

The American and British Press coverage of Refoms in Saudi Arabia and the Personality of Crown Prince Mohammed Bin Salman. (The Washigton Post and The Guardian as Examples)

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DOCTORAL THESIS

Title	The American and British Press Coverage of Reforms in Saudi Arabia and the Personality of Crown Prince Mohammad Bin Salman (The Washington Post and The Guardian as Examples)
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**The American and British Press Coverage of Reforms in Saudi Arabia and the
Personality of Crown Prince Mohammad Bin Salman
(The Washington Post and The Guardian as Examples)**

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THESIS

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Abstract

This study aims to shed light on the Western media's handling of reforms in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the personality of Crown Prince Mohammad Bin Salman, who brought about radical changes in the Saudi society, particularly in terms of Saudi women's rights and granting society privileges of which it was deprived, such as movie theaters and music in public places.

The American Washington Post and The British Guardian newspapers were chosen as the sample for this study in the period between January 2016 and June 2019, i.e., eighteen months before Bin Salman assumed the position of Crown Prince, and two years after he assumed office in June 2017.

The selected sample was chosen as per the three study hypotheses, namely that Western media's interest in Saudi affairs increased after Bin Salman took office, there was a change in tone of news handling between the beginning of his reign on the one hand and after the murder of Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi in his country's consulate in Istanbul on the other, and that there was a professional gap between Western media and Saudi media in handling reforms in Saudi Arabia and the personality of Mohammad Bin Salman. For this reason, there was a sample from the Saudi newspaper Asharq Al- Awsat, starting from June 2017 until June 2019 for the purpose of analyzing the professional coverage of issues such as Bin Salman's detention of Saudi princes in the Ritz-Carlton Hotel in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia's war on Yemen and its imposition of a blockade on Qatar. This demonstrates the Saudi newspaper Asharq Al- Awsat's lack of objectivity and non-compliance with professional principles expected from the press, thus adopting the Official-Saudi position on these issues.

The studied sample proved the validity of the three hypotheses of the study through the content analysis methodology. It also answered the study questions, including how independent the media coverage was in the three newspapers from the official position of the countries that host these newspapers.

The study employed the Media Frame Analysis and Agenda Setting theories which showed the use of media frames such as Conflict Frame, Economic Frame, and Episodic Frame, in addition to setting priorities in handling news, particularly in the Khashoggi case, which always made it to the front pages in these media outlets.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

MBS	Saudi Crown Prince Mohammad Bin Salman.
NEOM	A Saudi city to be established to be globally pioneering in capitalism between three countries: Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Jordan, whose concept was launched by Saudi Crown Prince Mohammad Bin Salman.
Muslim Brotherhood	An Islamic group founded in 1928 and is one of the largest opposition movements in a number of Arab countries.
Gulf Cooperation Council	An Arab regional political, economic, military and security organization that includes the six Arab Gulf states on the coast of the Arab Gulf.
Arab Spring	A huge peaceful protest movement in a number of Arab countries, the first of which was Tunisia in 2010. These protests overthrew a number of authoritarian Arab regimes.
Gulf War	The Gulf War referred to in the study is the second Gulf War, which was waged by the American-led coalition forces to liberate Kuwait from the Iraqi invasion in 1990-1991.

ISIS	It stands for “Islamic State in Iraq and Syria”, an extremist armed Islamic organization in a number of countries, most notably Syria and Iraq.
Wahhabi	A Sunni Islamic movement whose founder has made an alliance with the modern Saudi state to establish the ruling system.
Fatwa	The religious verdict that Muslim clerics make on an issue.
Council of Senior Religious Scholars	A government Islamic religious body in Saudi Arabia that was established in 1971 and is authorized to issue fatwas.
CEDAW	International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of discrimination against women.
Operation Decisive Storm	The name given to the Saudi-led war against the Houthis in Yemen with the participation of other Arab countries.
Niqab	Garment that covers the face of women.
Shiites	It is the second largest sect in Muslims after the Sunnis, and its followers believe that Ali Bin Abi Talib is the sole religious reference.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

1.2 Statement of the Problem and Questions of the Study

1.3 Hypotheses of the Study

1.4 Significance of the Study

1.5 Contribution to Knowledge

1.6 Structure of the Study

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

The current research compares the constants and variables in the media covering affairs in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia by the American Washington Post and British Guardian. The coverage time frame ranges from Jan 2016 to June 2019, i.e., 18 months before and 2 years following Mohammad Bin Salman's (MBS) ascending as Crown Prince on 21 June 2017. A quantitative and qualitative analysis of the sample are carried out for the purpose of examining the discourse in these media outlets within the aforementioned timeframe. The aim is to arrive at conclusions which verify or refute the proposed hypotheses, based on these media content. The discrepancy in tone of Western media coverage of Saudi affairs prior to and post MBS's taking office tops these hypotheses. A second hypothesis is the change in media coverage of MBS between the start of his office and after the killing of columnist Jamal Khashoggi in the Saudi Consulate in Istanbul. In addition, the content of Saudi Asharq Al- Awsat and the other two media outlets covering matters like the conflict in Yemen, Khashoggi murder, Blockade on Qatar, as well as members of the royal family detained in Ritz-Carlton in Riyadh is investigated, as well. The goal is to pinpoint areas of convergence and departure, in addition to observing requirements of professionalism, precision, honesty, and impartiality by the three newspapers.

The sample was chosen based on several factors, including that Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper is a Saudi newspaper owned by a member of the ruling family in Saudi Arabia, and thus provides an opportunity to view the Saudi version of events, and it also provides an opportunity to assess the extent of

professionalism in news handling compared to Western media represented by The Washington Post and The Guardian newspapers.

The Washington Post was chosen for being a well-known newspaper regarding human rights, in addition to its interest in issues of the Middle East, democracy and freedoms in the Arab world, and the fact that journalist Jamal Khashoggi was one of its columnists. It was chosen as representative of the American press sample in this study.

With regard to The Guardian newspaper, it is also concerned with the Arab audience. It recently issued its Arabic version, in addition to being concerned with Middle Eastern issues, especially those related to democracy and freedoms. It was selected in the study as representative of the British press.

1.2. Statement of the Problem and Questions of the Study

For considerations connected to oil and economic matters, the kingdom of Saudi Arabia remains a constant interest to Western media, which intensified since the takeover of Mohammad Bin Salman, later referred to as MBS. Then the Crown Prince started to receive more attention from international media because of his domestic social, political, and economic reforms. It is important, therefore, to return to the pre-Bin Salman archive to see the change occurring after his assuming power, and to examine the shift in coverage. Some analysts think such coverage was meant to publicize his personality and presence, and even argue that it misinformed European and worldwide views. Others believe the coverage is accused of being anti-MBS and only serves political agendas of countries like Turkey and Qatar, along with the Muslim Brotherhood.

A set of questions result from this argument. These will be answered later through observation, examination, and analysis, as follows:

Has the media discourse altered following MBS's assuming office? If yes, what were the quantitative and qualitative qualities of this notable alteration? Has the media discourse altered between the start of MBS's period and Khashoggi's assassination period? If yes, what were the quantitative and qualitative qualities of this notable alteration? To what extent newspapers were professional in covering Saudi affairs? How dependent was this coverage on the countries where the newspapers are based? Was there hate speech and stereotyping in the media items?

The devotion of these media outlets to standards of professionalism (balance, objectivity, credibility, and accuracy) are explored. And since the case is still at play, new findings are anticipated to occur through investigation of the press coverage in this timeframe.

1.3. Hypotheses of the Study

Hypotheses 1: There was a shift of Western press in dealing with Saudi issues after MBS assumed office and carried out genuine reforms.

Hypotheses 2: Western media discourse altered between the start of MBS's period and Khashoggi's assassination period, particularly after October 2, 2018.

Hypotheses 3: There was a notable professionalism difference between the coverage of Saudi reforms by American and British media (The Washington Post and The Guardian) and Saudi media (Asharq Al-Awsat). Each media outlet

is believed to have sided, one way or another, with its country of origin, rather than devoting to professionalism, balance, and accuracy, although these notions, because of democracy and freedom of thought and press, are proved more typical of American and British than Saudi media. This, however, will be validated or refuted through observation and examination.

1.4. Significance of the Study

This study aims to answer several questions on Western media standards in addressing Saudi issues and relevant changes before and after MBS's taking over of power. MBS, being linked to key reforms in Saudi history, received substantial attention from Western media. Such reforms include permitting women to drive cars, in addition to publicly taking into consideration economic choices for the kingdom when oil runs out, in all seriousness. Western media's devotion to professional criteria, such as being politically independent, and the shift in covering MBS's affairs, from his assuming office to Khashoggi's assassination, are also discussed. Then this study compares the discourse employed by newspapers loyal to the Saudi government (Asharq Al-Awsat) and to that employed by Western media (The Washington Post and The Guardian). The following assumptions give rise to the significance of this Study:

Saudi Arabia holds a prominent regional and international position: regionally, for religious reasons, and internationally for economic reasons related to oil. Therefore, it is believed that handling a Saudi-related issue is one advantage of this study.

Internationally, there is a growing interest in Bin Salman's character and views, as well as in political reactions to the assassination of Saudi journalist

Jamal Khashoggi. Media was extremely attentive to this case particularly that the victim was a journalist. Thus, regional and international reactions to the main character (MBS) partially give rise to the significance of the study, as well.

This investigation is novel and has not been explored in detail; therefore, resources will be hard to find. However, those in need of learning about press coverage by these newspapers in the periods before and during MBS's takeover, and before and after Khashoggi's murder will find this study useful. In addition, comparing their coverage and linking it to political realities show how much media and politics can affect each other.

1.5. Contribution to knowledge

Attempts were made to implement a series of social, economic, and even political reforms and limited changes over a span of ten years, most notably allowing women to take part in the limited political space, joining the workforce, moving towards suitable methods of dealing with domestic violence, and finally, allowing women to drive.

In spite of these limited improvements on women's rights, including women's participation in municipal elections and permitting them to drive, Amnesty International's report (2018) indicated that regular discrimination against women in law and in practice continues, particularly male guardianship over women, which remains unchanged.

A set of reforms in various fields (economic and social) was approved after MBS became Crown Prince in Saudi Arabia. A 35-year-old ban on cinemas was ended in December 2017 by the government, which plans to open another

300 theaters by the year 2030. Moreover, the government ended a long ban on women driving in June 2018. This was followed by a royal decree in January 2019 which allows playing music in restaurants with the proliferation of public entertainment places throughout the Kingdom and easing the ban on mixing between the two sexes. Regulatory amendments were approved in August 2019 permitting women to travel without The Guardian's permission, in addition to several other domestic new reforms.

Due to the important position Saudi Arabia enjoys, internationally and in the Islamic and Arab worlds, Arab and foreign media outlets have covered these changes, which began to emerge strongly after Prince Mohammad Bin Salman assumed office as Crown Prince. Reactions to these reforms in the media varied, addressing MBS's personality, the leading figure of these reforms, supporters and opponents of the reforms, their advantages and disadvantages, and to what extent they are genuine reforms.

Two theories are applied in this study, the Agenda Setting Theory and The Media Framing Theory, along with media content analysis.

Based on the above, this study aims to identify how American and British media outlets cover Saudi Arabia reforms and the character of MBS, using The Washington Post and The Guardian as examples.

1.6. Structure of the Study

This dissertation is divided into six chapters. Chapter One introduces the problem of the study and the questions that the study tries to answer, in addition to the hypotheses of the study.

Chapter two discusses the two theories on which the study is based, namely, The Media Framing Theory and Agenda Setting Theory. The chapter also presents terminology such as hate speech, stereotyping, and media professionalism, in addition to the image of Arabs in media studies.

Chapter Three in this dissertation reviews the Saudi affairs before and after Mohammad Bin Salman took office as Crown Prince, through issues such as reforms, the most important of which are women's affairs, education, and activists who demand more political freedoms in Saudi Arabia. The chapter also touches on other prominent issues in Saudi affairs, including the war on Yemen, the blockade on Qatar, and the deal of the century.

The fourth chapter of the study talks about the methodology, which is content analysis, reviewing the limits of the sample, study tool, and procedures for credibility and reliability.

Chapter Five introduces the results of content analysis represented in tables and graphs and the discussion of these results.

The sixth chapter of the study shows the conclusions of the research and the suggestions of further research.

These chapters are followed by the appendixes, including the coding schedule on the basis of which the analysis was conducted, for each of Asharq Al-Awsat sample on the one hand, and The Washington Post and The Guardian sample on the other hand.

CHAPTER 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Theories Explaining the Study

2.1.1 Media Frame Analysis

2.1.2 Agenda Setting Theory

2.2 Hate Speech

2.3 Stereotyping

2.4 Media Professionalism

2.5 Arabs in Media Studies

CHAPTER 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Theories Explaining the Study

Two media theories explaining the study were used namely, the theory of Media Frame Analysis and the Agenda Setting Theory. Following is a review of the two theories.

2.1.1 Media Frame Analysis

Entman (1993), one of the most important pioneers of media framing theory, argues that frames call attention to some aspects of reality while ignoring other elements, which might lead audiences to have different reactions.

According to de Vreese (2005), the media is a fundamental institution in current democracies, with millions of people turning to it every day. The media has the ability to impact public opinion by framing developments in specific ways. A communication source frames an issue by presenting and characterizing it. The concept of framing has gained momentum in the media disciplines, guiding both media content investigations and studies of the media-public opinion interaction.

Media frame analysis theory is one of the important theories that allow the researcher to measure the non-explicit content of media news coverage of the issues raised during a certain period of time. According to Entman (1993), framing refers to the selection of specific elements linked to a certain topic, while overlooking other elements. Particular aspects of the selected elements are then highlighted more than others, for the purpose of interpretation, assessment, and

processing.

Hassouna (2015) examines a number of definitions proposed by a number of researchers. For example, Mohamed Bassiouni views this theory to be the angle of media treatment in a context that is already existing in the communicator's thinking. As a result, the discourse creator tailors it to his or her own beliefs and plans. This is accomplished by focusing attention on certain sides of the discourse and ignoring others, in addition to emphasizing certain elements while disregarding others, in order to achieve specific ideological or intellectual purposes associated with the communicator or the media outlet through which the discourse was created.

This idea, according to Hassouna (2015), investigates the conditions of the impact of the media message on its audience. Thus, only when events and contents of media messages are created in the organization that context and media frames become significant. Such frames utilize dominating social experiences and standards and they manage words, texts, and meanings. Framing a media message makes it easier to measure the content of the message and explains its role in forming opinions and attitudes. That is, a certain event may not be of great importance to people until the media frames it, using language and phrasing, and focuses on a particular component so that it is rendered significant at the center of the entire social frame.

Events themselves do not have a particular importance according to the framing theory. It is the creation of the frames that grants them such importance, along with regulating and defining them. The means used in achieving this is by emphasizing certain features while disregarding others, i.e.,

selecting and emphasizing specific aspects of the event in the media, and choosing a particular method for describing the issue, its causes, dimensions and suggested solutions. This theory emphasizes the analysis of implicit media message content by specifying the intellectual setting of such content, and by figuring out the ideology of communicators (Makkawi and Al-Sayed, 2002).

In sum, the theory assumes that events do not have a specific meaning in themselves, but rather gain their meaning by placing them in a frame that defines, organizes, and gives them a degree of consistency by focusing on the aspects of the subject and omitting others (Van Gorp, 2004).

The theory also assumes that the media focus in their messages on certain aspects of the case and exclude others, which in turn leads to the existence of different standards used by members of the public when they think about the case and form their opinions on it (Kostadinova and Dimitrova, 2012).

Media or news frames are an imperative to transform meaningless or unknown events into distinct events. The media helps the recipient to perceive certain social and political issues, and most of this perception is formed by frames. Frames affect the cognitive processes of the audience through their effect on memory and perception, judging events and acting accordingly. The different ways in which a media message is presented or framed can produce different responses in the recipients (Brewer, et al, 2003).

According to Ahmad (2009), media framing studies show that the media grants assistance to the audience in comprehending and interpreting incidents and issues which they cover, particularly those that receive the most attention and follow-up by individual receivers. The media then situates these incidents

and issues within media frames in order to shed more light on them and render them more significant than other issues introduced in these news outlets for the purpose of facilitating comprehension of their contents. The receivers automatically connect such frames to their topics. In light of this connection, receivers can understand and interpret them, and form assessments and judgments about them. Therefore, this theory is applicable to the analytical and financial aspects.

Tashman, among others, (Scheufele, 1999) discussed the role of this theory in guiding the public and shaping the realities of their lives. These media frames become regulatory of the journalists' work regarding how fast information can be identified and classified.

During his work on defining the objectives sought by framing theory, D'Angelo (2002) found four, including figuring out these frames, analyzing the conditions that produced them, how they can be activated, and how they relate to past individual experiences in order to impact the receiver's mindset, and directing data, decisions obtained, or review of results it entails, in addition to its position in controversial political matters and the related formulation of public opinion.

Among other theorists, Neuman, Just, and Crigler (Scheufele, 1999) suggested three degrees of news processing because the media, according to their viewpoint, grants the debated issue the required dramatic plot, taking into consideration the regulatory constraints, professional restrictions and regulations associated with the public, and the ones linked to their prior vision of significance and laws.

First Level: This level states that individuals presume that the received information is incomplete or is biased and untruthful. Therefore, they seek additional sources. This is called active processing.

Second Level: This level deals with individuals who reflect on the received media content.

Third Level: This level talks about the selective recipient who chooses what suits his/her interests from the media content, while disregarding the rest.

Acknowledging the major influential role of the media in shaping public opinion, this theory has a key role in analyzing the media content related to issues of interest to the public, regardless of content (Yahya, 2003).

The following, according to de Vreese (2005), are among the mechanisms which the media outlet using framing depends on: the position which the news story occupies and the space allocated for it, the symbols, the supportive materials and their included graphics, dramatic, emotional persuasion attempts, demonization, partial inclusion, selectivity, subjectification, selective choice of sources, introductions and closures used in the media content, in addition to headings, subheadings, and headers.

Researchers suggest that framing generates settings, identifies the problem, diagnoses its causes, makes ethical judgments, and recommends solutions in addressing an issue, according to de Vreese (2005).

Robert Entman's model (Entman, 1993) defines the functions of media frame analysis on four levels. It defines the problem, diagnoses the causes, judges the morals, and suggests solutions.

The Media Framing Theory, according to Abu Mazed (2013), presents explanatory models that are used in qualitative analysis to characterize the most important aspects and qualities of a media message, such as specifying the frames for professional coverage of different subjects and events.

When evaluating the media item structural frame, which includes headlines and subheadings, selecting photos and captions attached to them, providing evidence, selecting sources, in addition to providing quotes, slogans statistics, data and closing paragraphs, then we will be able to appreciate the importance of the media item and its own implicit content, and ultimately the analytical vision regarding those issues with their diverse and varied significance (de Vreese, 2005).

Being interested in discourse on news frames, Stephen Rese (Haidar, 2006) enumerated several of their characteristics. First, information is organized depending on the objective which the communicator seeks to achieve. The frame is employed to achieve partial delivery of the events, details, and information related to the issue, so that the intended meaning is created by the recipient. Two, the media frame is represented as if it were an intellectual platform, so it is used to explain and interpret the event. Third, the frame is stated through symbolic expressions, implications, and gestures, which in turn give some significance to the press item. And fourth, news frames have a role in the mental creation of an issue, by highlighting certain dimensions and ignoring others. This is reflected in the formulation and interpretation of the press item.

A group of psychological and logical tools were defined by Lasch and Gamson (Baysha and Hallahan, 2004). These might function separately or

collectively to create frames. The framing emotional tools reveal themselves in the form of desirable metaphors, statements, instances, descriptions, and visual photographs. Rational tools, on the other hand, take the form of offering explanations, reasons, backgrounds, and results of the matter at hand. To these, rhetorical descriptions and figures were added by Stone (Baysha and Hallahan, 2004), partly because rhetorical descriptions employ language in a manner where the part represents the whole, and partly because figures offer a standard nature when handling phenomena and events.

To understand the intellectual orientations of the Framing Theory, D'Angelo (2002) used four levels in his analysis. The first pertains to the contents of the frames. These include, according to Entman (Entman, 1993), the communicator, the delivered text, the receiver, and the culture. D'Angelo (2002) also states that the frame is populated with numerous words and images, which are then treated by frame tools.

At the second level, he explains how news frames construct varying levels of the truth, irrespective of the story content, whether it is related to medicine, nuclear power, the federal budget, social reforms, or even political campaigns. Consequently, the frames here affect the formulation of public opinion, in addition to knowledge of individuals and groups.

At the third level, D'Angelo draws on the opinions of Kinder and Sanders, namely, that frames have a double function. The first is the mind's internal structure and the other is a tool for political debate, i.e., political issues are handled by individuals through their psychological frames on these matters.

At the fourth level D'Angelo adds, the public dialogue on political issues

is shaped by the frames. This is where the media's ideological pledge to diversity is revealed.

Several influencing media content framing resources are listed by Janice (1997) and Schumaker (1996). Hubenko (2012) lists three of them. The first resource pertains to the journalist. This refers to what is revealed in his/her construction of the frames and the data he/she obtains. Ideologies, predispositions, and professional standards are revealed here. They all influence the journalist's media coverage.

The second resource concerns the choice of frames. Several factors, such as the quality of the political orientation, influence this choice. Janice (1997) calls this "regulatory routine." The third resource pertains to external factors, including authorities, groups, stakeholders, and political figures.

According to AbdelWahed (2014), there are several types of media frames. He cites eight types as the most important. The first is Episodic Frame which focuses on an issue with aspects that are clear to the public, i.e., it is linked to concrete facts. The focus here is on the event and its repercussions, such as discussing the issue of bird flu, its repercussions, available solutions, and so on.

The second type is the **Thematic Frame** which links events with political and cultural norms; that is, it links any handling to the general context, such as linking the suicide of a man to the phenomenon of unemployment and economic deterioration, or the lack of free education for children in a certain country.

The third type is the **Strategy Frame** which links events to their strategic context, and it is often linked to political and military events, such as focusing on

the values of winning or losing, influence and power, or the language of wars and conflicts.

The fourth type is the **Human-interest Frame** which perceives events in the context of their emotional and affective impacts. These journalistic materials are usually framed in a dramatic, affectionate form. An example of this is the Arab press coverage of Palestinian martyrs who die during operations against the troops of the Israeli occupation.

The fifth type is the **Economic Frame** which makes use of economic value and material output as elements that make the media message more effective. An example is discussing economic crises and their effects on the lives of individuals, or framing the sale of a government-owned company by discussing the investment of individual capital and creating new job opportunities for young people, and so on.

The sixth type is the **Responsibility Frame** in which the media message answers the question “Who is responsible for what?” For example, it focuses on determining who is responsible for an event, whether it is a person, a law, a behavior, an institution, etc.

The seventh type is **Conflict Frame** which deals with events in the context of intense competition and conflict. In this context, the journalist perceives people before he/she perceives events, monitors interests before he/she monitors goals, and measures things as per loss and gain. An example is the framing of a candidate's apology for participating in the electoral race in the presence of disputes within the party or between the old and new generations in that party.

The eighth type is the **Ethical Principles Frame** which frames the treatment of news in the context of the morals and values of the community, addressing the beliefs and principles of the recipient. An example is relying on religious interpretations or reference groups in dealing with an event.

There are several shortcomings surrounding the theory of media frames. For example, it is very flexible and has no end, and therefore lacks determination. It also cannot confirm whether the effect is present or non-existent. Moreover, it prevents the existence of causal explanations due to its reliance on qualitative research methods. And finally, it assumes that people often make mistakes when creating frames, and thus underestimates individual capabilities (Mitri, 2013).

Baran, S.J. and Davis, D.K. (AbdulWahed, 2014) argue that it is taken against the theory that there is no common intellectual model agreed upon among the researchers. Another thing taken against it is its disregard to the relationship between media frames and factors related to political and social power. There is also abundance and diversity of elements and resources that contribute to the process of building frames. One more defect, they add, is the lack of a precise definition of the interval between the frames, which makes it a matter governed by the researchers' visions and impressions.

2.1.2 Agenda Setting Theory

During the 1960s, some people involved in the industry of mass communication like Lippman, McCombs, Lang, Shaw and Newman (Bassiouni, 2008), discussed the strong connection between the size of attention the media assigns to specific topics and the amount of attention by the general public and

receivers of these topics. This produced the Agenda Setting Theory.

This theory discusses the media's capacity to construct and shape priorities of the public towards different matters in society, by raising the receiver's attention, and directing it towards specific matters. It is because the size of media interest in a particular issue is linked to that of the general public regarding that issue. Similarly, issues that receive less media coverage are more likely to receive little attention from the public. This does not entail that the media succeeds in changing the perspective of the public on a certain issue, but it has succeeded in persuading recipients that one issue may be more significant than another (Abdelhamid, 2016).

Maxwell, McCombs and Shaw (Zakaria, 2016) discussed the connection between issues that receive considerable attention from the media and what is considered significant to the public. Similarly, described a positive relationship between what is focused on by the media and what the public considers important as well.

Several definitions of this theory have been proposed. McQuail (2000) defines it as an ongoing competition between topics and issues for the attention of both the media and the political elite. On the other hand, Miller (2002) defines it as the process in which the media highlights certain issues as important and deserves government reaction, that is, the media draws public attention to ideas and events. It tells us what is important and what is not. Hassouna (2015) also gives her own definition of the theory as the process of recreating the surrounding events in a different shape, presented in the news outlet in a way that makes it commensurate with the editorial policy of the institution, with the

aim of persuading the audience and changing its orientation to be in accordance with the ideological orientations of that institution.

The Agenda Setting theory is defined as the process by which the media expose particular topics as significant and deserving of the attention of the government and the general public, by bringing attention to them, eventually making them a priority on their agenda. Therefore, one who depends on and is exposed to a media outlet will adapt it in accordance with the importance ascribed to the issues and topics covered by that medium, in such a way that is consistent with the direction of its presentation, and the size of the attention paid to those topics in that medium (Al-Mazahra, 2012).

The news media's agenda-setting role extends beyond directing people's attention to a certain set of topics. It influences our interpretation of and perspective on current events. When we consider the concept of an agenda in broad terms, this becomes evident. The things that define an agenda are theoretically "objects". These objects are mostly public topics in agenda-setting research, but they could also be prominent individuals, organizations, countries, or anything else that attracts attention (McCombs and Valenzuela, 2007).

According to Nasr (2003), the Agenda Setting Theory recreates the way in which the surrounding incidents are presented, and it puts them in the order of their importance to the media outlet in accordance with the editorial policy of the media institution, with the aim of convincing the public and changing its orientation in line with the ideological orientation of that medium.

This theory is established on the fact that the media succeed efficiently in presenting people to what they believe in because they have a great impact

on channeling the attention of the public towards showing interest in a particular event or topic.

There are two main reasons for the emergence of Agenda Setting Theory. The first is that the public has a limited ability to follow up and absorb all issues with the same interest, i.e., certain issues do not enjoy the same significance to the public as other issues. This is because some issues are more important than others, and it is important for the media outlet to arrange these priorities, and to try to bring members of society closer to each other, and thus it has the ability to link (Balhaj, 2003).

Through this theory, the media creates a gradual impact on the audience, by drawing their attention to certain issues, which thus become the most important to them, compared to others that the media has neglected. Thus, a study based on this type of analysis gives accurate results; this is because the sample is limited and exclusive to specific issues only (Balhaj, 2003).

We can explain the theory as follows: issues are prioritized according to importance because media outlets have their own agendas. In a world with a growing thirst for knowledge, interpretation and analysis, and since these media outlets are the carriers of news and information, the recipients will debate and discuss what these media outlets publish with the same attention as it is printed there. Similarly, these highlighted topics will be forgotten once they disappear from the screen (Al-Tarabishi and Al-Sayed, 2006).

According to Sultan (2012), there are two assumptions on which the Agenda Setting Theory is based. The first stipulates that the media outlets resort to focusing on issues they deem important because those outlets are unable to

equally shed light on all of them. Therefore, the media's attention that is paid to a certain issue will reflect on the volume of the public's interest in it. The second assumption specifies that an issue will receive the greatest public attention when the media outlets grant it a great deal of coverage and highlight.

Topics selected by editors and prioritized for publication also receive interest by the public, despite their limited importance. Their mere publication enhances their importance and outweighs other topics, according to the public's viewpoint. Subsequently, by setting their own priorities for publication, the media set the priorities for the general public (Obeid, 2009).

According to Paterson (Obeid, 2009), the concept of Agenda Setting rests on what the media emphasize as significant matters that are worthy of a response from the authority. The media has already shaped the public opinion on those matters.

According to Al-Olayan (2010), Makkawi and Al-Sayed (2002), and Zakaria (2016), the Agenda Setting process states that issues and events that the media focus on and highlight as significant, are selected. The news item which the media choose and deem significant acquires more significance when published by a highly popular medium. Further, the media outlet type plays a significant a role in determining the amount of influence of the news items it publishes and how significant it will be.

Moreover, the type of event or issue determines its significance; that is, when the event is politically and socially linked to society, it acquires importance. The volume of interest the event receives from all types of media outlets depends on its importance to the audience and the volume of interest and

experience the audience has on that event, because it drives them towards further follow-up. This public's need for orientation appears during elections for example, when there is little information about the candidates, i.e., when more information on an issue is required. This is when the media provides the public with an additional source of information. The source here may refer to members of the community who may confirm or refute the information provided by the press.

The mass media do not openly pinpoint the significance of an issue to the public, as this technique proves futile. It does, however, indirectly suggest the significance of an issue using other methods, such as repeatedly covering one issue a lot more than others, allocating specific time space for it, or perhaps a flashy technique that grants it priority over other issues (Makkawi and Al-sayed, 2002).

The truth, whether political, economic, or social, is related to the media's selection of such truth, and to how this impacts public perception. The media has the capacity to construct public reception of an issue, according to research on this theory, particularly those who do not have direct interest in significant events, and consequently, events neglected by the media are irrelevant to them (Abdallah, 2006).

This theory, according to AbdelHamid (2016), rests on three agendas: Agenda of the Media, which refers to the schedule of the medium through which important issues are determined and highlighted; Political agenda, which refers to what is consistent with the proposals of politicians, and national and political needs; and Agenda of the masses, which refers to what interests the masses in

their daily lives and their living reality.

The process of prioritizing the audience by the media is affected by several factors and variables (Walgrave, et al, 2008; Wanta, et al, 2004; Matsaganis and Payne, 2005). The first is Personal communication. This has a significant impact on the framing process, as it can support or compete with the media in setting the public's agenda. Social processes also affect the public's judgments about the importance of an issue or a person. Personal communication also enhances the influence of the media's agenda on issues that are covered more broadly, while it can compete with the media's agenda on issues that are covered to a lesser degree. There is no clear difference in the order of the agenda among members of the public based on different demographic or general characteristics such as gender, education, or economic status.

The second factor is the degree of homogeneity. This is characterized by the society in terms of these factors. As the degree of homogeneity increases, the personal contact increases so that it becomes a rival to the media in setting the public's agenda, or it may support the media, depending on the importance of facts and events in the agenda of the limited local community or homogeneous groups.

The third factor is the nature of the issue. This refers to the extent to which the issue is close or distant from the direct experience of these groups or societies. The closer the issue is to the direct experience of the audience the less likely the media's ability becomes in arranging the public's agenda regarding that issue. On the other hand, the media may succeed in influencing the public's

agenda regarding issues that are far from the direct experience of the audience.

With regard to comparisons between the media outlets, press succeeds more than television in influencing the agenda of the public. This is because television is concerned with general issues, not the more specialized sub-issues that newspapers can be concerned with. Thus, the increased exposure to television did not lead to the emergence of its impact in supporting the function of the agenda; therefore, the function of prioritizing is not dependent on the level of exposure as much as it is related to the quality of the medium. Because television, besides its interest in issues, is not as deep and attentive to details as newspapers, it does not do the job of setting the agenda for the audience in the way newspapers do (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007).

According to Vane and Kalvas (2013), the agenda setting theory is concerned with examining the reciprocal relation between the media and the masses exposed to the media in defining the priorities of societal political, economic, and social issues. This theory assumes that the media cannot deal with and present all of the events and incidents that take place in society, but only those which the media choose to focus on, among the most important themes, and then control the nature and content of those topics.

Citing opinions that perceive framing as an extension of agenda setting, Hassouna (2015) connects Frame Analysis Theory to the Theory of agenda-setting, to which the term Second-level Agenda Setting refers.

For example, the first level of the Agenda Setting theory is when media outlet gives an issue, such as police brutality, priority in handling news, but when the media outlet frames the media message and makes supportive or hostile to

a police department, for the purposes of influencing public opinion, then we have moved here to the second level of the theory, that is, the Framing theory becomes operative here.

When individuals criticize the approach of a media outlet in dealing with a certain issue, they are accusing the media outlet of having framed that approach for the purpose of serving a certain party, politically, for example, and therefore, this approach affects the order of the priorities of the public (Croucher, 2016).

Shehab-Eldin (2017) shows that the Agenda Setting theory is founded on a reciprocal interaction between the media and the public exposed to it, with the media prioritizing events of interest to the community and formulating public opinion. The theory presumes that the media choose some topics to bring attention to and to control the nature of their content in order to slowly enthrone the public, causing them to become aware of such topics, to think about them, and be concerned with them, thus giving them a higher relative importance than the topics which did not receive media attention.

2.2 Hate Speech

Any discourse that promotes hatred by inciting discord and conflicts based on color, race, or sect; or any instigation to deny and marginalize the other, spread division, and accuse the other of treason and corruption is referred to as hate speech (Ahmed and Al-Shayazami, 2018).

Abu Risha (2016) maintains that hate speech is defined as any discourse that incites feelings of hatred toward individuals or groups in a society, and

covertly promotes the exclusion of those individuals or groups from society through expulsion, annihilation, or restrictions on rights, as well as treating them as second-class citizens. Hate speech can go even further and target people, organizations, and sectors outside of a particular country, not just within the borders of one country.

Within the same line, culture has a crucial role in promoting hate speech. Culture is defined as a system of attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviors that are common to a group of people and handed down from one generation to the next through languages and through some other tools (Tanaka-Matsumi, 2019).

Admittedly, there is no such thing as hate-free culture in this world. Every culture has its ways of discriminating between groups belonging to that culture and those that are from outside it. Usually, the latter are frequently exposed to acts of hostility from the former (Glaeser and Sunstein, 2009).

Reasons for hate speech are numerous and the most prominent among them is false representation of the other. In addition to this, reasons behind hate speech include rivalry, feelings of enmity against the other, common culture, education, specific perceptions of history, as people often remain captive of historical events. This is also aggravated by negative media messages. People thus, base their stances on prejudices and lack of information (Al-Rubaie, 2019).

Open societies which respect human rights consider upholding free speech extremely important. Offensive speech which poses risks or threats to other people is prohibited by human rights treaties. However, mildly offensive speech that does not pose risk to others is not normally deemed a violation of human rights.

When it incites prejudice, aggression, or violence, hate Speech turns into a violation of human rights towards a person or a group that are defined by race, belief, ethnicity, or any other factor.

The 'other' is usually targeted in a society and this is manifested through the 'othering' of a certain minority group, such as racial, ethnic, religious, and cultural minorities, in addition to women and the LGBTQI+ community (Rights for Peace: Mass Atrocity Prevention).

Generally speaking, hate speech refers to any kind of speech that is insulting, abusive, or threatening. Or it can be defined as any form of speech that involves the use of insulting, abusive, or threatening behavior, which is intended to instigate ethnic hatred or, considering the circumstances, ethnic hatred is most likely to be instigated.

Similarly, under the heading "Hate speech," Regulation 25 of the Media Act prohibits the citation of those who make insulting remarks about ethnicity, race, faith, color, or sex. As a result, hate speech is defined as any insulting remarks based on ethnicity, race, creed, or sex under the Media Act (Kirimi, 2018).

The rise and integration of the hate movement parallels the Internet's expanding technological capabilities. Hate-motivated violence and crimes are also linked to hatemongers' proclivity to cocoon themselves in numerous websites, readings, and bulletin boards. The Internet's anonymity drives the hateful mind to go to greater lengths, and the online community causes people to assume that their hateful thoughts are more commonly shared than they are in reality (Waltman and Mattheis, 2017).

2.3 Stereotyping

A stereotype, according to Ross and Bantimaroudis (2006), refers to the mostly negative cognitive outcomes and beliefs about a certain group within a certain society.

According to Merskin (2004), stereotyping can be defined as a type of reduced characteristic of an individual or a group of people, or even a number of such reduced characteristics, which are commonly associated with a pattern of expectations. They are then treated as if they are that same pattern.

People, knowledge, opinions, perceptions, and attitudes are greatly influenced by the media. As we receive a chain of information in the form of images and news items, we tend to organize our knowledge of the world around us by sorting out these images and information which we receive. Then, we suit them according to perceptions and determine our knowledge system by applying some kind of simplification to them (Abu Asba, 2016).

The way we perceive others, and in addition to what represents our vision of the world, are defined by these knowledge systems with their various representations. Furthermore, they greatly influence the course of daily lives through our relations with the social environment, in addition to what can be accomplished by perception, understanding, emotion, and expectation, and by observing the concerned situation (Abu Asba, 2016).

Bouchaala (2016) states that specific experiences are the basis of a stereotype, in addition to simple, general, fixed, and distorted concepts received from present and historical sources that include the media, education, and

various ways of socialization.

Sari (2003) states that stereotyping is nothing but a general cognitive process that relies in its formation on other cognitive processes, such as categorization and generalization that an individual resorts to in order to simplify the lush and complex knowledge and information he/she receives from their external environment, both physical and social.

Sari points out that the stereotypical image is not equal to the category, and that the latter is a neutral, realistic concept, devoid of value judgments. It is attached to the characteristics and traits that distinguish a particular group from others. Stereotypes, on the other hand, are an oversimplified representation or an over exaggerated generalization that is relatively fixed and loaded with value judgments, and is associated with a certain group, as a brand attached to and points at the group.

Sari goes on to say that stereotyping entails visualizing and perceiving all members of the group in the same way, ignoring existing individual differences among its members. Stereotyping also places all members of the group in a rigid stereotypical image that is based on simple knowledge of facts about the group or about some of its members. This can also be a result of going through a passing experience with some of these individuals, or even without any of this, i.e., when there is a lack of communication and interaction with other groups.

Anyone using stereotypes see the individuals they represent solely through the lens of prescriptive preconceptions, regarding their genetics, nationality, sexual orientation, age, etc. These assumptions focus on the characteristics that wide, indiscriminate categories are supposed to have,

making categories appear categorical. When someone is allocated to a stereotype, they are judged mostly, if not entirely, on the basis of the purported quality that is thought to define who they are and what they do. That one crucial aspect is considered as the natural – and so required and immutable – cause of their identity and behavior. This is the essentialism fallacy, in which a person is reduced to the characteristic claimed to be essential to the group to which they are designated. Stereotypes reinforce perceptions of others as significantly different from those who circulate and provide credence to stereotypes in this way (Pickering, 2015).

Toxic racial and ethnic stereotypes are frequently propagated by the media, which can have a severe impact on intergroup interactions and sentiments between majority and minority ethnic groups. However, media literacy and interactive media can be utilized to encourage responsible racial and ethnic representation consumption and production (Ramasubramanian and Sousa, 2019).

2.4 Media Professionalism

Al-Zanati (2015), in his study on the evaluation of Libyan media professionals of Al-Jazeera's coverage of the Libyan issue, refers to terms such as accuracy, objectivity, and credibility, as also indicated by Al-Qahs (2007), Hassan (1991), Al-Bishr (1996) and Wein (2005).

Objectivity is one of the conditions for good news coverage and one of the most important professional values for news journalists. This term is often used when defining news and media, and it comes in second place on the list of the most important media issues, following freedom of the press. It represents

one of the global criteria for evaluating good media outlets. Objectivity is also characterized by separating opinion from truth, out of respect for the public's right to know absolute facts.

Balance is not only about equally presenting the two points of view on the issue raised, nor is it only giving the two sides the same space in the discussion, but it also extends to covering all aspects of the issue.

The term accuracy refers to the need to bring up all the details when writing a piece of news, but the difficulty of listing all the details and the need for the journalist to give priority to more details than others, might open a window for an opportunity to be biased, whether consciously or unconsciously.

