Linguistic representation of the Philippine war-on-drugs victims in online news reports

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Abstract

To curb the drug problem in the Philippines, a war on drugs was waged by the Duterte administration in June 2016. This campaign resulted in thousands of deaths and an increase in media reports about the victims. However, victim representation in the news is an unexplored area of inquiry, a gap which this study fills by investigating the linguistic representation of Philippine drug war victims in 68 online news reports from four broadsheets using Jeffries' (2010) critical stylistics framework. The findings reveal that the linguistic devices that positively and negatively represented the victims were direct and indirect speeches (28.08%), transitivity processes (23.78%), passive voice and subordinate clauses (21.41%), and noun phrases (16.51%). As regards the victims' positive representation, direct and indirect speeches were used to construct them as innocent. Transitivity processes and passive voice and subordinate clauses were utilized to describe them as intentionally killed. Noun phrases were employed to represent the victims as young and intelligent. Meanwhile, in terms of negative representation, direct and indirect speeches, transitivity processes, passive voice, and subordinate clauses were used to describe the victims as involved in drugs. Finally, noun phrases were employed to represent the victims as drug runners and robbers, who incited the police by returning fire. Overall, the choice of linguistic devices is found to play a significant role in shaping the representation of victims in news reports. This finding has practical implications for responsible journalism particularly in news reporting about drug war victims.

Keywords: Discourse analysis, critical stylistics, news report, war on drugs, victim representation

1.   Introduction

War on drugs refers to a government-led program that aims to stop illegal drug use and trade. In the Philippines, this was initiated by former President Rodrigo Duterte in June 2016 to curb the drug problem in the country. While the intent of the campaign was to help alleviate crime, ironically, it also warranted another type of crime – extra-judicial killing, that is, an unlawful and deliberate killing done by order of the government. This is done either as a legitimate police operation, where the police shoot to kill in self-defense when a suspect resists arrest, or as a vigilante-style operation, where two unknown assailants riding a motorcycle conduct a drive-by shooting, colloquially referred to as 'riding in tandem.' Both modes are considered extra-judicial since the killing occurs without giving due process of law to alleged drug users and traders (Coronel, 2017).

The Duterte administration drug war campaign resulted in extra-judicial killings of several Filipinos, purportedly claiming over 6,100 lives from June to December 2016 through the two modes of killing (Bueza, 2016). In 2017, the number of drug war fatalities reported by the Philippine National Police (PNP) was 7,025 (Amnesty International, 2017). The statistics increased to over 29,000 in March 2019 (Johnson & Giles, 2019). However, both the PNP and the national government do not consider the reported deaths as extrajudicial killings. Rather, they consider them as collateral damage or casualties of the drug war (Gavilan, 2017).

A corollary to the drug war-related deaths is an increase in media reports regarding the victims. As reported, the victims are mostly from poor communities, young, male, and allegedly in possession of guns. They are also reported to have an alleged connection to drug use and trade, although their link to the said issue is not strongly established by police officers (Amnesty International, 2017). These details are part of victim representation in the news.

The way people are referred to in news reports, including details such as their status, social role, relationship with others, and comments about them by the news writer comprise representation. Media representation matters because it is a form of social action, involving the production of meanings that have real effects. As Dyer (1993) explains, the way a person is represented in media is frequently part and parcel of the way they are treated in real life. Conditions such as poverty, discrimination, and other undesirable outcomes are introduced and perpetuated by media representation.

In constructing representations in their news articles, journalists rely on police communications as one of the main sources of information about crime. Relationships between journalists and police are fostered because journalists depend on the police for crime news; at the same time, the police need journalists to portray crime news in a way that is not overly critical of police work. To avoid biased reporting from this kind of mutually beneficial relationship between journalists and the police, investigative journalism is practiced although not done for all of mainstream news media.

Regardless of how the media report is shaped, what it presents to the public inadvertently shapes the way people think and believe. Media scholars believe that readers are not passive and, therefore, their thinking can be easily affected by what they read (Geçer & Mahinay, 2018). One of the ways by which media influence the way people think is through

representation, which may involve negative representation, also called misrepresentation or the provision of false information about a person or event. This effect is done through linguistic choices that affect the way participants in the narrative, such as victims of crimes, are constructed. At times, the victims are further victimized in news reports when they are negatively represented (Leiper, 1994). What current scholarship has discovered about media representation of victims and crimes is discussed next.

2.   Literature on Victim Representation in the News

Predominantly, studies about victim representation in the news demonstrate that linguistic choices made by news writers contribute to misrepresentations of victims which, in turn, lead to victim-blaming. Negative representation of victims have been associated with color or race, religious affiliation, and gender. In relation to race, Frisby's (2017) paper on news stories on a lone shooter showed that many of the stories involving a White shooter included references to 'hero' while those that involved People of Color as shooter were found in only a few stories. This demonstrates a bias for represented White people more positively than People of Color. In terms of religious affiliation, Poorebrahim and Zarei's study (2013) on the portrayal of Islam in Western media found that Islam was repetitively stereotyped, and Muslims are negatively represented through linguistic choices and in headline construction. As regards gender, Adampa (1999) investigated the way the female victim and the male perpetrator were represented in three newspaper articles. Through a linguistic analysis, she found that those texts tended to obscure the guilt of the rapist and transferred the blame to the victim by using passive sentence structures that deleted the rapist as the agent. Overall, these studies illustrate how members of a race, religion, and gender could be negatively represented in news reports.

Apart from the studies that delved on color, religion, and gender, media studies have likewise investigated the effects of the misrepresentation of victims specifically victim-blaming (Adampa, 1999; O'Hara, 2012; Suebklin & Vungthong, 2022). A study found that this effect is done through linguistic choices made by the news writers (Tabbert, 2013). Tabbert analyzed the linguistic construction of offenders, victims, and crimes in British and German newspaper articles. His analysis showed that offenders are constructed in opposition to victims, which is mainly achieved through naming, the use of transitivity, speech presentation, and implicatures and presuppositions. In the study of O'Hara (2012), a lexical analysis was done to explore how news media portray sexual violence against women. Her results showed that most of the analyzed articles perpetuated rape myths, where the perpetrator is often described as a devious monster, whereas the victim is blamed for the assault because of her behavior. This is consistent with the more recent study of Suebklin and Vungthong (2022) that explored how perpetrators and victims are represented in 30 Thai online news articles on rape. Their findings revealed linguistic patterns in the way victims and perpetrators are represented in news stories, contributing to the perpetuation of certain rape myths and ideologies, especially the myth of blaming victims. This tendency is also

examined by Islam and Siddique (2023) by investigating the linguistic representation of a victim and the depiction of victim-blaming culture in 27 Bangladeshi newspapers reports. They discovered that print media, specifically newspapers, attempted to conceal the involvement of a prominent figure in a crime by focusing on other factors such as the victim's lifestyle, occupation, and identity resulting in negative public opinion toward the victim. One particular newspaper was discovered to be more aggressive in blaming the victim and attempted to shield the accused by blaming the victim's relatives and fabricating inflated and confusing stories about the victim. Overall, these related studies on victim representation have highlighted the case of rape victims, particularly outside the Philippine context.

