3.0.0 In this chapter, I wish to discuss the methodology I adopt in making a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of the newspaper. Firstly, I would dwell on the methodology adopted in similar studies for the analysis of discourse from a critical perspective. I discuss an eclectic procedure I adopt in the course of this study and how it has certain advantages over earlier models.

3.1.0 In this section, I would be dealing with four kinds of Critical Discourse Analyses, hereafter CDA, attempted by linguists and sociologists alike and problems associated with each of them.

3.1.1 Fowler et al. (1979), Kress and Hodge (1979), Fowler (1991) -- ANALYSIS OF GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE IN A DISCOURSE

Roger Fowler, Robert Hodge, Gunther Kress and Tony Trew have been refreshingly original in their approach to language analysis in their book Language and Control. This pioneer work on what they call "Critical Linguistics" explores the link between grammatical structure and social world. This endeavour dismisses the dichotomy between 'linguistics' and
'sociolinguistics'. Fowler et al., (1979) and Kress and Hodge (1979) make use of the linguistic insights of both Halliday's Scale and Category Grammar and Chomsky's Transformational Generative Grammar to discover the linguistic structures of power in texts. They try to make linguistics more accountable, more responsible and more responsive to questions of social equality. Fowler et al., (1979) consider that there cannot be any differentiation between grammatical structures of a language and the ways in which these are used in actual day-to-day interaction. They make use of Halliday's (1970) rank scale concept to explain their account of grammatical and social structures. Halliday conceives language functions in a three-pronged way -- one, the Ideational Function, languages serve to communicate about events and objects in the world; two, the Interpersonal Function, languages serve to establish and maintain social relations, and three, the Textual Function, languages construct link with themselves and with the features of the situation in which they are used. The grammatical structure of a language is formed by these three functions, as grammar provides the means whereby these functions are transformed into intelligible interactions. Fowler et al. think that by examining the structure of a language, it is possible to say something about the social relations and contexts in which the language is used, that is, about 'the nature of the society whose language it is' (Kress and Hodge 1979, p.186).
According to Fowler et al., language consists of a set of categories and processes (which are concepts directly borrowed from Halliday's Scale and Category grammar). The description of the relationship that exists between objects and events is done by 'categories' and 'models'. Three basic models and several submodels can be identified. The three basic models are: 1. Transactive model, 2. Non-transactive model, and 3. Relational model.

In the transactive model, there are at least two entities related by a process, one entity seen as causing the action, the other as being affected by it, as in 'The boy kicked the ball'. This is termed transactive model since the action is seen as passing from the actor to the affected through the process indicated by the verb. In the non-transactive model, there is at most one entity related to a process, as in 'The boy runs'. Both transactive and non-transactive models are called 'actionals'. It is to be noted that Fowler et al. are following Halliday directly in distinguishing two types of relational processes in English. In the relational model, the relation is between two entities, 'The boy is a soccer player', or between an entity and quality as in 'He is very emotional'. Fowler et al. recognise two different kinds of relational models. Those relational models which establish relations between nouns are called 'equative', whereas those which establish relations between nouns
and qualities are 'attributives'. This kind of classification is useful in segregating the events and their causal interpretation. Whereas transactives exhibit a clear causal relationship between two nominal entities, non-transactives have an immediacy and interdeterminacy which help to transform what is happening into extraordinary, magical and mysterious events. For example, the transactive, 'She drove the car' could have a non-transactive counterpart -- 'The car moved' wherein the causal relationship between 'the car' and 'she' is removed. This would create a different impression of the event altogether. In the actual use of language, there would be instances of such models getting mixed up. Such a mixing up of two or more fields is termed conflation. Take for instance the much quoted example of Halliday: 'The warder marched the prisoners'. This sentence which apparently concurs with the transactive model may be analysed into non-transactives -

A. The warder caused X.

B. The prisoners marched. (where X=B)

In the conflation of the two non-transactive models, the actor/subject of B becomes the object of the verb, and the actor/subject of A becomes the subject of the verb. The resulting sentence is interpreted as transactive with 'warder' as the actor and 'prisoners' as the affected. Then what is the difference between the two sentences? Kress and Hodge (1979) say-
The effect of this linguistic process is to reassign the actor roles in the two conflated models. The real actor of the process is denied credit and responsibility for the action he performs, and this credit is assigned to the syntactic participant who is regarded as more powerful. It is a thing not lightly done. The ideological function is clear. (p.59)

Fowler et al. make use of some of the concepts of Chomsky (1957, 1965, 1970, and 1971). The well-known Chomskyan concept "transformations" is made use of to explain the processes by which the elements of the underlying structure get either deleted or combined and reordered in the surface structure. While Halliday's grammar recognizes the relationship between the process and the participants and also their respective roles in the discourse, these roles and relationships are not exactly what appears on the 'surface level'. The 'hidden' features could only be explained by invoking Chomsky's notion of 'transformations'. Thus, if the surface structure is to be interpreted, it can only be done by reconstructing their derivation. Passivization and Nominalization are two of the commonly found transformations. According to Fowler et al., transformations involve the suppression and distortion of material contained in the underlying linguistic structures. Transformations also involve a
mystification of causal processes portrayed by the underlying models. Fowler et al. point out that this mystification can be countered by reconstructing the ways in which the surface forms have been derived.

Language presupposes a world view. It simplifies and mystifies. It provides individuals with a system of classification. It also imposes order on the world as a means of classification, facilitating both the individual's control over the flux of experiences and society's control over conceptions of reality. Interestingly, classification systems are not shared by the society as a whole. Different groups have different systems, and these systems are strained by the contingencies of interaction and by conflicts of interest. This implication of classification can be seen in certain labels that are used in day-to-day affairs. To cite a few oft quoted examples, the same individuals may be described as 'fanatics' or 'ethnocentrists', as 'terrorists' or 'freedom fighters'. By limiting the area of concern, the classification serves as an instrument for the control of information and experience. Besides, the modifiers which are regarded as more important or essential will be commonly found closer to the noun, so that the order of words reveals the principles of classification used by speakers and cultures. One of the classification operations which must be performed on every utterance is the speaker's indications of generality, reliability and truth. This indication is commonly
called 'modality'. Modality may be provided in many ways, like the use of modal adverbs, modal auxiliaries, etc. The interrelationships between language, knowledge and power can be discerned in the structure of speech acts. Explicit directives are used to give a command only when the power differential between the speaker and the hearer is large and can be openly acknowledged. Otherwise, the command is issued in indirect ways. Complexities can also be introduced by the context, intonation and the shifting of the nature of power relations themselves. Thus it is through modality and types of speech act that the asymmetrical relations of power and knowledge are expressed. There are several novel and positive features in such a model of analysis. The insights that are obtained about the overlapping area between linguistics and social analysis and about the ways in which our understanding of the world is affected by language are indeed original. But still there are some outstanding problems which need to be tackled.

