

A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE POLICE NEWS STORY FRAMING IN TWO EGYPTIAN NEWSPAPERS BEFORE JANUARY 25 REVOLUTION

Adel Refaat Mahfouz, PhD

Lecturer in Linguistics, English department, Faculty of Al-Alsun (languages),
Minia University, Egypt

Abstract

The current study aims to analyze the linguistic structure of the framing of some news stories related to police published in two Egyptian newspapers before January 25 Revolution, one is a totally state-controlled and served as official information outlet “*Al-Gomhuria*”, and the other is independent “*Al-Dostour*”. They have been chosen because of their status and because of their political influence. The present study is done via a Critical Discourse Analysis(CDA) perspective in order to explore the scope and nature of the two newspapers' ideologies, i.e. for or against the former regime and how the reporters' intervention is used in framing the news stories to make readers understand them in the way intended by the producer of the text. This intervention manifests itself vigorously in the way propositions are constructed, combined, and sequenced and at some linguistic levels such as lexis, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. Nevertheless, such linguistic features, as Gerbener (1964: 78) argues, "are not themselves of profound and direct significance rather [...] that the nature and consequences of these elements and characteristics can be best understood if content is viewed as bearing the imprint of social needs and uses."

For this, some news stories from the two newspapers were selected and analyzed. The study shows how language is used in constructing certain ideologies and how these ideologies exercise a great deal of power in shaping the Egyptian reader's interpretation of the given facts. The perspectives presented tended to be in line with the beliefs held by the two newspaper's target audiences.

Keywords: CDA, police news stories, ideology

Introduction

Critical Discourse Analysis

According to Van Dijk (1988b: 131) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is "obviously not a homogenous model, nor a school or a paradigm, but at most a shared perspective on doing linguistics, semiotic or discourse analysis." In other words, CDA is not a method or field of study but rather separated number of approaches to the study of discourse. These approaches, however, are unified by the desire to perceive how power is mirrored in language.

The main function of CDA, as introduced by Batstone (1995:198) is to "seek to reveal how texts are constructed so that particular (and potentially indoctrinating) perspectives can be expressed delicately and covertly." Furthermore, since discourse is language in use, the ultimate goal of CDA, as suggested by Woods and Kroger (2000: 206), "has been to link linguistic analysis to social analysis" in order to perceive how social power is linked to language. The current study adopts CDA as a method of analysis because it is an effective tool for the topic under discussion, i.e. it focuses, as Van Dijk (2001:96) states, on "social problems, and especially the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power abuse or domination." According to him, CDA begins with specifying a social problem and selecting the perspective of those who suffer most, and critically analyses those in power, those who are responsible and those who have the means and the opportunity to solve such problems. Such an approach, as Richardson (2007) argues, inevitably means that CDA takes an overt moral and political position to the social problem analyzed.

Critical Discourse Analysis and Ideology

The term "ideology" was originally coined by Antonie Destt de Tracey after the French Revolution to refer, as McLellan (1986:6) writes, to "a new science of ideas, an ideology, which would be the ground of all other sciences."

Linguistic ideology, on the other hand, is a systematic construct about how particular ways of using languages carry or are invested with certain moral, social, and political values in order to have influence and control over the human behavior. Irvine (1989:50) defines language ideology as "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests." The role of CDA in ideology is to explore the nature and usage of biased language and how this usage of such language reflects and reinforces biased policies and attitudes. The current study attempts to contribute to the understanding of the ideological role of a language within the news discourse in constructing representations of society.

But since news stories leave many things unsaid and news reporters tactically choose things to report in order to express their views, frequent use is made of ‘implicatures’ in order to suggest information not expressed explicitly in the text. Namely, they express themselves not only through what they say but also by how they say it. This is obviously manifested through framing; a frame, as Scott London (1993) writes, "is the central organizing idea of making sense of relevant events and suggesting what is at issue. News and information has no intrinsic value unless embedded in a meaningful context which organizes and lends it coherence. News stories can be understood as narratives, which include information and factual elements, to be sure, but also carry an implicit message." The framing of some issues by journalists, therefore, is intended to shape the way the public understands the causes of and the solutions to central political problems.

Pragmatic analysis considers not only what is said, but also why it is said and how it might be interpreted. These inferences are usually based on particular beliefs, opinions, and knowledge of some concrete situations. This study attempts to explore the stances, intentions, and ideologies of the two newspapers. Although objectivity is the chief occupational norm in journalism, yet the current study finds obvious evidence of bias in news reporting. Namely, the two newspapers are not simple reflection of the social facts but the manifestation of the specific ideologies. Each newspaper determines what the public believes to be important issues largely by paying attention to some problems and ignoring or paying minimal attention to others. By objectivity, the journalists mean that their coverage, as Schudson (2001: 150) argues, consists of “reporting something called ‘news’ without commenting on it, slanting it, or shaping its formulation in any way”