One of the most important principles of accuracy in the news is to avoid overstatement when presenting events because some events might be boring or rigid if presented in an abstract way. However, adding overstatement when presenting those events may make them more exciting to the audience. Accuracy is also about language and lexical choices so that the facts are not affected.

Credibility on the other hand, means focusing on facts only, in addition to the need for the journalist to verify his/ her information before conveying it.

Under the guise of impartiality, journalists assume the role of scientist, vowing to disregard their own opinions and values in determining what is being said and done. The journalist aspires to become a rigorously objective, expert collector of information, ostensibly eschewing all subjective judgments and interpretation. The objective media must avoid any organizational ideas or social

obligations from influencing the news, in addition to terminating formal political ties and external control. In this way, the rare ethic of objectivity strives to distance itself from the polity, economy, and, as some have argued, the society's general moral commitments (Kaplan, 2009).

Media professionalism refers to carrying out media activities and coverage in accordance with high standards of ethics, accountability, legitimacy, and integrity, while exercising rights, such as freedom of speech and information exchange. Therefore, journalists and other media practitioners' level of professionalism and skills are critical components of the media environment.

However, journalists in countries that have just emerged from severely restrictive political systems are likely to lack many of the skills and professional standards that their counterparts in countries with a long history of media freedom.

Still, an authoritarian regime's experience may not be wholly negative. In numerous circumstances, daring independent journalism has played a vital role in forcing dictatorships to give up political space. Therefore, journalists who have succeeded in investigating and publishing articles on sensitive issues in such a hostile media climate would have developed professional abilities unequaled by their peers in less hostile environments (ACE Electoral Knowledge Network).

Self-regulation entails establishing minimal ethical standards so that journalists can achieve the highest standards of practice and thus assume responsibility. It is such responsible media that the people can rely on and that can make legitimate demands of the government. Punitive media is frequently perceived negatively as reckless and so untrustworthy. Self-regulation aids the

media in responding to legitimate complaints and, as a result, correcting errors and inaccuracies that are of genuine public importance (Chiyamwaka,2008).

2.5 Arabs in Media Studies

In a study titled “British vs. U.S. Newspapers Framing of Arabs in Coverage of the Middle Eastern Conflict Pre and Post Sep. 11: A Case Study” (Moody-Hall, 2002), the following conclusions were drawn: the American and British media used more negative terms when describing Arabs compared to those used when describing Israelis, the British newspapers published the names of the Israeli victims more than they presented the names of the Arab victims and framing of the Arabs was more frequent than that of the Israelis.

Another study entitled “Framing Analysis of British Newspaper Representations of Saudi Women from 2005-2013” (Bashatah, 2017), pointed out that the pictures attached to news items that talked about Saudi women, particularly the issue of Saudi women car-driving, were irrelevant to those items. Some of the pictures were showing either King Abdallah Al-Saud, or some Saudi women standing behind a car or in the street waiting for someone to pick them up. Even in the materials that talked about the detention of Saudi women, they were photographed wearing the niqab. The study had discussed framing of Saudi women in four British newspapers: The Independent, The Guardian, the Daily Mail, and the Daily Telegraph. The study demonstrated the use of the conflict frame, the frame of responsibility, the ethical frame, and the economic frame.

Sharadqah (2015) conducted a study titled “Stereotyped Images of the Arab and Islamic World in the New York Times and Washington Post.” The researcher examined the image of Arabs in these two American newspapers over

the period of twelve months, spanning from 11-12-2001 to 11-11-2002. The results of the study showed that the two newspapers used epithets to describe Arabs, such as “ignorant”, “cruel”, “manipulative” and “oppressive of women.” The study did not find a substantial difference between the coverage of the two newspapers, so they were treated equally.

Al-khouli (2018) conducted a study entitled “The Role of Western Media in Distorting the Image of Arabs and Muslims.” The researcher distributed a survey at Qatar University and the results showed that 90% of respondents thought that Western media contributed to distorting the image of Arabs and Muslims in service of Western interests. 94% believed that the image of Arabs changed after the events of September 11. The respondents also believed that the reason behind this false image may be the behavior of Arabs and Muslims abroad at 40%, the policies adopted by Arab countries at 11%, the customs and traditions of Arabs at 13%, some presumptions about Islam at 28%, and other reasons at 8%.

In a study entitled “The Image of the Arab Woman in the American and British media during the Period from 2011 to 2013” (Abd-Almonem, 2016), the image of the Arab woman in the American media appeared as persecuted and absented from the world, a victim of strict interpretations of Islam, and that she needed the West to liberate her, like Afghani women. The study indicated that, before the September 11, the interest of the Western media was limited to oil and energy. But in the wake of those events, attention shifted to local and social affairs in Saudi society in an attempt to understand the culture and traditions of the country and the extent of its impact on Saudi women. The study showed that Arab women were more focused on in the British media than in the American

media, that they were more examined in daily newspapers than in specialized magazines, that the American newspapers most interested in Arab women were The Washington Post and New York Times, and that The Guardian was the most interested among British newspapers by a noticeable difference from the rest of the newspapers.

Jalal (2015) aimed at identifying the frames and determinants of media coverage of the phenomenon of terrorism in the Egyptian media following the January 25 revolt, and their capacity to contribute to the construction of public opinion on terrorism topics. The descriptive approach was adopted. The researcher surveyed a sample of news stories and reports released on Egyptian state and private media. The survey method was then used for monitoring the frames of press coverage of terrorism topics.

The comparative approach was used for comparing coverage frames, and for comparing the media outlets which differ according to their nature and ownership. The results showed the Egyptian media's tendency to depend on frames governed by religion and security. This is because media processing emphasizes the appearances of the crisis and is not inclined to examine the reasons behind the phenomenon, or how to counter it and rectify its negative outcomes on society. This in turn is manifested in shallow and abridged news and media coverage that lacks complexity, clarification, examination, and interpretation, necessary for complex matters such as terrorism.

In addition, no clear impact is evident related to the difference between the media or the type of ownership that may influence the communicator's strategy for constructing the media message. Such strategy sets out from a

limited approach that depends on offering a minimum amount of data and knowledge, and on emotional charge of recipients, instead of offering them the knowledge necessary for the formation of their opinion. The results also revealed the difficulty these media outlets face in their attempt to influence the construction of public opinion due to their lack of necessary depth and background in similar matters.

Al-Odwan's study (2013) examined manners in which three Hebrew daily papers (Ha'aretz, Yedioth Ahronoth, Maariv) covered the war in Gaza from Dec. 27, 2008 to Jan. 18, 2009. The study aimed at clarifying the role of these papers' treatment of different political, military, humanitarian, and economic matters, in addition to their orientations and manners of handling such issues. Content analysis approach was adopted in this descriptive study. The historical approach was also used for recounting historical events related to the history and development of the Hebrew press, while the comparative approach was employed to compare the three papers in terms of their treatment of the Gaza war. This was achieved by studying a sample of 90 issues. The results indicated that the three researched papers adopted one media policy. This policy was marked by misrepresentation and mystification with regard to the events of the Gaza war. These Israeli newspapers acquired most of their news items from unofficial Israeli sources.

Nasseri's study (2017) examined press content on the Iraqi war published in the Emirati (Al Bayan and Al Khaleej) papers. In addition, analysis of their adopted sources of data, analysis of methods through which content was provided, and technical templates of the content in the two newspapers are provided. The study also aimed at identifying the impact of editors' strategies on

the nature of contents offered in these papers, and at identifying the papers' attitudes and volume of coverage regarding the war on Iraq. The descriptive approach and content analysis approach were used in the study. It was found that the two papers almost entirely depended on their reporters in addition to foreign press agencies, which naturally influenced their stands on the war. This was even conducive to direct and indirect, explicit and implicit positions on this matter. It is through such resources that both papers offer press material to their audience from papers that uphold certain positions.

Wahib (2009) aimed at examining the Newsweek's coverage of Iraq throughout the study period. It also aimed to expose propaganda elements offered in the Newsweek which justified the American occupation. The content analysis approach was adopted in the study. The American print press comprised the study community. The researcher selected the Newsweek as a sample of the American media. The results showed the role which the Newsweek played in contributing to the American propaganda for the occupation of Iraq. It also helped to mobilize the world public opinion in agreement with the American view.

Abed and Al-Saleh (2008) examined the manner in which Palestinian press covered the sixth war between Hezbollah and Israel. This was conducted by content analysis and examination of the priorities of the researched papers, Al-Ayyam, Jerusalem, and New Life. The sample survey method was adopted by the researchers, while the content analysis guide, which is considered a tool and method for scientific research, was the study tool. The researchers also employed the comparative approach for identifying the amount of accord and disaccord among what the three papers published on the sixth war. The most

important result showed that the three papers relied heavily on foreign press agencies for their news items on the war, specifically in their middle pages. Headlines were their first choice for highlighting the war news, while images came in second place.

Abu Ras (2007) studied Arabic sites coverage of political reforms in Saudi Arabia. The researcher employed content analysis in his study. The sites included in the study samples were: Elaf website, Al-Jazeera Net, Islam Online, CNN Arabia, BBC Arabia, Saudi Affairs website, Al-Bawaba website, Al Arabiya Net, Middle East Online, Al-Quds Al-Arabi website, and Al Arabiya human rights information website, in the period from 1/6/2005-30/5/2006. The study results indicated that the websites positions on the Saudi political reform process varied and ranged between supporters and opponents, depending on the identity frame and media policy of each site, as well as its political environment.

Oweis (2017) aimed at identifying news frames employed in the electronic newspapers' coverage of the Gulf crisis (Blockade on Qatar). The media survey approach and the comparative approach were used here. The results indicated that journalists depended on various political methods for content production during their Gulf crisis coverage. These methods included the carrot and stick method in addition to the method of escalation and attack against rivals by maximally casting doubts on their statements and stands. The study also found various pivotal effective figures highlighted by Arabic electronic newspapers in their framing of the Qatar crisis (2017).

Al-Ghamdi's study (2017) aimed at describing the media coverage of the events of Operation Decisive Storm by the Saudi electronic press (Riyadh and

Asharq Al- Awsat) and the media frame on which the professional practices of these newspapers is based. It also aimed at examining the volume of interaction between these electronic newspapers and their audiences during the occurrence of events and emergency crises. The descriptive approach and content analysis approach were adopted by this study. The results show that Al-Riyadh newspaper had the highest coverage rate at (66.6%), compared to (33.4%) by Asharq Al- Awsat newspaper. It was also found that (77%) of media processing content related to Operation Decisive Storm topics was oriented in the positive direction, consistent with the Kingdom's general policies towards Operation Decisive Storm. Results indicate no statistically significant variation between topics covered by Al-Riyadh newspaper and those covered by Asharq Al- Awsat newspaper.

Riqab's study (2017) examined (the French news channel) France-Press coverage of the Yemeni crisis for the purpose of identifying the ethical standards and social responsibility to which this channel is committed during this coverage. This was achieved by identifying the time frame which the channel devoted to this crisis in its news bulletins, and by identifying the press categories the channel employed in those bulletins. It was found that different time spaces were allocated for the Yemeni crisis in the order of the news, varying from one news bulletin to another. News of the crisis was in the beginning of (50%) of bulletins, which was the highest rate, it was in the middle of (40%) of bulletins, and at final position in (10%) of bulletins. Results also show the wide range of resources used by the channel for acquiring news, most primarily a network of correspondents around the world. This granted the channel simultaneity and proximity in processing Yemeni news. Media delegations, observers, and journalists were also employed by the channel.

In their study, Sallawi et al. (2019) aimed at identifying and analyzing the news processing frames of the murder of Jamal Khashoggi on Al-Jazeera Channel. This study belongs to analytical descriptive studies. It is based on the media survey method and content analysis of 36 Al-Jazeera news bulletins for a period of six months. Several findings were reached, most notably that Al-Jazeera showed a great interest in the case of the Khashoggi assassination. It processed the case as a news item through many types of programs, framing it in agreement with its interests, orientations, and policies.

Al-Salama (2019) aimed at identifying the extent of Jordanian universities media professors' dependence on Al-Jazeera for obtaining information on Khashoggi's assassination. This is a descriptive study because it uses the survey method. Jordanian public and private universities professors make up the study community. The results show that 62.7% of the sample believe that Al-Jazeera offered biased media coverage of the journalist Jamal Khashoggi murder. It was also found that Al-Jazeera's employment of the Gulf political crisis in processing news of the Khashoggi case was one major reason behind the lack of objectivity of Al-Jazeera news coverage.

CHAPTER 3. SAUDI ARABIA SCENE BEFORE AND AFTER BIN SALMAN

- 3.1 The Founding of the Modern Saudi State
- 3.2 The Roots of the Saudi-American and Saudi-British Relationship
- 3.3 The Start of Concrete Reforms Phase
- 3.4 Mohammad Bin Salman
- 3.5 The Question of Reforms in Saudi Arabia

CHAPTER 3. SAUDI ARABIA SCENE BEFORE AND AFTER BIN SALMAN

Saudi Arabia went through three historical stages. The first Saudi state extended from 1744 AD to 1818 AD, the second Saudi state continued from 1824 AD until 1891 AD, and the third was founded by King Abdulaziz Al-Saud in 1932 (he began the process of unifying the parts of the Kingdom in 1902), which still exists until now.

The Saudi state presented within the sample of the study is represented by the third stage, which was founded by King Abdulaziz Al-Saud, and whose descendants are the ones who hold its leadership until today.

3.1 The Founding of the Modern Saudi State

The third Saudi state was established based on alliance between the House of Saud and Sheikh Mohammad Abd al-Wahhab. This was the point when politics and religion intersected, and a system based on Islam was established within the Salafi framework (Al-Zahrani, 2015).

King Abdulaziz Al-Saud formally established the modern Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1932. After his death, a number of his sons succeeded him as monarchs to this day. The first in succession was King Saud Al-Saud in 1953, followed by King Faisal Al-Saud in 1964, King Khalid Al-Saud in 1975, King Fahd Al-Saud in 1982, King Abdallah Al-Saud in 2005, and King Salman Al-Saud in the year 2015 to this day, with son, Prince Mohammad Bin Salman Al-Saud, as his crown prince (GOV.SA).

Al-Rasheed (2020) points out that the modern Saudi state creates an ideological representation of its history based on indoctrination and does not allow anyone to deviate from it. Al-Rasheed states that the modern Saudi regime is trying to promote a narrative for the Saudi people that the people of the Arabian Peninsula before the establishment of the modern Saudi state in 1932 were barbaric people characterized by violence and conflict. However, based on historical arguments and evidence, Al-Rasheed demonstrates that this proposition is not accurate, and that the Saudi regime employs it for political purposes that justify the establishment of the Saudi state.

Al-Rasheed maintains that the Saudi regime is also trying to promote a narrative that Saudis, before the emergence of the modern Saudi state, lacked culture and religion. Al-Rasheed refutes this allegation with historical evidence, stressing that this Saudi narrative aims to grant legitimacy to the Saudi regime and to credit it for introducing the Saudis to their religion.

Al-Rasheed explains that the British colonizers contacted Abdulaziz Al-Saud at the time. Their purpose was to attack the Ottoman Empire. The role of Abdulaziz was not to directly attack the Ottoman Empire, but to enter battles and clashes to distract and engage Ibn Rashid, who ruled the north of the peninsula to prevent him from supporting the Ottoman troops. Therefore, the researcher believes that the British had a major role in perpetuating the existence of Abdulaziz Al-Saud. She adds that the regime's also attempts to gain legitimacy through religion, specifically through an alliance with Sheikh Mohammad Bin Abd al-Wahhab, the founder of the Wahhabi movement. This movement will be the basis of what will later form the dominance of religion in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia at all levels, educational, cultural, and social.

3.2 The Roots of the Saudi-American and Saudi-British Relationship

In this regard, it is worth referring to the hegemony of both the US and Britain in the Saudi affairs, which will become evident later. This hegemony was the reason behind having research samples for this dissertation from two newspapers, one American and one British. The interconnection between the Arab world on the one hand and America and Britain on the other is deeper than it might seem.

British interests in the Arabian Peninsula began in the seventeenth century through the East India Company (EIC). British relations with the Arab rulers were generally managed by the residents and political agents in the Gulf, who reported to the India Office in London.

After World War I, the involvement of the Foreign Ministry and the Colonial Office in Arab affairs increased, and the responsibilities of these offices grew more complicated. Nevertheless, the India Office continued to play an important role in British relations with the region until World War II (Goldberg, 1985).

British control of the Gulf region began after its destruction of the entire fleet of the Qawasim tribes that controlled the Strait of Hormuz —the gateway to the Gulf at the time— in 1820. After that, the British imposed an anti-piracy treaty on all Arab rulers in the region and established the position of Political Agent for the Lower Gulf. This office was charged with managing British relations

with the local rulers and protecting British trade in the Gulf.

By the late 1950s, the British presence in the region came under increasing criticism as Arab nationalist ideas grew in popularity throughout the Arab world. Despite Kuwait's independence in 1961, Britain continued to dominate the Gulf for another decade, until 1971, when it formally left the region, and the other countries on the Arab side of the Gulf gained their independence (Allday, 2014). As for Saudi Arabia in particular, since 1902, when King Abdulaziz Al-Saud seized the city of Riyadh from rival forces, the interest of the British in central Arabia increased. Furthermore, upon the signing of the Anglo-Saudi Treaty of Darien in December 1915, Britain gradually abandoned its previous policy of not interfering in internal Arab politics. Over the next twenty-five years, the British observed the shifting balance of power in southwestern Saudi Arabia during World War I, as well as the conflict between Saudi and Yemeni interests. British economic and strategic interests also contributed to the development of the Saudi oil industry (Goldberg, 1985).

When discussing affairs of any country in the Arab world, the Palestinian issue comes to the fore. This is because this issue is a concern of the entire Arab world, and Britain has been the major cause behind the Zionist occupation of Palestine.

The Zionist idea was based on establishing a national home for Jews in Palestine upon concluding a deal between the Zionist movement and British Colonial Authorities, based on the infamous Balfour Declaration. During the first ten years of the British Mandate, approximately 76,400 Jewish immigrants entered Palestine, the majority of whom came from Eastern European countries.

In addition, the British helped the Jews by training them during the Mandate period and providing them with weapons; and whenever they withdrew from a post in Palestine, they handed it over to the Jews, leading to the 1948 Nakba and the Jews' occupation of most of Palestine's lands and the displacement of its citizens (Palestinian News and Information Agency- WAFA).

The interconnection with the American side is no less intertwined in the Saudi and Arab scene than that with Britain. For example, the amount of the American hegemony and dictation in the Saudi affairs and in the field of reforms and political visions of Saudi politicians gives an idea about the nature of this connection and its historical roots.

In 1933, Standard Oil Company of California obtained a license to explore for oil in the newly formed Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. A few years later, the company partnered with Texaco Company to produce and market oil from the first Saudi oil fields. Then, it was Aramco exploring oil fields, and it enjoyed a wide fame and was founded by the Americans. It was later acquired by the Saudis (Vitalis, 2016).

In the 1950s, the United States assumed primary responsibility for protecting Western interests in the Gulf. It aimed at ensuring the free flow of oil at reasonable prices from this region, to supply the economies of Europe, Japan, and the United States. This is because 25 percent of global production and two-thirds of global oil reserves lie in the Gulf. To ensure the free flow of oil, the United States had to develop a security policy that would sustain the independence of the oil-producing Arab Gulf states (Indyk, 2004).

Following the siege on Iraq in 1990, upon its invasion of Kuwait, the US

invaded Iraq in March 2003, pledging to destroy Iraq's weapons of mass destruction and end Saddam Hussein's rule. (Laub et al, 2017).

The US invasion of Iraq in 2003 and the prolonged occupation that ensued were the most dramatic and significant events in the long history of US relations with Iraq over the nine decades since Iraq was founded as an independent country in the aftermath of World War I (Hahn, 2014).

While the US was calling for reforms in the Arab world, it had exerted considerable pressure on Saudi Arabia, urging it to carry out these reforms, particularly as the attacks of September 11, 2001, caused a new low in the US-Saudi ties, based on the alleged involvement of Saudi nationals in those attacks. Moreover, the US invasion of Iraq in 2003 subsequently incurred strategic changes in Arab-American relations in general, and Washington-Riyadh relations, in particular. The reforms issue has taken significant portions of the meetings between officials of the two countries. Other traditional factors, such as oil relations and economic and military cooperation between the two countries, have also played a major role in the relation between the two countries (Al-Shaar, 2013).

With regard to Arab issues, the Palestinian issue in particular, the United States was the first country to recognize Israel as a state in 1948, and the first to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel in 2017. According to the official website of the U.S Department of State, Israel is considered a significant partner to the United States, "and it has no greater friend than the US." Therefore, the security of Israel is one of the most important priorities of the US foreign policy (U.S Department of State, 2021).

The United States plays a major role in deepening the Palestinian crisis, as the American policy of supporting Israel through its military, diplomatic and political aids have led to the continued atrocities committed by the Israeli occupation, bearing in mind that the United States is considered the largest arms seller to Israel (Benjamin and Davies, 2021).

3.3 The Start of Concrete Reforms Phase

Back to the topic of reforms in Saudi Arabia, it seemed that it was the most discussed topic during the rule of King Abdallah Bin Abdulaziz Al-Saud in 2005, and the Arab Spring that started a few years later made the reforms an urgent internal issue like it had never been before.

Saudi Arabia crossed an extremely difficult stage during the rule of King Abdallah Bin Abdelaziz Al-Saud. This is specifically important because he worked as Crown Prince of King Fahad and ran the kingdom since 1995 due to King Fahad's sickness. He had to cope with the results of the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, the US war on Iraq, in addition to the Arab Spring. He also dealt with the subsequent US wrath and pressure due to the participation of Saudi nationals in the attacks on the World Trade Towers in 2001 (Saqr, 2015).

The events following the Gulf war and the attacks on the World Trade Towers in 2001 caused external and domestic political push on the Saudi regime towards conducting reforms. Saudi Arabia had been accused of harboring terrorist groups with deviant ideologies and assisting in maintaining their survival. These allegations came from Senator Joseph Biden, a member of the United States House of Representatives at that time (Abu Ras, 2007).

With the United States insisting on necessary reforms and changes in the Arab world, as relying on dictatorial regimes was not helpful, pressure on the kingdom increased. A move towards a progressive approach based on freedom had to be made.

The need for change had not been limited to outside pressure only; many Saudi opposition activists demanded reforms as well. Such reforms are helpful to the society's efforts in combating growth of religious extremist groups and their infiltration of society (International Crisis Group, 2004).

The reforms were a social and economic necessity for addressing the serious problems that are found in Saudi society. Examples of such problems include poverty, unemployment, education development, economic development, in addition to creating qualified Saudi labor force for supplying domestic markets. (International Crisis Group, 2004).

Education and the judiciary systems have been firmly controlled by the religious institution through security agencies, such as the police and the Committee for the Promotion of Virtue and Prevention of Vice, in addition to the Council of Senior Religious Scholars, which is the highest religious body that provides regular and continuous advice to the King and determines women's rights based on their standpoints (Mouline, 2015).

The Wahhabi religious establishment has influenced the duties and rights of Saudi women since the founding of the Kingdom. Wahhabis stood in the way of the empowerment of women and tended to be radical in the interpretation of Islam (Commins, 2015).

Restrictions on freedom of travel is one among many challenges faced by Saudi women. Women are not permitted to go out without a guardian's consent. This has affected other sectors such as women's labor force and their right to work. In addition, women's renewal of travel documents requires permission of the spouse or guardian (Human Rights Watch, 2016).

Furthermore, Fatwas preventing women from driving on religious basis stipulate that women's driving leads to multiple evils and negative consequences (Al-Musnad, 1996).

Changes towards enabling Saudi women to work have been made. The number of Saudi working women in the private sector has increased to nearly 450,000 in 2013, compared to only 50,000 women working up to 2009. Several kinds of professions are open for Saudi women now, and in recent years, Saudi women were offered successful stories as architects, journalists, lawyers, and other professions (Mohammad, 2014).

The Kingdom is obliged to initiate the abolition of forms of discrimination against women after the kingdom signed the CEDAW Agreement in 2000 (United Nations Human Rights, 2008). In 2009, Saudi Arabia agreed to end the men's mandate system, in addition to all forms of racism against women, as per the periodic review by the Human Rights Council (Human Rights Watch, 2016).

Human Rights Watch issued a report in 2016 entitled: "Like living in a box: Women and the male guardianship system in Saudi Arabia." The report showed that the Saudi woman's life is from start to end under man's control. All Saudi women have male guardians, usually a father or a husband, and in some cases, a brother or even a son, who has the authority to take important decisions on

her behalf. According to the report, the male guardianship policies effective in the Kingdom negatively impact all Saudi women, irrespective of their social and economic class. To be able to travel, marry, or even leave prison, any woman, including adults, must obtain permission from her guardian. A guardian's permission is also required when a woman intends to work or obtain health care. Repeated difficulties are expected if she conducts various transactions, such as renting an apartment or filing lawsuits, without the presence of a male relative.

The file on women and their rights is not the only one that is pending in Saudi Arabia. During the surge of the Arab Spring, many reformists submitted petitions, specifically between 2003 and 2008. More than 12 petitions were submitted, and it seemed that Saudi Arabia was witnessing the "Riyadh Spring." There was hope that the regime would respond to the demands which centered around the establishment of a constitutional monarchy and respect for civil, political, and human rights, but hope quickly dissipated when many reformers were sentenced to several years in prison (Al-Rasheed, 2018).

The regime has relied on the religious institutions to help protect it from protests. Influential religious figures were mobilized for its support during the Arab Spring. Wahhabi religious scholars used the pulpits in mosques to warn of God's wrath that will come upon the believers if they participate in peaceful demonstrations. The Council of Senior Scholars issued a fatwa confirming the prohibition of demonstrations, and religious scholars in the official institution warned against an Iranian-Safavid Shiite conspiracy directed by Saudi exiles in London and Washington, and the Shiites in the eastern region to cause sedition and division in the kingdom (Al-Rasheed, 2018).

3.4 Mohammad Bin Salman

In the midst of this political, social, and religious scene, which Saudi Arabia has been accustomed to for many years, the name Prince Mohammad Bin Salman, nicknamed MBS in the Western press, suddenly appeared, about two and a half years after his father, King Salman Bin Abdulaziz Al-Saud, was crowned as King of Saudi Arabia, succeeding his brother King Abdallah. Bin Salman ascended as crown prince in place of his cousin, Mohammad Bin Nayef Al-Saud, who held the position before him.

MBS is the son of the current King of Saudi Arabia, King Salman Bin Abdelaziz Al-Saud, Crown Prince, and Deputy Prime Minister. Moreover, he is the Minister of Defense and Chairman of the Economic and Development Affairs Council (Saleh, 2019).

MBS was born in August 1985 in Riyadh and is married to Princess Sara Bint Mashhour, daughter of Abdulaziz Al-Saud, and has four children. He completed his studies at King Saud University, majoring in law (Saleh, 2019).

MBS assumes several roles of civil and professional nature, in addition to charity initiatives, and has been nominated as consultant to the panel of Experts and consultant to the management of the affairs of King Abdulaziz Foundation. He was also a special adviser to the office of the Crown Prince when King Salman held this position. He also assumed the position of Minister of State, and

president of the Council of the Economic and Development Affairs, established in 2015. He worked as a member of the Council of Political and Security Affairs until he became Crown Prince and Deputy Prime Minister, in addition to serving as Minister of Defense in June 2017 (Saudi Ministry of Defense website, 2020).

MBS made numerous domestic achievements that may be summarized as follows: promoting investment, modernizing the public Investment Fund and establishing an integrated policy for investment, advocating the rights of Saudi women and empowering their development, founding the National Transformation Program 2030, emphasizing the Saudi vision for the third decade of this century, establishing the Saudi Defense Industries Company, and initiating the NEOM project (Al-Awad, 2018).

Due to the above, international media interest in the Crown Prince grew substantially. International media allocated considerable space for knowing more about him. The New York Times named him the ambitious young man (Al-Atif, 2018). He came to power in the Middle East at a very crucial time with regard to wars in the region. He has been building deep and close relationships with foreign leadership groups over the past period, including President Donald Trump. The newspaper (Al-Atif, 2018) also said that he has been relentlessly conducting his duties on an integrated reform path in the Kingdom. The newspaper added that the majority of Saudi youth look up to him as their role model and their desired aspiration for reforms. The Washington Post described the prince as the godfather of the time of change and modernization of Saudi Arabia and talked about how committed the prince is to combating terrorism and protecting Islam. The newspaper hopes he will create positive relations between Saudi people and the rest of the world (Al-Atif, 2018).

Al-Srouf (2019) aimed at identifying Saudi Arabia's regional role, and its nature, during King Salman's rule and his Crown Prince Mohammad Bin Salman between 2015 and 2018. Once he ascended the throne, King Salman, according to this study, started rearranging the Kingdom's internal house regarding throne succession. He also gave directions for improving people's living standards and state-provided services. Moreover, the King ordered senior state officials to be held accountable for their job performance, aiming at countering corruption. Tens of royal decrees were issued for these purposes, covering different political and economic domestic affairs. At the regional level, King Salman also exerted great efforts towards achieving an effective and active role. He has been trying to solve Arab crises that have arisen in Egypt, Syria, Yemen, and Lebanon, and to fight chaos and militias in Arab countries.

One of the most important projects that marked the era of Bin Salman, which contributed to creating a Saudi aura around him, is the NEOM project.

The project called NEOM was launched in light of the Saudi vision to move to international leading levels with care and follow-up of Crown Prince Mohammad Bin Salman. The project is located in a special zone within the North West region of the Kingdom. It is a joint project with Jordan and Egypt. It has been designed to be a success, exceeding significant world metropolitan cities with regards to competitiveness and lifestyle, along with the availability of distinct economic opportunities, and a potential leadership center for the world (NEOM Project, 2018).

The city's location was chosen because of the unique qualities available in this area, as it is close to the world's commercial markets and routes. The

climate is of suitable nature and the natural terrain is diverse (NEOM Project, 2018).

The project potentially holds huge benefits and advantages for Saudi Arabia and the participating countries. It will transform the Kingdom into a prestigious international center for inventions and trade. It will also activate national industries, provide jobs in the private sector, and increase Saudi Arabia's GDP. Sectors that will benefit from this project include energy, transportation, significant technologies, food, agriculture, education, in addition to sectors that are vital to the lives and welfare of citizens. The University of Tabuk, established in 2006, will secure qualified manpower and labor with various undergraduate degrees (Al-Mohsen, 2014).

However, this stage was not quite a smooth, rosy path and as Mohammad Bin Salman wanted it to be.

In June 2017, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates, and Egypt declared in individual statements the suspension of relations with the State of Qatar. This included diplomatic bodies who were given a two-day notice to leave the four countries. Qatari citizens were banned from entering or passing through these countries and were ordered to leave within 14 days. Citizens of the four countries were also forbidden to travel, stay, or pass through Qatar. All land, sea and air crossings with Qatar were closed to arriving and departing passengers. Then four countries initiated legal procedures in coordination with friendly countries and international companies, aiming at restricting movement through Qatari skies and territorial waters (Al-Jazeera, 2017).

The four countries said that their decisions were taken for security

precautionary reasons and because of the fact that Qatar supports extremist organizations, such as the Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas, al- Qaeda, and ISIS (Arbihat, 2018). On the other side, the State of Qatar denied these allegations and described them as incorrect and sheer fabrications, adding that Qatar is an active member of the Gulf Cooperation Council and continues to uphold its charter. Qatar said that it does not interfere in the internal affairs of the four countries and respects the sovereignty of all other countries. It added that it is doing its best in countering terrorism and extremism, but it also rejects any attempt to impose guardianship over it, considering this a violation of international law and the foundations of national sovereignty (Arbihat, 2018).

Odeh (2017) aimed at examining the Gulf crisis and Iran's position on the campaign against Qatar, in light of the fact that Saudi Arabia said Qatar's relationship with Iran was one of the reasons for cutting relationships with Qatar. The context of the crisis and Iran's behavior towards it are detailed by the study, particularly that American President Donald Trump's attack on Iran at the Riyadh summit preceded the crisis with Qatar. Iran, according to the researcher, wanted to exploit the incident in various diplomatic and economic ways. It also attempted to take advantage of the rift in Gulf-Gulf relations. The study concluded that the four countries participating in the blockade contribute, through their behavior in this crisis, to enabling Iran to fulfill its goals in the region.

The legal implications of the blockade on Qatar are examined from different perspectives by Al-Khalayla and Zainaldin (2017). The researchers aimed to show if the quartet's resolutions comply to or violate the international law general principles, and whether they violate the constitutions of the four

countries participating in the blockade themselves, the Charter of the GCC or treaties emanating thereof, the established principles emanating from regional organizations and the agreements resulting there from, or the principles of international trade law generally related to this type of international crisis. The study indicated that the four states, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, the UAE, and Egypt, issued individual declarations against Qatar. Their statements included proof of their blockade by land, sea, and air. The four countries claimed that Qatar was planting the seeds of conflict and division within their societies and that these steps were taken for security and precautionary reasons. They also said Qatar was supporting terrorist groups. Qatar rejected these claims and responded with a clear reply that it had been subjected to a campaign of instigations based on sheer fabrications. Qatar said that the actions taken against it were nothing but the results of guardianship policy which the four countries tried to impose on it in violation of the principles of international law and sovereignty. The study also showed that the four countries committed a number of international violations with their blockade on Qatar. The blockade violates basic political and civil rights, in addition to economic, social and cultural rights affecting the people of the Gulf States in general, as well as Qatari citizens.

The case that drove Bin Salman's era into a major controversial path, and which put his image to the test, was the case of the assassination of journalist Jamal Khashoggi in the Saudi Consulate in Istanbul.

Jamal Khashoggi was naturally part of the Saudi society in terms of birth and growing up. Born in 1958 in Saudi Arabia, he went to primary and secondary schools in the Kingdom. He graduated from Indiana University in the United States with a major in business administration. He worked in journalism in Saudi

Arabia for several newspapers and TV channels, such as Saudi Gazette, Okaz, Al Sharq Al Awsat, and Al Watan. He also appeared as a political analyst in reputable media outlets, such as Al-Jazeera, MBC, BBC, and Dubai TV, in addition to working as consultant to Prince Turki Bin Faisal Al-Saud when he was Saudi ambassador to the US (Cengiz, 2018).

MBS's rise to power, along with growing internal pressures formed an important milestone for Khashoggi. In 2017, he visited the US and criticized the Saudi regime on issues like the blockade on Qatar and the war on Yemen. He also spoke of his displeasure of the lack of democracy and suppression of freedoms in the Kingdom. Therefore, he was forbidden from appearing on Saudi TV channels, and his written works were banned in the country, as well (Gardner, 2019).

Details on the disappearance of Khashoggi and the process of his assassination were revealed by Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan during a meeting of his party's bloc in the Turkish parliament on October 23, 2017. Erdogan recounted the details of Jamal's admission to the Saudi Consulate and how he was dealt with and murdered. Saudi Arabia agreed to have their Consulate headquarters inspected after Turkish officials spoke publicly about the matter in press conferences. As a result, the Saudi side confessed to the crime and declared that the criminals will receive due punishment. The crime was condemned by many states and international organizations, and even the American President Donald Trump retracted on previous stands and explained that he was misled by incorrect information (RT Arabic, 2018).

Opinions varied concerning Khashoggi's death and the cruel way in which

he was murdered. President Trump, for example, appeared hesitant and indeterminate whether to maintain American principles or to defend MBS. Looking at the case from the perspective of its interests in the region, the American administration represented by the president thought that the Crown Prince is the one capable of confronting Iran. This was counter to the view of the American public who stood up to defend American principles and ideals, as the media covering the crime aimed at exposing the murderers and expose their relationship with the Crown Prince. As for The New York Times editorial board, it hinted that Trump was not concerned with the CIA's recommendations and conclusions. The Washington Post's editorial board also announced that if the MBS was not held accountable, he would continue to cause damage to the U.S. interests in the Middle East and that the Congress must do its job (Al- Faqih, 2020).

One of the pivotal events that created more controversy about Bin Salman was the so-called detention of the princes at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel in Riyadh.

Prince Mohammad Bin Salman conducted a show of power and determination. He arrested several princes and high-ranking figures from the first rows in Saudi Arabia and detained them in the Ritz-Carlton in Riyadh. The act caused a shock nationwide, and no less internationally. It resulted in a state of annoyance among members of the Royal Family and the Saudi people. Such annoyance was demonstrated by the wish of some princes to replace the Crown Prince as his image was shaken, particularly following the Khashoggi murder. According to some analysts, the arrest orders were issued with the endorsement of King Salman, aiming to prevent any attempt by competitors who are likely to

object to MBS's ensuing accession to the throne (Al-Faqih, 2020).

A site concerned with the affairs of the world's celebrities and rich, called Celebrity Net Worth, revealed in its report the true hidden motive behind arresting the three rich Saudis, in addition to another group of major figures and princes. The site said that the action was taken by the MBS to create a media event that would put him in control of all official and unofficial, public and private media outlets. He also wanted to control the wealth of these rich figures who mostly shape the Saudi public opinion, as one of them owns (MBC) and Al Arabiya channels, and the other is the founder of the ART coded channels. Also, Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal owns Rotana Company which owns the majority of archives of Arab cinema and drama (Lamare, 2017).

The case that is almost the most difficult for Bin Salman is the war on Yemen, which is simultaneously new old to Saudi Arabia.

Al-Faqih (2020) states that the true driver behind the war on Yemen was Crown Prince Mohammad Bin Salman. He wanted it to support his efforts for succeeding his father but failed in his attempt. He even described MBS as an irresponsible teenager, who with reckless behavior, plunged down and got caught up in the war, instead of rising up with it.

Henderson (2016), an American scholar of The Washington Institute, hinted that the war on Yemen is the major issue that may put an end to the young Crown Prince's career. This is due to the fact the war is being extended without explicit outcomes, and because the costs are extremely exhausting.

The young Prince thinks that this war will lead to an effective

presentation of himself, regionally and globally, as a dominating and powerful statesman. He believes that his presence guarantees a terrorism-free Kingdom, counter to the case of political vacuum with a potential conflict on power in the country. Branching and diverse, the Yemeni war is not limited to its territory but is connected to the conflict with Iran. Winning the war will empower MBS regionally and globally, particularly considering King Salman's illness (Henderson, 2016).

MBS managed to receive support from the US administration by convincing them he would protect their strategic interests in the Gulf, mainly at the military and political levels (Ben-Habtoor, 2016).

In her study, Bumaza (2018) examined the military intervention in Yemen by the coalition countries in terms of reasons and implications. The study indicated that such intervention is unprecedented in Arab and international relations. Such practices by Arab countries are not familiar, unlike Western countries that would risk taking actions in the service of their interests, particularly after adopting the concept of war on terrorism, as well as the notion of preemptive wars. The study also showed that the purpose of the military intervention in Yemen by the Arab coalition led by Saudi Arabia was to reinstate the legitimate government in the country after the coup led by the Houthis in the country. Although the intervention managed to block the Houthi attacks, the war is far from over and battles are not conclusive. Besides, no negotiable political solution seems imminent which keeps the Yemeni crisis indefinitely open.

Bin Salman's name was associated in the Arab world with a political deal

called the Deal of the Century, which the Arab peoples and the Palestinian people specifically received with a lot of suspicion and accusations, judging that it involved wasting the Palestinian people's rights.

Adopted by the Administration of President Donald Trump when he assumed office, the Deal of the Century is recognized as an American peace plan in the Middle East. It is also promoted by Jared Kushner, the president's son-in-law and top adviser (Al-Shobaki, 2020).

Saleh (2018) provided the most significant signposts of the Deal of the Century. This deal stipulates that Palestinians will enjoy Autonomous Rule under Israeli sovereignty in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Further, issues related to the final solution will be eliminated from the peace settlement and will be resolved according to Israeli standards. The most notable point is that Jerusalem remains entirely under Israeli authority, and that the refugees' problem will be solved by way of settlement and compensation, meaning that refugees lose their right of return. In addition, Israel will be recognized by the whole world as the national state of the Jewish people, and the Palestinian entity as the national state of the Palestinian people. Finally, normalization will be achieved through eliciting approval of the major Arab countries concerned with the Palestinian issue, particularly Egypt, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia.

