

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

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## 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.

**Index terms**— critical discourse analysis, systemic functional grammar, Bangladesh-China relation, BSS media discourse, subject, power, ideology.

## 1 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, 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 zerotariff 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

## 5 II. METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION A) ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

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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.

### 2 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.

### 3 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 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.

### 4 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 selfdevelopment to reach its final destinations (visions 2021, 2041 & 2071) 1 See Dhaka Tribune (January 3, 2017), 16, available at [www.dhakatribune.com](http://www.dhakatribune.com). By contrast, China is the world's secondlargest 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 st 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.

## 5 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 (1989Fairclough ( , 1992Fairclough ( , 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.

## 6 b) Data Collection

The data for this study consists of 140 frontpage news headlines on Bangladesh-China relations, gathering from the BSS during the periods . 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.

## 7 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.

## 8 III.

## 9 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. Krippendorff (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; Orgenson, 1989), and secondly examines the content analysis of the 41-year news coverage.

## 10 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 (74.9%) in the English department than in the Bangla department (17%). Of 40% of workers are for the news production process in the BSS. 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 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). (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. The findings show that the process of gatekeeping 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.

## 11 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 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. 3 Any news item relates to the Premier or Prime Minister of Bangladesh and China. 4 Any news item relates to the Presidents of Bangladesh and China. 5 Any item that relates to the government official that may be speaker, ambassadors, ministers, deputy ministers, governors, politicians, and delegations of both countries. publish the news items as they receive them directly from the Ministry of Information. developed by the ministries. This means that national news items are excluded from the study. Figure 4 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 2 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 3, the head of the government 4 and government officials 5. Obviously, the BSS journalists ?? 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%). 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. 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, 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) 6 as the second-most source. Then the BSS gets the news (4.2% of n=6) from Xinhua 7 of agencies as the third-most-frequent source, following the other agencies 8 (4.2% of n=6). The big two 9 6 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. 7 Its old name is the New China News Agency (NCNA), founded in 1933. 8 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. 9 Agence France press (AFP, 1835) and Reuters (1851) are two of the big four world agencies.

(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. 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. frequency 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.

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. 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

#### b) Interpretation of Situated Meaning

To interpret the situated meaning of Bangladesh-China relations, I have analyzed 140 frontpage 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 ??0, 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, ??3, ??5, ??1, "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 ??6, 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. 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. 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

339 have employed the pronouns ('it' and 'they') in the news headlines to interact with the readers and seek their  
340 agreement.

## 341 16 c) Discussion

342 Based on the framework of CDA, Bangladesh-China relations are parts of social practice, which include a discourse  
343 of 140 news headlines. It is also relevant to historical change that these news headlines have appeared in a period  
344 of transition between the establishment of the diplomatic relations between Bangladesh and China and its full  
345 realization. The findings show that Bangladesh and China have had 70 Memoranda of Understanding (MOUs)  
346 in different fields over the past 41 years. These agreements have historically changed the relations between the  
347 two countries in the contexts of the situation. In terms of situated meaning, there are three types of Subjects  
348 found in the BSS: Bangladesh, China, and Bangladesh-China relations. This explanation is a categorization of  
349 social subjects in the news headlines. Around 55 subjects in the headlines are about China, while 47 Year 2020  
350 V.

