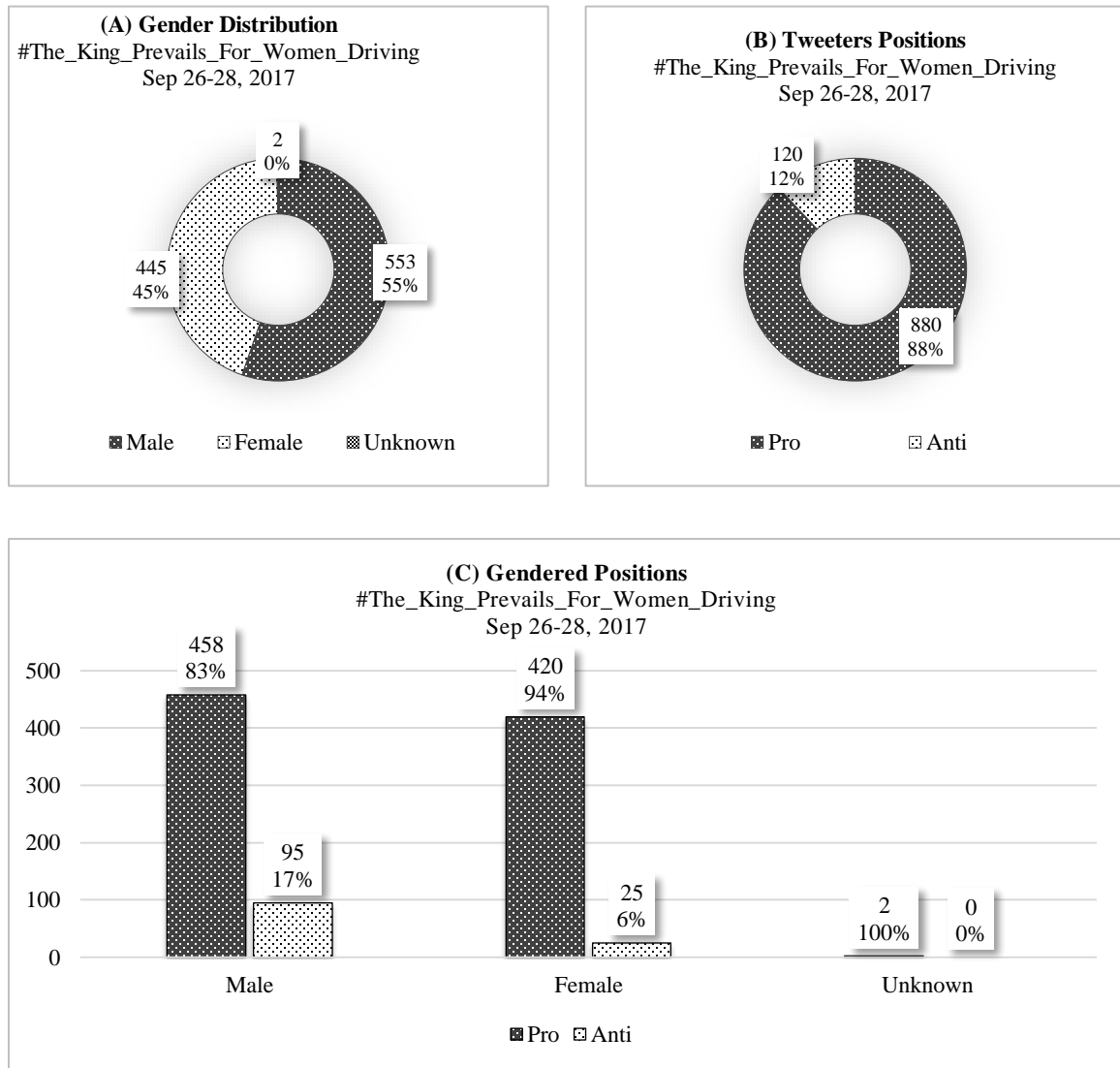


Figure 10 illustrates statistical data for the hashtag

#The_King_Preavils_For_Women_Driving. Figure 10 (A) shows the gender distribution

where the majority were identified as Male at 55%. The female tweeters represent 45% of

this data sample. The majority of the tweets were pro-decree whereas 12% of them were

anti-decree as shown in Figure 10 (B). The percentage of pro-decree tweets are close

among males and females as illustrated in Figure 10 (C).

Figure 11

Gender Distribution and Tweeters Positions for the Hashtag #Saudi_Women_Driving during the Period of September 26-28, 2017

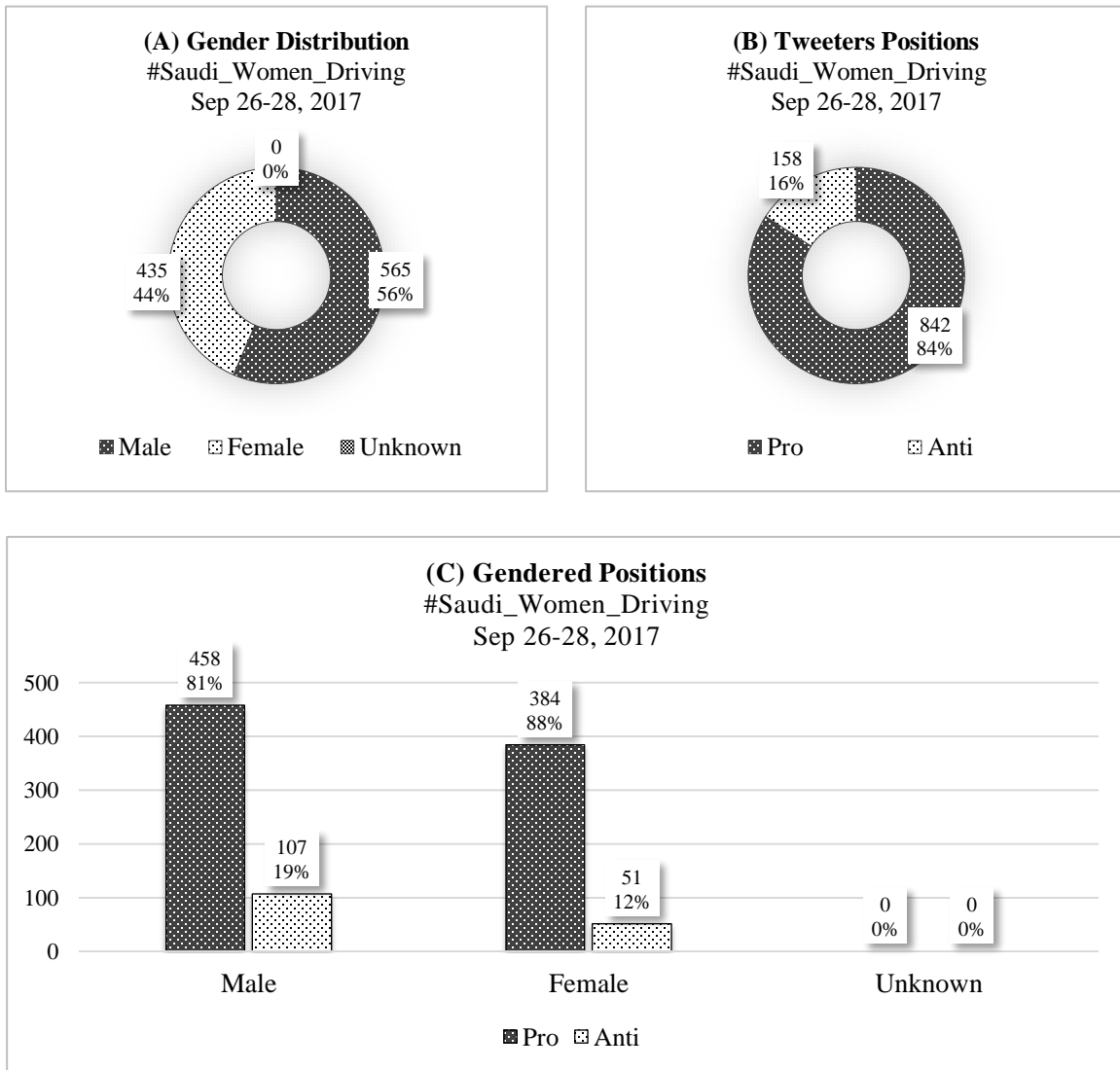


Figure 11 illustrates statistical data for the hashtag #Saudi_Women_Driving. Figure 11 (A) shows the gender distribution where the majority were identified as Male at 56%. The female tweeters represent 44% of this data sample. The majority of the tweets were pro-decree whereas 16% of them were anti-decree as shown in Figure 11 (B). Similar to the previous hashtag, the percentage of Pro-decree tweets are close among males and females as illustrated in Figure 11 (C).

Figure 12

Gender Distribution and Tweeters Positions for the Hashtag #Saudi_Women_Driving during the Period of September 26-28, 2017

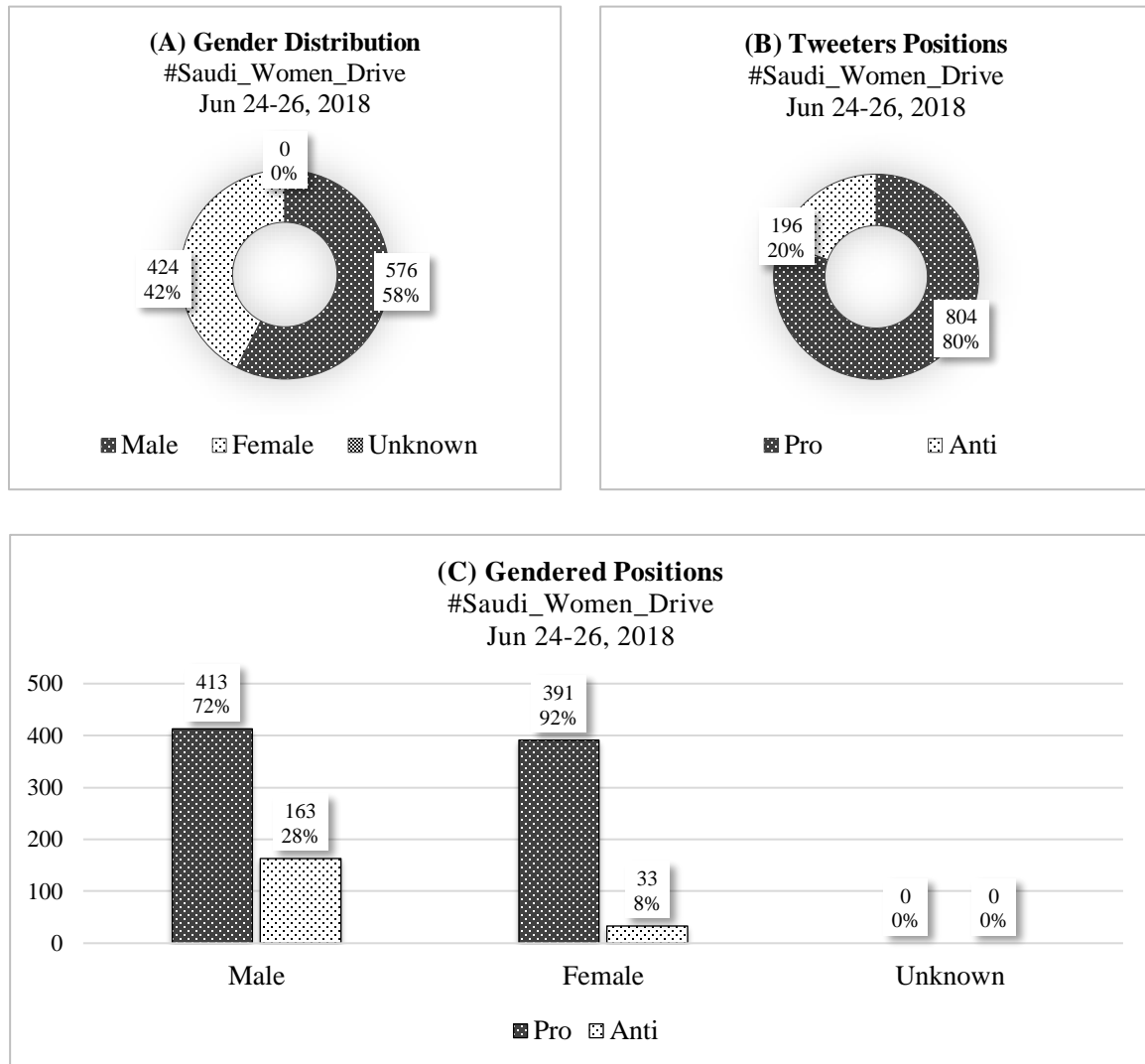


Figure 12 illustrates statistical data for the hashtag #Saudi_Women_Drive. Figure 12 (A) shows the gender distribution where the majority were identified as Male at 58%. The female tweeters represent 42% of this data sample. 80% of the tweets were pro-decree whereas 20% of them were anti-decree as shown in Figure 12 (B). The number of pro-decree tweets among males and females is much higher than the anti-decree tweets as illustrated in Figure 12 (C).

Figure 13

Gender Distribution and Tweeters Positions for the Hashtag #Saudi_Women_Driving during the Period of June 24-26, 2018

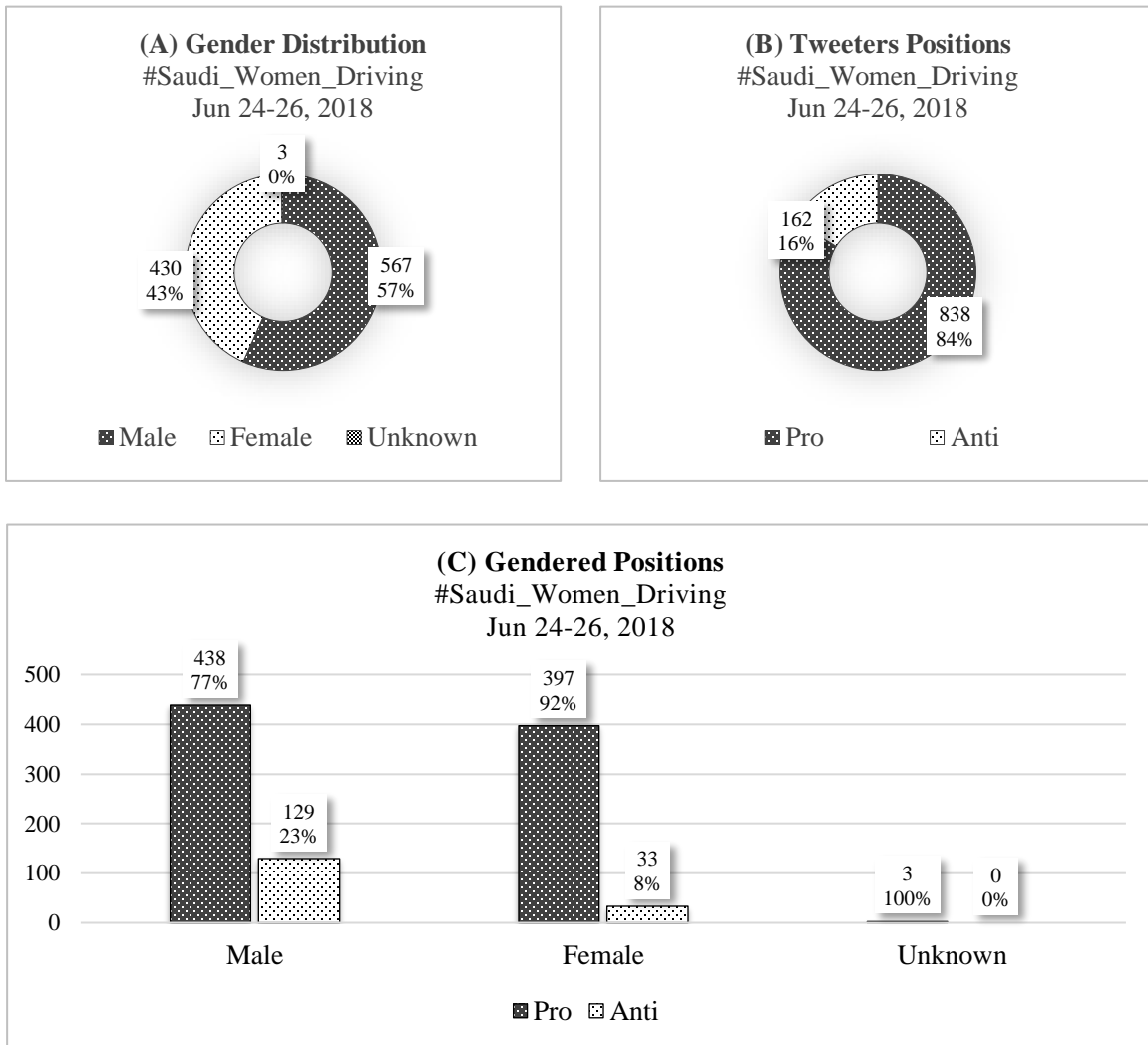


Figure 13 illustrates statistical data for the hashtag #Saudi_Women_Driving

(A) shows the gender distribution where the majority were identified as Male at 57%.

The female tweeters represent 43% of this data sample. 80% of the tweets were pro-

decree whereas 20% of them were anti-decree as shown in Figure 13 (B). The number of

pro-decree tweets is higher among males and females as illustrated in Figure 13 (C).

Figure 14

Gender Distribution and Tweeters Positions for the Hashtag #Saudi_Women_Drive_Car during the Period of June 24-26, 2018

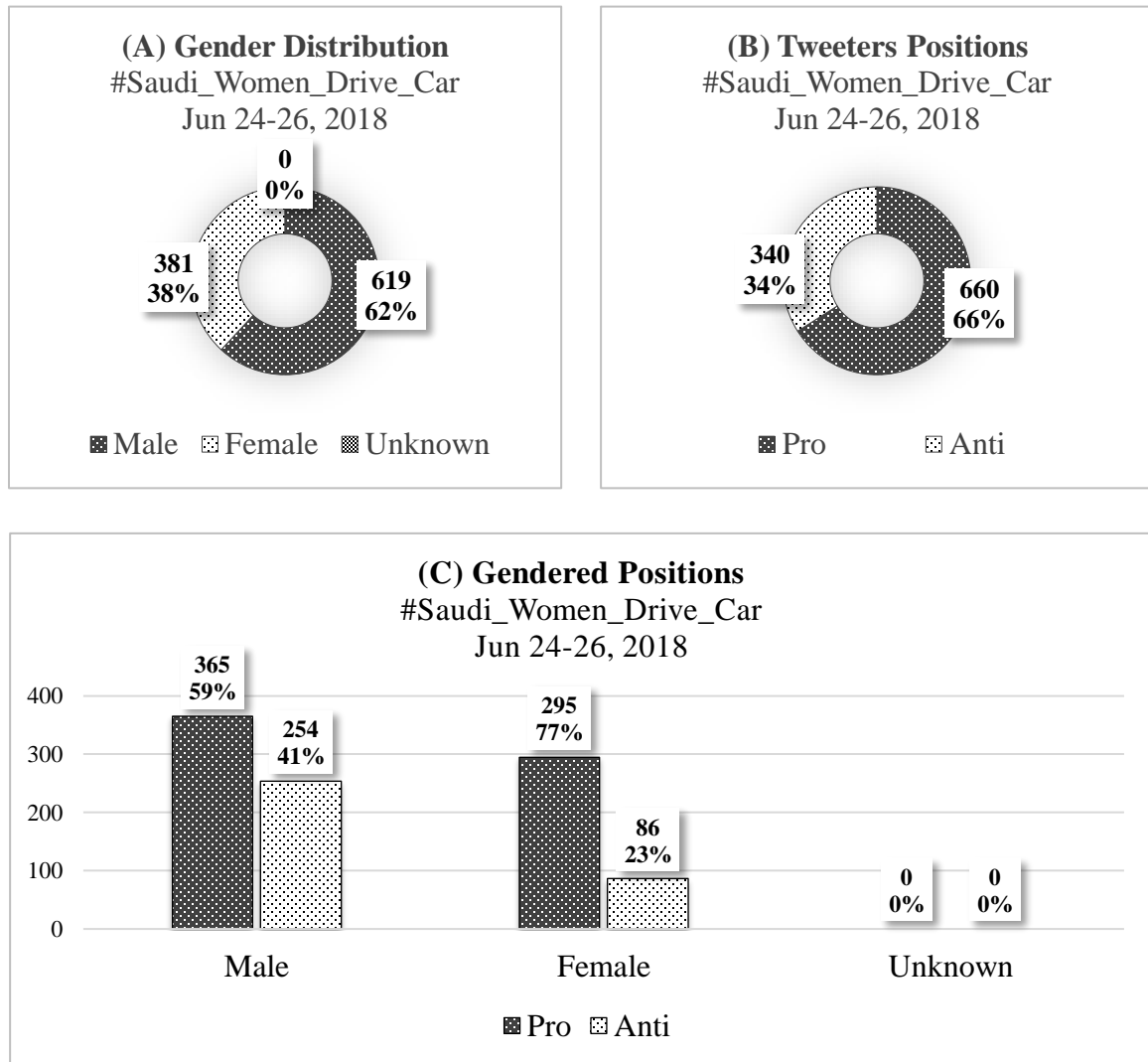


Figure 14 illustrates statistical data for the hashtag #Saudi_Women_Drive_Car. Figure 14 (A) shows the gender distribution where the majority were identified as Male at 62%. The female tweeters represent 38% of this data sample. 66% of the tweets were pro-decree whereas 34% of them were anti-decree as shown Figure 14 (B). The percentage of anti-decree tweets are higher among males at 41% in comparison to females at 23% as illustrated in Figure 14 (C).

