

Algerian Women in Western Online News During the ‘Hirak’: Emerging Images and Recurring Stereotypes

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Abstract—The Algerian ‘Hirak’ refers to a series of manifestations to protest against the ruling system in Algeria, which began in February 2019. It is considered a historical marker that featured a significant role of women in political change. This research project examined the image of Algerian women in Western media during this period using corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis. It is based on 36 articles reporting on Algerian women during the ‘Hirak’ movement published by different English news websites. Sketch Engine was used to extract the significant lexical items associated with Algerian women in these articles. Then these items were classified into groups according to the theme they reflect. The analysis of the extracted terms indicates that the framing of Algerian women in English news is linked to six main themes: activism, empowerment, oppression and violence, rights, religion, and family and lifestyle. The findings revealed that the news articles under investigation documented gendering the Algerian ‘Hirak’ and highlighted the emerging image of women as active agents of change, in a similar fashion to that of Arab women during the Arab Spring. They were framed in powerful settings, fighting for their rights and condemning gender-based injustice. Yet, the articles continued to reflect the stereotypical depiction of women’s vulnerability and victimization, linking that to the embedded patriarchal notions in society.

Index Terms—Algerian women, Western media, Algerian ‘Hirak’, media discourse, Corpus Assisted Critical Discourse Analysis

I. INTRODUCTION

Studying media discourse has been a topic of interest because of its powerful impact on public opinion, particularly in terms of the construction of stereotypes of different social groups or minorities in society. Research has shown that Western media tend to disseminate negative stereotyped images of Arab women and merge them with Muslim women (Al-Hejin, 2012; Manley, 2009; McCafferty, 2005). Various studies have shown that Muslim women are often assigned presumptive depictions as submissive, subjugated, victims, and passive dependent individuals (Issaka, 2021). Such portrayals can significantly contribute to public prejudice, resulting in increased discrimination against them in Western societies.

Many studies have recently tackled the major role of Arab women in the Arab Spring, which refers to the onset of massive protests against autocratic rules in some Arab countries, starting in Tunisia in late 2010, where citizens protested the country’s economic and political instability (Badawi, 2019). Such a role has shown a profound impact changing Arab women’s image from passive victims of social norms and patriarchal structures to active agents of change, participating in protests and joining political transitions (Al-Ali, 2012; Dastgeer & Gade, 2016; Mustafa-Awad et al., 2020; Mustafa-Awad & Kimer-Ludwig, 2017; Pompper, 2014).

Studies on the depiction of Arab women from different Arab countries in media during the Arab Spring revealed diverse experiences, reflecting their significant contributions to the movements in addition to the challenges they encountered. For instance, Pompper’s (2014) analysis of mainstream news highlighted Tunisian women’s roles as leaders and patriotic citizens during the 2011 Tunisian revolution. Furthermore, Al-Nuaimi’s (2020) study on Egyptian newspapers’ representation of women during 2011-2014 uprisings revealed that these publications highlighted institutionalized hegemonic masculinity, which strives to systematically silence women.

Echoing the Arab Spring, Algeria’s ‘Hirak’ movement, which began in February 2019, is considered a significant historical milestone that witnessed widespread involvement of women of all ages and social backgrounds (Daoudi, 2021). They played a significant role as a support system, demanding alongside men the regime’s withdrawal. Taking part in these movements enabled women to overcome social and cultural constraints and eliminate the stereotypical image of being confined to restrictive and reductionist roles.

The impact of their significant contribution to the ‘Hirak’ on their portrayal in news has not received enough attention. Their image in the media has been often associated with Arab and Muslim women. Indeed, research focusing on the

portrayal of Algerian women in the media is limited to some reports highlighting their image in advertisements (Hassnaoui, 2018; Khelouf, 2019; Zeghdi, 2014) and their representation in the news arena (Birardi, 2016; Malik, 2021). The current research represents an exploratory endeavor in its attempt to analyze English online news' depiction of Algerian women during the 'Hirak'. Specifically, it seeks to examine the lexical items used to describe them and to what extent they contribute to their novel portrayal during that period as opposed to their established stereotypes in English digital media.