## 351 17 Conclusion

352 Results of the analysis of the news headlines on Bangladesh-China relations show two considerations. First,  
353 this paper has discovered the power and control factors of the BSS in gathering and selecting news items. The  
354 political economy approach indicates that the people who have power are those who control the BSS (Tunstall,  
355 1970;Murdock, 1980). This paper shows that the people control the BSS by the Bangladesh Sangbad Sangstha  
356 Ordinance (1979, p. 341) referring to a board, which may exercise all powers of the BSS. Apart from the  
357 ordinance, there are two types of instructions that reporters seem to treat as laws: external instructions from the  
358 Ministry of Information, and internal instructions from the editor-in-chief. These instructions are the ideologies  
359 of the government, which reside in texts and language is a material form of that ideology ??Fairclough, 1995a, p.  
360 73). Second, this paper has discovered the power and ideological meanings hidden in the news headlines. Utilizing  
361 the mood structure as a tool for CDA, the paper has explored two aspects of grammar: Subject and Finite. The  
362 analysis of the Subjects reveals that the BSS not only encode the evaluation and judgment but also create an  
363 opposition between Bangladesh and China, and construct a world of 'reality' that must remove imbalances from  
364 both countries. When Bangladesh makes an image of trade imbalance, China develops a positive discourse in  
365 which Bangladesh is a "strategic partner" and "economic tie." By looking at the mood system, Bangladesh and  
366 China are the two subjects in the dialogue as a series of exchanges (see Tables 4-6). CDA looks at how the BSS  
367 media discourse influences social subjects, power relations, and identities, as suggested by ??airclough (1995b, p.  
368 3). It also sees specific linguistic choices made in the news headlines, as being constructive of the physical world  
369 in the news headlines of social subjects involved in the events (Halliday, 1994). The findings show that social  
370 meaning of the news headlines embodied in the mood structures that contributes to our understanding of how  
371 language is organized not as rules but as a "potential for meaning" (Halliday, 1978). Halliday's mood structure  
372 offers a powerful tool for examining media discourse into the power relations between the structure of grammar  
373 and the contexts of Bangladesh-China relations that reshape the linguistic choices made by the BSS editor.

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

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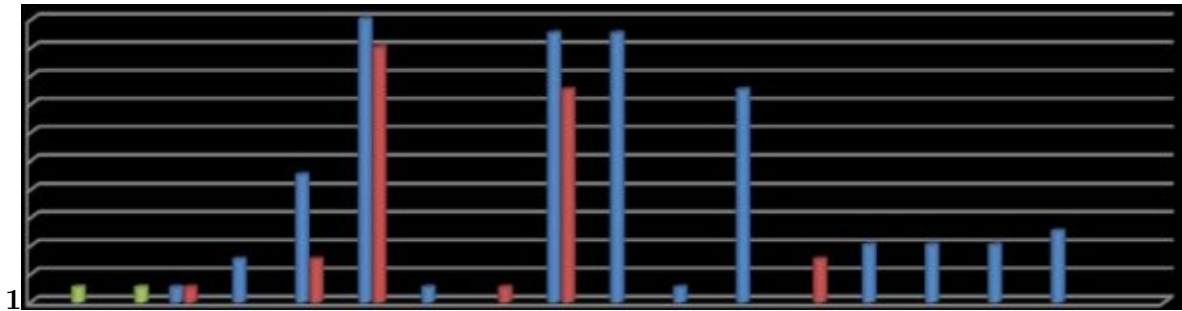


Figure 1: Figure 1 :



2

Figure 2: Figure 2 :