Corpus Size

A balanced corpus in terms of size and portions is essential in the language use it represents and the results it generates. In this study, balance in size is not given much attention as it is apparent from the figures above and Table 7 that the Pro-decree corpus is larger than the Anti-decree corpus. In this study having an equal corpus size was not fitted because the aim of this study was to measure the Saudi's public acceptance to the new royal decree and social change about to take part in the country and then investigate the attitudes via the language use of each group. Although we cannot make claims that the general public is accepting of the social change, nonetheless, it can be concluded from the data of this study that the majority of the Saudi twitter users participating in the online debate are in agreement with the royal decree and are embracing the social change. Also, it can be noticed from Table 7 that the corpus size has increased in the 2nd period and this is due to Twitter increasing tweets' length limit from 140 characters to 280 characters on November 8, 2017 i.e. after the 1st period and before the 2nd period.

Table 7
Corpus Size

Period	Hashtag	Pro		Anti		Total	
		<i>Tweets</i>	<i>Words</i>	<i>Tweets</i>	<i>Words</i>	<i>Tweets</i>	<i>Words</i>
1 st period	#The king prevails for women driving	880	15,942	120	2,404	1,000	18,346
	#The people reject women driving	335	6,581	665	10,865	1,000	17,446
	#Saudi women driving	842	17,027	158	3,124	1,000	20,151
	1 st period sub-total	2,057	39,550	943	16,393	3,000	55,943
2 nd period	#Saudi women drive	804	20,728	196	6,695	1,000	27,423
	#Saudi women drive cars	660	17,308	340	11,284	1,000	28,592
	#Saudi women driving	838	26,667	162	5,798	1,000	32,465

Period	Hashtag	Pro		Anti		Total	
		<i>Tweets</i>	<i>Words</i>	<i>Tweets</i>	<i>Words</i>	<i>Tweets</i>	<i>Words</i>
	2 nd period sub-total	2,302	64,703	698	23,777	3,000	88,480
	Total	4,039	104,253	1,961	40,170	6,000	144,423

In conclusion, this chapter discussed the procedure that was used for the compilation of the corpora, which consisted of Twitter posts that discuss and debate the royal decree granting Saudi women the right to drive. Also, information was provided about the analyzed hashtags, justifications for their selection, and details about how the collected tweets were organized to be analyzed using the CL analytical software, Sketch Engine.

CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter consists of two sets of analyses aimed to uncover attitudes and discursive strategies of the two groups, those supporting women's right to drive and opposing women's driving. Because the primary research question is "How do Saudi Twitter users discursively debate the royal decree ending the ban on women driving?" then it is logical to focus first on how the most salient words are represented and characterized in the corpus of each set and the topics each group tends to focus on in the discussion of Saudi women driving inside the country. To facilitate the task of detecting the ideological semantic forms, themes, and linguistic structures of the tweets, I employed research methods from corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis discussed in Chapter 2.

The first step in examining the data was corpus-driven to examine ideologically salient words and get an overall view of the similarities and differences between pro and against corpora. I approached the corpus by generating keyword lists, showing which words occur significantly more frequently in one corpus or period than in another, and thus, identifying the semantic foci that reflect the topics found in each group.

Keywords can be generated by comparing a specialized corpus against a general corpus, comparing a specialized corpus against another specialized corpus, and internally when a corpus deals with two sides of a debate by dividing the corpus into two subcorpora. Baker (2006) explained how to generate keywords by dividing the corpus into two parts; he used an analysis of the discourses concerning the banning fox hunting in Britain. A file was created for those in favor of the ban and another for those advocating for fox hunting. Similarly, Baker (2010) carried out an analysis of the

representation of Islam by the British press, comparing the keyword list of the broadsheet corpus with that from the tabloid corpus. I approached the corpus of this study in the same way. The keyword list was generated internally by examining the frequency list from the pro and the against corpora. Word frequencies in the pro-decree were compared against their expected frequencies in the against decree corpus.

Whereas the present analysis is a corpus-driven one, where a list of the 100 keywords in each corpus was extracted and manually analyzed by inspecting their concordance lines to determine their ideological and thematic stance, there was a further need to investigate the word *decree* which appeared in the keyword list of the pro- corpus and co-occurred with many keywords in both corpora, in order to explore how it was represented. The researcher presents the analysis of the ideological search term *decree* and then presents what the keyword analysis reveals about the most salient themes in both corpora the pro and the against. As the Arabic corpus is not lemmatized in sketch engine, some keywords appeared in the keywords list in its different forms. For instance, the inflections of the Keyword قرار/decree (قرارات، القرار، القرار، القرارات , decree, the decree, decrees, the decrees) were all present in the pro-decree keyword list and treated by the researcher as one word. While the Maximum frequencies of the keywords was kept to 1000 , the minimum frequency of occurrence was adjusted to 6 words.

Anti-decree Dataset

This section contains an analysis of the corpus of posts written by Saudi users who opposed the royal decree. The corpus consists of 40,170 words. The first step was to run a keyword list from the two periods (Table 8 and Table 9). The 50 most frequent

keywords in each period were explored, excluding the hashtags. Keywords annotated with (f) are in the feminine form of the word.

Table 8

Keywords of the Anti-decree Dataset (September 26-28, 2017)

Rank	Keyword		Frequency	
	<i>Arabic</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Corpus</i>	<i>Reference corpus</i>
1	شده	Strongly	10	0
2	حزين	Sad	10	0
3	تبرجن	Display yourselves (f)	10	0
4	بيوتكن	Their homes Their houses	10	0
5	الزكاة	Zakat	7	0
6	تعالوا	Come	6	0
7	الغاء	Revoke	17	2
8	ظهر	Visible	17	2
9	بطن	Be hidden	17	2
10	اعوذ	Seek refuge	8	1
11	تكفي	please	7	1
12	نرفض	We reject	35	6
13	الحفلات	Concerts/Parties	6	1
14	يكثر	To spread	6	1
15	اسقاط	Ending	6	1
16	قرن	Stay/Settle (f)	11	2
17	اصح	To set aright	9	2
18	زوال	Demise	9	2
19	الوكيل	Disposer	20	5
20	النصارى	Christians	8	2
21	الجاهلية	Pre-Islamic era	8	2
22	الغرب	The West	15	4
23	اليهود	Jews	10	1
24	ضياع	loss	6	2
25	الثبات	Steadfast	14	5

Rank	Keyword		Frequency	
	<i>Arabic</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Corpus</i>	<i>Reference corpus</i>
26	فتن	Seditions	10	4
27	الاختلاط	mixing of the sexes in public forums	10	4
28	الصلاة	The Prayer	10	4
29	ارفض	I Reject	12	5
30	رسول	prophet	7	3
31	وطني	My Homeland	7	3
32	حسبي	Suffice	9	4
33	نايف	Naif	27	5
34	تبرج	Display	10	5
35	الفتن	Sedations	43	22
36	صلاه	Prayer	6	3
37	الحال	Situation	9	5
38	اخاف	I fear	7	4
39	نريد	We want	12	7
40	ملكة	Queen	6	4
41	المشاكل	Problems	6	4
42	نسالك	We ask you	6	4
43	بك	In you	12	8
44	رحم	Mercy	13	9
45	ترضى	Pleased	9	7
46	بلاد	Country	23	19
47	اللهم	O'Allah	90	35
48	عنا	On us	6	5
49	تعالى	Almighty	9	8
50	نعم	Best	43	39

Table 9*Keywords of the Anti-decree Dataset (June 24-26, 2018)*

Rank	Keyword		Frequency	
	Arabic	English	Corpus	Reference corpus
1	الليبراليين	Liberals	8	0
2	تخلو	To be alone (f)	11	0
3	اختلاط	mixing [of the sexes in public forums]	11	1
4	تضليل	Misleading	10	2
5	اهداف	Goals	9	2
6	الشيطان	Satan	11	4
7	اعلام	Media	11	4
8	اللاتي	Whom (f)	14	6
9	الوكيل	Disposer/Protector	11	5
10	سائقة	Driver (f)	13	6
11	قلوب	Hearts	6	3
12	فساد	Corruption	6	3
13	المدينة	City	11	6
14	الاجنبي	The Foreign	21	12
15	فتنة	Sedition	10	6
16	اعلامية*	Relating to Media (f)	11	7
17	المفاسد	The corruptions	14	10
18	خروج	Outing	9	7
19	قالوا	They said	10	8
20	الفتن	The seditions	27	22
21	يقدن	They drive (f)	11	9
22	يريد	Want	13	11
23	خلوة	Meeting alone [between an unrelated man and woman]	14	12
24	اشاهد	See	11	10
25	الاعلام	The media	49	46
26	الواقع	The reality	17	17

* These terms can also be used to refer to a “journalist” in Arabic, however in the context of this data set they only appeared to refer to the media (e.g. media circus, media propagandization).

Rank	Keyword		Frequency	
	<i>Arabic</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Corpus</i>	<i>Reference corpus</i>
27	الاعلامي*	Related to media	15	15
28	اغلب	Most	19	21
29	هدف	Goal/Aim	9	10
30	ماذا	What	23	26
31	شوارع	Streets	15	17
32	خلف	Behind	24	30
33	الشارع	The Street	15	20
34	عدد	number	12	16
35	التبرج	The Display	14	21
36	نسبة	Percentage	8	12
37	لدى	To	9	14
38	السائق	The driver	37	58
39	العلماء	The Ulama	22	36
40	لم	Not	103	169
41	احفظ	Save	14	24
42	الفساد	The corruption	11	23
43	بداية	Beginning	11	24
44	الرياض	Riyadh	20	45
45	الذين	who	16	36
46	الشوارع	The Streets	15	34
47	شر	evil	16	37
48	ربي	My Lord	7	18
49	اجل	For	12	31
50	ذلك	That	44	114

Keyword Semantic Categorization

After generating the top100 keywords, following Baker (2010) the words were grouped into categories according to their semantic meanings. The historical, social, political background helped with grouping the words as shown in Table 10.

Table 10*Semantic Categorization of the Anti-decree Keywords*

Semantic category	1 st period anti-decree		2 nd period anti-decree	
	Keyword - AR	Keyword - EN	Keyword - AR	Keyword – EN
Religious /supplication	الزكاة	Zakat	الشيطان	Satan
	تبرجن	display yourselves (f)	الوكيل	Disposer
	تبرج	Display	ربي	My Lord
	اصلح	To set aright	شر	evil
	ظهر	visible	قلوب	Hearts
	الثبات	Steadfastness	الفتن	The seditions
	بطن	invisible	حفظ	Save
	قرن	Stay/Settle		
	أعوذ	I seek refuge		
	بيوتكن	Their homes		
	زوال	Demise		
	الوكيل	Disposer		
	الجاهلية	Pre-Islamic era		
	الصلاة	The Prayer		
	رسول	Prophet		
	نعم	The best		
	حسبي	Suffice		
	صلاه	Prayer		
	نسالك	We ask you		
	الفتن	The seditions		
	بك	In you		
	اللهم	O'Allah		
	رحم	Mercy		
	عنا	On us		
	تعالى	Almighty		
	الحال	Situation		
Consequences	ضياع	Loss [of morals]	اختلاط	Mixing [of men and women] in public
	الاختلاط	The mixing [of men and women] in public	خروج	Outing
	الحفلات	The concert	الفساد	The Corruption
	اسقاط	Ending	التبرج	Display
	فتن	seditions	تخلو	To be alone (f)
	المشاكل	The Problems	فتنه	Sedition
			المفاسد	The corruptions
			خلوه	Meeting alone between unrelated man and woman
		فساد	corruption	

Semantic category	1 st period anti-decree		2 nd period anti-decree	
	Keyword - AR	Keyword - EN	Keyword - AR	Keyword – EN
Descriptive	الغرب	The West	العلماء	The Ulama
	حزين	Sad	الاجنبي	The Foreign
	النصارى	Christians	اغلب	Most
	اليهود	Jews	سائقة	Driver (f)
	ملكة	Queen	الليبراليين	Liberals
Actions/verbs	تعالوا	Come	يقدن	They drive (f)
	يكثر	To spread To increase	ينادون	To call for
	نرفض	We reject	تضليل	Mislead
	الغاء	revoke	اشاهد	see
	ارفض	I reject	قالوا	They said
	اخاف	I fear	يريد	Want
	نريد	We want		
	اصلح	To set aright/fix		
	ترضى	Pleased		
	Driving/City			السائق
			سائقه	Driver (f)
			شوارع	Streets
			الشوارع	The streets
			الشارع	The street
			الرياض	Riyadh
			المدينة	The city/ Medina
Media			اعلام	Media
			الاعلام	The media
			الاعلامي	Related to media
			اعلامية	Related to media (f)
Other	بشده	Strongly	اللاتي	Whom (f)
	تكفى	Please	اهداف	Goals
	وطني	My homeland	الذين	who
	نايف	Naif	الواقع	Reality
	بلاد	Country	خلف	Behind
			هدف	Goal
			ماذا	What
			ذلك	That
			اجل	For
			بداية	Beginning
			لدى	To
			لم	Not
			نسبه	Percentage
			عدد	Number

The Word 'Decree'

The researcher examined the arguments used by the anti-decree tweeters to legitimate their stances. The researcher searched for the word *decree* in its different word formations in the anti-dataset corpus. The frequency of Decree and its related forms are shown in Table 11.

Table 11

The Frequency of 'قرار \ Decree' and Its Related Forms in the Anti-decree Dataset Corpus

Term	Frequency
Decree	42
The Decree	122
Decrees	1
The decrees	4

Negative Representations of the Decree

The term decree and its word formulations appeared 169 times. The 169 concordance lines were examined and sorted into three semantic categories, with some tweets overlapping the first category. The categories that emerged, includes the decree will result in adverse outcomes, this decree must be revoked, and this decree is only celebrated by the Other and not by Us.

The Decree will Result in Negative Outcomes. In this section, I discuss text from those with the negative results concerning the decree. I examined the arguments according to how anti-decree tweeters legitimized stances. The concordance lines 1 to 11 of the word decree show the primary discursive strategy to discredit was to problematize women's driving in the country with the two holy mosques (Table 12).

Table 12*Concordance Lines of the Decree Resulting in Negative Outcomes*

No.	Left Side	Keyword	Right Side
A1	سوف يأتي من بعده ما هو اسوء لأنها البداية و القادم سوف يكون افطع من قرارات و جرائم اغتصاب و ضياع للبنات	قرار	#الشعب-يرفض-قياده-المراه لأنه
A2	خافو ربكم هذي بلاد الحرمين	القرار	بكره تكثر الحوادث و يكثر الاغتصاب و يكثر الخطف ويكثر السرقة ، ونص الشعب فرحان بهذا
A3	في مستقبل بلاد الحرمين	القرار	قيادة المرأة للسيارة ليس حراما بذات الفعل و لم يفتي احد بهذا ؛ ولكن المفاصد الشرعية من تبرج و سفور و انعدام للحياء بين الجنسين ؛ هي ما جعلت اهل الغيرة يخافون من تبعات هذا
A4	تبعات مفسده مضيعه للمراه المسلمة فاتقوا الله	القرار	درء المفاصد مقدم على جلب المصالح والله ان لهذا
A5	لم يأتي في وقته اولا و ثانيا قرار القيادة سلبياته اكثر من ايجابياته	القرار	في النهاية لست متعصب او متحجز ولكن
A6	سلبى سلبى و الايام كفيله باذن الله	القرار	اقسم بالله انى احب الوطن حب و الذي لا يحب وطنه يعتبر خائن بس
A7	فكل بيت سوف يتأثر بهذا القرار .. الاغلبية لا تؤيد هذا القرار فالسلبيات اكثر	القرار	لماذا لا يؤخذ راي الشعب في هذا
E1	#We-reject-women-driving because it's a	decree	followed by what's worse because it's the beginning, and what's coming is worse in terms of decrees, rape cases, and girls being morally lost
E2	Tomorrow accident numbers will rise as well as rapes, kidnap cases, and stealing, and half of society is happy with this	decree	fear god this is the country of the two holy mosques
E3	The act of women driving cars isn't forbidden in itself, and nobody released a fatwa saying this, however the religious bad evils like unveiling and mixing of the genders, these evil outcomes of the	decree	are what the protective people of their religion fear will happen in the country of the two holy mosques
E4	Preventing corruption is prioritized over gaining benefits* I swear that this	decree	has corrupt outcomes that will result in the loss of the Muslim women. So fear God.
E5	At the end I'm not closeminded or intolerant, however firstly the	decree	didn't come at the right time and secondly, the disadvantages of the driving decree are more than its advantages.

* a juridical principle

No.	Left Side	Keyword	Right Side
E6	I swear to God that I love this country so much, and who doesn't is considered a traitor, however this	decree	is negative negative and the days will prove it with god's permission
E7	Why not take the people's opinion in this decree, as every house will be affected by this	decree	the majority don't approve it as its negatives surpass [the positives].

The anti-decree Tweet content revealed fears concerning religious and social outcomes. Religious outcomes concerned the loss and corruption of Muslim women and their modesty, for example, removing the veil and the mixing between the genders. The social outcomes are related to problems and crimes, such as rape, kidnap, accidents, and stealing. The use of the term God in these excerpts, such as “fear God” in lines 2 and 4, suggests that the opponents view women's driving as against God's will. The opponent's tweets tended to refer to Saudi Arabia as “the country of the two holy mosques”. They viewed women driving as a road to liberalize the Islamic state, and they emphasized preserving the state as the capital of Islam; thus, they recognized Mecca, Medina, and the holy mosques. Hedging in line A5/E5 and a disclaimer in line A6/E6 are other discursive strategies to dispel presupposition from the pro group. The pro presupposition is that going against a royal decree is unpatriotic. The negation in line A5/E5 presupposes that disagreeing with women driving is considered close-mindedness and intolerant of those willing to drive. The opposition viewed the decree as damaging and leading to adverse outcomes (Table 13).

Table 13

Examples of the Use of Metaphors to Amplify the Decree's Consequences

No.	Left Side	Keyword	Right Side
A8	#قياده_المرأه_السعوديه_بداية_فرط_السبحه_للحشمة والستر_وتمهيد_لقرار_إسقاط_الولاية	قرار	#وجهة_نظر_متواضعة
A9	والقادم_مذهل_يا_بلاد_الحرمين	قرار	يسكبون_البنزين_قرب_النار_بهكذا

No.	Left Side	Keyword	Right Side
A10	وسيكون هناك تغير مناخي فيكون الصيف صيفا والشتاء صيفا ولا يبرد بعد اليوم	القرار	ستنتهي الحياه في بلاد الامل بعد هذا
A11	فعواقبه كارثية و هو بابٌ إذا انفتح لم يكد يغلق	القرار	أرجوا من وطني إعادة النظر في هذا
E8	#humble-point-of-view, the	decree	allowing women to drive is <u>the start of spilling the beads</u> of modesty and protection and paving the way to the decree ending the guardianship law
E9	Their <u>pouring gasoline near the fire</u> with this kind of	decree	What’s coming is astounding O the country of the two holy mosques
E10	The life in the country of hope will end after this	decree	and there will be <u>a climate change</u> , as the summer will be summer, and winter will be summer, and there is no winter after today
E11	I ask my country to reconsider this	decree	as its results are catastrophic, and <u>it is a door if opened, will hardly be closed</u>

Metaphors were another discursive strategy used to amplify the decree’s consequences, as shown in the concordance lines 8-11 (Table 13). The metaphors in lines A8/E8 to A11/E11 express that decree is a change for the worse. The phrases such as “spilling the beads of modesty and protection,” “pouring gasoline near the fire,” and “it is a door if opened, will hardly be closed” and “climate change” depict this notion. “Spilling the beads” is symbolic of how outcomes could be uncontrollable after the decree takes effect, as are beads hard to collect and control once they are spilled. Tweeters employed hyperboles, such as “what’s coming is astounding,” “its results are catastrophic,” and “life will end in the country of hope,” to exaggerate perceptions of post-decree outcomes. These tweets intensify expected changes in Saudi society. Moreover, in line A8/E8, abolishing the guardianship law is regarded as an imminent depraved consequence. The tweet is conjoined with the words “protection” and “modesty,” implying that the decree opposes these values because, in this view, the guardianship law does not oppose women’s rights. Instead, this law is under the umbrella of protection and modesty consistent with patriarchal norms and values.

The Decree Must be Revoked. The group of anti-decree tweeters petitioned for revocation of the decree. Some tweets highlighted similar reasoning as used by the first group of tweeters. Their statements express demands and pleas for the decree to be revoked. These appeals are indicated in verbs such as “retract,” “revoke,” “reconsider,” “stop,” and “withdrawn,” as shown from concordance lines 12 to 27 (Table 14).