II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Research on the representation of Arab women in media has been reflected in different forms, ranging from studies on the image of Arab and Muslim women in Western news outlets (Bashatah, 2017; Falah, 2005; Manley, 2009; McCafferty, 2005) and Arab media (Hamid et al., 2021; Allam, 2005; Ketfi, 2019) to the influence of media on audiences' attitudes towards Arab women (Mustafa-Awad & Kimer-Ludwig, 2017).

Muslim and Arab women are mostly treated as one homogenous group that has been assigned a negative image in Western media. They are often portrayed as victims of their Islamic patriarchal society, uneducated, and submissive to male dominance (Al-Hejin, 2012; Bashatah, 2017; Falah, 2005; Manley, 2009; McCafferty, 2005). For instance, McCafferty (2005) studied the image of Muslim women in the New York Times around September 11. The findings indicated that the images reflected three categories of women. One category was portrayed as powerless, oppressed, and submissive to their male compatriots, while another category was depicted as politicized and defiant; she pointed out that their success is often attributed to Western emancipation. The last one was viewed as mysterious and exotic.

The representation of Arab women in media is merged with Middle Eastern women; both are treated as one entity, regardless of the different ethnicities they belong to. Manley (2009) conducted a content analysis of 61 news stories from different American satellite channels, such as NBC and CNN, aired between 2001 and 2008, to analyze the depiction of Middle Eastern women in television news. The study's findings are consistent with existing literature, which depicts Muslim/Middle Eastern women negatively. Television journalists tend to describe them as submissive victims of their societies. They are viewed as an "other" entity that seeks Western rescue.

Because of their significant contribution to the Arab Spring that recently swept across numerous MENA countries, Arab women have received considerable attention in global media. A number of studies scrutinized news coverage of their remarkable participation, which became emblematic of the political uprisings. Through examining the visual framing of Muslim women during the Arab Spring, Dastgeer and Gade (2016) found that media from the US and the Middle East framed women positively as active participants in the political unrest. Similarly, Mustafa-Awad and Kimer-Ludwig (2017) examined media depictions of Arab women during the same period and found that, despite the recurrent negative portrayal of Arab women, positive images emerged due to their significant role during the Arab Spring.

The research on Algerian women's representation in media is quite limited, focusing on analyzing their image in advertisements while disregarding other important sources such as newscasts and documentaries, for example (Birardi, 2016; Hassnaoui, 2018; Khelouf, 2019; Rabahi, 2010; Zeghdi, 2014). For instance, Hassnaoui (2018) studied women's image in Algerian advertising by analyzing the content of commercials from the Algerian channel Al-Nahar. Her findings reinforce the idea that women are showcased as sexual objects in advertisements, which is used as a marketing strategy to attract consumers. Additionally, their role was presented as mostly restricted to that of housewives and caregivers, ignoring the other significant roles they play in society. Birardi (2016) investigated the representation of Algerian women in news discourse by looking at the way Algerian media covered their issues and to what extent they approached the offline reality of Algerian women. The findings revealed that the Algerian press emphasized women's traditional roles and associated them with common societal issues like violence and divorce.

Studies on media coverage of Algerian women during the 'Hirak' period are not many, despite their broad participation at the forefront of these demonstrations. For instance, Malik (2021) conducted a critical discourse analysis on the framing of women by a Kabyle website during the Algerian protests. She analyzed ten articles covering Algerian, Amazigh, and Kabyle women using a gendered perspective and framing theory alongside a critical discourse analysis. The articles revealed that women have been portrayed in both conforming and non-conforming gender roles, in addition to their depiction in stereotypical ways. As a matter of fact, there remains a notable lack of research on media discourse during the 'Hirak' period.

The current research focuses on online media, documenting the depiction of Algerian women in Western news during the period of 'Hirak'. The significance of the study comes from the power of media to influence the image and progress of women in society in addition to how they are perceived and treated in various contexts.

