Media Discourse as Representative of Socio-Cultural Milieu of Law and Order in Pakistan: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Newspapers' Headlines about Model Town Tragedy, Lahore

Dr. Syed Kazim Shah[1] & Asma Mubarak[2]

[1]Assistant Professor, Department of Applied Linguistics, Government College University Faisalabad, Pakistan
[2]MPhil, Department of Applied Linguistics, Government College University Faisalabad, Pakistan
Correspondence email: kazimshah@gcuf.edu.pk

Abstract

The present study aims to explore how the underlying ideological perspectives of newspaper groups are depicted in reporting the same incident with the help of different linguistic choices. The study also focuses upon the use of brutal and deadly police violence against protestors and in result the deteriorating conditions of law and order in Pakistan pertaining to the Model Town incident, Lahore. The study takes into account the newspaper coverage of the incident and tries to shed light upon how CDA can help in creating awareness among common reading audiences to understand the hidden ideological agendas of the dominant groups and thus bring social reforms in society. The analysis is structured by utilizing the "three-dimensional model", proposed by Fairclough, limiting the study to textual and socio-cultural practices only. The findings show a sharp contrast in the ideological stance of both newspaper headlines, totally depicting what the media groups want to portray and how they develop certain mindsets of masses in general. Secondly, deadly police violence is not something unusual in Pakistani context while dealing with protesters, and in this case, it is evident that nobody has been brought to justice till date, and the case is still in the court of law.

Keywords: newspaper headlines, CDA, Fairclough, ideological perspective, deadly police violence

1. Introduction

Today, the mass media has power which is discursive and symbolic in nature, and it is the most unmistakable source of imparting information to the general public. One may contend that the readers have the flexibility to decipher and, consequently, address, distrust or reject what is being said by the media. Van Dijk (1995, p. 22), however, notices that individuals often do not have the basic knowledge to unearth and reveal implicit procedures and strategies in discourse or to distinguish the lies that are being accounted for as reality. Also, he presents the absence of alternative sources in the media to check the conventional sources, which are generally the elite class institutions (Van Dijk, 2002, p. 154). Van Dijk (2006, p. 4) accentuates the way that columnists, for the most part, are not critically educated themselves.

As indicated by Van Dijk (1993a, p. 243; 2000, p. 38; 2002, p. 151-152), individuals have a tendency to believe everything the media says in regard to different incidents and events as they see the media as a sound and reliable source, giving the primary facts and actual meanings of a happening. Consequently, it is anything but difficult

to control their mind-set, particularly in towns and urban areas where individuals frequently allude to the media when they express or protect their (negative) sentiment on certain situations.

This study confines its concentration and focus to media discourse. Particularly, the focus in this study on mass media will essentially be on the reportage of police violence on the workers of a party in Lahore. The present study is occupied with discovering contrasts between daily newspapers, The News and Dawn, in their giving an account of the same event keeping in view the different ideological perceptions of the newspaper editors and their subsequent political affiliations. This phenomenon will be explored to find out the underlying ideologies of the newspaper outlets. The study is limited to the investigation of textual and socio-cultural practices only.

The 2014 Lahore clash between police and protesters, is usually known as the Model Town Tragedy or the Lahore Massacre. It was, basically, a savage conflict that followed between the Punjab Police and Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT) activists on June 17th, 2014, bringing about the sad demises of 14 protesters at the hands of the police gunfire.

1.1 Research Questions

1) To what extent ideologies are constructed and spread through print media text?

   i)   How do two local English newspapers exhibit a similar news item distinctively regarding   their own ideological points of view?
   ii)   How do the prevailing components of the considered news discourses on the police violence against the workers of a party identify with the socio-cultural practices of the Pakistani society and particularly to the government's stance in the matters of law and order?

2) To what extent can CDA bring social reforms in the prevalent circumstances of Pakistan's social, political, and print media ideologies?