Table 14

Examples of Anti-decree Tweeters Asking for Decree Reversal

No.	Example (EN)	No.	Example (AR)
E12.	I request from my country to <u>reconsider</u> this decree as its results are catastrophic and it is a door if opened, will hardly be closed	A12.	أرجوا من وطني إعادة النظر في هذا القرار فعواقبه كارثية و هو بابٌ إذا انفتح لم يكد يعلق
E13.	I don't support this decree ..I wish it is <u>reconsidered</u> , as its consequences in the long run are dire	A13.	لا اؤيد هذا القرار ..اتمني إعادة النظر في امره ;; فعواقبه على المدى البعيد وخيمة
E14.	Our king <u>stop</u> this decree and <i>cut evil from its roots</i>	A14.	يا ملكنا امنع هذا القرار اقطع الششر من جنوره
E15.	Yes we reject it and every good Muslim human being rejects it and we wish for the ruler to <u>reconsider</u> the decree for the <i>corruptions it will brings</i>	A15.	نعم نرفضها و كل انسان مسلم صالح يرفضها ونتمني من ولي الامر مراجعة القرار و ما يترتب عليه من مفساد
E16.	We request for this decree to be <u>revoked</u> and for citizens to be given housing and jobs	A16.	نطالب بإلغاء هذا القرار و منح المواطنين سكن و وظائف
E17.	We don't want the decree , we wish you'd <u>retract</u> , none of my sisters, daughters or my wife will be driving. We don't want this decree , kindly <u>retract</u>	A17.	لا نريد القرار نتمني التراجع لن تقود اي من اخواتي او بناتي او زوجتي السيارة لا نريد هذا القرار كرما التراجع
E18.	O' Allah soften the hearts of those issuing the decree so they <u>revoke</u> it.	A18.	اللهم لين على قلب من هم انزلوا هذا القرار ويلغونه
E19.	O' Allah, as much as you've saddened us yesterday night with the driving news, bless us tonight with [the news] of <u>revoking</u> the decree	A19.	يا رب بقدر ما احزنننا ليلة امس بخبر القيادة افرحنا بهذه الليلة بإلغاء القرار
E20.	O'Allah protect our country from seditions, O' Lord I ask you to <u>revoke</u> this decree	A20.	اللهم احفظ بلادنا من الفتن يا رب ادعوك انه ينلغي القرار
E21.	O' Lord just like you made us hear this shocking news, O'Allah make us hear about <u>revoking</u> the decree and please us	A21.	يا رب مثل ما اسمعتنا هالخبر المفجع اللهم انك تسمعنا بقرار الالغاء و تفرحنا و الله لتثير الفتن و التحرشات و المصائب كلها

No.	Example (EN)	No.	Example (AR)
	[with it]. I swear seditions, harassments and all the disasters will be instigated		
E22.	Continue with gods willing, the fitnah (sedition) will be defeated nothing will happen against the will of the people, continue <u>as this decree might change</u>	A22.	استمروا بإذن الله تحبط الفتنة م راح يقوم شيء غصب عن الشعب استمروا ممكن يتغير القرار
E23.	To the people in charge we respected you and still have respect for you and you have our utmost thanks and appreciation, but we hope you would <u>revoke</u> this decree before seditions are spread	A23.	اصحاب الامر احترمناكم ومازلنا نحترمكم و لكم جزيل الشكر و العرفان و لكن ارجوا منكم الغاء هذا القرار قبل ان يعم الفتن
E24.	May god not test us, O Lord I hope this decree is <u>backtracked</u>	A24.	الله لا يبلانا يارب يتم التراجع عن هذا القرار
E25.	I hope this decree is <u>withdrawn</u>	A25.	اتمني ان يسحب القرار
E26.	I ask God the greatest that women remain respected and honored in their homes and that this decree is <u>backtracked</u> because it's harmful to society	A26.	اسال الله العلي العظيم ان تبقى المرأة معززه مكرمة في بيتها وان يتم التراجع عن هذا القرار لأنه مضر جدا بالمجتمع
E27.	With God's permission they'll <u>revoke</u> this decree and women will be respected and honored	A27.	بإذن الله يلغون القرار وتكون المرأة معززة مكرمة

The concordance lines demonstrate a range of ways that anti-decree tweeters express their revocation requests. In lines A12/E12 to A15/E15, expressions contain reasons for invalidating the decree. These statements relate and overlap with the first group of tweets (Table 12). In the context of predicational strategies, their analysis concurs with previous results as these tweets emphasize the undesirable regard for the decree because of its projected consequences. The following words insinuate this notion: “its results are catastrophic”, “as its consequences in the long run are dire”, “for the corruptions it will bring”, and “cut evil from its roots.” In reference to self, the anti-decree tweeters used group pronouns such as ‘we’ and ‘us’ to expand the ingroup (e.g. we reject, we request, and saddened us) and represented the opposers as “good Muslims” as shown in in line A15/E15. This reference divides the Muslims into good and bad ones

and presupposes that those celebrating the decree are bad Muslims. The emphatic discourse in anti-decree tweets expressed that driving could lead to forbidden temptations; some have debated that the decree is a fitnah (sedition) or will lead to fitan (pl. seditions), as shown in lines A20/E20 to A23/E23 (Table 14). Many requests for revocation were framed as preserving respect for women. These requests portray driving as dishonorable (lines A26/E26 and A27/E27, Table 14).

Many tweets from the anti-decree camp requested or pleaded that the King revoke the decree. The Keyword *revoke* collocated with different referential terms related to King Salman . The tweeters referred to the King with referential terms such as “our leader Salman,” “Salman of determination,” “Abou Fahad,” “son of Abdelaziz,” “papa Salman,” and “the custodian of the two holy mosques.” Examples A28/E28 to A33/E33 are concordances of the keyword revoke co-occurring with various referential terms for King Salman (Table 15)

Table 15

Concordances of the Keyword ‘إلغاء/ Revoke’ Co-occurring with Various Referential Terms of King Salman

No.	Left Side	Keyword	Right Side
A28	القرار ديننا ووطننا اعلى من قيادة المرأة في زمن الفتن واخر الزمان	إلغاء	الشعب يرفض ويطالب قائدنا سلمان الحزم
A29	القرار والله راح تضيع البلد تكفى يا بو فهد نخيتك يا بن عبدالعزيز	الغاء	#الشعبيرفضيادهمراه تكفى ي ابو فهد تكفى تكفى تكفى
A30	هذا القرار باب فتن لايد قفله	الغاء	نعم نرفض و نطلب من بابا سلمان
A31	القرار	الغاء	(و قرن في بيوتكن و لا تبرجن تبرج الجاهلية الاولى (نطالب الملك سلمان ب
A32	هذا القرار فهو ليس في مصلحة الجميع	الغاء	نتمنى من خادم الحرمين
A33	هذا القرار ان شاء الله	الغاء	و لكن الامل في سلمان الحزم و العزم ب

No.	Left Side	Keyword	Right Side
E28	The people reject and demand our leader Salman, the determined, to	revoke	the decree as our religion and country are more precious to our hearts than women driving in the times of fitan (seditions) and the end of the time
E29	Please Abu Fahad please please please	revoke	the decree I swear the country is going to get lost. Please Abu fahad I'm pleading to you the son of Abdulaziz
E30	Yes we reject and we ask from papa Salman to	revoke	this decree, it's a door for fitan (sedations) that must be locked.
E31	(And settle in your homes; and do not display your beauty, as in the former days of ignorance) we request king Salman to	revoke	the decree.
E32	We wish from the custodian of the two holy mosques to	revoke	this decree as it's not in the best interest of everyone.
E33	But the hope is in Salman the determined to	revoke	this decree God willing

In summary, the demands for revocation are framed in the context of desiring virtue for the people. The tweeters' appeals suggest preserving the nation's religious identity as the ban is not viewed as sexist and against women's rights. These appeals were achieved through predicational strategies such as "not in the best interest of everyone," "the country is going to get lost," and "our religion and country are more precious to our hearts than women driving." Furthermore, a Qur'anic verse was used to justify the demands for revocation as shown in example A31/E31. By citing a Qur'anic verse such as "And settle in your home, and do not display your beauty" which was cited 15 times in the anti-decree data set, the users are using Gods words to support their argument and to

delegitimize the decree. These tweets involve several presuppositions, including women driving is against religion and women driving will lead the country to corruption.

The Decree is Celebrated by Them and not by Us. This group of anti-decree tweeters delegitimized the decree by using ideologically and politically loaded referential and predicational strategies representing Us vs. Them categorization. The tweeters asserted that the Saudi people rebuff the decree, suggesting that the decree is only celebrated by the Other. Nouns and adjectives in examples 34-51 such as “wicked infidels,” “the West,” “foreigners,” “liberal media,” “tails of the West,” “the Jews,” and “enemies of the country” allude to exclusion. These referential terms imply creating an enemy or an out-group, and this group comprises those supporting and celebrating the decree. The reference to the Other is considered strategic because the tweeters mistrust the proponents’ motives. Additionally, the reference portrays an image of an in-group disagreeing with the decree and that the group’s force is more potent, being the majority.

In the following examples, the tweeters broadly described the Other as the latter celebrated the news. In example 34, the tweeters implied that the decree's supporters are their enemies by writing, “yes it’s an uprising.” Explicitly, in lines 35 and 36, they referred to the ones pleased with the decree as “enemies of the country and homeland.”

- | | | | |
|------|---|--------|---|
| A34. | انظر فقط لمن يحتفلو به و ستجد الجواب نعم انها ثوره | القرار | ان اردت ان تعرف مدى صحة |
| E34. | If you want to know how right this this | decree | is, <u>just take a look at those celebrating it</u> , and you will find the answer, <u>yes it’s an uprising</u> |
| A35. | هم اعداء الوطن | القرار | انا حزين من اجل وطني , اكثر الناس فرحه ب |
| E35. | I’m sad for my homeland, <u>most of the people pleased with the</u> | decree | are <u>the enemies of the homeland.</u> |

A36.	الا اعداء هذا البلد حفظ الله بلادنا و مقدساتنا	القرار	و الله نخاف من المصائب و زوال نعمة الامن و الامان و الله ما فرح بهذا
E36.	I swear we are afraid of disasters happening and the demise of the blessings of security and safety, I swear the only ones pleased with <u>this</u>	decree	are <u>the enemies of this country</u> may God preserve our country and our holy places

In lines A34/E34-A36/E36, the references are not specific in labeling their *enemies* . In examples A37/E37 to A45/E45, tweeters were more explicit with naming and providing negative labels for the Other as “wicked infidels”, “the West”, “America,” “the Jews enemies of the prophet”, and “foreigners” (Table 16). The decree was perceived to be rejected by the people of Saudi Arabia and only issued to appease the West as shown in lines A38/E38-A43/E43 (Table 16).

Table 16

Concordance Lines of the ‘Other’ Celebrating the Decree (Outgroup Sources from the Outside)

No.	Left Side	Keyword	Right Side
A37	بسرة خاطفة	القرار	نرفضها لملازمتها للمفاسد الموجودة فيها و التي سنتاتي بعدها و الدليل انها ضياع مباركة الكفرة الفجرة
A38	رحب به الغرب و رفضه الشعب لأول مره	قرار	
A39	الذي يفرح الغرب و يغضب علمائك و مشايخك فاعلم انه قرار يصب بمصالحهم لا مصالحنا	القرار	
A40	لتعرف حجم المكيدة المستقبلية لمجتمعنا ليس الان بعد سنوات سيندم كل من كان مؤيد للقرار	القرار	يكفيك تأييد الغرب ل
A41	هي المصيبة واليهود اول من هنتنا اعداء الرسول	القرار	تبعيات هذا
A42	و لن ترضى عنك اليهود و لا النصرارى حتى تتبع ملتهم تدريجيا سيسمح بكشف الوجه حسبنا الله	القرار	امريكا ترحب بهذا
A43	لتصبح مستأمننا شعبك قبل ان تعجب الغريب او الغرب بالأصح بانك ذا عقل متحرر	قراراتك	اجعل الشعب يتقبل
A44	الاجنبيات الي عابشين بالسعودية و الي بيزورونها من الكويت و البحرين و غيرها، اما حنا الحمد الله مخدمين محشومين	هالقرار	اكثر من راح يفرح ب

No.	Left Side	Keyword	Right Side
A45		القرار	الاجانب مبسوطين وهم الي عاجبهم الوضع و يبون يتم
A37	We reject it because of its associated and consequent wrongdoings, and the proof of its immorality is the quick welcoming of the	decree	by the wicked infidels.
A38		A decree	welcomed by the West and rejected by the people for the first time
E39		A decree	that pleases the West and makes your clerks mad is trailered to serve their interests not ours
E40	The West's approval of the	decree	is enough to let you know the future plot they have for our society. Not now, but years from now anyone supporting this decree will regret it.
E41	The consequences of this	decree	is what's disastrous and the Jews are the first to congratulate us, the enemies of the prophet
E42	America welcomes this	decree	"and the Jews will not be pleased with you, nor the Christians until you follow their religion." With time face uncovering will be allowed. God is sufficient for us.
E43	Make the people accept your	decrees	so that you have your people on your side before you please the stranger or to be more precise the West that you are open- minded
E44	Foreigner women living in Saudi Arabia are mostly the ones pleased with this	decree	and those who will be visiting SA from Kuwait and Bahrain etc., as for us we are catered to thank God
E45	Foreigners are happy and they are the ones enjoying what's going on and <u>they</u> want the	decree	to go thru

The other group is considered the out-group threat, comprised of people in the country who support the decree. Negative labels and attributes were identified in expressions such as "tails of the West" and "running behind the liberal media" (Table 17). They depicted the supporters as being followers of the west and the liberal media. These followers are also described as "unaware of it" (example A49/E49) and accused of

having “hearts full of love for liberalism” (example A50/E50). The references are equivalent to having “no morals” and un-Islamic. While negative attributes were ascribed to supporters of the decree, positive attributes were given to men rejecting it. The references include “males versus men,” and “males protective over their religion and society” versus supporters who are not protective (lines A47/E47 and A48/E48, Table 17). Furthermore, the women supporters of the decree were depicted as being nonconservative women and represented as a “negligible percentage” which implies that they are a minority as shown in example A51/E51.

Table 17

Concordance Lines of the ‘Other’ Celebrating the Decree (Outgroup Sources From the Inside)

No.	Left Side	Keyword	Right Side
A46	كلمزم	القرار	الان سيداً اذئاب الغرب بمصادرة الراي الاخر و فرض
A47	مؤسف يحزن القلب تؤيد ه قوارير (الذكور) و تنكره قوارير (الرجال)	قرار	
A48	يرفضه الذكور الغيورين على دينهم و مجتمعهم و يقبله مع من يتناقض مع ذلك	قرار	هو
A49	قيادة المرأة السعودية منجر فين مع الاعلام الليبرالي و لا لديهم علم في ذلك	قرار	للأسف المؤيدين ل
A50	الا من كان قلبه ملان بحب الليبرالية و خلع الاخلاق	القرار	صدقوني! لن يرحب ب هذا
A51	حكومي غير مرحب به	قرار	الشعب السعودي و لا حرمة محافظه ساقنت ما ساق الا نسبه لا انذكر و اول مره اشوف
E46	Now <u>the tails of the West</u> will start to cancel the other opinion and force the	decree	on us
E47	An unfortunate	decree	that is heartbreaking, it is <u>supported by women of (males)</u> and <u>condemned by women of (men)</u>
E48	It’s a	decree	that is rejected <u>by males protective over their religion and society</u> and is <u>accepted by whoever is the opposite of this</u>
E49	<u>Unfortunately the supporters of the</u>	decree	of Saudi women driving are running behind <u>the liberal media</u> without being aware of it
E50	Believe me! <u>No one will be pleased with this</u>	decree	unless <u>those with hearts full of love for liberalism and no morals.</u>

No.	Left Side	Keyword	Right Side
E51	Not one conservative woman from the Saudi people has driven, <u>only a negligible percentage drove</u> , and this is the first time I see a governmental	decree	being unwelcomed.

To sum up, the opposers used the word *decree* to construct a negative image of its outcomes. Due to these potential negative religious and social outcomes, they requested the revocation of the decree. Furthermore, the decree was represented to be celebrated by the *Others* and not by *Us*. People supporting the decree are referred to as the out-group, seen as a small percentage of the population. The antagonists also see themselves as the majority and the in-group. Furthermore, negative qualities were attributed to those who supported the decree and positive attributes were attributed to those who opposed it. In this anti decree group, a few female tweeters ensured the rejection of the decree. By emphasizing their gender before expressing rejection, these female tweeters reinforced normative and traditional gender roles. Examples 52 and 53 denote these women's rejection.

- A52. اقسام بالله اني امرائه وارفض قياده سياره يا ملكنا الغالي هذا القرار ليس من صالحنا و لا صالح بلدنا الغالية
- E52. I swear to God I'm a women and I reject women driving a car, our dear king this decree is not for our own good and not in the best interest of our beloved country.
- A53. انا الجوهره المصونة انا الدرّة المكنونة انا ام الاجيال انا حفيده الابطل فانا مربيه الاجيال ارفض و بشده هذا القرار
- A53. I'm the catered jewel I'm the queen I'm the mother of the generations I'm the granddaughter of the heroes, I'm the one raising the next generations, I reject this decree strongly.

Anti-decree Themes

The analysis of the keywords helped to see how tweeters who oppose the royal decree describe the decree and those celebrating it. This group's two themes are (a)

expressing their disappointment of the decree through supplication, and (b) expressing their victory by negating seeing any women drivers on 6/24/2018 or 10/10/1939 in Hijri calendar.

Expressing Disappointment Through Supplication

The keyword analysis reveals that many words such as (*اصلح، الثبات، اعوذ، بك، شر*) *to set aright, steadfast, seek refuge, in you, , evil, seditions, save, my lord, disposer, best, suffice, visible, invisible, demise*) and many more were associated with supplication discourse and co-occurred with the Keyword *O'Allah اللهم* (see Table 18 and Table 19). The high-frequency use of this word in anti-decree tweets can be interpreted as a plea from the opposers to God. The decree allowing women to drive was described as “destruction,” “desire,” “affliction” “falsehood” and “misfortune” that results from the people’s “sins.” The Other was referred to using labels, such as “oppressors,” “plotters”, “envious people,” “enemies of chastity and virtue,” “liberty promoters,” and “seculars.”

Many epithets imply the supporters of the decree have bad intentions toward Islam. Phrases such as “preserve our religion, which is the safeguard of our affairs,” “don’t rejoice our enemies over us and give us victory over them,” “return us to you in a beautiful way,” “save for our country its religion and security and strengthen it with Islam. “ reward us for our affliction and give us something better than it,” “whoever wishes ill for our religion and country, make them self-preoccupied,” “whoever wants corruption in our religion and the land of the two holy mosques, make them self-preoccupied with themselves,” “help Mohammad’s nation over the oppressors,” “Glory be to Allah, whoever defends his religion became an oppressor and whoever defends his

desires became the oppressed!!!” “ bear witness on them on the day of judgment,” “don’t let our afflictions be in our religion,” “save what’s left of our religion,” “I ask you to protect Muslim women in general and Saudi women in particular, save them from the plot of the plotters, the envious, seculars, and whoever wants to harm them,” These descriptions denote the Us versus Them polarization.

Table 18

Concordance Lines of the Keyword Term “اللهم / O’Allah”

No.	Left Side	Keyword	Right Side
A54	اني اعوذ بك من زوال نعمتك و فجأة نقتك يا رب استرنا و نورنا و احفظ لنا ديننا الذي هو عصمة امرنا	اللهم	
A55	احفظ اجيالنا القادمة	اللهم	
A56	لا تشمت اعدائنا فينا و انصرنا عليهم	اللهم	ارفض و بقووووووه
A57	انا نسالك الستر و العفاف و الغنى، اللهم الطف بنا و ردنا اليك ردا جميلا	اللهم	
A58	اجرنا في مصيبتنا و اخلفنا خيرا منها	اللهم	
A59	من اراد ديننا و بلدنا بسوء فاشغله بنفسه	اللهم	اللهم احفظ لبلادنا دينها و امنها و امانها و اعزها بالإسلام
A60	انا نستغفرك من ذنوبنا التي اوردتنا المهالك	اللهم	ان المصائب من ظلام ذنوبنا و معاصينا احاطت بنا
A61	فاشغله في نفسه انت حسبنا و نعم الوكيل	اللهم	اللهم من اراد بديننا و بلاد الحرمين فسادا
A62	عليك بالظالمين و انصر امة محمد صلى الله عليه و سلم على الظالمين	اللهم	حسبنا الله و نعم الوكيل
A63	شهد عليهم في يوم الحساب	اللهم	سبحان الله من يدافع عن دينه اصبح ظالم و من يدافع عن شهواته اصبح مظلوم
A64	لا تجعل مصيبتنا في ديننا	اللهم	اللهم ان نستودعك ما تبقى من ديننا
A65	اني استودعتك نساء المسلمين عامه و نساء السعودية خاصه احميهم و احفظهم بحفظك يا رب من كيد الكائدين و الحاسدين و العلمانيين و من نواهن بشر فجعل كيد ه في نحره	اللهم	
E54		O’Allah	I seek refuge in You against the declining of your favors, the suddenness of Your punishment, O Lord protect and enlighten us, preserve our religion, which is the safeguard of our affairs.
E55		O’Allah	Protect our next generations
E56	I strongllly reject it	O’Allah	don’t rejoice our enemies over us and give us victory over them

No.	Left Side	Keyword	Right Side
E57		O'Allah	we ask You for your protection, chastity and affluence. O'Allah be kind to us and return us to you in a beautiful way
E58		O'Allah	reward us for our affliction and give us something better than it
E59	O' God preserve our country its religion, security and safety, and strengthen it with Islam.	O'Allah	whoever wishes ill for our religion and country, make them self-preoccupied
E60	Misfortunes from the darkness of our sins have surrounded us	O'Allah	we seek your forgiveness of our sins which led us to destructions
E61	O'Allah whoever wants corruption in our religion and the land of the two holy mosques	O'Allah	make them self-preoccupied, You are Sufficient for us and You are the Best Disposer
E62	God is Sufficient for us and He is the Best Disposer of affairs	O'Allah	it is for Thee to deal with the oppressors, and help Mohammad's, peace be upon him, nation over the oppressors
E63	Glory be to Allah, whoever defends his religion became the opposer and whoever defends his desires became the oppressed[!]	O'Allah	bear witness to them on the day of judgment
E64	O' Allah, we entrust You with what is left of our religion	O'Allah	and don't make our inflictions in our religion
E65		O'Allah	I entrust You with Muslim women generally and Saudi women in particular, protect them, save them from the plot of the plotters, the envious, the seculars, and whoever want to harm them, stand against their plans

Moreover, many tweeters employing supplication to express their disappointment over women driving used the Keyword *fitnah* (fitan PL). *Fitnah* (sedation) was a prevalent theme in the opposers' posts as one of the decree's dire repercussions shown in the above concordance lines of the word decree. The word also co-occurred with O'Allah frequently to ask God for protection from this decree and its outcomes (seditions). The term *fitnah* was used initially in the Quran to refer to issues unrelated to women, such as straying from the right path and temptations of life, such as money. However, it is usually used in religious rhetoric to refer to seduction and temptation related to women, discord,

and division. Using a strongly negative term such as fitnah is to demoralize the supporters of the decree and women drivers. Women driving was referred to explicitly as fitnah (example 66, Table 19), while other times it was referred to the current times the country is witnessing (example 67, Table 19). Also, it was implied in reference to women driving by asking God for protection and preservation as shown in lines A68/E68-A80/E80 (Table 19). In asking God for protection, the verbs “seek refuge,” “remove,” “distance,” “save,” and “prevent” and “protect” are associated with fitnah.