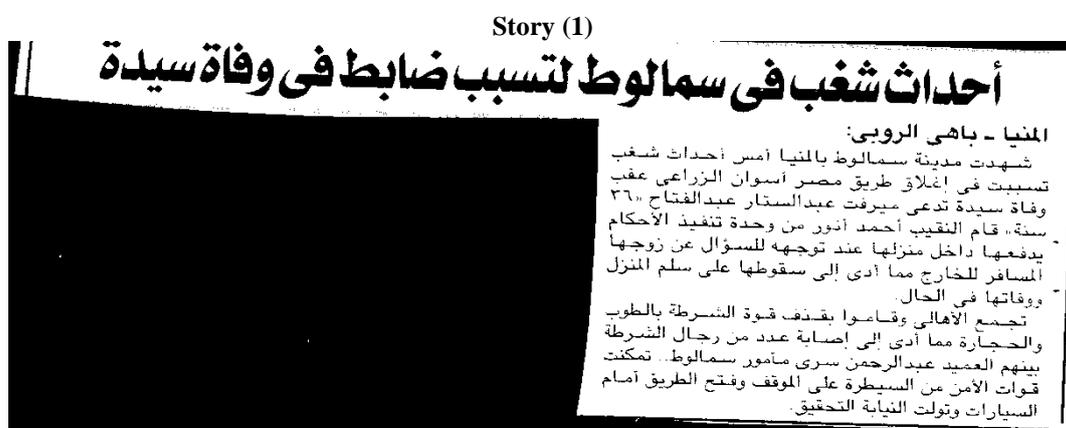
The Theme of the Study

The theme of police was selected because the abuse of power committed by police officers prior to and during January 25 Revolution was so prominent. Indeed, police abuse of power, and particularly tortures, harsh treatment and blatant bias for the former regime has seen by many as a smack of Mubarak's regime and a preoccupation of the opposition and independent newspapers. Furthermore, the unacceptable police abuse of power was a signal that Mubarak's regime has lost legitimacy among Egyptians since the relationship of the government to the governed, as Cox (2004:310) states, "is legitimate when people in general accept the institutions and procedures of authority and the decisions which emerge, even if they do not like them. When that general acceptance becomes eroded, when there is no general acceptance that decisions have been properly arrived at, the relationship becomes illegitimate."

The Methodology of the Study

The methodology adopted in conducting this study is analyzing the story as it was introduced in the newspaper, .i.e. the headline, the lead, and the body of the story. Headlines, as defined by Bell (1991:189), as a "part of news rhetoric whose function is to attract the reader." More specifically, as Richardson(2007:180) explains, headlines "form a double function: a semantic function, regarding the referential text, and a pragmatic function regarding the reader to whom the text is addressed." They are examined as they show the most prominent and evident information of the news discourse and form the summary of the story, which "strategically serves as the expression of its macrostructure" (Van Dijk 1988b: 226).

Since readers often read and recall only headlines, editors and reporters construct not only preferred meanings of the news stories for the audience, but also the most prominent ideological view of those news stories (Bell 1991, Van Dijk 1988; Van Dijk and Kintsch 1983). The "lead" is the first sentence of a news story. Its purpose, as Chris Geovanis (2009: 70) writes, "is to entice the reader into the story. It is typically- but not necessarily- a one-sentence paragraph, standing alone at the beginning of the story. It typically also "frames" the story — sets the tone, paints a picture of the details to follow." In other words, it invites the readers into the larger story by giving them basic information about the thrust of the story.



The framing technique adopted by *Al-Gomhuria* in the story above show solidarity with the police and downplays the negative effect of the incident (the act of killing) and depicts what the local residents did as an act of sabotage and rather focuses on its consequences, whereas the technique of *Al-Dostour* is biased against the police officer's act and highlights it and describes the residents' act as an act of revenge. The propositional content of the story is the same in the two papers, i.e. a case of riot because a police officer killed a woman. Nevertheless, each paper formed the story according to its ideology.

Al-Gomhuria

أحداث شغب في سمالوط لتسبب ضابط في وفاة سيدة

Riots at Samalout after an officer caused the death of a woman

a) The words of the headline

-**Riots** are hypernomy word under which many actions of sabotage can be listed so the reader is ready to expect great damage. Moreover, it refers that what the local residents have done is unlawful.

-**Samalout**, a borough north Miniacity, refers that the riot is limited and controlled.

-**Death**, neutral term by which any process terminates life is described, is used instead of “killing” to diminish what the officer had committed by bringing to the reader's mind that the woman has just met her destiny. So the words of the headline are used either to serve as a down player so the reader can look over what the officer did or to highlight the reaction of the victim's relatives in order to condemn it.

b) The lead

شهدت مدينة سمالوط بالمنيا أمس أحداث شغب تسببت في إغلاق طريق مصر أسوان الزراعي عقب وفاة سيدة تدعى ميرفت عبدالستار عبدالفتاح (36) سنة

Minia's Samalout borough has witnessed yesterday riots that caused the blocking of Cairo-Aswangreen road after the death of a 36-year-old woman named MervatAbdul-FattahAbdul Sattar

The lead of *Al-Gomhuria* tries to block the way before the reader's emotions so as not to sympathize with the relatives and the natives of the killed woman by mentioning the negative consequences of the rally, i.e. “blocking Cairo-Aswan high way ”So, the lead thrusts the reader to see the story via *Al-Gomhuria* viewpoint. Pragmatically speaking, the sentence of the lead is a cause -and –effect one but, in a clear bias to the police, the reporter of the news story flouted Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle's maxim of manner; the submaxim of manner "be orderly" is blatantly breached because it violates the readers' expectation that events are recounted in the order in which they happened. The reporter began the lead by the effect "riots and road blockage" and delayed the cause "the killing of the woman" in order to magnify the effect and attenuate the cause. By the same token, the reporter made no immediate connection between the action of the officer and the action of local residents in a bid to blame the latter. This inference is reached via the use of "after the death of a woman" instead of "because of the killing of a woman." Since journalistic discourse, as Richardson (2007:29) argues, "is one active element in bringing about change through shaping understandings, influencing audience attitudes and beliefs, and transforming the

consciousness of those who read and consume it" the reporter, trying to create a false idea about the local residents, put it that way: "riots happened after the death of a woman" suggests that the reader has to conclude that death(the act of God) for the local residents leads to "riot" and therefore condemns their action.

c) Story structure

Al-Gomhuria forms the story in order not to give the reader basic information about the story but to condemn what the people of the town have done. The story is composed of three parts; what the officer did, the reaction of the local residents, and the role of the police. In the first part, the reporter mentions in detail the riot that led to the blocking of the highway, and then the reporter depicted briefly the cause of the riot as the officer "tumbled" the woman who fell down off the stairs and died. The third part shows the "heroic" role of the police in reopening the way and the "brutality" of the local residents as they gathered themselves and hurled stones at the police troops during performing their "job." Pragmatically speaking, the core of the story, the killing of the woman, upholds the economy principle to the utmost whereas the rest of the story violates it.