III. METHOD

Corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis combines computational methods with linguistic analysis to uncover patterns of power and ideology in discourse. Corpus-based analysis of discourse as a research methodology has been promoted and adopted by many scholars (e.g., Baker et al., 2008; Hardt-Mautner, 1995; Marchi & Taylor, 2009; McEnery & Wilson, 2010; Orpin, 2005; Partington, 2003; Stubbs, 2009). Corpus Linguistics (CL) enables researchers to quantitatively process a great number of texts, and the statistical tools it offers assist in describing the investigated data.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), on the other hand, provides a qualitative analysis of the data, which helps researchers establish an in-depth explanation of the topic under investigation.

In this research project, corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis was used to analyze the news articles published in English on Algerian women during the ‘Hirak’ period. The articles were analyzed for the most significant lexical items used to describe them during that period using Sketch Engine.

The news corpus was composed of articles that covered the same subject (Algerian women) during the ‘Hirak’ movement between February 2019 and December 2021. The search terms used to compile the corpus were ‘**Algerian women**’ and ‘**Algerian woman**’, which were searched for in the whole article. A total of 36 articles were collected from Westlaw Next in addition to Google News, with a word count of (35.833).

The following table provides a detailed account of the number of articles covering the years that represent the Algerian uprising, in addition to the word count and the data source.

TABLE 1
THE ENGLISH DATA

| Source | 2019 | 2020 | 2021 | Total |
|------------------------------|-------|-------|------|-------|
| Washington Post | 3 | - | 2 | 5 |
| The New Arab | 2 | 3 | 2 | 7 |
| Noticias Financiers- English | - | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| The Arab Weekly | 2 | 1 | - | 3 |
| Middle East Eye | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Others | 4 | 7 | 4 | 15 |
| Total | 11 | 16 | 9 | 36 |
| Word count | 14402 | 11963 | 9468 | 35008 |

The articles were manually filtered to select the ones with the main topic of Algerian women, not just mentioning them. Therefore, the research opted for 36 English articles that thoroughly cover Algerian women’s issues. The websites are based in the following countries: U.S., UK, and France. Also, the ones with only one article in the studied period were included in the ‘others’ row, as shown in Table 1 above.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. Results of the Wordlist and N-Grams

The quantitative processing of the corpus through the Sketch Engine reveals valuable results on the lexical choices in representing Algerian women in news data. These include wordlists, n-grams, and collocations as well. The wordlist generates a list of all words according to their frequency. It yields the most frequent words in the corpus and determines the frequency of a certain word. N-grams represent clusters of 2-6 words that exist in a certain order and are either meaningful or not. Clusters allow researchers to obtain a better understanding of the context of the words. The frequency cut score for the wordlist and n-grams was set at 5.

The wordlist and n-grams were used to find out the most frequent terms and expressions pertaining to Algerian women. ‘**Algerian women**’ and ‘**Algerian woman**’ were the search terms used in collecting the data for the inquiry. The most frequent words used to refer to Algerian women are shown in Table 2 below.

TABLE 2
THE FREQUENCY LIST OF ITEMS REFERRING TO ALGERIAN WOMEN

| Lexical item | Frequency |
|-------------------|-----------|
| Women | 495 |
| Woman | 60 |
| Algerian women | 87 |
| Female (s) | 29 |
| Girl (s) | 12 |
| Young women/woman | 21 |

Table 2 shows that the word ‘women’ was the most frequent item used in English referring to Algerian women. The term ‘Algerian women’ was also notable in our corpus since it was used as a search term for data collection. Other expressions, such as *females*, were infrequently used in the articles.

Table 3 below lists the most frequent expressions in the news about Algerian women.