2. Literature Review

CDA is an approach that is keen on breaking down "social phenomenon" which are essentially intricate and subsequently require a multi-methodical approach (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Van Dijk (2003) attested that CDA is a recommendation that concentrates on how power abuse, strength, and imbalance are presented in the "discursivity" of the social and political setting. Moreover, Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) saw CDA as a multi-disciplinary way to deal with the connection amongst 'discourse and social and cultural advancements' in multi- or cross-cultural areas. In connection to this approach, Fairclough (1995) contended that the point of CDA is to "systematically explore the opaque relationship of causality and determine between a) discursive practices, events, and texts,

and b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes" (p. 132). Another defender of CDA, Janks (1997) saw CDA as a type of social practice whereby critical hypotheses are connected to break down the misty relationship. With reference to the thought above, CDA practices the critical speculations which review language in connection with power and efforts to overpower, which consequently uncovers the personalities of oppressors. Van Dijk (2003) expressed that CDA concentrates on how a social group's mental representation is being influenced upon by social structures. The subject of a discussion may influence how individuals highlight the essential information in a content or talk.

CDA is portrayed as an "inter-disciplinary multi-methodical approach" as opposed to a disengaged discipline all alone. Van Dijk (2009) stated that CDA is a mix of "critical theory and application as opposed to a "critical analysis" which accordingly prompts the term (critical discourse studies). Media discourse can be broadly comprehended as any path in which the media- including news outlets, distributors, and others- frame certain issues and produces discussions among the general population (Sabeha, 2016). In some sense, all media advances some kind of discourse just as an element of its basic nature.

To comprehend media discourse as a different method of communication, two essential kinds exist: composed or written communication and spoken communication. Discourse alludes to the way in which people and groups impart information and knowledge. At a more profound level, it might symbolize the frameworks of contemplations and convictions that decide how people comprehend and decipher the world. Media discourse would incorporate the different outlets that people in the media utilize, for example, daily papers and magazines, TV, radio, and the Internet. Media discourse is comprehended as the convictions that guide media-related fields, than standards like objectivity or ideological predisposition may depict it.

Media is just like a transport line for discourse. Discourses are spread by organizations and divide the world in particular ways. The prevailing discourses are comprehended by the existing arrangement of law, education and the media, and are thus fortified and imitated, and less intense discourses underestimated, misjudged and overlooked.

News identified with different areas as political, social, and financial matters through a distinct arrangement of explanations and words, make, by and large, multilayer discourse in a similar society adding up to various class of individuals (readers) yet it ought to be unmistakably noted here that speech and writing are seen from the perspective of the convictions, qualities, and classifications which it typifies. These convictions constitute a method for perceiving the world, an association, or representation of experience and philosophy in the nonpartisan non-pejorative sense. Distinctive methods of discourse encode diverse representations of experience.

The present study is related to the newspaper reportage of two print media outlets about the police violence against workers of a party in Model Town, Lahore, applying approaches of CDA. There are few past studies on police news stories dealing with different situations around the world. Mahfouz (2013) conducted research to recognize some stories which were related to police in two Egyptian daily papers before January 25 Revolution, one newspaper was a government-controlled and served as official information outlet, "Al-Gomhuria", and the other was free and independent "Al-Dostour". They had been picked up in view of their political status. The study was done by means of a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) point of view to investigate the extension and nature of the two daily papers' philosophies, i.e., for or against the previous administration and how the journalists' intercession is utilized as a part of encircling the news stories to make readers comprehend them in the planned way by the creator of the content. This mediation showed itself vivaciously in the way recommendations were developed, consolidated, and sequenced and at some linguistic levels, for example, lexis, sentence structure, semantics, and pragmatics.

Paul (2010) investigated newspaper scope of police-oriented manslaughters which reflects and advances public and official resilience for police viciousness. Interpretive substance investigation was performed on 105 news articles showing up in 23 noteworthy daily papers somewhere around 1997 and 2000 that focused on occurrences of lethal force used by police. Utilizing Thompson's (1990) conceptual framework, examples of ideological substance were distinguished and investigated. Most articles, unpretentiously drawing upon notorious pictures of police experts and vigilantes, cast victims of all those police killings as 'physical and social threats' and centred police activities within the legitimate domain. Articles showing up after police executed "Amadou Diallo" are more averse to decry both cops and victims, reflecting endeavours to outline lethal force and police bias and racism as systemic issues.

