

Journal of Law & Social Studies (JLSS)

Volume 5, Issue 1, pp 42-51

[www.advancelrf.org](http://www.advancelrf.org)

## Sexual Harassment and Heteropatriarchal Knowledge: A Feminist Epistemic Discourse Analysis

**Snobra Rizwan**

(Corresponding Author)

Assistant Professor,

Department of English, B. Z. University, Multan.

Email: [snobrarizwan@bzu.edu.pk](mailto:snobrarizwan@bzu.edu.pk)

[rizwansnobra@outlook.com](mailto:rizwansnobra@outlook.com)

**Dua'a Ahmed Butt**

MPhil Scholar,

Department of English, B. Z. University, Multan.

Email: [duaahmed52@gmail.com](mailto:duaahmed52@gmail.com)

**Hafiz Abdul Haseeb Hakimi**

Lecturer,

Department of English, B. Z. University, Multan.

Email: [abdulhaseebazmi@bzu.edu.pk](mailto:abdulhaseebazmi@bzu.edu.pk)

### Abstract

*This paper is an attempt to investigate a public debate stirred by a sexual harassment case filed by Ms. Meesha Shafi (a Pakistani singer) against her colleague Mr. Ali Zafar. This investigation is specifically done with reference to theories of gender, discourse and cognition. In this pursuit a gendered dimension of commonsense knowledge (i.e., heteropatriarchal knowledge) is introduced and its connection with socially constructed texts and talk is established. Especially intriguing for this paper are the ways the interpretation and understanding of sexual harassment is discursively constructed as common-sense knowledge. The descriptive analysis of Ms. Shafi's, Mr. Ali Zafar's and public's attitudes, evaluation and perception of sexual harassment (i.e. in seven selected Facebook discussions) leads to the introduction of a new theoretical insight which may be called Feminist Epistemic (Critical) Discourse Analysis. The analysis further established that the heteropatriarchal commonsense knowledge held by the people at times may turn out to be a product of sexist beliefs and misogynistic ideologies.*

**Keywords:** Sexual harassment, me too movement, Patriarchy, Knowledge, Misogyny

### Introduction

There are certain societal and cultural perceptions which are upheld by collectivities within their respective contextual domains. These perceptions which are typically heteropatriarchal and a product of people's epistemic constraints may determine their gender related beliefs, attitudes and ideologies. With this background, this article intends to investigate socially shared cognitive practices and attitudes regarding a Pakistani woman's allegation of sexual harassment. Arguably, the perception of sexual harassment is discursively shared across a culture and its sub-cultural spheres, and hence is

naturalized and internalized. In other words, misogynist attitudes, behaviors and ideologies are shared by participants of a culture and remain in need of confirmation. Social media discussions (which are data of this research study) confirm that people's beliefs and ideas regarding sexual harassment are varied and diverse. This variation and diversity may be attributed to people's politically driven agendas which may further be attributed to their internalized heteropatriarchal commonsense knowledge. This commonsense knowledge is considered 'true' naturalized knowledge which people activate to comment on sexual harassment and rationalize and neutralize their internalized misogyny and sexism. This is one of the reasons that the terms 'sexual harassment' is hard to define in overtly divided and highly polarized contexts like Pakistan.

In broader sense, this paper attempts to connect discursive construction of sex crime allegations in relation to widespread misogyny and heteropatriarchal knowledge. As stated above, the sexist knowledge is considered naturalized and commonsense and is related to discursive construction of heteropatriarchy (which manifests itself in form of sexist opinions and attitudes) which eventually generate, disseminate and legitimize gendered ideologies and worldview. This article, by analyzing sex crimes related online phallogocentric discourses, observes that, in practice, patriarchal knowledge is not easy to define and differentiating it from sexist opinion is even more challenging. Misogynist knowledge as an offshoot of heteropatriarchal knowledge seems to be a part of wider societal patterns and systems and is activated in relation to different socio-cultural communities and sub-cultural groups which transmit, disseminate and (re)produce it. This provides a clue to the foundation of patriarchal knowledge and other heteropatriarchal perceptions of Pakistani society; and this is what this very article is interested in.

In short, misogynist and patriarchal ideas about sexual harassment are not only socially shared but are socially disseminated. Such perceptions are developed through normative discourse and epistemic practices and build the foundation of a gendered social order.