TABLE 3
LIST OF THE FREQUENT N-GRAMS IN ENGLISH

| N-gram | Frequency | N-gram | Frequency |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------------------------|-----------|
| Algerian women | 87 | Violence against women | 15 |
| | | Gender- based violence | 6 |
| Woman right | 44 | Woman right activist | 12 |
| Women's rights in Algeria | 5 | Woman activist | 5 |
| The street | 36 | Right activist | 13 |
| | | Right organization | 5 |
| Social media | 30 | Social issues | 10 |
| The death | 29 | Algerian man | 10 |
| The protest | 29 | The election | 10 |
| Protest movement | 7 | | |
| The demonstrations | 8 | Fifth term | 10 |
| Death penalty | 28 | National liberation | 11 |
| Muslim women | 26 | Gender equality | 10 |
| The veil | 19 | The suspect | 9 |
| The family | 23 | Djamila Bouhired | 9 |
| | | Zohra Drif | 5 |
| The victim | 22 | Arab states | 9 |
| | | Arab country | 9 |
| Black decade | 21 | Human right | 9 |
| | | Equal right | 5 |
| The government | 21 | The police | 9 |
| Young woman | 21 | Acid attack | 9 |
| Public space | 18 | Election Law | 9 |
| | | New election law | 7 |
| The regime | 17 | A feminist | 8 |
| The Islamist | 19 | Rape and murder | 8 |
| Islamist Extremist | 7 | | |
| Algerian society | 17 | Women participation | 8 |
| The Berber | 8 | | |
| North Africa | 17 | National Liberation Front | 8 |
| | | Ruling party | 6 |
| Abdelaziz Bouteflika | 15 | The revolution | 10 |
| The president | 8 | Freedom fighter | 6 |
| Family code | 15 | Mounia Meddour | 6 |
| Civil society | 15 | The Hirak | 6 |
| The war | 15 | Arab spring | 6 |
| Civil war | 14 | | |
| Algerian war | 7 | | |
| The movement | 15 | Domestic violence | 6 |
| The struggle | 14 | The murder | 6 |
| International Women's Day | 12 | Political participation | 5 |
| Man and women | 10 | Femicides Algeria | 5 |
| Political party | 5 | Street protest | 5 |
| Female candidate | 5 | Women in politics | 5 |

The list of n-grams reflects different topics, the majority of which include women's issues such as women's rights, participation, activism, and violence against women. Because the investigated period corresponds to the Algerian uprising, the majority of expressions relate to the political and social contexts in which women were active agents, significantly advocating for political and social reforms. For instance, the recurring words: *the protests* (29), *a feminist* (8), *women's participation* (8), *right activist* (13), and *women rights activists* (12) reflect Algerian women's agency by highlighting their contributions to the political unrest and nation-building. Algerian women rallied for the cause of political reforms and regime change that ensure equal rights for all citizens regardless of gender and reinforce the state's democratic values. The corpus included some women's names, such as *Djamila Bouhired* (9), a nationalist and guerilla fighter during the war of independence who has been an inspirational figure for many Algerian women to join the 'Hirak' movement. The

expressions have also covered women's struggle to achieve their rights and denounce violent and discriminatory acts against them, as evidenced by the following: *violence against women* (15), *gender-based violence* (6), *women's rights* (44), and *gender equality* (10). It is worth noting that some expressions featuring in the data referred to religion as in (*Muslim women* (26), *Islamist* (19)), dress regulations (*the veil* (19)), and Family Code (*Family Code* (15)).

B. The Results of Collocates

At this level, the most frequent collocates of the lemma 'woman' were extracted, selecting a range of five words to the right and left as well. The significance of collocates was determined according to the following measures: Cooccurrence, LogDice, Mutual Information, and T-score. **Cooccurrence (CC)** expresses the frequency of two items that appear together. **LogDice (LD)** measures the strength of the collocation. **Mutual Information score (MI)** is used to find out how many times words are likely to co-occur compared to their separate occurrences. **T-score** measures the strong association between the node and its collocate. In other words, the t-score allows us to discover whether the co-occurrence is random or not and is affected by the frequency of the collocation. For a collocate to be counted, the cut scores were set as CC = 3; LD = 6.0; MI = 2.5; t-score = 1.5.

The list of collocations was then classified into groups according to the themes they reflect following Mustafa-Awad's and Kimer-Ludwig's (2017) approach in their study on the representation of Arab women in the Arab Spring. The identified *topics* associated with women during the Algerian uprising were: activism, empowerment, rights, religion and dress regulations, oppression and violence, and family and lifestyle.