The Deal of the Century is in violation of international laws and standards according to political analyst Abdallah Majali. The deal annuls all previous peace treaties, in addition to UN and International Court resolutions, considering the UN decisions incompatible or no longer valid in terms of timing, and in relation to the Arab-Israeli conflict. The deal, for example, contradicts the Oslo treaty

between Palestinians and Israelis as it does not lead to Israeli withdrawal from the lands occupied in 1967 (Majali, 2020).

The most significant goal of the Deal of the Century, as Al-Mashaqabeh (2021) suggests, is to integrate Israel into the region, and to enable it to partner with the countries of the region in all economics and trade fields. Moreover, Arab states are to exert all efforts to facilitate such integration.

Arab standpoints vary concerning the general lines of the Deal of the Century according to Saleh (2018). There have been some indications of enthusiasm for the deal in some Gulf States, especially in Saudi Arabia. Al-Shobaki emphasizes (2020) that Saudi Arabia in particular did not stop at advocating the deal but went further to becoming a tool of pressure on the Palestinian leadership, pushing it towards accepting the American initiative. Saudi Arabia joined Egypt in employing their financial and media resources for supporting the deal, and to claim that being preoccupied with the Palestinian cause hinders the development of Arab countries that have suffered greatly for Palestine.

3.5 The Question of Reforms in Saudi Arabia

In the midst of this Saudi scene full of reforms and unsettled issues, many wonder whether Bin Salman's reforms are real, or nothing more than propaganda that he creates for media marketing purposes and for appeasing the West, despite his repeated declarations that these reforms are not for the purposes of appeasing anyone. However, experts in the Saudi affairs claim that these reforms are only superficial, nothing more than a “distraction” for the Saudi people.

Madawi Al-Rasheed is one of the regular commentators on the Saudi affairs as a professor at the London School of Economics and Political Science. She says that these reforms reveal the hypocrisy of the Saudi regime, citing the issue of allowing women to drive and how the same regime previously allowed clerics to issue fatwas prohibiting women from driving. However, the same regime later, demanded the religious fatwa regarding women driving to be reversed to avoid serious consequences, because Saudi Arabia was subjected to international pressures that could have affected the regime's survival. She says that hypocrisy is the regime's fundamental problem because it relies on religion to establish its legitimacy, but it controls religion at the same time (Al-Rasheed, 2020).

In an interview on Al-Jazeera to comment on the reforms of the Saudi regime, Al-Rasheed described the regime as the bloody Machiavellian who manipulated the tribes and religion. The regime neutralized the tribes and killed their leaders after they helped establish the state. It then exploited the religious institution according to its own wishes, and this exploitation, from Al-Rasheed's point of view, has not stop. The religious establishment is still being exploited and harnessed to cater to the interests of the regime. The tribes, which are distributed around the Gulf States, were mobilized during the siege on Qatar. The regime tried to develop this tribal spirit to use it in the current conflict.

Al-Rasheed believes that some segments of the Saudi people may accept these superficial reforms and consider them the ultimate of their demands for the time being, because with the pressure the regime exerts on the people, any openness on the its part is considered a victory. She explains that a "state of schizophrenia" has emerged in the Saudi regime because, at a time when cinema

was forbidden for the Saudi people, some princes and powerful people used to bring cinemas to their houses and have cinemas installed at home. They even held mixed parties in their homes.

Al-Rasheed adds that Saudi Arabia does not have a written constitution. The regime's pretext is that the Holy Qur'an is the constitution of the country. Consequently, everyone who demanded that the constitution be written has been imprisoned, and this was the fate of all those who demanded constitutional monarchy, under the pretext that they are advocates of liberalism and Westernization. Al-Rasheed says that the Saudi regime has adopted economic glamor recently, such as what happened in presenting Vision 2020, and that its openness is superficial (Al-Rasheed, 2017).

According to Schaer (2021), observers of the Saudi affairs spoke of the Crown Prince and his policy makers' attempts to strike a balance between achieving long-term goals on the one hand, and tangible and instant-impact reforms on the other. Such instant-impact reforms explain that many of the younger generation are supportive of these reforms and of the person of the Crown Prince, particularly that some of these reforms were considered impossible to happen, according to many, until recently.

Some of these observers believe that these reforms would 'liberalize' some social settings, but not the political ones, and that the significance of these reforms that affect daily life should not be underestimated, but the fact that they are not fundamental reforms should not be ignored. The report refers to the same term that Al-Rasheed has referred to, which is the "hypocrisy" of the regime, recalling that the activists who demanded that Saudi women drive are

imprisoned, even though the decision was approved (Schaer, 2021).

There are two aspects of the changes that stand out and are not highly valued. The first is that there is a rift between social and political liberalization. Exactly the opposite has happened so far. Within the wider state structure, as well as within the royal family, political control is becoming more centralized. What is happening in Saudi Arabia goes beyond a matter of an audacious and ambitious crown prince bringing about bold changes. It is a significant reorganization of authority, in addition to social and political life.

The second aspect is that, although the changes are hypothetically comprehensive, their ultimate objective remains doubtful. Many of them are individually modest (though few are entirely unmatched), and they remain quite reversible. And even though the departments and administrators of the state have accepted, if not embraced, the changes, some social bitterness and defiance remain possible —and unforeseen effects may occur. Several small and gradual steps may lead to an audacious leap instead of constituting an integrated and coherent vision. They may even incur unexpected results —or may eventually cause regression.

It makes sense for people dealing with Saudi affairs to exert less time attempting to figure out who the winners and losers are, or who the good and bad players are. Other players, on the other hand, should be ready to deal with the country in ways that were unthinkable ten years ago and are hard to properly imagine nowadays (Brown and Farouk, 2021).

CHAPTER 4. METHODOLOGY

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CHAPTER 4. METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The present study, within the frame of descriptive methodology, relies on the content analysis for monitoring characteristics and features of the researched press sample, for collecting data and information about it, and for analyzing all its observable elements, dimensions, and interactions. It aims at learning about press coverage of the American and British regarding reforms in Saudi Arabia and Crown Prince Mohammad Bin Salman's personality in The Washington Post and The Guardian. In addition, articles from the Saudi Asharq Al-Awsat are also surveyed to answer one of the study questions on the disparity in coverage between the foreign press on one hand and Saudi press on the other, pertaining to the character of MBS and reforms in Saudi Arabia.

This chapter reviews the study sample in detail, the study tool and methods of data collecting, in addition to reviewing the procedures for validity and reliability.

In this chapter also, the content of media materials that covered the reforms in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and dealt with the personality of Saudi Crown Prince Mohammad Bin Salman was analyzed in both the American Washington Post and the British Guardian newspapers, during the time period from January 2016 to June 2019.

The content of media coverage in the Saudi newspaper Asharq Al-Awsat for the period after the Saudi Crown Prince took office, i.e., from June 2017 to June 2019, was also analyzed. This sample covered specific topics such as the

Saudi relationship with Qatar, the war on Yemen, the detention of Saudi figures in the Ritz, and the case of journalist Jamal Khashoggi. The purpose of the Asharq Al-Awsat (Middle East) sample was to answer one of the study's questions about the professional differences in coverage between the American and British media on the one hand, and Saudi media on the other.

The researcher discusses the results obtained through content analysis of media materials that covered the reforms in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and dealt with the personality of Saudi Crown Prince Mohammad Bin Salman in both the American Washington Post and the British Guardian newspapers, during the time period from January 2016 to June 2019.

This discussion comes in light of the hypotheses: increased interest in Saudi affairs after Mohammad Bin Salman assumed office as Crown Prince, and the change of tone in media coverage between the beginning of Bin Salman's era and after Khashoggi's murder, in addition to the professional gap between The Washington Post and The Guardian on one side and Asharq Al-Awsat on the other. In light of the questions raised in the theoretical part of the study such as the question on the extent of professionalism and commitment to objectivity, accuracy, and credibility, etc., and the extent to which media coverage is independent of the political stand of the country which the media outlet is affiliated with, in addition to linking this to the two theories on which the study was based, namely, the Media Framing theory and the Agenda Setting theory.

4.2 Study Methodology

This study relies on the content analysis method, which mainly depends on converting written data into numbers describing the phenomenon under

study. Suleiman (2009) defines the method of content analysis as an objective method of quantitative and qualitative judgment at the same time, and contributes to taking the appropriate decision, as it helps in achieving the goals of scientific research that is concerned with studying in this field, specifically, research related to analyzing media or journalist content.

Content analysis is defined as a research method to describe the apparent content objectively, quantitatively, or qualitatively, and basically aims to collect information about a particular phenomenon or problem by referring to research sources such as books, audio and video recordings, and written records (White and Marsh, 2006).

Neuendorf (2002) believes that content analysis is a quantitative summary analysis of the content, which is based on the scientific method, including objectivity, internal subjectivity, initial design, reliability, truthfulness, generalizability, reproducibility, and hypothesis testing, and is not limited to the types of variables that can be measured, nor to the context in which the content is displayed.

According to Wimmer and Dominick (1989), content analysis involves several steps. These begin with the formulation of the research problem or hypotheses, which is followed by determining the study population from which an appropriate sample is chosen. After that, the unit of analysis is chosen and defined, and the categories for the content that will be analyzed are preparing for the purpose of establishing a quantitative analysis system. Next, an exploratory study is conducted to achieve reliability. The content is then encoded based on the definitions that were created. Finally, the collected data

are analyzed, and conclusions are drawn in order to search for indications.

Many studies employed the content analysis methodology. Among such studies is the one conducted by Al-Skaji (2018). This study aimed at analyzing the content of scientific programs in Arab satellite channels. It examines their impact as an informal method of learning. Another example is the study conducted by Al-Mansour (2015) and aimed at analyzing the content of Arab newspapers during their coverage of Trump's decision to move the US embassy to Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

In his study on the image of Arabs in British newspapers, Sari (1988) employed the content analysis methodology for the analysis of the content of four British newspapers: The Daily Express, The Guardian, The Times, and Morning Star. The researcher examined 432 issues, from 1968 until 1980, selecting issues from every two years, i.e., 68, 70, 72, 74, 76, 78, and 80. The researcher then selected the number issued on the twentieth of each month, and analyzed the sample quantitatively and qualitatively.

Based on the content analysis methodology, this study can be classified as an exploratory study because it tries to explore the content of newspapers (The Washington Post, The Guardian and Asharq Al-Awsat) in light of targeted criteria to find out how these newspapers dealt with reforms in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the personality of Crown Prince Mohammad Bin Salman.

The researcher relies on the content analysis method because it is characterized by a set of features that distinguish it. Through these features, the objectives of the study can be achieved. Firstly, this method specializes in studying the evident content without delving into the deeper aims and

objectives of the text. Secondly, the nature of objectivity prevails over this type of research, as objectivity is the cornerstone of the content analysis method. Any move away from objectivity in dealing with the content may discredit the results, and consequently the research as a whole. And thirdly, the use of the content analysis method requires the use of the quantitative method in collecting information to be able to compare it with other samples.

Accordingly, the researcher applied a comprehensive survey method to collect data, tabulate it, and analyze it in order to reach the conclusions that serve the research goals, answer its questions, and analyze the content of newspapers in the study sample.

4.3 Study Population

The current study population consists of all journalistic items of all types, which is related to reforms in Saudi Arabia and the personality of Saudi Crown Prince Mohammad Bin Salman, in both The Washington Post and The Guardian during the period from January 2016 to June 2019.

Asharq Al-Awsat sample was selective for the period following MBS's assuming office, from June 2017 to the end of the sample in June 2019. This sample (The Middle East sample) pertained to certain topics, such as Saudi Arabia's relationship with Qatar, the war on Yemen, detention of Saudi figures at the Ritz-Carlton, and the journalist Jamal Khashoggi's case. Asharq Al-Awsat sample aimed to answer one of the study questions on the coverage professional differences between the American and British media on one hand and Saudi media on the other.

4.4 The Sample Detailed

The sample of the study will include everything published by The Washington Post and The Guardian about Saudi Arabia in the period January 2016- June 2019, i.e., a year and a half before and two years after Bin Salman's takeover.

Asharq Al-Awsat sample was selective for the period following MBS's assuming office, from June 2017 to the end of the sample in June 2019.

The sample was chosen based on several factors, including that Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper is a Saudi newspaper owned by a member of the ruling family in Saudi Arabia, and thus provides an opportunity to see the Saudi version of events. It also provides an opportunity to assess the extent of professionalism in its handling of news compared to Western media represented by The Washington Post and The Guardian newspapers.

The Washington Post was chosen for being a prominent newspaper in regard to human rights issues, in addition to its interest in issues of the Middle East, democracy and freedoms in the Arab world, in addition to the fact that journalist Jamal Khashoggi was one of its columnists. It was chosen as a representative of the American press in this study.

As for The Guardian newspaper, it is also concerned with the Arab audience. It recently started issuing an Arabic version. In addition, it is concerned with Middle Eastern issues, particularly those related to democracy and freedoms. It was selected in the study as a sample of the British press.

In the following section, some details about the study sample are

presented.

4.4.1 The Washington Post

The Washington Post, a significant American newspaper in Washington, D.C., is considered one of the most politically influential media constants in the US. It usually addresses significant and popular issues and has been setting frames for the American public opinion for a long time. This newspaper was the most significant paper among those that investigated the most famous American scandal, the Watergate cause. The Washington Post was established in 1877 by Stilson Hitchens who managed to make it the first newspaper to be published in Washington seven days a week non-stop since the 1880s. Although it went bankrupt in 1933, it achieved supremacy over other newspapers after it was owned by a businessman named Eugene Mayer. It managed in 1954, to buy a competing newspaper called The Washington Times Herald, now owned by a group called Nash Holding, which was established to acquire the newspaper for \$250 million (Bell, 2011).

With regards to domestic political stands, The Washington Post stood up for immigrant minorities, human rights, and freedoms. It opposed the Patriot Act, which permits wiretapping, monitoring of websites and remittances, and fought against the American occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan after 2005. The newspaper advocated grantin Guantanamo prisoners the right to a fair trial within the American judiciary system (Al-Jazeera, 2016).

This newspaper was famous for its handling of controversial files in contemporary American history. The most significant of such files was the 1972 Watergate scandal that forced President Richard Nixon to resign. The newspaper

even exposed what is called Pentagon Secret Papers in 1971 on the US and Vietnam, between 1945 and 1967 (Al-Jazeera, 2016).

The principles and practice of American journalism dramatically changed throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Journalism abandoned its traditional methods and goals of straightforward, emotive partisanship in its reporting and editorials, reflecting broader overarching political developments. Instead, the daily press asserted a right to act as neutral, expert mediators in the public arena. The dominating alignments of political culture and public power supported this new twentieth-century journalistic system, which was reinforced by technocratic occupational standards, an increasingly monopolistic market structure, and corporate control of the press. While objectivity as a public ideology provided justification for an independent professional news media, it only provided limited resources and logic for the media to fulfill its democratic role, in the presence of other conflicting voices and power centers (Kaplan, 2009).

4.4.2 The Guardian

Founded in 1821, this British newspaper was given the name “The Manchester Guardian” but was renamed in 1959. It is a branch of The Guardian Media Group. The founder of this newspaper was John Edward Tyler. Known for its unique and famous format and frame, this paper used to issue about 189 thousand written issues. It started an electronic version in 2013 and became the third most read electronic newspaper worldwide when its readers reached 30 million (Plunkett, 2005).

Following the acceleration of events in the Arab world, the newspaper

started to publish an Arabic edition. It aimed at boosting common ground knowledge with the Arab nations. The newspaper earned a number of prizes in the UK, like digital innovation for the year 2008-2009, the distinguished digital journalist for the year 2008-2009, in addition to political journalist for 2011, which went to Andrew Sparrow of The Guardian.

Different UK newspaper firms have approached the internet in different ways. The Guardian's online news service has been the most successful, and it has also invested much more than the other companies. The Guardian Newspapers Ltd is not subject to the same short-term economic pressures as companies that must report to shareholders because of the Scott Trust's unique goals, and as a result, they have been able to invest in the long-term future of their internet news portal "Guardian Unlimited", while sustaining some significant losses.

Among the national newspapers, The Guardian has by far the biggest committed digital workforce. Around 60 journalists make up their editorial staff (Lewis et al., 2008).

In a study by Henkel, Thurman, and Deffner (2018), researchers compare the tradition of journalism in Britain and Germany. They conclude that journalists in Britain tend to lean more towards the role of monitors who are characterized as being confrontational and investigative, and seek to hold the government, the business sector, and other public offices accountable. They serve as the fourth authority. UK journalists are also less compliant when it comes to their interpretation of general professional ethics codes.

4.4.3 Asharq Al-Awsat

This newspaper comes in electronic and written editions. It is an Arabic and international newspaper whose content covers regional political news, social issues, economic and commerce news, in addition to sporting news. It published its first edition on July 4, 1978. The newspaper is published in Arabic in London by a publishing company owned by the Saudi Research and Marketing Group. It releases editions in its home country in Riyadh, Jeddah, and Dhahran. Other Arabic editions appear in Casablanca and Cairo, and some international editions in Marseille, Paris, and New York (Al-Mashhadani, 2014).

Aiming at Arab audiences everywhere, Asharq Al-Awsat is a comprehensive daily paper, generally of news nature. It is distributed all over the world. This paper adopts a moderate stand on the Arab-Israeli conflict in comparison to other Arab newspapers (Al-Salem, 2008).

By legislation, the Saudi press is currently under government control, and any editorial violations, including criticism of religion, royal family members, or policies of the government, are prohibited. As a result, journalists are unable to discuss numerous crucial issues. The nomination of Editors in Chief is determined by the Ministry of Information, combined by approval from the Ministry of the Interior. This guarantees the state's complete monitoring of the media. Furthermore, a prospective publisher must undergo a number of stages before obtaining government approval to start a new newspaper. The process of starting a new newspaper even requires a Royal Decree. Furthermore, a number of conditions must be met by newspapers, including having at least forty Saudi shareholders with no history of security violations. As a consequence of these

constraints, the government completely and directly oversees the media via legislation, censoring, and close supervision (Alnajrani et al., 2018).

4.5 Study Tool

To achieve the objectives of the study, the researcher relied on the coding schedule as a research tool to analyze the number of newspapers in the study sample, which is a research tool used to describe the apparent content of the communicative message in an objective, systematic, and quantitative manner. The study tool included a group of analysis categories which are approved by the Jordan Media Institute. Dr. Bassem Tweissi is one of the pioneers of content analysis in Jordan, and he has used these categories in more than one of his studies and in the studies that were published by Jordan Media Institute.

Among these studies issued by the Jordan Media Institute is a study on hate speech in the Jordanian media. This study, which relied on the content analysis methodology, was launched in 2019, with a glossary for the purposes of defining the most commonly used terms related to hate speech in the media. The study was conducted in cooperation with The Ethical Network for Journalism (Jordan News Agency-Petra).

The institute also conducted a study that relied on analyzing the content of Jordanian media outlets to measure their coverage of human rights issues, under the title “Human Rights Violations in Jordanian Media Outlets 2015” (Jordan Media Institute, 2015).

Among the content analysis studies conducted by the institute was also

one entitled “Capacity Building for Local Radios in Jordan” in partnership with UNESCO and funded by the European Union. Its sample comprised Jordanian radio channels at that time (Jordan Media Institute, 2016).

In addition, the Institute conducted a study in 2017, funded by the European Union, which involved monitoring and analyzing the presence of women in the Jordanian media. It aimed to measure the quantity and quality of women's presence or absence in the Jordanian media, in all modes, written, audio, or visual, and its implications (Jordan Media Institute, 2017).

Several dissertations that followed these classifications in content analysis were defended at the institute, including a master’s thesis (Shamaileh, 2018) which, through content analysis, attempted to measure hate speech in Jordan through the Facebook platform, in 2016.

Among the studies conducted by the Institute in cooperation with USAID was the one entitled “Assessment of the Population Communication and Production Unit at Jordan Radio and Television.” This study employed several methods to reach the results, including content analysis of some media materials. It was supported by in-depth interviews and reference to previous studies (Jordan Media Institute, 2015).

The Jordan Media Institute also held a conference on hate speech in 2016, and the presented peer-reviewed research papers had measured hate speech in Jordanian and Arab media through the content analysis methodology.

4.6 Time Study Sample

Because of the study community's large size, a deliberate sample of the

press coverage of the reforms in Saudi Arabia and Crown Prince Mohammad Bin Salman was taken from both The Washington Post and The Guardian. The coverage was limited to a certain period of time between January 2016 and June 2019, while Asharq Al-Awsat sample was between June 2017 and the end of the sample surveyed in June 2019, as shown in the following table:

Table (4-1): Distribution of Number of Coverage Topics Related to Reforms in Saudi Arabia and Bin Salman's Personality

#	Channel	Number of topics	Percentage
1	The Washington Post	374	50.3%
2	The Guardian	204	27.5%
3	Asharq Al-Awsat	165	22.2%
Total		743	100%

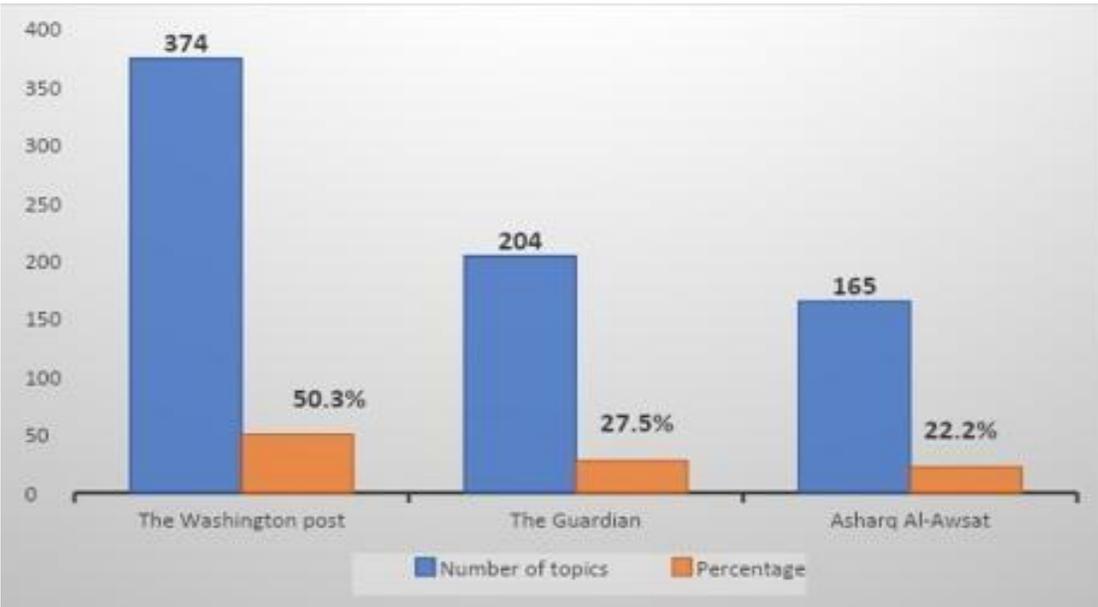


Figure (4-1): Distribution of Number of Coverage Topics Related to Reforms in Saudi Arabia and Bin Salman's Personality

4.7 Data Collection Methods

The study adopts more than one method for data collection. The first is reviewing literature on Western media coverage of Saudi reforms and Crown Prince Mohammad Bin Salman, which is extremely little (one of the challenging and unique characteristics of the study simultaneously).

The second is collecting the study sample which is made up of press items on Saudi affairs in the three newspapers:

1. The Washington Post (within the time frame: January 2016-June 2019).
2. The Guardian (within the time frame: January 2016-June 2019).
3. Asharq Al-Awsat (from June 2017 to the end of the sample research in June 2019).

After quantitative monitoring, the third method starts by qualitative analysis of the sample.

4.8 Honesty and Consistency Procedures

4.8.1 Honesty Procedure:

Face Validity was used to examine the study tool "Content Analysis Guide" to ensure measuring the intended variables in order to achieve validity of results and to guarantee accuracy and high authenticity. This is done through

designing the study tool to suit its objectives and questions, clarifying and defining the categories of analysis accurately, and introducing the tool to a number of experts and arbitrators to ensure its validity for measuring the categories of analysis as shown in Table (3-2).

Table (4-2): List of Arbitrators

#	Arbitrators	Major	Academic Rank
1	Basem Al-Tweissi	Former Minister of Culture- Researcher in Content Analysis- Former Dean of Jordan Media Institute	Professor
2	Sakher Al-Kasawneh	Professor of Media Legislation and Ethics - Supervisor of Postgraduate Theses	Co-professor
3	Rania Adullah	Professor of media - specializing in content analysis	Co-professor

4.8.2 Consistency Procedure

To ensure a high degree of consistency in the categories of analysis, the consistency test was performed by re-applying the same tool to the topics covered by the three newspapers (The Washington Post – The Guardian – Asharq Al-Awsat). To achieve objectivity, the measurement process was conducted through three expert analysts on a sub-sample of (90) topics, including (30) on The Washington Post, (30) topics on The Guardian, and (30) topics on Asharq Al-Awsat. These comprised (12.1%) of the total topics covered by the sample

newspapers. The following table illustrates this:

Table (4-3): Sub-Sample of Topics in Newspapers Sample Study

# Sub-sample	Channel	Number of topics	Percentage
1	The Washington Post	30	33.3%
2	Guardian	30	33.3%
3	Asharq Al-Awsat	30	33.3%
	Total	90	100

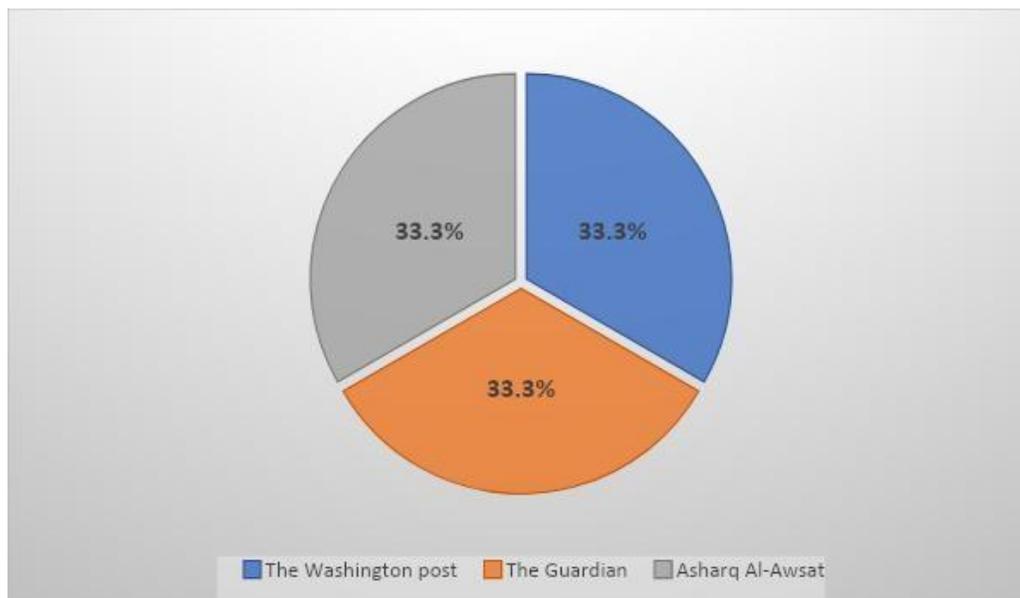


Figure (4-3): Sub-Sample of Topics in Newspapers Sample Study

The Holsti equation has been applied to reach the average consistency factor, which states that:

$$R = \frac{3M}{(N1 + N2 + N3) \div 3}$$

Where:

R: Consistency analysis tool.

M: The number of criteria agreed upon by the three analysts. N1: Number of criteria in the first analysis.

N2: Number of criteria in the second analysis.

N3: Number of criteria in the third analysis.

By applying the Holsti equation, the results were as follows.

4.9 Topics in The Washington Post and The Guardian

It is clear from the results in Table (4-4) that the value of the calculated consistency factor for the categories included in the content analysis tool for the sub-sample in The Washington Post and The Guardian ranges from (85.91%) for the category of the sector covered by the press item and (97.71%) for the category of methods used by the author. In addition, the average consistency factor was (92.62%), which is a ratio of high value indicating that the content analysis tool is consistent and applicable.

Table (4-4): Consistency Factor in Topic Analysis Categories in The Washington Post and The Guardian

#	Categories	Analysis 1	Analysis 2	Analysis 3	Agreed criteria	Points of difference	Average of agreed criteria	Compatibility ratio
1	Type of press item	65	62	58	57	8	61.7	92.43%
2	The sector covered in the press item	78	77	65	63	15	73.3	85.91%
3	Career titles for columnists	81	75	74	73	11	76.7	95.22%
4	Methods used by the author	75	72	71	71	4	72.7	97.71%
5	Supporting materials category	89	85	85	82	7	86.3	94.98%
6	Balance	67	62	58	54	13	62.3	86.63%
7	The objectivity of the author	66	65	64	61	5	65	93.85%
8	professional direction of the item	72	69	66	65	7	69	94.20%
9	Types of forms used	88	85	79	77	11	84	91.67%
10	Hate speech	74	70	66	65	9	70	92.86%
11	Stereotyping of the Saudi man	62	60	58	56	6	60	93.33%
Average consistency factor								92.62%

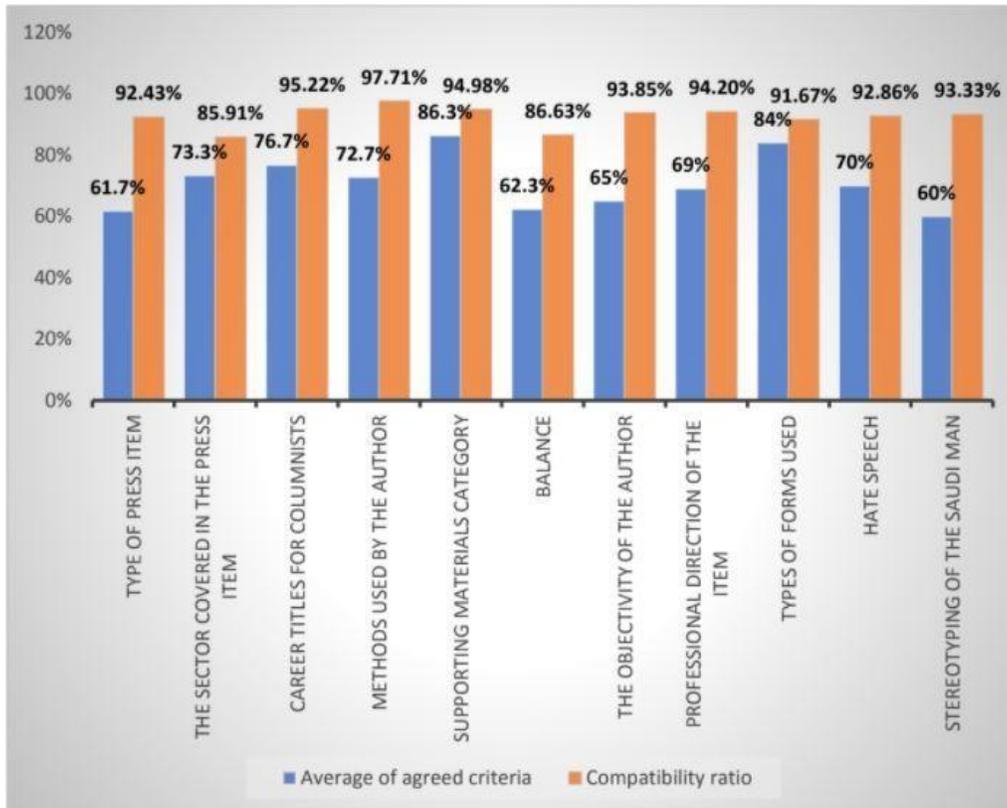


Figure (4-4): Consistency Factor in Topic Analysis Categories in The Washington Post and The Guardian

4.10 Asharq Al-Awsat

The results in Table (4-5) show that the value of the calculated consistency factor for the categories covered by the sub-sample content analysis tool ranges from (85.19%) for the category of persuasion used and (94.03%) for the hate speech category. The average consistency factor was (90.84%) and it is a ratio of high value which indicates that the content analysis tool is consistent and applicable.

Table (4-5): Consistency Factor in Topic Analysis Categories in Asharq Al-Awsat Newspaper

#	Categories	Analysis 1	Analysis 2	Analysis 3	Agreed criteria	Points of difference	Average of agreed criteria	Compatibility ratio
1	Type of press item	56	55	50	49	7	53.7	91.30%
2	The sector covered in the press item	62	57	55	53	9	58	91.38%
3	Career titles for columnists	71	68	65	62	9	68	91.18%
4	Methods used by the author	59	55	54	51	8	56	91.07%
5	Supporting materials category	70	70	60	59	11	66.7	88.50%
6	Balance	62	57	55	52	10	58	89.66%
7	The objectivity of the author	65	63	60	58	7	62.7	92.55%
8	Professional direction of the item	70	65	60	57	13	65	87.69%
9	Types of forms used	82	84	77	69	13	81	85.19%
10	Hate speech	70	65	66	63	7	67	94.03%
11	Stereotyping of the Saudi man	62	58	58	55	7	59.3	92.70%
Average consistency factor							90.84%	

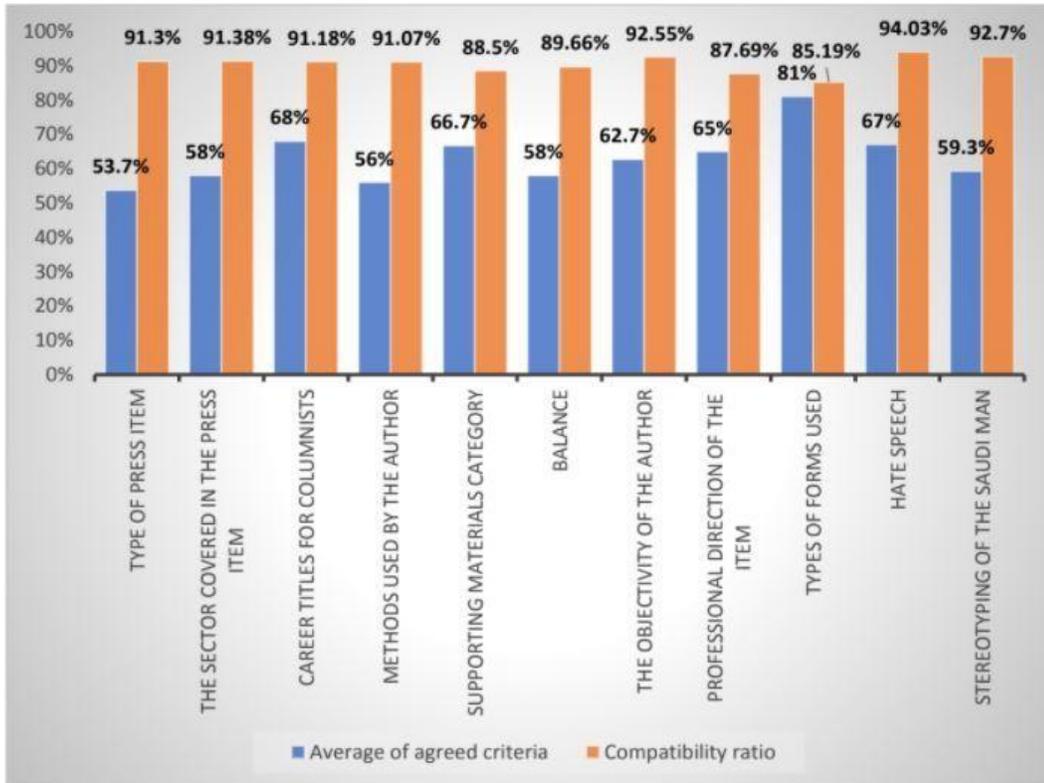


Figure (4-5): Consistency Factor in Topic Analysis Categories in Asharq Al-Awsat Newspaper

4.11 Statistical Methods

For the purpose of processing data collected from the current study sample, and to verify the study questions, the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) (Johani, 2020) was used for obtaining the results of the study. The methods used were as follows:

1. Frequencies and percentages to identify topic coverage orientations in both The Washington Post, The Guardian, and Asharq Al-Awast.
2. The (SPSS) Statistical Package for the Social Sciences in order to identify

the variation in the coverage of the topics according to the name of the newspaper and according to the time period (before Mohammad Bin Salman assuming office, after he assumed office, after the murder of Jamal Khashoggi).

CHAPTER 5. CONTENT ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Genres and Styles
- 5.3 Sectors
- 5.4 Job Titles of the Writers
- 5.5 Supporting Materials
- 5.6 Professionalism
- 5.7 Hate Speech
- 5.8 Stereotyping
- 5.9 Type of Frame Used
- 5.10 Image of Bin Salman

CHAPTER 5. CONTENT ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter of the dissertation presents an analysis and discussion of the results of examining the research sample. This discussion will be in the light of the theories on which the study is based and the methodology followed, considering at the same time, previous studies that were reviewed and referred to in the beginning.

The researcher followed the steps that Wimmer and Dominick (1989) above referred to in content analysis.

First, the hypotheses and problem of the study were identified, as indicated in the theoretical part of the thesis, namely that the Western media pays special attention to Saudi Arabia for several considerations, mostly economic. Most notably, Western media paid remarkable attention since Bin Salman assumed the position of Crown Prince because of the reforms he had adopted. However, the Jamal Khashoggi incident took matters into a different direction. Upon this incident, views diverged, as some thought that the Western media contributed to deceiving the masses when they heralded a real stage of reform in Saudi Arabia with the advent of Bin Salman, while others thought that a state of demonization tinged the Western media's coverage of Bin Salman after the Khashoggi incident, for reasons related to conflicts with Bin Salman, such as his conflict with Qatar, Turkey, and Iran, or for considerations related to stereotyped images of Arabs in the Western media.

All this made it necessary to measure the amount of attention paid to

Saudi affairs before Bin Salman to determine the validity of the study's first hypothesis, namely there was a rise in interest in Saudi affairs after Bin Salman assumed the position of Crown Prince. It was necessary to test the validity of the second hypothesis, which stipulates that there was a change in the tone of the Western media in its handling of Saudi affairs between the beginning of Bin Salman's era and post Khashoggi's murder. In addition, the validity of the third hypothesis had to be tested, which states that there was a professional gap between the Western media sample (The Washington Post and The Guardian) and the Saudi media (Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper), with all the details involved in professionalism that will be analyzed later.

Following the steps indicated by Wimmer and Dominick (1989) regarding content analysis, the study sample was determined from Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper, and it was defined by narrower criteria than that of The Washington Post and The Guardian.

The details of the sample are as follows. First, to test the validity of the first hypothesis, The Washington Post and The Guardian sample covered the time period starting from January 2016 to June 2019, which is a year and a half before Bin Salman's era and two years after Bin Salman's era. The sample covered all that was published about the Saudi affairs in these two newspapers.

The researcher considered that the period of a year and a half before Bin Salman's era was sufficient to measure whether the interest of the Western media in Saudi Affairs had increased or remained the same after he assumed the position of Crown Prince. She also considered that two years after Bin Salman's era would be sufficient to some extent to test the validity of the second

hypothesis, i.e., the tone of the Western media changed when dealing with Saudi affairs between the beginning of the period of Bin Salman and after the Khashoggi incident.

With regard to Asharq Al-Awsat sample, which was chosen to test the validity of the third hypothesis that stipulates a professional gap between Western and Saudi media, the researcher did not find it necessary for the sample to start from the beginning of 2016. The sample was only required to determine the extent of professionalism of coverage of Saudi affairs and to compare that with the Western media. Therefore, the sample began from June 2017, that is, since Bin Salman took office until the end of the sample in June 2019, months after the assassination of Khashoggi in October 2018.

Only certain topics were selected in Asharq Al-Awsat sample, namely its coverage of the Khashoggi case, its coverage of the blockade on Qatar, its coverage of the detention of princes at the Ritz-Carlton, and its coverage of the war on Yemen. The researcher thought that these ones were of the most embarrassing issues for the Saudi regime in the period under study, because of its political and humanitarian sensitivities.

Choosing Asharq Al-Awsat was based on a number of factors, including that it is owned by and represents the Saudi regime, and that it is distributed on a global level, not just domestically and regionally. Its copies reach New York, Paris, and other world cities, which betrays the regime's desire to make its voice heard through the newspaper at a wider range, not just within Saudi Arabia or even within the Arab world.