## Background of the Study

On April 19, 2018, Ms. Meesha Shafi, (Pakistani singer, actor, model) levelled sexual harassment allegations against her colleague Mr. Ali Zafar (Pakistani musician and actor) by releasing a statement on Twitter. Ms. Shafi's stepping out and raising voice against sexual harassment has been well received and considered an important juncture that ushered in Pakistan's own #MeToo movement by many. Her step encouraged other women from Pakistan's showbiz industry to break culture of silence and be vocal about their own stories of sexual harassment. On the same day, (April 19, 2018) Ali Zafar released a statement. He dismissed all the allegation of sexual harassment levelled against him. As stated earlier, after Ms. Shafi's harassment claims went public, other women also felt encouraged to talk about their own similar harassment incidents. Make-up artist/painter Leena Ghani and journalist Maham Javaid also alleged that they have been harassed by Mr. Zafar. On April 25, 2018. Ms. Shafi was sent a Rs100 crore defamation notice by Mr. Ali Zafar's legal team. In response, Ms. Shafi's legal counsel demanded that Mr. Zafar issue an apology for "the wrongs he committed against women" and that this demand is not going to impact Ms. Shafi's right to initiate civil or criminal proceedings in the future.

## Theory and Method

This study is interdisciplinary in nature. It takes its theoretical insights from Van Dijk's (2014) theories on discourse and cognition and builds on his analytical framework of *Epistemic Discourse Analysis (EDA)*. In addition, this work is also related to feminist and epistemological concerns. All these approaches lead to laying foundation of *Feminist Epistemic (Critical) Discourse Analytical praxis*. Van Dijk (2013: 497) defines EDA as the structured and patterned ways in which people manage knowledge in their everyday life—the knowledge which is substantiated by the structures

and strategies of discourse. Fairclough's (2001, 2003) ideas of language and power are also echoed in this work, of course in relation to misogynist discourse. Misogynist discourse of online discussion forums of Pakistan which make the data of this research study provide ample evidence of (de)legitimation of sexual harassment. The focus is also on how commonsense and naturalized knowledge about gender is related to gender performativity (Butler 1990). Individuals and groups acquire knowledge about normative gender behavior from discourse(s). People cannot understand patriarchal discourse without activation of huge amount of knowledge which shape their gender identities. The postulates outlined above prompt the researcher to add a third tier to the theoretical framework of the paper. Thus, theory of natural knowledge (see Golinski 2005; Bertocci 1943) needs to be incorporated here in order to get an in-depth insight of cultural practices and discursive management of knowledge in discourse samples under investigation.

This study delimits itself to the study of seven Facebook discussions which highlight Ms. Shafi's allegations against Mr. Zafar.

### **Corpus**

The corpus details are provided as under:

Total comments: 920

Total words: 9882

Social networking platform: Facebook

Total discussions: 7

### **Discussion's URL**

1. <https://www.facebook.com/dawndotcom/videos/10160403792570442/> 114 comments
2. [https://www.facebook.com/pg/Pakistan.Showbiz/posts/?ref=page\\_internal](https://www.facebook.com/pg/Pakistan.Showbiz/posts/?ref=page_internal) 451 comments
3. <https://www.facebook.com/TheWideSideMedia/videos/2062523617102392/> 82 comments
4. <https://www.facebook.com/Pakistan.Showbiz/posts/10155685209359200> 51 comments
5. <https://www.facebook.com/firstpostin/posts/179132557426042317> comments
6. <https://www.facebook.com/Parhlo/posts/164274367244143427> comments
7. <https://www.facebook.com/Metronomee/posts/1993243340706297> 178 comments

In order to collect data, purposive sampling technique was used. After having read many Facebook discussions, above-given discussions were the most appropriate in terms of diversity and relevance for this research. The following section presents analysis of the data.

### **Analysis: Misogynistic Perception of Reality**

#### **Sexist Epistemic Structures**

A close reading of the discussions under analysis leads one to infer that most Facebook users are not only hegemonized but also misogynistic. Patriarchal knowledge of sexual harassment is misogynistic in multiple ways which are discussed below:

**Performance:** Misogynistic knowledge is internalized by the people through gendered performances and discursive practices (see C.1 where it has been explained to women the best-case scenario for the performance of sexual harassment. Here 'C' stands for comment. The names of the respondents have been withheld for ethical considerations):

*C.1: Before blaming any man for sexual harassment all women should check their figures in front of mirror. No man would ever do a harassment act to any flat bodied woman.*

**Dissemination:** Patriarchal knowledge of sexual harassment is disseminated most probably by ‘Ideological State Apparatuses’ (Althusser 1979) among members of gendered communities (e.g. C.2 which substantiates over-represented hypermasculine misogynistic belief). The clause ‘everybody knows’ implies disseminated knowledge which has widespread acceptance.