The tables below represent the significant collocates reflecting each of the identified topics.

(a). Activism

Activism seems to be the most relevant theme highlighted in the corpus since the English news on Algerian women were released during a critical period of reform in Algeria. The lexical expressions reflecting this topical frame are listed in Table 4.

TABLE 4
COLLOCATES RELATED TO ACTIVISM

| Word | CC | LD | t-score | MI |
|--------------------------|----|-------|---------|------|
| Activists | 24 | 10.12 | 4.74 | 4.96 |
| Activist | | | | |
| Uprising | 6 | 8.19 | 2.34 | 4.51 |
| Movement | 12 | 9.11 | 3.21 | 3.79 |
| Protest/s, Protesting | 31 | 10.32 | 5.18 | 3.85 |
| Fighting | 6 | 8.14 | 2.20 | 3.28 |
| Stand | 3 | 8.50 | 1.96 | 4.20 |
| Reform | 3 | 7.20 | 1.67 | 4.45 |
| Demand | 8 | 8.52 | 2.52 | 3.18 |
| Feminist | 11 | 9.01 | 3.13 | 4.15 |
| Organization | 13 | 9.28 | 3.48 | 4.86 |
| Campaign | 5 | 7.93 | 2.13 | 4.34 |
| Resistance | 8 | 8.61 | 2.76 | 5.43 |

Algerian women's activism during the 'Hirak' significantly contributed to pushing for social and political reforms. The most significant items referring to this domain in the corpus are: *protest(s)/protesting*, which appeared (31) times in the English corpus with an LD of 10.32, t-score of 5.18, and MI of 3.85. The expressions *activist/s* were also notable in the English corpus at CC of 24, LD of 10.12, t-score of 4.74, and MI of 4.96.

Examples from the corpus are given below:

"**Algerian women activists** on Thursday also called for a special day of protest on Friday in celebration of International Women's Day." (The New Arab, 08.03.2019).

"In this context, the participation of **women** in the **street protests** today is particularly inspiring." (Washington Post, 04.04.2019)

Algerian women have become key figures in the most recent uprising, which served as a historical marker that brought them to the forefront. These results conform to previous literature on the positive portrayal of Arab women as active agents of change (Allam, 2005; Dastgeer & Gade, 2016; Falah, 2005; Mustafa-Awad & Kimer-Ludwig, 2017; Tabaza & Mustafa-Awad, 2022).

(b). Empowerment

Women's empowerment was also a topic of interest in English news about Algerian women. The collocates related to this theme are listed in Table 5.

TABLE 5
COLLOCATES RELATED TO EMPOWERMENT

| Word | CC | LD | t-score | MI |
|----------------|----|------|---------|------|
| Participation | 12 | 9.17 | 3.36 | 5.08 |
| Participate | 7 | 8.40 | 2.53 | 4.50 |
| Role/roles | 13 | 9.59 | 3.20 | 4.81 |
| Representation | 7 | 8.43 | 2.59 | 5.65 |
| Involvement | 5 | 7.94 | 2.19 | 5.53 |
| Involved | 7 | 8.42 | 2.58 | 5.36 |
| Work | 6 | 8.14 | 2.19 | 3.24 |
| Lead | 6 | 8.18 | 2.33 | 4.35 |
| Hold | 13 | 9.28 | 3.49 | 5.02 |
| Powerful | 4 | 7.61 | 1.92 | 4.56 |
| Achieve | 4 | 7.61 | 1.91 | 4.43 |
| Give | 5 | 7.91 | 2.07 | 3.75 |
| Progress | 3 | 7.21 | 1.69 | 5.26 |
| Join | 5 | 7.92 | 2.12 | 4.25 |

The most significant and frequent lexical items reflecting the topic of women's empowerment in the English corpus are related to their involvement in the country's public affairs. 'Role' and 'hold' were the most significant collocates in English, occurring 13 times with an LD of 9.59 and 9.28, t-score of 3.20 and 3.49, and MI of 4.81 and 5.02, respectively. The words *participation/participate* were also prominent in the related news, occurring 12 and 7 times, LD of 9.17 and 8.40, T-score of 3.36 and 2.53, and MI of 5.08 and 4.50, respectively. While these terms capture women's participation in politics and economy, they mostly focus on their participation in the demonstrations that represent milestones in Algerian history.