Al-Dostour

عشرات الأهالي بالمتنبا يشعلون النار في سيارة شرطة بعد مقتل سيدة حامل على يد ضابطا بمركز سمالوط

وعدد من المخبرين السريين عندما اعترضت على تفتيش منزلها للبحث عن مسروقات اتهم فيها شقيق زوجها ويدعى شحاتة سيد رياض، وفترت النهاية استدعاء ٩ من أفراد القوة التي قامت بتفتيش المنزل واستدعاء حماة الجنين عليها وشهيقه زوجها وتدعى أنوار وشقيق الجنين عليها ويدعى صيري، وطلبت النيابة سرعة إرسال تقرير الطبيب الشرعي بعد تشريح الجثة، وفي أقوالهم أمام النيابة أكد أقارب الجنين عليها وحيرانها قيام الضابط بالاعتداء على الجنين عليها من جسمها رغم أنها حامل في شهرها الأخير، مما يرجح إصابها بنزيف أدى إلى وفاتها في الحال.

وقام أقارب الجنين عليها والذي يعمل زوجها «حسن» في الجماهيرية الليبية بقطع الطريق الزراعي عقب مصرعها وهددوا السيارات من المنور، كما قاموا بتحطيم سيارة الشرطة «بوكس» وأشعلوا النار فيها.

كتيب- علي حسين
ونجلاء فتحي

قام أمين عشيرات من الأهالي المتعاضدين في مركز سمالوط بمحافظة المتنا بأشغال النيران في سيارة شرطة «بوكس» على أحد الطرق الرئيسية تاراً لمقتل سيدة حامل تدعى «ميرفت» عبد السلام عبد الفتاح، لثابت مصرعها بكعوب بسنادق أفراد الشرطة التابعين لمركز سمالوط. أمين الأول، وأسفر ذلك عن تدمير السيارة وإصابة مأمور المركز وأمين الشرطة كانوا بداخلها فيما لادت القوة المرافقة لهما بالقرار فور اندلاع الحريق.

وقال مصدر أمنى إن اصداق وأقارب الضحية اعترضوا طريق السيارة وهاجموها وبادروا بإشعال النار باستخدام مواد سريعة الاشتعال ثم فروا هاربين.

وكشفت نيابة المتنا الكلية في تحقيقاتها التي أجراها شريف حافظ، رئيس النيابة، وعمر بلبل وأحمد عبد الوهاب أن الجنين عليها لفظت أنفاسها إثر وصلة تعذيب قادها ضابط شرطة يدعى الرائد أحمد بن من مباحث مركز شرطة سمالوط



أحمد ضياء الدين

(Al-Dostour, 9Oct. 2008)

a) **The words of the headline**

عشرات الأهالي بالمنيا يشعلون النار في سيارة شرطة بعد مقتل سيدة حامل على يد ضابط بمركز سمالوط

Dozens of Minia residents set fire to a police vehicle after a pregnant woman killed by Samalout Police officer

In order to highlight the story, *Al-Dostour* interprets the word "riots" introduced in *Al-Gomhuria* headline as "dozens of local residents at Minia set fire to a police vehicle." , "An officer caused the death of a woman" is formed by *Al-Dostour* as "an officer at Samalout police station killed a pregnant woman". Pragmatically speaking, *Al-Dostour* sacrificed the economic principle, which Leech (1983:67) regards as "if one can shorten the text while keeping the message unimpaired, this reduces the amount of time and effort involved both in encoding and decoding it." The cause of sacrifice, one may argue, is the highlighting of the police officer's deed and to avoid the bad connotations of the word "riots"

-Dozens of residents: mentioning the number of the protesters nonspecifically makes the reader imagine how great the rally was.

-Minia: the use of the name of the governorate suggests that protesting is cross Minia.

-Killing: the use of the word "killing" instead of "death" refers to the intentionality of the action.

b) **The lead**

The lead of *Al-Dostour* is formed to account for what the relatives of the killed women have done; it makes the reader sympathizes with them by mentioning the cause beyond the action and by using the words like "furious residents" and "revenge" to indicate that the "riots" followed the murdering of the women are justified and acceptable. The lead, therefore, appears as if it were a cause and a result.

c) **Story structure**

In a high agitating tone, *Al-Dostour* adopts an emotional strategy to evoke sentiment in the reader by describing vividly and in detail how the woman was killed and the role of the officer and his assistants in the accident when they kept beating the pregnant woman's belly with the butts of their rifles. According to Berelson (1952:256), "the quantitative description of communication content is meaningful. It implies that the frequency of occurrence of various characteristics of the content is itself an important factor in the communication process."

Mentioning details, therefore, such as the woman was pregnant and her husband is an expatriate worker in Libya and using lexemes such as pregnant, victim, torture, belly beating,

bleeding may be intended to show the "brutality" of the police officers and biases the reader against the police - the heavy hand of the former regime. Moreover, it implicates that such act is shameful or cause for indignation and a suggestion that more exists. Pragmatically speaking, one claims that the negative inferences of such lexemes that are included in the story are more influential and may act as grounds for arguing that police is being linked to negative social action. This claim can be statistically confirmed when compared with *Al-Gomhuria's*. The reporter delays what the local residents did in the end of the story in order to diminish it.

The photo of the governor, who tops the administrative body of the governorate, is pragmatically invested; although the governor of Mania has not been mentioned in the story, the reporter centered his photo in the field of view. This is, one might argue, to make the event look larger than it really is and to carry the governor, the representative of the ruling regime, the political responsibility of the incident.

Story (2)
Al-Gomhuria



(*Al-Gomhuria*, 12 Nov.2008)

The information presented in the story (2) is that there is a clash between the police and some protesters at North Sinai. Each paper tackles the story according to its ideology.

The words of the headline

إصابة ضابط و3 مجندين في أعمال شغب بسيناء

One officer and three soldiers wounded in Sinai riots

The headline of the story brands what the protesters did as “riots” or “unrest” and highlights the toll of the casualties of the police (an officer and three troops). The headline intentionally ignores mentioning injuries amongst the nomads.

-Riots: the use of this word renders the reader adopts the viewpoint of the police and therefore maximizes sympathy with the police troops as they fight unrest to impose order.

b) The lead

أصيب ضابط من قوات الأمن المركزي و ثلاثة مجندين بأعيرة نارية أمس في أعمال شغب بمنطقة الحسنة بشمال سيناء
..كما أصيب 4 أشخاص من المتجمهرين

One central security forces officer and three soldiers were shot yesterday in riots at Al-Hassana, North Sinai...4 persons from the crowd injured as well.