3.1.2 Hodge and Kress (1988) - IDEOLOGICAL COMPLEXES AND LOGONOMIC SYSTEMS

Hodge and Kress (1988) introduce terms, "Logonomic Systems" and "Ideological Complexes" in order to explain the complex and interrelated ideological relations in the society. Power, like any resource, is unevenly distributed in the society. Hence there is always an asymmetrical relationship between different
individuals and social groups. One group eventually dominates the other for its own existence. The dominating groups need to sustain "the bonds of solidarity" that are needed for the condition of domination. The dominated group most often attempt to resist the effect of domination. (Note the slight deviation from the Marxian perception of individual subjugation in a dominating situation.) Each group has its own image of the world perceived from their own vantage point. This conflict laden activity of domination, which could be both coercive and noncoercive, and resistance to domination takes place in every society according to a set of ground rules. Hodge and Kress propose to capture this through the concept of 'ideological complexes'. The concept is helpful in mapping the uneven, contradictory, conflicting ideological structures in the society. Ideological complexes are classified into (a) relational models - classification of kinds of social agent, action, object, etc. (b) actional models - specifications of actions and behaviours required of, permitted and forbidden to kinds of social agent. One important problem is recognized while mapping ideological complexes that exist in a society. The ideological complexes exploit the semiotic forms as a means of resolving contradictions in attitudes and behaviour. The contradictions that exist in an ideological complex get cancelled with each other and they get neutralized leading to a situation where the dominating and the dominated mappings cannot effectively picture the situation. Hence Hodge and Kress invoke a second level system called
"Logonomic system" to grasp the internal contradictions and conflicts. "Logonomic system constitutes a set of rules prescribing conditions for production and reception of meaning" (p.4). The Semiotic behaviours of individuals at points of production and reception of messages are recorded through a set of logonomic rules. They involve issues like who has the privilege to produce the message, who should receive, what are the probable topics for interaction, what are the circumstances, what are the modalities, etc. Hodge and Kress distinguish between production regimes (rules constraining production) and reception regimes (rules constraining reception). Logonomic system itself is a set of messages. It is a part of an ideological complex meant to disambiguate the contradictions in the ideological structures. Logonomic systems function in two ways:- when dominance is accepted without being contested the logonomic system serves the dominant by appropriate semiotic acts. When the dominant ideology is contested, the system accepts the role of subversion. The logonomic rules of both the dominant and dominated are 'taught' by concrete social agents (like parents, teachers, etc., for the dominating group, children, students, employees, etc., for the dominated). The rules are not obscure, they are revealed in the day-to-day interaction of individuals in any society.

The above brief summary of the notions presented by Hodge and Kress should convince us about the usefulness of the model in
mapping the ideological structures in the society. The terminologies are clearer and the understanding of the system envisaged is easier. But this seems to be an eclectic model drawn from many sociologists and linguists. Althusser (1971) describes the production, mediation and reproduction of ideologies in a more succinct way. Dijk (1986) has a more useful strategy of capturing the reception and production processes involved in the discourse (though he does not take up the issue of ideology but his framework for the analysis is more or less the same). The 'second level signification' of Barthes (1973) comes very close to the 'logonomic system'. Inspite of all these, as a framework the 'logonomic system' seems to be quite useful.

3.1.3 Thompson (1985) -- ANALYSIS OF DISCOURSE THROUGH DEPTH HERMENEUTICS

John B. Thompson in his book, *Studies in the Theory of Ideology* has given an exhaustive account of the various contemporary social theories of ideology. The book contains essays on Castoriadis, Lefort, Bourdieu, Seliger, Gouldner, Hirst, Giddens, Ricoeur, Habermas and others. These essays throw light on the problem of attempting the analysis of ideology in social practices. Language being one of the overwhelming processes of the mediation and reproduction of ideology, Thompson rightly devotes quite a few chapters to the problems of CDA. He feels that the social theorists have failed to give an adequate
framework for the analysis of the social and institutional conventions. The crucial relationship between language and ideology has not been taken up by any social theorist in full scale so far. In the same way, the discourse analysts, according to Thompson, are just satisfied with certain formal linguistic features that are found in the text. Even linguists like Fowler feel that all the essential features of ideology could be traced from the linguistic analysis. Hence, Thompson proposes an analytical model which would be able to provide ideological understanding of the discourse.

According to Thompson the relationship between language and ideology provides the touchstone for the elaboration of interpretation. "Discourse", language realised in speech or writing, is already an interpretation. To undertake an analysis of discourse is to produce an interpretation of an interpretation, to reinterpret an interpreted domain. All forms of social analysis face this peculiar situation of interpreting an object which is already interpreted. This Thompson calls a "Hermeneutic Circle". The analysis of discourse can never be just an analysis. It can be a synthetic construction, a creative projection of a possible meaning.

Thompson suggests a methodology for analysis in three phases. They are:- Social analysis, Discursive analysis, and Interpretation.
Phase One: Social Analysis

Social Analysis consists of analysis of societal features in a discourse. There are atleast three levels at which social analysis could be undertaken.

A. The first level could be called the "level of action"; an attempt must be made to identify the contexts of action and interaction within which agents pursue their aims. The spatio-temporal location of action and interaction must also be taken into consideration.

B. The second level of social analysis is concerned with "Social Institutions". Social institutions offer a stable framework of action and interaction. Though the institutions do not actually determine action, they generate it in the sense of establishing the parameters of acceptable conduct. Institutions are the places where power is not only generated but also reproduced. A reconstruction of institutions is an essential contribution to the analysis of ideology.

C. At the third level of social analysis, one would be concerned not with institutions as such, but with structural elements which condition or 'structurate' institutions (Cf. Alvin Gouldner). The relationship between a pupil and his teacher 'structurates' the institution of school, for example, in the sense that it specifies certain conditions for the persistence of the
institution without a change of structure. The reconstruction of structural elements is an essential aspect of social analysis as it is these elements which underpin some of the most important relations of domination at the institution level.

Phase Two: Discursive Analysis

The forms of discourse which express ideology must be viewed, according to Thompson, not only as socially and historically situated practices but also as "linguistic constructions which display an articulated structure" (p.136). Forms of discourse are both situated practices and linguistic constructions which claim to say something. To undertake discursive analysis is to study these linguistic constructions with a view to explicating their role in the operation of ideology. Here there could be three levels at which discursive analysis could be attempted.

