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## Ideology and Power in the Headlines: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Bangladesh-China Relations

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Muhammad Anisur Rahman Akanda

**Abstract-** Using the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), this study aims to explore how Bangladesh's news agency BSS (1975-2016) represents the relationship between Bangladesh and China. Within this framework, three methods are employed to collect data: (i) content analysis of the 41-year media coverage, (ii) interviews, and (iii) observations at the newsrooms. By examining 140 news headlines, this article shows how the BSS under government control represents China and Bangladesh-China relations. The news headline falls into macro and micro levels of analysis. The macro-level analysis focuses on the ownership and control factors of the BSS, while the micro-level analysis deals with the content analysis. The findings show that the BSS editor has concentrated more on diplomatic news items occurring in Dhaka than in Beijing, highly reported with government officials. Then this paper adopts the framework of CDA, which is mainly concerned with the relationship between language, ideology, and power. Utilizing Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar as a tool for CDA, this study aims to explore the ideological meanings in the news headline termed as a 'micro story': A pair of questions will answer how the subjects are historically represented through the BSS media discourse on the topic. Therefore, CDA has promoted the diplomatic relation between Bangladesh and China, established in 1975. This paper clearly explains how CDA generally reflects social practice, ideology, and power relations between Bangladesh and China at the time of reporting.

**Keywords:** *critical discourse analysis, systemic functional grammar, Bangladesh-China relation, BSS media discourse, subject, power, ideology.*

## I. INTRODUCTION

In 1971 during the War of Independence between Bangladesh and Pakistan, China did not support Bengali nationalism due to close relations with India, USSR, and China-Pakistan-US alliance (Yasinbin, 2012; Sarker, 2014). In 1972, China reacted to the liberation war by putting its veto power against Bangladesh's UN membership. This event marked an obstacle to the relations between Bangladesh and China, which generated anti-socialism and Chinese feelings in both the BSS and among the people. The emergency of the diplomatic ties between them in October 1975 was widely seen as a reflection and broadly defined as a "time-tested, all-weather friendship" (Sakhuja, 2009, p. 10). This friendship is hampered by several problems,

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including trade gap, language barrier, and climate change. Despite healthy bilateral relations, the trade surplus has gone to the favor of China. After realizing the situation, a total of 4,762 products were given zero-tariff treatment from Bangladesh to China in July 2010. Although trade volume has increased to some extent, a proper policy should be taken by both Bangladesh and China to balance trade relations (Sarker, 2014, p. 92). The language barrier is another problem causing difficulties in transferring knowledge and technology from China to Bangladesh. Then climate change is one of the biggest threats to both countries; therefore, both need to share their lessons (CASSLD, 2013, p. 3). However, during the past 41 years, problems would be over how to explain the diplomatic relations between Bangladesh and China, as presented in the news headlines of social subjects. CDA examines how the subjects and their actions are presented in the news headlines of the BSS. The findings show that the BSS interprets the relationship and contributes to the formation of the power relations between Bangladesh and China.

### a) News Agency as a Site of Power

Since media studies have generally established news media as both a site and a process of social interaction and ideological construction (Fairclough, 1995b; Thompson, 1990; Van Dijk, 1993), news agencies play a vital role in expressing social thinking and national agendas. This feeling builds up national discourse and social interactions through the news content. As a site of power, news agencies play a primary role in constructing social meaning on various issues from different reading positions (Li, 2010). Therefore, this paper is especially important to examine the power and ideological reflections in the news agency.

### b) BSS News Agency

This study has examined the process of news production in the newsrooms. The BSS is chosen here because of its 41-year news coverage and its widespread impact on the news contents in Bangladesh, which must necessarily uncover some complexity of Bangladesh-China relations. This paper takes a case study on the BSS for three reasons. First, the BSS plays a role in creating Bangladesh's images

and its foreign policy to the international community. It also provides a source for the construction of nationalist ideologies for readers when the world agencies refer to news about Bangladesh (Fairclough, 1995b; Stone, 1994). Second, the BSS is the "official mouthpiece" of Bangladesh. Finally, this paper aims to investigate specific linguistic choices made in the news headline, and in turn, help us understand how these choices construct versions of "reality" (Li, 2010, p, 3445). Therefore, linguistic choices in each headline are discursive practices and power relations between Bangladesh and China.

### c) *Historical and Political Contexts*

Research on the historical and political contexts of Bangladesh-China relations is very significant because of many reasons. China rises dramatically in the modern world, which may be tomorrow's power that influences all countries, including Bangladesh (Ministry of Information, 2017). Bangladesh, a developing country needs a friendly state, which supports the self-development to reach its final destinations (visions 2021, 2041 & 2071)<sup>1</sup>. By contrast, China is the world's second-largest economy that needs to be studied by all South Asian countries (Chandra, 2015, p. 220). Realizing this point, I look back into the history of Bangladesh-China relations through the Silk Road studies (Bangladesh Country Assessment, 1988; Xianyi, 2010). In ancient times, the Silk Road was a meeting place of world cultures and religions, first for Buddhism and later for Islam (Allan, 2013; Uddin, 2013). In the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, Xi Jinping, the President of China wants to revive the ancient Silk Road linking China with Asia, Africa, and Europe (Islam & Askari, 2015, pp. 18-23). It marks the return of a legend with historical and linguistic references to "Yi dai, Yi lu" (a belt, a road). It is a gigantic project covering about 60 countries and half of the population in the world. The Rise of China is symbolized here as the rise of a global power, which provokes nationalist thinking in Bangladesh. This critical attitude may lessen the problems if CDA is applied to analyze language use of 'Bangladesh-China relations' though it relates to the term, International Relations (IR) from the Greek historian Thucydides, father of political philosophy (Cochrane, 1929). By adopting this approach, a few scholars (Rashid, 2010; Pandey, 2013; Begum, 2015) discuss South Asian countries' economic relations with China, while Bangladesh relations with India, Pakistan, USA, USSR, China, and the Muslim World. Since there is a lack of research on the media discourse of Bangladesh-China relations, therefore, this paper has examined the BSS media discourse and its effects on the process of ideological constructions, using the framework of CDA linking between discourse, ideology, and power.

<sup>1</sup> See Dhaka Tribune (January 3, 2017), 16, available at [www.dhakatribune.com](http://www.dhakatribune.com)

## II. METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION

### a) *Analytical Framework*

CDA approach applied to explore the power and ideological meanings in the news headlines of Bangladesh-China relations must fit the proposed research. In this context, Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995a) formulates the framework of CDA, which is mainly concerned with the relationship between language, ideology, and power. As Fairclough (1995a, p. 39) defines, "Social subjects occupy subject positions in a variety of institutions." As Coward and Elish (1977, p. 77) state, "Ideology produces subjects which appear not to have subjected or produced, but to be freed, homogeneous and responsible for their actions." Fairclough's (1995a, p. 98) three dimensions (text, discourse practice, social practice) can contribute to the diagram of social subjects, social actions, and their relations. As a social practice, the analysis may refer to the context of the situation, institutional context, and context of culture (Malinowski, 1923). As Fairclough (2003, p. 17) points out, "An examination of the roles of actors over social practices can be an important analytical tool for CDA. Therefore, this research is most important for two reasons. The first aspect is that this paper adopts Halliday's (1994) Systemic Functional Grammar as a tool for CDA, which interprets social subjects as Theme, Subject, and Actor. The 'Theme' functions in the clause as a message, while the 'Subject' functions in the clause as an exchange. The 'Actor' functions in the clause as a representation. This paper focuses only on the analysis of the Subject in the clause as an exchange. The second aspect is that CDA is suited to the study of media discourse because of its sociopolitical outlook in the reproduction and challenge of dominance (van Dijk, 1993, p. 249). Fairclough (1995b) suggests that CDA is best for analyzing media discourse. Following this idea, Zhang (2014) examines the political news reports between the contexts of American and Iraq, including *The New York Times* utilizing Fairclough's framework. Further, Behnam and Mahmoudy (2013) discover political ideology in Iran's nuclear report through media discourse. Furthermore, Li (2010, p. 3448) investigates ideologies in the news headlines of *The New York Times* and *China Daily* using Halliday's Transitivity System. Also Bell and Garrett (1998) recommend Fowler's (1994) approach for analyzing media language, using Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar, the best tool for examining linguistic and ideological meanings. However, media discourse is an item of social change, and CDA is the best tool to analyze the power of media discourse.