The lead of the story focuses on what happened to the police by suppressing the doer of the action, and then the reporter states the place of the event and ends the lead by mentioning the wounded protesters. The editor suppresses the agent of the two actions introduced in the lead because this serves his point of view; the agent of the first action is suppressed in order to highlight the injuries of the police troops and in the second action, the agent is hidden in order not to put blame on the police. Thus, in the two cases, the suppression of the agent is done in a bid to depict the police as a victim in the first action and as a self-defence in the second. In the same token, the reporter mentioned that the injuries of the police were resulted from shots to implicate that the attackers were armed with guns but he did not state how the protesters were wounded to implicate that the police did not use gun shots in dispersing them.

c) Story structure

The story depicts the other party as an armed gang attacked the police troops as they were doing their job .i.e. patrolling a road at North Sinai. To ensure that the text is read as intended .i.e. shifting blame away from the police, it is initiated with the attributive phrase *a security source said* which, as Emma Dafouz-Milne (2008:99) writes, "performs a double function in the text: it mentions explicitly the source of the information, while at the same time using these references of authoritative value serve persuasive goals."Pragmatically speaking, the editor blatantly infringed the maxim of quantity as he did not give the right amount of information; the story did not state the motivations that led to the attack. Professionally speaking, the story lacks one of its main components as it does not present an

integrated story to the reader, which, as **Chris Geovanis (2009)** states, typically answers these questions: Who? What? When? Where? Why? How? In other words, as **El-Nawawy and Iskandar (2002:27)** write “The medium should reflect all sides of any story while retaining the values, beliefs, and sentiments of the target audience”

Another limitation of the story is the absence of context; it described violence at North Sinai but it provides no context on the long history of problems and sufferings of people there because this counts as blatant accusation of the former regime which *Al-Gomhuria* advocates its policies.

These omissions decontextualize the story - literally strip it of its historical framework -and leave the reader with the impression that the residents of Sinai are simply bandits, bloodthirsty murderers or religious extremists that are trapped in an eternal and an unsolvable cycle of mutual hatred and violence, rather than laying down the historical basis of what drives conflict in the region, particularly from the perspective of the parties involved in conflict.

Al-Dostour



(Al-Dostour, 12 Nov. 2008)

a) **The words of the headline**

مئات البدو تجمهروا وأشعلوا النيران في إطارات السيارات في "نجع شبانة"
مقتل بدوي وإصابة آخر في مواجهة مسلحة مع قوات الداخلية بوسط سيناء

Hundreds of Bedouins rally, set fire to tires at "Naga' Shabana"

**One Bedouin killed, another injured in armed confrontation with police troops in
Central Sinai**

The headline of the story calls the incident "armed confrontation" and highlights the toll of casualties of the nomads and states the reason of that armed confrontation .i.e. Freeing the detainees and calling for better treatment.

-Armed confrontation: مواجهة مسلحة the newspaper's description of the incident as "armed confrontation" is not warranted, but it is hyperbolic to emphasize the aggression of the police. Moreover, the expression is used to ascribe the agency to both the police and the nomads, thus intentionally avoiding putting the blame on the nomads only.

-Bedouin بدوي : although Bedouins of Sinai are Egyptian subjects, the reporter preferred to describe them as "Bedouins" in order to indicate that they are "different" category of Egyptians who are not full citizens and deprived of some fundamental rights and to implicate that "Egyptian" and "Bedouin" are not equally accurate alternatives. Wadok and Meyer (2001: 47) have called these naming options "text's referential strategies" and have elucidated that choosing to call a person as one thing or as another "can serve many different psychological, social or political purposes on the side of the speakers or writers."

-Freeing detainees إطلاق سراح المعتقلين presupposes that some nomads are detained and **"bettering the police treatment for the nomads للبدو معاملة الشرطة للبدو"** presupposes that nomads receive harsh treatment. Both sentences are introduced in the headline to illustrate how the fundamental rights of the Sinai local population are breached by the former regime and to justify the "armed confrontation".

b) The lead

تفجرت المواجهات المسلحة بين بدو سيناء ووزارة الداخلية من جديد نتج عنها مقتل مواطن بدوي وإصابة آخر أثناء
مطاردة أمنية له في منطقة وسط سيناء مساء الاثنين الماضي"

*"Armed confrontation between the nomads of Sinai and the Ministry of Interior newly
erupted and resulted in killing one and injuring another during police chasing at central
Sinai last Monday evening"*

The lead takes the uninformed receiver to read the story through the paper's point of view, namely the regime persecutes the nomads. This is reached through the use of the

adverb "newly" which presupposes the repetition of the action and the use of the hypernym "ministry of the Interior" which implicates the inequality of power and the excessive use of power against the nomads. Moreover, the editor deliberately ignored the causalities of the police.

c) Story structure

The story effectively creates a discourse that reflects the former regime's unfair policy towards the Sinai nomads' state of affairs in question at that time. It attempts to justify what the nomads did and describes the "the armed confrontation" as a result of the unfair policies adopted by the former regime and hence putting blame away from the nomads. To show objectivity and credibility, *Al- Dostour* observed the Cooperative Principle's maxim of quality "don not say that for which you lack adequate evidence"; it did not rely solely on governmental or official sources for comment. Nevertheless, this objectivity is fake. It used many man-on-the-street interviews as sources who are fully biased against police. This attitude is crystallized through some indignant sentences such as

- "وقالت مصادر بدوية إن المواطنين لم يكونا مطلوبين على ذمة أية قضية"

- *"The two citizens were not wanted for any charge." nomadic sources said*

- "وقال مواطن ينتمي إلى المنطقة التي شهدت المواجهة المسلحة بين البدويين وأفراد الداخلية إن الحملات الأمنية على الأسواق والمحلات التجارية التي يملكها أهالي المنطقة زادت في الفترة الأخيرة وكانت المفجر للمواجهة التي وقعت بين البدو" و"الداخلية"

- *"Police raids on markets and businesses owned by the local residents has lately increased and led to the eruption of the confrontation between the Bedouins and the ministry of Interior ,"* said a citizen of the region that witnessed the armed confrontation between the two