Table 19

Concordances of the Keyword اللهم/O’Allah Co-occurring with the Keywords فتنه/sedation and فتن/Seditions

No.	Left Side	Keyword	Right Side
66	Women driving car is a # sedition	O’ Allah	I seek refuge in you from seditions , it’s visible and invisible (aspects)
67	In times of variations, fluctuations, and seditions , follow the steps of the prophet peace be upon him and say this prayer more	O’Allah	“I seek refuge in you from the discontinuation of your blessing and change of the goodness you have granted and from being taken by surprise with your punishment and all that which causes your anger.” narrated by Muslim
68	Only the liberty promoters are pleased with it, the enemies of chastity and virtue,	O’Allah	we ask you with your strength, greatness, and your ability, to prevent this sedition from our country and our women
69		O’Allah	I seek refuge in you from the seditions of this life, O’Allah I seek refuge with you from the seditions of this life, O’Allah I seek refuge with you from the seditions of this life
70	God suffices us, for He is the best disposer of affairs, there is no power nor strength except with Allah	O’Allah	We seek refuge in you from seditions , it’s visible and invisible (aspects)
71	O’ God show us the truth as true, and grant us to follow it, and show us falsehood as falsehood, and grant us to abstain from it	O’Allah	prevent us from the evil of seditions , it’s visible and invisible (aspects)

No.	Left Side	Keyword	Right Side
72		O'Allah	distance us from seditions and for that which brings us closer to it, in word or deed.
73		O'Allah	steadfast us and remove acts of evil from us. O' Allah preserve our religion for us, which is the safeguard of our affairs. O' God prevent us from the evil of seditions .
74		O'Allah	Protect us from seditions , it's visible and invisible (aspects) and we ask God for it [the decree] to be good even if it is not.
75		O' Allah	protect our country and our safety and prevent us from the evil of seditions , it's visible and invisible (aspects)
76	Kill falsehood by ignoring it	O'Allah	protect us from the evils of seditions
77	Those are the legal limitations set by God, and whoever transgresses them has certainly wronged himself	O'Allah	I seek refuge in you from the evil of seditions , it's visible and invisible (aspects), O' Allah protect us
78	O' God to You is the praise, you created us Muslims, to You is the praise, You have made our creation perfect, to You is the praise, You have provided us, to You is the praise, to what You have promised us.	O'Allah	do not punish us with what the foolish did to us, O' Allah, enlighten our hearts with faith, and adorn them with obedience and protect us from the evil of seditions , it's visible and invisible (aspects),
79		O'Allah	distance us from seditions it's visible and invisible (aspects), you are a queen in your house and outside of it, so remain the same, as driving will not benefit you
80	In other words, a woman does not need to drive as long as there is a man who meets her needs. And I conclude my saying by	O'Allah	bestow upon us what's good for our country and saves us from seditions .

The opposers also justified the ban on women driving as divine law, and the decree is a transgression against God's rulings with phrases such "as those are the legal limitations set by God and whoever transgresses them has wronged himself" in example A77/E77 and "do not punish us with what the foolish did to us" in example A78/E78 (Table 19). The plea to not be punished presupposes that the decree's supporters are

wrongdoers and the decree is wrongful. The supporters were negatively referred to as “the foolish” and “liberty promoters” who are represented as “enemies of chastity and virtue” as shown in example A68/E68. It can also be observed how the opposers reinforced the traditional gender roles and relations where men are obligated to drive and meet their women's needs in example A80/E80.

Supplication was also strongly present around the proper name Naif (Table 20). Naif was used 28 times to refer to the deceased Prince Naif bin Abdulaziz Al Saud, who was former Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia, former first Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Interior for six decades in Saudi Arabia. While the prince was known for his conservative stances, he never objected to women driving but deemed it as a social matter. Tweeters utilized his name to offer supplication for God to have mercy on his soul. Some tweeters expressed explicitly their rejection of the decree while praying for his soul simultaneously as shown in examples A81/E81-A83/E83, others implicitly by just asking god to have mercy on his soul as shown in examples 84-86. The aim of reporting prince Naif, who represents “the ingroup,” is for the opposers to give their rejection an authoritative voice.

Table 20

Concordance Lines of the Keyword ‘نايف/ Naif’

No.	Example (EN)	No.	Example (AR)
E81.	The goal wasn't women driving .. the topic of driving is a gate for other bigger and more dangerous goals and this is what we are afraid of, today [the topic of] driving tomorrow the niqab and after that the whole abaya!!! May prince Naif rest in peace	A81.	لم يكن الهدف هو قيادة المرأة ... موضوع القيادة هو بوابه لأهداف اخرى اكبر و اخطر وهذا الي كنا نخاف منه، اليوم قياده وغدا النقاب و بعده العباية كلها !!!رحم الله الامير نايف
E82.	May God make this situation better, May God rest the protector of Al sunnah and the champion of the religion Naif bin Abdelaziz	A82.	الله يصلح الحال الله يرحم اسد السنه و ناصر الدين نايف بن عبدالعزيز

No.	Example (EN)	No.	Example (AR)
E83.	The people reject, and demand the commandment of prince Naif bin Abdelaziz, may God's mercy be upon him, and paradise be his dwelling	A83.	الشعب يرفض و يطالب بوصية الامير نايف بن عبد العزيز رحمه الله و اسكنه فسيح جناته
E84.	O'Allah have mercy on prince Naif	A84.	اللهم ارحم الامير نايف
E85.	May god have mercy on Naif bin Abdulaziz	A85.	الله يرحم نايف بن عبدالعزيز
E86.	Gods mercy upon you, O' Naif	A86.	رحمة الله عليك يا نايف

Expressing Their Victory by Negating Seeing Any Women Drivers on 10/10

While the previous theme included tweets from the two periods, this theme was only present in the second period. This group delegitimized the decree by refusing to acknowledge any woman drivers and demonizing the media reporting the event and interviewing women drivers. They negated seeing any women drivers when the decree took effect on 24/6/2018 or 10/10/1439 in Hijri calendar. This was viewed as a victory for the opponents, thereby legitimizing that their presence was dominant and those agreeing with the decree are in the minority. The lack of women driving was viewed as a defect to “the western project” and the “evil secular project” as shown in examples 87 and 88.

87A. الحمد لله نساننا في بيوتهم خابوا و خاب مسعاهم القرار حبر علي ورق بنات الحرمين يفشلن اكبر مشروع تغريبي في البلد #المراه_السعوديه_تقود_السياره

87E. Thank God our women are in their homes, their efforts are let down , the decree is just on paper, the girls of the two holy mosques fail the biggest western project in the country #Saudi_women_drive_car

88A. زوجي عنده موعد امس بمستشفى بعيد عن بيتنا و حذرتة بأجل الموعد ليتفادى زحام النساء حتى لا يتضرر عندما رجع اخبرني انه لم يصادف و لا امرأة تقود العلمانيين يضخمون مثل هذه الاحداث حتى ينجح مشروعهم العلماني الخبيث حسبنا الله و نعم الوكيل عليهم # قياده_المراه_السعوديه

88E. My husband had an appointment yesterday at a hospital away from our house, and I warned him to postpone it to avoid the crowds from women driving so he won't be affected. When he returned he told me he did not come across one women driving, the seculars are exaggerating these events so that their evil secular project succeeds, God suffices us for He is the best disposer of affairs #Saudi_women_driving.

This group of anti-decree tweeters employed negation to express their superior position. An examination of the concordance lines of tweets with negation revealed that they were employed to negate observing Saudi women driving on June 24th and the days that followed , as shown in Table 21. The negation appeared as a plea to discourage women from driving and show the out-group as failing to solicit support. Moreover, the negation asserts the in-group's superiority, arising from their virtue-laden perspective against women driving. The decree and women's driving were referred to as a western and secular evil project to question the decree and the morality of women driving. Consistently the decree supporters were referred to with similar ideologically loaded terms that hold anti-Islamic connotations in the Saudi context. These terms include "seculars," "liberal community," "the liberals," and "mercenaries" (see Table 21)

The examples that follow for concordance lines that contain negation demonstrate positive constructions of the Us group as women who did not take the streets and were referenced by the anti-decree tweeters with group pronouns such as "our sisters," "we are," "our women." Furthermore, referential terms with positive attributes were given, such as "princesses," "a queen remains a queen," "cognizant women," "the real Saudi women," "girls of the homeland," and "the modest and believer woman." Anti-decree tweeters emphasized the infrequent witnessing of women driving in real-life but seeing them through virtual media (Table 21).

Table 21*Concordance Lines of Negation 'ما, لم / not'*

No.	Left Side	Keyword	Right Side
A89	حد ساق سحيو عل القرار	ما	كفو بنات السعودية
A90	اشاهد امرأة تقود اللهم لك الحمد	لم	وها هو اليوم الثاني و
A91	اشاهد امراه تسوق	لم	شريحه واحده فقط بدأت بتدشين قيادة المرأة و مدعومين بكل الوسائل و بلا حدود ولكن الواقع غير ذلك بالأمس من الساعة 7 صباحا الى الظهر اقسام بالله
A92	اجد امرأة (تقود).. و من سألت لم يروا اذا كانت المرأة السعودية ترى (نجاحها) في السياقة ف قد (رسبت).. و ان كان اهل (ليبرال) يرون قوة الحاجة لذلك فقد كذبوا	لم	في مدينتي الفاضلة .. (فريت) شوارعها لمدة ثلاثة أيام لكي (اثبت الحالة).. ف
A93	نرى احد سوى بعض المشاهير! بنو ليبرال يعتقدون انهم ب امكانهم تغيير مجتمع محافظ لمجتمع منفتح! و لكنهم فشلوا.. تدرون لماذا؟ لان الله معنا.	لم	#قيادهاالمراهالسعودية للسيارة الذي طالبوا فيها الليبراليين اصابتهم في مقتل لنا اربع ايام من تطبيق القرار و
A94	اجد اي امراه تسوق السؤال من كان يطالب بسواقه	لم	من سمع الصجحة الي صابرة من سنوات يقول 10/10 بنتسوف الحريم بكل شارع المحافظة الي اسكن فيها كبيره و
A95	اري بعيني امرأة تقود السيارة سوى في الاعلام مجموعته MBC وما شاكلها	لم	بالنسبة لي
A96	نشاهد شيء من ذلك	لم	من يشاهد قناة العربية و mbc و اللقاءات مع نساء من الجنسيات العربية و هن يتحدثن عن فرجهن بالسماح بالقيادة للمرأة السعودية و كأنهن سعوديات و يعتقد ايضا ان كل السعوديات خرجنا للقيادة في هذا اليوم لكن الواقع
A97	رأيت ولا امراه تقود سيارة على الطبيعة ما عدا المرتزقة اللي بقناة العربية	ما	الحمد لله حتى الان
A98	ارى ولا سيارة تقودها امرأة و استمر ذلك لليوم الثاني و الثالث عرفت ان هناك دعاية مزيفه و القرار كذبه	لم	يقول احد الثقافات من سكان العاصمة الرياض لم انام ليلة السماح للمرأة بالقيادة كنت اظن اني سأستيقظ على الشوارع مزدحمة بسيارات تقودها النساء فاذا بي استيقظ و
A99	اشاهد فتاة واحدة تقود السيارة , ما شاهدته فقط (افلام) سنابيه و تويترية و اعلامية في العالم الافتراضي (الانترنت) اما على ارض الواقع (لاشيئ)	لم	#قيادهاالمراهالسعودية شكلها (اصتدمت) بالأمر الواقع لهوية المجتمع # السعودي ف
E89	Well done girls of Saudi Arabia,	not	one [person] drove, they ignored the decree.
E90	And this is the second day, and I have	not	seen a woman drive, O'Allah, praise be to you.

No.	Left Side	Keyword	Right Side
E91	Only one segment started with the launch of women's driving, and they are supported unconditionally by all means, but the reality is not that, yesterday from 7 am to noon, I swear to God, I did	not	see any woman driving.
E92	In my virtuous city ... (cruising) its streets for three days in order to (prove the case), ... I did	not	find a woman (driving) ... and those I asked did not see [either], if the Saudi woman sees (her success) in driving, then she (failed).. and If the (liberal) community views it as a necessity, then they lied.
E93	Saudi_women_driving_car, which was demanded by the liberals, are hit badly, we are in our third day from the decree taking effect and we did	not	see anyone [driving] but some celebrities! The liberals believe that they can change a conservative society into an open society! But they failed .. You know why? Because Allah is with us.
E94	If you hear the noise happening from years ago you'd think on 10/10 you're going to see women in every street, the governate in which I live in is large and I have	not	found any women driving. The question is who was requesting to drive.
E95	As for me, I did	not	see with my own eyes a woman driving a car except in the media: MBC Group and the likes of it
E96	Whoever watches Al-Arabiya and MBC and the interviews with women of Arab nationalities talking about their joy in allowing Saudi women to drive as if they were Saudis, would think that all Saudi women went out to drive on this day, but the reality is that we have	not	seen anything of that.
E97	Praise be to Allah, so far, I have	not	seen a woman driving a car in real life, except for the mercenaries on the Al-Arabiya channel
E98	A trustworthy resident of the capital, Riyadh, says, I did not sleep on the night when women were allowed to drive. I was thinking that I would wake up with the streets crowded with cars driven by women, but I woke up and did	not	see any car driven by a woman, and this continued for the second and third days. I realized that there was a false propaganda and the decree was a lie.
E99	The Saud_women_driving, it seems that it (was hit) by the reality of the identity of the #Saudi society, I did	not	see a single girl driving a car, I have only seen (movies) in Snapchat, Twitter and the media in the virtual world (the Internet), but on the real ground (nothing)

Many tweeters used negation to report that they have not seen any woman driving from their locations. Identifying their locations, especially the large cities such as Riyadh, AlSharqiyah, and Jeddah, and the dates given implies a lack of support for the women's driving movement. Their delegitimization of the decree runs parallel to praise for the city's women who did not participate in the movement. Tweeters described them as "family girls," "a queen remains a queen," "may God give you happiness", "girls of the south are shy", and "thank you (our sister) you've always made us proud." Delegitimizing was also employed to minimize the number of women drivers with phrases such as "only one segment," "the percentage of the girls who drove does not surpass 2% of Riyadh girls," "the women percentage in comparison to the men doesn't exceed 5 %," and "I expected the percentage to be very very low" as illustrated in the following examples:

Tweets Reporting from Riyadh

- The media is puzzling, I'm currently in **Riyadh** from Friday and today is Monday and women were allowed to drive from two days ago, **I swear I have not** seen any women driving.
- From 10/10 until now I swear to the only God there is that **I have not seen with my own eyes any woman driving her vehicle** in the streets of **Riyadh**, I only saw them on social media.
- I drove in **Riyadh** from the west to the east through king Abdullah road and **I have not seen any women driving a car**, as usual the women percentage in comparison to the men doesn't exceed 5 %.

- It's Monday 12/10/1439 h, the second day after #allowing-women-to-drive-car.. and I'm strolling the streets of **Riyadh**, **I swear I have not seen a female driving**, yes a queen remains a queen.
- The Saudi woman disappoints those calling for her freedom, **I have not seen any woman driving car in Riyadh**, thank you (our sister) you've always made us proud.
- Until today **the percentage of the girls who drove does not proceed 2% of Riyadh girls.**

Tweets Reporting from AlQassim and AlSharqiyah.

- I'm vising **Alqassim** for two days and I swear **I didn't see any woman behind the wheel**, it seems the whole thing is to please the social media celebrities (family girls stayed home).
- While I'm in **Alqassim** today, **I have not seen one woman driving** in Buraidah, as a matter of fact woman were in their full modesty and covering as usual with Buraidah's people may God continue with alleviating them.
- This is the second day and until now **I have not seen any woman driving her car** in the streets of **Alsharqiah**, ... I expected the percentage to be very very low no matter how much they exaggerate the matter!!

Tweets reporting from Jeddah

- I swear **I have not found** in **#jeddah** woman drivers except for three or four women driving accompanied by either her husband or friend!

- With gods willing, it's been two days since the women driving decree and **I have not seen any woman** behind the wheel in the streets of **Jeddah**
- There are disturbing voices exaggerating the matter of women driving and they've claimed that women have taken a great interest in driving and the streets contradict this completely, in **Jeddah** I came across a few roads and streets and **I have not seen one car driven by a female.**

The negation was further justified with tweets describing that women driving were not met during road trips across the country or city tours. The Us-group perceives this as a success of their supplications through their tweets. Their observations also confirm that the US-group is the majority.

- I was in **Albaha and returned to Altaif, I didn't find any woman driving,** may god give you happiness , girls of the south are shy.
- My trip was **from the valley coming across Riyadh and finally arriving to Alsharqiah, I haven't seen any girl or woman driving the car.**

Tweeters also expressed negative representations of the media reporting the event as a means to delegitimize the decree taking effect. The opponents tend to assure their positive construction of self by referring to the *Self* group as representing the “real Saudi women,” “girls of principle,” “cognizant women,” “modest and believer woman,” “our sisters who possess insight and knowledge” “honored princesses” and “balanced and sensible” and by referring to the *Other* group as being “enemies,” “misleaders” “immoral kind,” and “enemies of god and his prophet” (Table 22). The women drivers were depicted as a small group with phrases such as “I counted the number of those who drove

on my hand and I found them to be a handful from a total of 12,000,000 Saudi woman!" and "lets assume that those who got their license are 120 thousand which means 1.3% of the females !!!" The table below contains their descriptions, specifically their reproaches of media.

Table 22

Concordance Lines of the Keyword 'علام/ Media' and its Related Forms

No.	Left Side	Keyword	Right Side
A100	منفذ العمل	الاعلام	مسرحة قيادة المرأة للسيارة كان
A101	اصطدم بجبال من القناعات الثابتة لدى النساء الواعيات	الاعلام	ان
A102	الذي يعمل ضد المجتمع السعودي ويبين للناس ان شوارعنا ممتلئة بالنوعية الفاسدة التي يروجون لها	الاعلام	نكتة فكاهية توثق كذب وافتراء قيادة المرأة السعودية
A103	ليس الا مسرحة	الإعلامي	شكرا لنساء السعودية الاصليات سيتفاجأ الجميع اليوم بان التضخيم
A104	و كل هذا " التضخيم " هدفه باعتقادهم هو خروج عدد كبير من النساء من بيوتهن فوراً للشوارع للقيادة	الاعلام	ان عدد النساء اللاتي سيقدن السيارة قليل جدا جدا بعكس ما يروجه
A105	ضخم قيادة المرأة السعودية للسيارة	الاعلام	
A106	لا للخروج لا لقيادة السيارة لا للسنيما لا لحضور المباريات	الاعلام	المرآة المحتشمة المؤمنة تقول لكل من يريد اخراج المراه من خدرها مهما لمع
A107	فيه سم وسط العسل نسال الله العفاف و للمعلومة ما فيه اميرة تسوق	الاعلامية	والله احنا اميرات معززات السواقه مو رفعه و لا شي يحتمل هذه الضجة
A108	العالمية والعربية لتوهم العالم ان جميع النساء السعوديات يخوضن شوارع المملكة بسياراتهم و اقسام بالله منذ ان قادت المرأة السيارة لم اشاهد اي منهن بسيارتها بنات الاصول ملتزمة بعفتها و الفشل الذريع حليف اعداء الله و رسوله	الاعلام	الليبرالية الحقيرة روجت عبر
A109	الغربي في صدمه لا يعلمها الا الله توقعوا ان يخرجن النساء السعوديات و يقودن سياراتهن في شوارع مدن و محافظات المملكة و ان و ان الخ لكن لم يكثر احد بهذا الموضوع و يقين على حالهن	الاعلام	
A110	مضلل كالعادة و تحجيم الامور و تضخيمها ما هو الا دليل على ان مجتمعنا المحافظ تحت مجهر الاعداء و المضللين	الاعلام	
A111	مستميت في اظهار ان # المرأة السعودية تقود السيارة مع ان الواقع شاهد ان الشوارع الرئيسية خالية من النساء	الاعلام	مجتمعنا محافظ و

No.	Left Side	Keyword	Right Side
A112	الذي رافق للحدث، رغم ذلك لم تتجرف خلفه يحق لنا الفخر فيهن	الاعلامي	اثبتت المرأة السعودية بعد تاريخ 10 / 10 انها اكثر ائزان و عقلانية بأخلاقها و عفتها على الرغم من التسلط
A113	و اخرتها 1.3 % الحمد لله , عرفت ان 98.7 % من اخواتنا عندهن بصيرة و علم !!	الاعلامي	يقدر عدد الاناث ب 13.8 مليون انثى نفترض ان ثلثهن دون السن القانونية للقيادة , و اللاتي حصلن على الرخصة 120 الف , اي نسبة 1.3 % من الاناث!!! يعني كل هالتطويل
A114	العلماني لم يهدا له بال حتى استطاع اخراج المرأة السعودية من خدرها باسم القيادة	الاعلام	
A115	ليبرالي يروج للردائل!	اعلام	حسبت عدد من قاد على يدي فوجدتهن بضع عشرات ; من اصل عدد 12000000 سعودية! انتم بخير ; و لا تصدقوا
E100	The play of woman car driving, it was the	media	who carried it out
E101	The	media	was shocked to face mountains of firm convictions from cognizant women
E102	Women driving is a comical joke that documents the lies and fabrications of women car driving. The	media	is showing people that our streets are full of the immoral type, [the type] they try to promote
E103	Thanks to the real Saudi woman everybody will be surprised that the	media	amplification is nothing but a play
E104	The number of women that will drive is very very little despite what the	media	is promoting and all this exaggerations is aimed in their mind at getting a large amount of women driving in the streets immediately
E105	The	media	exaggerated Saudi Women driving
E106	The modest and believer woman says to all those wanting to get her out of her home, no matter how much the	media	glorifies it, no to going out, no to driving cars, no to going to the cinema, no to attending sport games
E107	I swear we are honored princesses, driving is not an honor or something that needs this	media	circus, there's poison in the honey, we ask God to save our chastity and for your information a princess doesn't drive
E108	The despicable liberals promoted through global and Arabic	media	to delude the world that all Saudi women are taking the streets of the kingdom with their cars, and I swear to God since women started driving I haven't seen any of them in their cars
E109	The western	media	is in a shock known only by god, they expected Saudi women to get out and drive their cars in cities and counties of the kingdom and that they. etc, but nobody cared about this matter and they remained the same

No.	Left Side	Keyword	Right Side
E110		The media	is misleading as usual, and the marginalization or exaggeration of matters is evidence that our conservative society is under the microscope of the enemies and misleaders
E111	Our society is conservative, but the	media	is persistent in showing #Saudi women driving cars, even though the reality is that the main streets are empty of women
E112	The Saudi women have proven after the date 10/10 that they are more balanced and sensible with her ethics and chastity, despite the	media	bullying that accompanied the event, and yet they did not get caught up in it, we have the right to be proud of them
E113	The number of females is estimated at 13.8 million, let's assume that one third of them are under the legal driving age, and those who got their license are 120 thousand which means 1.3% of the females!!! So with all this	media	propagandization, the outcome was only at 1.3%! Praise be to God! I realized that 98.7% of our sisters have insight and knowledge.
E114	The Secular	media	didn't have a peace of mind until they got her out of the house in the name of driving
E115	I counted the number of those who drove on my hand and I found them to be a few tens from a total of 12,000,000 Saudi woman! You are fine; don't believe a liberal	media	promoting vices

A set of evaluative collocates was retrieved by analyzing the keyword media's concordance lines and related forms (Table 23).