Therefore, I shall examine the power and ideological meaning in the BSS news headlines, using Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar as a tool for CDA, addressing the following questions: (i) What are the historical changes in the relationship between

Bangladesh and China covered by the BSS (1975-2016)?; and (ii) How are social subjects and their actions presented through the use of grammar, text, and discourse practice? CDA aims to explore how language expresses meaning in the news headlines and how the results affect Bangladesh-China relations.

b) *Data Collection*

The data for this study consists of 140 front-page news headlines on Bangladesh-China relations, gathered from the BSS during the periods (1975-2016). The choice of front-page headlines for an examination of ideological constructions is motivated by the importance of the BSS's ideologies. The news headline is generally considered a "micro-story" and "tap-tag" (van Dijk, 1988b; Bell, 1991). Apart from this definition, "the headline of a news report formulates the overall theme of a text" (Fairclough, 1995b, p. 29). That is why I have collected the news headlines from the BSS to analyze the power and ideological meanings of Bangladesh-China relations.

c) *Research Methods*

Three methods are employed to collect data from the BSS. First, the content analysis can give percentages of different news contents that are gathered and selected by the news workers. This analysis can be found by the second method of observations inside the BSS newsrooms. This method aims to implement the findings from the analysis of news contents and journalism practices in the newsrooms. Third, interviewing with journalists can be a helpful method in collecting detailed data from inside the BSS. Thus, combining the framework of CDA with the interviews and observations, this study will gain qualitative information concerning the factors that shape the news content through the process of news production. The three of content analysis, interviews, and observations can give a more accurate picture of the process of news production than adopting the linguistic approach in analyzing influences on the news production in the BSS.

### III. CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE NEWS ARTICLES

As a methodological tool, this paper contains the content analysis of the BSS news coverage on Bangladesh-China relations. Berelson (1952, p. 18) suggests that "Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication." As Fairclough (1995b, pp. 2-3) suggests, "Media language is a site of power, especially for public discourse, the discourse of states affairs and arguments of newsmen and newsmakers." As a site of power, this paper primarily discusses the organizational structure, which allows me to observe the natural environment of

the BSS (Gold, 1969; Jorgenson, 1989), and secondly examines the content analysis of the 41-year news coverage.

a) *Organizational Influences on Content*

Results of the data gathered from the method of observations show the organizational influences on the content of the BSS. Accordingly, this paper presents a micro-level analysis that deals with the production processes at the BSS newsrooms, asking the question with the editor-in-chief: What is the general policy of the BSS? Its answer covers three areas: ownership and control, organizational structure, and the BSS laws.

First, this paper focuses on the ownership and control factors of the BSS with a review of the Associated Press of Pakistan (APP), which started in 1947 with the partition of the Indian subcontinent (Ministry of Information, 2008, p. 471). It opened its bureau offices in Dhaka and Chittagong. After the liberation war, the Dhaka bureau of the APP was turned into the BSS on 1 January 1972 with a notification from the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Then the BSS was reconstructed in 1979 with the power of Bangladesh Sangbad Sangstha Ordinance (20 Act of 1979). This ordinance aims to establish a national news agency of Bangladesh, which collects news and distributes them to the news agencies of other countries. As a result, the BSS becomes the official mouthpiece of the government, which agrees with 17 national and international news agencies of other countries. Under the assistance of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (RAS/79/101-A), a technical committee prepares a network plan for distribution centers linking with the national agencies. In coverage of foreign news, the BSS concludes the agreements among the oldest news agencies (Reuters, Hawas & Wolff), which formed a cartel in 1859, dividing the world into three parts (Dergisi, 1996; Cuthber, 1980). The BSS directly receives foreign news through satellite from the world agencies and national news from its branch offices. "The news, which is collected and edited by a group of professional journalists, is regularly distributed primarily to the government offices, print, and electronic media, and secondly to the regional and world agencies" (Ministry of Information, 2017, p. 343). According to the editor-in-chief, the BSS is the government agency, and its editorial policy is controlled by the government. Thus, the BSS is relevant to my study because it is only the "government-owned agency and covers only government news" (Barman et al., 2002, p. 109).

Second, I will discuss the organizational structure of the BSS because of its news coverage and then discuss the news production process together for the same reason. In 2005, the government increased the employees from 39 to 242 for the organizational work in the BSS. The organizational structure of the BSS falls



into two main groups: production and news workers for the Bangla and English departments (Ministry of Information, 2008, p. 469). The findings from Table 1 show that the BSS employs more news workers (42.9%)

in the English department than in the Bangla department (17%). Of 40% of workers are for the news production process in the BSS.

Table 1: Percentage of News workers at the BSS

Employee Type	Bangladesh Sangbad Sangstha (BSS)		Total
	n	%	%
Production	96	40.0	100
News workers for English dept.	103	42.9	100
News workers for Bangla dept.	41	17.0	100
Total	240	100	100

Figure 1 shows 19 news workers both in the English and Bangla departments, respectively. There are more workers in the sub-editor (20) than workers in the local bureau (15). There are also workers in economic (4), sports (4), photo (4), and reference (5) in the English department. As a policy of the BSS, the editor-in-chief involves more journalists in the work of reporting (see Figure 1). But he faces difficulties in finding professional

journalists for the BSS (Editor-in-Chief, 22 May 2018). The findings show the high number of news workers in reporting and editing desks. The framework focuses on media discourse, causing the restructuring of the order through the media organizations, which aim to help the government to achieve its policies and publicity (Al-Mashikhi, 1994; Al-Murjan, 1997).

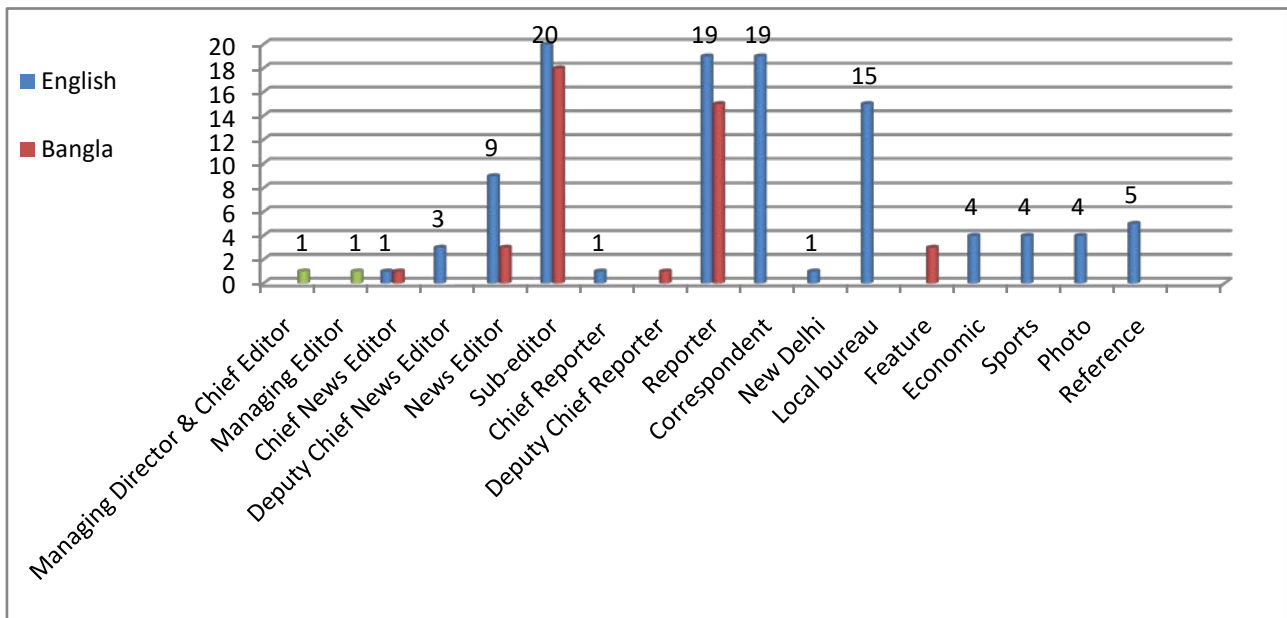


Figure 1: Number of News workers at the BSS

Third, this paper discusses the BSS laws. Figure 2 shows the editorial hierarchy, which indicates that the government controls the BSS by its laws: (i) the Bangladesh Sangbad Sangstha Ordinance (1979) and (ii) the Recruitment Act (1995).