Bedouin men and the elements of the ministry of Interior

"وقال أحد شيوخ القبائل السيناوية "للدستور" إن بدو سيناء يطالبون بإطلاق سراح "مسعد أبو فجر" رئيس حركة "ودنا نعيش" الذي بدأ إضراباً عن الطعام منذ أسابيع في محبسه "سجن الغربانيات" رغم حصوله على قرارات قضائية بإطلاق سراحه هو و "يحيى أبو نصيره" إلا أن "الداخلية" ترفض تنفيذ هذه القرارات"

- *"The nomads of Sinai called for freeing Mosaad Abu Fagr, head of "we want to live" movement who went on hunger strike some weeks ago at the prison (Al-Grbaniyat prison) although he and Yahiya Abu Nessira got judicial decisions about the release, the ministry of Interior rejects executing these decisions "* Sheikh of some Sinai tribe said.

Unlike *Al-Gomhuria*, *Al- Dostour* obviously intervened by providing a historical background that acted as context for the story by starting in the present, then flashed back to the past to fill in details important to a fuller understanding of the story.

"جدير بالذكر أن العلاقة بين الداخلية وبدو سيناء ساءت منذ العام 2004 بعد اتهام الداخلية لقبائل سيناء بمساعدة تنظيم التوحيد والجهاد على القيام بتفجيرات في منتجع طابا"

"It is worth noting that the Ministry of Interior and the nomads of Sinai have not been in good terms since 2004 when the first accused the latter of aiding "Al-Tawhid and Al-Jihad" group to blast Taba resort".

In order to show credibility and to endorse its point of view, *Al- Dostour* used some metadiscourse markers; it posted an archival photo for Bedouin-police confrontation to represent common occurrence and another photo for detainee Sinai activist "Mosaad Abu Fagr."

Story (3)
Al-Gomhuria



(*Al-Gomhuria*, 6 April,2009)

مجهولون يطلقون الرصاص على قطار شبين

Unidentified men fire on Shebeen train

The headline suggests that the incident has left no loss and the attackers aimlessly fired at the body of train from outside

a-The words of the headline

-Unidentified men: fits the framing of the headline which does not mention the reason beyond firing.

-Shebeen: A borough belongs to Qalyoubiya governorate is used to implicate that the incident is limited and the train is local.

b-The lead

قام مجهولون بإطلاق الرصاص على قطار القاهرة-شبين القناطر وأصابوا أحد الركاب أثناء مروره بقرية طحانوب وحاولوا إيقافه وسرقة الركاب

Unidentified men opened fire at Shebeen Al-Kanter-Cairo train and wounded a passenger on passing by Tahnoub village. They tried to stop the train and stole passengers.

In a bid to attenuate the accident, *Al-Gomhuria* relied on verb "to try" which presupposes the stage "to think of", "to plan" or "to want" and that the attackers may not succeed in stealing passengers and stopping the train.

c- The structure of the story

In the story structure, *Al-Gomhuria* made changes in identifying the group of shooting when it called them "thieves" and explained the cause beyond shooting ,i.e. stealing. Nevertheless, it implied that the thieves could not steal anything and mentioned that they ran away when the train driver called the police in order to downplay the incident. For the same reason, *Al-Gomhuria* decreases the number of injuries to one.

Al-Dostour

كتب - أحمد سعيد:
هاجم مسلحون مجهولون في ساعة متأخرة من مساء أمس الأول - السبت - القطار رقم ٣٢٧، المتجه من القاهرة إلى المنوفية أمام قرية طحا بمركز شبين القناطر بمحافظة القليوبية..
وحسب ما أعلنته أجهزة الأمن بالقليوبية فقد تعرض القطار للهجوم أثناء خروجه من محطة شبين القناطر في الساعة الواحدة والتصف بعد منتصف ليل أمس الأول ونفذ الهجوم ٧ مسلحين ببنادق آلية سريعة الطلقات وأصابوا -خزان الهواء- الذي يتحكم في الشبكة-الهيدروليكية- الأمر الذي أدى إلى توقف القطار بعد تعطل محركاته، وقالت مصادر أمنية إنه عقب توقف القطار سارع المثلثون باقتحام العربات الواحدة تلو الأخرى وهددوا الركاب بالقتل وهو ما سهل لهم الاستيلاء على جمع متعلقاتهم من أموال ومصوغات ذهبية وهواتف محمولة.
وأعلنت مديرية أمن القليوبية حالة الاستنفار القصوى وانتقلت القيادات الأمنية إلى مكان الواقعة، وتبين إصابة راكبين بطلقات نارية في القدم والفخذ وتم نقلهما إلى المستشفى الشامل بشبين القناطر.
وشنت أجهزة الأمن حملة تمشيطية واسعة النطاق على جميع المناطق المجاورة لمكان الواقعة واعتقلت عشرات المشتبه بهم من المسجلين خطر والأشقياء.
التقت «الدستور» أحد الركاب ويدعى «محمود سميحة» - تاجر مواشى - وقال: إنه كان نائماً في القطار في طريقه إلى المنوفية ثم صحا فجأة على أصوات الأعبرة النارية التي أصابت جسم القطار من الخارج، وأضاف أن الجناة سرقوا منه ٢٥ ألف جنيه كانت بحوزته في حقيبة سواء لشراء مواشى من إحدى الأسواق بالمنوفية.

(*Al-Dostour*, 6 April,2009)

مسلحون يهاجمون قطاراً بالأسلحة الآلية في القليوبية ويسرقون الركاب

Men armed with klashenkof attack Qlyoubiya train, steal passengers' belongings

a-The words of the headline

-Men armed with klashenkofs : In a bid to identify the group that the reporter felt were responsible for shooting, he described them as " Men armed with klashenkofs". This description of the attackers presupposes that they are a gang whose aim is to steal the passengers' belongings and implicitly show the weakness and negligence of the police.