3. Methodology

For the present study, the qualitative research paradigm has been utilized to explore the representation of the same news item in two contemporary Pakistani daily newspapers. The paradigm is relevant to the study in the sense because the study aims to uncover principle linguistic components that describe how the image of the Model Town incident has been represented in the Pakistani press with the help of the theory of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

The data for this study comprises of news headlines that were printed in two daily newspapers, i.e., The News and Dawn in two-month time frame from 18 June 2014 (when clash between Punjab police and workers of Pakistan Awami Tehreek resulted in casualties of 14 workers in Model Town, Lahore) until 18 August 2014 (for follow up news for the same incident). The information has been obtained and retrieved from the official websites

of the two daily newspapers. The online corpora have been retrieved from the web archives of both newspapers. With a specific aim to distinguish the news headlines to be inspected in this study all the items have been skimmed keeping in mind the aim to distinguish news headlines that bear explicit or implicit references to the fateful incident and come under the very categories of textual analysis proposed by our selected three-dimensional model.

The present study has taken its inspiration from Fairclough's (1989, 1995, 2001) model. In his book 'Language and Power', Fairclough gives a model to CDA, which is still relevant and in use today. Fairclough built up a CDA model of ten inquiries and sub-questions for textual analysis, separated into three sub-bunches: vocabulary, grammatical aspects, and the textual structures of the given text.

Table 1

Formal features and its three types of value

Dimensions of meaning	Values of features	Structural effects
Contents	Experiential	Knowledge/beliefs
Relations	Relational	Social relations
Subjects	Expressive	Social identities

As cited by Biebuyck (2014), the initial four inquiries of Fairclough's model are identified with the vocabulary usage in the discourse; the following four inquiries are related to grammar use; the last two inquiries deal with the textual structures in discourse:

The ten questions are divided into three main groups:

A. Vocabulary

1-What experiential values do words have?

Are there words that are ideologically contested?

Is there rewording or over-wording?

What ideologically significant meaning relations are there between words?

2-What relational values do words have?

Are there euphemistic expressions?

Are there markedly formal or informal words?

3-What expressive values do words have?

4-What metaphors are used?

B. Grammar

5-What experiential values do grammatical features have?

What types of processes and participants predominate?

Is the agency unclear?

Are nominalizations used?

Are sentences active or passive?

Are sentences positive or negative?

6-What relational values do grammatical features have?

What modes are used?

Are there important features of relational modality?

Are the pronouns *we* and *you* used, and if so, how?

7−What expressive values do grammatical features have?

Are there important features of expressive modality?

8-How are (simple) sentences linked together?

What logical connectors are used?

Are complex sentences characterized by coordination or/ subordination?

What means are used for referring inside and outside the text?

C. Textual structures

9. What interactional conventions are used?

Are there ways in which one participant controls the turns of others?

10. What larger scale structures does the text have?

Note, however, that not every one of these inquiries are significant for the present study. As question 9 is related to only dialogue form, no further reference will be made to this feature.

4. Data Analysis and Discussion

The textual analysis is based upon ten questions and sub-questions formulated by Fairclough for such type of analysis along with detail of each question.

Question 1: Experiential qualities of used words

i)   Ideologically contested words
ii)   Re-wording or over-wording
iii)   Meaning relations (synonyms, hyponyms, antonyms)

If we examine the news items from both newspapers in the light of above mentioned sub-questions in Question 1, we come to know that both newspapers have utilized words in their reporting of the Model Town incident that are ideologically contested.

For example, The News reported the incident as "clash" between police and workers of Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT) in their headline as "Eight killed in police-PAT clash" (June 18th, 2014) whereas Dawn termed it as "raid" of police on the party's head quarter in Lahore which resulted in deaths of people as "Raid on Qadri headquarter" (June 18th , 2014). Both the words give a different ideological contestable impression.

Secondly, both newspapers have used to some extent synonymous words, i.e., "to quit" (Model Town Tragedy: Imran asks Shahbaz Sharif to quit: The News, June 6th, 2014),

"to step down" (Imran asks Shahbaz to step down: The News, June 22nd, 2014), and "to resign" (Raid on Qadri's headquarters: PTI asks Shahbaz to resign: Dawn, June 6th, 2014) for Shahbaz Sharif.