A. Analysis of discourse as a narrative:- According to Thompson, forms of discourse may be situated as 'narratives' which display a certain logic or 'actantial structure'. (The term 'actantial structure' is borrowed from Greimas, whose methods of structural analysis have been applied to political discourse.) Ideology tends to assume a narrative form in so far as it seeks to sustain and mediate relations of domination by representing them as legitimate. Hence, Thompson thinks, such an analysis may help to bring out the ideological features. Stories are told to glorify
those in power and seek to justify the status quo. As Barthes (1972) observed, there is a profound connection between ideology and myth. Note also that the stories which are relevant to the analysis of ideology are not the myths of official political discourse. They are found in the narratives of day to day life, the anecdotes and jokes which fill so much of the space of social interaction that the ideological features of the discourse may be discerned on examination.

B. Analysis of discourse as an argumentative structure:- According to Thompson, forms of discourse, as suprasentential linguistic constructions, comprise explanations and claims of reasoning which may be reconstructed and made explicit in many ways. Such reconstructions may help to throw light on the ideological features of discourse by bringing out their "procedure of legitimation". Concealing the relations of domination and concealing the process of concealment itself is a risky and conflict-laden activity prone to contradiction and distortion. The analysis of argumentative structure would illuminate the function of ideology by mapping out the contradictions and consistencies, the silences and lapses, which characterise the discourse.

C. Analysis of Syntactic structure in a discourse:- Though Thompson criticises Fowler et al., (1979) and Kress and Hodge (1979) on many counts, he agrees with them that syntactic analysis is the most concrete one that could be undertaken in
discourse analysis. The study of passivization, nominalization and the use of pronouns and the structure of tense would, according to Thompson, offer an initial access to processes of reification within language. Representing processes as things, deleting agency and constituting time as an extension of the present tense -- all of these are so many syntactic ways to 're-establish' the dimension of society.

Phase Three: Interpretation of the analysis

An interpretation can go beyond the methods of formal analysis, projecting a possible meaning which is risky and polemical. Thompson points out that in explicating what is said, the process of interpretation transcends the closure of discourse treated as a construction displaying an articulated structure. Discourse says something about something and it is this transcending character which has to be grasped. The mobilization of meaning in order to sustain relations of domination commonly involves a "splitting of referential domain" (cf. Barthes, 1973). The discourse takes up its ideological role by explicitly, and also deceptively, referring to one thing and implicitly pointing to another. It is by bringing together these multiple referents that the discourse serves to sustain relations of domination. (Thompson cites at this point the vivid image described by Barthes (1973) of a saluting black soldier on the cover of *Paris Match*, an image which signifies a particular individual and the
general context of French imperialism simultaneously.) So interpretation means opening up of a number of referential dimensions of discourse as it is done by Barthes. Entanglement of these multiple referents, Thompson opines, serves to sustain relations of domination reconnecting discourse to the relations of domination which it serves to sustain -- such is the task of interpretation.

However Thompson admits that the method suggested by him is very sketchy and many more details of analysis are still to be carefully worked out. This is only an attempt to apply a sociological tool of analysis to the analysis of discourse in order to discover social relations connected with language. Besides, the above suggested interpretation raises, according to him, complex problems of justification which can only be resolved by engaging in an epistemological reflection, a reflection focussed on concepts of truth and justice and sensitive to the peculiar constitution of the social world.

3.1.4 Dijk (1988a,1988b) -- ANALYSIS OF NEWS SCHEMA

The two books of Dijk, *News as Discourse* (1988a) and *News Analysis* (1988b), are full length studies on the analysis of newspaper discourse. Dijk's other articles (1986,1989 etc.) are also based on his extensive work on newspaper discourse. *News as Discourse* argues that news should be studied primarily as a form of 'public discourse'. The study highlights the importance of an
explicit structural analysis of news reports. Dijk thinks that this approach provides a qualitative alternative to the traditional methods of content analysis of newspapers. His book *News Analysis*, which mainly deals with case studies on reporting in the world press, particularly the coverage of the assassination of Bechir Gemayel of Lebanon in September 1982, could be read as a complementary volume to *News as Discourse*.

Dijk's main concern in the two books is to explore the manner in which news is produced and comprehended, making use of the insights available in the area of Artificial Intelligence. While the aspect of discourse -- sentence forms, meanings and speech acts -- should form a basic theory of language, Dijk argues that there are other aspects of discourse that cannot simply be defined in terms of the usual classification of syntax, semantics, or pragmatics as applied mainly to isolated sentences. In other words, sounds, words, sentence patterns and their meanings, which he calls 'microlevel descriptions', are not sufficient for the proper analysis of discourse. A description at a more comprehensive, global level is needed. He talks of 'macrosemantics' to describe the global meanings realised through paragraphs, sections or chapters in written discourse, and of 'macrosyntax' to characterize the overall forms of discourse. These overall forms are called 'superstructures' or 'schemata'. Stories and conversations are best examples to show how these overall organization patterns operate. Just like the sentence
syntax, the superstructures also consist of a number of conventional categories such as the opening or closing of a discourse, a setting in story, or headlines in news discourse. The overall schematic forms are filled with the macrostructural meanings or topics of discourse.

Dijk points out that 'style' and 'rhetoric' are also important criteria for the analysis of newspaper discourse. 'Style', according to Dijk, is not simply a distinct level but a dimension that cuts through various levels. He feels that 'style' is the result of choices made by the speaker among optional variations in discourse forms that may be used to express more or less the same meaning. 'Style' is a major indication of the role of the context. It may signal personal or social factors of the communicative context, such as a speaker's impatience or familiarity between a speaker and a listener. Thus, specific social contexts demand specific sets of lexical and syntactic options of the participants. Similarly, news discourse must also be formulated in a specific, formal style characteristic of the print media. Hence, style is recognised as the 'trace of the context in the text'. 'Rhetoric', on the other hand, is the theoretical subcomponent of discourse analysis that explicates very specific, rhetorical structures only. Rhetoric, according to Dijk, like syntax, semantics or pragmatics, has also an empirical dimension, which studies the social psychological aspects of persuasion based on the use of specific structures.
The newspaper schema consist most importantly of 'topic'. The 'topic' of a text is a strategically derived subjective macroproposition, which is assigned to sequences of propositions by macroprocesses (rules, strategies) on the basis of general world knowledge and personal beliefs and interests (Dijk 1988a, pp.34-5). Such a topic is part of a hierarchical, topical or thematic structure which may be expressed by a summary and which defines what is subjectively the most important information, gist or upshot of the text. Besides "topic", the other factors that form the news schema are time, participants, preparatory action, direct results, consequences, motivations or reasons for an action, context and so on. A schema of a particular news item can thus be predicted. However, of all the components of the schema, the topic seems to be the most important aspect since the global comprehension of a text is possible only through the topic. According to Dijk (1988a, 1988b), news discourse exhibits a thematic realization structure that is basically (1) top-down, (2) relevance controlled, and (3) cyclical. That is, the main acts and participants that are politically relevant come first, followed in each cycle by details of the main participants, and the identity of secondary participants /components /conditions /consequences /manner of acts, time and location details.