The main reasons for the selection of the two newspapers, The

Washington Post and the British Guardian, were the fact that Jamal Khashoggi was among the columnists of The Washington Post, in addition to the fact that the newspaper is owned by Jeff Bezos, who continuously accused Bin Salman and the US administration of spying and harassing him for considerations related to the Washington Post's coverage of the Saudi affairs, particularly matters related to Khashoggi. In addition, this newspaper covers legal, humanitarian, and third world issues.

The British newspaper, The Guardian, is chosen because it is concerned with human rights issues as well. It also pays attention to the Arab world in its coverage, and constantly tries to address the Arab public, which prompted it to launch an Arabic edition.

Based on previous studies, some of which were presented in the theoretical part of the research, the researcher had examined the image of Arabs in the Western media, specifically the Saudi people, and found that The Washington Post and The Guardian were of the most Western newspapers concerned with Arabs, and Saudi affairs in particular.

For this reason, these two Western newspapers were chosen as representatives of the Western media sample. Two points should be pointed out here.

The first point concerns the question on why only American and British newspapers were chosen. This is because the Arab world is directly connected to these two countries, and the background to this political and economic connection has been laid down in the theoretical part of the dissertation. As for the US, it is the major political player in the Arab region in terms of economic

interests related to oil, specifically in Saudi Arabia, and in terms of its occupation of Arab countries, such as Iraq and Islamic countries, such as Afghanistan, in addition to being a major player in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Moreover, the US is also a dominant world power, which makes its intellectual, cultural, and political influence difficult to ignore, especially in a region of conflicts, such as the Middle East.

It was also necessary to choose a British newspaper because of Britain's status in the Arab world, a status imposed by the era of British colonization of most of the Arab countries, including the Gulf States. In addition, the Israeli occupation of Palestine, which preoccupied the Arab world since 1948, took place under British supervision. The British handed Palestine over to the Zionists instead of granting its promised independence like the rest of the countries whose mandate ended. This always makes Britain the object of accusation by the Arabs, who see it as the main cause of the outstanding Palestinian problem.

Despite all this, it was indicated at the end of the dissertation, in the recommendations for future research section that it is recommended for those who wish to build on this study to include a European country in the sample, specifically those countries which had a clear voice in the Khashoggi case, such as France.

The second point concerns the question: Why were The Washington Post and The Guardian treated in the same way in the dissertation, under the heading "Western media?".

The reason for this is because, during the monitoring of media materials that dealt with Saudi affairs in these two newspapers, no significant difference

was observed in their professionalism of coverage, for example, or in the presence or absence of hate speech, or in the diversity of journalistic genres. They were greatly similar.

However, the only aspect of the difference between The Washington Post and The Guardian was in the volume of coverage. The articles of The Washington Post numbered 374 articles, while those in The Guardian were 204 articles. This difference in the volume of coverage and the expected reasons for it have been pointed out. Perhaps the main reason for this discrepancy is the comparatively higher American interest in Saudi affairs, specifically in the Khashoggi case, in which the name of former US President Donald Trump was involved, in addition to the Congress, which threatened to impose sanctions. Moreover, America was on top of those countries which demanded Saudi Arabia to carry out real reforms and raise the limits of freedoms. Along with the foregoing discussion, previous studies were presented in the theoretical part that dealt with the Arabs in media studies, and these studies had treated the Western media equally in their analysis.

Based on the discussion of the Western media sample, it is necessary to point out that the media items which dealt with the reforms in Saudi Arabia in The Washington Post and The Guardian were compiled in three designated periods. The first period was before Bin Salman assumed office as Crown Prince, the second period was after Bin Salman took office, and the third period was after the Jamal Khashoggi's incident.

Table (5-1): Distribution of Media Items Dealing with Saudi Reforms in The Washington Post and Guardian During the Study Period

Period	Newspaper				Total	
	The British Guardian		The Washington Post		Percentage	Frequency
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency		
Before Bin Salman took office	19%	27	81%	115	100%	142
After Bin Salman took office	46.7%	112	53.3%	128	100%	240
The period of Khashoggi's murder	33.2%	65	66.8%	131	100%	196
Total	35.3%	204	64.7%	374	100%	578

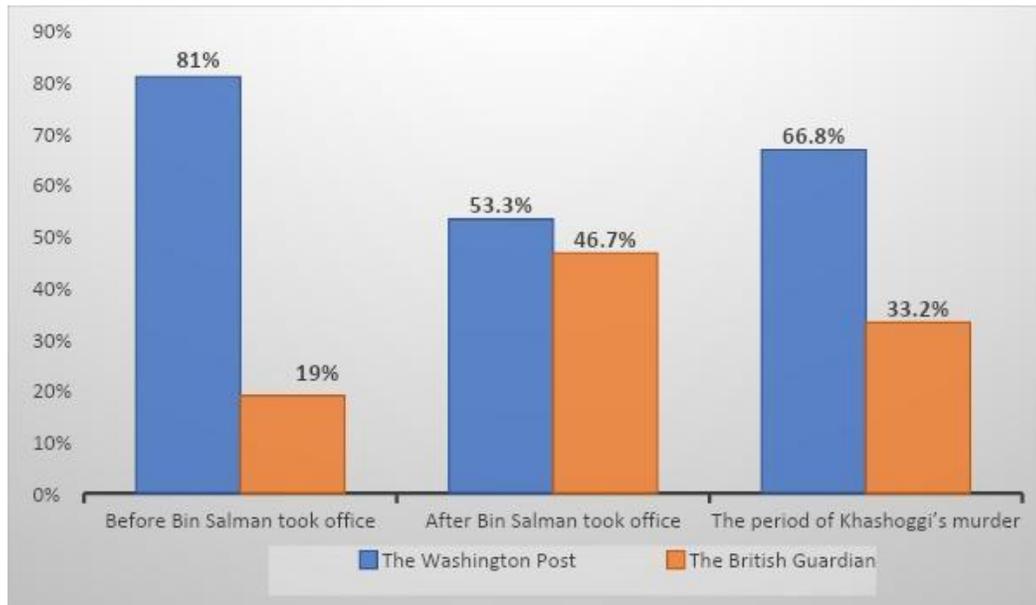


Figure (5-1): Distribution of Media Items Dealing with Saudi Reforms in The Washington Post and Guardian During the Study Period

The data in Table (5-1) indicate that the total number of media items that dealt with Saudi reforms during the three periods (the study period) was (578) items, including (374) in The Washington Post, at a rate of (64.7%), and (204) items in The Guardian newspaper, at a rate of (35.3%).

It is noticed that the number of media items that dealt with reforms in Saudi Arabia in the first period amounted to (142) items, including (115) in The Washington Post, with a percentage of (81.0%), and (27) items in The Guardian with a percentage of (19.0%). As for the second, the total number of media articles in The Washington Post and The Guardian newspapers increased to (240) items, including (128) in The Washington Post, at a rate of (53.3%), and (112) items in The Guardian, at a rate of (46.7%). In the third period, the total number of items published in both The Washington Post and The Guardian amounted to (196) media items, including (131) in The Washington Post, at a percentage of (66.8%), and (65) items in The Guardian newspaper, with a percentage of (33.2%).

It is also noticed from the analysis of the data referred to in Table (5-1) that The Washington Post dealt with the issue of reforms in Saudi Arabia more intensively than The Guardian during the three periods of the study, and that the number of media items in the two newspapers increased in the second period compared to the first. In the third period however, the intensity of coverage in The Guardian decreased significantly, while it increased in The Washington Post.

Thus, one of the research hypotheses is validated, namely that there was an increase in the interest of Western media in the period following Mohammad Bin Salman's inauguration as Crown Prince, compared to the preceding period.

This interest continued to increase, and it reached its peak in the researched sample, following the assassination of Jamal Khashoggi. However, this applies to The Washington Post sample in particular for several reasons, including the fact that this newspaper is well-known for its interest in human rights and humanitarian issues, in addition to the fact that Khashoggi was one of its columnists. In contrast, the largest coverage rate in The Guardian newspaper was after Mohammad Bin Salman assumed office as Crown Prince.

The above discussion refers to the answer to one of the study's questions, which asks whether the stance of the newspapers is consistent with the stance of the countries with which they are affiliated. It is clear that The Washington Post's interest was dependent, in one way or another, on the great attention that the United States of America gave to the Khashoggi case, in return for less interest in this case by Britain.

At the same time, however, the Washington Post maintained its critical tone of Trump, considering him part of the Bin Salman pact. In this way, the newspaper's stance remains consistent with that of the state with which it is affiliated in terms of the degree of interest, but this stance is not commensurate in its entirety, particularly what was related to Trump's position.

As pointed out by Al-Awad (2018) and Al-Atif (2018), Bin Salman is indeed the "Godfather of Change" at all levels, socially, politically, and economically. Consequently, it is assumed that there would be an increasing interest in him, his reforms, and his personality in the Western media; it is also assumed that a state of regression occurred in the Western media in the wake of the Khashoggi incident, which put Bin Salman's reforms to the test.

These results verified two hypotheses of the study. The first was that there was an increased interest in covering the Saudi affairs after Bin Salman assumed office as Crown Prince, and the other was that this interest in his achievements decreased, especially those achievements related to Saudi women, as soon as the Jamal Khashoggi case occurred, the case that received the most attention, with an evident decrease in other aspects of news handling.

Then, according to Wimmer and Dominick's (1989) steps for content analysis, the unit of analysis was chosen which was the single journalistic item. The next step was choosing the categories on the basis of which the classification will be made. The classifications that the researcher chose were in accordance with what the nature of the study dictated and based on what used in the content analysis forms in the studies published at the Jordan Media Institute. The form was refereed by the scholars whose names are listed in Table (4-2).

The classifications, tables, and graphs were later presented to Professor Helmi Sari, a professor of media and Dean of the College of Media and Sociology in a number of Jordanian universities. Because his doctoral thesis, submitted to the University of Bradford in Britain on the image of Arabs in the British press, is somewhat similar to the nature of this thesis, he suggested some additions and modifications be made to these classifications, which were applied.

It is worth noting that there are several details below some of the classifications. For example, several classifications have been devoted to journalistic genres, supporting materials, job titles for writers of press materials, methods of reader persuasion, the nature of stereotyping, if any, and the details of hate speech, if any. This is because content analysis requires detailing for the

purposes of quantitative and qualitative analysis to reach as accurate results as possible. In addition, Framing, the theory used in the study, requires a lot of detailing for the purpose of understanding it and identifying its details, and determining the type of frame used. This is because, as indicated in the theoretical part of this dissertation, framing uses linguistic structures and terminology, as well as supporting materials and professional details, such as balance, objectivity, etc. Therefore, it was necessary to elaborate on these classifications and make them as accurate as possible. Moreover, the reader may also notice the presence of classifications, such as “other,” which was used in some of the classifications the researcher made when there is no clear division, or when making a decisive decision about a writer’s objectivity may induce ease of Judgment.

Content analysis forms were used via Excel with the coding schedule on the basis of which the Excel was filled out. The tables and figures on the previous pages illustrate statistical procedures, such as Honesty and Consistency Procedures and Statistical Methods, in detail.

Based on the above discussion, and through the upcoming tables, the researcher will have achieved what Wimmer and Dominick referred to as the steps of content analysis, including preparing the categories for the content that will be analyzed, establishing a quantitative analysis system, conducting an exploratory study to achieve reliability, encoding the content based on the definitions that were created, and analyzing the collected data.

The next and last step in content analysis, according to Wimmer and Dominick, is arriving at the results, interpreting them, and trying to present their

implications, as will come in the following paragraphs.

5.2 Genres and Styles

Journalistic genres are one of the themes whose main classifications are almost agreed upon, whether in the newsrooms of media institutions, or in academic study of journalism. For this reason, the classification was made based on the journalistic genres shown in the table.

The “news” genre is designated for reporting an event and answering the following questions: what, why, who, when and where. The “article” genre is designated for conveying the opinion of an individual, a group, or a certain party. Its content is usually not treated as facts, but rather as opinions. The “report” genre usually lists facts and events without opinions and comments. The “dialogue” genre, on the other hand, whether in the form of questions and answers, or as a narrative, involves a dialogue with a guest, representing himself/herself, an institution, a country, or a party. A “feature story” is a journalistic investigation that reviews a case with its backgrounds, opinions, and comments by the involved parties. A “portrait” is an attempt to investigate a character or a place by reporting minutes and details as if they were videotaped using words.

The classification “Other” is used here in case there was another journalistic genre not mentioned in the table, despite the fact that the mentioned classifications are the most prominent journalistic genres.

Table (5-2): Genre of Media Items in Asharq Al-Awsat

Type of Media Item	Frequency	Percentage
News	58	35.2%
Dialogue	16	9.7%
Article	61	37%
Feature story	00	00
Report	30	18.2%
Portrait	00	00
Other	00	00
Total	165	100%

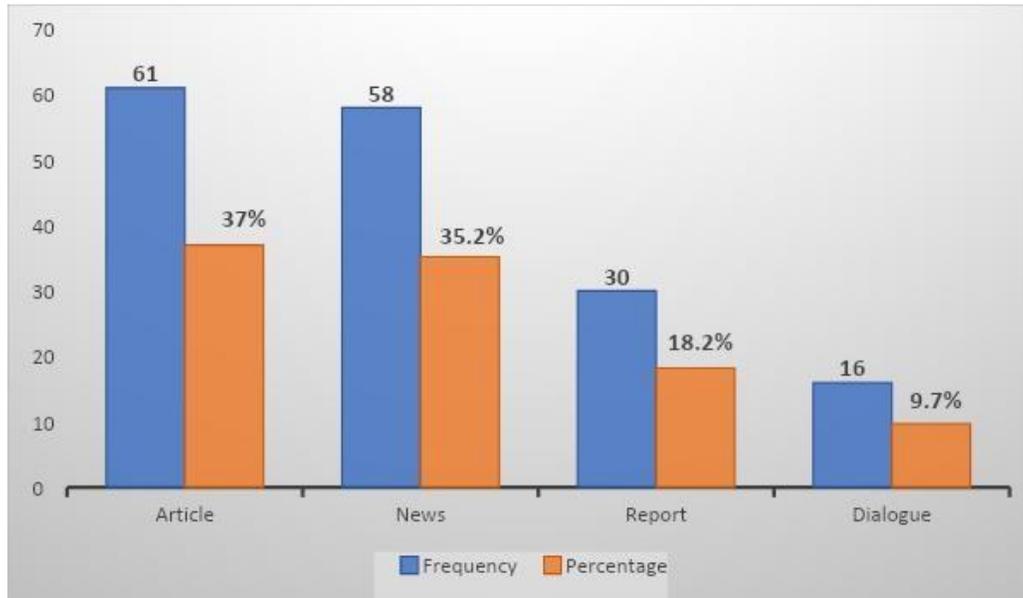


Figure (5-2): Genre of Media Items in Asharq Al-Awsat

Table (5-2) shows that the media coverage in Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper include media materials like news, dialogues, articles and reports, but it did not include Feature stories, portraits, or any other materials not mentioned within the categories of analysis.

It can also be noticed from Table (5-2) that most of the media materials were within the (Article) journalistic genre, which amounted to (61) articles, constituting (37.0%) of the study sample materials, followed by (News) with a percentage of (35.2%), followed by (Report) with a percentage of (18.2%), and in the last place (Dialogue) with a percentage of (9.7%).

Among the journalistic genres, the (article) is at the forefront because article writers in the Saudi newspaper Asharq Al-Awsat comply with the viewpoints of decision makers in this newspaper, and this journalistic genre allows writers to introduce their viewpoints without being restricted by the rigid professionalism that other modes of expression usually suffer. Furthermore, the public does not always understand the distinction between information and opinion. This is due to a lack of media literacy in the Arab world, making it simple to incorporate a political party's point of view and transmit it to the general people.

The genres that are present in the above classifications constitute a way out for Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper in its coverage. That is, the “article”, which is the most used, does not need more than one opinion on most occasions. This is followed by the “news” genre which does not need to be elaborated if it is only intended to convey the information that answers the five questions. It was noticed during the analysis of the sample that most of these news items only represented what was related to the regime, that is, there is no news item in the sample that talked about political opponents or reviewed a statement or activity by them. The “dialogue” too was only used for those on the side of the regime, or allied regimes. The “reports” too only reported on the facts that the regime wished to release to the media.

An example is given below of a dialogue conducted by Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper with Bahraini Foreign Minister, Sheikh Khalid Al Khalifa. It is well known that Bahrain was among the countries that imposed the blockade on Qatar. In this dialogue, the following headline was foregrounded by Al Khalifa: [Terrorism has retreated after the blockade on Qatar](#) (Hakbani, 2018). The dialogue was pre-directed and unbalanced. Even the raised questions did not go beyond the accusations leveled by the Saudi regime against Qatar. In the surveyed sample, no dialogue was observed with a party opposing the Saudi proposals or even adopting a slightly different point of view.

Table (5-3): Genre of Media Items in The Washington Post and The Guardian

Type of Media Item	The first period		The second period		The third period	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
News	30	21.1%	57	23.8%	39	19.9%
Dialogue	1	0.7%	2	0.8%	00	0%
Article	37	26.1%	84	35%	79	40.1%
Media Investigation	4	2.8%	6	2.5%	9	4.6%
Report	58	40.8%	77	32.1%	59	29.9%
Portrait	2	1.4%	2	0.8%	3	1.5%
Journalistic Feature	7	4.9%	9	3.8%	3	1.5%
Other	3	2.1%	3	1.3%	4	2%
Total	142	100%	240	100%	196	100%

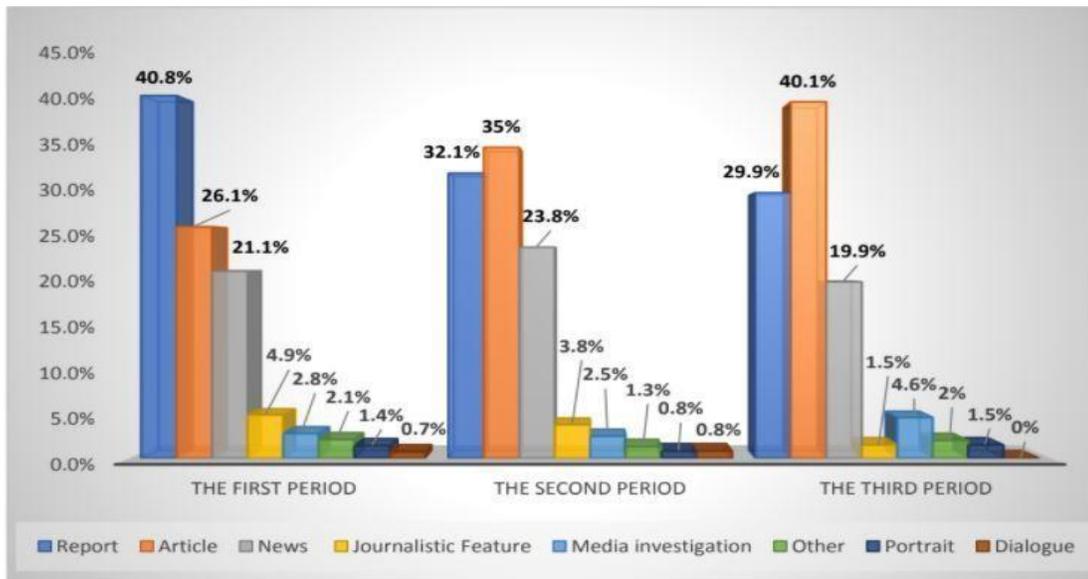


Figure (5-3): Genre of Media Items in The Washington Post and The Guardian

The journalistic genres that were surveyed in the Western media sample did not differ from those studied in Asharq Al-Awsat, except for a new journalistic genre that the researcher added because of its importance in the Western media, despite its rare presence in the Arab media, especially those affiliated with the ruling regimes. The genre referred to here is “Media Investigation”. It is true that it was not frequently used in the sample of the Western media, but it was present. To some extent, it is understood why the “media investigation” was rare in the sample of the Western media. The reason why is because it is agreed upon that the journalism ethics and laws disapprove obstruction of judicial procedures in deliberated cases, such as the Khashoggi case. Therefore, the investigation space regarding this case was difficult, in addition to the fact that the consulate area in Istanbul was surrounded by security forces. Moreover, Saudi Arabia and its policies are surrounded by a lot

of ambiguity and reservations, which does not leave much room for the investigative journalist to perform his/her work if they wish to do so.

Table (5-3) shows that most of the media items that dealt with reforms in Saudi Arabia in the first period (before Bin Salman assumed office) took the form of (report), and their number reached (58) reports, representing (40.8%) of the total (142) items in that period.

As for the second period (after Bin Salman assumed office), most media items took the form of (article), and their number reached (84), constituting (35.0%) of the total (240) items in that period.

In the third period (the period of the Khashoggi incident), most of the media items that dealt with reforms in Saudi Arabia remained within the (article) genre, and their number reached (79), which constituted (40.1%) of the total items in that period.

The journalistic genres that dominated in these three phases were the article and the report. It is understandable that the article would prevail in the wake of an incident like the Khashoggi murder, which was dominated by mystery, specifically at the beginning of Khashoggi's disappearance, and amid the scarcity of information provided by the Saudi regime about Khashoggi's death inside the consulate in Istanbul. The article would attempt to predict what happened, suggest personal explanations for it, and put forward hypotheses about it. It is also the report that would provide abstract information about a case according to the scarce information that would be specifically provided at the beginning, and it is the report that would mostly deem it sufficient to present developments that occurred in the case and remind the audience with the facts

of the case each time.

It appears, according to the above, that Asharq Al-Awsat tends to have a lot of reservations in its handling of news. This is reflected on the journalistic genres used by this newspaper, which were not varied and were mainly dominated by the “article.” In the Western media sample however, these genres were more varied, even though they did not live up to expectations. The reason behind this is probably because some of the cases examined in the sample are of a criminal nature, such as the Khashoggi case, and because cases related to Saudi Arabia do not enjoy freedom of information circulation on the Saudi side, which makes the opinion “article” that evaluates and analyzes, the dominant genre.

Table (5-4): Style of The Media Items in Asharq Al-Awsat

Used Genre	Frequency	Percentage
News Style	52	31.5%
Propaganda Style	45	27.3%
Debate Style	20	12.1%
Analytical Style	15	9.1%
Mixed	33	20.0%
Other	00	00
Total	165	100%

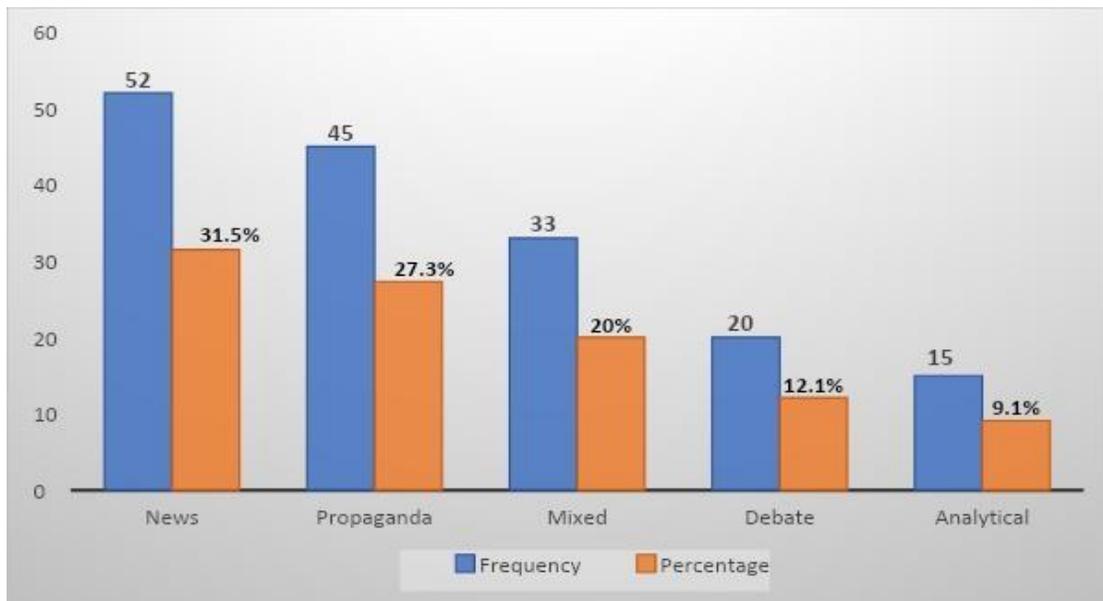


Figure (5-4): Style of The Media Items in Asharq Al-Awsat

Classifications that are generally used in sorting the style of journalistic items are included in this table. They employ any of several styles: the “news” style that does not go beyond reporting the story and commenting on it, or attaching it to enhance a written material, making the story its essence, the “propaganda” style that uses political propaganda for the purposes of passing proposals of a certain party, the “debate” style that reviews more than one opinion when writing the press item and does not make the narrative exclusive to a particular party or, it may be an “analytical” style that tends to analyze issues, figures, and implications. Two other classifications are included, the “mixed”, for journalistic items that used more than one style, and “other,” if any classification style other than the ones mentioned, was used.

Table (5-4) shows that most of the styles used for writing media items in Asharq Al-Awsat during the study period are news style that are devoid of any

opinion, as the number of these styles reached (52) with a percentage of (31.5%), followed by propaganda style based on emotional excitement and dramatic fact presentation in a way to achieve certain goals behind that propaganda, at a percentage of (27.3%), followed by mixed styles at a percentage of (20.0%), followed by debate style based on presenting ideas and reviewing opinions at a percentage of (12.1%), and finally, analytical style based on arguments, proofs, evidence, and figures for the purpose of proving or interpreting a case, at a percentage of (9.1%).

The news style was at the forefront, which answers five questions and, in most cases, adheres to an official language without extension. This is followed by the propaganda style which adopts the Saudi regime's political propaganda by advertising its policies and viewpoints. The dialogue and analytical styles were at the tail end of the list, indicating a desire to avoid delving into the specifics of the relevant Saudi matters.

This demonstrates the reason behind the newspaper's preference for these two styles (news and propaganda). It's because the newspaper realizes how they impact Arab readers, or because it recognizes that these two styles can be manipulated, information contained in both styles can be directed, and emotions can be evoked for the purpose of directing public opinion towards a specific goal or viewpoint.

For example, in an article published in Al-Sharq Al-Awsat newspaper entitled [The Qatari-Saudi Conflict in Syria](#) (Al-Rashed, 2017), the Saudi writer Abdul Rahman Al-Rashed employs the propaganda style, devoting all his tools and propositions to polishing the image and position of the Saudi regime, while

opting to complete demonization of Qatar. In this article, Al-Rashed compares the positions of the two countries, Saudi Arabia and Qatar, towards the Syrian crisis. Setting out from this comparison, he starts with his propaganda, making Saudi Arabia appear in his article as supportive of the free party in the political equation, unlike Qatar that supports terrorist groups. Al-Rashed also portrays Saudi Arabia as tolerant, patient, and turns a blind eye to Qatar's offences, but duly decisive when required, especially when it comes to combating terrorism and Iran.

Through the article emerges a dramatic presentation that harnesses language, narration, comparisons, and evidence from the writer's point of view to promote Saudi policy, which some say was "paranoia" towards Qatar. However, evidence now shows that Saudi Arabia is doing politics.

Table (5-5): Style of The Media Items in The Washington Post and The Guardian

Used methods	The first period		The second period		The third period	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
News Style	55	38.7%	97	40.4%	80	40.6%
Propaganda Style	11	7.7%	26	10.8%	30	15.2%
Debate Style	16	11.3%	26	10.8%	16	8.1%
Analytical Style	45	31.7%	71	29.6%	46	23.4%
Mixed	14	9.9%	20	8.3%	23	11.7%
Other	1	0.7%	0	0.0%	1	0.5%
Total	142	100%	240	100%	196	100%

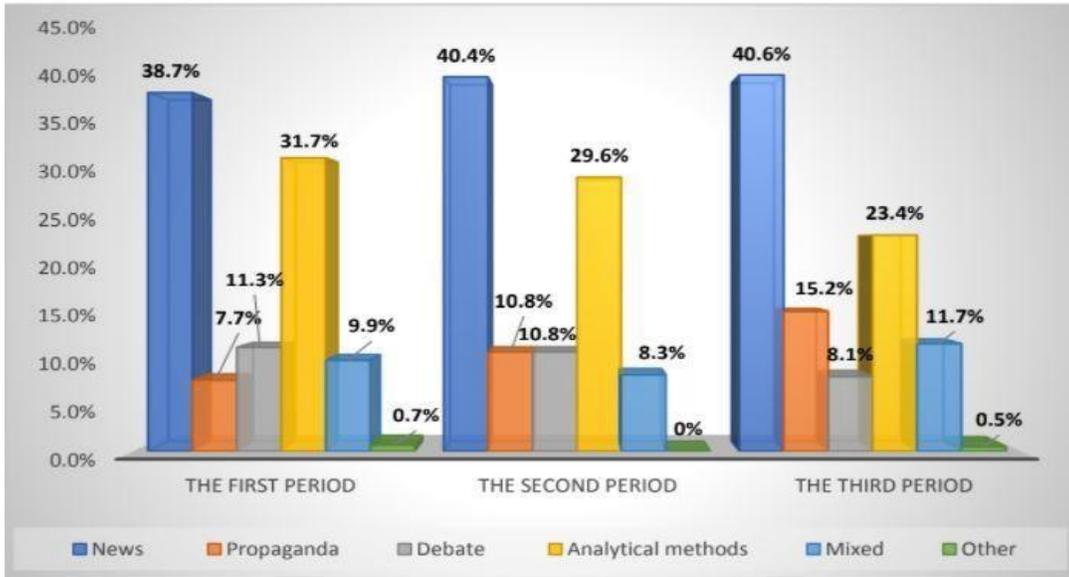


Figure (5-5): Style of The Media Items in The Washington Post and The Guardian

The same classifications used in Asharq Al-Awsat table are used in this table. The “news” style, the “propaganda” style, the “debate” style, the “analytical,” and the “mixed” style.

It is noticed from Table (5-5) that most of the styles used in writing media items that dealt with reforms in Saudi Arabia in The Washington Post and The Guardian newspapers in the first period (before Bin Salman assumed office) ranged between (news style), with a percentage of (38.7%), and (analytical style), with a percentage of (31.7%) of the total styles used in writing (142) media items during that period.

As for the second period (after Bin Salman assumed office), most of the styles used in writing media items remained the same, ranging between (news style) by (40.4%) and (analytical style) by (29.6%) of the total styles used in

writing the (240) items in that period.

In the third period (the Khashoggi incident period), the writing styles remained the same as in the first and second periods, ranging between (news style) at (40.6%) and (analytical style) at (23.4%) of the total styles used in writing the (196) media items in that period.

The analytical style was present in the aforementioned figures of The Washington Post and The Guardian, but it was almost absent in Asharq Al-Awsat sample as Saudi Arabia witnesses a low ceiling of freedom, particularly because the Khashoggi case was controversial, and accusations were directed at Khashoggi's country when he died in its consulate in Istanbul. Therefore, the Western media sample witnessed the presence of (analysis) opposed to the presence of propaganda in the Asharq Al-Awsat sample.

The differences between the results of Asharq Al-Awsat tables, on the one hand, and the sample of the Western media, on the other, which is included above, with regard to journalistic genre and style, confirm expectation regarding the limited freedoms in the Arab media compared to that of the Western media. This was clearly reflected on the genres and styles that were used in writing press items. However, at the same time, the sample related to the Western media indicated that the scarcity of available information and the Saudi regime's secrecy regarding the investigated cases, in addition to the fact that, the Khashoggi case was being deliberated in courts by the judiciary at the time, impacted in one way or another the diversity of journalistic genres and styles used.

In an article published in the Guardian under the title [Saudi Arabia Cuts](#)

[Diplomatic Ties with Iran After Execution of Cleric](#) (Chulov, 2016), the analytical method is evident, and it uses facts, figures, analyses, evidence and supporting materials for the purpose of explaining the case and providing a comprehensive view to the recipient.

The author of the article did not overlook a single statement about the diplomatic crisis that erupted at the time between Saudi Arabia and Iran. He also attached a video of one of these official statements, along with a video of the protests against the execution of the Shiite activist and religious authority for the sect in Saudi Arabia, Nimr Al-Nimr.

The writer, not only attached these statements, but he also attached his comments on and impressions about them. He thought that some of them might signal a desire for peace, while others indicated an escalation, meaning that he did not present the plain material to the readers, but attached it to his analyses and visions, supporting his vision with evidence and facts.

5.3 Sectors

As formerly noted, Asharq Al-Awsat sample was selective, and was not as large as the Western media sample. This is because it is only collected to answer one of the study questions, concerning the difference in professionalism between the Saudi media on the one hand, and the examined Western media, on the other. The Saudi sample was limited to the Khashoggi case, the blockade on Qatar, the war on Yemen, and the detention of princes at the Ritz-Carlton.

These sectors were selected for coverage because they caused an embarrassment to the Saudi regime, which triggered curiosity about how they

were covered in the media by a newspaper representing that regime.

Table (5-6): Sector Covered by Asharq Al-Awsat

Sector	Frequency	Percentage
Relationship with Qatar	49	29.7%
War on Yemen	96	58.2%
Saudi figures detained at Ritz-Carlton	6	3.6%
Khashoggi case	14	8.5%
Total	165	100%

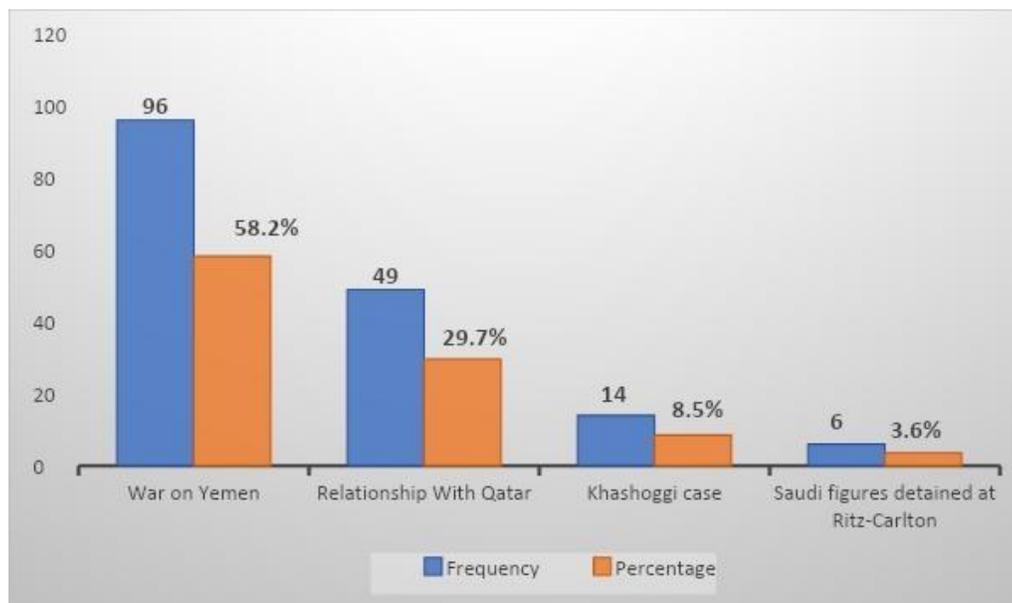


Figure (5-6): Sector Covered by Asharq Al-Awsat

It is clear from the data in Table (5-6) that the most issues dealt with by Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper is the issue of the war on Yemen.

The number of news items that covered the war during the study period was (96), accounting for (58.2%) of the total issues covered, followed by the

relationship with Qatar, with a percentage of (29.7%), the Khashoggi incident with a percentage of (8.5%), and finally the issue of detaining Saudi figures in the Ritz-Carlton, with a rate of (3.6%).

The focus on the war on Yemen is not surprising according to many researchers, as indicated in the theoretical part. Among the researchers who spoke at length about the war on Yemen, and whose views were examined regarding the signs of this war, were Al-Faqih (2020) and Henderson (2016). Indeed, it is related to Bin Salman's desire to show his governance power, both locally and in the Arab world. Therefore, there is no more suitable media outlet for him than Asharq Al-Awsat, which reflects the viewpoint of the Official-Saudi position, and which frames the war on Yemen in the way that Bin Salman wishes it to appear to the audience, that it is a war on terrorism, without addressing human and material losses caused by this war. In essence, framing means excluding whatever the framing user does not wish to reveal and highlighting intensely what they wish to include, placing it in the linguistic and media context they desire.

Entman (1993), who is considered one of the most prominent pioneers of Media Framing theory, has talked about the fact that framing sheds light on certain aspects, while ignoring others. This was evident in Asharq Al-Awsat sample. An issue, such as the war on Yemen, was handled as if it were a war on terrorism. At the same time, other issues, such as the human and economic losses caused by this war, were neglected.

The blockade on Qatar was evident in the examined sample because it was not possible to ignore an issue of this magnitude. This issue had a great

impact on the Saudi society socially, economically, and politically. This is due to the close ties of kinship and intermarriage between families in the two countries, in addition to transport between the two countries that was easily available by land. Moreover, the media intensification exerted by the Qatari side, specifically Al-Jazeera Channel, made even more difficult to overlook. Therefore, it was incumbent on the Saudi Media to come up with media messages that are up to magnitude of the case. These messages, however, did not exceed limits of the Saudi regime's version of the story. The same applies to the Khashoggi murder. This case, with its far reaching and global resonance and the accusations that were brought against the Saudi regime, made it necessary for the regime to present its said of the story.

It is noticed that despite the importance of the issue of detaining some Saudi figures and princes in the Ritz-Carlton, this topic came in the last place of the attention of Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper in its media coverage. This may be due to the Official-Saudi attitude towards the media coverage of this issue due to its sensitivity, which sometimes affects the Saudi royal family and reveals Bin Salman's control of all offices of the government and state affairs.

Furthermore, the Ritz-Carlton case is an internal one within the House of Saud, meaning that its scope is narrow and tinged with sensitivities of communicating with the ruling family. Therefore, the chances for the media to obtain leaks from a certain side are almost impossible, assuming that Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper has the tiniest tendency of deviating from the official narrative, or at least supporting it with some undisclosed details. Framing was evident in this case. When the case was scantily presented in some media material, it was wrapped in the form of the regime's war on corruption, without

allowing any other details to emerge.

By foregrounding specific topics, the Agenda Setting theory emerged. For example, it made the blockade on Qatar an issue of great importance to the audience, even more important than the detention of Saudi women activists. Not only that, but the Second Level Agenda Setting also emerged, that is, when a topic, such as the war on Yemen came to the fore, it was treated with framing techniques.