Table 23

Evaluative Collocates of the Keyword 'علام/ Media' and Its Related Forms

Collocate	Translation	Collocate	Translation	Collocate	Translation
مسرحية قيادة المرأة للسيارة	The play of women car driving	ضخم قيادة المرأة السعودي	Exaggerated Saudi women driving	التضخيم	The amplification
في صدمة لا يعطها الا الله	In a shock only known to God	الضجة	Circus	الليبرالية الحقيرة روجت عبر	The despicable liberals promoted through

Collocate	Translation	Collocate	Translation	Collocate	Translation
ليس الا مسرحية	Nothing but a play	الذي يعمل ضد المجتمع السعودي	That works against the Saudi people	مضلل كالعادة	Misleading as usual
لتوهم العالم	To delude the world	عدد النساء اللاتي سيقدن السيارة قليل جدا جدا بعكس	The number of women that will drive is very very little despite	التطويل	propagandization
وكل هذا "التضخيم"	All this "exaggeration"	مهمل لمع	No matter how they glorify	التسلط	bullying
نكته فكاهية توثق كذب و افتراء	A comical joke documenting lies and fabrications	فيه سم وسط العسل	There is poison in the honey	مستमित في اظهار ان # المرأة السعودية تقود السيارة	Adamant about presenting #saudi women driving cars
اصطدم بجبال من القناعات الثابتة العلماني	Was faced with mountains of firm convictions Secular	الغربي	Western		
		رغم ذلك لم تنجرف خلفه يحق لنا الفخر فيهن	despite all this she didn't get caught up in it, we have the right to be proud of them		

The above collocates demonstrate precisely the negative presentation of the word “media.” The collocates aimed at demonstrating that the media does not represent the Saudi public since they are opponents of the decree. Two main themes were visible. The first theme is exaggeration, and the second theme is media being stunned and resisted by a community that held a robust belief system. The media was labeled as “western,” “misleading”, “secular,” “working against the Saudi community, and is used by “the despicable liberals.” The opponents delegitimized the media coverage of the celebrations of the historical event as “a comical joke” and “nothing but a play”. These negative attributes delegitimized media and the Other group who celebrated taking the wheel on 10/10. The media was accused of a lack of realism, which delegitimizes the pro-decree’s ideological stance.

Summary

The textual analysis of the anti-decree themes revealed linguistic structures controlled by the overall strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. The analysis of the positive self and negative-other presentation focused on the referential and predicational strategies adopted by the opposers of the decree. The opposers tend to assure a favorable construction of self by referring to the Self group as representing the “real Saudi women”, “girls of principles”, “girls of the two holy mosques”, “cognizant women”, “queen” and women “who possess insight and knowledge”. They also used group pronouns to refer to self, such as “our women”, “our sisters”, and “we are princesses.”

In delegitimizing of the other, opponents used the referential strategy to construct the Them group as being immoral enemies going against their religion (e.g. “enemies and misleaders,” “enemies of god and his prophet,” “the enemies of chastity and virtue,” and “liberal media promoting vices” Supporters were referred to by political and ideological loaded terms such as “seculars” and “liberals” to present Them as a group with anti-Islamic values. The negative representation of the Other through predicational strategy portrayed the degree's supporters as “plotters” (e.g., “exaggerating so that their evil secular project succeeds,” “disturbing voices exaggerating women's driving,” “the liberals think they can change a conservative society into an open society,” “showing people that our streets are full of the immoral type, [the type] they try to promote,” “didn’t have a peace of mind until they got her out of the house in the name of driving,” “O’Allah stand against their Plans.”

In terms of size, degrading the Them group is thought to diminish the supporters by portraying them as a small group (e.g., “Only one segment,” “the percentage of the girls who drove does not surpass 2% of Riyadh girls,” “I expected the number of women driving to be a very, very small amount”, “I counted the number of those who drove on my hand and I found them to be a handful from a total of 12,000,000 Saudi women!!!” and “those who got their license are 120 thousand which means 1.3% of the females”. Another essential aspect of delegitimizing the other in the opposers’ discourse is how they portrayed women driving as a “secular project,” “western project,” and “fitnah”.

Pro-decree Dataset

This section contains an analysis of the corpus of posts written by Saudi users who supported and celebrated the royal decree. The corpus consists of 104,253 words. The first step of analysis was to run a keyword list from the two periods. The 50 most frequent keywords in each period were explored, excluding the hashtags. The top 100 keywords are in Table 24 and Table 25. Keywords annotated with (f) are in the feminine form of the word.

Table 24

Top 50 Keywords of Pro-decree Tweets Corpus in The First Period (SEP 26-28, 2017)

Term		Frequency	
<i>Arabic</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Corpus</i>	<i>Reference corpus</i>
اسبوع	Week	24	0
جوال	Cellphone	23	0
صباح	Morning	21	0
اجمل	More/most beautiful	15	0
شهر	Month	15	0
الجميل	The beautiful	15	0
الدش	Satellite TV	13	0

Term		Frequency	
<i>Arabic</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Corpus</i>	<i>Reference corpus</i>
واصل	Continue	13	0
الجوال	The Cellphone	13	0
القانون	The law	12	0
تقدر	You can	11	0
اختياري	Optional	11	0
يحتاج	To need	10	0
الاسبوع	The week	9	0
سبتمبر	September	9	0
القوانين	The Laws	9	0
تاريخي	historical	25	1
مبروك	Congratulations	53	3
سيارتي	My car	15	1
حكيم	Wise	15	1
ترفض	Reject	13	1
عاش	Long Live	11	1
التاريخي	The historical	11	1
اجباري	Obligatory	11	1
المعارضين	The Opposers	21	2
قرارات	decrees	10	1
السواقين	The drivers	9	1
شكرا	Thank You	52	6
محد	Nobody	15	2
جاء	Came	21	3
الحزم	The determined	20	3
جميل	Beautiful	13	2
الرفض	The rejection	18	3
الملك	The King	62	14
سلمان	Salman	70	16
ملكي	Royal	13	3
ملكنا	Our King	13	3
قرار	Decree	178	42
عظيم	Great	17	4

Term		Frequency	
<i>Arabic</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Corpus</i>	<i>Reference corpus</i>
القرارات	The decrees	17	4
اخيرا	Finally	21	5
تعليم	Education	20	5
نظام	System/Regulation	16	4
اتوقع	Expect	12	3
الف	Thousand	30	8
وطني	My Homeland	15	4
بلادي	My Country	11	3
التاريخ	History	19	6
ملك	King	29	10
السامي	High	17	6

Table 25

Top 50 Keywords of Pro-decree Tweets Corpus in The Second Period (JUN 24-26, 2018)

Term		Frequency	
<i>Arabic</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Corpus</i>	<i>Reference corpus</i>
قضاء	Carry out	24	0
شعور	Feeling	24	0
وزينك	Prettified you (f)	20	0
مسلمة	Muslim (f)	20	0
كرمك	Honored You (f)	18	0
اخترتي	You chose (f)	18	0
تنسي	Forget	17	0
مشوار	Ride	16	0
صباح	Morning	14	0
القانون	Law	14	0
يحتاج	To need	13	0
التوفيق	Good Luck	13	0
اجمل	More beautiful	13	0
يقود	To drive	12	0
مدارس	schools	11	0

Term		Frequency	
<i>Arabic</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Corpus</i>	<i>Reference corpus</i>
دائما	always	11	0
تسوقين	You drive (f)	11	0
الاقتصاد	economy	11	0
يوفق	Be successful	10	0
الجوال	The cellphone	10	0
مبرر	justified	9	0
كون	being	9	0
عزيزتي	Dear (f)	9	0
سلام	Peace	9	0
انطلقى	Go ahead (f)	9	0
انتظار	waiting	9	0
العهد	Grown	9	0
الشريطين	The Two Holy	9	0
بالذات	specially	9	0
هدوء	Ease	8	0
مبارك	Congratulation	8	0
ابارك	I congratulate	8	0
هنئنا	Congratulation	7	0
فرض	Obligation	42	1
جميل	beautiful	42	1
احترام	Respect	33	1
مبروك	Congratulation	62	3
سيارتي	My Car	17	1
اثناء	during	30	2
السعادة	happiness	14	1
اختياري	optional	39	3
شكرا	Thank you	72	6
الجديدة	New	12	1
حكومة	Government	11	1
طبيعية	Natural/Normal	10	1
السابق	Previous	10	1

Term		Frequency	
Arabic	English	Corpus	Reference corpus
السائقة	Driver (f)	17	2
عهد	Era/Crown	26	4
الف	Thousand	47	8
اجنبي	Foreign	11	2

Keyword Semantic Categorization

The first step of analysis was to run a keyword list for each period. Following Baker (2010) the words were grouped into categories according to their semantic meanings/topics. The historical, social, political background helped with grouping the words as shown in Table 26.

Table 26

Semantic Categories of the Pro-decree Keywords

Semantic Category	1 st period anti-decree		2 nd period decree	
	Keyword - AR	Keyword - EN	Keyword - AR	Keyword - EN
Descriptive	أجمل	More/most beautiful	مسلمة	Muslim (f)
	جميل	beautiful	أجمل	More/most beautiful
	اجباري	obligatory	جميل	Beautiful
	الحزم	The determined	هدوء	quiet
	تاريخي	historical	سلام	Peace
	التاريخي	The historical	اختياري	Optional
	اختياري	Optional	الشريطين	The Two Holy
	حكيم	Wise	الجديدة	The new
	الف	Thousand	طبيعية	Natural /Normal
	ملكي	Royal	السابق	Previous
	السامي	High	الف	Thousand
	المعارضين	The opposers	اجنبي	Foreign
	الجميل	The beautiful		
عظيم	Great			
Celebration	شكرا	Thank you	شعور	Feeling
	مبروك	Congratulation	هنينا	Congratulations
	اخيرا	Finally	مبارك	Congratulations

Semantic Category	1 st period anti-decree		2 nd period decree	
	Keyword - AR	Keyword - EN	Keyword - AR	Keyword – EN
			مبروك	Congratulations
			السعادة	Happiness
			شكرا	Thank you
Analogies	جوال	Cellphone	الجوال	The cellphone
	الجوال	The cellphone		
	الدش	Satellite TV		
	تعليم	Education		
Time	صباح	Morning	صباح	Morning
	أسبوع	Week		
	الأسبوع	The week		
	شهر	Month		
	سبتمبر	September		
Politics/ Law	القانون	Law	القانون	Law
	القوانين	Laws	العهد	Crown
	القرارات	The decrees	حكومة	Government
	ملكنا	Our king	عهد	Era/crown
	الملك	The king	العهد	The crown
	سلمان	Salman		
	قرار	Decree		
	قرارات	Decrees		
	نظام	System/Regulation		
	ملك	King		
Verbs	واصل	Continue (f)	اخترتي	You chose (f)
	يحتاج	To need	كرمك	Honored you
	تقدر	You can	زينك	Prettified you
			تنسي	You forget (f)
	ترفض	Reject	يحتاج	To need
	جاء	Came	قضاء	Carrying out
	عاش	Long live	يقود	To drive
	اتوقع	I expect	تسوقين	You drive (f)
			يوفق	Be successful
			انطلق	Go ahead (f)
			أبارك	I congratulate
			كونه	being
			انتظار	Waiting
Other	سيارتي	My car	مشوار	Ride
	السواقين	The drivers	الاقتصاد	The economy
	محد	No body	مبرر	Justified

Semantic Category	1 st period anti-decree		2 nd period decree	
	Keyword - AR	Keyword - EN	Keyword - AR	Keyword – EN
	الرفض	The rejection	دائما	Always
	التاريخ	The history	عزيزتي	Dear (f)
	بلادي	My country	مدارس	Schools
	وطني	My homeland	التوفيق	Good Luck
			احترام	respect
			سيارتي	My car
			اثناء	during
			السائقة	Driver (f)

The Word ‘Decree’

The researcher examined the arguments used by the pro-decree tweeters to legitimate their stances. The researcher searched for the word *Decree* and its related forms in the pro dataset. The frequency of Decree and its related forms are shown in Table 27.

Table 27

The Frequency of ‘قرار/Decree’ and Its Related Forms in the Pro-decree Dataset Corpus

Term	Frequency
Decree	293
The Decree	366
Decrees	12
The Decrees	20

Positive Representations of the Decree

The researcher examined 691 concordance lines and sorted them into four semantic categories with some tweets overlapping the first category. Those categories revealed that the decree was described by positive modifiers, that this decree is optional and not imposed on anyone, that his decree will result in great outcomes and solutions for the country, and finally that the decree is approved by the religious establishment.

The Lemma Decree and Positive Modifiers. The collocational analysis of the term Decree in the pro decree data set revealed that they fall within the syntactic categories of adjectives. The decree was described with words that can be grouped under positive description and presented as being “historical,” “great,” “correct,” “the most beautiful,” “wise,” “royal,” “decisive,” “nonreversible” and “national” as shown in Table 28. The most frequent modifying lexical collocate of decree is *historical*, occurring 38 times within a -5 to +5 span of the term. Many described this decree granting women the right to drive to be as historical as the decree granting women the right to education in the early 1960’s as shown in example A120/E120 and A121/E121. Also, the decree is described “to preserve women’s modesty and dignity” as shown in examples A126/E126 and A127/E127 in contrast to the ideology of the opposers who viewed the ban as a way to preserve respect to women. While the analysis shows the positive descriptions attributed to the decree, it also shows the positive depictions of King Salman, who issued the decree. Descriptions include the king being “wise,” “determined,” and a king who “is more knowledgeable of the interests of his people”. While positive attributes are given to the decree and the King who issued the decree, negative attributes are given to those objecting the decree. They were referred to as “opposers and extremists” and described as being “a flock who don’t think independently and freely” and as being hypocrites “who object today but will be seen tomorrow buying a car for his wife or daughter.”

Table 28
Positive Modifiers Describing the Decree

No.	Left side	Keyword	Right side
A116	حكيم من ملك حكيم طال انتظاره	قرار	
A117	قيادته النساء قرار حكيم و تاريخي، لا تناقش من بحر مون قيادة المرأة لانهم قطيع لا يفكرون باستقلالية و حرية	قرار	

No.	Left side	Keyword	Right side
A118	تاريخي راح يكون بداية التغيير للأفضل	قرار	نعم # قياده_ المرأة_ السعودية
A119	تاريخي مهيب سنعتاد عليه مع مرور الوقت	قرار	
A120	تاريخي كما كان قرار تعليم المرأة ه في عهد الملك فيصل رحمة الله عليه , فقط يحتاج المجتمع لوقت حتى يرى ايجابيته	قرار	
A121	قيادة المرأة يرجعنا لقرارات كثيره بالماضي و منها قرار # الملك سعود لفتح المدارس للبنات	قرار	
A122	صائب، و فيه انتصار لأبسط حق من حقوقها	قرار	قرار قيادة المرأة
A123	تاريخي و من يعارض اليوم سنشاهد ه غدا يشتري سيارة لزوجته او ابنته	قرار	
A124	عظيم ل طالما تمتته المرأة السعودية و ها هو اليوم يصبح احد قوانينها والحلم اصبح حقيقة	قرار	
A125	سليم رغم جاء متأخر بس اللهم اكفينا عواقبه من المعارضين و المتشددين	قرار	
A126	حاسم يحفظ للمرأة عفتها و كرامتها	قرار	
A127	صائب و فيه حفظ للمرأة و خصوصا في هذا الزمن	قرار	
A128	تاريخي اصدره # خادم الحرمين الشريفين وولي عهده	قرار	لقد انطلقنا و تم بحمد الله و تحية لكم في هذا اليوم العظيم الذي قررنا فيه جميعا ان نقود بعد
A129	وطني ويجب التعامل معه وفق رؤية مصلحة وطنية بحتة بعيد عن التحزب	قرار	
A130	حكيم في مرحلة مهمه من تاريخ مملكتنا	قرار	فخررر و عزز و
A131	ملكي و الملك ادرا بمصلحة شعبه	قرار	هذا
A132	لا رجعة فيه	قرار	قيادة المرأة السعودية ملف شائك فعلا و تم حله ب
A133	حكيم و حازم من ملك الحزم	قرار	
A134	المناسب في الوقت المناسب	القرار	لم يكن القرار متأخرا بل و انما جاء في وقته
A135	سمعتة بحياتي الحمد لله	قرار	اجمل
A136	جميل و له شعور خاص لكل انثى سعودية فرحه غير 1439/10/10	قرار	حابه اوثق تغريده في هذا اليوم و اشكر فيها سيدي الملك سلمان بن عبدالعزيز على هذا القرار و الشكر كمان لأمير الشباب الامير محمد بن سلمان
E116	A long-awaited wise	decree	from a wise king
E117	The women driving	decree	is a wise and a historical decree, don't argue with those forbidding women driving because they are a flock who don't think independently and freely
E118	Yes #Saudi women driving	decree	is historical and a beginning to the change for the better
E119	A historical and grand	decree	we will get used to it with time

No.	Left side	Keyword	Right side
E120	A historical	decree	just like the decree allowing girl's education in king Faisal's era, time is needed for the society to see it's positivity
E121		decree	allowing women to drive takes us back to many decrees in the past like King Saud's decision to open schools for girls
E122	The women driving decree is a correct	decree	and it is victorious to one of her basic rights
E123	A historical	decree	and who objects today will be seen tomorrow buying a car for his wife or daughter
E124	A great	decree	that was always wished by the Saudi woman and here it is today becoming one of her laws and the dream is being realized
E125	A right	decree	although it came late but may God save us from the backlash from the opposers and the extremists
E126	A decisive	decree	that preserves women's modesty and dignity
E127	A correct	decree	that preserves women especially in these times
E128	I salute you in this great day where we all decided to drive after a historical	decree	issued by the king and his crown price
E129	A national	decree	and we must deal with it according to the best interest of the country and not according to [political] parties
E130	Pride, honor, and a wise	decree	in an important time of the history of our kingdom
E131	This is a royal	decree	and the king is more knowledgeable of the interests of his people
E132	Women car driving is indeed a complicated case and had been solved with a	decree	that is nonreversible
E133	A wise and determined	decree	from the king of determination
E134	The decree was not late, as a matter of fact it came at the right time. The right	decree	at the right time
E135	The most beautiful	decree	I've heard in my life
E136	We took off , I'd like to document a tweet in this day and thank in it King Salman and the prince of the youth MBS, a beautiful	decree	which holds a special feeling in every Saudi women 10/10/1439

Decree Presented as a Choice. An investigation of the concordance lines of the term *decree* showed that the supporters of the decree predominantly employed the co-occurring words of *optional*, *obligation*, and *obligatory* to create a positive image of the decree. The examples from Table 29 revealed positive attitudes towards the decree and its perception as optional and thus shouldn't be resisted by the opposers who don't have the desire to drive.