Further, Dijk describes the ways in which news is produced and understood. Through a series of illustrations, he explains
the processes of news production: Production processes need not start with information input but may find their origin in 'situation models'. People decide for themselves the particular model with which they are to be communicated with. Accordingly, the requisite macrostructures are drawn from the model that controls the news production at the local level. Further meanings are specified to correspond to the aspects of the model. Subsequently, these meanings are transformed into syntactic forms. As in the case of interpretation, the various processes of production are strategic. That is, the order of production steps (as specified), may vary according to the strategies employed during the news production. Information may be used from different levels of sources at the same time, and the whole process is geared towards the effective formulation of meanings and models that the writer wants to convey to the reader. First, a general outline --a complete macrostructure -- is formed of a text and only later the local details are filled in. Besides, as Dijk feels, writing a news item involves other knowledge and procedures and presupposes different frames, scripts, or attitudes than writing a story, a letter or a poem.

News comprehension is another aspect of news schemata that Dijk explores in his books. How do people understand news? The important precondition for the reader to understand news is an exclusive attention for the given news. Attention given simultaneously to any other information units hampers the
processing of the news that is presently read. Perception processes of news text consist of the identification of newspaper formats and newspaper layout. Perception is also matched with the visual information associated with the general knowledge about news articles in the press. Perception and primary categorization of headlines are salient factors in the printing layout. Sometimes the headlines which are printed across the news columns are also strategies for drawing the attention of the readers so as to facilitate proper and immediate perception of the news item. It is common knowledge that readers read the headlines first and then switch over to the rest. Hence headlines have to be strategic. There are also other perceptual strategies like page making which order the attention of reader to various parts of the page. Use of photographs, maps, drawings and cartoons are other attention seeking devices.

Understanding of news comes from a 'proper' reading of the news reportage. Reading involves interpretation and the decoding of the messages in the text. Overall reading strategies control the various processes of decoding, interpretation and representation. The first step in such a strategy would be, for instance, the reading of headlines. Interpretation of headline may lead to a decision to continue or to stop reading the rest of a news report. This decision process matches with the models.
Another effective strategy in the reading process of newspaper, as Dijk points out, is skimming. It involves a series of partial textual interpretations which may be adequate for the global processing of news. The output information from this process of skimming is fed into the decision making process that leads either to further reading or to stop the reading. In a sense the reading processes determine the entire structure of the newspaper. The top-down hierarchy of the news production facilitates such a reading strategy. Even the partial reading of the first part of the text provides most macropropositions, and hence the most important information of the discourse. Since the readers have constraints on their time and the kind of attention they could give to their reading, the news articles assume specific forms in the newspapers. The other forms in the printed texts, like novels, poems, text books and manuals do not have the same structure and the strategies of reading them would be different, so also accordingly the production strategies are structured. So the structure of the news and the reading strategies are mutually compatible.

The reading strategies of the newspaper involve, to start with, the skimming of the headlines. So the first step in the reading is 'decoding' and 'interpretation' of headlines. The most relevant and the most important part of the 'macrostructure' of the news article gets reflected in the headline. The interpretation of the headline itself is the same as that of any
other surface structure sentence decoding, syntactic analysis, and simultaneously semantic interpretation of words and phrases. This process activates the relevant concepts, knowledge frames or scripts as well as of previous models about the same event, person, institution or whatever. Immediately after the headline is read and interpreted (decoded), the cognitive system is extensively prepared for (1) decisions to continue or to stop reading and (2) the interpretation of the rest of the text. The top-down-processing of the system continues as decided at the headline level. Reading headlines requires substantial resources and hence extra time. Once the control structure is established, sentences of the news text are easy to understand and represent in 'episodic memory'. Even the grammatical structures of headlines are simple and direct for the establishment of such control structures. The reader interprets the rest of the news text/s when once the control structure is established.

The strategies which are adopted both in the production and comprehension of the news are ideological. Ideologies, Dijk says, do operate not only in the reporting but also in the comprehending because both are socio-cognitively motivated. In this way, the two books of Dijk outline a theory of news from an interdisciplinary perspective. They focus on the discourse structure of news and the social cognition of production and interpretation. The studies have macro-social, cultural, historical and economic sub-theories. The relationship between
news production and news comprehension and social practice of news makers, their group ideologies and the institutional constraints of the news media are well established.

3.1.5 Fairclough (1989)-- DISCOURSE AS A SOCIAL PRACTICE

Fairclough's *Language and Power* is, perhaps, one of the few books which acknowledges the influence of continental social theories on critical analysis of discourse. While the linguistic analytical model is drawn from Halliday, the theoretical insights for the analysis are drawn from Habermas. The book tries to be exact in its statements about Critical Discourse Analysis and contains useful illustrations of different textual analyses possible through CDA. The book is, of course, meant for general readers with little linguistic background. But there has been no dilution of concepts. "Language", says Fairclough, "connects with the social through being the primary domain of ideology, and through being a site of and a state in, struggle of power" (p.15). The "common sense" assumptions which are rather ideological in their representation get reflected in the discourse since discourse is after all a common social practice. The book vividly illustrates how "common sense" relates to the "coherence" in discourse and to the "processes of discourse interpretation", and also how common sense, coherence, in discourse and ideology are related to each other. Ideology is not common-sensical. Certain ideologies acquire that status in
the course of ideological struggles which "take the linguistic form of struggles in social institutions between ideologically diverse discourse types" (p.107). Such struggles do determine dominance relations between them and their associated ideologies. A process called 'naturalization' sets in the dominant discourse which makes the discourse appear to lose its connection with a particular ideology and interest and become the 'common-sense' practice of the institution. So, "when ideology becomes commonsense, it apparently ceases to be ideology; this is in itself an ideological effect, for ideology is truly effective only when it is disguised" (p.107).