Figure 2: Editorial Hierarchy in the BSS

Bangladesh Sangbad Sangstha Ordinance (XX of 1979, article 5, p. 341) describes the six functions of the BSS: (a) it carries out the responsibility of a national news agency of Bangladesh; (b) it secures worldwide news from world agencies and exchange news with other agencies; (c) it sells all kinds of news and features to all mass media and news agencies within and outside Bangladesh; (d) it signs agreements with news agencies; (e) it organizes news business; and (f) it does such other things as connected with the BSS. Apart from the ordinance (1979), there is the Recruitment Act (1995) for the journalists of the BSS (Ministry of Information, 2008). My study has found that there are two ways of appointing journalists. The first includes old journalists who have the graduation degree and working experience in journalism, have been promoted by merit or by seniority. The second group contains new journalists who have a graduation degree but do not have working experience, have been appointed directly

by the government. According to these laws, the government has the right to control the BSS with the editorial hierarchy and the recruitment policy.

Regarding the BSS policy, this paper shows how to gather and select news items, asking the question with news editor and editor-in-chief: How is the news selection process carried out in BSS? Its answer mainly covers three areas: news collection, news selection, and news value. The findings from Figure 3 show that the reporters collect news items from the correspondents or the Ministry of Information, which is the source. Then the news editor rewrites the news and sends them to the editor-in-chief, who selects news items for the front pages. The news values depend on the government officials, which are at the top of the BSS, and then news about the head of the state and the head of the government. Therefore, the news items about Bangladesh-China relations must be placed on the front-page by the BSS.

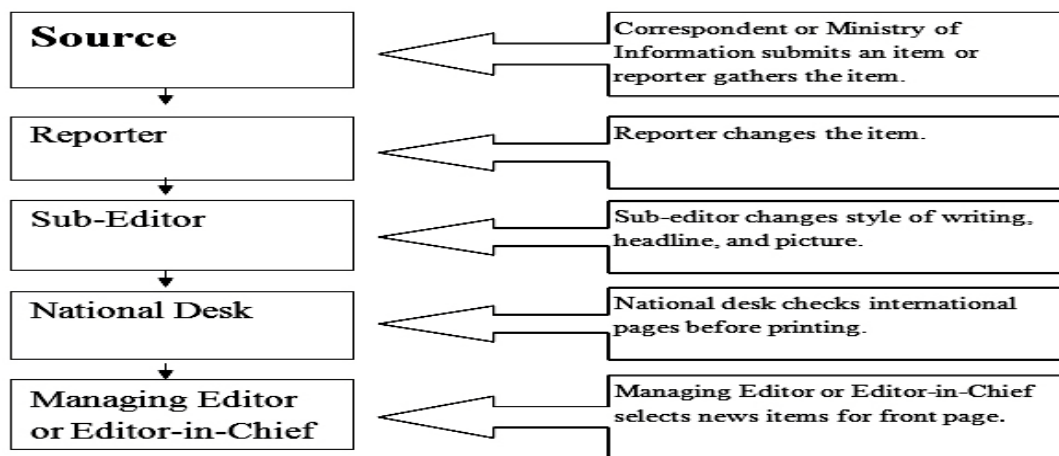


Figure 3: The gate-keeping structure in the BSS from writing through publication

The findings show that the process of gate-keeping as internal factors is a complex hierarchy of decision-making, which affects the news of the BSS.

The findings from Figure 3 show that most news items are ready-made news submitted by the Ministry of Information. Since this paper has looked at the



ownership and control factors, organizational structure, and the BSS laws affecting news content, the study will discuss the external factors influencing the news items covered by the BSS.

*b) Content Analysis of International News Items*

This research has examined the data gathered from the method ‘interview’ with journalists to look at how the news contents of Bangladesh-China relations are selected in the BSS headed by the government (Ministry of Information, 2008). The interview in this study contains a series of questions, particularly with the types of topics, contents, sources, the format of items, and political figures and their activities. The quantitative categories depend on the questions. Some of them fall into subcategories. All of these categories are detailed below for two reasons. This paper first aims to analyze international news items happening inside the country or abroad that are covered by the BSS. The second aims to evaluate Bangladesh-China relations that are

developed by the ministries. This means that national news items are excluded from the study. Figure 4 shows 140 news reports on Bangladesh-China relations appearing in the BSS from October 1975 till October 2016. The findings show that there was no news reporting in 1975 because there were no state visits and bilateral agreements between the two countries. The highest amount of news reports was 42 in 2015, which suddenly flopped down to only 16 in 2016 as the second-highest, while the lowest was only one report in 1988, 1992, and 2013, respectively. The third-highest coverage was 24 in 2014, while the fourth-highest amount was 12 in 1991, and the fifth-position was 11 in 2010. The news coverage was near to the ground between 1992 and 2009. This annual frequency in news coverage shows the change of the relationship between Bangladesh and China for several state visits and bilateral agreements in different fields.

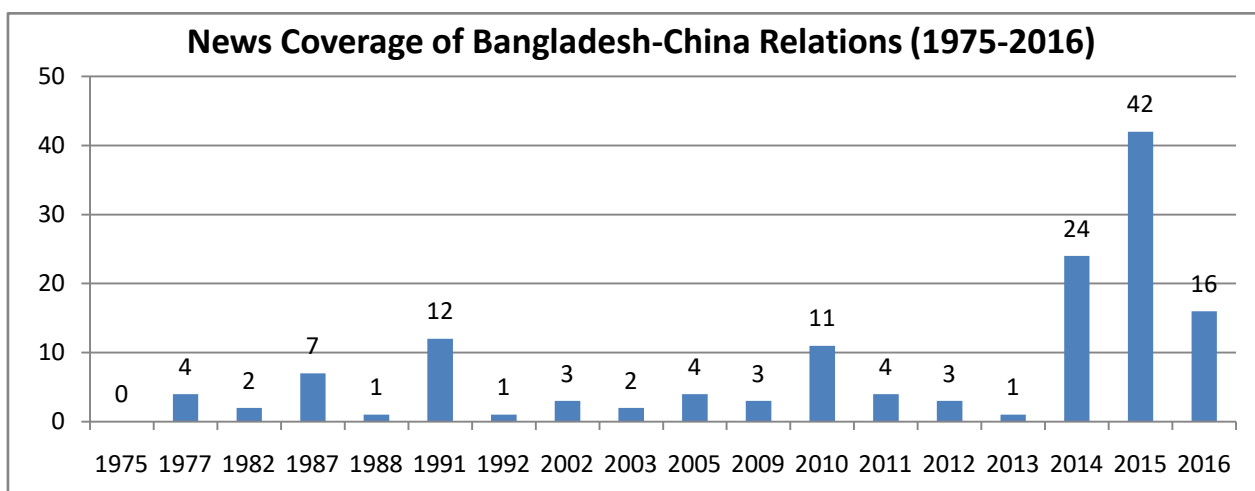


Figure 4: News coverage of Bangladesh-China Relations

As seen in the yearly coverage in Figure 4, this paper has investigated the total content that falls into three subcategories: (i) Home news, (ii) English news, and (iii) International news. Figure 5 shows that home news<sup>2</sup> evaluates the content in the news reported by the BSS. This study shows the differences in the coverage among events that take place in Dhaka, Beijing, and other cities. The analysis shows the percentage of the head of the state<sup>3</sup>, the head of the government<sup>4</sup> and government officials<sup>5</sup>. Obviously, the BSS journalists

publish the news items as they receive them directly from the Ministry of Information.

<sup>2</sup> Home news items related to Bangladesh-China relations happened in Dhaka and Beijing or other big cities or abroad, and that was covered by the BSS.

<sup>3</sup> Any news item relates to the Premier or Prime Minister of Bangladesh and China.

<sup>4</sup> Any news item relates to the Presidents of Bangladesh and China.

<sup>5</sup> Any item that relates to the government official that may be speaker, ambassadors, ministers, deputy ministers, governors, politicians, and delegations of both countries.