The dearth of studies about drug war victims, despite the increase in media reports about them, prompted us to investigate how this particular victim cohort is represented in news articles. Since media can be a powerful instrument in shaping readers' opinion, the study on victim representation remains a fertile field of inquiry. We contribute to this scholarship by exploring the little examined context of the Philippines and the case of drug war victims. Specifically, this paper investigates the representation in online news reports of the two most mediatized victims of the Philippine war on drugs.

1. What linguistic devices are used to represent the victims of the war on drugs?
2. How are these linguistic devices used to construct victims positively and negatively?

By answering these questions, this study can help raise the awareness of readers about representation in news reports. When readers understand how victims are represented linguistically in news reports, they can make more informed decisions about their own views about the victims talked about in media.

3. Theoretical Framework

In analyzing linguistic representations in news reports, critical stylistics is employed. Critical stylistics, as conceptualized by Jeffries (2010), tries to assemble the main general functions that a text has in representing reality which is based on the premise that texts organize the world through words and textual structure. In other words, textual meaning is encoded through the stylistic choice of linguistic features that are embedded in a text. This theory is suited for this study as it provides a set of analytical tools for understanding forms of representation done in news texts. The 10 conceptual categories of critical stylistics, with their description and analytical tools are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1
Conceptual categories of critical stylistics according to Jeffries (2010)

Conceptual categories	Description	Analytical tools or examples
Naming and describing	Deals with the construction of noun phrases	Noun phrases
Representing actions / events / states	Involves transitivity processes	Material, verbalization, mental, and relational process
Equating and contrasting	Relates to similarity and difference of meaning	Antonyms, equivalence or parallel structure and opposition
Exemplifying and enumerating	Considers the potential ideological consequences that result from using textual functions of exemplifying and enumerating	Hyponyms and meronyms, sense relation, and apposition
Prioritizing	Relates to sentence structure	Clefting, active / passive voice, or the subordination possibilities
Implying and assuming	Relates to pragmatics	Existential and logical presupposition and implicature
Negating	Refers to a conceptual practice rather than the simple negating of a verb	Not, no, no one, lack, absent
Hypothesizing	Includes modality with three modal systems	Epistemic, deontic, and bolomaic modals
Presenting the other's speech and thoughts or opinions	Speech and thought presentation	Direct speech, indirect speech, free indirect speech, narrator's report of speech act, and narrator's presentation of voice
Representing time, space, and society	Deals with how the text producers construct the world in space, time, and society dimensions, also known as 'text world theory'	Deixis, Text World theory, Possible Worlds theory

In this study, the categories with their analytical tools or linguistic devices presented in Table 1 are used to analyze the linguistic representation of the drug war victims in news reports. The suitability of this theory in victim representation research is demonstrated in the studies of Tabbert (2013) on the linguistic construction of offenders, victims, and crimes in the German and UK press (Tabbert, 2013), in news stories about child sex abuse (Ahmed, Kamran, & Anwar, 2020), and in the representation of minority groups in Nigerian print media (Olaluwoye, 2015), among others. Consistent with the practice of these related empirical studies, this research applies the critical stylistics framework to drug war news reports in the Philippines.

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4.   Methodology

In this section, we discuss the most mediatized drug war victims. The news reports about them form part of the corpus we analyze in this study. Then, we explain the approach used in data analysis.

4.1   The drug war victims

The victims analyzed were Kian delos Santos and Carl Angelo Arnaiz since they were the most mediatized victims of the drug war. An Internet search in the official websites of the four top national broadsheets in the country yielded more articles about two drug war victims in the Philippines—Kian and Carl. In the Philippine Daily Inquirer alone, there were 1, 570 search results for Kian, and 808 results for Carl, which include news reports, opinion articles, and international news reports. Meanwhile, the Internet search returned only about 20 to 30 results for other drug war victims. Thus, it can be said that Kian and Carl are the two most mediatized drug war victims. We collected data from the four broadsheets mentioned since no news reports were found on the website of the other five broadsheets in the country.

4.1.1   Victim 1: Kian delos Santos

Kian delos Santos was 17 years old from Caloocan City and a grade 11 student from Our Lady of Lourdes College. He dreamt of becoming a police officer and was in favor of the war on drugs.

Kian helped his father sell merchandise in a small store in front of their house. Kian would wake up early to prepare their merchandise before he went to school. On the evening of August 16, 2017, while Kian was about to close their store, policemen came to their place to conduct a drug operation. According to the police report, Kian tried to flee when he noticed the policemen were approaching him. Kian drew his gun and shot towards the police, which prompted one officer to fire back in self-defense, killing Kian. They also claimed that a gun and two sachets of shabu were found in Kian's possession.

However, witnesses claimed that Kian was just loitering near their house when two unidentified men grabbed him. Two other witnesses said that Kian was blindfolded by the two men, and he was forced to hold a gun, fire it, and run. Another witness heard Kian beg for his life before getting shot. In 2018, the policemen who killed him were sentenced to life imprisonment.

4.1.2   Victim 2: Carl Angelo Arnaiz

Carl Angelo Arnaiz was 19 years old from Cainta, Rizal and a former interior design student at the University of the Philippines (UP) – Diliman. Carl later dropped off from UP to undergo treatment for depression.

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Carl asked permission from his parents to buy midnight snacks near their house in Cainta, Rizal, but went missing for 10 days until his corpse was found in a morgue in Caloocan. He allegedly robbed a taxi in Navotas and was killed in a shootout on August 18, 2017, but autopsy reports say he was tortured and was executed kneeling or lying down. According to the witness, Carl was shot dead in a grassy area. In March 2023, the person accused of murdering him was sentenced to lifetime imprisonment.

4.2   Data Gathering Procedure

We collected 68 news reports, 34 featuring Kian and 34 featuring Carl, from the official website of Manila Standard (MS), Manila Times (MT), Philippine Daily Inquirer (PDI), and Philippine Star (PS), the four nationally published broadsheets in the country. The news reports were chosen based on three criteria: (1) The news reports must be about Kian or Carl, the two most mediatized drug war victims. If a news report mentioned the name of Kian or Carl but the reports were not primarily about them, they were not selected. (2) Regardless if the descriptions were positive or negative, they were chosen to form part of the corpus. (3) The news articles were written from August 2017, which was the time of the victims' death, until 2018 and 2019, when the police officers who killed Kian were sentenced to *reclusion perpetua*, and when those who killed Carl Angelo Arnaiz were arrested, respectively.