*C.2: Don't know much about Ali Zafar but somehow everybody knows a man would not do something to a famous married woman like her. If anything happened, it must be consensual.*

**(De)legitimation:** Discursive (de)legitimation strategies associated with gendered social institution serve to construct and popularize dismissive beliefs about women’s complaint of sexual harassment (e.g. see delegitimization of Ms. Shafi’s claim in C.3):

*C.3: This is all a stunt to get publicity... An accusation without evidence and solid proof is nothing but bullshit. ... And people who believe in accusations are also bullshit ... And finally, it is a psychological concept that the one who complains first are usually seen as the innocent one ...*

**Naturalization:** Patriarchal perception of gender roles is generally about naturalized misogyny which is repeatedly observed in everyday discourse. In C.4 the commenter makes quasi-logical arguments to prove Ms. Shafi’s harassment claims are false and what ‘natural’ consequences in the case of a harassment claims could be:

*C.4: Ali Zafar is also not a "pauper" madam, he is also a versatile artist and a beautiful singer too... And Why did she remember to tweet after such a long time...Ladies of respectful families do not make themselves a joke and insult themselves publically through showing their personal matters on social media...Sorry to say but, Would you like to handle such a stuff on Twitter, if you face it somewhere ? Second she had a good relationship with Zafar's wife...these matters should be solved through family and friends not on Twitter...Because Being Muslim, being Eastern we have our own some values to deal with such matters. When we discuss it face to face, you found just misunderstanding from both sides, no more else... Third court did find guilty Ali Zafar. And further if you don't like somebody avoid him/her simply...*

Specially, intriguing for this research is the ways selective cognition constructs misogynist knowledge, which is indoctrinated in a context, thus promoting interactional sexist knowledge and trivializing sexual harassment. It is true that most patriarchal ideologies and gender related approaches are subjective opinions. So, the significance of personal knowledge cannot be denied. In the context of this study, it could be assumed that gendered personal knowledge consists of sexist versions of personalized patriarchal knowledge (Potter 1996, Conway 2007). To be able to interpret subjective opinion/personalized patriarchal knowledge, one needs to understand the given context and its layers.

### **Misogynistic Cognition and Harassment**

It is argued that misogynistic cognition is structured in a way that is socio-culturally performed (Butler 1990). Thus, it is assumed, gendered actors can only develop stereotypical identities and misogynistic worldview when they have generic patriarchal knowledge. Hence patriarchal knowledge is fundamental and the basis of all sexist cognitive structures which are activated to interpret discourses surrounding sexual harassment. Subjective mental models remain stored in individual’s

autobiographical episodic memory and, arguably, are grounded in contextualized patriarchal knowledge (e.g., C.5 represents such homophobic cognition which encourages victim shaming). Since most of the people generally exhibit normative heteropatriarchal leaning, their ideologies and perceptions are based on homoerotic discursive practices.

*C.5: Meesha Shafi is a liar. She is also very big lesbian of showbiz. She has very deep relationship with her co female star Neelam Muneer.*

## Gender Ideologies and Identities

Gender ideologies may function to legitimize sexual hegemony and caution against potential threats to it. The ‘positive’ ideologies (which may promise goodwill, hope etc.) labeled as ‘utopias’ by Mannheim (1936) seem almost non-existent in the representation of Ms. Shafi. Vocal, independent and supposedly ‘empowered’ showbiz women are always identified as an evil by most of the commenters in the selected discussions. Mainstream heteronormative ideologies are ‘positive’ ideologies for misogyny, whereas for the victims of sexual harassment and similar offences these are no doubt ‘negative’ ideologies. The construction of one’s personality and subjectivity depend on the processes of acquisition and internalization of gendered discourses in each context. Apart from this, these discussions also take an explicit nationalistic stance. In C.6 nationalistic identity of a respondent can be observed:

*C.6: Meesha is a senior artist, she knows very well how to handle men who are forward. If Ali had ever become forward with her, Meesha would have put him in his place, and tell his wife! So, why is she dragging this movement and adding more negative narrative against Pakistan on the international level!*

This and many other comments show how an individual may be a member of several competing ideological groups at one and the same time. Thus, one may claim to adhere to the principles of a certain feminist group but, the views (s) he voices may represent an intriguing amalgamation of Marxist feminism, Islamist feminism, antifeminism, and misogyny at one and the same time (e.g., see C.7)