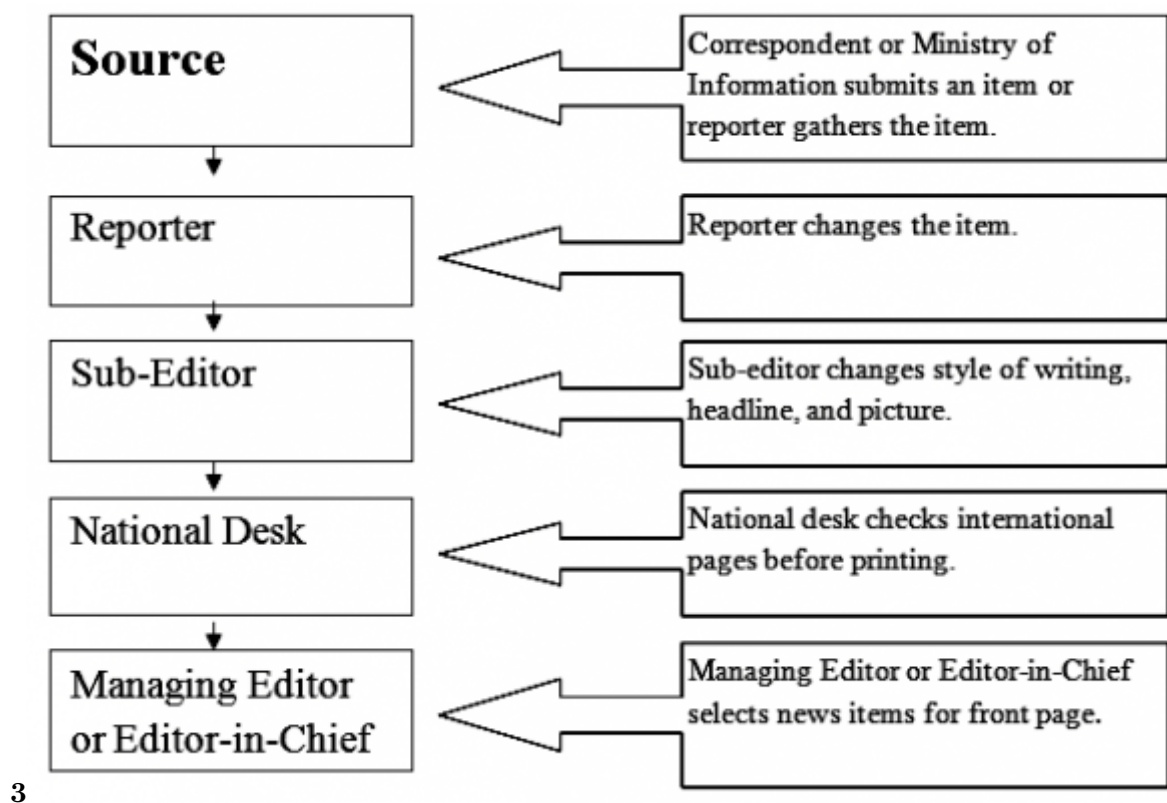


Figure 3: Figure 3 :

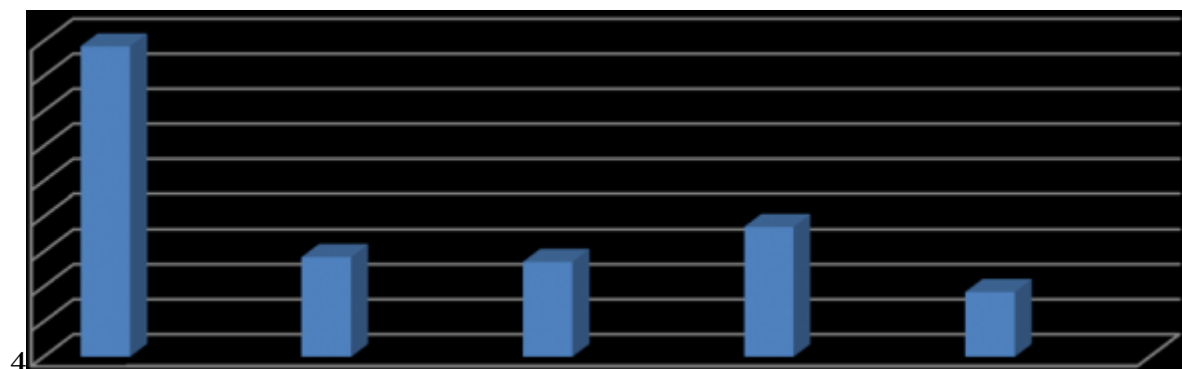


Figure 4: Figure 4 :