The news articles were coded with a number and initials for identification and for presentation of results. For example, in NA1-K-PDI, NA1 stands for the first news article about K (Kian) published in the Philippine Daily Inquirer (PDI). The news articles were saved and manually coded using a Word processor.

4.3   Data Analysis

This paper employed discourse analysis to meet its objective. Discourse analysis examines written and spoken language use beyond words and sentences and focuses on the use of language within a social context. Our paper used language-in-use discourse analysis and critical stylistics as framework to analyze how language was used in news reports. Language-in-use discourse analysis is concerned with the micro dimensions of language, grammatical structures, and how these features interplay within a social context. It also focuses on the rules and conventions of talk and text within a certain context (Miles, 2010). Specifically, our study is concerned with how linguistic devices construct war-on-drugs victims in news reports.

The two most mediatized drug war victims in the Philippines were the victims studied. Using the analytical tools of critical stylistics, the researchers analyzed each new report to identify and manually account for the frequency of occurrence of the linguistic devices that represented the victims. The frequency helped in determining the linguistic devices frequently employed to represent the victims. After getting the frequencies, textual analysis of the news reports was done. Textual analysis examines the structure, content, and meaning of a text or their structure and discourse, and how it relates to the historical and

cultural context in which it was produced. To do so, textual analysis combines knowledge from different disciplines, like linguistics and semiotics (Hawkins, 2017). Guided by the analytical tools of critical stylistics, the researchers analyzed each news report once more to identify the linguistic devices that represent the victims. Those linguistic devices were investigated for positive and negative representation of the victims.

Using critical stylistics (Jeffries, 2010), the frequency of analytical tools or linguistic devices in the news reports was accounted for. The 68 news reports were analyzed to determine the linguistic devices that represented the victims and how those devices construct the victims positively or negatively. Word-level analysis was applied for negating and hypothesizing. Phrasal-level analysis was employed for naming and describing, exemplifying and enumerating, prioritizing, representing time, space and society, presenting other's speech and thoughts or opinions. Finally, sentence-level analysis was used for equating and contrasting, representing actions/events.

To validate the results of our analysis, two coders analyzed 30% of the news reports. One of the validators has completed the academic requirements of PhD in English Language Studies and has been teaching at the tertiary level for more than 10 years. The other validator holds a PhD in Applied Linguistics, has also been teaching at the tertiary level for almost 20 years, and has published several papers in reputable journals. The coders' analyses were compared to our analysis. The disparities found between our analysis and the coders' analyses were discussed, and re-analysis was done to reach an agreement.

We analyzed the corpus quantitatively and qualitatively. The quantitative part answered our first research question. Guided by the conceptual categories of critical stylistics, we accounted for the frequency of the linguistic devices that describe the drug war victims in the news reports. The phrases and clauses in each news report were analyzed if they fall under the conceptual categories of Jeffries' critical stylistics. After determining if those phrases or clauses belong to a conceptual category, they were analyzed if they positively or negatively represented the victims. On the one hand, representations were classified as positive if factual information about the victims are given in the news report. On the other hand, representations were considered negative if inaccurate and opinion-based information about the victims are included in the report. For example, mentioning that Kian was a grade 11 student and Carl was a former University of the Philippines-Diliman student is considered an example of positive representation since these pieces of information are factual. However, descriptions of Kian as a drug runner and Carl as possessing marijuana and shabu are regarded as negative since these are not factual based on the decisions given by the court judges who handled their respective cases.

The qualitative analysis answered our second research question. Using the same framework, each news report with direct and indirect speech, transitivity processes, passive voice and subordinate clauses, and noun phrases that represent the victims was analyzed again whether they were used to represent the victims positively or negatively. The qualitative analysis uncovered positive and negative representation of the victims through linguistic devices.

5.   Results

The results presented in this section highlight the most frequently used linguistic devices in representing the victims, and how these devices contributed to positive and negative representations.

5.1   Linguistic devices used to represent drug war victims

Among the 10 conceptual categories in Jeffries' critical stylistics (2010), nine of them were used in the news reports. However, only four conceptual categories were frequently employed to represent the drug war victims. Their frequencies and corresponding percentages are presented in Table 2.

Table 2
Linguistic devices that represent the war-on-drugs victims in news reports

Conceptual categories (linguistic devices)	Victim 1 (Kian)	Victim 2 (Carl)	Total
1. Presenting other's speech and thoughts or opinions (direct and indirect speech)	279	254	533 (28.08%)
2. Representing actions/events/states (transitivity)	237	214	451 (23.78%)
3. Prioritizing (passive voice and subordination)	184	210	406 (21.41%)
4. Naming and Describing (noun phrases)	169	144	313 (16.51%)
5. Exemplifying and enumerating (apposition)	44	24	68 (3.58%)
6. Negating	42	25	67 (3.53%)
7. Representing time, space, and society (deixis)	13	20	33 (1.74%)
8. Hypothesizing (modals)	9	6	15 (0.79%)
9.Implying and assuming (presupposition, implicature)	11	0	11 (0.58%)
10. Equating and contrasting (antonymy, equivalence, opposition)	0	0	0 (0%)
Total			1897 (100%)

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As Table 2 shows, four conceptual categories were frequently employed to represent the victims. The linguistic devices that realized these conceptual categories were direct and indirect speech for presenting other's speech, transitivity processes for representing actions, passive voice and subordinate clause for prioritizing, and noun phrases for naming and describing. We now discuss the application of these categories in turn.

Direct and indirect speeches were found to be the most frequently used linguistic device in representing the victims. Direct and indirect speeches were employed to represent the victims as innocent but involved in drugs (Kian) and as a robber (Carl). There were 260 direct speeches while there were 273 indirect speeches in the news reports. The direct and indirect statements came from the victims' family, the witnesses to their killing, the forensic doctor, the crime laboratory chief, and police officers and officials. These direct and indirect statements are presented in 5.2.1 and 5.3.1.

Transitivity processes were also employed in representing the victims. Material action and verbalization processes were the frequently used ones. Material action intention was utilized 252 times while verbalization was used 99 times. Transitivity processes were utilized to describe the victims as intentionally killed but resisted arrest and involved in drugs.

Moreover, passive voice and subordinate clauses were utilized to construct the victims as tortured, killed but involved in illegal drugs. There were 185 occurrences of passive constructions and 221occurrences of subordinate clauses.