Table (5-7): Sector Covered by The Washington Post and The Guardian

Type of media item sector	The first period		The second period		The third period	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
InternAl-Saudi policy	10	7%	12	5%	4	2%
Economic affairs	10	7%	8	3.3%	5	2.5%
Social affairs	4	2.8%	0	0%	2	1%
Saudi women-related affairs	11	7.7%	43	17.9%	18	9.1%
Cultural and artistic affairs	2	1.4%	6	2.5%	4	2%
Sports affairs	0	0%	4	1.7%	0	0%
Relation with Qatar	7	4.9%	23	9.6%	0	0%
War on Yemen	31	21.8%	34	14.2%	9	4.6%
Relation with Iran	14	9.9%	8	3.3%	2	1%
Saudi figures detained at Ritz-Carlton	0	0%	14	5.8%	0	0%
Khashoggi case	0	0%	0	0%	114	57.9%
Deal of the century	0	0%	1	0.4%	0	0%
NEOM Project	0	0%	2	0.8%	0	0%
Bin Salman's personality and life	3	2.1%	37	15.4%	11	5.6%
International affairs	50	35.2%	48	20%	27	13.7%
Total	142	100%	240	100%	196	100%

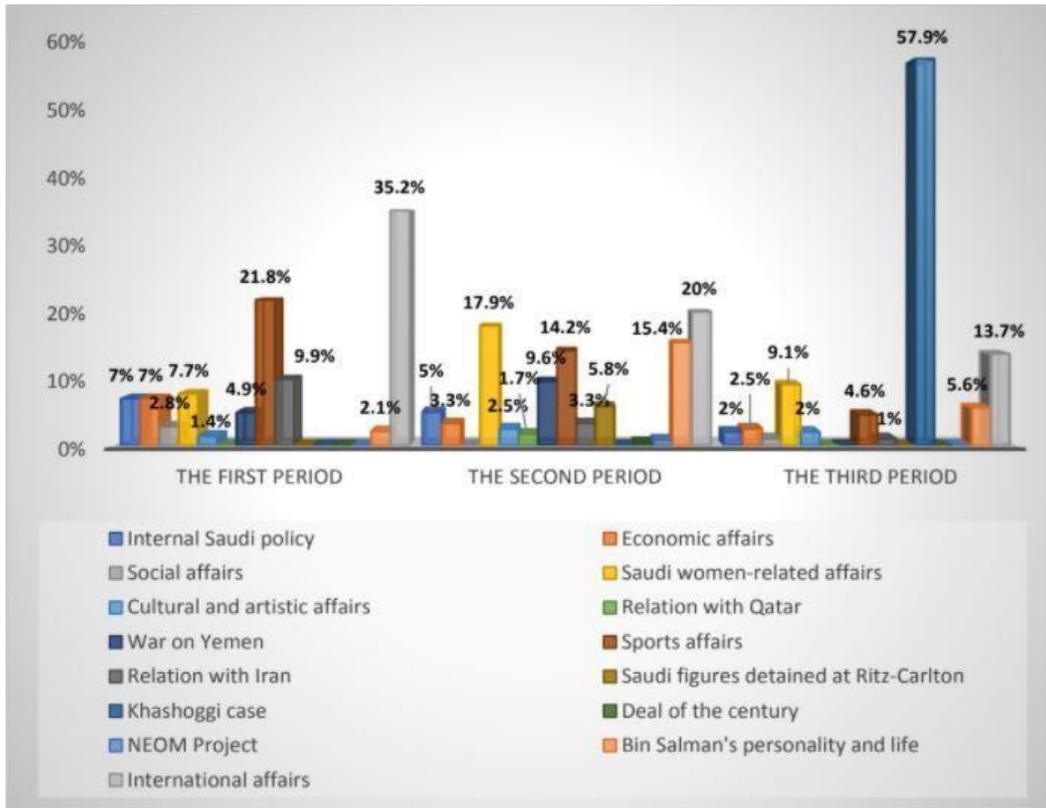


Figure (5-7): Sector Covered by The Washington Post and The Guardian

In The Washington Post and The Guardian sample, several sections of the table were reviewed to find out the percentage of their coverage by the Western media. These are broader classifications than those mentioned in Asharq Al-Awsat sample. The ones chosen include Saudi Domestic Policy, Economic affairs, social affairs, Saudi Women-Related Affairs, Cultural and Artistic Affairs, Sports Affairs, Relationship with Qatar, War on Yemen, Relationship with Iran, Saudi Figures Detained at Ritz- Carlton, Khashoggi Case, Deal of the Century, NEOM Project, Bin Salman's Personality and Life and International Affairs.

The purpose of expanding these classifications was to verify the first two

hypotheses of the study. The period of reforms and granting society some freedom with regard to Saudi women and issues related to art and culture were associated with Bin Salman as mentioned in the theoretical part of the dissertation. Therefore, it was necessary to measure the degree of interest in these issues, before Bin Salman, during his term, and after Khashoggi's murder, in addition to verifying the hypothesis on the change in tone of after the Khashoggi case.

Further, these sector classifications are essential for understanding the second theory used in the study, which is the Agenda Setting Theory, that is, the topics that were foregrounded in news handling.

Table (5-7) shows that most of the media items that dealt with reforms in Saudi Arabia in the first period (before Bin Salman assumed office) discussed (international affairs) and were (50) items out of the total of (142) items, followed by (war on Yemen), with a percentage of (21.8%).

As for the second period (after Bin Salman assumed office), most media items were focused on (international affairs), numbering (48) items, with a percentage of (20.0%) of the total (240) items in that period. This is followed by (Saudi woman-relevant affairs) with a percentage of (17.9%).

In the third period (the period of the Khashoggi incident), most of the media items that dealt with reforms in Saudi Arabia remained focused on the (the Khashoggi incident) numbering (114) media items, constituting (57.9%) of the total number of items in that period. This is followed by (international affairs) with a percentage of (13.7%).

The war on Yemen was not new, that is, it was not related exactly to the period in which Prince Mohammad Bin Salman became Crown Prince. There were several outstanding issues between the two parties, such as the demarcation of the border and the Saada region, in addition to the presence of the Houthis in Yemen, who are backed by Iran, whose relationship with Saudi Arabia is strained. The following facts explain the interest of the Western media in this issue before the Crown Prince assumed his position, as well as the foreign relations of Saudi Arabia, both Arab and Western, because of the oil-based importance of the state of Saudi Arabia, and for being at the forefront of Islamic countries from a religious point of view, given the presence of the two holy mosques in Mecca and Medina.

After Bin Salman took office, and besides the foreign relations of Saudi Arabia, the interest in Saudi women came to the fore. In view of the fundamental reforms undertaken by Bin Salman, such as allowing Saudi women to drive and revoking the precondition of the “mahram’s” approval of women’s travel, etc.

The Khashoggi case topped the third stage of the sample, which reflects the validity of one of the study hypotheses about the change in tone of the Western media in dealing with Mohammad Bin Salman after the Khashoggi incident.

Results indicate that both Asharq Al-Awsat and The Western Journalism sample applied the Agenda Setting Theory, which states that the mass media have the ability to formulate and shape the public’s priorities towards various issues in the community by arousing the community's interests and prompting it to focus on specific issues that are the focus of their interest. That is, if a

particular issue is focused on, it will receive the same attention from the public. On the other hand, ignoring other issues and topics and placing them in secondary place or on the sidelines of media coverage will keep people away from those issues. This does not mean that the media —the press in particular— succeeded in persuading the masses of changing their opinion and adopting any particular point of view, but it succeeded in persuading people to consider some issues more important than others. This happened when Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper focused its interest on certain topics, and it desired those topics to gain attention from the masses or public opinion. The topics were (the relationship with Qatar) and (the war on Yemen).

Abdelhamid (2012), and other researchers in the theoretical part of the study, linked the attention assigned by a media outlet to a certain topic to the degree of public interest in that topic, pointing out that this did not necessarily mean that the media outlet could change the public's view on an issue, but it could make them feel that it was more important than others.

The way the Agenda Setting works is explained by Tarabishi and Al-Sayed (2006). They talked about the fact that the media outlet places a certain news item on the front page, in accordance with its agenda, which attracts the attention of the audience to it, while at the same time, the news items that are not focused on are forgotten.

It is noticed through the issues that were rarely or scantily discussed, such as the NEOM project or the cultural and artistic aspects that started to flourish in Saudi Arabia with the advent of Bin Salman, that the West only discusses issues that impact it in one way or another. For example, the issue of the war on Yemen

was discussed because it is supported by the United States, the blockade on Qatar because it was intervened and imposed by the US in one way or another, and the issues of Saudi women and the Khashoggi murder because they were among the reforms demanded by America. Thus, issues that were not directly linked with the West were not discussed in the Western sample.

5.4 Job Titles of the Writers

With regard to the job titles classifications for writers of press materials, the most common titles in newspapers were chosen, which are the Intellectual, the reporter, the journalist, the university professor, the political analyst, the expert and the researcher. The researcher used the classification “other” in case there would be other titles, and the researcher noticed that some “other” titles were actually present, such as asking some certain figures, who represent the opinion of or statement by a certain institution, to write.

Table (5-8): Job Titles of Writers in Asharq Al-Awsat

Job	Frequency	Percentage
Intellectual	4	2.4%
Reporter	00	00
Journalist	144	87.3%
University Professor	00	00
Political Analyst	6	3.6%
Expert	00	00
Researcher	1	0.6%
Other	10	6.1%
Total	165	100%

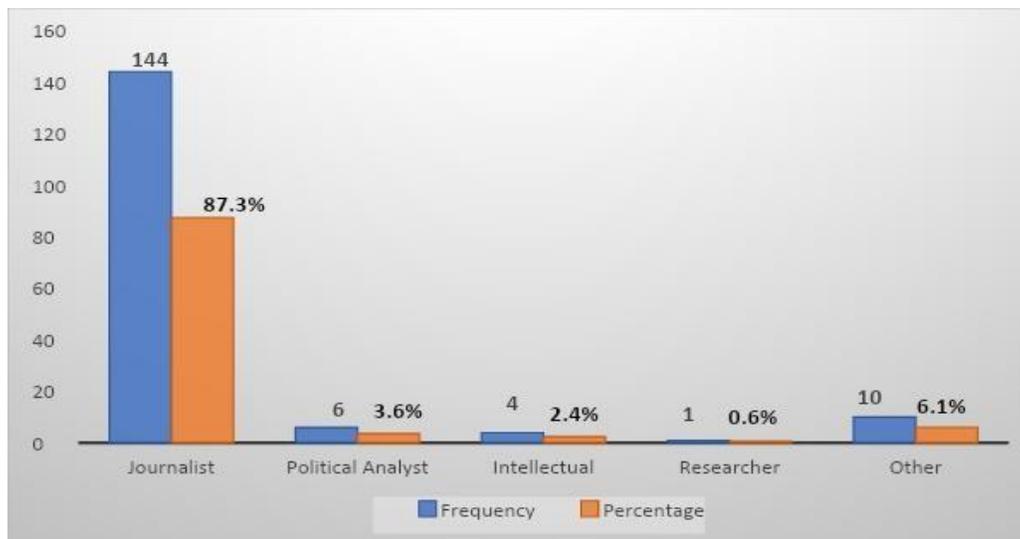


Figure (5-8): Job Titles of Writers in Asharq Al-Awsat

It is noticed from Table (5-8) that job titles of media items writers in Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper were mainly journalists, analysts, intellectuals and researchers. It is also noticed from Table (4-8) that the most job titles of the media item writers were (journalist), as the number of writers within this category reached (144) writers, accounting for (87.3%), followed by other job titles that were not mentioned within the categories of analysis, with a percentage of (6.1%), followed by the job of (political analyst), with a percentage of (3.6%), followed by (intellectual), with a percentage of (2.4%), followed by (researcher) with a percentage of (0.6%).

This demonstrates Asharq Al-Awsat's reliance on Journalists, in its journalistic coverage, particularly those employed by or linked to the newspaper, to make sure that media articles do not contradict with or deviate from its editorial policy, and it is well known in the Arab world that journalists are under the control, in some way or another, of the editorial policy of their media outlet. At the same time, independent figures such as university professors and researchers are absent. The same applies to reporters who usually convey facts from the scene of the event, as for example, in the war on Yemen.

Other titles in the sample were writers and analysts, but it was noticeable that no writer in the sample departed from the regime's narrative and perception of events, meaning that other opinions or point of views were not present at all, even when the writer was non-Saudi.

For example, in an article titled [On Jamal Khashoggi or Beyond](#) (Koteich, 2018), the Lebanese writer Nadim Koteich wrote a completely directed article that lacked balance in presenting the point of views. Koteich described the global

outrage over Khashoggi's murder as being aimed at defaming the Saudi regime, and that what happened was a war against the new Saudi Arabia, with its leadership and project, which is also a part of a broader war over the identity of the Middle East and part of an open clash with the role of political Islam.

With regard to this point specifically, which Koteich referred to in his article and which appeared in many articles by writers in the Middle East, the Western resentment at Khashoggi's murder was due to an attempt to impose control over Saudi Arabia and the Arab and Islamic worlds. It is worth noting that, according to the theoretical part, in which the researcher reviewed the views of experts in the framing theory, and who take into account the mentality and culture of the recipient, which plays a role in the framing process, the Arab recipient, despite his/her enthusiasm for freedoms and reforms, was the victim of intimidation practiced by Arab regimes because of any media content opposing the regime's point of view, or any human rights organization calling for more freedoms. The method adopted by the Arab regimes was to convince the Arab recipient of the existence of a conspiracy aimed at creating foreign intervention in the Arab countries, and the attempt of these foreign parties to destabilize security and stability.

Table (5-9): Job Titles of Writers in The Washington Post and The Guardian

Job Title	The first period		The second period		The third period	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Intellectual	0	0.0%	1	0.4%	0	0.0%
Reporter	64	45.1%	89	37.1%	83	42.1%
Journalist	56	39.4%	121	50.4%	84	42.6%
University Professor	6	4.2%	10	4.2%	8	4.1%
Political Analyst	0	0.0%	1	0.4%	0	0.0%
Expert	1	0.7%	1	0.4%	0	0.0%
Researcher	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Other	15	10.6%	17	7.1%	21	10.7%
Total	142	100%	240	100%	196	100%

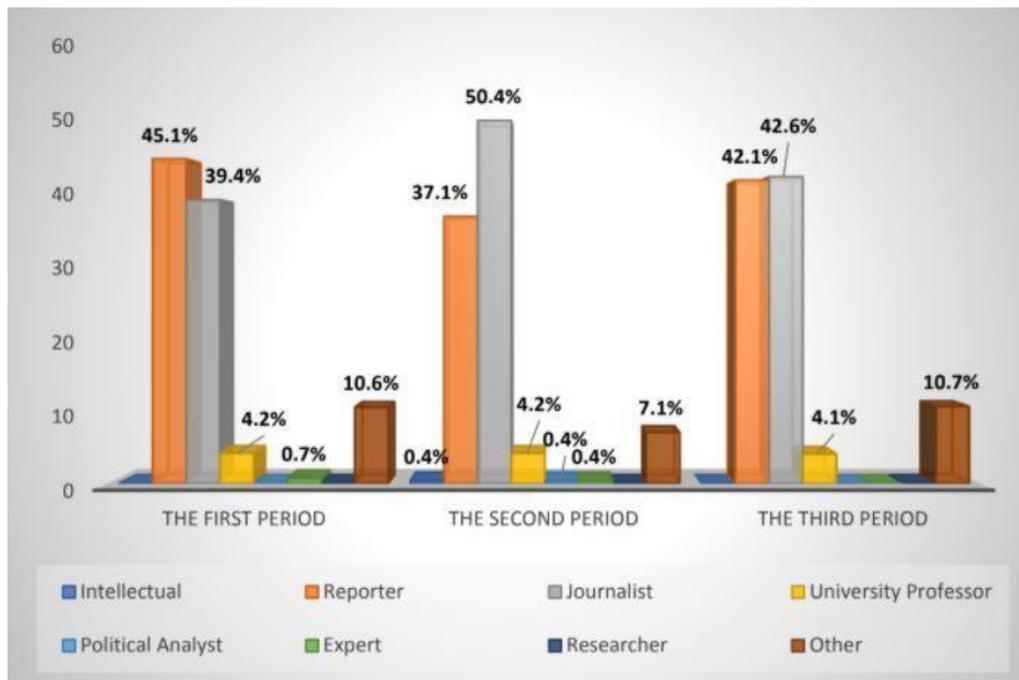


Figure (5-9): Job Titles of Writers in The Washington Post and The Guardian

The same classification is adopted for the writers of The Washington Post and The Guardian newspapers because they are common classifications.

Table (5-9) shows that most writers of the media items that dealt with reforms in Saudi Arabia in the first period (before Bin Salman assumed office) were (reporters), numbering (64), constituting (45.1%) of the total (142) writers, followed by (journalists) with a percentage of (39.4%).

As for the second period (after Bin Salman assumed office), most of the media item writers were also (journalists), numbering (121), constituting (50.4%) of the total (240) writers in that period, followed by (reporters) with a percentage of (37.1%).

In the third period (the Khashoggi incident period), most of the media item writers were either (journalists) or (reporters) with close percentages of (42.6%) and (42.1%), consecutively.

In The Washington Post and The Guardian sample, effective job titles appeared during the coverage of Saudi affairs and the personality of Bin Salman that did not appear in the Asharq Al-Awsat sample. The figures show that the presence of journalist and reporter witnessed a rise after Bin Salman took office, but it decreased right after the Khashoggi incident due to the low ceiling of freedom in Saudi Arabia, which prevents a reporter from conveying the details of what is happening or providing insights and explanations on the Khashoggi case.

There were job titles that were present in the Western media, but not in Asharq Al-Awsat sample, such as university professor, in addition to the presence of reporter in the field of press content writers.

The “expert,” the “political analyst”, and other classifications became present, but they did not live up to previous expectations about the diversity of job titles for writers of materials in the Western sample. Perhaps this is due to the limitations on freedoms in Saudi Arabia, which may not provide enough opportunity to survey the issues to be discussed and commented on or may not allow access to the scene in order to get details or communicate with the Saudi authorities for a comment on it. In addition, a case like Khashoggi murder, for example, was surrounded by a lot of secrecy and reservation. This is because the fingers are pointed at the Saudi regime and because the case is being deliberated before the judiciary system, which makes a diverse discussion and handling of the case extremely difficult at times.

The researcher was inclined to think that the reason for the lack of diversity of job titles and journalistic genres in the Western sample was that the Western sample chose simplification and generalization, which is discussing a Saudi issue without providing accurate details. However, and counter to the researcher’s expectations, this did not appear in most of the items. On the contrary, there was a tendency towards providing information, dates, and details, and most of these materials were rich with journalistic information and knowledge. For example, there was a report titled [Saudi Arabia Bought a Huge Stake in Uber: What Does That Mean for Female Drivers?](#) (Taylor, 2016).

The abovementioned report, was detailed and included Bin Salman’s

proposals before assuming his position as Crown Prince. These proposals poured in the category of freedoms, meaning that the writer referred to Bin Salman's archive before assuming office. The report reviewed in detail the issue of Saudi women driving, avoiding stereotyping and simplification. Moreover, the nature of the material was professional, and it contained a lot of sufficient information.

Similarly, within the sample of the Western media under study, another article entitled Saudi Arabia Seeks Death Penalty Against Female Human Rights Activist, sheds light very well on the Saudi regime's treatment of Saudi activists demanding more freedoms. Among those activists are women who are sentenced to death. This kind of news handling is lacking in the Saudi media. The writer of the article went even further when he raised the issue of the Saudi regime's clampdown on the Shiite sect, to which the activists, whose case is being discussed in the news item, belonged. The article reviewed the status of Saudi women and their rights in a detailed and adequate manner.

Based on the above two examples and based on the analysis of the materials of the Western sample, the assumption, that the Western media drifted towards generalizations and simplification in its discussion of the Saudi affairs, is incorrect. The professional orientation was evident. More of this will be discussed in the sections on objectivity, balance, and stereotyping.

5.5 Supporting Materials

In the following table, the most prominent supporting materials that are used in media items are chosen, such as video, animated picture, still image, taped news report, taped interview, maps, infographic, caricature, sound effects, and promo. Other classifications are also used, such as "other", "mixed",

and “none” for the purpose of accuracy.

These supporting materials are usually attached to the electronic editions of the newspapers. It should be noted that the researched media items were all extracted from the websites of the three newspapers. This is because these sites provided the opportunity to refer to the archive and collect all materials dealing with Saudi affairs within the time period specified for the sample.

Table (5-10): Category of Supporting Materials in Asharq Al-Awsat

Supporting Materials	Frequency	Percentage
Video	00	00
Animated picture	00	00
Still image	96	58.2%
Taped news report	00	00
Taped interview	00	00
Maps	1	0.6%
Infographic	00	00
Caricature	00	00
Other	00	00
Mixed	00	00
Sound effects	00	00
Promo	00	00
None	68	41.2%
Total	165	100%

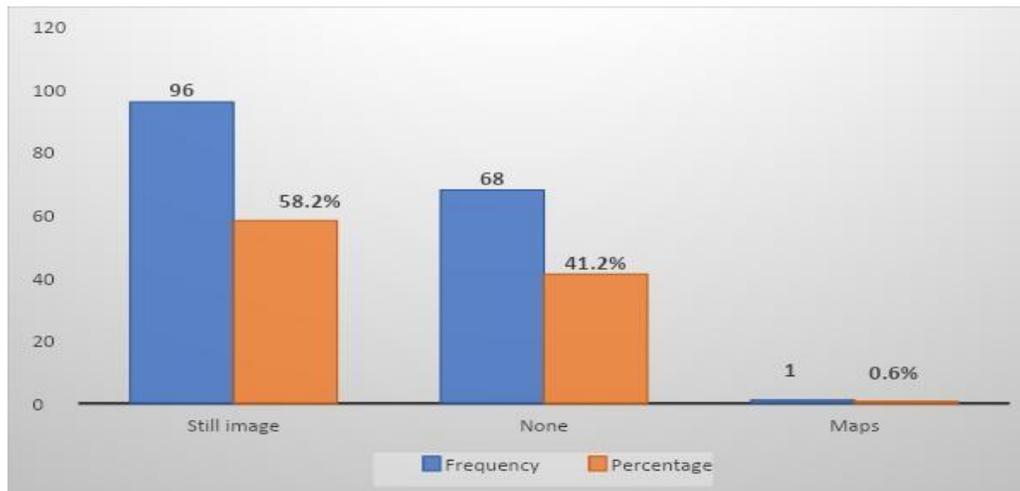


Figure (5-10): Category of Supporting Materials in Asharq Al-Awsat

Table (5-10) shows that (58.2%) of the supporting materials were (still images), and (0.6%) were (maps), while (41.2%) of the media item did not contain any supporting materials.

The supporting materials, which are absent, would expose much of what the Saudi newspaper desires to keep unrevealed, like the facts of the war on Yemen or the detention of major Saudi figures in the Ritz-Carlton. Therefore, there are no pictures related to the detention of princes or the war, nor graphs indicating the extent of the losses, nor videos showing scenes from the war or the social consequences of the blockade, nor a timeline that talks about the developments of the Khashoggi case, for example. Even the caricature was absent as a supporting material when a photograph was unobtainable, for example.

In the recent years in which electronic versions of newspapers have appeared, the presence of supporting materials has become noticeable,

sometimes to keep pace with those who prefer visual materials that are more attractive than the unsupported written text, and sometimes to reinforce and support the idea to be communicated in the media item. It is well known that framing uses these supporting materials to achieve more influence. In Asharq Al-Awsat sample however, these supporting materials were noticeably absent, despite expectation that they would be present in the electronic version. What was found was no more than some photographs which lacked professional commentary. They were photographs of an archival nature, despite the fact that they dealt with current events, and most of them included a picture of the Crown Prince or the Saudi monarch. These pictures only showed the face and the upper part of the body.

Table (5-11): Category of Supporting Materials in The Washington Post and The Guardian

Supporting Materials	The first period		The second period		The third period	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Video	21	14.8%	16	6.7%	25	12.7%
Animated picture	00	0.0%	1	0.4%	1	0.5%
Still image	84	59.2%	178	74.2%	123	62.4%
Taped news report	1	0.7%	00	0.0%	00	0.0%
Taped interview	00	0.0%	1	0.4%	3	1.5%
Maps	1	0.7%	1	0.4%	00	0.0%
Infographic	00	0.0%	00	0.0%	1	0.5%
Caricature	00	0.0%	00	0.0%	41	20.8%
Other	2	1.4%	0	0.0%	2	1.0%
Mixed	30	21.1%	42	17.5%	25	12.7%
Sound effects	00	0.0%	00	0.0%	1	0.5%
Promo	00	0.0%	00	0.0%	123	62.4%
None	2	1.4%	2	0.8%	0	0.0%
Total	142	100%	240	100%	196	100%

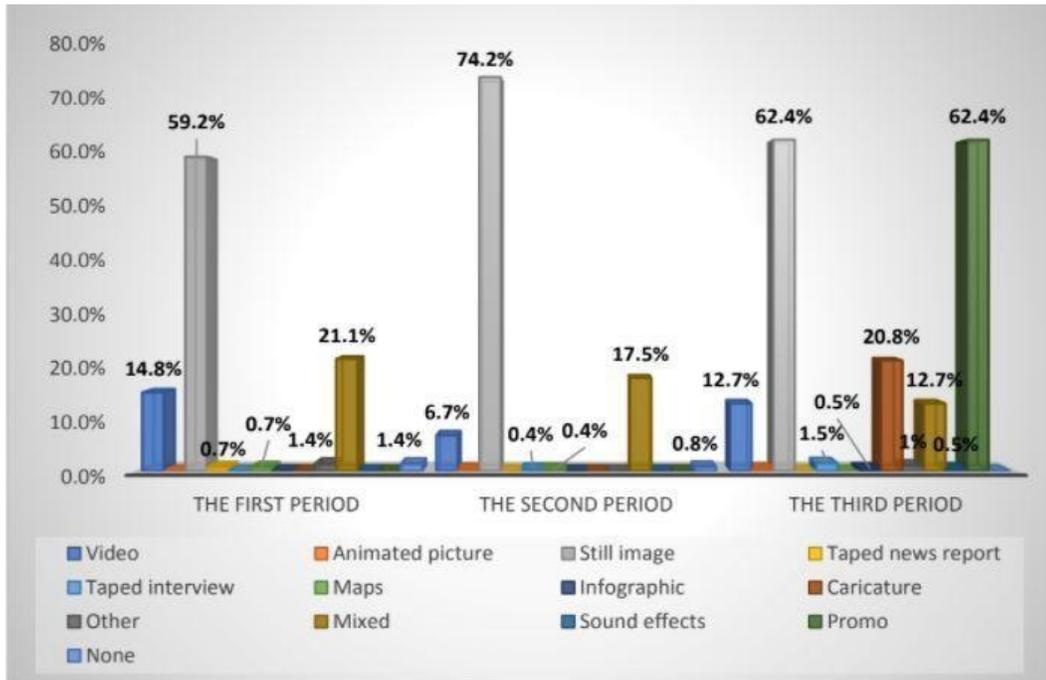


Figure (5-11): Category of Supporting Materials in The Washington Post and The Guardian

The researcher used the same classifications in the tables of the supporting materials for both the Western media sample and Asharq Al-Awsat sample. These are the most popular classifications of supporting materials.

It can be noticed from Table (5-11) that most of the media items that dealt with reforms in Saudi Arabia in the first period (before Bin Salman assumed office) in The Washington Post and The Guardian newspapers included still images as supporting materials for the media item, constituting (59.2%), followed by mixed supporting materials, with a percentage of (21.1%) of the total (142) media items in that period.

In the second period (after Bin Salman assumed office), the percentage

of supporting materials remained in the same order as in the first period, where still images constituted (74.2%) and the mixed supporting materials constituted (17.5%), of the total (240) media items in that period.

As for the third period (the Khashoggi incident period), the order of the supporting materials differed, as (promo) appeared alongside (still images) as supporting materials in the first place with the same percentage (62.4%), followed by (caricatures) at a rate of (20.8%). These materials decreased in the period following the Khashoggi incident compared to the period after Mohammad Bin Salman took office as Crown Prince because the Khashoggi case has sensitivities related to the murder, in addition to the scarcity of information about the circumstances of the case and what exactly happened at the consulate.

Supporting materials in The Washington Post and The Guardian sample, such as caricatures, videos, maps, and promos, were absent in the Saudi Asharq Al-Awsat sample. It is known that supporting materials enhance the media message and support it with more evidence, which reflects the Western media's insistence on presenting the truth, with a conservative presentation in the Saudi media outlets studied in the sample.

A number of framing elements mentioned by de Vreese (2005) were included in the media materials analyzed in Asharq Al-Awsat, The Washington Post, and The Guardian, such as the position occupied by the media item and its supporting materials, such as charts, persuasive attempts used, referring to specific sources, introductions, closures, and headlines.

In addition, the framing elements mentioned by Wien (2005) were

evident in the surveyed sample, including the main headlines and subheadings, the selection of images (supporting materials), comments, quotes, and closures.

The psychological and rational tools, referred to by Lasch and Gamson (Baysha and Hallahan, 2004), were present in the surveyed sample. The psychological include creative images, descriptions and visual materials (supporting materials), while the rational include explanations, backgrounds, causes, and results.

It can be said that the framing was evident in the category of supporting materials, whether present or absent. This is because its presence, as in the Western sample, was for the purpose of strengthening and framing the idea under discussion, while its absence in the Saudi sample was a deliberate framing by excluding parts of the image transmitted through the media.

5.6 Professionalism

Under the umbrella of professionalism, the researcher used several classifications in accordance with what was stated in the theoretical part regarding the definition of media professionalism (Al-Zanati, 2015). The researcher also complied with the content analysis forms that include themes such as balance, objectivity, professional orientation, and any attempts to influence the masses, under the professionalism umbrella.

Accordingly, tables and figures that talk about balance, objectivity, professional orientation of the item, methods of persuasion, presence or absence of hate speech, and the presence or absence of stereotyping are included under the title of professionalism.

The first table talks about balance, which, as referred to in the theoretical part, is presenting the two sides' narratives, devoting the same space for both, and reviewing all aspects of the issue. Therefore, all of the following things were taken into account when deciding if the media items achieved balance or not, whether this is included in the table of Asharq Al-Awsat sample or in the following tables of The Washington Post and The Guardian sample.

Table (5-12): Balance in Media Items in Asharq Al-Awsat

Balance	Frequency	Percentage
Writer achieved balance	59	35.8%
Writer did not achieve balance	106	64.2%
Total	165	100%

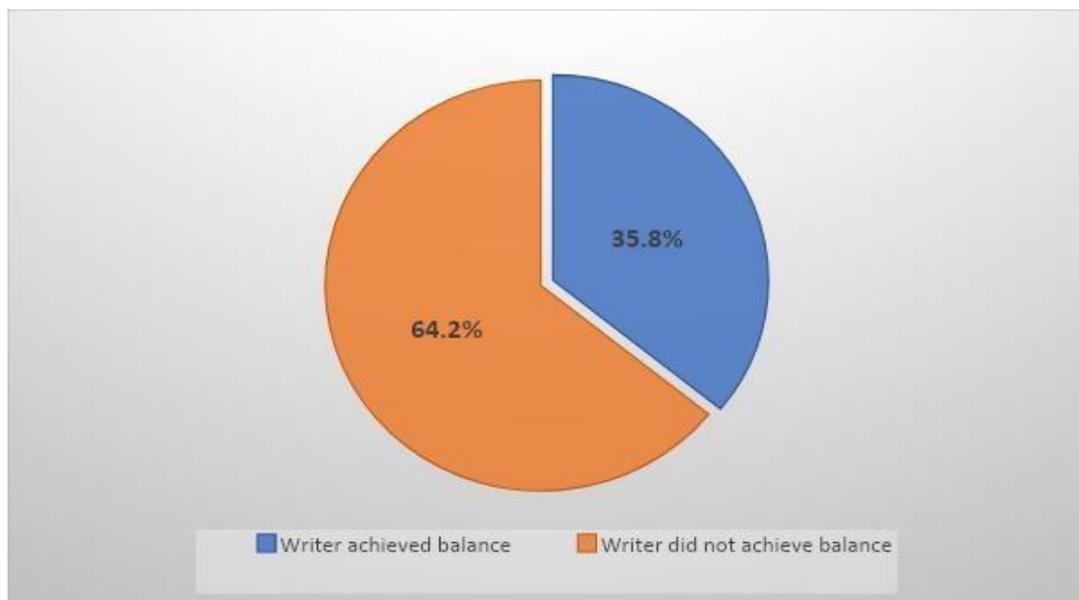


Figure (5-12): Balance in Media Items in Asharq Al-Awsat

It is noticed through the analysis of media materials in Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper during the study period, as shown in Table (5-12), that, in most of these materials, the writer did not achieve the required balance, and that these unbalanced media items accounted for (64.2%), while the writer managed to achieve balance in (35.8%) of those items.

It is evident, by examining the rate of (balance) that the largest percentage witnessed bias and imbalance in the media handling of the Saudi matters in Asharq Al-Awsat sample. Such bias and imbalance were mostly evident with regard to the Official-Saudi position.

For example, within Asharq Al-Awsat examined sample, Abdallah Al-Radadi, a Saudi researcher specializing in financial management, as the newspaper introduced him, wrote an article titled [Why was fighting corruption the first steps of the Saudi vision?](#) (Al-Radadi, 2017). The article here witnessed a lack of balance, in favor of the Saudi regime. The issue discussed in the article was corruption, but between the lines it was talking about the detention of princes at the Ritz-Carlton, a detention that the writer of the article called a government campaign to purge the country of corruption, and a declaration of war on corruption.

The professional prohibitions that the writer committed were demonstrated in his passing a guilty judgment against the detained figures before a court decision or an official statement were issued. In addition, the article did not provide adequate economic visions or an explanation of the 2030 vision that the article began with, nor did it provide information about the NEOM project that it referred to. Rather, the whole article was mainly an intensified

praise of what he called a war against corruption. An opposite point of view was not presented, not even a passing reference to it, or an indication of its existence, nor were all aspects of the case covered. So, the lack of balance here was a lack of professionalism.

Table (5-13): Balance in Media Items in The Washington Post and The Guardian

Balance	The first period		The second period		The third period	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Writer achieved balance	104	73.2%	175	72.9%	126	64.3%
Writer did not achieve balance	38	26.8%	65	27.1%	70	35.7%
Total	142	100%	240	100%	196	100%

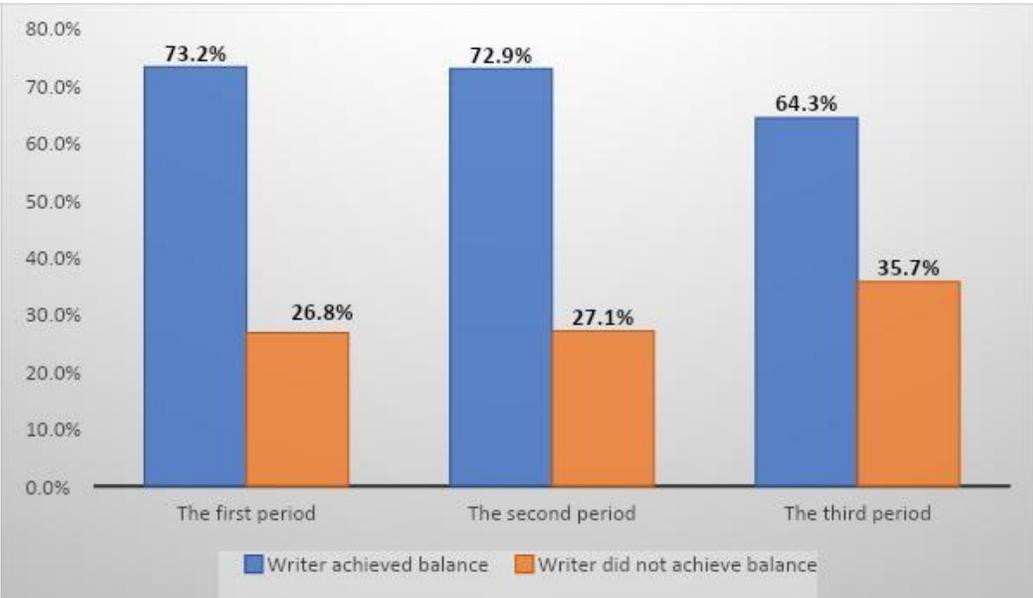


Figure (5-13): Balance in Media Items in The Washington Post and The Guardian

It can be noticed from Table (5-13) that most writers of media items that dealt with reforms in Saudi Arabia in the first period (before Bin Salman assumed office), the second period (after Bin Salman assumed office), and the third period (the Khashoggi incident period) achieved balance in their writing of the media items; that is, they presented the different viewpoints without prejudice, discrimination, or bias towards one of the viewpoints. The balanced writers constituted (73.2%) in the first period, (72.9%) in the second period, and (64.3%) in the third period.

It is noticeable that the balance in the media items declined in the Western sample after the Khashoggi's murder, which may indicate the emotional or sentimental nature that some writers of media items had in this sample. Perhaps the reason is the absence of the Saudi side of the story, particularly at the beginning of the events, when there was a complete Saudi denial of the incident. Or, perhaps, the writers of media items felt more comfortable declaring their bias in the case of the murder of a journalist inside his country's consulate. That is, the moral judgment on the matter is decisive and almost unequivocal, which is condemnation.

The difference in achieving balance was noticeable between the two samples, Asharq Al-Awsat on the one hand, and The Washington Post and The Guardian on the other, which is due to the freedom of expression enjoyed by Western media, which allows for presenting both points of view. This is contrary to the situation on the Saudi side, particularly that one of the parties in cases,

such as the war on Yemen, the blockade on Qatar, the Khashoggi incident, and the Ritz-Carlton incident, is the Saudi regime itself.

The other matter that may explain the differences between the sample of Asharq Al-Awsat and the Western media in achieving balance is the professional norms that seem more mature in the Western media than those found in the Arab media, especially those that represent an Arab regime, as in the case of Asharq Al-Awsat.

Table (5-14): Objectivity in Media Items in Asharq Al-Awsat

Objectivity	Frequency	Percentage
Writer was objective	67	40.6%
Writer was not objective	52	31.5%
Other	46	27.9%
Total	165	100%

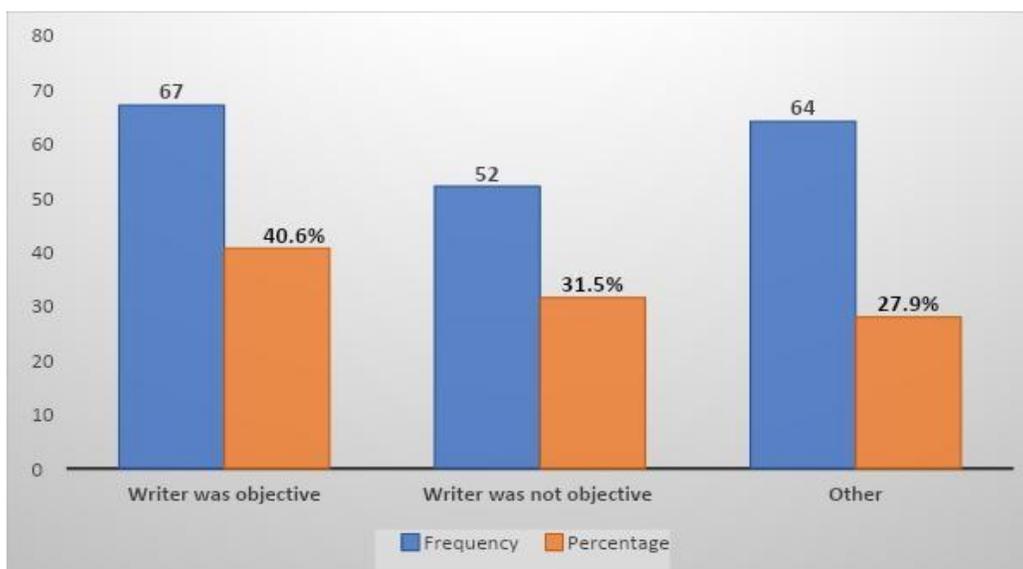


Figure (5-14): Objectivity in Media Items in Asharq Al-Awsat

In this table, which explores the degree of objectivity of Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper, three classifications are used, namely, the presence of objectivity, the absence of objectivity, and a third classification called “other,” which was used to classify media items that the researcher was reluctant to determine their objectivity. The same criteria were used for the Western sample in the study.

Objectivity, as referred to in the theoretical frame, refers to the extent to which personal, political, and ideological inclinations are put aside when the media outlet is handling an issue.

It can be noticed through the analysis of media items in Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper during the study period, as shown in Table (5-14), that the writer was objective in (40.6%) of the media items, and that the writer was not objective in (31.5%). On the other hand, the researcher was unable to decide whether the

writer was objective in (27.9%) of those items.

The results showed that there was a flaw with regard to objectivity in Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper's handling. This is because the limits of freedom granted to the media in the Arab world are low, which prevents a newspaper from objectively addressing a political issue that involves the state governing regime, in the way it should be addressed when professional journalistic standards are applied.

The low level of objectivity in Asharq Al-Awsat was not surprising in light of surveying the sampled materials. This is because the newspaper only expressed the views of the regime. Even when doing so, it did not distance itself from the regime, i.e., it did not reasonably shape the material in a way tailored for the regime's interests by providing numbers or details, for example. Rather, it appeared as if it were a spokesperson to the regime without the slightest criticism or review of its proposals, and without even linking this with evidence, which became evident in the absence of supporting materials. Surprisingly, none of the materials in Asharq Al-Awsat sample contained anything other than the viewpoint of the regime. Even simple criticism or a simple review of the regime's attitudes and practices was completely absent.