-Qlyoubiya: A governorate north Cairo is introduced to hint that the incident is significantly unlimited.

b-The lead

In order to magnify the incident, *Al-Dostour* mentioned the number of the attackers (7) and the guns used "quick firing automatic rifles" and raised the number of injuries to two.

c-The story structure

In an agitating tone, *Al-Dostour* stated in detail what the gunmen did amid full absence of the police that took some action after the incident.

To show credibility and accuracy, *Al-Dostour* resorts to two attributors, a security source and a passenger. *Al-Dostour*, unlike *Al-Gomhuria*, stated that thieves had stolen money, jewelries, and mobile phones before escaping.

Story (4) *Al-Gomhuria*

طلاب المحظورة حاولوا اقتحام الحرم الجامعي بالفيوم

الفيوم - محمد الفل وجمال قطب :

تصيب ثلاثة طلاب وثلاثة ضباط بالحرس الجامعي بالفيوم في مواجهة صباح أمس. محاولة الطلاب اقتحام الحرم الجامعي تلقى اللواء محمد السعيد مدير أمن الفيوم إخطاراً من الدكتور محمد عزمي مدير عام المستشفى العام بوصول المتظاهرين من الطلاب والضباط.

ودلت التحريات أن مواجهة نشبت على الباب الرئيسي للحرم الجامعي من بين الطلاب الذين ينتمون إلى جماعة الإخوان المحظورة وأفراد الحرس لصيانة الطلاب لبعض المطبوعات واللافتات التي تدعو إلى فكر المحظورة وأصيب كل من أحمد محمد صوفي بالفرقة الثالثة بدار العلوم ومحمد إبراهيم عبدالباقي بالفرقة الرابعة بدار العلوم ومحمود هارون بالفرقة الثالثة بدار العلوم.

كما أصيب المقدم مصطفى المصري والرائد محمد رشدي والنقيب محمد خلف.

وتمكنت أجهزة الأمن بالفيوم من القبض على ثلاثة من الطلاب وهم علي محمد علي عبدالحسيب وخالد محمد أحمد السيد بكلية التربية وعمرو إبراهيم محمد سيد كلية الهندسة وعدد من اللافتات والمطبوعات التي قاموا بتوزيعها على الطلاب خارج الحرم الجامعي وحاولوا اقتحام الحرم عبر الأسوار، والاعتداء على أفراد الأمن باستخدام العصي والطوب.

صرح مصدر أمنى لـ «الأسبوعي» بأن قيام الطلاب الذين ينتمون إلى المحظورة بهذا التصرف يأتي لمحاولة منهم لإثارة زملانهم بعد فشل الدعوة لإضراب ٦ أبريل.

(*Al-Gomhuria*, 9 April, 2009)

The import of the story is that there is a clash between the police and some students belong to "the Muslim Brotherhood" group at the campus of Al-Fayyom University. Each newspaper framed the story in accordance with its ideology

Al-Gomhuria

a) The words of the headline

طلاب المحظورة حاولوا اقتحام الحرم الجامعي بالفيوم

Students of the banned try to storm the university campus at Al-Fayyom

The headline echoes the official stance of the former regime towards the Muslim Brotherhood group. *Al-Gomhuria* biased against the students and adopted the police point of view. This inference is reached via affiliating the students not only to the Muslim Brotherhood group, but to the former regime's description *banned* as well. The aim of such choice of naming is to highlight the illegal status of the group; **Richardson (2007: 49)** states that "the way that people are named in news discourse can have significant impact on the way in which they are viewed." Furthermore, this naming signifies the tense relationship between the namer (the former regime and *Al-Gomhuria*) and the named (the Muslim Brotherhood group).

According to Le (2004), newspaper writing, in comparison to academic writing, needs to present the information with less complexity since it is targeted to a wider audience. On the face of it, this rule was blatantly breached by *Al-Gomhuria*; the deletion of the modified noun phrase *Muslim Brotherhood group* makes the headline ambiguous and perhaps not even meaningful since the adjective "the banned" does not include specific reference and hence different inferences arise. But in a deeper level, one might argue, the editor relies on that the story will have the full interpretation of the word. The story in this case acts as a co-text that constrains it. Thus, the reader must interpret *the banned* happily as *the banned Muslim Brotherhood group*.

The banned: derogatory expression used by the state-run newspaper when describing "the Muslim Brotherhood group"

Storming: generates negatively connoted meaning as it implicates that students behave like "thugs" and they attempted to enter the campus illegally and presupposes that they do not belong to the place.

b)The lead

أصيب ثلاثة طلاب وثلاثة ضباط بالحرس الجامعي بالفيوم في مواجهة صباح أمس لمحاولة الطلاب اقتحام الحرم الجامعي

3 students and 3 university guard officers at Al-Fayyoun were wounded in a confrontation yesterday morning in a bid for storming the university campus

The editor hides the agent in order to befog the responsibility of injuring by attributing the agency to both students and university guard officers, thus intentionally avoiding putting responsibility on the police in this incident. Although the students have the right to enter the university campus, *Al-Gomhuria* states that the reason behind the confrontation is that the students attempted to "storm" the university campus.

c) Story structure

The content of the story is that a clash between some students affiliate to the Muslim Brotherhood group and the university guard took place when the former tried to distribute some leaflets inside the university campus and the latter prevented them. For persuasive effect, the interpersonal metadiscourse marker "attributor" is used and the editor annotated the story with it since texts as Leech (4004) states, are greatly enriched by annotation – interpretative information added to the base text



(Al-Dostour, 9 April, 2009)

a-The words of the headline

الحرس الجامعي يعتدى على طلاب جامعة الفيوم ويصيب عشرة منهم

The university guards make an assault on A-I-Fayyoun University students, wound ten

Al-Dostour adopts the adverse point of view; the active sentence pattern is used to make it clear that the police (subject) made assault (verb) and students are victims (object). In order to refer that the police assault is not justified, *Al-Dostour* deliberately ignored the cause beyond the assault and attributed the students to the Al-Fayyoun University only whereas in the lead, the reporters described them as "students belong to the Muslim Brotherhood" only although they are students and members of the Muslim Brotherhood as well. This selective naming, one may claim, is indexical; the first naming indexes non-politically oriented students receive unjustified police assault. The lead naming describes politically oriented students oppose the then ruling regime. The choice of placing, one may argue, is related to "justification" and "sympathy" .i.e. the first naming hikes the degree of sympathy whereas the second rises the degree of "justification" as it signals the tense relationship between the two opposing parties. According to *Al-Dostour*, the numbers of injuries amongst students are ten whereas *Al-Gomhuria* mentioned that only three students were wounded. Furthermore, putting the verb in the progressive mood entails moving forward in the establishment of readers' idea about police, adding evidence to the claim to represent a frequency of common occurrence, and asserts the transitivity of the action.