Lastly, noun phrases were employed to represent Kian as young, the face of drug war but a drug runner. Carl, on the other hand, was represented as young, and intelligent. But at the same time, he was depicted as a robber, who returned fire with the police.

After examining the general linguistic devices used for victim representation in the news reports, we now turn to a more nuanced analysis of these linguistic practices. In the next section, we discuss the linguistic devices that construct the victims positively and those that represent them negatively.

5.2   Linguistic devices that positively represent the victims

In this part, we discuss the linguistic devices used in the news reports that describe the victims as good citizens and innocent victims of the drug war. The linguistic devices that achieve this effect are presented in the order of salience.

5.2.1   Direct and indirect speeches

Direct and indirect speech were the linguistic devices with the highest frequency of occurrence in the news reports. Directly or indirectly presenting the words of other people can potentially influence the readers. What seems to be a form of neutral reporting can be ideologically significant depending on the direct and indirect statements included by news writers in their reports. Extracts 1 to 8 indicate how the direct and indirect speeches in the news reports positively represented the victims.

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Extract 1

> _"Yung batang 'yon walang alam, pag-aaral lang. Nagsisikap para_
> _makaahon sa kahirapan. Isang saglit lang pinatay nila,"_ Saldy told
> reporters on Friday. [That kid does not know anything except studying.
> He worked hard because he wanted to get out of poverty, but they killed
> him just like that.] (NA5-K-PDI)

Kian's father described his son to be full of dreams to be alleviated from poverty. He even disclosed that Kian wanted to become a policeman, so he was focused on his studies, but he lamented that the police officers "killed him just like that." Kian also used to help his father manage their small store before and after school.

The witnesses to the killing and the character of Kian represented him as tortured, killed, and innocent of the shootout narrative of the police officers as evident in the direct and indirect speeches in Extracts 2 and 3.

Extract 2

> "Then the men gave him a gun and ordered him to shoot twice and then
> run really fast. But before he could even get away, they had shot him
> multiple times," she said. (NA1-K-PDI)

The witness to the killing of Kian described him to have experienced physical violence from the police officers. She said Kian was hit repeatedly in the gut. The description of Kian's murder was made detailed when the witness used the words "shot him multiple times." The statements of this witness became instrumental to the justice obtained by Kian and his family.

Extract 3

> "There was no shootout. They [the police] fired on the way down," she
> said in Filipino during Tuesday's Senate hearing of the committee on
> public safety and dangerous drugs. (NA8-K-MS)

> …They pushed Kian to the side of the pigsty and I could hear Kian say,
> 'Sir, huwag po [Sir, please don't]," she said. (NA8-K-MS)

The witness who lives three houses away from where Kian was killed categorically said that "there was no shootout" in the Senate hearing conducted to investigate Kian's death. She narrated that she was on her way to buy some things when she saw two policemen dragging Kian. She hid behind the gate where she saw three police officers push Kian to the side of the pigsty and heard Kian's cry for mercy. One very important matter she said was that no shootout took place; they just killed Kian point blank.

The statements of one of the witnesses were confirmed by the findings of the forensic doctor and the PNP Crime Lab medico-legal officer as shown in Extract 4:

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Extract 4

> Dr. Erfe said the first and second shots were fired while Kian was on the
> ground, facedown. (NA2-K-PDI)

> "There are two gunshot wounds *pareho po sa ulo* [both in the head].
> *Ang una mismo tenga mismo and yung sumunod that is nasa likod ng*
> *tenga* [The first one in the ear is exactly in the ear while the other is at
> the back of the ear], both of those nag exit," PNP Crime Lab medico-
> legal officer Dr. Jane Monzon said in a press briefing on Wednesday.
> (NA4-K-PDI)

In the autopsy done by Dr. Erfe, he discovered that "the shots were fired at him
while he was on the ground." The position of Kian when he was shot suggests that there was
no exchange of fire between Kian and the police officers. Kian's position likewise implies the
intent of the police to kill him. This is corroborated by the statement of the PNP Crime Lab
medico-legal officer when she said that there are two gunshot wounds in the head.

The statements of Carl's family represented him as innocent of robbery and was
not involved in drugs (Extract 5) while the witness constructed him as killed by the police
(Extract 6).

Extract 5

> "*Sa pagkakakilala ko sa kanya, hindi niya kayang gawin 'yun,*" [As far
> as I know Carl, he cannot rob,] Eva Arnaiz, Carl's mother said.

> Carlito Arnaiz, Carl's father, said that he does not believe that his son
> was found with marijuana and shabu as his only vice was smoking.
> (NA1-C-PS)

The statements of Carl's parents give a positive representation of him. Carl's mother
believed her son "cannot rob." Carl's father likewise did not believe marijuana and shabu
were found in Carl's possession.

One of the most important positive representations that Carl was intentionally killed
came from the eyewitness to his killing. His narrative is shown in Extract 6.

Extract 6

> The witness said the young man, holding up his handcuffed wrist
> pleaded "susuko na po ako" [I will surrender already] but he was shot
> dead by the two policemen. (NP16-C-PDI)

The statement of the eyewitness to Carl's killing provides a clearer narrative and
representation of Carl. The witness narrated that he was looking for a place to eat after
visiting a friend and attending a party in Caloocan on August 17, 2017, when he saw a young

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man being dragged out of a police car. He likewise saw Carl pleading for his life when he raised his handcuffed hands to ask for mercy. However, Carl was still "shot dead by the two policemen." Clearly, from the statement of the main witness, no shootout took place between Carl and the policemen contrary to their claim. It was not even a case of police response to a crime, as claimed by the PNP Chief, since based on the witness' account, Carl was dragged out from a police car and was killed.

The witness's narrative was confirmed by Dr. Erfe, who examined Carl's corpse and inspected the crime scene, and the NPD Crime Lab chief. Their statements are presented in Extracts 7 and 8.

Extract 7

> Earlier, Erfe said Arnaiz was dragged, beaten up, and handcuffed because his bruises were deep, his eyes were severely distended, and he had many shackle marks in his right hand. (NA1-C-MS)

The statements of Dr. Erfe and the NPD Crime Lab chief are essential to represent Carl as a victim of murder of the drug war. Dr. Erfe said the trajectory of the bullets on Carl indicated intentional killing. He likewise said that no evidence of a shootout was seen when they inspected the crime scene. Thus, they described the killing of Carl as "a fake, staged crime scene." Dr. Erfe further said that Carl's wounds are indications of torture.