Examples from our corpus are listed below:

"The **participation** of women in the street protests today is particularly inspiring. Women joined the marches, and a feminist group even established a 'feminist square' by the gates of the downtown campus of the University of Algiers." (Washington Post, 08.03.2019)

"After the 2012 elections, women **held** 31.6 percent of the seats and 30 percent of the cabinet after 2014, the highest rate among Arab countries." (Noticias Financieras, 07.02.2020).

This finding contradicts previous literature regarding Arab in addition to Algerian women's depiction as victims and passive individuals constrained to traditional roles (Arvas, 2014; Bashatah, 2017; Birardi, 2016; Drim & Shemakhi, 2015; Hassnaoui, 2018; Manley, 2009).

(c). Rights

Another important topic discussed in the news about Algerian women during that period was related to their rights. The significant expressions regarding women's rights highlighted their fight for liberation and equality with their male compatriots by opposing gender-based injustices. In addition, reforms that promote women's political integration have received considerable attention. The terms related to this topic in our corpus are given in Table 6.

TABLE 6
COLLOCATES RELATED TO RIGHTS

| Word | CC | LD | t-score | MI |
|------------------------------|----|-------|---------|------|
| Rights | 65 | 11.43 | 7.84 | 5.18 |
| Equality | 8 | 8.57 | 2.66 | 4.06 |
| Equal | 4 | 8.15 | 1.84 | 3.68 |
| Politics | 13 | 9.27 | 3.47 | 4.70 |
| Political | 14 | 9.28 | 3.44 | 3.63 |
| Parliament | 4 | 7.61 | 1.91 | 4.43 |
| Elected | 4 | 10.2 | 1.67 | 4.84 |
| Elections | 5 | 7.86 | 1.93 | 2.85 |
| Quotas | 4 | 7.62 | 1.92 | 4.70 |
| Support | 4 | 7.59 | 1.84 | 3.62 |
| Freedom | 5 | 8.49 | 2.11 | 4.20 |
| Liberation | 7 | 8.40 | 2.52 | 4.36 |
| Protect/protection/protected | 8 | 8.59 | 2.71 | 4.62 |

The word 'rights' is the top collocate of women with a CC of 65, LD of 11.43, t-score of 7.84, and MI of 5.18. Most of the expressions indicating women's rights have to do with their integration in politics, which remains a questionable issue. *Parliament*, *politics*, and *quotas* are some of the instances referring to the political right in the corpus, as it can be seen in:

"Women's participation in **politics** is key, but it does not always guarantee a breakthrough in rights and freedoms for the female population." (Noticias Financieras, 13.11.2020)

In Algeria, women's participation in politics is relatively weak, as the gender quota has been largely neglected. Indeed, the social environment, deep-rooted stereotyped attitudes, and men's convictions about women's incompetence in

occupying positions traditionally reserved for men are the main causes of political ignorance regarding the gender quota. Women are not usually supported by political parties to run for parliament candidacy, and they continue to be rejected in the political realm due to their perceived incongruity with politics (Ait-Zai, 2016).

This result affirms what was reported in previous studies regarding the perception of Arab women in politics. The issues emphasized included their limited representation in parliament and candidacy in political parties, along with their efforts to raise awareness of their political rights (Allam, 2005; Aissa, 2020). For instance, in 2018, the Arab Berometer published research on the roles and rights of women across the Middle East and North Africa, which investigated Arab perceptions of men as better political leaders. Indeed, four out of five Algerian participants (81%) agree with the statement, making up the highest percentage among the seven Arab countries involved in the study.