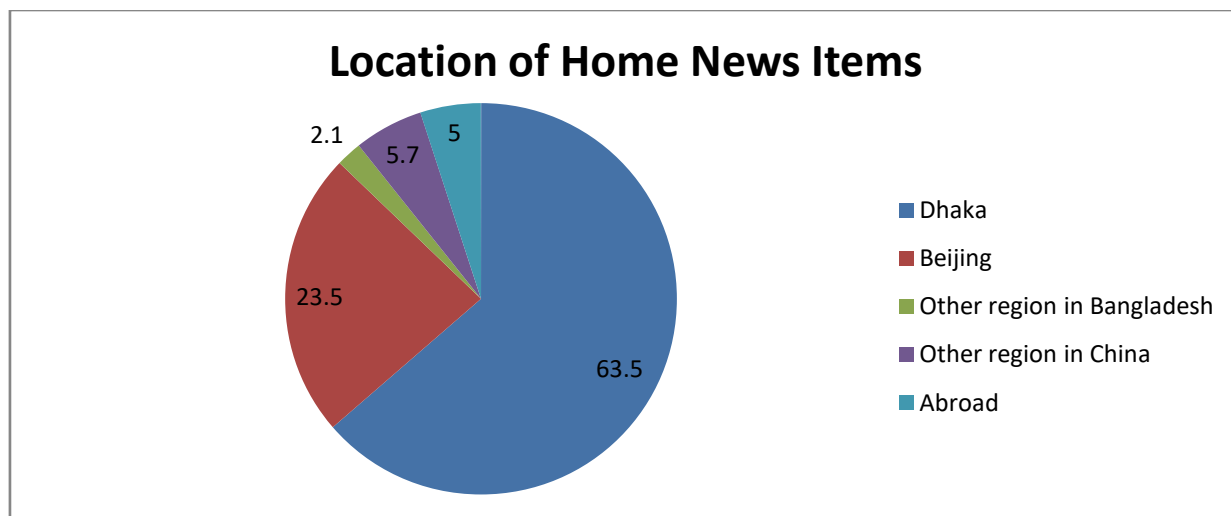


Figure 5: Coverage of Home News with Percentage in the BSS

Table 2 shows the location of the top-most home news items occurring in Dhaka (63.5%). This high percentage indicates to the fact that the head of the state, the head of the government, and government officials perform their activities at the capital. Home

news events that take place in Beijing (23.5%) are second-most. Other home news items in regions in China are third-most (5.7%). Home News items occurring abroad are fourth-most (5.0%), and another region in Bangladesh is fifth-most (2.1%).

Table 2: Percentage of Home News Content

Location of home news	BSS (n=140) %	Total (n=140) frequency
Dhaka	63.5	89
Beijing	23.5	33
Other region in Bangladesh	2.1	3
Other region in China	5.7	8
Abroad	5.0	7
Total	100.0	140.0

Home News items investigate the answer to the question: What types of topics on Bangladesh-China relations are covered by the BSS? This paper classifies Home News items into five types of topics: political, diplomatic, financial, economic & commercial, and cultural & sports (Ministry of Information, 2008, p. 483). They fall into the main topics and subtopics. Figure 6

shows that diplomatic affairs (44.2%) are the first-highest, while economic & commercial news items (18.5%) are the second-highest. The third most-events are political news (14.2%), following the fourth-most financial news (13.5%) and the fifth-most cultural & sports news (9.2%) in the BSS.

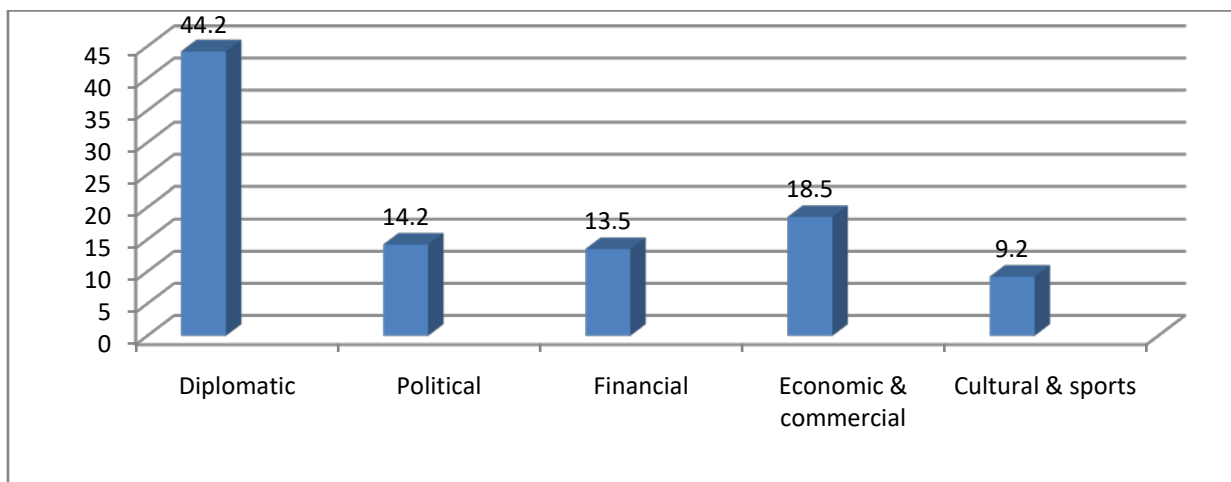


Figure 6: Percentage of International News Items in the BSS



As observed the types of the topic in Figure 6, this paper turns to analyze the content guided by the content analysis studies (Shah, 1987; van Dijk, 1988a; Tarabay, 1994). This analysis means reports in the BSS pay as much attention to Bangladesh-China relations, answering the question: What are the main types of content in the BSS? I conduct this question with the reporters inside the BSS newsrooms that pay more attention to the domestic news items than the international ones. Table 3 shows that news report (42.8%) is the top-most-content on the front pages,

while meeting (17.8%) is the second-most-type and press briefing (15%) is the third-most news item. Seminar (11.4%) is in the fourth-position following editorial (5%), press release (3.5%), joint-statement (3.5%), and concert (0.7%). This analysis helps us to understand that the BSS editor rarely publishes the readers' letter to the editor, press release, joint statement, and concert about Bangladesh-China relations, which means discussions of the relations between Bangladesh and China are not well covered comparing with news reports.

Table 3: Percentage of Content in the BSS

Types of content	Bangladesh Sangbad Sangstha (BSS) (n=140)	Total (n=140)
	%	frequency
News report	42.8	60
Meeting	17.8	25
Press briefing	15.0	21
Seminar	11.4	16
Editorial	5.0	7
Press release	3.5	5
Joint statement	3.5	5
Concert	0.7	1
Total	100.0	140.0

After analyzing news contents, news source gives an idea about the role of the BSS, asking the question with news editor: What are the main types of news sources in the BSS? Figure 7 shows that the BSS staff cover most of the news items (72.8% of n =102). This coverage indicates that the BSS journalists prepare their news items by themselves and give them to the mass media, sometimes with pictures. The BSS receives the news (15.7% of n =22) from JPRS (1982-1992)<sup>6</sup> as the second-most source. Then the BSS gets the news (4.2% of n = 6) from Xinhua<sup>7</sup> of agencies as the third-most-frequent source, following the other agencies<sup>8</sup> (4.2% of n =6). The big two<sup>9</sup> (2.8% of n =4) is in the fourth position. The role of the BSS is very high

compared with the other agencies in selecting home news items for three reasons: (i) front page, (ii) last page, and (iii) inside page.

<sup>6</sup> Joint Publications Research Service (JPRS) contains regional, worldwide scientific and technical data and reports from foreign radio and television broadcasts, news agencies and newspapers. The paper collected 22 news reports from the BSS having cross-reference with JPRS (1982-1992), National Technical Information Service (NTIS), 5285 Port Royal Road, Springfield, Virginia 22161, and the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

<sup>7</sup> Its old name is the New China News Agency (NCNA), founded in 1933.

<sup>8</sup> The BSS in the reports has cross reference with the other agencies: NAM News Network (NNN) was founded in 2005 by the Non-Aligned Movement; USA Today, an American daily founded in 1982; Press Trust of India (PTI), founded in 1905, and Bloomberg News, an international news agency headquartered in New York, co-founded by Michael Bloomberg and Matthew Winkler in 1990. I collected four articles from the Peking Review, Comrade Chen Yung-Kuei's Report, Renmin Riboo editorial, Vol. 20 (2) (January 7, 1977), pp. 5-31.

<sup>9</sup> Agence France press (AFP, 1835) and Reuters (1851) are two of the big four world agencies.