Extract 8

> The Northern Police District's Crime Laboratory Chief Police Supt. Arnel Marquez had said the former University of the Philippines student was shot five times. (NA1-C-MS)

The NPD Crime Lab chief said Carl "was shot five times." To be shot five times would guarantee the person is killed. Thus, both the forensic expert and the NPD Crime Lab chief believed that there was intention to kill Carl.

5.2.2 Transitivity processes

Among the transitivity processes, material action and verbalization were employed to construct the victims positively. Material processes are the processes of doing while verbalization refers to the processes of saying. Extract 9 shows how material process positively represented Kian.

Extract 9

> Seventeen-year-old Kian Loyd delos Santos, who was killed in a police operation in Caloocan City last week, sustained two gunshot wounds to his head, a report from the Philippine National Police Crime Laboratory showed. (NA4-K-PDI)

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In the extract above, there is a material action intention which includes "seventeen-year-old Kian Loyd delos Santos" as the actor, "sustained" as the process, and "two gunshot wounds to his head" as the goal. However, the autopsy report stated that he sustained more than two gunshot wounds. Kian was represented positively in this extract since the wounds he sustained in his head suggested intentional killing and not wounds from a gun encounter against the police officers. The police consistently claimed that he exchanged fire with them, but his gunshot wounds suggested otherwise based on the autopsy report.

5.2.3   Passive voice and subordinate clause

Passive voice constructions and subordinate clauses were likewise utilized to construct the victims positively. Extracts 10 and 11 present the use of the said devices to positively represent the victims:

Extract 10

> Delos Santos' chilling cry before he was killed sparked the public
> outcry against police abuses: "*Tama na po! May exam pa ako bukas*
> [Enough already please! I still have exams tomorrow]!" (NA3-K-PS)

The subordinate clause "before he was killed" in the above extract gives the idea that even at the verge of his death, Kian was thinking of his studies. It can be recalled from his father's statements that Kian dreamt of finishing his studies.

Carl was also represented as tortured through passive voice. Extract 11 demonstrates the use of this device to positively represent him.

Extract 11

> …an autopsy conducted by the Public Attorney's Office (PAO) on
> Arnaiz's body showed torture marks. He was also shot five times —
> thrice on the chest. (NA8-C-PDI)

The action in the passive construction "was also shot" leads to the doer, who are the police officers who killed Carl. The word "also" between the passive construction was used because torture marks were likewise seen in Carl's body based on the autopsy conducted. The forensic expert even said Carl's injuries indicate intentional killing.

5.2.4   Noun phrases

Noun choices are another way by which victims represented in the news reports. In the corpus examined, the major linguistic device used in naming victims is noun phrases. The victims were positively described using noun phrases in the news reports as illustrated in Extracts 12 to 14.

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Extract 12

> A domestic helper in Saudi Arabia, she rushed home when she learned
> that Kian, a Grade 11 student at Our Lady of Lourdes College in
> Valenzuela City, was gunned down by the police on Tuesday night
> during a "One Time, Big Time" operation in Barangay 160. (NA1-K-
> PDI)

The pre-modifier and modifier in the noun phrase "a Grade 11 student at Our Lady of Lourdes College in Valenzuela City" describes how young Kian was when he was killed.

The noun phrases in Extracts 13 and 14 present how Carl was positively represented.

Extract 13

> A 19-YEAR-OLD University of the Philippines student who went
> missing for 10 days and whose body was found in a morgue in Caloocan
> City, was tortured before he was killed, the Public Attorney's Office
> said Monday. (NA1-C-MS)

Carl was represented as a young and intelligent person as described in the noun phrase "a 19-YEAR-OLD University of the Philippines student." The modifier "University of the Philippines" gives the reader the representation of Carl as someone who is intelligent enough to study in the premier state university in the country.

Extract 14

> Family and friends described Arnaiz, a former interior design student in
> University of the Philippines-Diliman, as a good, promising young man
> who liked to smile. (NA6-C-PDI)

Carl was described in the noun phrase as "a good, promising man." However, all these good traits about Carl and his intelligence were put to an end in that fateful night in August 2017.

The positive representation of the victims employing direct and indirect speeches, transitivity processes, passive voice and subordinate clause, and noun phrases came from their family, witnesses, forensic doctor, crime laboratory chief, and their friends. However, despite their positive representation, they were also negatively represented. How this was done linguistically in the news reports is discussed next.

5.3   Linguistic devices that negatively represent the victims

In this section, we discuss the linguistic devices in the news reports that negatively represent the victims as involved in drugs, resisted arrest, and a robber (Carl). The linguistic devices employed to represent the victims negatively are presented in the order of salience. It should be noted that the same linguistic devices that positively represent the victims were also used to negatively describe them.

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5.3.1 Direct and indirect speech

Negative representation that Kian was involved in drugs came from police officials as shown in Extracts 15 to 17:

Extract 15

> Dela Rosa…insisted that the operation was legitimate, based on the information that Kian was the source of drugs in the neighborhood. (NA2-K-MS)

The PNP chief said that "Kian was a source of drugs in the neighborhood." Although he said he was disappointed that Kian was killed, it seems that, based on his choice of words, killing was legitimate and his information about Kian was factual.

Extract 16

> "Newly identified lang siya based dun sa intel and at the same time dun sa nahuli… Meron tayong mga documents," Northern Police District Director Chief. (NA3-K-PDI) [He was just newly identified based on our intelligence report and from the people we arrested.]

The NPD police chief said that Kian was just a "newly identified suspect based on their intelligence report and the people they arrested." He said that a newly identified one refers to someone whose name is not included in their list, which means the name just came up. From the statements of the police chief and what the police officers did to Kian, it would make people think that without strong evidence of a person's involvement in drug trade, they would still kill the suspected drug trader, even if it were not Kian.

The Caloocan police chief likewise represented Kian as a drug trader. His statements from two news reports are consolidated in Extract 17:

Extract 17

> "…We also based some sa lumalabas na ano (information) doon sa social media na nagsasabi (na drug courier si Kian). (NA1-K-PS) [We also based our information in social media which said that Kian is a drug courier.]

> Bersaluna then said policemen recovered a cellphone with Delos Santos' supposed drug transactions. (NA4-K-MS)

The Caloocan police chief was very certain that Kian was a drug trader based on the information they got from someone they arrested who said he used to get drugs from Kian. He further said that they confirmed Kian's involvement in drug trade in "social media" after he was killed. He also said that Kian's "supposed drug transactions" were seen in his mobile phone which they recovered.

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Negative representation that Carl was a robber was made by Mr. Bagcal as evident in his statements in Extract 18 which came from the same news report.