After establishing that language is a social practice wherein all the inherent relations of power get expressed in the discourse produced by people in different social contexts, Fairclough gives an exhaustive account of the way in which CDA could be attempted in the later pages of the book. He identifies textual analysis as only one aspect of discourse analysis. The three elements of discourse -- text, interaction and social interaction -- are to be 'explained' if a proper understanding of the discourse is needed. He draws upon three concepts, 'description' of the text, 'interpretation' of the relationship between text and interaction and 'explanation' of the relationship between interaction and social action to correspond to the three elements of discourse. At the first phase of analysis, namely 'description' of a text, Fairclough
concentrates on the formal features of the text like vocabulary, grammar and textual structures. The insight of Halliday that the set of formal features we find in a specific text can be regarded as particular choices from among those available in discourse types is made use of at this point of CDA. In order to give an interpretation to the grammatical features available in the text, the various other options that were available for the producers of the text are also to be considered. By so doing, the analyst keeps focussing on what is 'there' in the text and the discourse type(s) which the text is drawing upon. Fairclough gives ten questions as a sort of checklist to enable the analyst of the discourse to arrive at the exact textual features which are needed to interpret and describe the data. These questions are mostly drawn from the systemic functional grammatical notions envisaged by Halliday. Each question in the checklist is explained with a variety of textual illustrations. Further, in the second phase of CDA, where he envisages 'interpretation' to correspond to the relationship between text and interaction, he lists three important questions pertaining to three important concepts in discourse, namely, (a)Context (what interpretation(s) the participants are giving to the situational and intertextual contexts), (b)Discourse type(s): (what discourse type(s) are being drawn upon), and (c)Difference and Change: (why different participants interpret the same events differently).
The third and the last phase in the CDA suggested by Fairclough is 'explanation'. This is a crucial stage wherein he explains why certain features in the discourse exist as they are, and why not otherwise. According to Fairclough, three factors could be recognised in arriving at the explanation. He puts them in the form of questions such as: (a) What power relations at situational, institutional and societal levels help shape the discourse? (b) What are the common-sense assumptions that have the ideological character? and (c) How is the discourse positioned in relation to struggles at the situational, institutional and societal levels? Are these struggles overt or covert? Is the discourse normative in respect of people's assumptions or creative? Does it contribute to sustaining existing power relations, or transforming them? (p.166)

3.2.0 So far, I have discussed different methods of doing CDA. Except Thompson (1984), the rest of the studies have subjected their methodologies to empirical testing. Thompson (1984), while criticizing the other models for their lack of comprehensiveness, has not really made use of his own method for analysis. His 'depth hermeneutic' model, as he himself confesses, is rather sketchy and needs to be refined. Fowler et al. (1979), and Kress and Hodge (1979) are useful for the analysis of sentences in the discourse. But the relationship between grammatical structures in the discourse and the macro-socio-political structures are not
really established though there are political and social inferential statements. It is rather difficult to establish compatibility between language and ideology if one does not explain clearly the macrolevel considerations. Even Fowler (1991) who aims to do this has not succeeded because he has not really chosen to analyse any full length discourse of any newspaper. He confines himself to the analysis of several newspaper texts wherein the ideological features are projected which could be retrieved through grammatical analysis like discrimination in gender and power, abuse and endearment. Dijk (1988a and 1988b) attempts full length analysis of news, but from an altogether different perspective. The news categories that Dijk establishes are very useful to recognise the various elements of the newspaper that function simultaneously. But the socio-cognitive perspective of Dijk has not really recognised the creative process involved in news production and comprehension. It is well established that news production and comprehension are socially determined, but the creativity in the process which is to an extent idiosyncratic, has not been recognised in the model. The schema theory, although useful, reduces everything to that framework leaving little room for other possibilities. The reasons for some of the features that exist in the discourse, as they do, cannot be explored in the schema theory as envisaged by Dijk. The methodology designed by Fairclough (1989) is accurate and straightforward. While the linguistic analysis is based on
Hallidayan framework, the attempt to bring in various ideological forces at work through an exhaustive textual description is noteworthy. But he has not attempted a full length analysis of any news text. The questions that are in the form of a checklist are quite useful. However, as he himself suggests, a few more items are to be added to meet the requirement of particular texts.

So, inspite of several virtues in the methods of analyses we discussed so far, no one method in its entirety could be used for making a CDA of the kind I am doing. It is not difficult to cull out select examples to show how certain ideological features are projected in the text. But it is indeed difficult to thoroughly examine data from a random selection and explore the ideological assumptions in each text.

3.2.1 CRITERIA OF RELEVANCE IN CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

"Criteria of Relevance" is an insight (which could be called a concept) developed by Halliday in his well-known (1971) paper "Linguistic functions and literary style". Though the issues discussed in the paper pertain to the problems that are confronted by a stylistician, the paper throws a lot of light on the kind of issues a critical discourse analyst would be interested in. The most important problem in any linguistic enquiry is the question of relevance. However exciting a linguistic pattern may be unless the pattern can contribute
something to the 'meaning potential' of the text/discourse, the pattern in itself has no relevance. Halliday develops this point by analysing the transitivity patterns of three passages selected from William Golding's novel *The Inheritors*.

While the classification of language functions like ideational, textual and interpersonal is important for our understanding of the language system, the categories within this classification cannot be taken as distinct from each other. These language functions cannot also be taken as water-tight compartments which are mutually exclusive. In fact, the three functions exist not in isolation from each other, but in the combination with each other. The 'meaning potential' envisaged by Halliday is revealed through "networks of interrelated options" which are highly complex and mutually dependent. Each function defines a set of choices. When once a particular choice is made by the speaker/author in the beginning of network, the rest of the features in the functions are determined by the first choice. Hallidays says,

We should not in fact be drawing lines at all; the boundaries on our map consist not only in shading and overlapping. Nevertheless they are there: and provided we are not forced into seeking an unreal distinction between the 'what' and 'how', we can show by reference to the generalized notion of linguistic functions, how
such real contrasts to the functional map of language as that of denotation and connotation related to the functional map of language as a whole, and thus how they may be incorporated into the linguistic study of style. It is through the chain of reasoning that we may hope to establish criteria of relevance and demonstrate the connection between the syntactic observation which we make about a text and the nature of the impact which that text has upon us.

(p.334)

This is most important for critical linguists. The relevance of a linguistic item is to be demonstrated by reasoning the impact that it is making on the minds of the readers. What Halliday says a little later is also very important.

If we can relate the linguistic patterns (grammatical, lexical and even phonological) to the underlying functions of language, we have a criterion for eliminating what is trivial and for distinguishing true foregrounding from mere prominence of a statistical or an absolute kind.

(p.334)

Our whole effort in critical linguistics is to relate the linguistic patterns to the dominant ideological patterns
available in the society. This is done by sheer reasoning. If we are not able to relate the linguistic patterns to the societal patterns, then our effort is irrelevant.