*C.7: The public hates the way this woman dresses up (in an un-Islamic way) and the way she sings is a shit... after (alleged) harassment she shared the stage with Ali... Harassment was not a problem then, why it is now??? Because money matters were involved. I agree, working women must face a lot. But the problem is that they became vocal if it's hitting them over personally...it was a pleasure before and harassment after that.*

This shows the ideological contradictions in people’s attitudes towards sexual harassment. Such contradictions are deeply entrenched in groups and individuals’ mental model and are a product of patriarchal social practices and sexist experiences of everyday life. Thus, collective misogynistic ideologies about sexual harassment and the way they are ‘performed’ in everyday life need to be distinguished. So, it may be argued that a society sees mainstream knowledge about sexual harassment as an ideological battle. Like all other ideological dimensions, people’s gender ideology can precisely be defined in terms of their relation to the ‘others’ (Van Dijk 2014: 99). Such ideological schemas arguably shape (both individual and collective) cognitive foundation in each socio-cultural scenario and are marked by following categories:

- identification practices
- socio-cultural acts
- objectives and outcomes
- normativity and deviations

- in-groups and out-groups and
- power structures

In case of sexual harassment, gender ideology applies to ‘performance’ of perpetrators and victims in diverse ways. Like any other discursively constructed ideology, gender ideology too is gradually (re)constructed and disseminated in a society. It also undergoes the process of metamorphosis depending upon the sensitivities and temporal and spatial nuances. Misogynist ideologies of the patriarchy provide the base to the negative attitudes about supposedly ‘strong’ and ‘liberated’ women who dare being vocal about sexual harassment.

### **Sexist Attitudes and Power Relations**

This section presents a brief discussion of sexist attitudes as a form of heteronormative perception of reality and relates them with power relations in gendered domains of the society. This section aims to embody patriarchal attitude theory in a more epistemological way:

**Cultural practices about harassment:** Patriarchal attitudes, as observed in the selected discussions, are cultural practices which lay the foundation of misogynistic collective consciousness of a society. This sort of patriarchal performances may be ad-hoc personal opinions about sexual harassment and need to be understood distinctively from permanent ones.

**Attitudes and misogynistic general knowledge:** Patriarchal attitudes about sexual harassment are not only cultural but also misogynistic general knowledge shared by members of a community. General misogynistic knowledge in the context of sexual harassment claims stir mutual communication and debate (e.g., discussions on social networking forums). In such a scenario one needs to know how sexual harassment is defined and makes sense. A close reading of selected Facebook threads reveals that a uniform understanding of an act of sexual harassment is an illusion. There are as many interpretations, descriptions and explanations of sexual harassment as possible (e.g., C.8 and C.9).

*C.8: It's a very sensitive & serious issue. I think people who face it or don't face it, should deal with it very carefully & legally. I mean they must have proper evidence, witnesses etc. while showing casing such issue.*

*C.9: Well, I think being a girl would not be as easy as you said that why she didn't bring it up earlier. It takes a lot of courage and time to talk about something like this. I think we do not judge anyone at this moment.*

**Polarized attitudes about sexual harassment:** The central structural aspect of people’s attitudes about sexual harassment is that they are polarized. But this polarization is tilted towards one side. An overwhelming majority of the Facebook commentators seem to dismiss Ms. Shafi’s claims. In this way negative interpretation of Ms. Shafi’s claim is emphasized without any emphasis on positive interpretation of her voice against sexual harassment.

**Evaluative attitudes about sexual harassment:** It has been observed that people’s attitudes about sexual harassment are evaluative: they like to judge sexual harassment claims personally. Unsurprisingly, most of the proclamations made by the public remain normative aligning the socially shared norms and values. Overall, proclaimed judgements and opinions show negative orientation. So, the dominant attitude could be labelled as ‘misogynist attitude against manipulative powerful westernized woman’. Misogynist evaluative attitudes, thus, does not listen to victim of sexual harassment and strives to maintain the status quo which let the offenders get away with the crime (see C.10):

*C.10: Everything is possible. What can we say? We can't make any judgement coz we haven't seen it with our own eyes!!! Personal biases and prejudices make people take sides. If I am a girl, it should not lead me to take girl's side and vice versa...*

### **Feminist Epistemic Communities and Sexual Harassment**

If members of a community share similar knowledge about sex and gender, such a community is labelled as a feminist epistemic community in this study. Despite similarity there are always divergent groups in each gendered/sexist epistemic community (e.g., see C.11 for unpopular feminist knowledge about victim shaming and horrors of harassment experiences).