Table (5-15): Objectivity in Media Items in The Washington Post and The Guardian

Objectivity	The first period		The second period		The third period	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Writer was objective	90	63.4%	155	64.6%	112	57.1%
Writer was not objective	16	11.3%	19	7.9%	14	7.1%
Other	36	25.4%	66	27.5%	70	35.7%
Total	142	100%	240	100%	196	100%

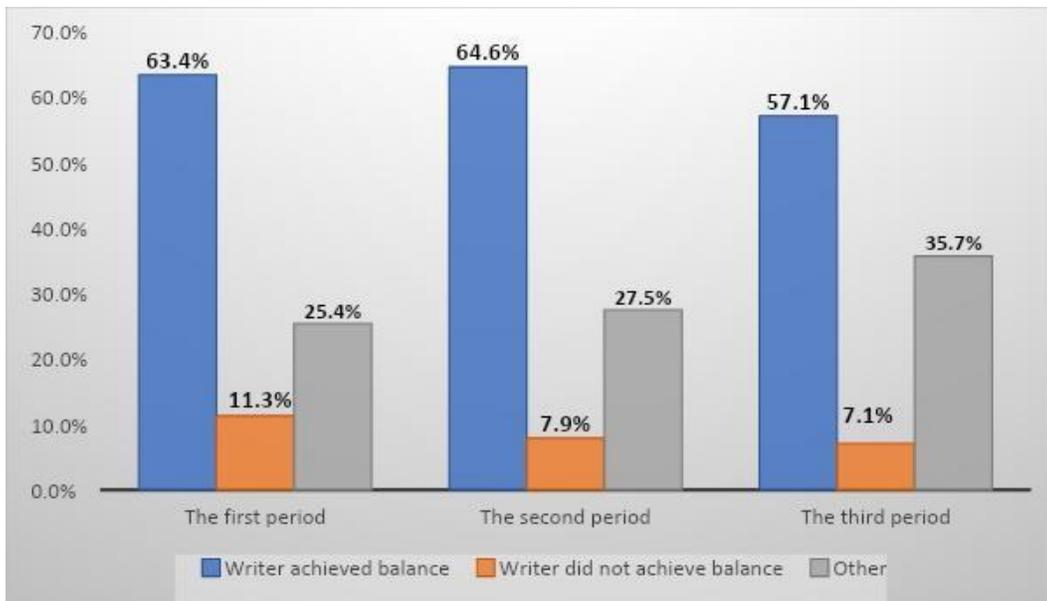


Figure (5-15): Objectivity in Media Items in The Washington Post and The Guardian

Table (5-15) shows that most writers of media items that dealt with reforms in Saudi Arabia in the first period (before Bin Salman assumed office),

the second period (after Bin Salman assumed office), and the third period (the Khashoggi incident period) achieved objectivity in their writing of the media items; that is, they did not have a declared stand in their writings, nor did they show predisposition towards a certain party or proposition. Those writers constituted (63.4%) in the first period, (64.6%) in the second period, and (57.1%) in the third period.

Objectivity here refers to the writer taking the same distance from all parties when dealing with the issue in the press, that is, not prejudice against one party and siding with it at the expense of journalistic professionalism. This was largely achieved in The Washington Post and The Guardian sample, in contrast to what is happening in Asharq Al-Awsat sample. Because of the considerations of the ceiling of freedom that were referred to previously, and because the Saudi regime is a key party in these outstanding issues, which means that the Western media has more space to talk, comment, question and put forward the two points of view, unlike what is happening in the Saudi media.

It is worth noting the aforementioned ratios show that objectivity declined slightly in the Western sample after the Khashoggi incident. Perhaps this is due to what was already mentioned in the previous pages regarding the low level of balance after the assassination. Perhaps, the dramatic and emotional nature that accompanied the reactions worldwide, in addition to the decisive and unanimous international condemnation, contributed to the journalistic writers' tendency to feel more comfortable presenting their points of view without a serious insistence on objectivity and balance.

Table (5-16): Professional Orientation of Media Items in Asharq Al-Awsat

Professionalism	Frequency	Percentage
Professional	62	37.6%
Unprofessional	103	62.4%
Total	165	100%

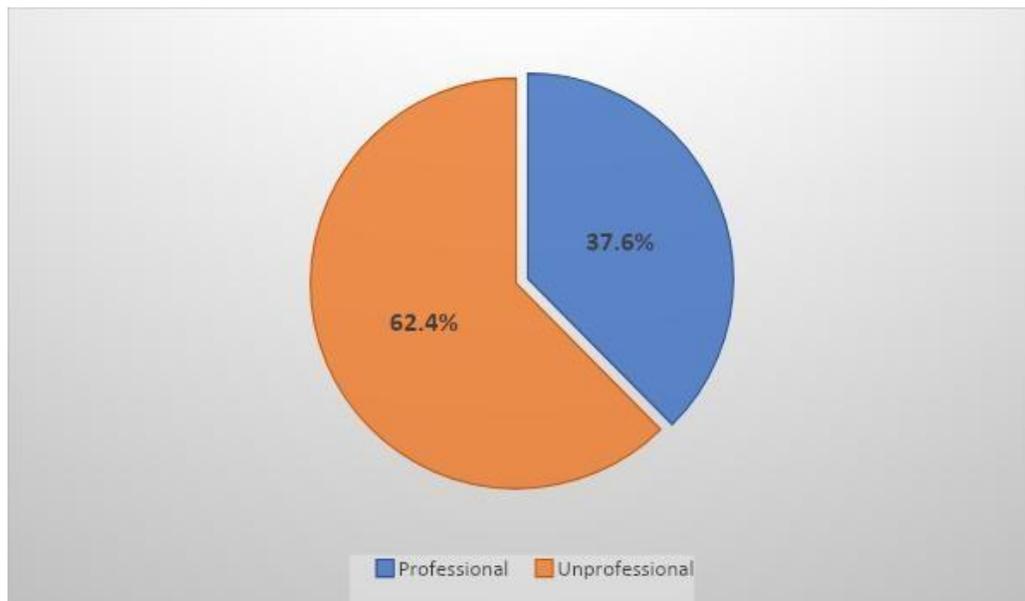


Figure (5-16): Professional Orientation of Media Items in Asharq Al-Awsat

In an attempt to survey the professional orientation of journalistic items, two classifications were chosen: professional and non-professional, for both samples: Asharq Al-Awsat sample and the Western media sample, as will be shown later.

Table (5-16) shows that (62.4%) of the media items were not classified as professional, while (37.6%) of those items could be classified as professional.

According to the definition of media professionalism, referred to in the theoretical part, it refers to objectivity, balance, accuracy, and credibility, which is lacking in the largest proportion of press materials in Asharq Al-Awsat. This is due to its connection with the Saudi regime, which means that applying such standards may embarrass and condemn the regime.

Professionalism is also represented in simpler details, such as the journalistic genre of the item being clear or not, the title conforms to the content of the news item or not, which was lacking in many press items. For example, in the surveyed sample, there was an item with no specified genre, titled [The False News War on the Murder of Jamal Khashoggi](#) (Asharq Al-Awsat Online, 2018), which was not classified, and is completely officially directed. The lack of clarity of its journalistic genre, and the official directing shown by its title and details, contributed to confusing the reader, and contributed to the item's classification as non-professional-oriented material.

Table (5-17): Professional Orientation of Media Items in The Washington Post and The Guardian

Professional orientation	The first period		The second period		The third period	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Professional	123	86.6%	210	87.5%	172	87.8%
Unprofessional	19	13.4%	30	12.5%	24	12.2%
Total	142	100%	240	100%	196	100%

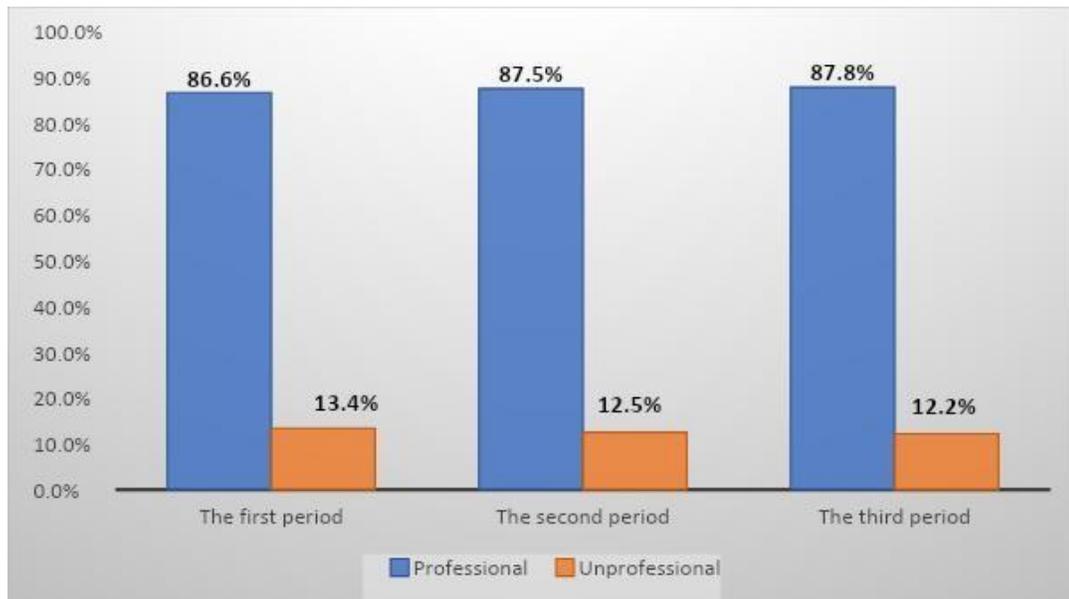


Figure (5-17): Professional Orientation of Media Items in The Washington Post and The Guardian

It can be noticed from Table (5-17) that most of the media items that dealt with reforms in Saudi Arabia in the first period (before Bin Salman assumed

office), the second (after Bin Salman assumed office) and the third (the period of the Khashoggi incident) were professionally oriented. They accounted for (86.6%) in the first period, (87.5%) in the second period, and (87.8%) in the third period.

Professionalism here includes several concepts, as indicated in the theoretical part, including accuracy, credibility, and objectivity. Professionalism was achieved in The Washington Post and The Guardian sample with a high percentage, compared to Asharq Al-Awsat sample, where it was largely lacking, due to its affiliation with the Saudi regime, therefore, presenting its point of view, regardless of how professional the way this point of view is delivered.

For example, under the headline [Saudi Arabia Executes 47 People in One Day Including Shia Clerk](#) (Reuters, 2016), the news story was about the execution of terrorism suspects in Saudi Arabia, including the Shiite figure Nimr Al-Nimr. The professional orientation was evident in the news, which carries the controversial issue of death sentences. The news story was professional, including the title, the attached picture and the commentary, introducing the positions of all parties without siding with one, in addition to a historical review of the issue, such as the injustice against the Shiites in Saudi Arabia, achieving balance and inclusiveness in the handling, which is, covering all aspects of the issue. This made the classification of the news item professional.

In another item, under the title [Saudi Arabia and UAE Block Qatari Media over Incendiary Statements](#) (Wintour, 2017), professionalism was evident in the journalistic item in terms of the language used, the arrangement of the material and paragraphs, the balance in presenting views, explaining the previous

backgrounds of the Gulf crisis, in addition to a note attached at the bottom of the article regarding an update made later. All this led to the categorization of the item in this research as professionally oriented.

Table (5-18): Persuasions Used in Media Items in Asharq Al-Awsat

Types of persuasions	Frequency	Percentage
Religious	5	3%
Emotional	6	3.6%
Scientific knowledge	1	0.6%
Legal	4	2.4%
Humanitarian	30	18.2%
Interest-based	8	4.8%
Political	51	30.9%
Mixed	28	17%
Unclear	21	12.7%
No persuasion	11	6.7%
Total	165	100%

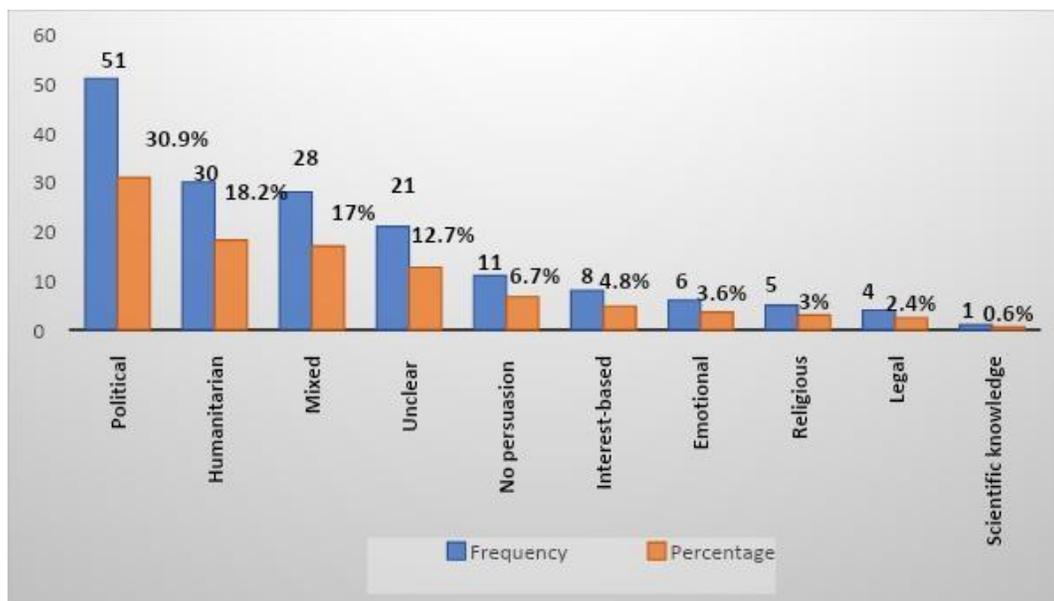


Figure (5-18): Persuasions Used in Media Items in Asharq Al-Awsat

Several classifications are included in this table for the methods of persuasion that journalistic writers usually employ, and which are usually used in content analysis forms. These classifications will be applied to both Asharq Al-Awsat sample and the Western media sample.

Types of persuasions include religious persuasion that tries to convince the reader and win him/her to its side based on the religious theme, emotional persuasion that plays on emotions, humanitarian persuasion that usually tries to attract the viewer by reviewing the human aspects of a case, and persuasion based on scientific knowledge, which tries to tame the reader by providing scientific information that fits in the field that the writer of the material wants, political persuasion that tries to win over the reader towards it with targeted political information, legal persuasion that harnesses the law for the purposes of persuading the recipient, and interest-based persuasion that tries to win the reader by arousing his interest in a directed way. For more accuracy, three other classifications were used: “mixed” for mixed persuasion, “none” for journalistic items whose writer did not use persuasion, and “unclear” for journalistic items whose type of persuasion couldn’t be determined.

Table (5-18) shows that there are many persuasion methods in the media items published in Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper during the study period. Most of these methods were mainly (political) at a rate of (30.9%), (humanitarian) at a rate of (18.2 %), (mixed) at a rate of (17.0%), and unclear at (12.7%).

The attempts to convince the audience of Asharq Al-Awsat with political pretexts are evident, that is, for example, what the Saudi regime is doing in Yemen and towards Qatar, in addition to other issues, is due to the political farsightedness of the regime and its Crown Prince.

Counter to expectations, religious persuasion was low at (3%), and this may be due to the fact that Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper did not have a classical religious character in its proposals, as is the case in Saudi Arabia. Therefore, it chose London as its headquarters from the beginning to adopt a track different from what is common to prevailing newspapers in Saudi Arabia. It was expected at the time to raise the ceiling of freedoms, but when it came to the Saudi regime, the newspaper followed the example of its forerunners of Saudi newspapers.

It was expected scientific knowledge-based, interest-based, and legal persuasions would be scant in the sample, and it was in fact so. The scientific knowledge-based persuasion did not exceed (0.6%), the interest-based did not exceed (4.8%), and the legal persuasion did not exceed (2.4%). This is due to the embarrassment and condemnation they would cause to the Saudi regime if it tried to use it in an issue, such as the war on Yemen.

Persuasions were absent from only 6.7% of the rest of the sample, which reflects the extensive use of persuasions in Asharq Al-Awsat sample. Abstract facts alone may not serve the Saudi regime, even among its audience. Mixed persuasions were used by (17.0%), which means that several types of persuasion were used for the purpose of perpetuating the media message to be conveyed.

For example, religious persuasion was not very persistent in Asharq Al-

Awsat sample, but, when it was used, it was for a case with great sensitivity and sanctity for Muslims of different orientations, which is the performance of Hajj (an annual Islamic obligatory ritual in which Muslims go to Mecca in Saudi Arabia once in their lives provided that they are physically and financially capable). For example, a news story that is supposed to include a single piece of information, namely, [the launch of an electronic link through which Qatari pilgrims can register for Hajj](#) (Asharq Al-Awsat Online, 2019), the writer attempted to win over the readers' hearts in favor of the Saudi regime, using Hajj as a means to do so. The writer began his story, saying while the regime in Qatar continues to be intransigent and uncooperative in finalizing Hajj arrangements for its citizens, the Saudi Ministry of Hajj and Umrah has allocated, yesterday, a new electronic link to receive requests from Qatari citizens wishing to perform the Hajj rituals for this year.

Table (5-19): Persuasions Used in Media Items in The Washington Post and The Guardian

Types of persuasion	The first period		The second period		The third period	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Religious	9	6.3%	7	2.9%	4	2%
Emotional	3	2.1%	5	2.1%	13	6.6%
Scientific knowledge	0	0%	0	0%	1	0.5%
Legal	3	2.1%	10	4.2%	4	2%
Humanitarian	22	15.5%	29	12.1%	41	20.9%
Interest-based	28	19.7%	33	13.8%	29	14.8%
Political	36	25.4%	50	20.8%	61	31.1%
Mixed	3	2.1%	14	5.8%	9	4.6%
Unclear	27	19%	57	23.8%	15	7.7%
No persuasion	11	7.7%	35	14.6%	19	9.7%
Total	142	100%	240	100%	196	100%

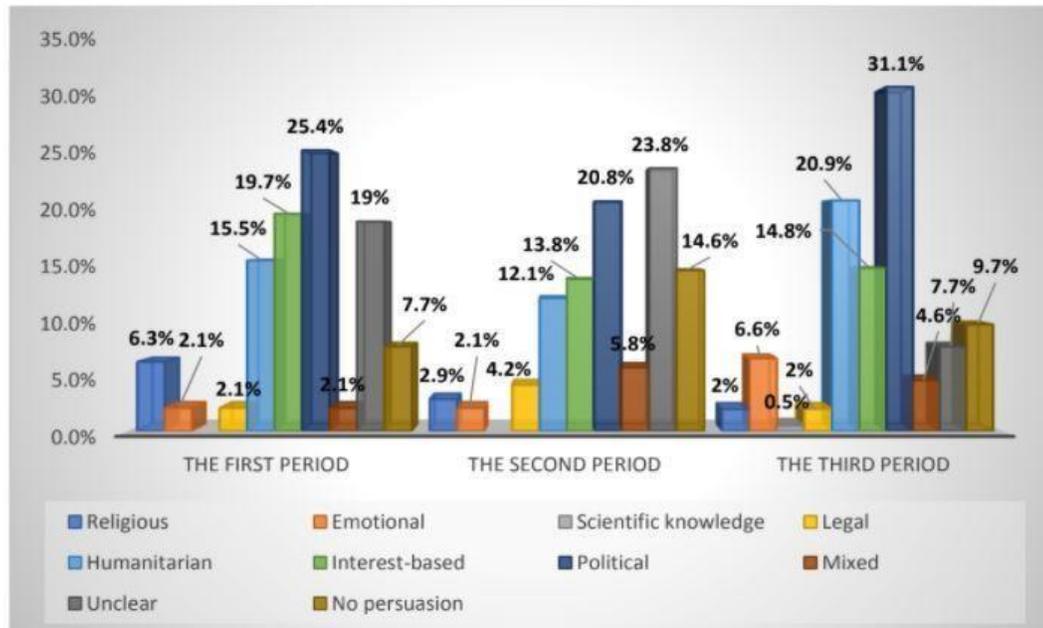


Figure (5-19): Persuasions Used in Media Items in The Washington Post and The Guardian

It can be noticed from Table (5-19) that most of The Washington Post and The Guardian newspapers' media items that dealt with reforms in Saudi Arabia in the first period (before Bin Salman assumed office) were of political persuasion nature, with a percentage of (25.4%), followed by items with Interest-based persuasion, with a percentage of (19.7%) of the total (142) persuasion attempts in the media items in that period.

As for the second period (after Bin Salman assumed office), unclear persuasion attempts had the highest percentage among the total persuasions at a rate of (23.8%), followed by political persuasions at a rate of (20.8%) of the total (240) persuasion attempts in the media items in that period.

During the third period (the period of the Khashoggi incident), the order

of persuasion attempts differed, as political persuasions had the highest percentage at (31.1%), followed by humanitarian persuasions at a rate of (20.9%) of the total persuasions in the (196) media items, during that period.

The method of political persuasion topped most of the methods of persuasion found in The Washington Post and The Guardian sample, while humanitarian persuasion remarkably evident in the sample after the Khashoggi incident, given the nature of the case. Interest-based persuasion was also present in the three stages of the sample because Saudi Arabia represents an economic investment to the West. However, this kind of persuasion declined successively, particularly after the Khashoggi incident as other types of persuasion dominated because of the nature of the incident.

Counter to expectations, in persuasion table of the Western media sample, the legal persuasion rate was not high, nor was the scientific persuasion. The percentages that came to the fore were those of political, humanitarian, and interest-based persuasions. However, despite the lack of religious persuasion, it focused on the theme of terrorism because it is the most disturbing theme for the West when it comes to discussing Islam. For example, there was an article entitled [Saudi Arabia Boosting Extremism in Europe, saying Former Ambassador](#) (Wintour, 2017).

This article conveyed statements by the former British ambassador to Saudi Arabia, in which he talked about what he called Saudi support for terrorism by establishing an intellectual incubator based on Salafist thought, in addition to financing mosques across Europe, which, he says, formed intellectual incubators for terrorists. The entire material used what could be described as intimidation

of the role of Saudi Arabia in supporting terrorism. This type of persuasion based on the theme of religion was used even when the issue of the blockade on Qatar was addressed, which made the article unbalanced. The Guardian presented the single viewpoint of the western side, based on the religious theme in an attempt to achieve persuasion and influence.

5.7 Hate Speech

Table (5-20): Hate Speech in Media Items in Asharq Al-Awsat

Hate Speech	Frequency	Percentage
Mobilization	44	26.7%
Instigation	00	00
Insults	00	00
Libel and slander	5	3%
Stigmatization	6	3.6%
Stereotyping	1	0.6%
Accusation	24	14.5%
Mixed	18	10.9%
None	67	40.6%
Total	165	100%

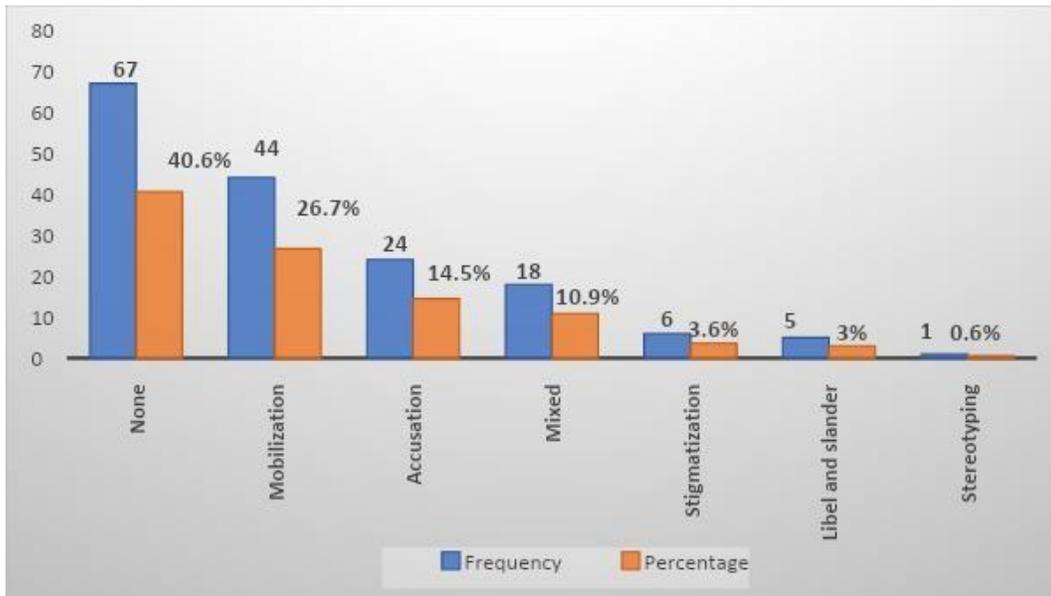


Figure (5-20): Hate Speech in Media Items in Asharq Al-Awsat

For the purpose of measuring hate speech in each of the two samples, Asharq Al-Awsat and the Western media sample, a set of classifications, established upon in defining hate speech, was chosen. It was based on content analysis forms that had previously discussed hate speech. The first of these classifications is mobilization, which is, inciting others against one or more opposite parties. Instigation refers to urging others to carry out acts that involve hatred. Insults are the words and epithets that are used to degrade the value of the other. Libel and slander are insults supported by reasons and explanations. Accusation is pointing fingers against the other party without evidence. Stigmatization is branding the other with a disgraceful attribute and reducing them to such an attribute. Stereotyping is the presentation of the other based on an untested mentally preserved image whose validity is not established.

Stereotyping test will be conducted in this table to find out if it was

used frequently or scantily. A separate table will be dedicated for stereotyping on the following pages, i.e., for the materials that included stereotyping to determine its types. There are also two other classifications in the hate speech tables, “mixed” and “none,” in case there was more than one detail in the single hate speech, or there was no hate speech at all.

The researcher was keen to test hate speech in both samples because this is an integral part of discussing professional journalism, in addition to the remarkable research interest in hate speech within the field of journalism, especially in the Arab region, which suffers from an abundance of hate speech in media materials.

It is noticed from Table (5-20) that (40.6%) of the media items published in Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper during the study period did not contain any kind of hate speech. On the other hand, (26.7%) of these items contained hate speech that incorporated (Mobilization), (14.5%) incorporated (accusation), (10.9%) of included mixed types of hate speech, while (3.6%) included (stigmatization) and (3.0) included libel and slander.

The above-mentioned methods of hate speech are not surprising in the Arab media outlets affiliated with the ruling regimes. Such methods are practiced against the competing party, particularly when there is a conflict, such as the recent one between Saudi Arabia and Qatar, and the one between Saudi Arabia and the Houthis in Yemen, as well.

It is possible to add a note about hate speech in Asharq Al-Awsat regarding the desire to show support for the regime and upholding its propositions, not by validating arguments and presenting evidence against

evidence however, but by means of the details of hate speech that appear in the table.

As an example of how hate speech appears in Asharq Al-Awsat sample, an article that was included in the researched sample will be reviewed. It is entitled [The Secret of Qatari Conspiracy](#) (Al-Hazani, 2017), by a writer named Amal Al-Hazani. The writer used a set of terms that fall into the category of hate speech, including branding Qatar as a gangster, a supporter of international terrorism, a conspiratorial state alien to its Gulf surroundings, and an enemy to its Arab surroundings. She also said that Qatar excessively financed Sunni and Shiite terrorists and that its leadership stigmatized the reputation of the state and the ruling family with disgrace. She also called the Muslim Brotherhood a misguided group. All this shows the presence of accusation, stigmatization, libel and slander as part of the abovementioned hate speech. Therefore, this material is classified as mixed.

**Table (5-21): Hate Speech in Media Items in The Washington Post and
The Guardian**

Hate Speech	The first period		The second period		The third period	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Mobilization	3	2.1%	10	4.2%	30	15.3%
Instigation	1	0.7%	1	0.4%	9	4.6%
Insults	0	0%	4	1.7%	7	3.6%
Libel and slander	5	3.5%	10	4.2%	12	6.1%
Stigmatization	3	2.1%	4	1.7%	11	5.6%
Stereotyping	11	7.7%	12	5%	1	0.5%
Accusation	2	1.4%	6	2.5%	6	3.1%
Mixed	2	1.4%	10	4.2%	2	1%
None	115	81%	183	76.3%	117	59.7%
Total	142	100%	240	100%	196	100%

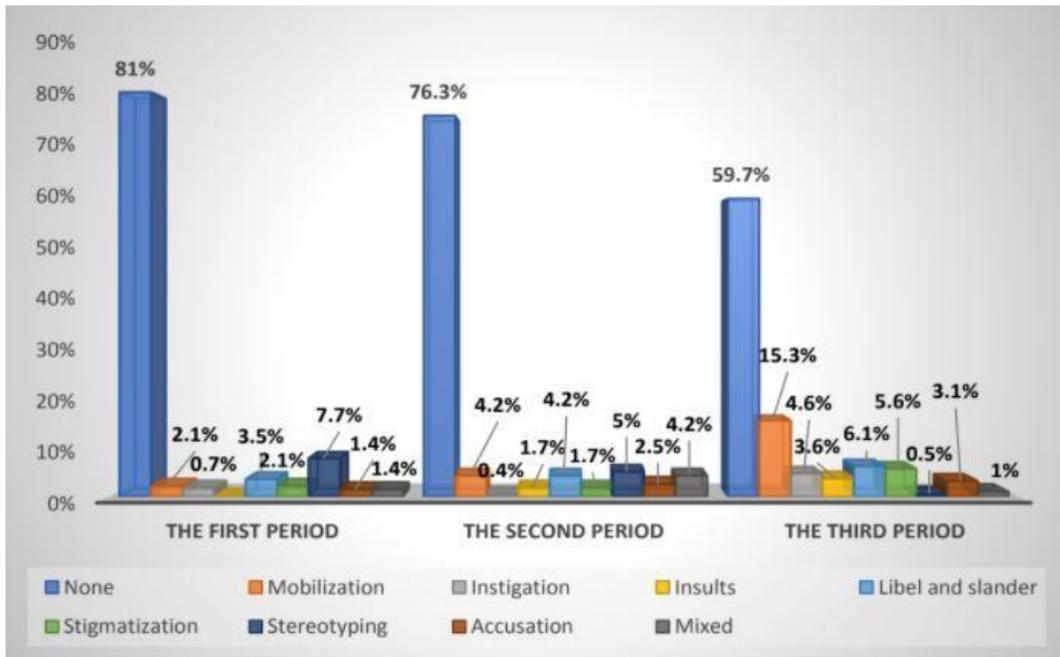


Figure (5-21): Hate Speech in Media Items in The Washington Post and The Guardian

It can be noticed from Table (5-21) that most of the media items that dealt with reforms in Saudi Arabia in the first period (before Bin Salman assumed office), the second (after Bin Salman assumed office) and the third (the period of the Khashoggi incident) were free of hate speech. These hate-speech-free media items accounted for (81.0%) in the first period, (76.3%) in the second period, and (59.7%) in the third period.

Mobilization is monitored at the top of hate speech methods in the Western media sample, specifically after the Khashoggi incident, with a rate of 15.3%, followed by libel and slander, which rose to 6.1% after the Khashoggi incident, followed by stigma that also rose after the Khashoggi incident to 5.6%. Next comes instigation, which rose after the Khashoggi incident to 4.6%,

followed by insults, which rose in press materials after the Khashoggi incident to 3.6%, followed by accusations, which rose after the Khashoggi incident to 3.1%. After this comes mixed hate speech, which declined after the Khashoggi incident to reach 1%, instead of 4.2% after Bin Salman assumed office as crown prince.

Stereotyping, whose percentage declined from 5% after Bin Salman took office, to 0.5% after the Khashoggi incident. Before that, it had the highest percentage of 7.7%. The reason behind the increase in mobilization and instigation against Saudi Arabia after the Khashoggi incident may be understandable in view of the repeated calls to hold those involved in the journalist's assassination to account, specifically by the Washington Post. Perhaps, in the midst of this defense and rage over the crime, some writers exaggerated in their condemnation of those involved and called for punishment.

However, what was not expected was the decline in the rate of stereotyping after the Khashoggi murder. The reason behind it is perhaps that stereotyping is part of the lack of real knowledge of the other. Before the Khashoggi case, there were speculations, perhaps about the way the Saudi regime would deal with its opponents, but after the Khashoggi incident, the lack of knowledge dissipated, and it became a fact that the opponent's fate was assassination. Perhaps this is the reason behind the drop in the percentage of stereotyping, in contrast to the high rate of instigation and mobilization, for example.

Another reason for the decrease in this percentage may be the preoccupation of the Western media before the Khashoggi incident with other files, such as the situation of Saudi women in terms of dress, driving, and the

necessity of the presence of a male companion, and so on, which are issues that constitute a more fertile environment for the stereotypes of an orientalist nature than a criminal case, like the Khashoggi case, might pose.

5.8 Stereotyping

Table (5-22): Stereotyping of Saudi Citizens in The Media Items in Asharq Al-Awsat

Stereotyping	Frequency	Percentage
Stereotyping of Shape	00	00
Stereotyping of Behavior	00	00
Stereotyping of Personality	00	00
Stereotyping of orientations	00	00
Stereotyping of reactions	165	100%
No Stereotyping	00	00
Total	165	100%

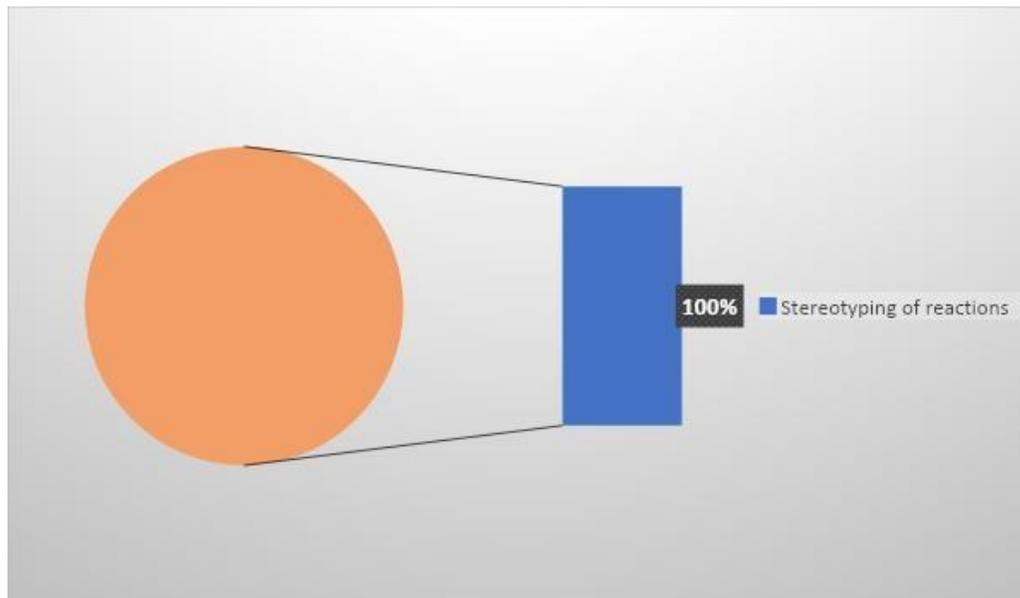


Figure (5-22): Stereotyping of Saudi Citizens in The Media Items in Asharq Al-Awsat

With regard to stereotyping, it should be pointed out before discussing this paragraph, that what is meant here are the materials that have been completely or almost completely characterized by stereotyping. As for the phrases, words, or allusions that were used, which may be understood within the context of stereotyping as part of hate speech, they have been referred to in the above tables and paragraphs, which talk about hate speech in the two samples.

A detailed analysis of stereotyping is included because of the attention it receives from research in journalism, particularly when talking about the Arab world. Further, the researcher has elaborated on the selection of these classifications for more accuracy in case stereotyping is found. The classifications that are included in the two tables were stereotyping of the Saudi shape, stereotyping of the behavior of the Saudi, stereotyping of the personality of the Saudi, stereotyping of Saudi reactions, and stereotyping of orientations, in addition to one more category allocated for “no stereotyping”.

It is noticed from Table (5-22) that stereotyping in all media items published in Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper was stereotyping of reactions, at a rate of (100%).

Stereotyping of reactions deals with the Saudi regime on one side in the form of self-defense and claiming farsightedness in everything that is done, and the stereotyping of the opposite party, such as the Houthis, Qatar, the Muslim Brotherhood, and any party opposed to the ruling regime as being pro-terrorism

that aims to thwart the new Saudi project for reforms represented by the personality of the Crown Prince Mohammad Bin Salman.

Table (5-23): Stereotyping of Saudi Citizens in The Media Items in The Washington Post and The Guardian

Stereotyping	The first period		The second period		The third period	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Stereotyping of Shape	1	0.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Stereotyping of Behavior	3	2.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Stereotyping of character	0	0.0%	1	0.4%	0	0.0%
Stereotyping of orientations	1	0.7%	1	0.4%	0	0.0%
Stereotyping of reactions	3	2.1%	0	0.0%	1	0.5%
No Stereotyping	134	94.4%	238	99.2%	195	99.5%
Total	142	100%	240	100%	196	100%

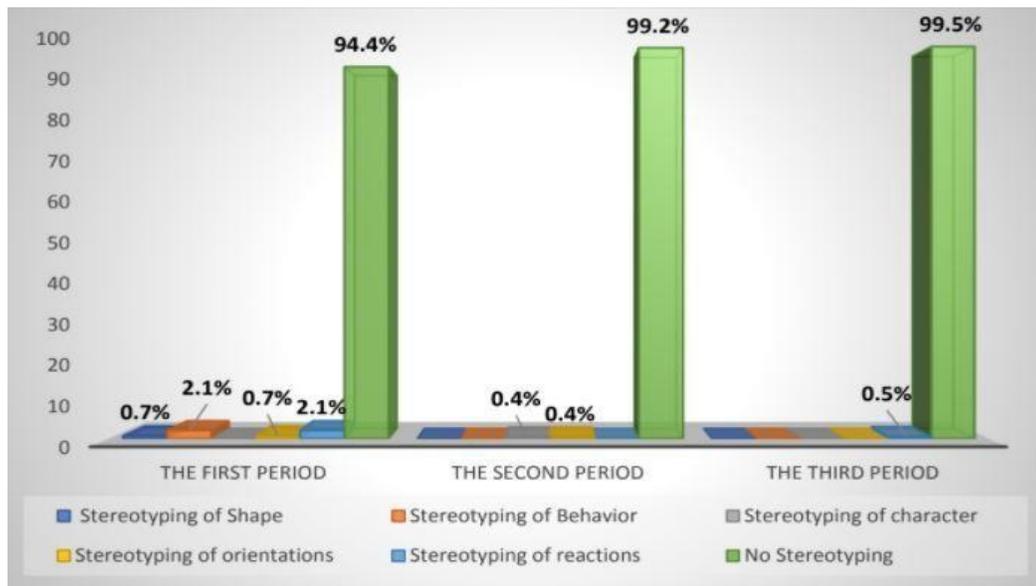


Figure (5-23): Stereotyping of Saudi Citizens in The Media Items in The Washington Post and The Guardian

Table (5-23) shows that most of the media items that dealt with reforms in Saudi Arabia in the first period (before Bin Salman assumed office), the second (after Bin Salman assumed office) and the third (the period of the Khashoggi incident) were free of stereotyping of Saudi citizens. The media items that were free of stereotyping of Saudi citizens constituted (94.4%) in the first period, (99.2%) in the second period, and (99.5%) in the third period.

The figures show that stereotyping was absent in most of the materials surveyed in The Washington Post and The Guardian, although they also show that in some cases this stereotyping occurred before Mohammad Bin Salman took office as Crown Prince. This may mean that the image of Saudi Arabia and the Saudis was stereotypical for decades before Bin Salman and his reforms came to the forefront, and before his reforms were subjected to a real test on the ground.

This is probably because of the diversity of topics that were previously raised about Saudi Arabia, specifically what was related to Saudi women, which makes it a fertile subject for stereotyping. The Khashoggi murder, however, became the topic of most of the published materials, and being a criminal case, there wasn't much room for much stereotyping, especially after the results of the investigations were revealed successively.

In one of the items of the Western studied sample, there was a news story entitled [Saudi police question woman accused of wearing indecent clothing](#) (Weaver and Mahmood, 2017). It was about the arrest of a woman wearing a

short skirt and walking in an archaeological site in the Najd region in central Saudi Arabia. The matter was covered in the media by reviewing all points of view, with and against the Saudi procedure against woman, but there was no stereotyping, despite the researcher's expectation that there would be an Orientalist view and stereotypes in dealing with the matter, because it is related to themes like the veil, Islamic dress, and women. These, however, were not mentioned in the article, nor in most of the items examined in the Western sample.