In any text/discourse certain choices are consistently made by the speaker/writer throughout the text/discourse. These choices become conspicuous either by (a) their repeated appearance in the text/discourse, or by (b) their unique linguistic pattern which is not found in the rest of the text/discourse. This is 'foregrounding'. According to Halliday, "foregrounding is prominence that is motivated". A close reading of a passage/poem would often bring in certain unique linguistic stylistic regularities in the lexical choices or structures. The conspicuous feature of a particular linguistic pattern should lead us to a particular insight. Only when one is not able to relate certain linguistic regularity to the author's 'total meaning', the whole exercise of recognizing the conspicuous patterns in the text/discourse becomes pointless. According to Halliday, such an effort would 'lack motivation'. He says -

...if a particular feature of the language contributes by its prominence, to the total meaning of the work, it does so by virtue of and through the medium of its own value of the language through linguistic function from which the meaning is derived. Where that function is
relevant to our interpretation of the work, the prominence will appear as motivated.

While developing the concept of 'criteria of relevance' further, Halliday takes up three important questions. They are:-

(a) Is prominence to be regarded as a departure from or as the attainment of a norm?

(b) To what extent is prominence a quantitative effect, to be uncovered or at least stated by means of statistics?

(c) How real is the distinction between prominence that is due to subject matter and prominence that is due to something else?

Halliday attempts the first two of the above issues from two angles. One is negative, where a departure (deviation) from a norm is noted. The second one is positive where a norm is established through the number of recurrences of a particular pattern is also noted. But both are important for recognizing innate stylistic 'prominences'. Halliday recognizes two objections for this:-(a) Since style is a manifestation of the individual, it cannot be reduced to counting. (b) Number of occurrences must be irrelevant to style because we are not aware of frequency in language and cannot respond to it. Halliday counters the two objections as follows:- The first point is that
if there is anything like a recognizable style, its distinctive quality can be stated in terms of relative frequencies. The second point is that if in the selections there is an unexpected pattern of frequency distributions, and this turns out to be motivated, it seems pointless to argue that such a phenomenon could not possibly be significant (p.339).

Of course, Halliday recognizes that foregrounding cannot be expressed statistically. The numbers cannot really convince us whether a particular pattern has any intrinsic value in the total context of the text/discourse. Halliday feels "a distinctive frequency distribution is in itself no guarantee of stylistic relevance, as can be seen from authorship studies, where the diagnostic features are often, from a literary standpoint, very trivial ones. Conversely, a linguistic feature that is stylistically very relevant may display a much less striking frequency pattern" (p.339).

As a solution to the third issue stated above, Halliday through a series of examples argues that the vision of the author and the subject-matter are closely interwoven. The theme and the subject-matter are decisive in the linguistic syntactic choices made by the author. While saying this, Halliday cautions that the subject-matter and the theme cannot entirely be responsible for the linguistic choices made by the author. The author might set up local expectancies within the text/discourse but they are
not always fulfilled. There is no *a priori* reason for the author to choose a particular linguistic pattern. The author has always the choice to choose his own way to express himself/herself.

When we start thinking about some of these views of Halliday in the context of CDA, what do we look for in newspaper text? Do we recognize the 'prominent' linguistic pattern observed in the text? Do we consider that the news reporter has a choice of his/her own (like a creative writer) when he/she is reconstructing the news for his/her paper? Answers to all these questions would enable us to evolve our own 'criteria of relevance' with regard to CDA.

At the outset, since the texts we are examining are not 'literary' texts, we would not be interested in noting either positive or negative 'deviations'. We already know that the texts belong to a particular register and any deviation either towards forming a particular norm or moving away from a particular norm would obviously be within the norm prescribed by the newspaper register. We also know that the reporter's choice of linguistic patterns and vocabulary comes from a repertoire of newspaper register. Hence we would rather examine several linguistic patterns in the newspaper texts like coordination, subordination, apposition, etc., and would find out why such patterns are used in the newspaper texts and what are the ideological explanations that could be offered. We may even take the statistical countings if we have to decide which are the
'significant' patterns in each text.

Our notion of relevance comes here. All the observable linguistic data available in the texts may not be relevant for our understanding of the entire passage. We have to be selective and this selection could be termed 'ideological'. Such selective approach to the analysis is not only inevitable but also legitimate if we have to be 'relevant'. We start with the hypothesis that newspaper texts could be explained from an ideological perspective. For this we take up marked lexical items to begin with. Then we move on to the syntactical analysis. It is observed (in fact, it was tried out in the earlier drafts of this thesis) that clausal analysis of the texts would be too clumsy to make any macrolevel generalizations of large texts. Besides, it is found that the major trends could well be noticed through syntactic analysis and clausal analysis would be redundant. Hence clausal analysis is not taken up in a big way. However, interclause relationships are noted throughout the texts. It is not coincidental that the major emphasis of the analysis rests on transitivity simply because we wanted to be 'relevant'. Halliday's major concern when he examines The Inheritors has also been the same. He epitomizes the importance of transitivity in a text as follows:-
Transitivity is a set of options whereby the speaker/author encodes his experience of the processes of the external world, and of the internal world of his own consciousness together with the participants in these processes and their attendant circumstances; and it embodies a very basic distinction of processes into two types, those that are regarded as due to an external cause, and agency other than the person or object involved, and those that are not... Transitivity is really the cornerstone of semantic organization of experience.

(p.354)

What Halliday says here is crucial for CDA also. The conflict between the internal world and the external world is the main crux of CDA. Who are all involved in the processes and what are the circumstances under which a particular experience is linguistically codified form the main issues of CDA. Hence in this dissertation more emphasis is given to the analysis of the transitivity patterns.

3.3.0 METHODOLOGY ADOPTED IN THIS STUDY

I would therefore like to make use of some of the best insights of the models examined above for the kind of study I am undertaking here. Since language is what is 'visible' in discourse, the tools provided by linguistics become important.
For this purpose, we rely mostly on the framework of Halliday since it would enable us to ask questions beyond what formal linguistics circumscribes.

3.3.1. SELECTION OF DATA

This study is undertaken with an assumption that 'event' becomes 'news' under ideological conditions, that is, ideological considerations regulate the perception and reporting of an 'event' as 'news'. As Hall (1978) puts it,

The media do not simply and transparently report events which are 'naturally' newsworthy in themselves. 'News' is the end-product of a complex process which begins with a systematic sorting and selecting of events and topics according to a socially constructed set of categories (p.53. emphasis mine).

It is also observed that each newspaper has its own way of reporting an 'event' which is ideologically motivated. 'Events' may get changed as 'news' as per the ideological conditions under which each newspaper is functioning. It is hypothesised that a thorough comparative analysis of a news item in the papers would throw light not only on the 'events' as such but also on the ideological compulsions of each newspaper to make the 'events' newsworthy in their own way.
I have selected five English newspapers, *The Hindu*, *The Hindustan Times*, *The Times of India*, *The Telegraph* and *The Statesman*, published from four metropolitan cities representing four different regions of India. All these papers have circulation all over India and they are acclaimed as national newspapers. I collected the papers of 9 March 1992. There has been no particular reason for collecting the newspapers of this day except that I wanted to collect the data in a random way.