*C.11: In a Pakistani society, which is utterly a patriarchal society....! When a woman speaks up about harassment then she not only has to face the judgmental comments, but she also must suffer a lot...! Being sexually assaulted is the most terrible incident of one's life. So, stop this judgment.*

C.9 and C.10 are, once again, cases for feminism-based knowledge of sexual harassment of women. Similarly, specialized group knowledge of religious epistemic communities and social psychology may also be sexist. In such a case, sexual harassment of women may be presupposed and evaluated by different (sexist) epistemic communities differently in tune with their knowledge criteria. Moreover, commonsense/non-specialized knowledge about sexual harassment is shaped by the specialized/expert knowledge (e.g., related to medicine, science, social psychology, philosophy etc.) in the field. Tellingly, it is specialized (gendered and sexist) knowledge which builds foundations of general knowledge, which subsequently provides a background for misogynistic discursive practices and performativity. Thus, it could be argued that the discussion participants under investigation are representatives of gendered sub-cultures performing sexist acts under the umbrella of an overarching culture. Their arguments in favor and against Ms. Shafi's harassment claims are embedded in supposedly specialized knowledge of sexual harassment which in turn represent a special (transversal) misogynistic knowledge. Unsurprisingly, different 'specialized' misogynistic epistemic communities with similar epistemic practices, rituals, ideals, values, ideologies and attitudes manifest varying interpretation and understanding of sexual harassment. On some occasions, specialized knowledge may be incompatible with commonsense knowledge, if such knowledge is not grounded in plausible arguments (see Holthoon and Olson 1987). This study does not observe instances of objective scientific references which may be critical of commonsense (harassment related) sexist knowledge. Everyday commonsense or 'lay' knowledge transforms into sexist general knowledge after patriarchal perception of reality is incorporated and gendered scientific knowledge conflate with it (Agnone 2007 and Sunderlin 2002, cited in Van Dijk 2014:107).

### **Distinguishing Misogynistic Knowledge from Patriarchal Cognizance – A Foucauldian Description**

Following Foucault's idea of power/knowledge (see Gordon 1980), it could be argued that patriarchal cognizance and misogynistic knowledge are not independent entities but are inextricably related—misogynistic knowledge is always an exercise of patriarchal power and patriarchal power always a function of commonsense misogynistic knowledge. Relating his most famous example (that of the confession) of a practice of power/knowledge as outlined in *History of Sexuality* (Foucault 1978, 1985), it can be argued through naming and shaming an alleged harasser (a form of power) women are supposedly incited to "tell the truth" (produce knowledge) about their inappropriate touch, male behaviour and stalking. Through #Me Too movement, the idea of a women's identity at the core of the self comes into existence (again, a form of knowledge), an identity that patriarchy wants to monitor, cultivate, and often control (to assert its power).

They say that knowledge is power. Thus, when people make some knowledge claims about women's conduct who level allegation of sexual harassment on men, they try to dominate the others and exert their authority over others who have less knowledge. Things may turn out to be even more intriguing when these knowledge claims become 'truth' claims and are recorded as statements in front of a judge who has the power of sentencing a perpetrator of sex crime. And sentencing is also a statement of knowledge. However, verbal sexual assault is not considered as serious crime as a physical sexual assault. According to commonsense knowledge of the people, verbal sexual assault is hard to categorize as a serious crime. It is considered a subjective opinion, not a statement of fact. This study confirmed that an overwhelming majority of Facebook users are males (70% in the collected data), and they never hesitate in giving voice to their sexist opinion and misogynistic beliefs. While discussing sexual harassment, they have no qualms about victim blaming and dismissing harassment claims of women.

Let us state some of the dominant discursive trends about interrelationship between gender, knowledge and discourse which emerge in the discussions about this sexual harassment case:

1. People make their opinion, knowledge claims and ideologies after having influenced by headline of the news
2. Most of the respondents only read what they want to read and then absorb knowledge which confirm their already known views
3. Most Facebook users snub victims (e.g., Ms. Shafi in this particular case) and inform the others that Ms. Shafi's harassment claims are untrue (see C.12).
4. Most Facebook users claim that by implicating the accused, the victim made a desperate attempt to be famous and relevant (see C.14)
5. Facebook users' beliefs, opinions and truth claims etc. are harder to categorize as facts.
6. Their claims (e.g., see C.12 to 16) can be categorized as sexist and patriarchal opinion.
7. Their commonsense knowledge leads them to believe that Ms. Shafi "falsely implicated Mr. Zafar after an ugly break-up" (e.g., C. 15).