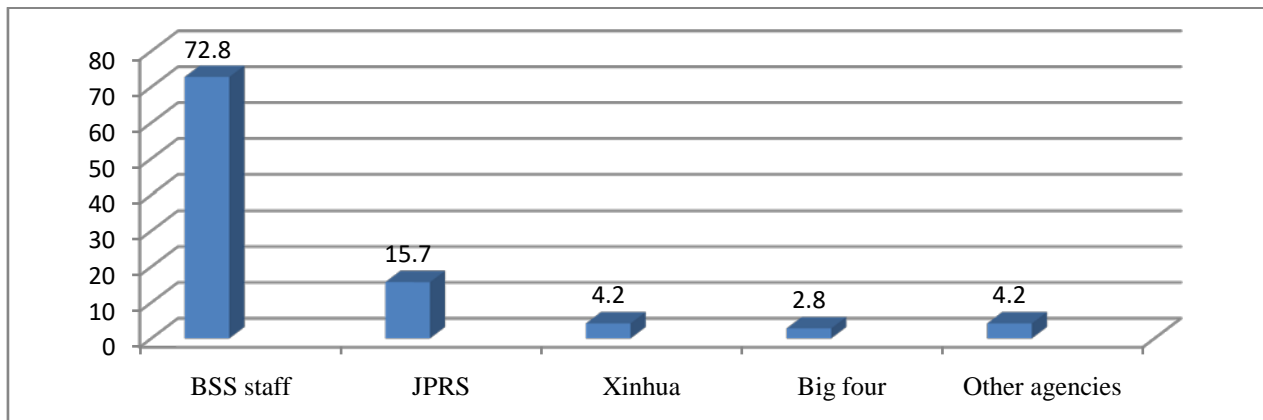


Figure 7: Main source of home news in the BSS

After discussing news sources, the study investigates the question: What are the types of format in the news items of the BSS? There are four types of news format<sup>10</sup> in texts, including N, NCP, NCC, and NB/W. Figure 8 shows that the News with black-and-white Headline without Picture (N=87%) is the first-highest. News with Colour Picture (NCP=29%) is the second-most, while News with Colour Headline and

Colour Picture (NCC=22%) is the third-highest and News with black & white (NB/W=2%) is the fourth-most news items. This paper shows that the BSS has used the highest amount of news with black-and-white headlines without pictures because the format of items in the BSS depends on the people and their activities.

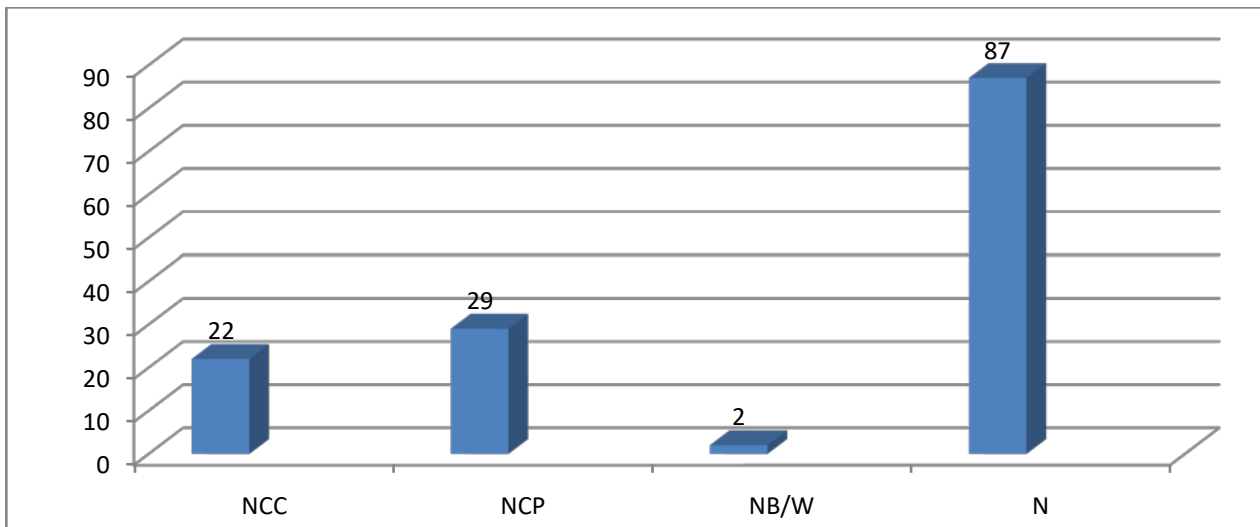


Figure 8: Format of Items in the BSS

This paper presents my observation inside the BSS newsrooms, to find out why the BSS focuses more on some people or organizations than others, asking the question with the editor-in-chief: Who are the political figures and their activities covered by the BSS?. This point relates to the political figures, which act as the news items. The political figures include the head of the state, the head of the government, the government officials, businessmen, researchers, and media. These political figures are the main actor and second actor. Figure 9 shows that the government official (46.4% of n

=65) is the first-most-political figure. The head of the government (25.7% of n =36) is the second-most figure, while the head of the state (18.5% of n =26) is the third-most figure in the BSS. Then the researcher (5% of n =7) is in the fifth position following the businessman (2.8% of n =4) and the media (1.4% of n =2). The finding shows that the BSS has paid more attention to the government officials than businessmen, researchers and media. This explanation shows that the government officials supervise most of the meetings on Bangladesh-China relations.

<sup>10</sup> Format of Item: NCC= News item with Colour headline and Colour picture; NCP= News items with Colour Picture; NB/W= News with Black & white; N= News item only.

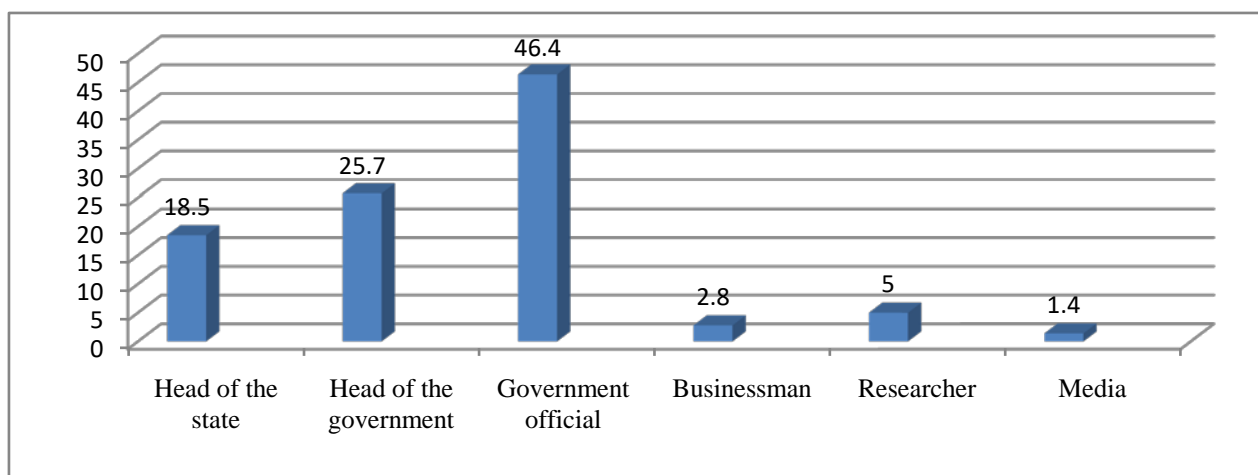


Figure 9: Percentage of Political Figure in the BSS

By using the methods of the observation at the newsrooms and interviews with journalists, this paper has discovered that the government, by laws controls the BSS, which is a political project of Bangladesh. The findings show that the BSS editor has concentrated more on home news items occurring in Dhaka than in Beijing. The findings also show that the diplomatic news items are highly reported with government officials, as well as with a source. The BSS publishes most contents about Bangladesh-China relations on the front-page without pictures. The editor publishes a few news items with color headline and color picture. Most of the news items about Bangladesh-China relations are given to all the mass media by the information offices. The internal and external instructions are the ideologies of the government which influence the news production process of the relations between Bangladesh and China. Since content analysis can not give a clear picture of power and ideological meanings, this study turns to the description of CDA for a better understanding of the BSS.

#### IV. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF BANGLADESH-CHINA RELATIONS

Within the framework of CDA, this paper has explored the power and ideological meanings in the news headlines of Bangladesh-China relations under three areas. First, the analysis focuses on the situated meanings defined by the context of the situation. Second, it contains the interpretations of situated meanings using Halliday's mood structure as a tool for CDA. Third, it summarizes the main findings of the analysis.