There is also found a kind of re-wording and over-wording in both newspapers' headlines. The News termed this as "Lahore tragedy" (Political leaders condemn Lahore Tragedy: The News, June 6th, 2014), "Lahore incident" (Prime Minister perturbed over Lahore incident: The News, June 18th, 2014) "Model Town tragedy" (Model Town Tragedy toll nine: The News, June 19th, 2014).

But the stance of Dawn pertaining to this kind of structure is quite different as it termed it "Lahore model Town Killings", (Qadri's multi-party conference blames PML-N for Lahore Model Town Killings: Dawn, June 30th, 2014), and "raid on Qadri's HQ" (Raid on Qadri headquarter: PTI asks Shahbaz to resign: Dawn, June 18th, 2014) two times in their headlines.

Question 2: Relational qualities of used words

This question is based upon two features as:

    i)   Euphemistic expressions
    ii) Use of formal/informal words

So far as the use of euphemistic expressions is concerned, both newspapers have made use of them, and, at some places, the newspapers have utilised the direct and straightforward expressions instead of the euphemistic ones. Dawn has utilized a euphemistic expression as "resign" (Raid on Qadri Headquarter: PTI asks Shabaz to resign: June 18th, 2014) as opposed to "quit" and to "step down" published in The News (Model Town Tragedy: Imran asks Shahbaz Sharif to quit: June18th, 2014).

Secondly, The News has reported the removal of Punjab Law minister at the hands of the Chief Minister in a polite way as "The Chief Minister shows Rana Sana Ullah the door" (June 20th, 2014) whereas Dawn has reported it directly and to some extent in a blunt way as "Shahbaz removes Rana Sana Ullah (June 20th, 2014). Both newspapers have reported the misappropriation of charity funds by Qadri in a euphemistic way with Dawn being politer as "Federal Investigation Agency (FIA) gets scent of Qadri's graft (June 26th, 2014), as compared to "FIA claims misuse of charity funds by Qadri" (August 5th, 2014) used by The News.

The News used formal expressions as "perturbed" (Prime Minister perturbed over Lahore incident: June 18th,2014), "security at stake"(No one to be allowed to put country's security at stake, Nawaz : June 19th,2014), and "pre-empted" (Model Town incident could have been pre-empted if GEO had not been off-air as it would report the truth: June 19th, 2014), etc. whereas Dawn has used formal expression as "out of the loop" (Shahbaz Sharif

protests he was "out of the loop": June 20th, 2014)), scent the graft (FIA gets scent of Qadri's graft: July 26th, 2014) etc. So far as the informal words are concerned, only one is found in the given news headlines. The informal word is "Katcheri" instead of "court of law", printed in The News (Public, lawyers beat Gullu Butt at Model Town Katcheri: June 20th, 2014).

Question 3: Expressive qualities of used words

As per requirement of Question 3, words with expressive qualities can be arranged in two principal ways- those which have positive connotations and those which are negative. Both newspapers have used words with expressive qualities, but Dawn has used words with negative connotation overall.

The News:

Positive connotation:

1- Punjab Chief Minister orders *judicial inquiry*. (June 18th, 2014)
2- Political leaders *condemn* Lahore Tragedy. (June 18th, 2014)

Negative connotation:

1- Eight killed in police-PAT *clash*. (June 18th, 2014)
2- Imran asks Shahbaz Sharif *to quit*. (June 18th, 2014)

Dawn:

Negative connotation:

1- *Raid* on Qadri's headquarter. (June 18th, 2014)
2- PTI asks Shahbaz to *resign*. (June 18th, 2014)
3- Shahbaz protests, he was *"out of the loop"*. (June 20th, 2014)

Question 4: Metaphoric expression

In question four, Fairclough examines the significance of metaphors, which may contain an understood reference to a specific belief system, and, thus, may impact the recipients' opinions and point of view. He observes that an utterance can be communicated in various types of metaphors, each referring to an alternate ideological position, e.g. referring to a social issue as a malady (1989, pp. 119-120).