The next stage after collecting the newspapers was to choose news item/s for the analysis out of a number of news items available in the five newspapers selected. There are two options before the researcher: One, to take one news item which is most dominant in the papers and make an intensive study of it. Two, to take all news items which are reported in the five papers and make a sketchy analyses of the items. Since there is a restriction on space and time in a doctoral dissertation, it was felt that only one news item could be taken up for analysis. Through the analysis of the news item selected, certain macrolevel ideological institutional implications could also be examined.

There are quite a number of news items in the five newspapers of 9 March 1992. It was decided to select one news item which appears in all the papers and offers scope for making
a linguistic analysis. But how do we choose the particular item? What is the criterion for selecting the item? In all the five papers, I found many news items which were disturbing. Apart from accidents, deaths, natural calamities, famine and other problems which affect the lives of human beings, there was news about several political, social, and cultural affairs. Out of these I selected one item. I adopted two criteria for selecting the item: one, the news event reported must be conspicuous by its printing, two, the news event must have been reported in all the five papers. When I applied these norms, only one item was found suitable for the kind of study I was interested in. That item was to do with the passing of amendment motions against the budget proposal of 1991.

3.3.2 DRAWING CONTEXTUAL CONFIGURATION

I have borrowed the term 'Contextual Configuration' (CC is its acronym) from Hasan (1985). Hasan uses the term to "predict the OBLIGATORY (1) and the OPTIONAL (2) elements of a text's structure as well as their SEQUENCE (3 and 4) vis-a-vis each other and the possibility of their iteration (5)" (p.56). She maps CC along with the Hallidayan notions of Field, Tenor and Mode.

But I use the term in a more general sense. I wish to give the intertextual, contextual, cotextual and other necessary information about the texts that I am analysing. These pieces of
information are most important for the understanding of the texts. They are so important that without them the analyst would not be able to interpret the data in a perspective. So the term CC is used more as a descriptive term than conceptual.

3.3.3 DESCRIPTION, INTERPRETATION AND EXPLANATION

These three stages are most crucial for doing CDA. Here I make use of the insights offered by Fairclough (1985, 1989). I have explained in great detail the relationship between the three concepts as envisaged by Fairclough (1989) in Section 3.2.4 of this chapter.

DESCRIPTION

While borrowing the insights of Fairclough (1985, 1989), I have slightly modified the approach to the texts at the level of description. I start with the individual sentences in each of the texts and find out their ramifications by using Hallidayan grammar. Most significant words in each of the sentences are taken up for examination. Both the words and sentences are examined by making use of the basic tenets of grammar as envisaged by Halliday (1985).

Halliday (1985) gives three headings, clause as message, clause as exchange, clause as representation, 'to refer to three principal kinds of meaning that are embodied in the structure of a clause.'(p.37) The three headings refer to the three functions
of language -- Textual, Interpersonal and Ideational. The three kinds of meaning can be explained in the words of Halliday as follows:

(i) "The Theme is a function in the CLAUSE AS A MESSAGE. It is what the message is concerned with: the point of departure for what the speaker is going to say."

(ii) "The Subject is a function in the CLAUSE AS AN EXCHANGE. It is the element that is held responsible: in which is vested the success of the clause in whatever is its particular speech function."

(iii) "The Actor is a function in the CLAUSE AS A REPRESENTATION (of a process). It is the active participant in the process: the one that does the deed."

(pp.35-36)

In the textual function of the text, that is, while discovering the message in the clauses, the location of Theme forms an important component. "The Theme is the element which serves as the point of departure of the message; it is that with which the clause is concerned."(p.38) I have made use of this concept to identify the point of departure of the message in each sentence. Though this could have been extended to the clauses of
each sentence, I restricted myself to analysing the thematic structure to the sentential level only since what is most important in the CDA is to take notice of the general trends in the message distribution in the discourse and that purpose is served by looking at the sentential themes.

The relationship between the clauses in the sentences of the text is an important component of textual description. Each clause of each sentence contains a proposition which is in some way related to the other propositions in the same sentence. This is important since the positioning of the clause in its relation to the other clauses indicates the author’s preferential treatment of the propositions which are inherently ideological. $a$, $b$, and $g$ are the symbols used to indicate the relationships. Symbols like $a_1$, $a_2$, $a_3$, $b_1$, $b_2$, $b_3$, etc., are indicative of the symmetrical relationship between clauses. $a$, $b$, $g$ are the symbols which indicate hierarchy. $a$ is superordinate clause, $b$ is a subordinate clause to $a$, $g$ to $b$ and so on. There could be combinations of these clauses in sentences. The symbols indicate the exact relationship between the two clauses.

In the interpersonal function of the text, that is, while finding the exchange structure of the clauses, the nature of Modality, Mood, and Polarity are examined in the text. The assumptions behind the newpaper’s report in the newspaper and the reader’s understanding of the same are scrutinised. There is
always a contradiction between what is written and what is understood. Between the two lie the ideological implications of the discourse.

In the ideational function of the text, that is, while examining the patterns of experience through the representation, the most important aspect that is considered is Transitivity. The process of representation consists of three components: (i) the process itself; (ii) participants in the process; (iii) circumstances associated with the process. Halliday says that these three components provide the frame of reference for interpreting our experience of what goes on. These are semantic categories which describe the way in which the real world experiences are represented as linguistic structures. But these concepts cannot be used as they are too general to explain anything. Hence Halliday recognises many processes wherein the participant relationships along with the circumstantial elements could be mapped and interpreted. The relationship that is established between the participants through the processes under particular circumstances is called transitivity. The processes recognised along with the main participant functions by Halliday (1985) are as follows:-

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The interpretation of the process could be termed as 'subjective' since the naming of the processes as 'material', 'mental', etc., is much dependent on one's own interpretation of the process. For example, one cannot always clearly
differentiate between abstract material process and mental process since neither is involved in any noticeable activity. However, for the description of the general trends of processes in the discourse, the above mapping would be adequate.

**INTERPRETATION**

Using the grammatical semantic description of the texts, the texts are interpreted. Here the interpretation of grammatical structures is done along the lines of Fairclough (1989), Fowler et al. (1979), Kress and Hodge (1979), Hodge and Kress (1988), and Fowler (1991). All the sentences in the five texts are described and interpreted under the following heads.

1. Description at the lexicogrammatical level
2. Interpretation at the lexicogrammatical level
3. Description and interpretation at the discourse level.