Extract 18

> He said the older boy declared a holdup when they reached their destination. (NA18-C-PDI)

Mr. Bagcal claimed it was "the older boy," who was Carl, who declared the robbery. He added that Carl pulled out a knife, but he was able to parry the attack. Then, he said that a tricycle driver helped him subdue Carl and bring them to the police station alive.

5.3.2 Transitivity process (Verbalization)

Negative representation that Kian and Carl resisted arrest and Kian was involved in drugs using verbalization came from police officials as shown in Extracts 19, 20, and 21.

Extract 19

> Police claimed he resisted authorities and allegedly fired at them, prompting them to fire back. (NA3-K-PDI)

In the verbalization process in the extract above, the sayer is the "police," the process is "claimed," and the verbiage is "he resisted authorities and allegedly fired at them, prompting them to fire back." However, the witnesses said the claim of the police officers was not true. The police officers who killed Kian were consistent in their claim that Kian resisted arrest and fired shots at them.

The extract below, which negatively describes Carl, pertains to the action done by the police to justify their claim of a shootout:

Extract 20

> The report claimed that Arnaiz successively fired shots towards PO1 Jefrey Perez and PO1 Ricky Arquilita, prompting the cops to return fire to "suppress his unlawful aggression hitting him on his body that resulted in his instantaneous death." (NA1-C-PS)

The verbalization process in Extract 20 consists of "the report" as the sayer, "claimed" as the process, "that Arnaiz successively fired shots towards PO1 Jefrey Perez and PO1 Ricky Arquilita, prompting the cops to return fire to "suppress his unlawful aggression hitting him on his body that resulted in his instantaneous death" as the verbiage. It was stated in the police report that Carl fired shots towards the police officers, so they returned fire which caused Carl's death. However, the autopsy report stated that Carl's gunshot wounds suggested intentional killing.

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5.3.3   Passive voice and subordinate clause

Negative representation that Kian was a drug trader came from the Northern Police District chief is shown in Extract 21.

Extract 21

> …Northern Police District Chief Supt. Roberto Fajardo, who had claimed a day earlier that Kian had been selling 10 grams of shabu daily. (NA3-K-MS)

The subordinate clauses "who had claimed a day earlier" and "that Kian had been selling 10 grams of shabu daily" was made when the police officers admitted in a Senate hearing that it was Kian they were dragging. So, they dragged and killed a boy whose involvement in illegal drugs was validated through social media only.

Extracts 22 and 23 provide a negative representation that Carl was a robber and involved in drugs.

Extract 22

> Taxi driver Tomas Bagcal on Sunday confirmed that it was 19-year-old Carl Angelo Arnaiz who robbed him in Caloocan City last month, but belied the police story of a gunfight, calling Arnaiz's killing "scripted." (NA13-C-PDI)

The clauses "that it was 19-year-old Carl Angelo Arnaiz" and "who robbed him in Caloocan City last month" are consistent claims of Mr. Bagcal. In all his affidavits, he said it was Carl who robbed him. By placing these words in subordinate clauses, Carl was specifically identified and the action of robbery that Mr. Bagcal claimed Carl did to him, thus, representing Carl as a thief.

Extract 23

> The police report claimed that the teenager was found with two packs of marijuana in his pocket and three packs of suspected shabu in his backpack. (NA1-C-PS)

The passive construction "was found" pertains to the "two packs of marijuana and three packs of shabu" that the police claimed they recovered from Carl. This passive voice description constructs Carl as someone who was either a user or a trader of drugs.

5.3.4   Noun phrases

Although Kian's death became instrumental to the condemnation of the war on drugs, police officials negatively represented him to be involved in drugs using a noun phrase as evident in Extract 24.

Extract 24

> The death of Delos Santos drew widespread condemnation of President
> Rodrigo Duterte's war on illegal drugs, but former officials of the
> Northern Police District (NPD) claimed that Delos Santos was a known
> drug-runner in his community. (NA10-K-PDI)

Kian's death, in the noun phrase "the death of Delos Santos," resulted in the objection against the drug war. In a way, his death has given voice to people to criticize the strategy used by the government to fight illegal drugs. However, a police official represented Kian negatively in the noun phrase "a known drug runner in his community." The use of the noun phrase mentioned could be a form of labelling. Labelling means describing someone or something in a word or phrase. This kind of labelling could make the readers draw the conclusion that Kian was indeed a drug trader.

Negative representation that Carl was a robber came from Mr. Bagcal while the construction that he returned fire came from the police officers, as illustrated in Extract 25.

Extract 25

> The two policemen…claimed that Arnaiz shot at them first when they
> tried to arrest him, forcing them to fire back. (NA21-C-PDI)

The noun phrase "the two policemen" in the extract above claimed that Carl engaged in a shootout with them. Since the taxi driver claimed that Carl robbed him, Carl was arrested by police officers who asserted that Carl shot at them first. However, the autopsy report proved that Carl's gunshot wounds were intentional.

The victims' negative representation came from police officers and officials, the implementers of the Philippine government's war on drugs under the Duterte administration, and the taxi driver who constructed Carl as a thief.

Overall, the qualitative data seems to bear out little differentiation in the linguistic devices used for positive and negative representation of the drug war victims Kian and Carl. However, quantitative data provides some distinction in the linguistic devices used for either positive or negative construction of the victims in news reports. Table 3 presents the said quantitative differences.

Table 3
**Frequency of positive and negative representation per linguistic device**

Conceptual categories and their linguistic devices	Positive representation	Negative representation
Presenting other's speech		
Direct speech	31	15
Indirect speech	18	40

Table 3 continued...

Conceptual categories and their linguistic devices	Positive representation	Negative representation
Representing actions (Transitivity)		
Material action	8	6
Verbalization	10	15
Prioritizing		
Passive voice	10	2
Subordinate clause	21	28
Naming		
Noun phrases	25	11
Total	123	117

As shown in Table 3, the difference between the total number of positive from negative representation is not significant. However, upon closer examination of the frequencies of the linguistic devices, there are significant quantitative differences. First, there are more positive victim representations using direct speech but there are more negative victim representations using indirect speech. The direct speeches, which positively represent the victims, were statements of the victims' families, friends, forensic doctor, and lawyer. However, the indirect speeches, which negatively represented the victims, were statements from police officers and officials, the drug war implementers. Second, in terms of transitivity, there are more negative representations using verbalization. These verbalizations also came from police officers and officials, and the taxi driver, who claimed to have been robbed by Carl. For prioritizing, there are more positive representations which employed passive voice but there are more negative representations through subordinate clauses. Finally, for naming, there are more positive than negative representations using noun phrases. These noun phrases constructed the victims as young and intelligent.