b-The lead

تحولت ساحة كلية التربية في جامعة الفيوم صباح أمس لساحة حرب حقيقية الأربعاء بعد قيام العشرات من حرس الجامعة والكليات بضرب ومطاردة مجموعات طلابية تنتمي لجامعة الإخوان على مرأى ومسمع المئات من طلاب الجامعة الأمر الذي أسفر عن وقوع أكثر من عشر إصابات بين الطلاب واعتقال 5 مصابين آخرين تم اصطحابهم في سيارات شرطة من داخل الحرم الجامعي

Fayyoun University Faculty of Education patio changed yesterday morning into a real battlefield as tens of the university guards beat and chased Muslim Brotherhood students before hundreds of their colleagues. The toll is more than ten casualties and five others are detained by the police that accompanied them in a police car from the university campus.

Al-Dostour , in order to magnify the incident, adopts the metaphor of war; University campus has changed into battlefield and police have been depicted as invaders. Students were described as armless fighters defending their freedom. Wounded students were the casualties the battle left. The arrested students were called "detainees".

Such metaphorical framework shapes the reader's understanding of the incident by showing the "illegitimacy" and "brutality" of the police action and the "weakness" of the other party.

c) Story structure

كانت الأحداث قد بدأت عندما قام عدد كبير من أفراد الشرطة -بزيهم الرسمي- باقتحام حفل طلابي نظمه طلاب الإخوان بمناسبة نهاية النشاط وتكريم متفوقى الجامعة في الفصل الدراسي الأول

Clashes ignited when a large number of police troops with formal uniform stormed an event planned by Muslim Brotherhood students to celebrate the end of the first term student activities and honor the distinguished students

The paper begins the story by breaching the CP submaxim of Manner "be orderly"; it mentioned the police assault first and delayed the reason beyond it. Moreover, the paper withheld the CP maxim of quantity when it stated that police troops were wearing their "formal uniform". This superficial uninformativity is meant to serve the anti-Mubarak orientation of the paper; because the law bans police troops presence in the University campuses, the police troops, to throw fine dust in eyes, used to disguise in plain clothes thus mentioning "with formal uniform" here refers to the extent of the police blatant defiance of law.

Story (5)
Al-Gomhuria



(Al-Gomhuria, 12 May, 2009)

a-The words of the headline

مصدر أمني: عبوة محلية الصنع وراء انفجار سيارة الزيتون

Improvised explosive device blew up Zaytoun's car: Security source

Although the two papers are especially interested in the question of information transmission, they actually seek to cause attitudinal changes; each paper describes the event in a different way in an attempt to make the reader line up with its ideology .I.e. *Al-Gomhuria* tries to downplay its negative effect whereas *Al-Dostour* highlights it.

-Improvised explosive device: *Al-Gomhuria* states that one improvised explosive device is used to reduce the destruction power of the blast in the reader's mind and hence downplays its negative effect.

-Security source: refers that the police have investigated into the blast and can unravel the mystery of it soon.

Car blast: shows that the explosion the loss are limited

b-The lead**Al-Dostour**

انفجار عبوتين ناسفتين أمام كنيسة العذراء يهز منطقة الزيتون
الانفجار لم يسفر عن خسائر في الأرواح أو إصابات والفاعل مجهول واعتقال عشرات المشتبه فيهم
ذعر في المنطقة.. ورواد الكنيسة يفرون هلعاً.. ومرضى مستشفى قريب يغادرونه بملابس النوم

كتب- شريف الدواخلي وأحمد رفعت
 صديق وهاني سمير

هز انفجاران وقعوا مساء أمس الأول- الأحد-طقة حلمية الزيتون بالقاهرة على إثر انفجار وتين ناسفتين أمام كنيسة العذراء مريم.. وقالت بادر أمنية وطبية إن الحادث لم يسفر عن خسائر الأرواح أو وقوع إصابات.

قد وقع الانفجار في الساعة التاسعة مساءً عندما برت عبوة ناسفة بدائية الصنع تتكون من مسامير ود وزلظ في سيارة ملاكي القاهرة تحمل لوحات ثنية رقم ٢٨٠٦٢٨ وأدت لتدمير الجزء الأمامي السيارة المملوكة لثقيل كان يشارك في حفل ف بالكنيسة.. فيما دوى الانفجار الثاني في أعة الواحدة صباحاً عندما قام خبراء المفرقات جبر العبوة الثانية وسط صدادات حديدية بعد ثور عليها خلال تمهيط المنطقة أسفل سيارة ي كانت تقف على بعد أمتار من الأولى.

تسبب الانفجاران «الأول والثاني» في إصابة أهالي لقة بالهلع والرعب.. وهو ما اضطر المدعوين في ل زفاف بالكنيسة إلى مغادرتها فور سماع صوت فجار.. فيما تدافع المرضى والعاملون بمستشفى ثراء القريب من موقع الحادث هلعاً من أخطار شمة وانتشروا في محيطه وبعضهم كان بملابس م.. وقال شهود عيان إن الانفجار الأول وقع ما بين أعة التاسعة إلا الربع والتاسعة تقريباً أمام كنيسة ثراء مريم.. حيث قطع الدوى المرعب للانفجار وات الآلات الموسيقية وصخب ترانيم الزفاف.. ول حضور الحفل بغير نظام خارج الكنيسة.. التي الانفجار على بعد أمتار من بوابتها الرئيسية.