Objectivity, balance, and professionalism were achieved in the largest proportion of the investigated material in the Western media sample, in all three stages, even those that witnessed the condemnation of the murder of Jamal Khashoggi in his country's consulate in Istanbul, in contrast to what resulted from the Saudi Asharq Al-Awsat sample. This confirms the validity of the third hypothesis that talks about a professional gap separating the coverage of Asharq Al-Awsat on the one hand, and the coverage of The Washington Post and The Guardian, on the other.

5.9 Type of Frame Used

In the following two tables, pertaining to Asharq Al-Awsat sample on the one hand, and The Washington Post and The Guardian on the other, the types of frames used, which are the most prominent frames, were explored and mentioned in the theoretical part of the dissertation. These are the episodic frame, thematic frame, strategy frame, human-interest frame, economic frame, responsibility frame, conflict frame, ethical frame, in addition to two other classifications for greater accuracy, which are "mixed" and "none."

Table (5-24): Type of Media Frame Used in Asharq Al-Awsat

Type of Media Framing	Frequency	Percentage
Episodic Frame	101	61.2%
Thematic Frame	0	0%
Strategy Frame	0	0%
Human-interest Frame	0	0%
Economic Frame	0	0%
Responsibility Frame	0	0%
Conflict Frame	48	29.1%
Ethical Frame	0	0%
Mixed	12	7.3%
None	4	2.4%
Total	165	100%

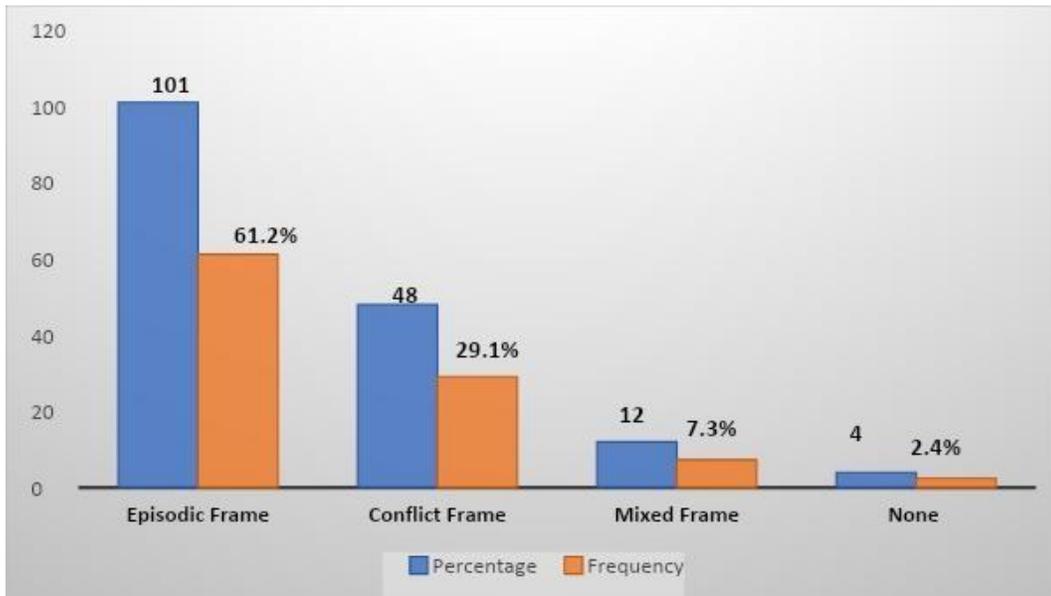


Figure (5-24): Type of Media Frame Used in Asharq Al-Awsat

Table (5-24) shows that the most frequently used frame in Asharq Al-Awsat sample is the episodic frame, which concerns dealing with a particular issue with all its related items and details. It was employed by a percentage of 61.2%, followed by the conflict frame, which uses the conflict as a frame for and interpretation of events, and was used at a rate of 29.1%. Mixed frames, meaning the use of more than one frame, were used at a rate of 7.3% of the sample, while frames were absent from 2.4% of Asharq Al-Awsat sample.

The above analysis shows that the episodic frame was the most widely used, and this was evident in Asharq Al-Awsat's coverage of the four issues chosen in the sample, namely the war on Yemen, the blockade on Qatar, the Khashoggi case, and the Ritz-Carlton case. However, the war on Yemen and the blockade of Qatar were the highest in use of this frame, due to the intense coverage of these two issues, more than the other two cases in the sample. It is

this type of frame that pertains to an issue with all its consequences, indications, and details. This was achieved in most of the published materials through which the case was to be framed, according to the vision of the Saudi regime, through the framing tools mentioned in the above tables (supporting materials, balance, objectivity, hate speech, stereotyping, linguistic structures, introductions, and closures, etc.).

Following this is the conflict frame that frames an issue through the conflict, and this was also evident by reducing the regime at times to the person of Mohammad Bin Salman, and that the “other” is personally in a conflict with Bin Salman. This was strongly present in the Khashoggi case. For example, opponents were treated as who wish to abort Bin Salman's reform project and personally challenge his successes.

Mixed frames, meaning the use of more than one frame, were also noticeable in the sample at a rate of 7.3%, while frames were absent from 2.4% of the sample. That is, the percentage of frames usage in media treatment was high, and the presence of other types of frames referred to in the table was not observed. The reason may be due to the nature of the four issues that were surveyed in Asharq Al-Awsat sample.

**Table (5-25): Type of Media Frame Used in The
Washington Post and The Guardian**

Type of Media Framing	The first period		The second period		The third period	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Episodic Frame	37	26.1%	94	39.2%	89	45.4%
Thematic Frame	14	9.9%	12	5%	13	6.6%
Strategy Frame	2	1.4%	0	0%	0	0%
Human-interest Frame	0	0%	2	0.8%	0	0%
Economic Frame	4	2.8%	11	4.6%	3	1.5%
Responsibility Frame	4	2.8%	5	2.1%	34	17.4%
Conflict Frame	16	11.3%	32	13.3%	16	8.2%
Ethical Frame	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Mixed	54	38%	68	28.3%	41	20.9%
None	11	7.7%	16	6.7%	0	0%
Total	142	100%	240	100%	196	100%

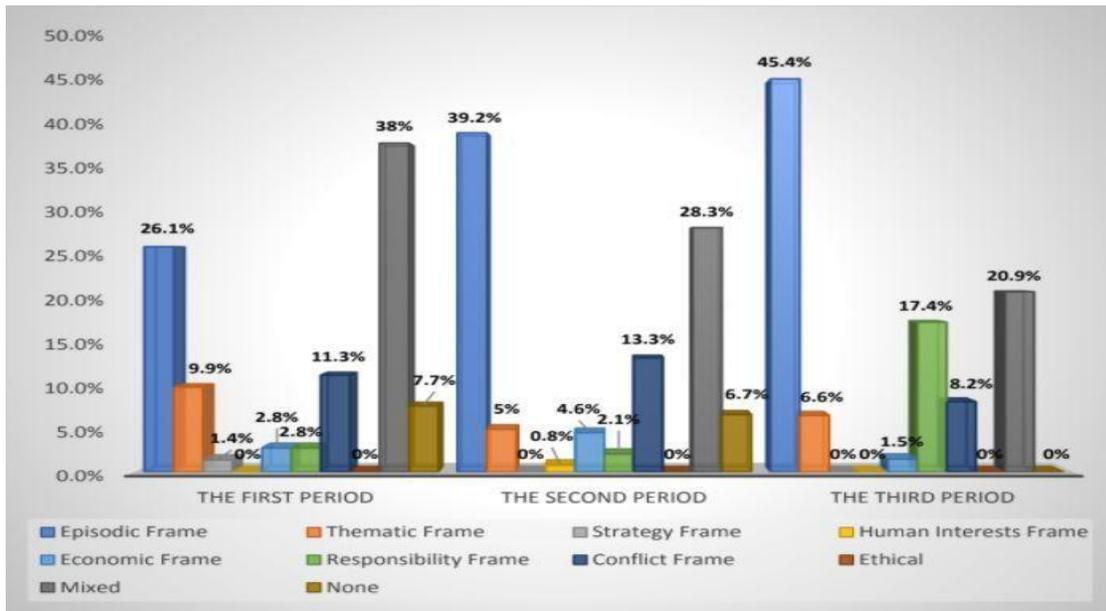


Figure (5-25): Type of Media Frame Used in The Washington Post and The Guardian

In The Washington Post and Guardian sample, the episodic frame was the highest in usage in the three stages, before Bin Salman at 26.1%, after Bin Salman at 39.2%, and after the Khashoggi incident at 45.4%. The second highest rating for frames usage in the three stages was the mixed frame, at a percentage of 38% before Bin Salman, 28.3% after Bin Salman, and 20.9% after the Khashoggi incident. This may be due to the diversity of the issues raised before Bin Salman and at the beginning of his reign, which in turn allowed for the use of a variety of frames. After the Khashoggi incident however, the episodic frame was mostly used in the sample because most of the attention was on the Khashoggi case with its complexities, indications, and details.

The responsibility frame was the most used in the sample after the Khashoggi incident with a rate of 17.4% and was the frame that linked the

incident to responsibility. This was used in covering the Khashoggi case, while the conflict frame topped the pre-Bin Salman period at 11.3% and after taking office with a percentage of 13.3%. It was the frame that dealt with the event from the perspective of the conflict. It was prominent in the two newspapers' handling of the war on Yemen and Saudi Arabia's role in it, the war on ISIS in Syria and Saudi Arabia's role in it, as well, but it declined after the Khashoggi incident to 8.2%.

The use of the economic frame witnessed an increase after Bin Salman took office, reaching 4.6%, from 2.8% before assuming office. The coverage was focused on the theme of oil and the economy. The use of this frame diminished after the Khashoggi incident, reaching 1.5%, which indicates the dominance of the Khashoggi case over the entire news handling after the incident. On the other hand, news handling of other issues witnessed a regression, even of issues affecting the West, and which were within Western interest, such as the economic issue.

Among the examples in which framing was highly evident, and which was classified as mixed because it used more than one frame, was an article entitled [Navy Portals and 2500 Guards: Bali Prepares for Saudi King's Beach Break](#) (Reuters, 2017). The two frames that appeared in the article were the thematic frame and the economic frame. The first frame links the handling to politically and culturally bigger issues, and the second chooses economics as an entry point to influence the recipient.

Framing here was done through a number of techniques, including, for example, the title, the attached picture that shows Saudi King Salman Al-Saud

surrounded by a number of guards carrying an umbrella for him, a picture of a fleet of cars, and a picture of the beach with its white sand in Bali. The details were saturated with orientalist allusions on the private plane and the entourage that accompanied the King. In addition, framing was also evident throughout the article, as in the introduction, the closure, the presentation method, and focusing on the Saudi King's recreational trip to Bali, with the delay in providing the reason for the visit to the second half of the article, using a phrase that barely touched on the reason. Further, there was an attempt to capture the reader's attention to the end through providing economic information and by linking the visit to the extravagance of the ruling family in Saudi Arabia and the way of life of its monarch. Therefore, it was found that the two most widely used frames in the article were the thematic frame and the economic frame.

5.10 Image of Bin Salman

These two tables, related to Asharq Al-Awsat and the Western media samples, principally review the image of Bin Salman in press materials, despite the prince's being the most prominent figure connected to reforms in Saudi Arabia since he assumed the position of Crown Prince, meaning that all the above analysis refers to him in one way or another. Still, this analysis of his image was necessary to find out more details about how he was portrayed in the press materials within the researched sample.

These classifications are similar to the content analysis forms mentioned in Professor Helmi Sari's thesis, which reviewed the image of Arabs in the British media. These classifications were also chosen based on personal observations of the most common traits in the sample, so it was necessary to test the frequency

of their occurrences.

Table (5-26): Type of Image of Bin Salman used in Asharq Al-Awsat Newspaper

Type of Image	Frequency	Percentage
Tyrant	0	0%
Killer	0	0%
Reformer	4	2.4%
Patriotic	1	0.6%
America's Affiliate	0	0%
Arab nationalist	6	3.6%
Deceptive	0	0%
Leader of anti-terrorism efforts	5	3%
Regime Equivalent	7	4.2%
A mixture of the above	0	0%
None of the above	2	1.2%
Not mentioned	140	85%
Total	165	100%

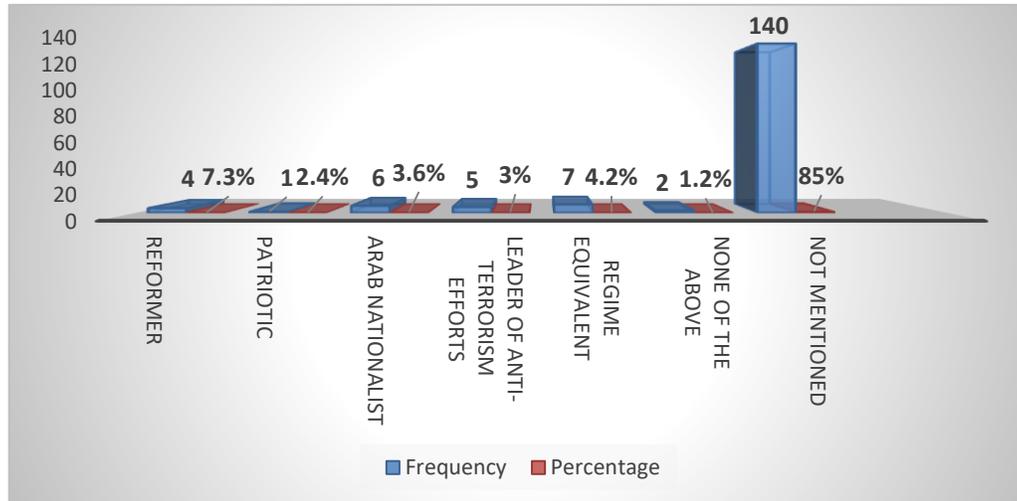


Figure (5-26): Type of Image of Bin Salman used in Asharq Al-Awsat Newspaper

The Middle East table shows that Bin Salman was absent in the largest percentage of the sample, amounting to 85%. This is followed by the image of regime equivalent by 4.2%, then Arab nationalist by 3.6%, followed by leader of anti-terrorism by 3%, and finally reformer by 2.4%.

Classifications such as tyrant, killer, or deceptive were not present in Asharq Al-Awsat sample.

These results are expected from a newspaper which represents the Saudi regime, and they remain within the context mentioned in the theoretical part, which discusses the regime's dominance over all aspects of the state and the consequences of criticizing the regime or demanding reforms.

What is remarkably noticeable is the absence of Bin Salman in most of the sample materials, which may be interpreted as a kind of manipulation by the media institution that represents his regime. That is, the media institution tries to pass the views Bin Salman wants and to direct public opinion in the direction that he wishes, without publicly discussing his presence. This interpretation is reinforced by the fact that the criteria discussed in the previous tables, regarding Asharq Al-Awsat sample, show that there is a great tendency towards perpetuating the regime's narrative, in terms of the absence of balance and objectivity, and the presence of hate speech against the other. Occasionally, Bin Salman was introduced by the regime to show a state of unity between him and the regime with all its pillars. This policy of the Saudi regime was referred to in the theoretical part of the dissertation, namely that the Al-Saud family perceive themselves as the cornerstone of the state and the pivot around which the rest of the details revolve.

The remarkable thing is that Bin Salman is introduced in some sample materials as an Arab nationalist, neglecting at the same time his role in what is happening in Yemen, for example, an integral part of the Arab world, and neglecting his role in the blockade of Qatar, which is part not only of the Arab world, but also of the GCC states. He is also introduced as a reformer while ignoring issues, such as the Khashoggi incident, the detention of Saudi activists, and the practice of a policy of covering up on important events, such as the Ritz-Carlton incident.

Table (5-27): Type of Image of Bin Salman Used in The Washington Post and British Guardian

Type of Image	The first period		The second period		The third period	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Tyrant	1	0.7%	26	10.8%	40	20.4%
Killer	1	0.7%	4	1.7%	75	38.2%
Reformer	8	5.6%	33	13.8%	0	0%
Patriotic	0	0%	1	0.4%	0	0%
America's Affiliate	1	0.7%	15	6.3%	5	2.6%
Arab nationalist	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Deceptive	1	0.7%	30	12.5%	1	0.5%
Leader of anti-terrorism efforts	1	0.7%	3	1.2%	0	0%
Regime Equivalent	8	5.6%	24	10%	26	13.3%
A mixture of the above	1	0.7%	13	5.4%	20	10.2%
None of the above	3	2.1%	13	5.4%	3	1.5%
Not mentioned	117	82.5%	78	32.5%	26	13.3%
Total	142	100%	240	100%	196	100%

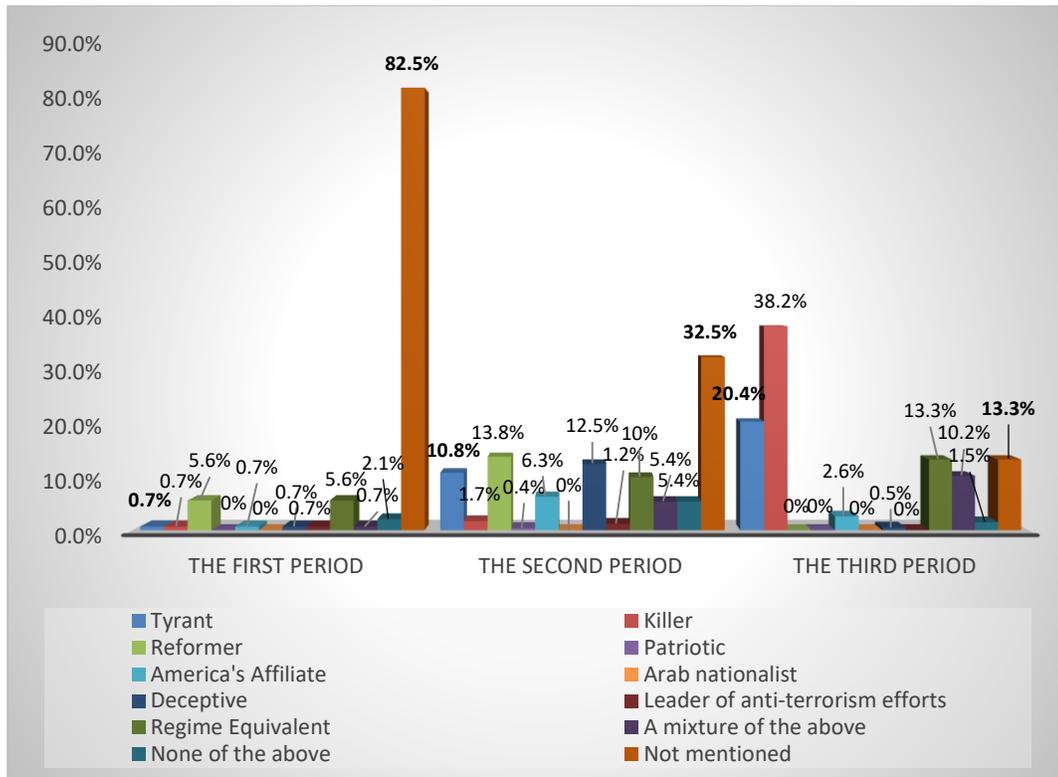


Figure (5-27): Type of Image of Bin Salman used in The Washington Post and The Guardian

Although his name was mentioned in some articles, it was normal for the percentage of Bin Salman’s absence in the examined materials in the sample to reach 82.5%, in the period prior to assuming office as crown prince. That is, before he officially took office, he was present through the positions he held in offices other than the crown prince, and his proposals on reforms had already found their way to the media. During this period, i.e., before becoming crown prince, he appeared in some items as a reformer, with a percentage of 5.6%, and as an equivalent to the regime with a percentage of 5.6%, while his image as a killer did not exceed 0.7% as the Khashoggi incident had not yet occurred. However, those items mentioned his role in the war in Yemen and the calamities

it afflicted on the lives of Yemenis, as well as his negative role in the war in Syria and the ensuing life losses of Syrians. These also featured in the second period of the sample, after assuming office as crown prince and before the Khashoggi incident. He appeared as a killer in 1.7% of the items, for the same reasons, Yemen and Syria, as he held the position of Saudi Defense Minister at the time.

However, most of the percentages spiked as soon as Bin Salman took office. That is because he came under the spotlight of the media, and thus his image emerged in the press items in the Western media sample as a reformer with a percentage of 13.8%, and an equivalent to the regime by 10%. But at the same time, he emerged as a deceptive by 12.5%, and as a tyrant by 10.8%, and as America's affiliate by 6.3%. As evident, both positive and negative representations were present in the sample studied after Bin Salman took office.

These results, which speak of Bin Salman's disadvantages, do not amount to refuting one of the hypotheses of the thesis, which stipulates that a change in the tone of media handling of Bin Salman occurred after Khashoggi's assassination. This is because this percentage of Bin Salman's negative image before Khashoggi's assassination was relatively small, in addition to the fact that the results that followed Khashoggi's assassination showed a great impact in proving the hypothesis that there was a change in tone between the pre-Khashoggi incident era and after.

Following the Khashoggi assassination, for example, Bin Salman was represented as a killer by 38.2%, and as a tyrant by 20.4%, bringing his image as a reformer to 0%, as a patriot to 0%, and as a leader of anti-terrorism efforts also to 0%. This validates the hypothesis that stipulates a change of tone in media

handling of Bin Salman, who introduced himself at the beginning of his reign as a reformer and leader of anti-terrorism efforts.

The results also show the size of the difference in Bin Salman's presence in the examined media items before and after assuming office. He was absent in the sample materials before assuming the position of Crown Prince by 82.5%, and after taking the position by 32.5%, while his absence dropped to 13.3% after the Khashoggi incident. Fingers were pointed at him in the researched sample regarding the murder of Khashoggi, and thus he became present in most of the sample materials, unlike the previous periods.

Upon reviewing the tables and graphs in this chapter of the dissertation, there seems to be no wide discrepancy in its results in terms of the destination to which they are directed. The fact that Asharq Al-Awsat sample shows low levels of objectivity, and balance and a high level of hate speech, seems consistent with the results of its professionalism analysis, which show that it has a professionally negative orientation. These same results explain how Bin Salman later appeared in Asharq Al-Awsat sample in the way he was intended to appear, which was different from what the events showed, regarding his involvement in the war in Yemen with all its humanitarian disasters, his sever measures against the advocates of reforms in Saudi Arabia, and detaining the princes in the Ritz-Carlton, in addition to a lack of transparency in dealing with the media, i.e., withholding facts from the media outlets regarding current events.

Furthermore, this negative professional orientation appears connected, in one way or another, to the absence of job titles of writers of press materials, in addition to the lack of journalistic genres and supporting materials included in

the surveyed sample. All this explains the emergence of conflict and episodic frameworks, which is due to the dominance of issue such as the war in Yemen and the blockade of Qatar, in particular. With regard to the sample of the Western press, some results were within expectations, while others were less than expected. For example, the appearance of journalistic genres was unexpectedly scarce, which may be due to the Saudi regime's strictness that makes facts hardly accessible to Western journalists. This, therefore, led to the reduced number of journalistic genres that are employed, and made the "news" and "investigation" genres more dominant.

Other percentages, such as balance, objectivity, and professionalism, were within expectations, since a higher level of professionalism was expected in the Western media than in the Arab media. One of the striking results, contrary to expectations, was the absence of stereotyping in the Western media, especially on issues related to women's rights, for example. Instead, analysis, interpretation, comprehensiveness, and attempts to cover all aspects of the issues were present in the examined sample, despite some decline in the level of professionalism in the Western media after the Khashoggi incident. This may be due to the unanimously condemned nature of the case, allowing more room for journalists to handle the case and point fingers at the regime following the release of the results of initial investigations.

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

6.1 Introduction

6.2 Conclusions

6.3 Summary of the Conclusions

6.4 Suggestions for Further Research

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

6.1 Introduction

This chapter includes conclusions that link the hypotheses, questions, and previous studies on which the study is based, to the results of the content analysis. These conclusions complement what was discussed in the previous chapters about the reforms in Saudi Arabia, being real or superficial, and how this is reflected on the media, especially with reference made in the previous chapters to the low ceiling of freedom allowed by the Saudi regime, even after the alleged reform. This chapter also discusses how the two theories of Media Framing and Agenda Setting are demonstrated in the researched sample.

In this chapter, there will also be a section that makes recommendations for further research. Any research study, no matter how inclusive of details and data, will never fill all gaps in the field. Therefore, suggesting ideas for further study to build on this dissertation and add to it, is necessary for those who are interested in the image of Saudi Arabia and its reforms in Western media.

6.2 Conclusions

This dissertation concludes with results that are not far from the theoretical context which reviewed the Saudi political, social, and religious scene.

The founding of the modern Saudi state was on the hands of King Abdulaziz Al-Saud, who became a despotic decision maker, cloaked in the mantle

of British colonialism, and allied with the Wahhabi religious establishment (Al-Zahrani, 2015; Al-Rasheed, 2020). Al-Saud image appeared so polished in Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper, a Saudi newspaper that never strays an inch away from what the regime dictates. Rather, it can be safely said that this newspaper speaks on behalf of the regime, even at the price of sacrificing professional standards, such as objectivity and balance.

Therefore, several things emerged from the results that explain the facts that were introduced in the theoretical part of this dissertation, such as Al-Saud's control of all aspects of life in the country, including the media. This explains the low percentage of objectivity and balance in Asharq Al-Awsat sample. This newspaper twisted the press material in favor of the regime's narrative, to the extent that hate speech appeared towards any "other" that deviated, even slightly, from what the ruling family upheld. This was done through several forms, such as mobilization, incitement, slander, libel, and accusation. Hate speech was so evident to the point that it was often noticeable in the headings of the media item.

Saudi Arabia, which appeared in the theoretical part of the dissertation, as indicated by Al-Rasheed (2020), monopolized the religious, political and social narratives before the founding of the state and educated the Saudis, was the same Saudi Arabia that rejected any criticism in media items within the journalistic sample in Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper.

Even articles by those writers from other Arab countries, who were employed to write for Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper, were molded to suit the vision of the Saudi regime.

Al-Rasheed had highlighted the arrests of Saudi activists who demanded a constitutional monarchy and who dared criticize the regime. This makes it obvious why the Saudi media, including Asharq Al-Awsat, tend to agree with the regime on everything it says, without the slightest criticism. Perhaps Jamal Khashoggi, who is referred to in the theoretical part as a former confidant of the ruling family (Cengiz, 2018), and who was assassinated in his country's consulate in Istanbul, merely because he criticized some of Bin Salman's policies, is the biggest evidence of the magnitude of fear, that has been and has become dominant recently, of criticizing the regime, or fear of the media's exercise of its critical and monitoring role.

The “hypocrisy” referred to by Al-Rasheed and Schaer, regarding the Saudi regime claiming one thing and doing its opposite, was evident in the handling of press materials in Asharq Al-Awsat. The articles with a human rights dimension related to women, in which Bin Salman was leading the scene as a reformer, were the same articles that overlooked the arrest and imprisonment of Saudi women activists who demanded women driving, despite Bin Salman’s decision to allow women to drive. Furthermore, the materials which portrayed Bin Salman as a reformer did not talk about his arrest of a number of activists and executing others, nor did the media items, which depicted him as an Arab nationalist, criticize his war on Yemen, his involvement in the war in Syria, or his imposition of the siege on Qatar.

While the Western sample included discussions of whether Bin Salman’s reforms were real or merely formal procedures, such discussions were absent in Asharq Al-Awsat sample. This was referred to in the theoretical part, as well. Views varied regarding these reforms, many considered them unreal. Al-

Rasheed claims that they are superficial reforms and that the regime is still using, both the religious and tribal institutions, to consolidate its power. And while Schaer points out that these reforms are social, not political or fundamental, a third party (Brown and Farouk, 2021) considers that deciding who the winner or loser is in these reforms is still early.

Framing was evident in Asharq Al-Awsat sample, and its techniques were employed in favor of the regime's narrative. For example, the war on Yemen was addressed, but it was framed as if it was a war on terrorism, and Bin Salman was portrayed as if he was a leader against terrorism. The newspaper, however, did not address the materialistic and human losses resulting from the war; rather, it removed these losses within the process of framing referred to by a number of pioneering theorists, such as Entman (1993) and de Vreese (2005). The framing techniques referred to in the theoretical part of the dissertation, such as the use or non-use of supporting materials, manipulation of linguistic structures, foregrounding and hiding of news, and achieving or not of objectivity and balance, were all evident in Asharq Al-Awsat sample. Such supporting materials were suspended in favor of perpetuating the regime's narrative, instead of exposing its ineffectiveness. Moreover, professionalism was declining in terms of objectivity, balance, the presence of hate speech, and even in terms of the lack of diversification of journalistic genres and job titles of writers of journalistic materials. All of these practices were directed to serve whatever the regime wanted to present through the newspaper, and all of this was never done in isolation of the political, social, and intellectual context referred to in the theoretical part of this dissertation, regarding the ruling family in Saudi Arabia.

Chapter 3 had discussed the fact that Bin Salman's "achievements" were

notable at the local level. They even made tangible social differences, such as enabling women to drive cars, proposing Vision 2030, establishing the bases for the city of Neom and allowing more music, art, parties and gender-mixing in the country. Asharq Al-Awsat's sample, however, did not handle these issues in an objective or thoughtful manner, nor did it discuss them within their economic and social dimensions. A number of media items, which are presented in the third chapter, include news headings on Bin Salman's achievements, but the stories themselves do not provide any real discussions of those achievements. Rather, those news items mainly glorify Bin Salman. They are also used as a public space for attacking the "other". In other words, examining Asharq Al-Awsat sample shows that mentioning the achievements is nothing but an attempt to lure the reader to the story, while the real goal is to glorify Bin Salman and polish his period, ignoring at the same time the many negative aspects, such as arresting, and even executing, some activists and critics, Saudi Arabia's involvement in the Yemen war, and the siege on Qatar. The most important question that is being ignored, however, is whether these reforms are real and fundamental, or nothing more than superficial reforms that serve as a propaganda utilized by Bin Salman.

Researchers, whose views are included in the theoretical part of the dissertation, including Al-Atif (2018), have pointed out the growing interest of the Western media in Mohammad Bin Salman. Such interest can be attributed to several reasons. One reason is taking office at a sensitive period in the history of the region. Another reason is establishing deep relations with global leaders, including Donald Trump. In addition, the young Saudi generation is fascinated with him and the changes he is introducing into the Kingdom, social ones in particular. Furthermore, the West is interested in him and his promises, chief

among them fighting terrorism and Iran. And one final reason is his attempts to establish connections and bridges between Saudis and the rest of the world.

Moreover, the Western sample's interest in Bin Salman demonstrated the extent of the entanglement of relations between Saudi Arabia on the one hand, and the US and the UK, on the other. The Americans are greatly credited for extracting oil and establishing its institutions in Saudi Arabia, as indicated in chapter 3 (Vitalis, 2016), in addition to other issues that contributed to this intertwining, including the Saudis' involvement in the September 11 bombings and America's relentless attempts to impose radical reforms in Saudi Arabia (Al-Shaar, 2013).

The Washington Post's interest in Saudi affairs, especially after the assassination of Jamal Khashoggi, is understandable for several reasons that were highlighted in chapter 3, including the close interest-based relationship between Saudi Arabia on the one hand and America on the other for economic considerations mainly connected to oil, an interest that did not happen all of a sudden. In addition, America was pressing for fundamental reforms in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia on several levels, so Mohammad Bin Salman's promises at the beginning of his term in office were hopeful, which was referred to in the theoretical part (Al-Awad, 2018). Furthermore, this newspaper is concerned with human rights issues related to freedoms and democracies, in addition to the fact that Jamal Khashoggi was among its columnists. All this made The Washington Post's coverage higher than that of The Guardian. The British interest in Saudi affairs is less than the American's. Also, Donald Trump, who witnessed the Khashoggi incident during his rule, was among the most prominent commentators on the event, and he was under the scrutiny of the American

media which initially criticized his enthusiasm for Bin Salman when he was making promises of reform. Even the Congress threatened to impose sanctions on Saudi Arabia over the Khashoggi incident, in which the Saudi regime was involved.

As mentioned by Al-Faqih (2020), Trump, in the wake of the Khashoggi incident, was hesitant about whether he should stick to the American policy constants or attempt to defend Bin Salman, taken into consideration issues, such as American interests in the region, primary among which is the conflict with Iran and Trump's opinion that Bin Salman is the one most capable of this confrontation. Moreover, the case of mutual accusations between Jeff Bezos, the owner of The Washington Post, on the one hand, and the Saudi regime, on the other hand, would provide an explanation for this attention. Bezos accuses the Saudi Crown Prince of spying on his personal phone and attributes the US restrictions on him, on several occasions, to Saudi pressure, which he says is due to the Washington Post's coverage of the Khashoggi incident, which created many enemies for him.

The British side was not less entangled. As indicated in chapter 3, the British colonizers used Bin Saud as a tool to distract Ibn Rashid from supporting the Ottoman Empire (Al-Rasheed, 2020), thus empowering the colonial powers. In addition, Britain has a long history of colonizing Arab countries, including the Gulf States. This justifies the noticeable amount of the American and British media's interest in the Saudi affairs, although the American side's interest is more substantial in terms of coverage intensity, which cannot be separate from the political context. The US is currently more influential in the Arab world than Britain, whose role has diminished since British colonizing of Arab countries

ended.

The results proved the significance of the study, as it aimed to answer several questions on the standards of Western media in addressing Saudi affairs and the pertinent changes, pre and post MBS's assuming office as Crown Prince. The study also discussed Western media's commitment to professional standards, such as being politically independent, and the shift in handling MBS's affairs, from his assuming office to Khashoggi's assassination. The study, then, compared the narrative utilized by pro-Saudi government newspapers (Asharq Al-Awsat) to that used by Western media (The Washington Post and The Guardian).

When comparing the results of this study to the results of previous studies presented in the theoretical part of the dissertation, some points of similarity and difference appear. For example, the types of frames used in this study were similar to the study by Bashatah (2017) on framing Saudi women in the British media. The use of the economic frame, the responsibility frame, and the conflict frame appeared. A shared finding emerged in the two studies regarding the use of images, including the discrepancy between the image with the content, and placing the image of the Crown Prince or the Saudi king on materials related to Saudi women. Although this finding appeared here through Asharq Al-Awsat sample, it appeared in British newspaper in Bashatah's study.

Sharadqah's study (2015) indicated the use of expressions that fell into the category of hate speech, which means that this discourse was evident in The New York Times and The Washington Post newspapers, regarding stereotyped images of the Arab and Islamic worlds. This, however, was not evident in the

sample examined in this study. Still, there were similarities between the two studies in terms of treating the two newspapers as one in the results and discussion. Dealing with the two Western newspapers as one is evident in the sample under study. There are no tangible differences in the results of the two newspapers regarding, for example, the level of professionalism or the presence or absence of hate speech. However, the most prominent difference between these two newspapers, related to intensity of coverage, is highlighted, as the American newspaper has appeared more interested in Saudi affairs in all stages than the British newspaper.

The results of this study also came similar to the findings of Abd-Almonem (2016) in that The Washington Post and The Guardian were among the most interested American and British newspapers in the Arab world. The study also linked the political orientation in the West on the one hand, to the media on the other, such as the attention paid after the events of September 11th to social affairs, specifically with regard to Saudi women, noting that interest was limited to oil and the economy only before the events of September. This is consistent with America's proposals about reforms in Saudi Arabia after that incident.

The researcher hopes that the sample of the newspapers was capable of clarifying the Agenda Setting theory more than a television sample, for example, as indicated by Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007). That is, according to them, newspapers are more elaborate when discussing a certain topic, while TV channels are more interested in general issues. It appears here that the impact of the agenda is not necessarily manifested in the abundance of exposure, but in the nature of the media. That is TV, because of its nature, does not deal with

issues as deeply as newspapers do, and therefore, its role in shaping the priorities of the public does not go as far as the role of newspapers.

Content analysis proved the usefulness of choosing the two theories, Media Framing and Agenda Setting. Framing was evident in Asharq Al-Awsat sample, in accordance with what the Saudi regime wanted, especially in issues such as the war on Yemen, the detention of princes at the Ritz-Carlton, and the blockade on Qatar. This is also true of the Agenda Setting theory, which made certain issues appear to the Saudi recipient as if they were the most important, such as the war on Yemen, and with the frames that Bin Salman wanted, that is, a war only on terrorism and the Houthis, without showing the rest of the elements of the picture, i.e., the human tragedies and materialistic losses that the war caused so far.

Bearing in mind all that is referred to by D'Angelo (2002), the framing process used by each of the three newspapers is evident, namely: communicator, delivered text, receiver and culture.

In addition, D'Angelo had talked about the impact of all this in directing public opinion and forming knowledge in both individuals and groups. This framing makes it easy to measure the content of a message and clarify the role of this content in shaping attitudes and opinions, as Hassouna (2015) also says. All that is mentioned by Makkawi, Al-Olayan, and Al-Sayed (Abdelhamid, 2012) about the stages of framing is evident in the foregoing discussion: choosing the important topics and issues that will be highlighted, then choosing the media material that reflects the attention that the issue has received.

As shown in the theoretical part, the Agenda Setting theory states that

the media cannot treat all issues with the same level of attention for several reasons, including the space granted to the media, as well as the intellectual and political premises enjoyed by those in charge of the media message, and the regime's political orientation. All of this was evident in Asharq Al-Awsat sample, which did not depart one bit from what the Saudi regime desired in describing and addressing events. So, for example, the planned NEOM project did not receive the same attention as did the war on Yemen, and Saudi women's affairs did not receive the same attention that the blockade on Qatar did. The Saudi regime, and the newspaper that speaks on its behalf, wanted to prioritize matters for the Saudi people through this technique. Tashman's vision (Scheufele, 1999), mentioned in the theoretical part, about the role of framing in directing the public and the masses was also evident, if we take into account how much the Arab regimes, including the Saudi, managed to direct people towards the narrative they adopted through framing of events.

About the two theories, Media Framing and Agenda Setting, what Croucher (2016) explained about the Second-level Agenda Setting is evident here. For example, when the war on Yemen and the blockade on Qatar topped the materials in Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper, it was the Agenda-Setting, but when Asharq Al-Awsat chose to frame this news handling in its own way, for the purpose of influencing public opinion, using language, closures, introductions, headlines, and degree of professionalism it desired, here it has moved to the Second-level Agenda Setting.

Framing in both samples (Asharq Al-Awsat and Western media) also appears through the use of the frames that were discussed above, and which AbdelWahed (2014) referred to in the theoretical part of the dissertation. The

analysis related to the use of frames showed that the episodic frame, which deals with specific issues with all their details, causes, indications, and consequences, was the most widely used in the two samples. This was because of the nature of the issues that were given priority, such as the Khashoggi case, for example. The responsibility frame was also employed, specifically after the Khashoggi incident, because this frame holds a certain party responsible. The economic frame declined, for example, as soon as the Khashoggi incident occurred, despite the great importance that the Saudi economy occupies in the Western media. The conflict frame was also used in the two samples, specifically in the issue of the blockade on Qatar and the war on Yemen. Mixed frames were also present at a high rate in both samples, which indicates that framing was intensified, although the percentage of professionalism varied during the framing process, in favor of the Western media.

With regard to the first hypothesis and its related question, what this hypothesis stipulated was validated, namely, that there was an increase in Western media interest in the Saudi affairs after Bin Salman assumed office as Crown Prince. This is shown through the figures and percentages that resulted from the content analysis.

The question from which the study sets off to test this hypothesis is: has the media discourse altered following MBS's assuming office? If yes, what were the quantitative and qualitative qualities of this notable alteration?

It was evident through figures and percentages that the media coverage rate increased in the Western media surveyed within the sample, and that this increase was twofold: quantitative and qualitative. The number of media items

in both newspapers increased from 142 to 240 after Bin Salman assumed office as Crown Prince. The increase was more in favor of the American Washington Post than the British Guardian in the three stages of the surveyed sample. This is due to the intertwined relations between Saudi Arabia and the US, which still hold and are expected to continue. The American administration is still strongly present in Saudi policies and orientation, unlike Britain, whose role has receded in the Arab world after the end of the colonial period, when most Arab countries gained their independence from Britain.

This indicates the increasing Western media's interest in reforms in Saudi Arabia after Prince Mohammad Bin Salman assumed the position of Crown Prince.