6.   Discussion

The analysis reveals that the frequently used linguistic devices that positively and negatively represented the victims are direct and indirect speech (28.08%), transitivity processes (23.78%), passive voice and subordinate clauses (21.41%), and noun phrases (16.51%). On the one hand, more positive representations are seen in the use of direct speeches, passive voice, and noun phrases. On the other hand, more negative representations are found in the use of indirect speeches, subordinate clauses, and verbalization.

First, direct and indirect speeches were employed to represent the victims as innocent but involved in drugs (Kian) and a robber (Carl). Using direct and indirect speech, the victims were represented positively through the statements of their families, witnesses, forensic doctor while they were negatively represented by police officials and the taxi driver (Carl only). As to the ideology being constructed when quoting the victims' families, it increases the vividness of the reporting and its immediacy where the reader is invited to share the family's shock, grief, and worries. It further constructs the victim as belonging to a family system which increases the number of people affected by the crime and underscores the moral dimension of wrongdoing.

Similar to the results of the present study, direct speech as a linguistic device that represents victims was also found by Jewkes (2009) in the construction of victims. In Jewkes' paper, the sources quoted most frequently were police, prosecution, court. In the current study, all the statements of the police officials represented Kian as a drug trader. It is said that quoting authorities gives the utterance additional weight (Hall et al., 1978; Newburn, 2007). Since police officials are considered authorities, particularly in the context of the drug war, their statements are significant.

Moreover, Tabbert (2012) describes presenting others' speech as a manipulative way to implant others' views in the reader's mind. This is true when authorities are quoted which give the statements a high rate of assumed truthfulness. Since the direct and indirect statements from police officials in the news reports represented Kian to have been involved in illegal drugs, these statements when encountered by readers could make them think that Kian was really involved in illegal drugs. Since the words Kian was "a drug courier based on social media posts, a source of drugs in the neighborhood" came from police officials, they can manipulate the minds of the readers to believe them because they are authorities.

This effect is linked to the power of source attribution (Tabbert, 2013). When statements are attributed to authorities like the direct and indirect statements of police officials found in the news reports under study, they seem to add credibility to the reports despite the misrepresentation they are likely to instill in the minds of the readers. As journalists heavily rely on information from others, they attribute their information to sources, which allows them to project objectivity and their professional distance to the reported story. This, however, is problematic when, as in the case of Kian and Carl, direct quotes from police officials mostly represented them negatively.

Tabbert (2013) likewise found in his study that the police are quoted most often. This supports the notion of criminal justice institutions being primary news sources (Jewkes, 2009). The information given by authorities contributes to their supposed truthfulness beyond any doubt (Mayr & Machin, 2012). The result of the present study conforms to Tabbert's findings that officials are directly quoted to construct victims. However, the statements of police officials in the news reports represented Kian as being involved in the drug trade. Since police officers are authorities in the context of the drug war, the tendency is that the readers will believe their statements.

Therefore, presenting other's speech through direct and indirect speech as a linguistic feature of crime news reports can be manipulative since it serves to attach values to

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the constructed person and consequently conveys ideological meaning. In the corpus under study, the direct and indirect statements of police officials that involved Kian in illegal drugs and the taxi driver who described Carl as a robber can be manipulative as they can easily be believed by readers because police officials are authorities, and the driver is depicted as a victim. If the readers believe their statements, readers may begin to see a justification for the police's actions because drug traders and robbers are known to cause trouble to society.

Second, transitivity processes, specifically material action intention and verbalization, were utilized to construct the victims as intentionally killed but resisted arrest and involved in drugs. Through the representation given by the police officers, Facebook users claimed Kian was a drug runner. This representation suggests that the victim, because of his illegal drug involvement can be or is a troublemaker as presented in the extracts cited in the previous section of the paper. This is what Hassan (2019) found in his analysis of broadsheet newspapers that Muslims are portrayed as frequently engaged in problems or they are themselves the source of trouble. In addition, Onoja (2022) discovered that verbal elements in sentence structures can embed ideologies which can be explicit or implicit. Ideologies can be harmful, and the harmful ones must be refuted by readers who engage with them. This is especially so because ideologies may influence readers to consider changing their schema as texts like news reports can be schema changing.

Another paper which found victim representation through transitivity analysis revealed that the victim is merely a passive recipient of the offender's actions (Ahmed et al., 2020). The current study likewise discovered that the victims were both helpless recipients of the violent actions of the police officers. Ahmed et al. (2020) found a high percentage of material action which showed that action is performed. The present study also found material action frequently used in the news reports. The use of such suggests that the victims, having been killed by the police officers, were merely recipients of the offender's actions.

Therefore, transitivity processes utilized to represent the victims positively and negatively may affect how readers see the information provided in news reports. For instance, the use of the word "killed" instead of "died" could influence the readers to think that there were actors who did the action to the victims. In the same manner, the word "tortured" implies that the teenagers received physical violence before they were intentionally killed by the police officers.

Third, passive voice and subordinate clauses as prioritizing elements were used to construct the victims as intentionally killed but involved in drugs. Jeffries (2010) claims that a significant effect of prioritizing is that the sentence will be more acceptable and less open to inquiry by the reader. However, in the current study, the subordinate clauses "before he was killed," "that they validated the alleged drug involvement of 17-year-old student Kian through social media," "who had claimed earlier that Kian had been selling 10 grams of shabu daily," and "when they arrested them" are all open to inquiry since they either pertain to the procedure of data gathering of people engaged in illegal drug trade or question the police claim of a shootout.

Another significant effect of passive voice is the focus on the action rather than the identity of the doer (Al Mousawi & Al Nasrawi, 2021). The passive constructions found in

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the news reports such as "was killed," "was tortured," and "was shot several times" pertain to actions done on the victims. All said actions were done by the police officers who killed the teenagers. Hence, passive construction and subordination were employed to represent Kian and Carl as victims of brutal state forces but involved in drugs and a robber (Carl only).

Finally, noun phrases were employed to represent Kian as young but a drug runner, on the one hand. Carl, on the other hand, was represented as young, intelligent but a robber and returned fire with the police. The news writer's choice of a noun produces ideological effects since noun phrases label someone (Jeffries, 2010) as shown in the extracts where the noun phrases "a drug runner," "a newly identified suspect," "the wallet of the driver" were used to describe the victims. When news writers choose words to refer to someone, they unavoidably present that person in a certain light. When the writers used the noun phrase "a drug runner" to represent Kian, readers would likewise think or believe that he is indeed a drug runner. When news writers utilized the noun phrase a robber to describe Carl, the tendency is that the readers may also believe that he was really a thief.