Table 29
Examples Presenting the Decree as Optional

No.	Left side	keyword	Right side
A137	متوقع و غير الزامي و سيكون طبيعيا بعد سنوات	القرار	قبل عشرات السنين احتجوا على تعليم بناتهم فأخذت اعلى الشهادات و
A138	#قيادة المرأة السعودية منصف وليس ملزم فالخيار لكي	قرار	
A139	للتاريخ غير ملزم لاحد سيكون هناك عدم اتزان لفترة و سيكون بعدها الامر طبيعي	قرار	
A140	ليس اجباري اختياري، ياخذوه او اتركوه فكونا قرفكم وتعتنت غصب نتبع رأي واحد كل اسره لهم الحرية	قرار	خلاص يا متخلفين هذا
A141	اختياري حسب حاجتك فبالتالي كيف نقول # الشعب يرفض قياده المراة	القرار	لم ولن يجبر اي شخص على استخراج رخصة قيادة لزوجته او اخته
A142	اختياري حسب حاجتك، وهي مسئولية بحد ذاتها يترتب عليها التزامات و غرامات و ليست وسيلة للترف	قرار	
A143	اختياري و ليس اجباري و هذا حق من حقوقنا كنساء سعوديات	القرار	كل واحد مسؤول عن نفسه و
A144	اجباري، لا تسوقون ما راح تتغير حياتكم عادي	القرار	بعدين مين سملكم تتكلمون باسم الشعب لأنكم تجبرون الناس تحسبون
A145	ولست مجبر عليه	قرار	ردينا الشعب والشعب، ليس من حقا ان تتكلم باسم الشعب وانت لا تمثله، هذا
A146	يسمح لهم القيادة و ليس اجباري، اللي الي الان مو متقبل هالقرار لا يخلي اهله يسوقون وانتهينا خفوا احتقان شوي	القرار	
A147	تأخر كثيرا ... الحمد لله حصل ... لست مجبرا على السماح لأهلك بالقيادة ... و ايضا ليس من حقا منع الاخرين	قرار	

No.	Left side	keyword	Right side
A148	تجلس محد جبر احد بس لا احد يحل و يحرم من راسه و الي شايقة شرفها في سيارة تروح تموت بذا التفكير	القرار	اللي رافضه
A149	يمس طائفة ولا يعني ان يلزم الكل	القرار	لست مجبر على ان تقود زوجتك او ابنتك او اختك سيارة انت تستطيع جلب سائق
A150	لا تطبق وانت ساكت، غيرك محتاج الي هذا الحق	القرار	من يرى ان # قيادة-المراه-السعوديه غير مهمه او يرفضها فلن يجبره احد على قبول
A151	اتخذ من القيادة في الدولة وهو حق اختياري لمن اراد ليس اجباري	قرار	
A152	ولي الامر و انتهى , وجعل الامر اختياري , ومن مسبباته الحاجة عند بعض النساء	قرار	صدر
A153	أمرت فيه الدولة، تبي تسوق محد ماسكك ما تبي برضو محد غاصبك، فبالاش التعميم	قرار	
A154	من ولي الامر يجب على الجميع احترامه, هو ليس فرض لكنه اختيار وانت # اخترتي سيارتك و هذا حقك , اخترتي ان تقودي و هذا حقك , لكن لا تنسي ان حجابك ليس اختيار بل فرض الهي تذكري انك امرأة مسلمة كرمك الله بحجابك وزينك بحشمتك و حياءك	قرار	
A155	ليس فرض لكنه اختيار , فمن اختارت ان تقود فهذا حقك , لكن لا تنسي ان حجابك ليس اختيار بل فرض الهي تذكري انك امرأة مسلمة كرمك الله بحجابك وزينك بحشمتك و حياءك ك تمسكي بها و انطلق بحفظ الله	قرار	هذا
A137	Before tens of years, they protested women's education, but they got the highest degrees. The	decree	was expected and is not mandatory. And after a few years, it will be normal.
A138	The	decree	of #Saudi_women_driving is fair, and it is not obligatory. So, the choice is yours.
A139	A	decree	for the history. It is not forced upon anyone. There will be an imbalance for a while then it will be normal.
A140	Stop it, you backwards. This	decree	is not mandatory but rather optional. Take it or leave it. Just cut it with your madness. It not obligatory to follow a solo opinion. Every household is different, and they are free to do whatever they want.
A141	No one has been nor will anyone ever be forced to obtain a driver's license for his wife or sister. The	decree	is optional according to your needs So how could we say #the-people-reject-women-driving

No.	Left side	keyword	Right side
A142	An optional	decree	according to your needs , which is a responsibility in and of itself that entails obligations and fines, and is not a mean of luxury.
A143	Each one is responsible of their own self. The	decree	is optional not mandatory . It is one of our rights as Saudi women.
E144	Who made you the spokesman on behalf of the people. Because you force things on others; therefore, you think this	decree	is mandatory . Just don't drive and nothing will change in your life
E145	We are back at it, the people want that and does not want this! It is not your right to talk on behalf of the people when you don't represent them. This is a	decree	and you are not forced to apply it
E146	The	decree	will allow them (women) to drive and it is not obligatory . Whoever's against this decree just do not let your family drive, that's it. Take it easy!
E147	The	decree	is too late. Finally, it was issued. You are not forced to allow your family drive . Also, it is not your right to prevent others.
E148	Any women against this	decree	stay, Nobody forced anyone , Just do not debate if it is allowed or forbidden. Also, any girl who sees her honor in a car just please die with this mind set.
E149	You are not forced to let your wife, daughter, or sister drive, you can bring a driver . This	decree	is concerned with a certain group, and it does not mean it's obligated for everyone
E150	Whoever sees #Saudi_women_driving to be not important or rejects it, no one will force you to accept the	decree	simply do not drive and shut your mouth because there are others who need this right.
E151	The	decree	was approved by the leadership in the country. It is an optional right to whomever desires it. It is not mandatory .
E152	The	decree	was issued by the ruler, and it is a done deal. He made it an optional matter , and among the reasons for this is to fulfill the needs for some women
E153	A	decree	was ordered by the state. You want to drive; no one is holding you back. You don't want to drive, still no one is forcing you , therefore, do not generalize the matter.

No.	Left side	keyword	Right side
E154		A decree	by the ruler, and everyone must respect it. It is not an obligation but rather a choice. You chose your car and this is your right, you chose to drive and that is your right, however, don't forget your hijab is not a choice but an obligation. Remember you are a Muslim women honored by Allah with your hijab and prettified by him with your modesty and shyness
E155		This is a decree	not an obligation, but rather a choice. So whomever chose to drive, this is your right but don't forget your hijab is an obligation and not a choice. It is indeed a divine obligation. Remember you are a Muslim women honored by Allah with your hijab and prettified by him with your modesty and shyness so hold on to them and go ahead

A set of evaluative collocates was retrieved by analyzing the above concordance lines of *decree* (Table 30). Table 30 is an analysis displaying the collocates embracing an evaluative meaning of the decree being optional and not imposed upon the citizens.

Table 30

Evaluative Collocates Presenting the Decree as Optional

Collocate	Translation	Collocate	Translation	Collocate	Translation
متوقع وغير الزامي	Expected and not mandatory	ليس اجباري اختياري، يا خذوه او اتركوه	not obligatory but optional, either take it or leave it	يسمح لهم القيادة وليس اجباري	Allows them to drive and is not obligatory
حق اختياري لمن اراد ليس اجباري	An optional right to whomever desires it and is not obligatory	اختياري حسب حاجتك	Optional according to your needs	لست مجبرا على السماح لأهلك بالقيادة	You are not forced to allow your family to drive
هو ليس فرض لكنه اختيار	It's not an obligation but rather a choice	اختياري و ليس اجباري	Optional and not obligatory	تجلس محد جبر احد	Stay, nobody is forcing anyone

Collocate	Translation	Collocate	Translation	Collocate	Translation
جعل الامر اختياري	He made it an optional matter	لم ولن يجبر اي شخص على استخراج رخصة قيادة لزوجته او اخته	No one has been nor will anyone ever be forced to obtain a driver's license for his wife or sister	لست مجبر على ان تقود زوجتك او ابنتك او اختك سيارة	You are not forced to have your wife, daughter, or sister drive
تبي تسوق محد ماسكك ما تبني برضو محد غاصبك	You want to drive, no one is holding you back, you don't want to, still nobody is forcing you	فلن يجبره احد على قبول	No one will force you to accept	يمس طائفة ولا يعني ان يلزم الكل	Is concerned with a certain group, it does not mean it's obligated for everyone
منصف وليس ملزم فالخيار لك	Fair and not obligatory, so the choice is yours	لأنكم تجبرون الناس تحسبون القرار اجباري	Because you force people you think the decree is obligatory		
غير ملزم لاحد	Not forced upon anyone	ولست مجبر عليه	And you're not forced to apply it		

The analysis of these evaluative collocates of the word *decree* in table 6 revealed that they mostly fall within the syntactic categories of adjectives or adjectival phrases. The concordance lines carrying negative terms like “obligation,” “mandatory,” “obligatory,” “forced”, were examined and revealed that they were not employed to associate negative qualities to the decree, but rather to emphasize positive qualities by denying that the decree is imposed on those not agreeing with it. These terms were preceded with the negation (not) such as “not forced to allow your family to drive,” “not forced upon any one,” “it does not mean it’s obligated for everyone,” “not mandatory,” and “not obligatory” . Another observation was the users’ reference to the State and the ruler in an attempt to legitimize the decree and reinforce the approval of the main authoritative power in the country. The use of the collocates “approved by the leadership in the country,” “by the ruler, and everyone must respect it. “ was ordered by the state,”

“was issued by the ruler, and it is a done deal” from examples A151/E151-A154/E154 exemplify the use of authority in the process of legitimization. Furthermore, while some of the supporters of the decree emphasized that the decree is not an obligation from the state, they reminded the new female drivers of their religious identity (e.g. you are a Muslim woman) and that wearing their hijabs is indeed an obligation from God as shown in examples A154/E154 and A155/E155. This reminder could be interpreted as a counter argument to the anti-decree users who objected this decree on the basis that it will lead to Saudi women unveiling.

The Decree Results in Great Outcomes. The analysis of the frequent term *Decree* in both groups, the opponents and the supporters, revealed that it centers on a main theme that highlights the consequences of the decree. While the opposers picture the decree to bring chaos and will result in negative social and religious outcomes, the supporter’s tweets reveal a different picture of the future potential implications. This is represented using the modal verb “will” and verbs such as “end,” “create”, “limit,” “lower,” “benefit,” “bringing,” “contribute,” “alleviate,” “serve,” “solve,” “remove,” “eased,” and “gave.” (see Table 31 and Table 32)

Table 31
Concordance Lines of the Decree Resulting in Positive Outcomes

No.	Left side	keyword	Right side
A156	سياسي او اجتماعي هام لا بد ان ينهي فرص اقتصادية قائمة و يخلق فرص اقتصادية جديدة الاقتصاد يعكس حال المجتمع	قرار	اي
A157	اجتماعي اقتصادي مستقبلي نتمنى تطبيقه 100%	قرار	
A158	تاريخي على مستوى الحزم السياسي ، و التمكين الاجتماعي ، و التخطيط الاقتصادي	قرار	نعم # قياده_المراه_السعودية

No.	Left side	keyword	Right side
E159	مقررون بضوابط شرعية و امنية و متنسق مع الاتجاه العام للرؤية الاقتصادية و الاستفادة من جميع شرائح المجتمع	قرار	
A160	ايجابي اذا نظرنا بعين الايجابية للأسر المحتاجة	القرار	
A161	راح يحل كثير من مشاكل الاسر اصحاب الظروف المعينة ان كان وفق ضوابط الشريعة	قرار	
A162	القيادة قرار يصب في مصلحة عدد من النساء فهي مطلب ضروري لهن للقيام بأعباء الحياة - كان الله في عونهن	قرار	
A163	كونه سيخدم فئة كبيرة , وبلغى الحاجة للغير في وسائل النقل , و يعتبر هذا الحدث مؤثر على حياة المرأة بخدمة نفسها	القرار	انا سعيد بهذا
A164	السامي العظيم بإعطاء المرأة حقها في القيادة لتتمكن من قضاء احتياجاتها (فالقيادة وسيلة و ليست غاية) شكرا ملكنا سلمان	القرار	1439/10/10 حدث تاريخي ابارك فيه لبنات وطني تنفيذ هذا
A165	و هذا القرار سيزيح عثرة امام المرأة لتحقيق إنجازاتها و قبلها احتياجاتها	قرار	الحمد لله اولاً و اخراً التغيير دائماً يبدا ب
A166	# قيادة المراه السعودية في تقليل معدلات البطالة و تخفيضها بشكل كبير فالموصلات احد اهم معوقات عمل المرأة	قرار	يساهم
A167	قيادة المرأة لا شك انه قرار مهم في سبيل تمكين المرأة و منحها فرصا متساوية في جميع المجالات	قرار	
A168	قيادة المرأة نقلة ايجابية في تاريخ المملكة و سوف يخدم المجتمع بشكل كبير	قرار	
A169	القرار المصيري الي راح يفك ازمات كثير و يحل مشاكل كثيره تعينا كثير و عانينا اكثر	القرار	نشكر سيدنا وملكنا سلمان بن عبد العزيز و ولي عهده محمد بن سلمان على هذا
A170	# قيادة المرأة السعودية فقد خففت من الحمل الذي على عواتقنا نحن الرجال	قرار	شكرا لكل من وقف خلف
E156	Any important political or social	decree	must end existing economic opportunities and create new ones. The economy reflects the state of society.
E157	A future socio-economic	decree	that we wish will be applied 100%
E158	Yes #Saudi_women_driving is a historical	decree	on the level of political assertiveness, social empowerment, and economical planning.
E159	A	decree	associated with religious and security restrictions, consistent with the general direction of the economical vision and benefits all segments of society

No.	Left side	keyword	Right side	
E160		The	decreed	is positive if we look positively at the families in need
E161		A	decreed	that will solve many of the problems of families with specific circumstances, if it is in accordance with the requirements of Sharia
E162		Driving	decreed	is a decree in the best interest of a number of women, as it is a necessary requirement for them to carry out the burdens of life - may God help them
E163	I am happy with this		decreed	as it will benefit a huge group and eliminate needing others for transportation and this event is considered influential to women as it will enable them to serve themselves
E164	10/10/1439 is a historical event, therefore, I would like to congratulate the daughters of my country for the implementation of this great and noble		decreed	which granted women the right to drive so that they can carry out their needs (driving is a means and not an end) Thank you, King Salman
E165	First praise be to Allah, the change always starts with a		decreed.	this decree will remove a bump hindering women from achieving their goals and before that [fulfilling] their needs.
E166	#saudi_women_driving		decreed	contributes to reducing unemployment rates, since transportation is one of the most important obstacles to women's employment
E167	Women driving		decreed	is undoubtedly an important decree in order to empower women and give them equal opportunities in all fields
E168	Women driving		decreed	is a positive shift in the history of the Kingdom, and it will greatly serve society
E169	We thank our master, our king Salman bin Abdulaziz and his crown prince Mohamed bin Salman for this fateful		decreed	which will solve many crises and problems. We are exhausted and we have suffered enough
E170	Thanks to everyone who stood behind #Saudi_women_driving		decreed	as it eased the burden on us men

The above tweets legitimize the decree by asserting that it will benefit the country “economically,” “politically,” and “socially”. A few tweets from both genders expressed their relief from the struggles experienced because of the ban as shown in lines E169 and

E170. Furthermore, the pro decree tweets legitimized the decree by crediting it with potentially “reducing unemployment rates,” “empowering women,” solving “many crises and problems” created from the difficulty of mobility “since transportation is one of the most important obstacles to women's employment”. In lines A160/E160 and A161/E161 they made reference to how this decree is beneficial to the “the families in need,” and “families with specific circumstances”. They also emphasized how it will allow women to finally be self-sufficient with phrases such as, “so that they can carry out their needs,” “it will enable them to serve themselves,” and “remove a bump hindering women from achieving their goals and before that [fulfilling] their needs” as shown in lines A162/E162-A165/E165 (Table 31). Furthermore, legitimization is achieved by referencing one of the main problems created by the ban, the issue of foreign drivers as shown in Table 32. The examples A166/E166-A176/E176 (Table 32) mention how this decree will help put an end to the driver related issues such as relief for the family from his “salary,” “financial burdens,” “harassments,” and how it will help with cutting the international “money transfers” and “reduce the number of foreigners” in the country. Also, one of the positives of the decree is the ability it offers to “recruit female drivers for the family instead of male drivers”.

Table 32

Concordance Lines of the Decree Ending Problems Related to Foreign Drivers

No.	Left side	keyword	Right Side
A171	امني اقتصادي بحماية الاسرة من تحرش السواق و اوبر الخ و توفير راتبه و تقليل الاجانب	قرار	
A172	تاريخي يدل على تغير الجيل القديم , بجيل ناضج و واعي، راتب السواق يتحول لقسط سيارة ملك	قرار	

No.	Left side	keyword	Right Side
A173	السماح للمرأة بالقيادة ستستفيد منه أكثر من مليوني امرأة سعودية، و هذا الرقم لوحده سيجعلنا بإذن الله نستغني عن عدد مماثل من السائقين و الحد من تحويلاتهم المالية الى الخارج	قرار	
A174	فالان بالإمكان استخدام سائقه للعائلة	القرار	شكرا لولي امرنا لهذا
A175	السماح للمرأة بقيادة السيارة استخدام سائقه بدلا عن سائق خطوة مهمة للمضي قدما بروية 2030	قرار	من الابدائيات في
A176	في تقليل (سائق تحت التدريب)	القرار	ومن جانب ايجابي و سد للحاجه سيساهم
A177	قيادة المراه السعوديه في الحد من التحويلات للخارج من العمالة والتي تقدر ب 126 مليار ريال 40 % منها للسائقين	قرار	يساهم
A178	جميل و له شعور خاص لكل انثى سعودية فرحه غير 1439/10/10 # قيادهاالمراهالسعودية كمان حابه اهنئ كل امرأة سعودية كل انثى جميله حابه ابارك لكل ام لكل موظفه سواء كانت معلمه دكتوراه اي موظفه لكل طالبه عانت مع سواقين عانت و صبرت و الحين جاء وقت الراحة	قرار	
A179	تاريخي له ابعاد اقتصادية و اجتماعية مهم.. سيخفف الاعياء المالية للأسر السعودية بالاستغناء عن وجود سائق	قرار	
A180	: ان النساء المكافحات المناضلات المسؤولات لن تصبحن تحت رحمة سائق اجنب!!	القرار	اجمل ما في
A181		القرار	سنين مرت بها اختلاء مع السائق الاجنبي و تحرش بالأطفال و الفتيات و استنزاف للجيوب , شكرا ملك القرار شكرا امير القرار , كنا بحاجة لهذا
E171	A security and economical	decree	to protect families from the harassment by private drivers, Uber drivers, etc., and to spare the salary of drivers, and to reduce the number of foreigners
E172	A historical	decree	indicating the change of the old generation, with a mature and conscious generation. The driver's salary will turn into a payment for a car
E173	The	decree	of allowing women to drive will benefit more than two million Saudi women, and this number alone will make us, by Allah's will, lay off a similar number of drivers and limit overseas money transfer.

No.	Left side	keyword	Right Side
E174	Thank you to our ruler for this	decree	now it's possible to recruit a female driver for the family
E175	One of the benefits of allowing women to drive a car	decree	is bringing in a female driver instead of a male driver; an important step in moving forward with Vision 2030
E176	And from a positive side, and to fill a need, the	decree	will contribute in reducing (driver under training)
E177	Saudi women driving	decree	contributes to reducing transfers abroad from workers, which are estimated at 126 billion SR, 40% of which are from drivers.
E178	A beautiful	decree	that has a special feeling for every Saudi female, a joy not like other 10/10/1439 Also, I would like to congratulate every Saudi woman, every beautiful female. I would like to congratulate every mother, worker whether she is a doctor, teacher, or any other job, I would like to congratulate every female student who suffered with drivers and was patient. Now is the time to rest.
E179	A historical	decree	with important economical and social dimensions. It will reduce the financial burdens of Saudi families by laying off drivers.
E180	The best thing about this	decree	is that the responsible, striver and fighter women won't be under the mercy of a foreigner driver
E181	Years passed with having to be alone with foreign drivers, harassments of children and girls, and money draining. Thank you to the king of this decree. Thank you to the prince of the decree. We needed this	decree	

The Decree is Approved by the Religious Establishment. In this theme users made sure to include the religious perspective to delegitimize the opposers' views that utilized religion as their main point of legitimizing the ban. The supporters legitimized and authorized the decree by making reference to the Ulama's approval or by quoting their

released statement after the decree was announced. The following tweets illustrates how the religious opinion was employed in the tweets supporting the decree (see Table 33).

Table 33

Examples of Legitimizing the Decree Through Religious Discourse

No.	Left side	Keyword	Right Side
A182	السماح كان مرتب بعدة على طول المشايخ بدأو يغردون بالرأي الديني في هذا الموضوع منعا للانفصال	قرار	حببت كيف
A183	سيادي من # خادم_الحرمين_الشريفين و ليس لاحد فيه شيء الا من استشارهم من العلماء فقط	القرار	على فكره
A184	السامي انتصار للإسلام و الاسرة و المجتمع في ظل شريعتنا السمحة	القرار	
A185	في وقته المناسب	القرار	بما ان العلماء افتوا ان الاصل في القيادة الإباحة فقد اتى هذا
A186	استند على فتوى هيئة كبار العلماء و هم اعلم بالأحكام الشرعية من جميعا	القرار	الملك حفظه الله في
A187	قيادي بعد موافقة الافتاء	قرار	لم ينتصر للمرأة ضد الرجل و لا للبيرالية ضد الاعتدال .. بل
A188	يتخذ خادم الحرمين و ولي عهده يتميز بموافقة الشريعة و مراعاته مصلحة الوطن، فلا داعي لتبرير علماء او غيره	قرار	اي
A189	السماح للمرأة بقيادة السيارة ; بناء على ما رواه من المصالح الراجحة في هذا الموضوع	قرار	الامانة العامة لهيئة كبار العلماء : ولاة الامر -ابدهم الله- اتخذوا
A190	ملكي يثق في المرأة السعودية التي تربت على هذه الارض الطاهرة و مستحيل نصدق ان اللحي اصحاب الفتاوى التي طعنت في عرض المسلمة مستحيل نصدق ان لها يد في هذا القرار	قرار	
E182	I liked how the permission	decree	was arranged to be immediately followed by the clerks' tweeting the religious perspective in this matter to avoid division
E183	By the way the	decree	is sovereign from #the custodian of the two holy mosques and nobody has anything on it except who he consulted of the Ulama only
E184	The high	decree	is a win for Islam, the family, and the society under our tolerant sharia
E185	Since the Ulama released a fatwa citing that driving is fundamentally not prohibited, then this	decree	came at the appropriate time

No.	Left side	Keyword	Right Side
E186	The king, may God protect him, has relied in this	decree	on the fatwa from the Council of Senior Scholars (Ulama) who are more knowledgeable in the religious rulings than any of us
E187	It wasn't victorious for the women against the men or the liberals against the modernists.. but it is a	decree	from the leadership after the Ifta's* approval
E188	Any	decree	issued by the custodian of the two holy mosques and his crown prince is characterized with its compliance to sharia and takes into consideration the best interest of the nation, so there is no need for the Ulama's justification
E189	The secretariat of the Council of Senior Scholars (Ulama): "The rulers, may God support them, issued the	decree	allowing women to drive based on what they saw from the preponderant benefits of this matter."
E190	It's a royal	decree	that trusts the Saudi woman which was raised in this pure land, and it is impossible to believe that the people with beards, the fatwa issuers, that insulted the honor of Muslim women, have a role in this decree

Table 34 is an analysis of the above concordance lines of decree, displaying the collocates embracing an evaluative meaning.