Other significant terms observed in our data were *equality/equal*, which occurred 12 times with a t-score of 2.66 and 1.84, MI of 4.06 and 3.68, and LD of 8.57 and 8.15, respectively. It should be mentioned that Algerian women have been fighting for gender equality at various national events over the years. Such fight was underscored during the last Algerian uprising, where the emphasis on equal rights was an integral aspect of women's demands. This finding relates to previous studies, which highlighted women's role in the fight for equality during the Arab Spring (Al-Ali, 2012; Dastgeer & Gade, 2016; Mustafa-Awad & Kimer-Ludwig, 2017).

(d). *Oppression and Violence*

Gender-based violence and oppression have been featuring as topics in global media worldwide. The annual figures released by different countries are worrisome, and Algeria is no exception. Algerian women have been victims of different forms of violence, including harassment, rape, and even femicide and battery resulting in death. Related incidents are often underreported since women are discouraged from testifying against their aggressors in what is considered a patriarchal society. However, this topic is underscored in the media during the 'Hirak', bringing women's experiences to light. The most frequent expressions related to this topic are given in Table 7.

TABLE 7
COLLOCATES RELATED TO OPPRESSION AND VIOLENCE

| Word | CC | LD | t-score | MI |
|-----------------------------|----|-------|---------|------|
| Violence | 24 | 10.08 | 4.68 | 4.45 |
| Murder | 11 | 9.02 | 3.15 | 4.35 |
| Killed | 8 | 8.58 | 2.69 | 4.37 |
| Killing | 6 | 8.78 | 2.38 | 5.13 |
| Struggle/ Struggles | 19 | 9.78 | 4.18 | 4.59 |
| Rape/ Raped | 12 | 9.12 | 3.25 | 4.05 |
| Oppression | 6 | 8.20 | 2.38 | 5.14 |
| Attack | 7 | 8.37 | 2.45 | 3.78 |
| Repression | 4 | 7.80 | 1.67 | 4.75 |
| Discrimination/discriminate | 4 | 7.62 | 1.94 | 5.02 |
| Marginalization | 5 | 8.2 | 2.73 | 4.90 |

Violence is the most significant expression related to oppression in English news. It was prominent in English with a CC of 24, LD of 10.08, t-score of 4.68, and MI of 4.45. Less frequent but still significant are terms related to different forms of violence, such as *rape/raped* and *murder*, which occurred in the English corpus with a CC of 12 and 11, LD of 9.12 and 9.02, t-score of 3.25 and 3.15, and MI of 4.05 and 4.35, respectively.

Examples of violence and its forms are illustrated below:

"As part of the Hirak popular movement, which began in 2019, women's rights groups have demanded an end to all forms of **gender-based violence** and greater gender equality. Their demands include calling for Algeria's Family Code, which they believe **discriminates** against women in matters of inheritance, marriage, divorce, child custody, and guardianship to be repealed. They have also called for the 2015 Penal Code to be amended in order to criminalize **violence against women.**" (Middle East Eye, 11.11.2020)

"One woman held a sign reading in French: 'We dream of a country where **women** who talk about **rape** are heard more than men who talk about the veil.'" (The Arab Weekly, 09.10.2020).

The fact that Algerian women are subject to different forms of violence is highlighted in our corpus. Official national statistics on domestic violence, intimate partner/non-partner violence, sexual harassment, or even child-early and forced marriages are unavailable (Ait Hamou, 2020). Nevertheless, some figures published by the National Security Directorate in 2019 reported around 7.083 complaints of conjugal and physical violence, with more cases registered for the latter (ibid.).

Since the investigated period represents a historical marker that brought women's issues to the forefront, gender inequality and discrimination were highlighted in the expressions indicating oppression against women. Interestingly, reference to women's struggle at different levels was prominent in the corpus, such as the words *struggle/struggles*, which were found with a CC of 19, LD of 9.78, t-score of 4.18, and MI of 4.59.

The emphasis on violence against women in its different forms is in line with previous literature reporting Arab women matters (Eltantawy, 2007; Narli, 2018; Tabaza, 2018).