So, let's accept this all as a subjective way to describe what happened, in the sense that, explicit evaluation is formulated about Meesha Shafi's "empowered status" (see C.13). However, describing Mr. Zafar's conduct as "hormonal" may insinuate, logically, that Ms. Shafi's harassment claims are legitimized to some extent (see C.15).

*C.12: "From Malala to Meesha let me know if any Pakistani women got fame without using #womenCard or #victim card including...lolx"*

*C.13: "How can someone (who's already a big star himself) harass an empowered woman 😏 just a trick to gain attention!"*

*C.14: "She would have never gain so much attention and airtime if she were just a singer...played woman card so smartly...appreciated".*

*C.15: "All good points. But after everything said and done... most men remain hormone raged morons. And some women, when rejected after a relationship, turn vile and want to take you down big time. So, it could as well be a relationship gone bad.."*

On the other hand, the statements like C.16 as pragmatically indexed by a generalized pronoun 'she' is more clearly misogynistic facts about both the harassers and the harassed ones' actions and alternatives (see C.16)

*C.16: "I don't understand why in such cases woman does not inform the police. If she has the courage to tweet about it, then why she does not take legal action"*

Thus, these discourse samples taken from Facebook discussions show how misogynist and patriarchal people's commonsense knowledge about sexual harassment is. People rationalize their responses with victim blaming and restating popular opinion which is predominantly sexist and anti-feministic. It is because of such epistemological constraints within this discursive space; sexual harassment remains under reported and unaddressed, and harassers get away with it very easily. The harassers are mostly pardoned by the victims and their families in the courts of laws because victims and their family cannot take the humiliation of recalling and restating the whole incident any longer.

## Conclusion

Feminist epistemic discourse analysis as carried out in the preceding section (i.e., analysis) of the paper leads one to infer that misogynistic knowledge in form of specialized knowledge is disseminated by social institutions. This is how institutionalized gender biased general knowledge stored in people's long-term memory is schematized which, subsequently, shapes their appraisal systems and is activated to evaluate gendered events like sexual harassment. So, discursive structures embodying semi-specialized common-sense knowledge construct people's worldview tend to interpret sexual harassment across various settings. People's complacent attitude reflects the way commonsense gendered knowledge is diffused among the public at large. In other words, a stereotypical or deviant misogynist knowledge coming from various sub-cultural spheres which leads to biased understanding and trivialization of sexual harassment remains in conflict with specialized knowledge.

## References

- Bertocci, P. A. 1943. "Macintosh's Theory of Natural Knowledge". In *The Journal of Religion*. Vol. 23 No. 3. 164-172.
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender Trouble. Feminism and Subversion of Identity*. London: Routledge.
- Conway, A. R. A. (ed.). 2007. *Variation in working memory*. Oxford University Press.
- Fairclough, N. 2001. *Language and Power*: London: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. 2003. *Analyzing Discourse and Text: Textual Analysis for Gendered Research*. London: Routledge.
- Golinski, J. 2005. *Making Natural Knowledge: Constructivism and the History of Science*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Holthoorn, F. L. Van & Oslon, David R. 1987. *Common Sense: The Foundations for Social Science*. Lanham & London: All University Press of America.
- Mannheim, K. 1936. *Ideology and utopia: an introduction to the sociology of knowledge*. London/New York: Kegan.
- Martin, J. R. and Rose, David. 2003. *Working with Discourse: Meaning Beyond the Clause*. London: Continuum.
- Mehmood, R. 2017. "The harassment tweet that outraged Pakistan". In *Al Jazeera* (Electronic Edition). Accessed November 14, 2017. <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/harassment-tweet-outraged-pakistan-171030093147824.html>.

- Potter, J. 1996. *Representing reality: discourse, rhetoric and gendered construction*. London/Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Van Dijk, T. A. 1998. *Ideology: a multidisciplinary approach*. London: Sage.
- Van Dijk T. A. 2013. “The field of epistemic discourse analysis”. *Discourse Studies*. 15: 497–499.
- Van Dijk, T. A. 2014. *Discourse Knowledge and Society: A Sociocognitive Approach*. New York: Cambridge University Press.