##### a) *Situated Meaning*

As a component of CDA, Fairclough's situated meaning is the context of the situation that looks at the relationship between Bangladesh and China, asking the first research question: What are the historical changes

in the relationship between Bangladesh and China by the BSS (1975-2016)? The diplomatic relation between Bangladesh and China in October 1975 was a reflection in both countries (Ahmed, 2013, p. 275). Since then, the bilateral relations between them have been increasing rapidly. For example, during the periods [1977-2015] both countries have had 75 Memoranda of Understanding (MOUs) in different fields (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016). In 1977, Major General Ziaur Rahman first visited China to signing various agreements. In 1983, Bangladesh and China established a joint economic commission. In 1986, Bangladesh provided funds to build the first primary school in Beijing with the name of Sino-Bangladesh friendship. In 1989, the two countries concluded an agreement on the mutual exemption of visas. In 1990, there was an MOU of bilateral consultations signed between the two countries. In 2002, ten dealings included the constructions of the 6<sup>th</sup> BD-China friendship bridge, the Khulna, Barapukuria, Pagla, and Dhaka sewerage treatment plants, military, and cultural cooperation. In 2003, three agreements contained the BD-China friendship center, economic and cultural cooperation. In 2005, fourteen agreements enclosed five MOUs of agriculture, telephone, natural gas, water resources, coal mine, flood control, public security, nuclear energy, group travel, and friendship city. In 2008, five agreements included the BD-China friendship center, the Brahmaputra River, agricultural, and cultural cooperation. In 2009, four agreements integrated an MOU of joint research, 'Shanghai Expo 2010', the Kazirtek Bridge, and rural schools. In 2010, ten agreements contained the Shahjalal fertilizer project, the 7<sup>th</sup> BD-China friendship bridge, as well as five MOUs of education, tourism, power plant, agriculture, and natural resources. In 2011, Bangladesh signed a contract with China on the introduction of 3G network project. In 2012, four agreements included the constructions of the 7<sup>th</sup> BD-China friendship bridge and the Padma water

treatment plant. In 2013, Bangladesh and China concluded a loan agreement. In 2014, seven agreements incorporated two MOUs of joint economic zones and a multilane road tunnel, two Letters of Exchange for disaster management, cultural and economic cooperation. In 2015, seven agreements included five MOUs of education, media, equipment, and multilane tunnel project. Apart from bilateral agreements, Bangladesh and China have had 25 meetings, 35 visits, including 207 persons in different fields over the past 41 years. To enhance regional connectivity, China has the prospect of building the 900km Kunming-Chittagong Highway through Myanmar (Ahmed, 2013; Sarker, 2014). Adopting a 'Look East' foreign policy; therefore, the idea of Bangladesh-China relation is a symbol of 'old trusted friendship'.

b) Interpretation of Situated Meaning

To interpret the situated meaning of Bangladesh-China relations, I have analyzed 140 front-page news headlines from the BSS. Table 4 presents the analysis of the situated meaning in the news headlines using Halliday's Mood structure, asking the second search question: How are social subjects and their actions presented through the use of grammar, text, and discourse practice? According to Halliday (1994), mood structure consists of two components: (i) Subject and (ii) Finite. The Subject appearing at the first position may be any nominal group, while the Finite is any of the verbal operators expressing Tense and Modality (Halliday, 1994, pp. 72-4). The Subject and the Finite are closely linked together and combine to form

one constituent, which is called 'Mood'. By using the mood system, this paper looks at power and ideology hidden in the news headline of Bangladesh-China relations. Therefore, the paper examined to identify the subjects in the news headlines, which present what Fairclough (1995a, p. 39) calls social subject, a term that refers to the grammatical subject. This idea is related to the presentation of the "who does what to whom" relationship (Robert, 1987, p. 11).

Table 4 shows 86 nominal groups functioning as Subject in the news headlines. Of 41 place the Bangladeshi nominal groups as Subject, including "Outgoing Dacca Envoy" in 2, "Ershad" in 3, "Minister" in 7, "BNP team" in 9, "PM" in 10, 11, 17-20, 26, 27, 33, 36, 39, 57, 60, 66, 68, 79, "Dhaka" in 12, 84, "Bangladesh (BD)" in 13, 21, 24, 37, 41, 42, 45, 73, 75, 81, "Air Chief" in 14, "AL" in 15, "President Abdul Hamid" in 43, 44, 55, 83 and "Speaker" in 67, 76, 82. Of 41 place the Chinese nominal groups as Subject, including "Chairman Ma" in 1, "PRC" in 4, "Chinese PM" in 8, 58, 59, "China" in 16, 22, 25, 28, 29, 32, 38, 40, 48-51, 53, 56, 62-64, 71, 72, 77, 78, "Chinese Vice-President" in 23, "Beijing" in 31, "Chinese Policy" in 34, "Yunnan Governor" in 35, "Chinese FM" in 46, 47, "Chinese President Jinping" in 52, 74, 85, 86, "Chinese Cultural Show" in 54, "Chinese Vice-Premier" in 61, 65, "Chinese Embassy" in 70 and "Chinese Minister" in 80. Only 4 place the Bangladesh-China-related nominal groups as Subject, including "Message" in 5, 6, "Press" in 30 and "Japan" in 69.

Table 4: Mood +Residue Structure in the Headlines

H <sup>11</sup>	Date	Mood		Residue
		Subject	Finite	
1	04/01/1977	Chairman Mao	{present + 's}	meets Major General Ziaur Rahman
2	18/08/1982	Outgoing Dacca Envoy	{present+ 's}	talks with PRC leader
3	17/04/1987	Ershad	{present + 's}	visits Bangladesh-China Friendship Bridge Sites
4	19/09/1987	PRC	{present + 's}	invites Moazzem
5	01/10/1987	Message	[is]	to Li
6	01/10/1987	Message	[is]	to Zhao
7	07/05/1992	Minister	{present + 's}	praises PRC assistance to Army
8	13/01/2002	Chinese PM	{present + 's}	promises to narrow trade gap with Bangladesh
9	24/09/2003	BNP team	{present + 's}	reaches China
10	03/11/2003	PM	{present + 's}	urges Chinese entrepreneurs to invest in Bangladesh
11	17/8/2005	Bangladeshi MP	{present + 's}	leaves for China on official visit
12	28/08/2005	Dhaka	{present + 's}	sees Beijing as core of Look East Policy
13	22/10/2008	Bangladesh	[is]	to give full support to China in UN to protect rights of member countries
14	29/10/2009	Air Chief	{present + 's}	apprises President of his upcoming China visit
15	05/12/2009	AL	[is]	for further development of communication between China, Bangladesh
16	01/03/2010	China	[is]	to provide support in building digital Bangladesh

<sup>11</sup> The letter (H) indicates "Headline" at the column in all the Tables.

17	17/03/2010	PM	{present + 's}	leaves Dhaka for Beijing
18	17/03/2010	PM	{present + 's}	arrives in Beijing
19	19/03/2010	PM Hasina	[is]	for increasing Chinese investment in Bangladesh
20	20/03/2010	PM	[is]	for direct road, rail links with China
21	22/03/2010	Bangladesh	{present + 's}	plans deep sea port eying East, South Asian neighbours: Moni
22	16/06/2010	China	[is]	tested friend of Bangladesh: Speaker
23	16/06/2010	Chinese vice president	{present + 's}	places wreath at national memorial
24	07/03/2011	Bangladesh: Russia	{present + 's}	edges out China in Hasina's quest for N-power plant
25	27/09/2011	China	{present + 's}	rates growing Indo-Bangla relations 'positive'
26	12/12/2011	PM	[is]	for strong ties with China
27	12/12/2011	Bangladeshi PM	[is]	for strong ties with China
28	21/10/2012	China	[is]	to help Bangladesh become middle income country by 2021
29	22/10/2012	China	{present + 's}	wants to assist BD facing climate risk
30	24/10/2012	Press	{present + 's}	reports Aid for trade: second general issues for Bangladesh
31	12/05/2014	Beijing	[is]	for new height in ties with Dhaka
32	13/05/2014	China	{present + 's}	seeks a new dimension of relations with Bangladesh
33	03/06/2014	PM	[is]	to visit China on Friday
34	06/06/2014	Chinese Policy	[is]	to accelerate economic ties with neighbours: PM
35	08/06/2014	Yunnan governor	{present + 's}	assures of promotion of trade with Bangladesh
36	09/06/2014	PM	{present + 's}	hopes new avenue of cooperation with China
37	10/06/2014	Bangladesh	[is]	a strategic partner of China: Xi
38	14/06/2014	China visit	[is]	to deepen relation: PM
39	28/06/2014	PM	{present + 's}	apprises President of her Japan, China visits
40	03/09/2014	China	[is]	to publish book on Bangabandhu's visit
41	20/09/2014	Bangladesh	{present + 's}	maintains outstanding relations with India, China
42	25/10/2014	Bangladesh	{present + 's}	joins 21 countries in China-led Asian bank
43	08/11/2014	President Abdul Hamid	[is]	in Beijing
44	08/11/2014	Hamid	{present + 's}	seeks more access to Chinese market
45	09/11/2014	Bangladesh	{present + 's}	seeks Chinese investment
46	23/12/2014	Chinese FM	[is]	due on Saturday
47	27/12/2014	Chinese FM	[is]	due today
48	28/12/2014	Wang: China	[is]	to remain beside Bangladesh
49	28/12/2014	China	[is]	to remain beside Bangladesh: Wang
50	28/12/2014	China	[is]	eager to be partner of building digital Bangladesh: Chinese FM
51	29/12/2014	China	[is]	keen to ink FTA to cut trade deficit
52	09/01/2015	Chinese president	[is]	to inaugurate construction of Karnaphuli tunnel: Quader
53	13/01/2015	Wang: China	[is]	to remain beside Bangladesh
54	02/02/2015	Chinese cultural show	{present + 's}	begins in City
55	02/02/2015	President	[is]	for reducing Bangladesh-China trade gap
56	02/04/2015	China	is	Bangladesh's inspiration to achieve middle-income status: FM
57	22/04/2015	PM	{present + 's}	holds talks with leaders of five countries
58	06/05/2015	Chinese Premier	[is]	to visit Dhaka in September
59	07/05/2015	Chinese Premier	will	visit Dhaka in September
60	24/05/2015	PM	{present + 's}	seeks more Chinese support for major priority projects
61	24/05/2015	Chinese Vice-Premier	{present + 's}	arrives
62	25/05/2015	China	[is]	to extend full assistance to achieve goals of Vision 2021, 2041
63	25/05/2015	China	[is]	for taking Dhaka-Beijing relations to new heights