Additionally, this change in the rate of Western media interest in the Saudi affairs after Bin Salman assumed office as Crown Prince within the studied sample was not only quantitative, but also qualitative. So, the percentage of journalistic genres that were used also changed after Bin Salman assumed office. The rate of usage of both the "news" and "report" increased, which is explained by the attempt to evade the Saudi regime's reservations when dealing with Western media, specifically in files embarrassing to the regime, such as the war on Yemen and the detention of princes at the Ritz-Carlton. Consequently, the "news," which did not go beyond the scope of five questions, and the "report," which on many occasions only conveyed facts and information in an abstract and comprehensive manner, were used.

The use of the "news style", as well as the "analytical style" after Bin Salman assumed office, increased because the "news style" answers specific

questions in terms of informing and answering the five questions. Meanwhile, the “analytical style” tries to load the media text with implications, interpretations, and visions. This coincided with that period, which was promising at the beginning, but was marred by incomprehensible incidents, such as the detention of princes at the Ritz-Carlton and its possible interpretations, which was met with the Saudi regime's abstinence to comment on the incident.

This stage was marked by the presence of Bin Salman as a promising figure, and this may be the reason behind accusing the Western media of contributing to deceiving the masses about Bin Salman at the beginning of his reign.

After the advent of Bin Salman, interest increased in issues related to Bin Salman's life and personality, although he previously held other positions, such as the position of Minister of Defense. Files that were present, such as the war on Yemen, the extremist religious movements, and Saudi women affairs before Bin Salman, witnessed an increasing interest after his advent.

The use of supporting materials declined after Bin Salman assumed his position, and this may be due to the low flow of supporting materials obtained from correspondents, which is in turn probably due to the restrictions on freedom of media imposed by Bin Salman. Meanwhile, only the rate of using still images increased.

The percentage of “balance” remained the same after the arrival of Bin Salman, while that of “objectivity” increased. “Professional orientation” of the item also remained unchanged, and so did the percentage of “persuasions” that were used after the arrival of Bin Salman, but with a slight decrease. Perhaps the

reason for this positive tendency in the Western media at the beginning of Bin Salman's era was due to the aforementioned state of hope that he would be the reformer relied on for change. This did not even require the Western journalist to persuade the reader because Bin Salman's promising achievements were seen most convincing, without the need for any other attempts of persuasion.

The percentage of "stereotyping" decreased after Bin Salman, which may indicate a real desire by the Western media at the time to discuss reforms in Saudi Arabia, without prejudices and preconceptions.

Hate speech did not change after Bin Salman assumed office, although it rose at some stages, as in the case of accusations and mobilization. Perhaps this is due to the war on Yemen, which the Western media paid much attention to, especially in terms of the human losses inflicted by Saudi Arabia and the coalition countries in Yemen.

The rate of using of frames increased after Bin Salman, particularly the episodic, thematic, conflict, and economic frames, given the nature of the issues covered, most of which revolved around the issue of women, the war on Yemen, the blockade on Qatar, the Saudi economy and Bin Salman's visions regarding it.

Further, the representation of Bin Salman in the media items following his assuming office as crown prince ranged between equivalent to the regime and a reformer. Other traits also appeared, bearing a kind of negative character, such as "killer." He was referred to so due to his involvement, as Minister of Defense, in the war on Yemen and the war in Syria. In addition, some traits indicated that he was a deceiver, a tyrant, and a follower of America. In general, after assuming the position of Crown Prince, Bin Salman was present in many

media items and in various depictions. These ranged between positive and negative, although the positive representations were slightly more. At that time, Bin Salman’s promises to implement reforms increased.

According to Percentages and figures (content analysis), and by testing the hypotheses (the study hypotheses) and answering its question (the study questions), it has been detected that there is a growing interest in the Western media in Saudi affairs after Bin Salman assumed the position of Crown Prince. There was also a change in the details of the Western media handling after Bin Salman took office, meaning that there was a quantitative and qualitative change.

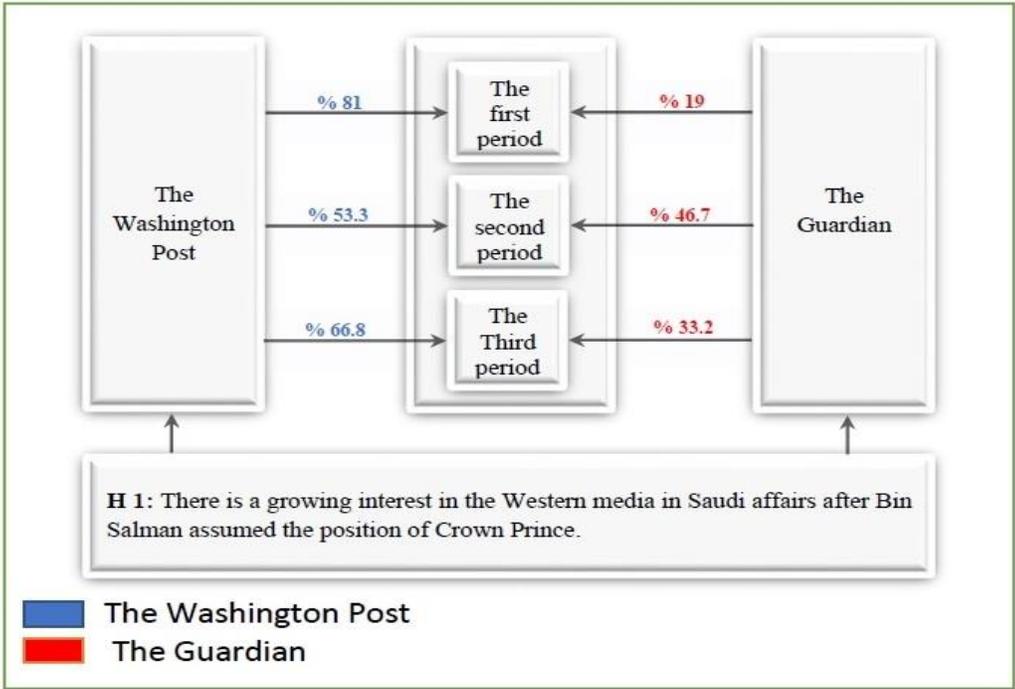


Figure (6-1): Explanatory Model for The Shift of Western Media in Dealing with Saudi Issues After MBS Assuming Office and Carrying Out Genuine Reforms

The second hypothesis stipulated that Western media discourse changed between the start of MBS's period and Khashoggi's assassination, particularly after October 2, 2018. This hypothesis was validated by answering the related question, which stated:

Has the media discourse changed between the start of MBS's period and Khashoggi's assassination period? If yes, what were the quantitative and qualitative qualities of this notable change?

With regard to the third period (that of the Khashoggi murder), the majority of the media items that covered reforms in Saudi Arabia were centered on the topic of Khashoggi case. While the Khashoggi case dominated the media coverage, attention to the details of the prince's life and personality, and even other topics, such as the war on Yemen and the blockade on Qatar, receded. This recession is due to the nature of the criminal case and the reaction it provoked globally. It is also due to the fact that the case and its repercussions were linked to America, Trump, and Congress in particular, as mentioned in details in the previous chapters. Here, the Priority Setting theory, on which the hypothesis was based, became evident.

The rates of journalistic genres changed after the Khashoggi incident. The "news" genre declined, the "article" increased. The reason, as discussed in detail in the previous chapter, is due to the nature of the dominant cases after the Khashoggi incident, i.e., the criminal case, which does not witness a flow of

information nor high transparency in official statements. Consequently, the high rate of speculation, interpretation, and analysis were present in the article more than the transparent and specific information represented in the news story.

The use of the analysis genre escalated after the Khashoggi incident. The case witnessed the absence of hard facts, in contrast to the strong presence of analysis and speculation.

The use of the job title “reporter” increased after the Khashoggi incident, due to the nature of the case, which was accompanied by a continuous follow-up of the changing event successively.

The use of supporting materials increased after the Khashoggi incident, perhaps with a desire to enrich the media materials with new photos and videos from the scene of the accident, as well as the promo of the event, and a remarkable presence of caricatures to comment on the events.

The percentage of balance receded after the Khashoggi incident, and the level of objectivity declined. The professional orientation of the material remained unchanged, while the percentage of persuasion increased after the incident, particularly humanitarian, emotional, and political ones, because the Khashoggi case had humanitarian, dramatic, and political dimensions. The rate of hate speech increased after the Khashoggi incident, specifically mobilization, instigation, insults, libel, slander, stigmatization and accusation. These were directed against the Saudi regime, at which fingers were pointed. Perhaps this slight professional decline with regard to objectivity, balance, professional orientation of the subject, and the presence of hate speech is caused by the nature of the incident, which involved a murder condemned by all parties. This

may explain why writers of media items were so comfortable expressing their condemnation and pointing fingers at the Saudi regime.

The percentage of stereotyping decreased after the Khashoggi case, which may be due to the fact that the Khashoggi incident exposed the reality of the regime, leaving no need for stereotyping. This is because stereotyping by nature is not knowing the reality of the other, as indicated by Helmi Sari (2003) in the theoretical part of the dissertation. Meanwhile, the percentage of using frames increased after the incident. The episodic frame, thematic frame, conflict frame and the responsibility frame were present, in view of the discussion of the case and its association with greater themes and connotations, in addition to holding the Saudi regime responsible for the murder.

Bin Salman's image ranged between murderer and tyrant after the Khashoggi incident, while his image as a reformer, patriot, and leader against terrorism completely disappeared. This means that the slight positive portrayal that marked his image at the beginning of his reign completely declined after the Khashoggi incident.

According to percentages and figures (content analysis), and by testing the hypotheses (the study hypotheses) and answering its questions (the study questions), it has been detected that there is a change in the tone of Western media handling of Bin Salman between the beginning of his reign on the one hand, and after the murder of journalist Jamal Khashoggi in his country's consulate in Istanbul, on the other. There was also a change in the details of the Western media news handling after the Khashoggi incident, meaning there was a quantitative and qualitative change.

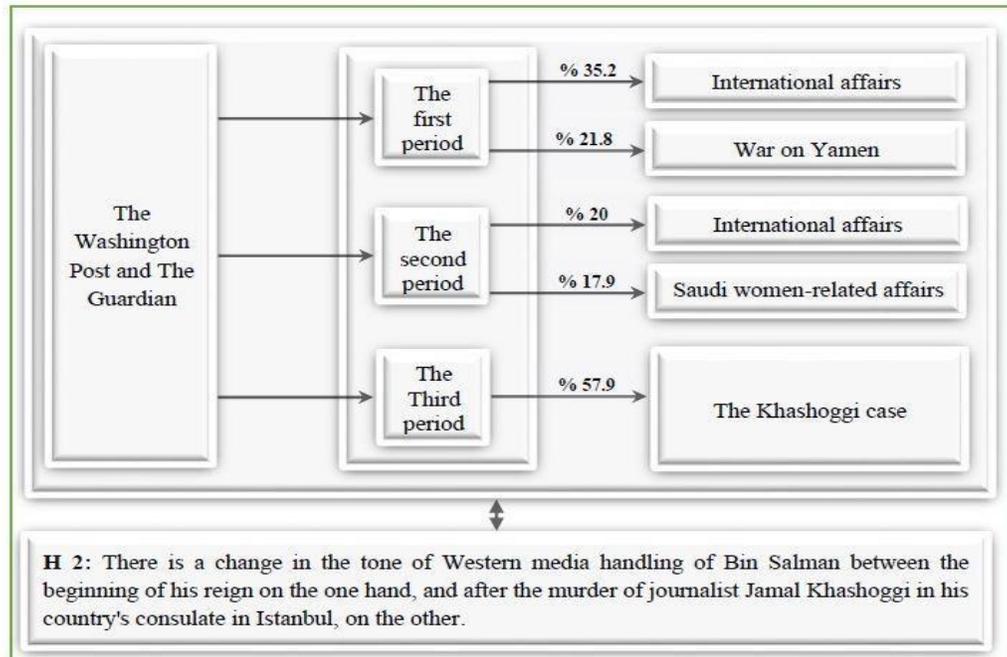


Figure (6-2): Explanatory Model for Western Media Discourse Altered between the Start of MBS's Period and Khashoggi's Assassination Period

The third hypothesis on which the dissertation is based pertains to the notable professionalism difference between the coverage of Saudi reforms by American and British media (The Washington Post and The Guardian) and Saudi media (Asharq Al-Awsat).

Figures and percentages were used to answer this hypothesis question which states:

To what extent were they (The Washington Post, The Guardian, and Asharq Al-Awsat) professional in covering Saudi affairs? How dependent was this

coverage on the countries where the newspapers are based? Was there hate speech and stereotyping in the media items?

Regarding balance, objectivity, and professionalism in the published media items in Asharq Al-Awsat that dealt with Saudi reforms during the period of study, the findings indicated that the writer did not achieve the required balance in most of these items. The items were unable to achieve such balance because the writer, in the majority of the cases, offered a one-sided view that was in line with the editorial policy of the newspaper, or in line with the Saudi official positions.

Through analysis of media materials in Asharq Al-Awsat, it was found that the rates of objectivity and professional orientation of the material were low. That is, the most important condition of objectivity, which is the journalist's self-distancing from religious, ethnic, and political affiliations, was not achieved during the coverage of journalistic topics. In addition, there were professional violations on a simpler scale, such as specifying the journalistic genre of the media item and matching headlines and images with texts.

The rates of hate speech, most notably incitement, were high. The highest percentage of stereotyping was of reactions, whether those at the Saudi citizen, the Saudi regime, or any other side that opposed the Saudi regime on issues like foreign political matters, such as the war on Yemen and the blockade on Qatar.

The results showed, regarding balance, objectivity and professionalism, that the majority of media item writers in The Washington Post and The Guardian which covered reforms in Saudi Arabia in the first period (before Bin

Salman took office), the second (after Bin Salman took office), and the third (the period of the Khashoggi case), achieved balance in the production of these items. They were mostly objective in their writing of the media items in the first, second, and third periods.

Hate speech was absent in the majority of the media items published in The Washington Post and The Guardian in the first, the second, and the third period, as the results of the analysis of items also showed. Furthermore, most of the media items that covered reforms in Saudi Arabia were free of stereotyping of Saudi citizens.

Despite the difference in professionalism between Asharq Al-Awsat sample on the one hand, and the Western media sample on the other, which was in favor of the Western media as shown by the figures, the professionalism indicators of the Western sample in the study showed a decline after the Khashoggi incident. It was previously explained in several places in the dissertation that this was due to the state of comfort the writers of media items experienced after the Khashoggi incident, the crime that was unanimously condemned, and it made some hate speech and deviation from professionalism float on the surface.

According to Percentages and figures (content analysis), and by testing the hypotheses (the study hypotheses) and answering its questions (the study questions), it has been detected that there is a professional gap between Western and Saudi media in covering the reforms in Saudi Arabia and the personality of Prince Mohammad Bin Salman. This gap is evident in all aspects of professionalism, such as objectivity, balance, the presence or absence of hate

speech, and the presence or absence of stereotyping, in addition to the used methods of persuasion. It has also been detected that the three newspapers were not detached, regarding their positions, from the positions of the countries they belong to or affiliated with. That is, the positions of Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper were completely commensurate with the narrative of the Saudi regime, while the Western media sample showed that the positions of the two Western newspapers were in line with their countries condemnation of the Khashoggi incident. However, despite The Washington Post's corresponding position with America's position in terms of the momentum of the condemnation, the newspaper did play the role of observer and critic of what was described as Trump's attempt to cover up the Khashoggi issue in favor of Bin Salman.

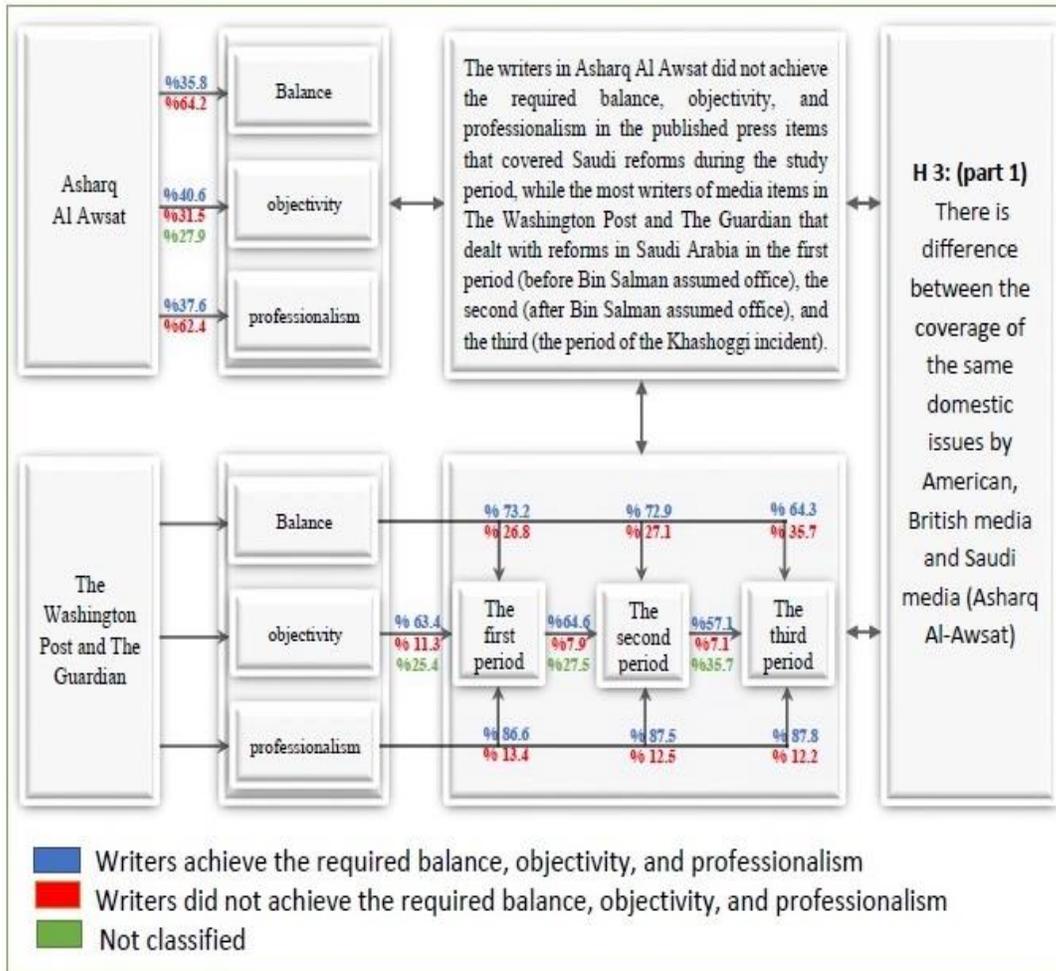


Figure (6-3): Explanatory Model for The Difference between The Coverage of Saudi Issues by American and British Media and Saudi Media 1

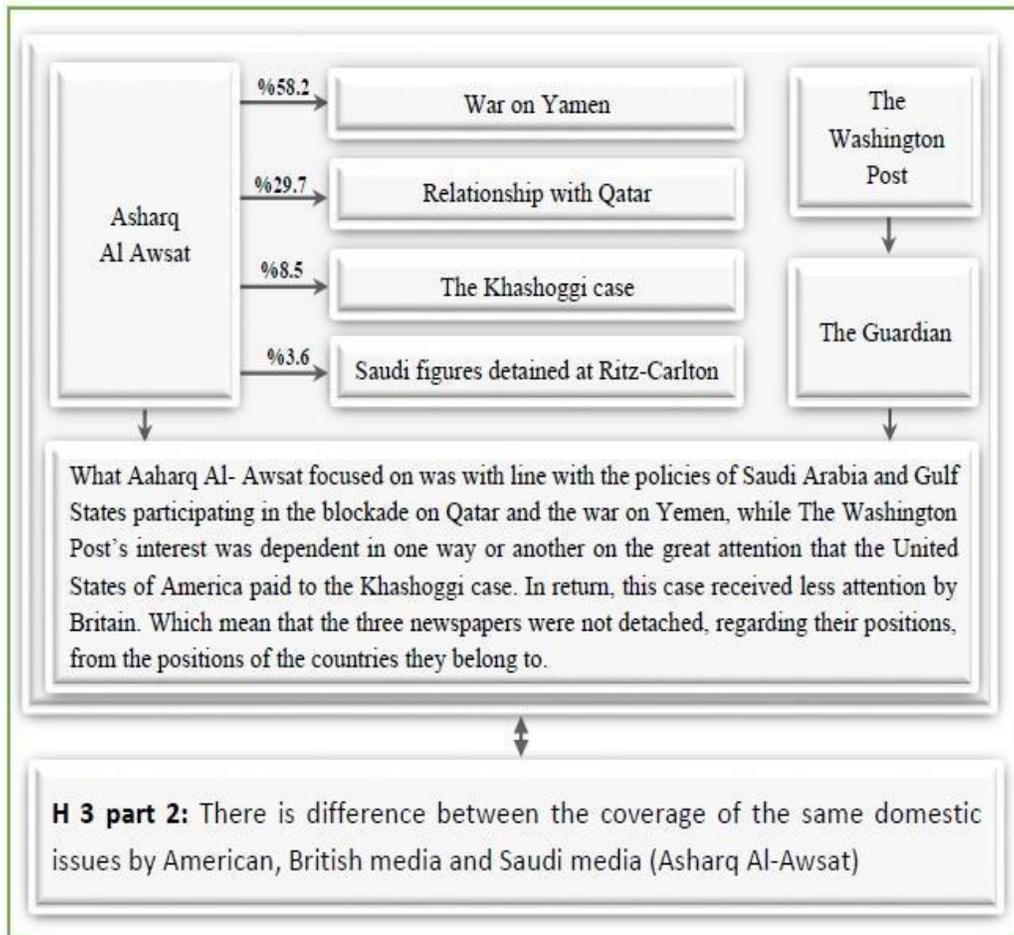


Figure (6-4): Explanatory Model for The Difference between The Coverage of Saudi Issues by American and British Media and Saudi Media 2

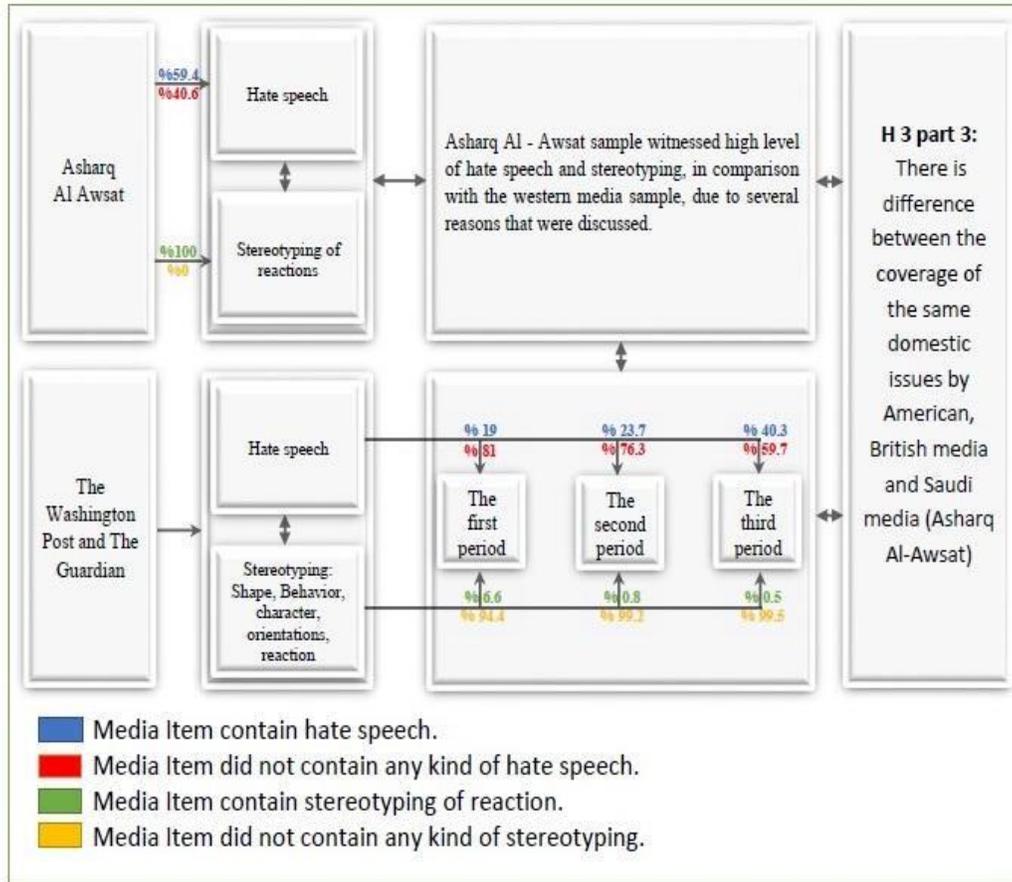


Figure (6-5): Explanatory Model for The Difference between The Coverage of Saudi Issues by American and British Media and Saudi Media 3

6.3 Summary of The Conclusions

Journalistic genres in Asharq Al-Awsat sample were not varied, in contrast to what was found in the Western media sample, which used more journalistic genre. This variety of genres reflected more keenness on the part of the latter to report the facts of the issues raised, in contrast to the tone of reservation that was evident in the coverage of Asharq Al-Awsat.

At the same time, the Western media sample did not employ the expected diversity in journalistic genre, due to the criminal nature of some of the cases covered, as well as the reservations of the Saudi regime, which did not provide much information, and therefore it became necessary for the newspaper to rely on opinions, i.e. articles.

The news style was dominant in Asharq Al-Awsat materials in the sample surveyed, followed by the propaganda style that marketed the regime's proposals. Meanwhile, the analytical style was present in the Western media, which reflects more freedom available to the Western media in analysis, in addition to the Western media attempt to find a way out in front of the scarcity of the Saudi statements.

The sample surveyed in Asharq Al-Awsat, the Washington Post, and The Guardian did not witness diversity of job titles for writers of press articles, although some titles in the Western media were present, in contrast to their complete absence in the Saudi media, such as university professor and expert. This reflects the Saudi regime's wish not to allow independent voices, which may provide a different narrative than its version of the events, to be heard.

Through the issues covered by the studied sample, the Agenda Setting Theory became clear. Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper, for example, convinced its audience that the war on Yemen and the blockade on Qatar had more priority than the detention of princes at the Ritz-Carlton, for example. Even when the newspaper arranged the priorities, it followed the second level of the Agenda Setting, that is, it framed the issue and placed it at the forefront of the discussion. That is, it excluded from the handling what it did not wish to disclose, while focusing on what it wanted to present. For example, it framed the war on Yemen as a war on terrorism, while it neglected the human and material losses that resulted from the war. So did the Western media, which foregrounded issues that directly affect the West in Saudi affairs, such as the war on Yemen, the blockade on Qatar, and the Khashoggi case, but it did not pay attention to issues that are not irrelevant to them, such as the NEOM project, culture, arts, or sports in Saudi Arabia.

Framing also emerged in the supporting materials category, as Asharq Al-Awsat noticeably neglected the use of these materials, for the purpose of concealing part of the media message, as in the case of the war on Yemen. Western media, on the other hand, devoted its intensely used supporting materials as part of intensifying the framing it wished to use.

Balance was absent from most of the materials of Asharq Al-Awsat sample. Balance is the presentation of the two parties' narratives and giving the same space for both of them to argue, in addition to covering all aspects of the issue at hand. On the other hand, balance was achieved at a higher percentage in the Western media, although it witnessed a decline after the Khashoggi incident.

Objectivity was absent from Asharq Al-Awsat sample. Objectivity here means addressing the issue raised in the media with professional tools, away from religious, dogmatic, or ethnic siding or any other considerations that may affect the author's objectivity. On the other hand, the percentage of objectivity was higher in the Western media sample, although it witnessed some decline after the Khashoggi incident.

Political persuasion topped the surveyed materials in both samples (Asharq Al-Awsat and the Western sample) because of the nature of the issues raised. However, other methods of persuasion were present in the Western sample in particular, such as interest-based persuasion, which sees in Saudi Arabia a high economic and investment value. Humanitarian persuasion was strongly present in the wake of the Khashoggi crisis. Religious persuasion, although scarce, was also present in Asharq Al-Awsat sample through the theme of Hajj, in particular. Islamophobia and fear of terrorism were also present in the Western sample in the study.

Hate speech was present in Asharq Al-Awsat sample in the form of mobilization, instigation, slander and libel, and accusation, in addition to mixed classifications of hate speech. In The Washington Post and The Guardian sample, hate speech was present in the above classifications, but what was noticeable was the increase in its rate in the Western media after the Khashoggi murder, and was directed at the Saudi regime.

Stereotyping of reactions dominated the sample of Asharq Al-Awsat. It was stereotyping of the reactions of the Saudi regime and stereotyping of opponents, as well. Stereotyping was largely absent from the sample of the

Western media although it was present before Bin Salman assumed office as Crown Prince.

The figures showed that there was a professional gap between the coverage of the Saudi Asharq Al-Awsat on the one hand, and the coverage of The Washington Post and The Guardian on the other, although the percentages also indicated a decline in professionalism in the Western media sample after the Khashoggi incident.

The Western media sample tried to distant itself from the Orientalist view in dealing with the Saudi affairs, in the sense that it did not resort to stereotypes, specifically those related to Saudi women, but rather tried to explore Saudi issues and review all the details. However, it was noticeable that the Western media sample did not deal much with issues that did not affect its interests, such as culture, arts, and sports, while it paid much attention to issues related to its interests, such as the war on Yemen and the blockade on Qatar and the Khashoggi case, which were related to the push towards the required reforms in Saudi Arabia, such as those related to Saudi women.

The most commonly used framework in Asharq Al-Awsat sample was the episodic frame, which deals with a specific issue with all its related aspects and details. It was followed by the conflict frame, which uses the conflict as a frame and interpreter of events. In The Washington Post and Guardian sample, the episodic frame was the highest present in the three stages before and after Bin Salman and after the Khashoggi incident. The second highest classification of frames in the three stages was the mixed frame. The responsibility frame, which links the accident to responsibility, also topped the post Khashoggi incident

sample.

During the attempt to measure his image in Asharq Al-Awsat sample, it was found that Bin Salman was absent, as a main topic of discussion, from most of the materials. In the materials where he was present, he was depicted as a reformer, a leader against terrorism, a patriot, and an Arab nationalist. His absence from most of the sample materials is explained through deceiving the readers by introducing his propositions without mentioning him by name. His positive traits were imbalanced and illogical. He was branded an Arab nationalist, for example, without reference to his involvement in the war on Yemen, the Syrian war, and the siege on Qatar, despite the fact that these three countries were Arab.

On the other hand, Bin Salman was represented in the Western sample as a tyrant and a killer, especially after the Khashoggi incident. His image as a reformer, patriot, and leader against terrorism declined to the point where he completely disappeared after that incident. Even when he was positively characterized in the Western sample as a reformer and leader against terrorism, after assuming the position of Crown Prince, he was also depicted as deceiver and murderer because of his involvement in the wars in Yemen and Syria. The percentages of those attributes, however, were not high before the Khashoggi incident, and therefore did not refute the hypothesis that Bin Salman's positive image had witnessed a spike after assuming the position of the Crown Prince and making promises of reform, and that this spike declined after the Khashoggi incident.

6.4 Suggestions for Further Research

The fact that this study is limited to The Washington Post and Guardian newspapers as representative of the Western media, and Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper as a representative of the Saudi media, and that it is limited to measuring the degree of Western media interest in Saudi affairs before and after Prince Mohammad Bin Salman assumed office as Crown Prince, and measuring the change in the tone of Western media in handling of Bin Salman between the beginning of his reign and after the assassination of Khashoggi, and measuring the professionalism of the Western and Arab media included in the study, there are recommendations for those who wish to conduct further research from other perspectives on this subject.

Considering that Asharq Al-Awsat sample was presented only in response to one of the study questions, which was mainly aimed at measuring the extent of professionalism in the Saudi media only, it is recommended in future research that Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper be studied with regard to the extent of its professionalism in covering other Arab and international issues. The aim is to compare the degree of its professionalism and independence between its handling of the Saudi affairs on the one hand, and other Arab and international affairs on the other.

Since the sample of the Western media in this study was limited to the American Washington Post and the British Guardian, it is suggested that the sample be expanded in future studies to include a third European newspaper, especially one that belongs to a European country that has had a notable position on the case of the assassination of journalist Jamal Khashoggi, after the

incident and in the present time, such as France.

It may be useful in future studies to dig deeper into the analysis of the coverage of Saudi women's affairs in the pre- and post-Bin Salman era, in both the Saudi and Western media, and to pose questions about how serious these reforms are, and whether the media played a supportive role of Saudi women and their affairs, especially with regard to women opposing Bin Salman, who are incarcerated in Saudi prisons.

The religious issue is noteworthy when Saudi Arabia, before and after Bin Salman, is discussed, noting that the Saudi regime largely relied from the beginning on the religious institution for its legitimacy, and at some point, in its history, it granted great powers to the local religious authorities, thus imposing their dominance on several social groups, especially women, education, and art. Therefore, it is recommended that future research discusses the religious aspect in Saudi Arabia and its impact on the media in the country, analyze the content of media messages, many of which previously contained hate speech against the other, and examine whether this content has changed after Bin Salman took office.

Since the sample for this study was limited to the written press, it may be useful for future research to incorporate a TV or radio sample, for the purpose of finding out if there is discrepancy in the results between printed press and audio-visual media, according to the nature and specificity of each of these media outlets.

It was pointed out in a number of articles and analyses that the Saudi regime resorts to the option of social media bots to create support for itself on social media platforms, especially Twitter. It may be a good idea for a researcher to put this point under examination and dig deeper into it if proven.

APPENDIXES

Asharq Al-Awsat Coding Schedule

The Washington Post and The Guardian Coding Schedule

Asharq Al-Awsat Coding Schedule

Serial: a serial number starting from 1

Unit of Analysis: single Media Item

Primary Sample: The Saudi Asharq Al-Awsat Newspaper

Time frame: Since Bin Salman became Crown Prince in June 2017 until the end of the survey sample in June 2019

- **Type of media item: This category refers to the genre of the media item: (1-7)**

1. News story
2. Dialogue
3. Article
4. Feature story/ Reportage
5. Report
6. Portrait
7. Other

- **The sector covered in the media item: (1-4)**

1. Relationship with Qatar

2. War on Yemen
 3. Saudi figures detained at the Ritz-Carlton
 4. Khashoggi case
- **Job titles of the media item writers: (1-8)**
1. Intellectual
 2. Reporter
 3. Journalist
 4. University Professor
 5. Political analyst
 6. Expert
 7. Researcher
 8. Other: Any Job title not mentioned in this category

- **Style used by the writer: (1-6)**

1. News style devoid of any opinions.
2. Propaganda style: it is based on emotional arousal and dramatic portrayal of facts to achieve certain goals behind propaganda, so the item turns into a propaganda.
3. Debate style: based on presenting ideas and reviewing opinions.
4. Analytical style: based on arguments, evidence, proofs, and figures to prove or interpret a case.
5. Mixed.
6. Other.

- **Category of Supporting Materials: (1-13)**

1. Video
2. Animated picture
3. Still image
4. A taped news report
5. A taped interview
6. Maps

7. Infographic
 8. Caricature
 9. Other
 10. Mixed
 11. Sound effects
 12. Promo
 13. None
- **Balance: (1-2)**
 1. The writer achieved balance.
 2. The writer did not achieve balance.
 - **Objectivity of the writer: (1-3)**
 1. The writer was objective.
 2. The writer was not objective.
 3. Other.
 - **The professional orientation of the item: (1-2)**
 1. Professional
 2. Unprofessional

- **Types of persuasion used (1-10)**

1. Religious
2. Emotional
3. Scientific knowledge
4. Legal
5. Humanitarian
6. Interest-based
7. Political
8. Mixed
9. Unclear
10. No persuasion

- **Hate speech (1-9)**

1. Mobilization
2. Instigation
3. Insults
4. Libel and slander
5. Stigmatization

6. Stereotyping

7. Accusation

8. Mixed

9. None

- **Stereotyping of Saudi citizens (1-6)**

1. Shape Stereotyping

2. Behavior Stereotyping

3. Personality Stereotyping

4. Stereotyping of orientations

5. Stereotyping of reactions

6. There's no Stereotyping

- **Type of frame used (1-10):**

1. Episodic Frame
2. Thematic Frame
3. Strategy Frame
4. Human-interest Frame
5. Economic Frame
6. Responsibility Frame
7. Conflict Frame
8. Ethical Frame
9. Mixed
10. None

- **Image of Bin Salman (1-12):**

1. Tyrant
2. Killer
3. Reformer
4. Patriotic
5. America's Affiliate

6. Arab Nationalist
7. Deceptive
8. Leader of anti-terrorism efforts
9. Regime Equivalent
10. Mixture of the Above
11. None of The Above
12. Not Mentioned

The Washington Post and The Guardian Coding Schedule

The monitoring guide will have three papers on the excel file according to the following time periods:

The first was the one before Bin Salman assumed office.

The second since Bin Salman took office.

The third since Jamal Khashoggi's accident.

Serial: a serial number starting from 1

Unit of Analysis: single Media Item

Main sample: The Washington Post and The Guardian

Time frame: It was chosen according to the divisions above, and it ranges from the start date of the researched sample in January 2016 to June 2019

- **Media Outlet: (1-2)**

1. The Washington Post
2. The Guardian

- **Type of media item: This category refers to the genre of the media item (1-8):**
 1. News story
 2. Dialogue
 3. Article
 4. Journalistic investigation
 5. Report
 6. Portrait (pen image)
 7. Feature
 8. Other

- **Sector covered by the media item: (1-15)**
 1. Saudi domestic Policy
 2. Economic affairs
 3. Social affairs
 4. Saudi women-related affairs
 5. Cultural and artistic affairs
 6. Sports Affairs
 7. Relationship with Qatar

8. War on Yemen
 9. Relationship with Iran
 10. Saudi figures detained at Ritz-Carlton
 11. Khashoggi case
 12. Deal of the Century
 13. NEOM Project
 14. Bin Salman's personality and Life
 15. International affairs
- **Job titles of media item writers: (1-8)**
1. Intellectual
 2. Reporter
 3. Journalist
 4. University professor
 5. Political analyst
 6. Expert
 7. Researcher
 8. Other: It refers to any Job title that is not mentioned in this classification.

- **Style used by the writer: (1-6)**

1. News style: devoid of any opinions.
2. Propaganda style: It is based on emotional arousal and dramatic portrayal of facts to achieve certain goals behind propaganda, so the item turns into a propaganda.
3. Debate style: depends on presenting ideas and reviewing opinions.
4. Analytical style: relies on arguments, evidence, proofs and figures to prove or interpret a specific issue.
5. Mixed.
6. Other.

- **Category of Supporting Materials: (1-13)**

1. Video
2. Animated picture
3. Still image
4. A taped news report
5. A taped interview
6. Maps

7. Infographic
8. Caricature
9. Other
10. Mixed
11. Sound effects
12. Promo
13. None

- **Balance: (1-2)**

1. The writer achieved balance.
2. The writer did not achieve balance.

- **The objectivity of the writer: (1-2)**

1. The writer was objective.
2. The writer was not objective.

- **The professional orientation of the item: (1-2)**

1. Professional
2. Unprofessional

- **Types of persuasion used (1-10)**

1. Religious
2. Emotional
3. Scientific knowledge
4. Legal
5. Humanitarian
6. Interest-based
7. Political
8. Mixed
9. Unclear
10. No persuasion

- **Hate speech (1-9)**

1. Mobilization
2. Instigation
3. Insults
4. Libel and slander

5. Stigmatization

6. Stereotyping

7. Accusation

8. Mixed

9. None

- **Stereotyping of Saudi citizens (1-6)**

1. Stereotyping of Shape

2. Stereotyping of Behavior

3. Stereotyping of Character

4. Stereotyping of orientations

5. Stereotyping of reactions

6. There's no stereotyping

- **Type of frame used (1-10):**

1. Episodic Frame
2. Thematic Frame
3. Strategy Frame
4. Human-interest Frame
5. Economic Frame
6. Responsibility Frame
7. Conflict Frame
8. Ethical Frame
9. Mixed
10. None

- **Image of Bin Salman (1-12):**

1. Tyrant
2. Killer
3. Reformer
4. Patriotic

5. America's Affiliate
6. Arab Nationalist
7. Deceptive
8. Leader of anti-terrorism efforts
9. Regime Equivalent
10. A Mixture of the Above
11. None of The Above
12. Not Mentioned

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