Tabbert (2013) also found naming as one of the major victim constructive devices because it can foreground certain aspects of the victim's personality. Like Tabbert's findings that victim-referring nouns foreground the victim's age, gender, social role, or family relations, the current study likewise found naming to represent the victims' age and social role as illustrated in the extracts where the noun phrases "the former UP student" and "a Grade 11 student at Our Lady of Lourdes College" were used. These noun phrases foreground the victims' age (teenagers) and social role as students. He further explains that by foregrounding the victim's relations to other people as in the categories of social role and family relations, these naming choices construct the victim as being part of a social system which is evident in the results of this paper. Kian and Carl's parents' positive representation of their children provide an idea to the readers of the kind of sons they were. Gregoriou (2011) avers that those aspects are deliberately used to evoke empathy.

Naming was similarly found by Ahmed and Abbas (2007) in their study where they discovered that it denotes a process of labeling and was used to represent a particular religion negatively. Agu (2015) likewise found naming and describing which showed that the producers of budget speeches used different noun phrases to register their various ideological perspectives in the mind of readers. Though his study used speeches, he equally discovered that writers strategically use nominal to portray the ideologies. In the current paper, naming was similarly found to negatively represent one of the drug war victims as a drug trader. With the repetitive use of the nouns that associate the victim with illegal drugs, the readers may have the tendency to believe them and consequently use the same words to describe them in real life discourse.

The construction, which came from the victims' families, witnesses, and forensic doctor provided a positive representation of the victims. Their factual construction of the victims rendered good images about them. Positive representation is important because it can be educational, it affects how people are seen by others, and it guides discourse about people and experiences. However, despite the positive representation of the war-on-drugs victims, they were also negatively represented by police officers and officials. When victims are

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negatively represented, it adversely affects the way others see them. Negative representation can lead to labelling or worse victim-blaming. Labelling refers to the words people use to name or refer to a person or a group. In the current study, the phrases "a drug runner," "a known drug runner in his neighborhood," and "the older boy [referring to Carl] declared a hold up" label the two most mediatized drug war victims. When encountered by readers, these words may have an ideological impact on them. Readers could possibly adopt the same labels to describe the victims in their own narratives and discourses about them.

7.   Conclusion

Our study adds evidence about how the choice of linguistic devices plays a significant role in shaping the representation of drug war victims in news reports. Specifically, it has shown that war-on-drugs victims are represented positively and negatively through linguistic devices such as direct and indirect speech, transitivity processes, passive voice and subordinate clauses, and noun phrases.

Direct and indirect speeches were utilized to represent the victims as both innocent but involved in drugs. The victims were positively represented through the statements of their families, witnesses, friends, and forensic doctors. Their statements emphasize the victims' innocence. On the contrary, police officials negatively represented Kian as having drug trade involvement while the taxi driver negatively represented Carl as a thief. Transitivity processes, specifically material action intention and verbalization, were utilized to describe the victims to have been intentionally killed but resisted arrest and involved in drugs. The representation given by the police officers portrayed one victim as a drug runner. This representation suggests that the victim's involvement in illegal drug activities makes him a troublemaker.

Passive voice and subordinate clauses were used to construct the victims as killed but involved in illegal drugs and a robber and returned fire with the police officers (Carl). Noun phrases were employed to represent Kian as young but a drug runner, on the one hand. Carl, on the other hand, was represented as young and intelligent but returned fire with the police and a robber. The use of noun phrases by the news writer has significant ideological effects in representing the victims. The noun phrases used to construct the victims presented the victims in a specific light; such construction leads readers to believe that one victim was involved in drug running and the other was a thief. This shows the power of language and how news writers can shape public opinion and reinforce certain stereotypes through linguistic choices.

The results of our study that shed light on how victims of war on drugs are represented in media discourse through various linguistic devices provide valuable insights into the ways language is used to construct narratives and may shape perceptions of readers. Our study emphasizes the power of language in shaping public opinion and attitudes towards war-on-drugs victims. By uncovering the linguistic devices through which positive and negative representations are constructed, this research can contribute to the conversation on

social justice, human rights, and policy reform. Our research likewise contributes to the advancement of the field of media discourse studies by presenting a deeper understanding of how language functions in social and political contexts such as war on drugs. Informed by this research, news writers can become more mindful of the linguistic devices they use when reporting on issues related to drug war crimes and their impact on the victims, their families, and society in general. However, since our paper analyzed online news reports from only four broadsheets, which could limit the generalizability of the findings, a more comprehensive study of different media sources could offer a more complete understanding of victim representation in the news.

Victim representation in news reports may affect readers' perception about the people being represented since representation leads to the creation of certain ideologies. Consequently, these ideologies may influence readers to consider changing their schema towards people or situations as news reports could be ideology building and changing. Hence, representation can create certain ideologies or stereotypes that can be helpful or detrimental to individuals and limiting to society.

On the one hand, positive representation humanizes the victims and emphasizes their suffering which can make readers sympathize with them and their family. Positive representation of crime victims can also raise public awareness about the prevalence and impact of crime. It can generate outrage and a call for justice which may lead to increased public pressure for law enforcement agencies to act and for policymakers to implement changes in the criminal justice system. Positive representation of crime victims can likewise challenge stereotypes and biases associated with victims. It can promote understanding of the diverse experiences and backgrounds of victims to understand that anyone can be a victim regardless of age, socioeconomic status, race, or gender.

On the other hand, negative representation of victims can perpetuate victim blaming which implies that the victims are somehow responsible for the crimes committed against them or that they are deserving of the negative consequences of their actions. Blaming victims for their victimization can prolong the victim's sufferings or their family's pursuit for justice. Moreover, negative representation of victims can contribute to a distorted perception of crime in society. It may reinforce stereotypes, biases, or misconceptions about the prevalence, causes, and consequences of crime which may hinder efforts to address the root causes of victimization.

In addition, when victims are represented negatively, the representation adversely affects the way others see them. In newspapers, the ideology of the writer could influence readers based on the way certain stories are written and the way victims are represented. Consequently, it is crucial for journalists to approach the reporting of crime victims with a commitment to balanced and responsible journalism, which includes considering the potential impact on victims and their families, which will contribute to a more informed and empathetic public discourse.

Since negative representation was found, then the victims could suffer further victimization such as labelling which leads to victim-blaming which can possibly lead to secondary victimization or revictimization. The concept of revictimization of drug war

victims, as it relates to linguistic choices in news reporting, can be explored in future research. Future research can also use the identified linguistic devices as a basis for investigating how representation operates in different policy areas or social justice movements. It is also recommended that readers be more critical in examining the constructions of narratives in news reports so as not to fall prey to negative representation which may lead to more societal concerns. It is highly recommended as well that news writers adopt more responsible reporting practices that prioritize accuracy in representing victims.

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