In the given data from both newspapers, only Dawn seems to have utilized metaphoric expressions to some extent. For example:

1) Shahbaz protests he was *"out of the loop."* (June 20th, 2014, Dawn)
2) FIA (Federal Investigation Agency) gets *'scent'* of Qadri's *'graft'*. (July 26th, 2014, Dawn)

3) PTI and PAT- *"poles apart"* yet similar at heart. (August 17th, 2014, Dawn)

Question 5: Expressive qualities of grammatical features

i) Process and Participant pre-domination
ii) Ambiguous agency
iii) Nominalization
iv) Active or Passive sentences
v) Positive and Negative sentences

Relying upon the word order and, henceforth, the procedure of a sentence, the participant can be depicted in a positive or negative way, e.g. by 'stressing or minimizing' his agency, that is, his obligation all the while. This is closely identified with the second sub-question, which is related to the agency in a sentence.

Dawn has made mention of this type of participant and pre-domination in its news headlines where agency is unclear, but the underlying thought is conveyed thoroughly as:

1) Large scale *police deployment* ahead of Dr. Tahirul Qadri's arrival. (June 23rd, 2014)
2) *Ban* likely on Qadri's Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT). (August 13th, 2014)

The ambiguity of agency is mostly found in the news headlines of The News. The News quoted the Prime Minister as saying, "No one to be allowed to put country's security at stake" (June 19th, 2014) and "No one can stop revolution" by Qadri (July 23rd, 2014). Here agency is not clear at all as to whom these statements are referred to in the current context by both leaders.

Nominalization is said to be particularly well suited to the expression of power through the mystification of time and participants (Batstone, 1995, p. 206.) We do not find many instances of nominalization in the given data by both newspapers as most of the time, no clear-cut distinction is being made in the process of nominalization. A few instances of nominalization from the given data of both newspapers are provided below.

The News:

1) *Opposition* walks out of Punjab Assembly against Model Town incident. (June 18th, 2014)
2) *Lahore tragedy distracts* people's attention from Zarb-e Azab. (June 19th, 2014)

Dawn:

1) Qadri terms *Shahbaz murderer* of PAT workers. (August 08th, 2014)
2) *Anti- Terrorist Court* (ATC) sends 6 PAT workers on physical remand, 121 on judicial remand. (August 12th, 2014)

In the above-mentioned headlines, the first headline reflects the same sentiment of Chief Minister being the mastermind of this tragedy as it is mentioned in the headline of The News. But the difference between the two is that The News termed it in an indirect way as only the person who issued orders and also not mentioning the name of the Chief Minister. On the other hand, Dawn has mentioned the name of Qadri in the initial position of the sentence clearly making it a direct stance of Qadri. Regarding the active and passive sentences, most of the news headlines are in the active voice in both newspapers. The examples are as under:

The News:

1) Punjab Chief Minister orders judicial inquiry. (June 18th, 2014)
2) Qadri terms police action state terrorism. (June 18th, 2014)
3) Political leaders condemn Lahore tragedy. (June 18th, 2014)

Dawn:

1) Shahbaz removes Rana Sana Ullah, Official. (June 21st, 2014)
2) Prime Minister wants to engage Qadri through Governer. (June 25th, 2014)
3) Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) hands over to Federal Investigation Agency (FIA) everything it has on Qadri. (June 28th, 2014)

From the point of the grammatical structure of sentences, some headlines in both newspapers have used the negative structure, whereas some negative connotations have been delivered with the help of linguistic choices (as mentioned in question 3).

The News:

1) *No* one to be allowed to put country's security at stake: Nawaz (June 19th,2014)
2) Politicians, *not* bureaucrats handled the Qadri mess. (June 25th, 2014)

On the other hand, Dawn has made mention of only one sentence in the whole given data with negative structure i.e.

Dawn:

1) Prime Minister made **no** mention of Model Town Tragedy in his address: Qadri. (August 12th,2014)

Question 6: Relational values of grammatical components

i) Mode of sentences
ii) Components of relational modality
iii) Utilization of pronouns "we" and "you"

Question six of Fairclough's CDA model is especially related with the mode of a sentence. He recognizes declarative sentences, imperatives and grammatical questions. The same phenomenon is for modality, communicated by auxiliary verbs, adverbs or tenses, as this is related with the power and authority of the author or speaker. Fairclough recognizes relational modality from expressive modality. The previous is a matter of the power of one member in connection to others, while the latter is a matter of the speaker or writer's power concerning reality or likelihood of a representation of reality (1989, p.126). All the news headlines in the given data are in the declarative mode most of the time in both newspapers. The examples of the questioning mode of headlines utilized by The News are as under:

1) *Why* does Qadri want to land in capital? Asks Nisar (June 23rd, 2014)
2) *Why* is Qadri being singled out? (June 27th, 2014)

So far as relational modality is concerned in the given data, The News has utilized this feature in reporting the wishful thought proposed by GEO media group (banned by Pemra during those days) as *"Model town incident could have been pre-empted if GEO had not been off-air as it would report the truth."* (June 19th, 2014). This suggests if GEO considers itself inevitable and epitome of truth since it proposes that due to its coverage, Model Town tragedy could have been avoided.

No pronouns as "we" and "you" are used in the given data by both newspapers.

Question 7: Expressive qualities of grammatical features

i) Important features of expressive modality

Fairclough (1989) observes that expressive and relational modality are often interlinked and related, and I feel it is practically difficult to separate them neatly. I have effectively recognized claims of authority and knowledge under question six. The verbs in most of the above-mentioned cases are in non-modal tenses giving the impression (legitimized or not) of power and information. These perceived truths should be addressed by the readers as they are certain opinions camouflaged as truth and reality appearing in an irrefutably positive way when it may not really be so.

Question 8: Linkage of simple sentences

i)   Logical connectors
ii)   Coordination and subordination for complex sentences

The logical connectors and elements of cohesion and coherence are established in the given data of both newspapers with the help of punctuation marks most of the time. The coordination and subordination of complex sentences is accomplished by the use of *"if"* at one place in The News.

Logical connectors in The News:

1) PTI stands by PAT over Lahore incident**:** Imran (June 20th, 2014)
2) Qadri's aircraft diversion was wrong**:** Najam Sethi (June 28th, 2014)

As mentioned already, question nine is for dialogue form and not required for our study.

Question 10: Larger scale structure of text

In Question 10, the content structure of discourse and more particularly with the larger scale structures is elaborated. Fairclough (1989, p. 137-138) states that news gives an account of an occurrence; it, by and large, has a similar structure, in the light of newsworthiness. The instant influence and a sign of what happened and what caused it are said in the main passage, followed by what move was made to deal with the occurrence and particularity of what happened. The rest of the sections give subtler information on the prompt impacts and ends up with the long-term outcomes. In any case, the author can intentionally change the order, and henceforth no longer write "top-down", to underline certain realities and de-emphasize the other ones with a specific goal to give the reader a chance to decipher the news report in a different way.

Keeping in view the above-mentioned data from both newspapers indicate that both papers elaborate the details of incident according to their own ideological positions and political affiliations.

Moving towards the second research question, the capability of CDA in bringing social reforms in prevalent circumstances of Pakistan's social, political, and print media ideologies become evident. This study is based upon the theories and one of the models of Critical Discourse Analysis. The tenets of CDA pertaining to newspapers 'headlines and their hidden ideologies are explored from textual and socio-cultural aspects. The subsequent results of the analyzed data have revealed how the newspapers develop a peculiar mindset of the masses by presenting the news items emphasizing their own ideological positions and political affinity. The results have also provided us with an idea that this opinion making on the part of the newspapers is conscious and unconscious on the part of the masses. People may ingest these opinions as their own even without realizing and propagate them to be true (even if they are not true).

5. Conclusion

The current study consolidated the assumption that Critical Discourse Analysis has the capacity to observe, discover, and make explicit the underlying ideologies of newspapers headlines that are otherwise implicit for the general public. In the case under study, it is observed that this is another incident of police brutality against the protestors, and sadly, in the Pakistani context, deadly police violence is not so uncommon. Most of

the time, deadly violence is legitimized by the powerful people in authority. Such practices, in return, play havoc with the functioning of the state institutions.

So far as the future implications of this study are concerned, the present study will help the future researchers and analysts of CDA in Pakistani context to understand the need of understanding tenets and scope of CDA in order to discover its underlying potential for bringing reforms in society by creating awareness among masses. As CDA is directly related to society and its issues, the knowledge of CDA can help people understand the ideological stances of various discourses before establishing an opinion on a "fed" point of view by powerful and dominant groups.

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