(e). *Religion and Dress Restrictions*

News on Arab women has always tackled religious affairs and dress regulations. Table 8 shows the most frequent terms related to this topical frame.

TABLE 8
COLLOCATES RELATED TO RELIGION

| Word | CC | LD | t-score | MI |
|----------------|----|-------|---------|------|
| Muslim | 29 | 10.42 | 5.28 | 5.70 |
| Veiled/veiling | 8 | 8.55 | 2.60 | 3.62 |
| Religious | 4 | 10.5 | 1.65 | 3.54 |
| Islamist | 5 | 7.85 | 1.88 | 2.64 |
| Headscarves | 3 | 12.7 | 1.84 | 6.65 |

The English news highlighted aspects of religion and dress regulations when reporting Algerian women's issues during the investigated period. This can be illustrated in terms associated with religion as *Muslim*, which featured at CC of 29, LD of 10.42, t-score of 5.28, and MI of 5.70.

Western media give considerable attention to veiling practices when reporting on Muslim women (Bullock & Jafri, 2000). The corpus included references of Muslim women's dress code with regard to its significance, such as the word *veiled*. It is worth noting that different terms for the Islamic veil occurred in the corpus, such as *Hijab*, *Headscarves*, and *Jilbab*.

The following is an example from the corpus:

"French imperialists wielded local **religious** practices, including the **veiling** of **Muslim** women, child marriage and gender seclusion, to demonstrate to the French public the necessity of intervention in the region." (Washington Post, 13.04.2021)

The findings relate to previous studies on Arab women's depiction in Western news concerning the emphasis on religious affiliation in reporting Arab women's matters (Al-Hejin, 2012; Mostafa, 2018; Mustafa-Awad & Kirner-Ludwig, 2017; Tabaza, 2018).

(f). *Family and Lifestyle*

The news also addressed family-related issues, in addition to the lifestyle of women in Algeria. The most frequent expressions related to this topical frame are given in Table 9.

TABLE 9
COLLOCATES RELATED TO FAMILY AND LIFESTYLE

| Word | CC | LD | T-score | MI |
|---------|----|-------|---------|------|
| Man | 25 | 10.09 | 4.71 | 4.11 |
| Young | 23 | 10.07 | 4.66 | 5.11 |
| Society | 10 | 8.85 | 2.90 | 3.58 |
| Family | 5 | 8.32 | 1.85 | 2.55 |
| Rural | 5 | 7.94 | 2.16 | 4.88 |
| Divorce | 6 | 8.19 | 2.36 | 4.79 |
| Child | 6 | 8.15 | 2.24 | 3.51 |

The news reported issues related to divorce and child custody, which are derived from the Family Code. It is worth noting that although the word *husband* was found in the corpus, it was not a collocate of *woman* but rather other negative terms, such as: *divorce*, *abusive*, *victim*, etc.

The following is an example:

"If a woman wants to get **divorced** she has to go before the judge and prove why, she has to explain and bring with sometimes very difficult to prove issues." (Noticias Financieras, 13.11.2020).

The results of the study indicated that the most prominent topic in English news coverage of Algerian women during the period of 'Hirak' was their activism, in which they were portrayed as agents of resistance and change, particularly in the latest uprising. The positive framing of Algerian women aligns with existing literature on the depiction of Arab women during the Arab Spring. Indeed, the news reported on their resistance throughout the war of independence and thereafter against the ruling system in addition to their ongoing struggle for their rights. Some of the established stereotypes of Arab women, such as their vulnerability and oppression, have been recurrent in the news reports about Algerian women. Issues related to religion and dress regulations were also highlighted pertaining to Arab women's depiction in Western news. These images were reflected by the most significant terms associated with women, namely rights, violence, Muslim, activists, and protest. Checking the concordances revealed the specificity of addressing the family code, which is derived from Islamic laws, and its implications for women's status in Algeria.

V. CONCLUSION

To conclude, the analysis of the articles related to the framing of Algerian women in Western media during the 'Hirak' period revealed six main themes: **activism, empowerment, oppression and violence, rights, religion, and family and**

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