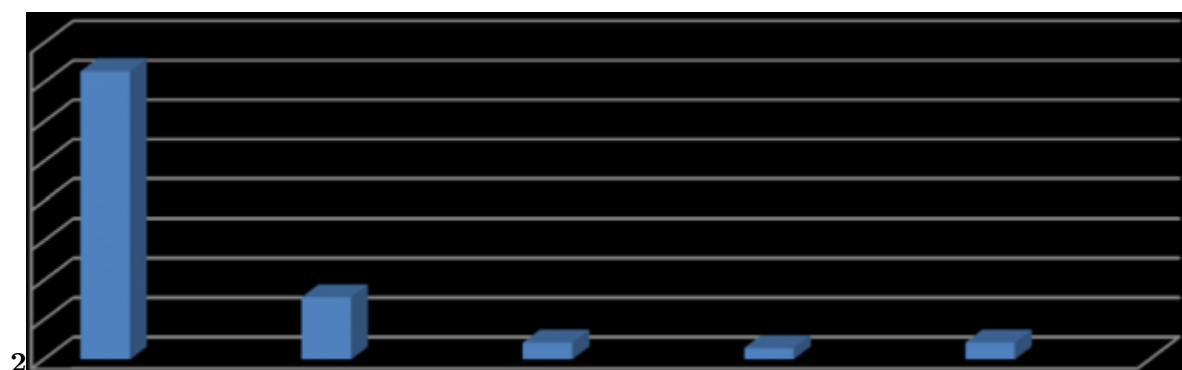


Figure 5: 2

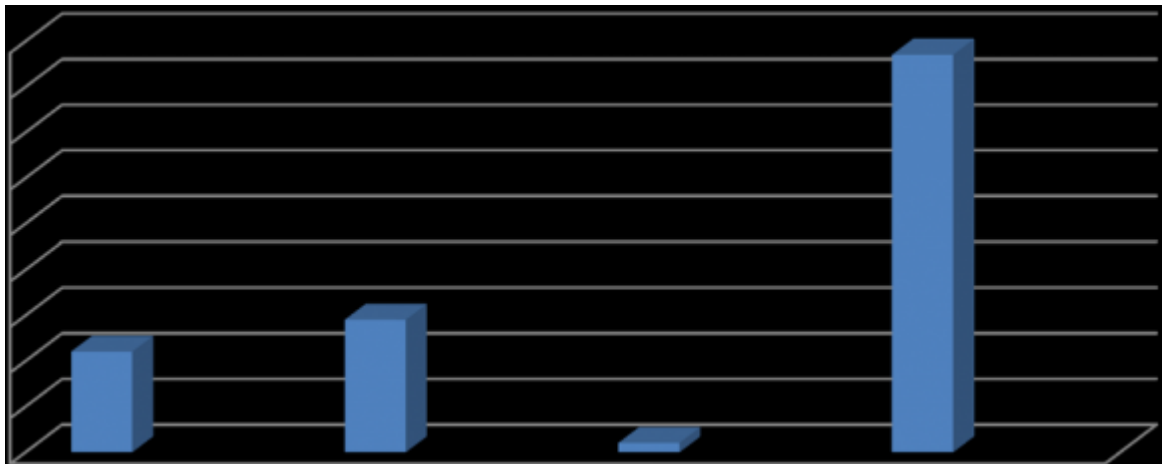


Figure 6:

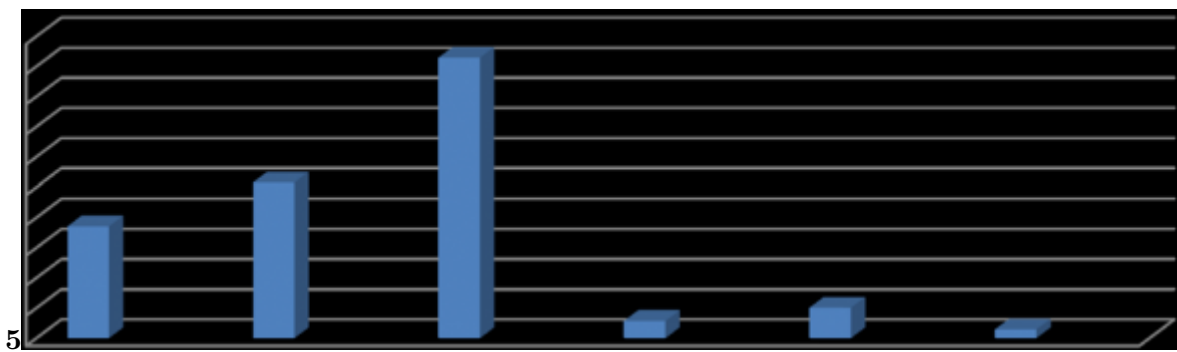


Figure 7: Figure 5 :

1

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 8: Table 1 :

Figure 9:

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Types of content	Bangladesh Sangstha (BSS) (n=140) %	Sangbad (n=140)	Total (n=140)
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