64	25/05/2015	China	may	benefit from BD's successful socio-economic policies: Chinese VP
65	26/05/2015	Chinese Vice-Premier	{present + 's}	leaves for home
66	09/06/2015	PM	{present + 's}	hopes new avenue of cooperation with China
67	12/06/2015	Speaker	{present + 's}	seeks Chinese assistance for energy sector
68	15/06/2015	PM	[is]	keen on maintaining good ties with neighbours
69	29/06/2015	Japan	[is]	to build deep-sea port at Matarbari, China at Payera
70	28/07/2015	Chinese Embassy	{present + 's}	hosts reception on PLA anniversary
71	25/08/2015	China	{ present + 's}	offers to invest 350m in various sectors
72	26/08/2015	China	[is]	to continue support to Bangladesh for economic uplift
73	25/09/2015	BD	[is]	to be a middle-income nation by 2021- global report
74	27/09/2015	Chinese President Jinping	{present + 's}	promises to cut trade deficit with Bangladesh
75	27/09/2015	Bangladesh	[is]	to be middle-income nation by 2021: report
76	15/10/2015	Speaker	{present + 's}	meets Chinese vice-president
77	29/10/2015	China	[is]	to help develop road & rail communications
78	19/11/2015	China	[is]	keen to provide financial assistance to Bangladesh
79	26/11/2015	PM	{present + 's}	hopes getting China in Bangladesh's development efforts
80	12/10/2016	Chinese Minister	{present + 's}	seeks media campaign for enhanced connectivity
81	14/10/2016	Bangladesh	{present + 's}	rolls out red carpet for Jinping
82	14/10/2016	JS speaker	{present + 's}	calls on Chinese president
83	14/10/2016	President	{present + 's}	seeks duty & quota-free entry of all products into China
84	15/10/2016	Dhaka	{ present + 's}	eyes long-term ICT cooperation with Beijing
85	15/10/2016	Jinping	{present + 's}	places wreath at National Memorial
86	15/10/2016	Xi	{ present + 's}	promises to continue Chinese support for development

The findings from Table 4 show that the relation among nominal groups presents the ideological relations between Bangladesh and China. The nominal group takes its subject position ideologically in the form of Bangladesh or China. After analyzing the subject as a nominal group in the headlines, Table 4 shows 46 Finite, as fused with lexical verbs, including 'meets', 'talks', 'visits', 'invites', 'praises', 'promises', 'urges', 'leaves', 'sees', 'arrives', 'plans', 'edges', 'rates', 'wants', 'reports', 'seeks', 'assures', 'hopes', 'maintains', 'joins', 'begins', 'holds', 'hosts', 'offers' and 'eyes'. The usages of lexical verbs influence the diplomatic relations between Bangladesh and China. Only 18 finite take median modality ('is to') to express the obligation of the Subject for the relationship, while only 1 takes low modality ('may') to make the ability of the Subject. Usage of the modal ('will') marks the power relations between Bangladesh and China.

Since Table 4 has found 86 nominal groups as Subjects in the relations between Bangladesh and China, Tables 5-6 summarize 54 nominal groups consisting of two nominal groups in 'paratactic relation' (Halliday, 1994, p. 97). It contains an adverbial or prepositional phrase or nominalization functioning as Subject. Table 5 shows 25 nominal groups as the Subject in passive structure, which is dissociated from the Actor. Of 15 place the Bangladesh-China-related nominal groups as Subject, including "Remark on trade" in 5, "Dinner" in 6, "20 June activities" in 7, "Curbing baby boom" in 8, "All possible help" in 9, "Protocol" in

11, "Flood research accord" in 13, "Deal" in 15, "MOU" in 16, "Bangladesh-China Statement" in 17, "Bangladesh, China" in 20, "Four Decades of Sino-Bangladesh Relations" in 21, "Friendship between Bangladesh and China" in 22, "China-Bangladesh Relations" in 23 and "28 projects" in 24. Of 8 place the Chinese nominal groups as Subject, including "Vice-Premier Li Hsien'nien's Speech" in 2, "PRC" in 3, "Embassy Celebration" in 4, "Visits Ming-Qing Palace" in 10, "China's continued support to Bangladesh Army" in 14, "Relations with China" in 18, 19 and "Chinese President" in 25. Only two places the Bangladeshi nominal groups as Subject, including "Major general Ziaur Rahman's speech" in 1 and "Foreign Minister's Press Conference" in 12.

Apart from the subject, Table 5 shows 22 passive verbs, including "delivered" in 1, 2, "greeted" in 3, "held" in 4, 12, 17, "questioned" in 5, "hosted" in 6, "reported" in 7, "checked" in 8, "assured" in 9, 14, "paid" in 10, "signed" in 11, 13, 15, 16, "be cemented" in 18, 19, 22, 23, "to be connected" in 20, "completed" in 21, "finalized" in 24 and "given" in 25. There are three instances in Table 5 that contain the use of the modal ('will') to mark a high-level commitment to the relations between Bangladesh and China. The findings show that the BSS editors have used the passive structure to conceal the subjects from the texts in which they are ideological. The exclusion of the subjects are relevant to the change of Bangladesh-China relations.

Table 5: Commanding Function in Passive Structures

H	Date	Subject	Finite	Residue
1	04/01/1977	Major general Ziaur Rahman's speech	[is]	[ delivered] <sup>12</sup>
2	04/01/1977	Vice-Premier Li Hsien'nien's Speech	[is]	[delivered]
3	01/10/1987	PRC	[is]	greeted on national day, Dhaka celebration
4	01/10/1987	Embassy celebration	[is]	[held]
5	19/06/1991	Remark on trade	[is]	questioned
6	19/06/1991	Dinner	[is]	hosted
7	21/06/1991	20 June activities	[are]	[ reported]
8	21/06/1991	Curbing baby boom	[is]	[checked]
9	21/06/1991	All possible help	[is]	assured
10	21/06/1991	Visits Ming Qing Palace	[are]	[paid by the Prime Minister ]
11	21/06/1991	Protocol	[is]	signed
12	22/06/1991	Foreign Minister's Press Conference	[is]	[held]
13	08/07/1991	Flood Research Accord	[is]	signed with PRC
14	04/06/2002	China's continued support to Bangladesh Army	[is]	assured
15	03/01/2012	Deal	[is]	signed for 7th Bangladesh-China Friendship Bridge
16	29/04/2014	MOU	[is]	signed with China to set up 1,320MW coal-fired plant
17	12/06/2014	Bangladesh-China joint statement	[is]	[ held]
18	15/06/2015	Relations with China	will	be cemented further in future: Syed Ashraf
19	16/06/2015	Relations with China	[are]	to be cemented further
20	19/06/2015	Bangladesh, China	[is]	to be connected by high-speed train
21	26/10/2015	Four decades of Sino-Bangladesh Relations	[are]	[completed in 2015]
22	21/11/2015	Friendship between Bangladesh & China	will	be further cemented: Chinese Minister
23	22/11/2015	China-Bangladesh relations	will	be further cemented, says Chinese minister
24	11/10/2016	28 projects	[are]	finalized
25	15/10/2016	Chinese president	[is]	given hearty send off