تصوير: أحمد جمعة

معاينات أمنية عقب انفجار العبوات الناسفة أمام كنيسة العذراء أمس

انتقلت قيادات الأمن بالقاهرة إلى موقع الانفجار وأحاطت المنطقة بكرتون أمنى كثيف.. وتعطلت حركة المرور بالمنطقة بالكامل.. وتولت مباحث أمن الدولة بمشاركة مباحث القاهرة شن حملات اعتقال سريعة وعشوائية على المشتبه فيهم والمسجلين خطر.

كشفت المعاينات البدينية لرجال العمل الجنائي ونباية أمن الدولة العليا والمباحث الجنائية عن العبوة الأولى وهي بدائية الصنع وتحتوى على مسامير صغيرة وكمية من الزلظ والبارود انفجرت في سيارة ملاكي ١٢٥٠ زرقاء اللون تحمل لوحات معننية رقم ٢٨٠٦٢٨ مملوكة لثقيل يدعى بطرس ميشيل بطرس مرقص ٤٦ سنة محام والتي كانت متوقفة على بعد أمتار من بواية الكنيسة الرئيسية.. وفوجئ معازيم الفرح داخل الكنيسة بالانفجار.

وفيما رجحت المعاينة أن سبب الانفجار قد يكون ماساً كهربائياً في بطارية السيارة تؤكد بعد ذلك أن

(Al-Dostour, 12 May, 2009)

انفجار عبوتين ناسفتين أمام كنيسة العذراء يهز منطقة الزيتون**الانفجار لم يسفر عن خسائر في الأرواح أو إصابات والفاعل مجهول واعتقال عشرات المشتبه فيهم****ذعر في المنطقة.. ورواد الكنيسة يفرون هلعاً.. ومرضى مستشفى قريب يغادرونه بملابس النوم****Two explosive devices blow up before Virgin Mary church, rattle Zaytoun district****No fatalities nor casualties reported, attackers unidentified, dozens of suspects detained****Many leave the church and near hospital in a panic**

In order to highlight the event, *Al-Dostour* adopts a hyperbolic style at the expense of its credibility; the paper reports that the explosion does not leave deaths, casualties, or any damage of the property. Nevertheless, the reporters contradict themselves when they mention that the two "improvised devices" can "rattle" the big district and cause "panic" to the population there.

a-The words of the headline**-Two explosive devices:**

Al-Dostour mentions that two explosive devices are used to magnify the destruction power of the blast.

-Virgin Merry church: mentioning "Virgin Merry church" in the headline hints that sectarian reasons are beyond the explosion and implicitly accuses Islamist groups of targeting the church. .

-rattle: shows that the two explosives are so strong that they have affected a whole district.

Panic: hyperbolically describes the emotional state of Zaytoun population.

"Attackers are unidentified" and "dozens of suspects are detained": the two sentences show that the police are unable to find any clue to arrest attackers and indicate that unraveling the mystery of the incident may take much time.

b-The lead

هز انفجاران وقعا أمس الأول- الأحد- منطقة حلمية الزيتون بالقاهرة على إثر انفجار عبوتين ناسفتين أمام كنيسة العذراء مريم وقالت مصادر طبية وأمنية أن الحادث لم يسفر عن خسائر في الأرواح أو وقوع إصابات

Two blasts rocketed, Sunday, Cairo's Helmiyatt Al-Zaytoun district when two explosive devices blew up before Virgin Marry church. Security and medical sources said that no fatalities nor causalities reported.

The above lead, which frames the report of the event, contains two contradicting actions. The first action is positive and represented by the transitive verb "rattle" to express the degree of the blast of the two explosive devices. The second part of the lead is passive and contradicts the first as the blast of the two explosive devices which "rattled" the whole district left no loss, deaths nor causalities. This lead is almost useless as it fails to frame an adequate journalistic news story because the first part of the lead represented by the transitive action verb is the only recoverable from the text.

Both papers used metonym- a trope in which one word, phrase or object is substituted for another from a semantically related field of reference- as they replaced the user of the object by the object. From a discourse analytic perspective, metonymies are usually used when the actors responsible are unknown or because it is punchier than alternatives. One may argue that *Al-Gomhuria* used metonym for the first reason whereas *Al-Dostour* used it for the second one.

Conclusion

The selective attention in both newspapers, which forms a part of the ideological news framework, serves to signify the political reality and makes important ideological statements to the public.

The systematic analysis of the linguistic structures and processes in the headlines and the structures of news stories reveal political and ideological interests of each paper

underlying the news accounts. Namely, the present study has made it clear that there are wide gaps in ideology and presentation between the two newspapers.

This is because, as Kieran (1998:27) states, "a journalist's news report aims to persuade the audience that his or her description and interpretation is the rational and appropriate one." Namely, the ideological practices of *Al-Gomhuria* tend to justify and smooth over the police abuse of power and negligence in a bid to deflect accountability from its officials, while *Al-Dostour* coverage tended to focus on more negative versus positive developments related to the police. Moreover, *Al-Gomhuria* used to focus on the *symptoms* of the event whereas *Al-Dostour* highlighted the *causes* beyond it. At the lexical level, the choice of the lexical items is inherently motivated by the social-political ideologies, commitments, and background of the two papers. Pragmatically, indirectness, as stated by Obseng (1997: 49), allows politicians to avoid communicating directly while talking about potential face-threatening acts or politically risky topics. So, as Fowler (1985: 74) remarks, implicature is not accidental, but an intentional act, which may be consistent with the other lexicons and may add into a semantic system to form a set of ideologies to addressees.

One could argue that even the most objective of reporting would never eliminate bias. As the Times' Public Editor Okrent (2005:14) notes, "Journalism itself is inadequate to tell this story... It's not reality, but a version of reality..." Possibly the best that audiences of the media can do is to seek out various versions of reality in order to achieve, if not the truth, at least a broader perspective; the same story was written by the two newspapers in different style and tone. i e., the government media coverage was following the official line and allowed the government to exercise power over their discourse whereas the non-government was more extensive and critical and kept a wary eye on government. *Al-Dostour* reporters have much more liberty to challenge the 'official' version of the story and cover the inequitable discourse practiced by *Al-Gomhuria* which mediated the relationship between the former regime's ideology and news content by naturalizing the inequalities and accepting the frames imposed on events by officials and ignored voices that fall outside the dominant circles of the former regime.

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