Figure 10: Table 3 :

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<sup>1</sup>© 2020 Global Journals

<sup>2</sup>© 2020 Global Journals frequency

<sup>3</sup>The letter (H) indicates "Headline" at the column in all the Tables. Ideology and Power in the Headlines: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Bangladesh-China Relations

<sup>4</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. Ideology and Power in the Headlines: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Bangladesh-China Relations © 2020 Global Journals

4

					Year 2020 19 Volume XX Issue VII Ver- sion I G ) ( -
H	Date	Mood	Finite	Residue meets Major General Ziaur Rahman talks with PRC leader	Global
11	04/01/1977	Chair-	{present	visits Bangladesh-China Friendship	Jour-
1	18/08/1982	man Mao	+ 's}	Bridge Sites invites Moazzem to Li	nal
2	17/04/1987	Subject	{present+ 's}	to Zhao praises PRC assistance to	of
3	19/09/1987	Outgoing	{present +	Army promises to narrow trade gap	Hu-
4	01/10/1987	Dacca	's} {present	with Bangladesh reaches China urges	man
5	01/10/1987	Envoy	+ 's} [is] [is]	Chinese entrepreneurs to invest in	So-
6	07/05/1992	Ershad	{present + 's}	Bangladesh leaves for China on official	cial
7	13/01/2002	PRC	{present +	visit sees Beijing as core of Look East	Sci-
8	24/09/2003	Message	's} {present	Policy	ence
9	03/11/2003	Message	+ 's}		
10	17/8/2005	Minister	{present		
11	28/08/2005	Chinese	+ 's}		
12		PM BNP	{present +		
		team PM	's} {present		
		Bangladeshi+	's}		
		MP			
		Dhaka			
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 +	apprises President of his upcoming	
			's}	China visit	
15	05/12/2009	AL	[is]	for further development of communica-	
				tion between	
				China, Bangladesh	
16	01/03/2010	China	[is]	to provide support in building digital	
				Bangladesh	

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Figure 11: Table 4 :

H	Date	Subject
1	04/01/1977	Major gen- eral Zi- aur Rah- man's speech
2	04/01/1977	Vice-Premier Li Hsien'nien's Speech
3	01/10/1987	PRC
4	01/10/1987	Embassy celebration
5	19/06/1991	Remark on trade
6	19/06/1991	Dinner
7	21/06/1991	20 June activities
8	21/06/1991	Curbing baby boom
9	21/06/1991	All possible help
10	21/06/1991	Visits Ming Qing Palace
G )	11	21/06/1991 Protocol 22/06/1991 Foreign Minister's Press Conference 08/07/1991 Flood Research
Vol-	12	
ume	13	
XX	14	
Is-	15	
sue	16	
VII	17	
Ver-	18	
sion	19	
I	22	
Year	21	
2020	22	
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Sci-		
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Figure 12: Table 5 :

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6

H	Date	Mood	Subject
1	06/01/1977	New development	
2	19/08/1982	PRC jute	
3	21/09/1987	MP's	
4	25/12/1988	China, Bangladesh	
5	19/06/1991	Papers	
6	20/06/1991	Talks	
7	21/06/1991	Canal digging	
8	23/06/2002	Encourage Youths	
9	11/04/2005	Bangladeshi politicians	
10	06/12/2009	Better China-US ties	18/03/2010 Bangladeshi products
11			21/03/2010 Proposed deep sea port
12			
13	17/06/2010	Water availability per capital	11/06/2014 Dhaka-Beijing agree
14			24/05/2015 Bangladesh, Chi
15			
16			
17			
18			
19			
20	09/10/2015	BCFA	
21	25/11/2015	Six delegation member	27/11/2015 Chinese entrepreneurs
22			Chinese
23			27/01/2016 BCIM-EC 1
24			
25			
26			
27			
28			
29			

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[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". 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, (Bangladesh, China) 1994. 5 p. 97. (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)

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- [modal ('will') to mark a high-level commitment to the relations between Bangladesh and China] *modal ('will') to mark a high-level commitment to the relations between Bangladesh and China*, (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. 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)
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