Table 34

Collocations Embracing the Two Authoritative Powers: The State and The Ulama

Collocate	Translation	Collocate	Translation
عل طول المشايخ بداو يغردون بالراي الديني	Immediately the sheiks started tweeting the religious opinion	سيادي من # خادم-الحرمين- الشريفيين	Sovereign from the custodian of the two holy mosques
الا من استشارهم من العلماء فقط	Except who he consulted of the Ulama only	السامي	High
انتصار للإسلام و الاسرة والمجتمع في ظل شريعتنا السمحة	A victory for Islam, family, and society under our tolerant Sharia	الملك حفظه الله	The King may God save him

* The only authoritative committee responsible for releasing fatwas. Its members are drawn from the Council of Senior Scholars (Ulama)

Collocate	Translation	Collocate	Translation
استند على فتوى هيئة كبار العلماء	Relied on the fatwa from the Council of Senior Scholars (Ulama)	قيادي	From the leadership
قيادي بعد موافقة الافتاء	From the leadership after the Ifta's approval	يتخذ ه خادم الحرمين وولي عهده	issued by the King and his crown prince
يتميز بموافقة الشريعة ومراعاته مصلحة الوطن	Is characterized with its compliance to sharia and takes into consideration the best interest of the nation	ملكي	Royal
بما ان العلماء افتوا ان الاصل في القيادة الإباحة	Since the Ulama released a fatwa citing that driving is fundamentally not prohibited		

Collocational analysis of the tweets showed that the two authoritative powers, the state and the Ulama were utilized to legitimize the decree. The tweets aim to convey the unity between the religious establishment and the state. This seems to be manifested through the employment of phrases such as “nobody has anything on it except who he consulted of the Ulma only,” “a decree from the leadership after the approval of the Ifta’s approval,” and “the king, may God protect him, has relied in his decree on the fatwa from the Council of Senior Scholars (Ulama) who are more knowledgeable in the religious rulings than any of us”. While some referred to the Ulama to give the decree an authoritative and religious voice, some did not see a need for their opinions and reasoning since Saudi Arabia is an Islamic state and any decree issued by the king is by default based on Sharia law as seen in example A186/E186. In the last example A188/E188, a tweeter refused to give credit to the Ulama who were referred to as “the people with beards, the fatwa issuers” and described these fatwas to have “insulted the honor of Muslim women” and only gave credit to the state.

To sum up, the semantic categories of the pro-decree tweets revealed that the supporters of the decree constructed a positive image of the decree and its potential great outcomes. The semantic categories of tweets included positive modifiers attributed to the decree, potential positive outcomes that will advance the country and the welfare of Saudi women, optional provision of the decree, and support from the religious sector. The authority of both the state and the religious establishment were referenced to legitimize the decree and delegitimize the opposer's rejection of the decree.

Pro-decree Themes

The analysis of the keywords helped to see how tweeters who support the royal decree describe the decree, country and King Salman. The two main themes of this group are (a) analogy comparisons (b) celebrating the new social change.

Analogy Comparisons

This theme from the supporters is a counterargument to invalidate the opposers' arguments and credibility. A qualitative analysis of the three keywords *cell phone* جوال, *the cellphone* الجوال, *satellite* ديش, *education* تعليم, and *opposers* معارضين, uncovered discursive patterns associated with analogies. This group of tweeters using these keywords delegitimized the opponent's rejection of the decree by mentioning their past objections to new innovations that with time became acceptable, such as the introduction of girl's education, the introduction of satellites, and cellphones especially those with a camera. These tweets are examined thru their past historical and social contexts mentioned in chapter two in regards to Saudi Arabia's resistance to change. These tweets also included other words related to analogies such as the internet, social media sites, participating in the stock market. This analogous evaluation of the key word *cellphone*

(see Table 35) and its frequent collocates *satellite* and *girls education* (see Table 36) is expected to deliver the following:

1. With time peoples' rejection will decline and women driving will be accepted and normalized with phrases such as
 - A198/E198: *I 'm convinced it will be a normal matter like the (satellite) era*
 - A201/E201: *With time women driving will be a normal matter accepted by everyone,*
 - A203/E203: *In a nutshell: everything in the beginning is faced with rejection*
 - A205/E205: *in a couple of months and you'll see it as a very very normal matter*
 - A206/E206: *Every matter starts by causing an uproar and that is normal*

Table 35

Concordance Lines of the Keyword 'جوال / Cellphone' and the Keyword 'دش / Satellite'

No.	Left side	Keyword	Right side
A191	اليوم تماما	جوالها	الى كل من اغضبه القرار تريت قليلا فبعد سنوات معدودة سنشترى سيارة ابنتك بل وستخيرها كما تشترى
A192	تراه كان حرام	الجوال	ترا بتتفشلون وانتوا تحرمون من روسكم بيصير نفس سالفه
A193	ابو كاميرا و الان حتى مع بنته الصغير جوال !!	الجوال	يبدا سيكون كمن كان يخاف من
A194		الجوال	من يمانعون الآن سترون زوجاتهم وبناتهم يركبن اجمل السيارات لنا امثله كثر
A195	ورسائل الوسائط وبرامج التواصل الاجتماعي	للجوال	قيادة المرأة للسيارة ورفض بعض المجتمع لها يذكرني برفضهم
A196	بوكاميرا و هالحين كلهم يملكونه، اليوم يعترضون على سواقة المرأة و بكرة كل حريمهم ببسوقون	جوال	قبل 20 سنة اعترضوا على
A197	بيوتهم ثم سحبوا سلك من الجار، بعدها صار الريسفير بكل بيت، لا عليكم هذي زوبعة ايام	الدش	هناك من حرموا دخول

No.	Left side	Keyword	Right side
A198	نحب (الاثارة) في كل شيء	(الدش)	مقتنع ب ان علماءنا اعلم مقتنع بان ولاتنا احكم مقتنع بانه امر سيكون عادي جدا كحقبه
A199	بالبنق اضحك، بس عرفنا لهم بدينا نحط شينكو لإخفاء الهدف وتضليل العدو	الدش	انا كل ما تذكرت انهم كانوا يرمون
E191	To whoever is mad because of the decree be patient in a couple of years you will be buying your daughter's car, and asking her to choose just like how you buy her	cellphone	today
E192	You will be ashamed for forbidding driving for made up reasons, like you did with the	cellphone	it used to be forbidden
E193	It seems it will be like those fearful of	cellphones	with a camera and now it's with their youngest daughter
E194	you will see the wives and daughters of those opposing now riding the best cars just like we see with	cellphone	examples
A195	The rejection by some of the society of women driing reminds me of their rejection of	cellphones,	media messages, and social media programs
E196	Before 20 years they objected	cellphones	with cameras and now they all own it. Today they object against women driving and tomorrow all their women will drive.
E197	There is those who forbade the entry of the	satellite	inside their homes, then they pulled the wire from their neighbor, and after that the cable became present in every room.
E198	I'm convinced that our scholars know better than us. I'm convinced that our guardians are wise. I am convinced that it will be a very normal matter like the	(satellite)	era. we like (excitement) in everything.
E199	Every time I remember that they used to shoot	Satellites,	with a rifle I laugh. But we get them now, we have started to put fences to hide the target and mislead the enemy

Table 36

Concordances of Keyword/Cellphone Co-occurring with the Keywords /شوش Satellite and تعليم المرأة/Women's 'Education'

No.	Left side	keyword	Right side
A200	الشعب لا يريد لا يريد، من انت عشان نتحدث باسم الشعب	الجوال	الشعب لا يريد تعليم المرأة، الشعب لا يريد الدش، الشعب لا يريد
A201	و الانترنت	و الجوال	مع الايام راح تصير قيادة المرأة امر طبيعي و يتقبلها الجميع مثل الستلايت
A202	الكاميرا الدش النت تعليم البنات و وو ب الله لو مشينا على رايمك وين راح نكون	جوال	كل شي رفضتوه
A203		كالجوال	تعليم المرأة , دخولها المجالات الصحية # الدش خلاصة الحديث : كل شيء في بدايته يقابل الرفض
A204	بالذات الباندا	و الجوال	لا اكاد اجزم و لكني متأكد ان ثلاث ارباع معارضي # قيادها لمرأه السعوديه هم نفسهم من عارضو الدش و الانترنت
A205	للنساء في بداياته قامت الدنيا و لم تجلس	الجوال	قيادة المرأة قيادة المرأة امر عادي ليس هو بالحرام و لا اجرام كم شهر و تشوفون الامر عادي جدا جدا مثله مثل تعليم المرأة في المدارس آنذاك و كذلك استعمال
A206	والتعليم للمرأة	الجوال	والان البنات عنده جوال و الامر عادي و طبيعي كل امر في بدايته يحدث ضجه هذه طبيعي خير دليل
A207	الكاميرا و خصوصا للمرأة الحياة ابسط بكثير من تعقيدها	جوات	في حقبة زمنية ماضية رفضوا تعليم المرأة و ايضا عارضوا
A208	الكاميرا و الحين معهم اربع جوات	جوال	هم نفسهم اللي رفضوا التعليم اول ما طلع و نفسهم اللي عارضو
E200	The public doesn't want women education. The public do not want satellite. The public doesn't want	cellphones	The public doesn't want this, doesn't want that. Who are you, to speak on behalf of the people.
E201	With time women driving will be a normal matter accepted by everyone as it happened with the satellite, the	cellphone	and the internet
A202	You reject ed everything	cellphones	with a camera, satellite, internet, women education, etc. I just wonder if we followed your opinions where would we be.
A203	Women education, women entering health fields and #satellite, in a nutshell: everything in the beginning is faced with rejection as it happened with	cellphones	

No.	Left side	keyword	Right side
A204	I can't hardly say for sure, but I am pretty sure that three-quarters of people who are against #saudi_women_driving_a_car are the same people who rejected satellites, internet, and	cellphones	especially Panda phones
A205	Women driving is normal, it's not forbidden nor is it a crime, in a couple of months and you'll see it as a very very normal matter just like women's education in schools at that time and just like women using	cellphones	at first the world was outside down
A206	And now girls have phones and it is normal. Everything in its beginning causes an uproar and that is normal, best proofs are	cellphones	and women's education
E207	In a previous era, they rejected women's education and they also opposed	cellphones	that have cameras especially for women. Life is much simpler, so do not complicate it.
E208	They are the same people who rejected education when it appeared and they are the same people that opposed a	cellphone	with a camera and now they have four cellphones

2. The supporters of the decree are seeking to portray the opponents as hypocrites who will denounce the decree in the present time and then embrace it later. They delegitimizes the discourses of the anti-decree tweeters through explaining their contradictions and shifting positions by reminding them of past historical situations with the use of the adverbs *now, then, today* and *tomorrow*. Other phrases that indicate past and future times include *in a couple of years, before 20 years, after that, used to be, will be* :

- A191/E191: *be patient in a couple of years you will be buying your daughter's car, and asking her to choose just like how you buy her cellphone today.*

- A192/E192: *You will be ashamed for forbidding driving for made up reasons, like you did with the cellphone, it **used to** be forbidden.*
- A193/E193: *It seems it **will** be like those fearful of cellphones with a camera and **now** it's with their youngest daughter.*
- A194/E194: *you will see the wives and daughters of those opposing **now** riding the best cars just like we see with cellphone examples.*
- A196/E196: ***before 20 years** they opposed cellphones with cameras and **now** they all own it. **Today**, they object against women driving, **tomorrow**, all their women will drive.*
- A197/E197: *There is those that forbade the entrance of the satellite inside their homes, **then** they pulled the wire from their neighbor, and **after that** the cable became present in every room.*
- A208/E208: *they are the same people that opposed a cellphone with a camera and **now** they have four cellphones*

It can also be observed from the above examples that the supporters are using the pronouns *they, those, their* and *you* in their tweets to refer to the opposers to create a distance between US the supporters who are celebrating the social change and THEM the opposers who will embrace the social change eventually .

3. Ideologies conveyed in these analogies attempt to frame a negative image of the opposers and present the current opposers to be an extension of the former opposers or that they are the same people:

- A199/E199 :every time I remember that they used to shoot satellites with a rifle I laugh.
- A200/E200: The public doesn't not want women education. The public doesn't want satellite. The public doesn't want cellphone, The public doesn't want this, doesn't want that. Who are you, to speak on behalf of the people.
- A202/E202: you rejected everything; cellphones with a camera, satellite, internet, women education, etc. I just wonder if we followed your opinions where would we be.
- A204/E204: I am pretty sure that three-quarters of people who are against #saudi_women_driving_a_car are the same people who rejected satellites, internet, and cell phones.
- A206/E206: In a previous era, they rejected women's education and they also opposed cellphones that have cameras especially for women.
- A208/E208: They are the same people who rejected education when it appeared and they are the same people that opposed a cellphone with a camera.

The same sentiments were present around the Keyword *opposers* (see Table 37).

They were represented as hypocrites who contradict themselves. They depicted the opinions of the anti-decree tweets as ignorant, backward and inconsistent. The “most vicious opposers” were described as being “the biggest benefiter” and “the first to take advantage of this decree” as shown in lines A209/E209 and A210/E210.

Table 37*Concordance Lines of the Keyword ‘المعارضين / Opposers’*

No.	Left side	Keyword	Right side
A209	للقرار بين 20 الى 40 سنة وراح تشوفون كلامهم تغير مثله مثل أي شيء قرار جديد صار	المعارضين	احسبوا ل
A210	حاليهم كحال من سبقوهم بالاعتراض على تعليم المرأة و عملها	المعارضين	كمية جهل و رجعية طلعت من
A211	هم اكبر المنتفعين	المعارضين	بكره بتشوف اشرس
A212	سيكونون اول من يستغل هذا القرار لصالحهم و يطبقونه في منازلهم	المعارضين	و اللي يستقزني ان نفس هؤلاء
E209	Count for the	opposers	of the decree from 20 to 40 years and you will see how they change their opinions just like with every new decree in the past
E210	A tremendous amount of ignorance and backwardness coming from the	opposers	just like those who came before them and opposed women’s education and employment
E211	Tomorrow we will see that the most vicious	opposers	are the biggest benefiteres
E212	What bothers me is that those same	opposers	will be the first to take advantage of this decree and the first to apply it to themselves

Celebrations

While the aim of the previous theme was to mainly delegitimize the opponents and their perspectives on the decree granting women the right to drive through analogies, this theme seems to be more focused on creating ways to celebrate and legitimize the decree as the turning point towards a better future for Saudi Arabia and Saudi women rights. Keywords related to this celebratory discourse include *feeling* شعور, *happiness* , *congratulations* مبروك, *Thank you* شكر , *King* ملك, *Our king* ملكنا, *Salman* سلمان, the adjective words , *the most beautiful* اجمل, *beautiful* جميل, words related to time such as *morning* صباح and other terms that were mostly frequent in the first period such as *month*,

September , week, شهر، سبتمبر، أسبوع. An investigation of the concordance lines of these keywords showed that the supporters of the decree predominantly employs these terms to reveal how the supporters' rhetoric emphasizes characteristics such as happiness and pride. The pro decree tweeters' sense of excitement was evident in their celebratory discourse. To analyze their feelings , concordance lines of the keyword *feeling* were generated as shown in Table 38.

Table 38
Concordances of the Keyword 'شعور / Feeling'

#	Left side	keyword	Right Side
A207	وسعادة لا يمكن وصفها عند رجوع حق من حقوقك طالما انتظرتة و تحملت و صبرت حتى تناله و تمارسه	شعور	
A208	رائع ان تعايش التاريخ يكتب، شكرا لكل من ساهم على مدار عقود لاجل لحظة مثل تلك مبروك من القلب	شعور	
A209	انك راح توصلني و راح تنجزني و ماراح تحتاجني لاحد	شعور	الحمد لله اني شهدت هذا اليوم و هذا التغيير و هذه الانطلاقة اللي تعطيك
A210	جميل .. تغييرات مبهرة و جميلة يشهدها وطني	شعور	جايه من الجامعه و قاعده اتامل اشكال السيارات و الوانها و اتخيل السواقين بنات بالنقاب و داعسين و
A211	ليس بالامكان وصفه تماما , و يستحيل تحجيمه و تقزيمه اقتصاديا ذاك الشعور هو التمكين , و ليس شيء سواه	شعور	ثم شعور لا يوصف , عندما تتمكن من فعل شيء كنت لا تستطيع قبلا .. هذا الشعور هو اهم و اعز و ارقى و ابهى
A212	الحمد لله الناس تبتسم و لا فيه اي شيء يحسس بغرابة الموضوع	شعور	يا احلى و اغرب
A213	الكبت و الحصار : (يا ريتني ولد)	شعور	لن نسمع من " الجيل النسائي الجديد " العبارة الشهيرة اللي كانوا يعبروا بها البنات عن
A214	بالفخر لما احتجت مشوار قريب للبيت, و قلت للسواق يجلس ورا و انا اللي وصلت نفسي	شعور	
A215	رائع لما تسوق و السائقين يرحبون فيك في الشارع ,,,, هذا المجتمع اللي ما كان مستعد	شعور	
A216	مختلف جدا.. السابعة صباحا في طريقي للدوام الرسمي .. يوم للتاريخ .. شكرا لكل من احترم ادبيات الطريق	شعور	
A217	يجنن مع اننا سقنا برا بس بديرتك غيببيري والله	شعور	

#	Left side	keyword	Right Side
A218	رائع اتمناه لكل بنت سعودية و نقول لحبايبنا اخواننا اللي خدمونا لسنوات شكرا جاء الوقت اللي نرد الدين لكم	شعور	كان
A219	جميل .. مبروك لكل امراة سعودية .. و لكل رجل سعودي	شعور	طاقات عالية .. شعور لا يوصف
A207	It's an indescribable	feeling	and happiness when one of your rights is returned which you have always waited for, and patiently endured to gain and exercise.
A208	A wonderful	feeling	to live the history being written, thanks to everyone who has contributed over decades for a moment like that. Congratulations from the heart.
A209	Praise be to God that I witnessed this day, this change, and this breakthrough that gives you the	feeling	that you are going to reach, and you will achieve, and you will not need anyone else.
A210	Coming from the university, looking at the different cars and their colors, and imagining the drivers being girls in veils and speeding, aaaand, a beautiful	feeling	.. impressive and beautiful changes my country is witnessing.
A211	There is an indescribable	feeling	, when you can do something that you could not do before .. This feeling is the most important, dearest, finest and most lofty feeling that cannot be fully described, and impossible to reduce and dwarf economically, that feeling is the empowerment, and nothing else.
A212	Oh the sweetest and strangest	feeling	, praise be to God, people are smiling and there is nothing in it that feels strange.
A213	We will not hear from the "new female generation" the famous phrase that girls used to express a	feeling	of suppression and siege: (I wish I was a boy)
A214	A	feeling	of pride when I needed a ride close to home, and I told the driver to sit in the backseat, and I drove myself
A215	A wonderful	feeling	when you are driving and drivers are saluting you on the road ,,,, this was the society that was not ready!
A216	A very different	feeling	.. Seven o'clock in the morning on my way to work.. a day for history .. Thanks to everyone who respected the etiquette of the road
A217	It's a crazy	feeling	, although we have driven overseas, but in your country is different, I swear.

#	Left side	keyword	Right Side
E218	It was a wonderful	feeling	I wished for every Saudi girl, and we say to our beloved brothers who have served us for years, thank you, the time has come to repay the debt to you.
E219	High energies .. an indescribable feeling, nice	feeling	.. Congratulations to every Saudi woman .. and to every Saudi man

The joyous *feeling* was described as being “indescribable”, “happy”, “beautiful”, “great” and “amazing.” The use of the collocates, “that feeling is the empowerment”, “although we have driven overseas, but driving in one’s country is different”, “that you will arrive and achieve and you will not need anyone”, “it’s seven in the morning on my way to work .. a day for history”, “when I needed a ride close to home, and I told the driver to sit in the backseat, and I drove myself” and “we will not hear from the ‘ new female generation’ the famous phrase (I wish I was a boy),” appears to carry a semantic prosody of empowerment. The decree was legitimized by highlighting women’s suffering and their long wait for the decree to eliminate these grievances. This seems to be manifested through the employment of phrases such as “when you regain one of your long-awaited rights that you patiently waited to have and practice” and “thanks for all whomever participated through the decades for a moment like this”. The decree was furthermore legitimized through topos of *readiness*. Tweeters emphasized the readiness of the society and how normal it was for everybody involved by reporting their positive experiences with phrases such as “people are smiling and there is nothing in it that feels strange”, and “drivers are saluting you on the road, is this the society that was not ready!”, and “thanks to everyone who respected the etiquette of the road.” Some Tweeters also made sure to be inclusive by directly referencing the other gender in the

tweets by either extending the congratulations “to every Saudi man ” or acknowledging the long years of service from them as shown in example A218/E218 and A219/E219.