After examining passive constructions in the headlines, Table 6 shows 29 Subjects in the form of nominalization. Of 19 place the Bangladesh-China-related nominalizations as Subject, including "New development" in 1, "China, Bangladesh" in 4, "papers" in 5, "talks" in 6, "canal digging" in 7, "encourage youths" in 8, "Better China-US ties" in 10, "Water availability per capital" in 13, "Dhaka-Beijing agree" in 14, "Bangladesh, China" in 15, 19, 27, 28, "Major FDI boost" in 16, "Bangladesh's relations with China, India" in 17, "BCFA" in 20, "BCIM-EC" in 23, "Hasina, Xi" in 25 and "Global Economy" in 29. Of 6 place the Chinese nominalizations as Subject, including "PRC jute" in 2, "No alternative to socialism" in 18, "Six members Chinese delegation" in 21, "Chinese entrepreneurs" in 22, "exports to China" in 24 and "Xi's visit" in 26. Only four places the Bangladeshi nominalizations as Subject, including "MP's" in 3, "Bangladeshi politicians" in 9, "Bangladeshi products" in 11, and "Proposed deep sea

port in Bangladesh" in 12. Table 6 also shows the combination of 29 subjects with finite in the mood tag. Of 15 put the Pronoun (they) as the Subject with negative polarity (don't, aren't, won't). Of 14 place the Pronoun (it) as the Subject with negative polarity (didn't, doesn't, isn't, won't). The findings show that the BSS editors have ideologically constructed most of the subjects in terms of commanding function in the mood tag. The findings also show that the editors have employed the pronouns ('it' and 'they') in the news headlines to interact with the readers and seek their agreement.

<sup>12</sup> The third bracket [] indicates an elided item which has been re-instated in all tables. The second bracket {} indicates the semantic roles in the mood structure. The first bracket ( ) is used for reference.

Table 6: Commanding Function in Mood tag

H	Date	Mood		Residue	Mood Tag	
		Subject	Finite	Predicator	Finite	Subject
1	06/01/1977	New development	[is]	in China-Bangladesh relations	isn't	it?
2	19/08/1982	PRC jute	{present + 's}	purchase	don't	they?
3	21/09/1987	MP's	[is]	to PRC	isn't	it?
4	25/12/1988	China, Bangladesh	[are]	to work on flood control	aren't	they?
5	19/06/1991	Papers	{present + 's}	report on Zia's visit to PRC	don't	they?
6	20/06/1991	Talks	[are]	with Li	aren't	they?
7	21/06/1991	Canal digging	[is]	[necessary in Bangladesh]	isn't	it?
8	23/06/2002	Encourage Youths	[is]	to be science minded: PM	isn't	it?
9	11/04/2005	Bangladeshi politicians	{present + 's}	term Chinese MP's visit as significant	don't	they?
10	06/12/2009	Better China-US ties	will	benefit Bangladesh: Chinese envoy	won't	they?
11	18/03/2010	Bangladeshi products	[are]	to get duty free access to China	aren't	they?
12	21/03/2010	Proposed deep sea port in Bangladesh	will	benefit all neighbours: Hasina	won't	it?
13	17/06/2010	Water availability per capital	[is]	to decline in Himalayan river basins	isn't	it?
14	11/06/2014	Dhaka-Beijing agree	[is]	to extend cooperation to newer height	isn't	it?
15	24/05/2015	Bangladesh, China	{present + 's}	sign six instruments	don't	they?
16	19/06/2015	Major FDI boost	[is]	from China on the way: FBCCI president	isn't	it?
17	01/09/2015	Bangladesh's relations with China, India	{present + 's}	epoch-making: Inu	don't	they?
18	09/09/2015	No alternative to socialism	[is]	to eliminate discriminations: Inu	isn't	it?
19	27/09/2015	Bangladesh-China	{past + 'd}	agreed to raise Partnership to Newer Height	didn't	it?
20	09/10/2015	BCFA	[is]	to celebrate 40th founding anniversary of BD-China diplomatic ties	isn't	it?
21	25/11/2015	Six member Chinese delegation	[are]	in City	aren't	they?
22	27/11/2015	Chinese entrepreneurs	[are]	keen to scale up investments	aren't	they?
23	27/01/2016	BCIM-EC	[is]	to help change socio-economic scenario in Asian region: Shahriar Self Reporter	isn't	it?
24	10/10/2016	Exports to China	[are]	increasing: Tofail	aren't	they?
25	14/10/2016	Hasina, Xi	{present + 's}	lay foundation of tunnel, industrial zone	don't	they?
26	14/10/2016	Xi's visit	{past + 'd}	lifted Dhaka-Beijing ties to "strategic relationship"	didn't	it?
27	15/10/2016	Bangladesh, China	{present}	ink \$13.6bn deals	don't	they?
28	16/10/2016	Bangladesh-China ties	{present}	strengthen: Syed Ashraf	don't	they?
29	16/10/2016	Global economy	[is]	in precarious state, Xi tells BRICS summit	isn't	it?

c) Discussion

Based on the framework of CDA, Bangladesh-China relations are parts of social practice, which include a discourse of 140 news headlines. It is also relevant to historical change that these news headlines have appeared in a period of transition between the establishment of the diplomatic relations between Bangladesh and China and its full realization. The findings show that Bangladesh and China have had 70

Memoranda of Understanding (MOUs) in different fields over the past 41 years. These agreements have historically changed the relations between the two countries in the contexts of the situation. In terms of situated meaning, there are three types of Subjects found in the BSS: Bangladesh, China, and Bangladesh-China relations. This explanation is a categorization of social subjects in the news headlines. Around 55 subjects in the headlines are about China, while 47

subjects are about Bangladesh. Only 38 subjects are about Bangladesh-China relations. There is also a difference in the coverage of passive structure in this study. There are 15 passive subjects about Bangladesh-China relations observed in the headlines. Around eight passive subjects are about China, while only two passive subjects are about Bangladesh. Analysis of the mood structure shows that the BSS has paid more attention to the active structures than to the passive ones. Thus, the choice of the different social subjects in the news headlines is a matter of the editor's view and the country's ideology.

## V. CONCLUSION

Results of the analysis of the news headlines on Bangladesh-China relations show two considerations. First, this paper has discovered the power and control factors of the BSS in gathering and selecting news items. The political economy approach indicates that the people who have power are those who control the BSS (Tunstall, 1970; Murdock, 1980). This paper shows that the people control the BSS by the Bangladesh Sangbad Sangstha Ordinance (1979, p. 341) referring to a board, which may exercise all powers of the BSS. Apart from the ordinance, there are two types of instructions that reporters seem to treat as laws: external instructions from the Ministry of Information, and internal instructions from the editor-in-chief. These instructions are the ideologies of the government, which reside in texts and language is a material form of that ideology (Fairclough, 1995a, p. 73). Second, this paper has discovered the power and ideological meanings hidden in the news headlines. Utilizing the mood structure as a tool for CDA, the paper has explored two aspects of grammar: Subject and Finite. The analysis of the Subjects reveals that the BSS not only encode the evaluation and judgment but also create an opposition between Bangladesh and China, and construct a world of 'reality' that must remove imbalances from both countries. When Bangladesh makes an image of trade imbalance, China develops a positive discourse in which Bangladesh is a "strategic partner" and "economic tie." By looking at the mood system, Bangladesh and China are the two subjects in the dialogue as a series of exchanges (see Tables 4-6). CDA looks at how the BSS media discourse influences social subjects, power relations, and identities, as suggested by Fairclough (1995b, p. 3). It also sees specific linguistic choices made in the news headlines, as being constructive of the physical world in the news headlines of social subjects involved in the events (Halliday, 1994). The findings show that social meaning of the news headlines embodied in the mood structures that contributes to our understanding of how language is organized not as rules but as a "potential for meaning" (Halliday, 1978). Halliday's mood structure offers a powerful tool for

examining media discourse into the power relations between the structure of grammar and the contexts of Bangladesh-China relations that reshape the linguistic choices made by the BSS editor.

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