The third item above is taken up during the analysis of each text after completing the sentential level interpretation. When I use the phrase 'description and interpretation at the discourse level', I refer to the description and interpretation at the suprasentential levels in the text.

It is to be noted here that the term 'text' is used to mean the linguistic element in the discourse. When I talk about 'discourse' I take into consideration all the intertextual,
cotextual and contextual features. Sometimes I also mean by 'discourse' the suprasentential aspect of the text. This difference in implication is revealed during the course of the CDA.

EXPLANATION

Explanation is attempted—(a) in terms of a comparative account of different grammatical structures involved in the discourses and their corresponding ideological implications, and (b) in terms of a comparative account of the discoursal features. At this level, I follow the Fairclough model fairly exhaustively.

3.4.0 THE POSITION OF THE RESEARCHER

The researcher is part of a social system and he/she cannot keep himself/herself aloof from the influences of the society. His/her interpretation of a certain linguistic structures is bound to be affected by his/her own assumptions and perceptions acquired and nourished by multifarious factors. As I pointed out above, it is only in a utopian world that people can talk and understand in a uniform way. The observer's paradox runs throughout not only in modern physics but also in sociologically-oriented studies such as this. The discourse on ideology is always affected by ideology and no claim is made here to the opposite effect. The significance of studies of this kind then is only 'dialectical'.

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3.5.0 CDA IN ACTION

First, an overview of the contextual configuration is given to place the news item that is under analysis. Then in the next five chapters the reportage of each newspaper is taken up for textual analysis. Both the vocabulary and syntactical pattern of each sentence in each newspaper are described making use of the Hallidayan framework. As far as the vocabulary items are concerned, only certain sample words and phrases are taken up for analysis. It may be noted that the purpose of the analysis is not exhaustiveness but demonstration or illustration. Generally we take up those words and phrases that stand out in some sense as "loaded". Although such a selection may look arbitrary, it should not be a problem for an illustrative analysis such as the present one. The textual, ideational and interpersonal functions of each sentence are brought out followed by the description of the text at the suprasentential level. Explanation in the ninth and the final chapter puts all the observations made earlier in a perspective.

3.5.1 BUDGET PROPOSALS AND THE MOTION OF THANKS TO THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

On 28 February 1992, Mr. Manmohan Singh had presented the annual budget in the Parliament. It had to be ratified in the Parliament on 9 March 1992. The main opposition parties consisting of the National Front (which identifies itself with
the left of the centre in its political slants), the Left Front (the Indian Communist Parties), and the Bharatiya Janata Party (which is considered the extreme right party) tabled cut motions against the budget which if passed would have amounted to the virtual fall of the government. This became a prominent news item in the morning newspapers on 9 March 1992. The newspapers gave a series of arguments in favour of the government. The news reportage in the five newspapers selected for analysis pertains to this. To understand the full discourse and for making a critical discourse analysis, it is imperative that we go into the contextual configurations of the discourse.

3.5.2 CONTEXTUAL CONFIGURATIONS OF THE DISCOURSE

As it was explained in the previous section, the Contextual Configuration (CC) is a term used by Hasan (1985) to mean the overall implications of the context of the discourse. CC helps a great deal in predicting the text from the social, political and economic contexts from which it is emerging. The CC of the present discourse can be explained as follows:- Mr.P.V.Narasimha Rao became Prime Minister in a peculiar situation caused by the assassination of the Congress-I leader, Mr.Rajiv Gandhi, in the midst of the midterm elections. Mr.Narasimha Rao was made the leader and subsequently the prime minister. The country had witnessed three expensive general elections in just two years. There were a number of political and economic problems that Mr.Rao had to grapple with. The
government "coffers" were stated to be "empty". The balance of payments was on the increase. Politically, Mr. Rao was in an unenviable position. He was heading a 'minority government' in the sense that the party did not have a majority in the Lok Sabha (the Lower House where the money bills are presented). Besides, he had to contain dissidence even within party. The extreme right parties were playing what are known as 'communal cards'(using religion in politics). The left parties along with the centrists were against any "economic reforms" which according to them were aimed at pleasing the big industrialists and the IMF. Similar and more serious problems were haunting the ruling Congress party in general and Mr. Narasimha Rao in particular. It is at this time that Mr. Manmohan Singh was inducted into the ministry as Finance Minister with full cabinet rank. Though Mr. Singh was in the Finance Commission for quite some time and was also recognised as one of the leading economists of the country, he was not even a member of Congress, let alone being a member of parliament, when he was taken as the Finance Minister. The budget he presented before the parliament turned out to be quite radical - although not unexpected - in that it was for the first time the Government came out openly with the liberalization policy which no previous Congress Governments had done.
3.5.3 PROCEDURE FOR THE PASSING OF BUDGET IN THE PARLIAMENT

The procedure for the passing of the budget is a serious matter since the nation's economy very much depends on the national budget. Usually the budget is presented on the last working day of February each year, but there have been exceptions. The budget is presented by the Finance Minister, who in his budget speech reviews the state of economy of the country. The budget indicates the sources of income by taxation, small savings, financial aid from foreign sources, etc. It also gives a picture of expenditure which the various Ministries will incur on different developmental and welfare activities under their charge. The budget may sometimes have a gap between the income and the expenditure and show how that is proposed to be filled. The budget is introduced in both the Houses. Once it has been presented, there is a general discussion on that in both the Houses. At this stage, only general principles on which demands are based are discussed. The government might be criticised for giving priority to one sector over the other and so on. Of course, the Finance Minister defends the policies of the Government. Then comes the next stage, namely that of voting on demands. At this stage, the demands of each Ministry are put forth and the opposition is free to launch a criticism of the working of the Ministry, pinpointing its failures. At this stage the opposition may also table cut motions suggesting that
expenditure earmarked for a particular Ministry or programme should be reduced or entirely changed. In case such a motion is carried, it will mean a virtual vote of no confidence in the Government. The Government has to resign at that point.

When Mr. Manmohan Singh presented his 'radical' budget, the opposition parties consisting of the rightist Bharatiya Janata Party and the leftist National Front-Left Front combine gave notices for the amendments to the budget. If this had been pursued seriously by the opposition, the Government would have fallen. Despite the fact that the number of opposition party members put together was more than that of the ruling party in the Parliament, the amendment motions could not be carried out for various political considerations. The news reports selected for analysis in the following chapters appeared on the morning of the crucial day when the budget was to be put to vote. Each report says in its own way that the Government will survive the voting. While this is the general perception, from the way the discourse is built up in each report, it would appear that this is also the turn of events that these newspapers would favour. Was there a hidden agenda behind the reportage? If so, what are its ideological basis? These are some of the questions that we will pursue in "reading" the news reports in the following chapters.