By examining the context of the other keywords in this theme and the semantic prosody of the concordance lines, it was found that, topos of empowerment, inclusiveness, readiness employed in the above examples were present throughout the supporters’ celebratory discourse. Table 39 displays how they were used around the keyword *beautiful* and its related forms.

Table 39
Concordances of the Keyword ‘جميل / Beautiful’ and Its Related Formations

#	Left side	Keyword	Right side
A220	للمرأة السعودية بشكل فعال و عصري ,نفع الله بكن البلاد و العباد	الجميل	و ابتداء عهد التمكين
A221	ان تذهب المرأة لعملها وتقضي شأنها و توصل ابنائها للمدرسة دون الحاجة لاحد يفعل بدل عنه	اجمل	ما
A222	و عالمي .. يوم طال انتظاره ..يحس به بعض الذكور بالعار و البعض بالامتنان و الفخر يحس به معظم الاناث بالسعادة و القوة و العظمة و البعض مازال يقبع في جعبة الجهل و التخلف	جميل	يوم
A223	الذي يثري الوطن	الجميل	عند ما يرتقي المجتمع تتسع مساحة # الوطن للجميع و عندها لا يسعى طرف لإقصاء الاخر و يحدث نوع من التناغم
A224	ان تكون المرأة عضو فاعل في المجتمع وان تكون شريك حياة فاعل في الاسرة و هذا هو الطبيعي و المفترض من زمان	جميل	
A225	جعلنا نعيش حاله جميله خلال امس و اليوم و القادم اجمل ان شاء الله 	جميل	هي حق للمراه و اصبحت تمارسه هي ضرورة لبعض الاسر و السيدات هو شيء طبيعي في كل بلدان العالم هو شيء
A226	هلا بكم في المملكة الطبيعية	جميله	بداية سنه
A227	و كل شئ كان مثل الطبيعي و احسن و الله لا يغير علينا	جميل	الحمدلله يوم تاريخي و
A228	و افضل، شكرا لسلمان الحزم والعزم	جميل	الحمدلله , اليوم اصبحت السعودية بطاقة ايجابية و سعادة كبيرة و خطط لمستقبل
A229		اجمل	و اصبغ العالم مكان

#	Left side	Keyword	Right side
A220		And the beautiful	era of empowerment of Saudi women has begun in an effective and modern way. May God make you beneficial to the country and the people.
A221		How beautiful	it is for a woman to go to work and take care of her affairs and take her kids to school without the need for anyone to do so on her behalf.
A222		A beautiful	and universal day ... a long-awaited day ... makes some males feel shame, and some feel gratitude and pride, and makes most females feel happiness, strength and greatness, and some still lie in the pouch of ignorance and backwardness
A223	When the society progresses, the #country becomes inclusive of everyone, Then no party would seek to exclude the other. A	beautiful	harmony that enriches the country will exist.
A224		It is beautiful	that women are active members in society, and are active life partners in the family, and this is the normal and what is supposed to be for a long time.
A225	It is a woman's right and she's exercising it; it is a necessity for some families and women, it is a normal thing in all countries of the world, it is a	beautiful	thing that made us live in a beautiful state during yesterday and today, and the next is more beautiful, God willing ♥
A226		Beautiful	beginning of a year, welcome to the normal kingdom
A227	Praise be to God, a	beautiful	and historical day, and everything was like normal and better. May God does not change us.
E228	Praise be to God, today Saudi Arabia woke up with a positive energy and great happiness, and plans for a	beautiful	and better future,thank you Salman the determined
E229	And the world becomes a more	beautiful	place

The concordance lines of the term beautiful and its related forms reveal that Saudi women's role in social development has been celebrated by the pro decree tweeters. They constructed the decree granting women the right to drive as the beginning of the "beautiful era of empowerment of Saudi women in an effective and modern way" as

shown example A220/E220 and praised the inclusiveness of both genders in “enrichening the country” as the ban was represented as a form of “exclusion” of women shown in example A223/E223 and A224/E224. It was also observed how they highlighted the modernization act of driving by the frequent use of the adjective *normal* to describe women driving. This was apparent by the use of the collocates “and this is normal,” “it’s normal all over the world,” and “welcome to the normal kingdom” shown in examples A224/E224- A226/E226. The collocate *normal* was also used in example A227/E227, “everything was like normal and better” to emphasize the readiness of the society for women driving.

The celebratory discourse was also most strongly apparent around the Keywords *congratulations* ألف,ميروك, *thousand* ألف, *thank you* شكر and *Salman* سلمان. The Keyword *congratulations* was intensified by using the number of “*thousand*,”. An investigation of the concordances of *thousand* revealed that it was used in the pro corpus only as a collocate of congratulations and was sometimes repeated twice to intensify the congratulations such as *thousand thousand congratulations*. Also, when examining the concordances of *Congratulations* and *Thank you* it appeared that the vast majority of tweeters have extended their gratitude to either King *Salman* or the Crown Prince Mohammad bin *Salman* or both (see Table 40). They used several referential and predicational strategies to positively represent the king and his crown prince and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia by praising them and the country. These predicational strategies are realized in the adjectives “the determined” to describe King Salman and the “ambitious young man” , “inspiring dear to our hearts” to describe the Crown Prince Mohammad bin Salman. The King was also represented by referring to him as “our

father”, “my lord”, “our dear king” and “the king of determination”. Saudi Arabia was also positively described and referred to as “our new kingdom” and “this great country”. The country was constructed as being “on the right path”, “entering a new era” and “keeping up with modernization”. Concordance lines of *Congratulations* and *Thank you* in Table 40 demonstrate how they co-occurred with the King and the crown prince in the pro corpus.

Table 40

Concordances of the Keywords ‘مبروك / Congratulations’ and ‘شكرا / Thank you’ Co-occurring with the King and his Crown Prince

No.	Left side	Keyword	Right side
A230	لكل امرأه على هذا القرار التاريخي و نشكر و الدنا الملك سلمان و ولي عهده	مبروك	الف
A231	لكل مرأه سعودية عاشت هذه اللحظة التاريخية لولادة مملكتنا الجديدة تحت بيرق سيدي خادم الحرمين الشريفين حفظه الله و ولي عهده الملهم العالي على قلوبنا جميعا	مبروك	الف الف
A232	للوطن هذا القرار التاريخي المنصف و حفظ الله وطننا و ملكنا	مبروك	
A233	هذا الحدث التاريخي للمملكة فكوني خير من يمثل هذا البلد العظيم	مبروك	شكرا لثقة خادم الحرمين الملك سلمان حفظه الله بالمرأة السعودية
A234	لكل بنات بلدي و شكر بحجم السماء لملكنا و ولي عهده	مبروك	
A235	سلمان	شكرا	نحن على الطريق الصحيح فجر جديد و عهد جديد و مواكبة التطور الحمد لله هر منا حتى نرى هذه الساعة ف
A236	شكرا شكرا لقيادتنا و مليكنا سلمان و محمد بن سلمان شكرا شكرا	شكرا	
A237	شكرا #محمد بن سلمان	شكرا	اليوم هو عودة طبيعة لحياتنا التي سرقت منا منذ عقود
A238	بابا سلمان , شكرا ولي العهد	شكرا	اجمل و اصوب قرار في محله و وقته
A239	ملكنا العالي ملك الحزم الله يطول بعمره و يجعله نخر شكرا ولي العهد الشاب الطموح عساك على القوه يا بو سلمان	شكرا	

No.	Left side	Keyword	Right side
E230	A thousand	congratulations	to every woman on this historical decree and we thank our father king Salman and his royal prince
E231	A thousand thousand	congratulations	to every Saudi women who witnessed this historical moment of the birth of our new kingdom under the rule of the custodian of the two holy mosques, may God protect him, and his inspiring crown prince who is dear to our hearts
E232		Congratulations	To the country this historical and fair decree, may God preserve our country and our King
E233	Thank you King Salman the custodian of the two holy mosques for trusting the Saudi woman	Congratulations	for this historical event for the Kingdom, be the best representative of this great country
E234		Congratulations	to all the girls of my country and a big thank you to our king and his crown prince
E235	We are on the right path, a new dawn, a new era and keeping up with modernization	Thank You	Salman
E236		Thank You	thank you Thank you to our leadership, to our King Salman and to Mohammad bin Salman Thank you Thank you
E237	Today is the natural return to our life that has been stolen from us decades ago	Thank you	thank you #MohammadbinSalman
E238	The best and correct decree	Thank you	father Salman, Thank you crown prince
E239		Thank You	our dear king, the King of determination and thank you to the crown prince the ambitious young man

Other keywords that were frequently used to express happy and proud emotions were *morning* and *law*. The term *morning* was employed by those who woke up to the news on Sept 26 or those who took the wheel on the mornings after the decree took effect on June 24. The following concordance lines (Table 41) illustrate how the supporters used *morning* to express their excitement.

Table 41*Concordances of the Keyword 'صباح Morning'*

No.	Left side	Keyword	Right side
A237	الخير يا مملكتنا الحديثة صباح الخير يا اشجع وطن	صباح	
A238	الخير للمؤيدين والمعارضين صباح الاخبار الحلوة الي تجلطكم دايم القهر ان حريمكم اول حريم يسوقون ببسبوقنا	صباح	
A240	الخير جميلات السعودية.. القيادة في كل شؤون الحياة تليق بنا	صباح	
A241	الانتصار و الحرية	صباح	
A242	سعودي , نعم لاعتناق الحقوق , نعم لاستقبال الحياة الفطرية , نعم لجميع قفزات التطور التي نفخر بها	صباح	احلى
A243	الاعخبار السعيدة	صباح	
A244	سعيد بكل المقاييس	صباح	
A245	يليق بالمرأة السعودية	صباح	
A246	نسائي بكل ما تحمله الحياة من جمال قادم	صباح	
A247	الخير.. اليوم الثاني على # المرأة-السعودية-تقود-السيارة مر بكل هدوء و في امان و بلا مضايقات	صباح	
E237		Good morning	our modern kingdom, good morning, the bravest country
E238		Good morning	to the supporters, but to the opponents; I hope this morning of good news always infuriates you. What's irritating is that your women are going to be the first women to drive, they will beat us to it.
E240		Good morning	Saudi beauties .. driving all life affairs suits us
E241		The morning	of victory and freedom
E242	Best Saudi	morning	, yes to embracing rights, yes to welcoming natural life, yes to all the leaps of development that we are proud of
E243		The morning	of good news
E244		Happy morning	by all accounts

E245		Morning	befitting to the Saudi woman.
E246	A women's	morning	, with all the coming beauty that life holds.
E247	Good	morning	.. the second day of # Saudid_Women_Driving_The_Car passed calmly, safely, and without harassment

An examination of the collocates shows that they are used by the pro decree tweeters to positively describe and welcome the *morning* in manners other than the generic *good morning* such as “morning of victory and freedom,” “morning of good news,” “a women’s morning,” “best Saudi morning” and “a morning befitting to the Saudi woman”. Saudi Arabia was also positively described and referred to as “our new kingdom” and “the bravest country.” The decree was constructed as “a leap of development”. A concordance analysis of the keyword *law* demonstrated how Saudi women’s rights and role in social development has been reinforced by the law. Table 42 demonstrates how pro decree tweeters viewed the driving decree as a powerful tool for social change.

Table 42
Concordances of the Keyword ‘قانون/Law’

#	Left side	Keyword	Right side
A246	استطاع ان يوجه اعراف المجتمع و عاداته بما يعزز الحقوق و تفعيل و مشاركة جميع افراد المجتمع . فشكر ال # خادم-الحرمين-الشريفيين و ولي العهد الامير # محمد-بن-سلمان	القانون	حقيقة ان
A247	استطاع ان يوجه اعراف المجتمع و عاداته على النحو الذي يعزز من حقوق المرأة و دورها في المجتمع	القانون	بلا شك انها مناسبة سعيدة والاجمل انها رسالة للمجتمع بان
A248	اسرع و انجح طريقة في احداث او تعديل او حسم اي قضية مجتمعية	القانون	الارادة السياسية الحكيمة التي تدرك ان
A249	له هيبته .. فقدرته علي التغيير مذهله	القانون	

#	Left side	Keyword	Right side
E246	The reality that the	law	is able to direct society's customs and traditions in a manner that reinforces the rights and activates the participation of all members of society. So thank you to #the custodian of the two holy mosques and to the crown prince #MohammadbinSalman
E247	Without a doubt this is a happy occasion and the best part is that it is a message to society that the	law	is capable of directing society's customs and traditions in a manner that reinforces women rights and their role in the society
E248	The wise political leadership that acknowledges that the	law	is the faster most successful way to create, modify or end any societal issue.
E249	The	law	has its prestige, as its ability to create change is marvelous.

Happiness and excitement was also evident around the keywords of the first period *September, month, and week*. While the term *Month* was used to refer to *September*, the month the royal decree was issued and followed by the anti-harassment law, *week* was used to refer to the week where the two laws coincided. From the below concordance lines of *week* the positive presentation through predicational strategy is expressed linguistically through the use of the positive modifiers and depictions ex. “best,” “most beautiful,” “victory,” “historical,” “miraculous,” “beauty” as shown in the examples below:

- The *week* of happiness and victory for the rights of Saudi women. اسبوع السعادة و الانتصار لحقوق المراه السعودية.
- The best *week* passes for the Saudi woman احلى اسبوع يمر على المرأة السعودية
- The most beautiful *week* that passed for the Saudi woman and for those who want to get to her اجمل اسبوع مر على # المرأة السعودية و على من يريد الوصول لها
- Saudi women victory *week* اسبوع نصر المرأة السعودية

- Indeed, a *week* of women's victories فعلا اسبوع انتصارات المرأة
- Historical *week* اسبوع تاريخي
- The miraculous *week* الاسبوع المعجزة
- What a beauty in this *week*. ما هذا الجمال في هذا الاسبوع

Furthermore, the same positive representations are attributed to the month of September through referential strategy. These representations manifest when supporters classified the month of September as “the birth date of Saudi Arabia,” “the month of goodness” and the “Saudi women’s day”. These positive presentations and more are expressed clearly in the following concordance lines of the keyword *September*:

- How long is it till **September**. Oh people, my heart cannot handle all this joy. Leave some for October. كم باقي على سبتمبر يا جماعة قلبي لا يتحمل كل هذه الفرحة . خبو شوية لأكتوبر
- **September** is the birth date of Saudi Arabia سبتمبر تاريخ ميلاد السعودية
- **September** is the month of goodness سبتمبر شهر الخير
- May God extends the month of **September**. يارب يطول شهر سبتمبر
- **September 2017** is a month that every Saudi woman will never forget, it's the month of women's driving, and a wheat spike that grew from Salman's implantation for her right. سبتمبر 2017 شهرا لن تنساه كل امراة سعودية ,شهر قيادة المرأة و سنبله نمت من زرع سلمان لحقها

- We demand that the 26th of **September** is marked as #saudi_women_day

نطالب بتخصيص يوم 26 سبتمبر #
يوم_المرأة_السعودية

Summary

The themes constructed in the supporters discourse revealed the use of positive referential and predicational strategies. The supporters of the decree positively described king Salman, his crown prince, and the country of Saudi Arabia. The supports' positive rhetoric included that women's driving is normal (e.g. "this is the normal and what is supposed to be for a long time, " it is a normal thing in all countries of the world"). and that it will encourage the inclusiveness of both genders in enrichening the Saudi society (e.g. " the country becomes inclusive of everyone," "that women are active members in society, and are active life partners in the family," "activates the participation of all members of society"). Supporters also delegitimized the opponents stances by reminding them of their similar attitudes to new policies, which were opposed initially, such as women's right to education and the use of cellphones and satellites. The supporters portrayed the Other as inconsistent with their beliefs and opinions with the use of adverbs (e.g. *now, then, today, and tomorrow.*) and phrases that indicate past and future times (e.g. "before 20 years," "count from 20 to 40 years", "in a couple of years").

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The focus of the study was to investigate how the Saudi public debated the royal decree for women's driving. Discursive strategies were analyzed as used on Twitter by both supporters and opponents to legitimize or de-legitimize the decree. The analysis and limitations of the study are discussed along with suggestions for future research.

Many studies have examined and contrasted the two opposing group's online discourse on Women's right to drive in Saudi Arabia during the campaign period , and how different aspects of the social structure are reflected in the online discussions by Saudi users of social media (Alharbi, 2016; Aljarallah, 2017; Altoiamy, 2018). This study is amongst the leading studies in measuring people's acceptance and perceptions of the royal decree and women driving, and the linguistic realization employed to express their ideologies. The research yielded important results indicating opposing views on the royal decree allowing women to drive. The decree is anticipated by the users in this study to result in both negative and positive outcomes. Thus, legitimization of the decree results from the presuppositions arising from the anticipation of the type of outcomes. Furthermore, the findings showed that tweeters for the pro- and anti-decree factions were classified as in-group and out-group members; thus, justifying the referential and predicational strategies used by tweeters. This finding also confirms recent previous findings by Alharbi (2016), Aljarallah (2017), and Altoaimy (2018) in which positive attributes were added to the ingroup members and negative labeling and naming were used to refer to the outgroup.

From the opponent's perspective, the main discursive strategy consists of delegitimizing the decree using religious and social views of potential problems due to the act of women driving. From the religious viewpoint, women's driving is perceived as corrupting women and their modesty because driving is against God's will. The social outcomes perceived by the opposition concerned fears that women's driving could lead to crimes such as rape, kidnapping, theft, and also car accidents. The content of these tweets expressed need for preserving the Islamic state from both the social and religious perspectives. The opposition believed that supporting the decree could lead to societal changes with gravely negative outcomes, such as the abolishment of the guardianship law, unveiling of women, and mixing between the genders. For the oppositionists, the restrictions on women's driving is tantamount to the removal of protection and modesty and not to the subjugation of women's rights nor is such support for a ban on driving seen as sexist.

Due to the depth of their negative views, opponents appealed to revoke the decree using justifications, such as preventing forbidden temptations and sedition. Oppositionists regard women's driving as dishonorable, and therefore, the preserving respect for women necessitates the decree's revocation. They used predicational strategies through conjectures to express their appeals. Furthermore, these opponents considered the decree as positively received by the *Others* and not by *Us*. Thus, the decree's outcomes should be detested and the protestors' disappointments voiced because these Others are immoral, unbelievers or liberal media, and foreigners. Moreover, these Others were considered as from the West and are enemies of the state. Those who do not support the decree believe they form the majority, and their supposedly dominant sentiments support negative

labelling of the Others. In contrast, the Us-group is identified positively as real men who are the protectors of their religion and society. This in-group's main discursive strategy is for supplication. Furthermore, the in-group claims victory through lack of actual observations of women driving on June 24, especially in major areas. Such negation discourages support for women's driving as well as the superiority of the in-group thinking. For those who hold the opposition's sentiments, especially women, favorable attributes and referential terms are used for the in-group (e.g. cognizant women, our sisters who possess insight and knowledge, the real Saudi women, and princess). Meanwhile, media deserves to be demonized as the opposers believe its ways of reporting the event caused amplification of the issue. The in-group criticized the media as unable to represent the society's views. Furthermore, as it appears from the in-group perspective that media has sided with the *Other*, and therefore, media should be rebuked by the majority who hold the passion for values. Media is then regarded as a comical joke and unreal.

In contrast, the pro-decree group expressed a substantially sized corpus of tweets rationalizing the decree's legitimacy. The semantic categories of these tweets included positive modifiers, potential positive outcomes, optional provision of the decree, and support from the religious sector. A significant number of positive words in the tweets describe the decree, these terms and phrases were dominated by the word "historical." Tracing the country's cultural history of asserting the rights of women includes recognizing the decree on women's driving. In contrast to the opponents' views, women's driving is regarded as preserving women's modesty and dignity. Along with the argument that the decree is favorable for women, is that of the ruler's wisdom in issuing

the decree. Similar to opposers' stance, the pro-decree group expresses aversion and negativity toward those who oppose; the pro-decree faction criticized the opposers as failing to think independently and as hypocritical. Supporters regarded the decree as a choice not to be detested by those who do not choose to drive. The pro-decree group asserted that the decree is not an imposition but is an option. Additionally, the reference to the country's ruler reinforces its value and merits the decree's legitimization. The values of the decree's legitimization encompass societal benefits, including economic, political, and social dimensions. Economically, the decree contributes to relieving the family of paying drivers. Socially, women's driving fulfills their needs and provides potential for achievement. Supporters also project that similar to other new policies, which were opposed initially, the society might later appreciate that the decree's adoption will lead to positive outcomes as had other new products and subsequent social changes, such as use of cellphones and satellites. Similarly, supports of the decree believed that who opposed could come to eventually accept these social changes. The supports' positive rhetoric included that in modern society women's driving enriches the country and will be later better understood. Thus, the discursive strategy of the pro-decree group is to express the fulfillment of change and improvement through this social change.

Limitations and Future Research

The research only considered written texts and did not consider videos and images associated with the tweets. Although Twitter posts may be considerably reflective of the sentiments of the public, as is supported by previous research studies, the messages evoked in videos and images may offer broader perspectives, giving justice to the axiom that a picture is worth a thousand words. Another limitation is that the corpus is

examined on the polarity of the opinions and disregarded gender as a potential moderator of these opinions. Since the issue has a strong gender perspective, the tweets may be examined along gender lenses.

While the present study was limited to tweets written by the Saudi public, future research might analyze media and newspapers and how they reported the announcement of the decree. Their inclusion may present a specialized perspective to the subjective thoughts of the public.

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