

**MEDIA FRAMING OF
ROHINGYA REFUGEES IN
SELECTED NATIONAL AND LOCAL
NEWSPAPERS OF BANGLADESH**

ARTICLE 19

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ABSTRACT

Media framing of news reportage is of paramount importance; and this includes reporting of the refugee crisis since the media can help or hamper the plight of populations of forced migration, along with the successful resolution of the conflict. The 21st century has been characterized by multiple refugee crises around the world, including the Rohingya refugee crisis. Thus, the objective of this study is to look at the media framing of the Rohingya crisis in Bangladesh and discover patterns, insights, and biases in order to develop recommendations for journalists on how to present these types of news. To this end, our approach included three national and two local newspapers in Bangladesh for data collection. The data was collected from three distinct years during particular stages of development, over a period of two weeks for each year, whereby news articles of various types, hard news, op-eds, and feature news, were collected and analyzed. Based on these findings a framework was developed, where multiple narratives of victimhood, threat, and burden were identified in these media and analyzed in greater detail. It was observed that some of the sample newspapers took a more concerned and nuanced approach than others, although some differences were observed across time and based on ideological tendencies of the newspapers. Since the choice of newspapers had a liberal-centrist slant, the findings were in sharp contrast to other studies that found populist and anti-refugee framing in news reportage along the ideological bend of the newspapers. In conclusion, the study recommends that given the persisting nature of the crisis, newspapers should follow a more humanitarian approach and avoid stereotyping or victim-blaming due to any populist sentiment in order to help sustain a refugee-host ecosystem.

INTRODUCTION

Ever since the Rohingya crisis erupted as a human rights issue, both the local and international media has framed this crisis with different perspectives: a refugee crisis, a citizenship war, a political battle of survival, xenophobia, Islamophobia, anti-Muslim racism, issue of an ethnic minority, and similar other frames have been ascribed to the crisis (Afzal, 2016).

The information that ARTICLE 19 has, states that, Bangladesh government terms Rohingyas as “Forcefully displaced Myanmar citizens”. Under a joint registration process between the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Bangladesh government, the Rohingyas are registered not as refugees but as “Forcibly Displaced Myanmar Nationals,” a term which fails to recognize their stateless status. It is to be noted that Bangladesh is not a signatory to the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol.

The Rohingya were portrayed in several different ways: victims, refugees, problem to the host country, a threat to the identity of the host country, burden, etc. Furthermore, the government of Myanmar was portrayed by the local media as a perpetrator of genocide and human rights violator, refusing to acknowledge the Rohingya as a historically rooted ethnic group in Myanmar. On the other side, the government of Bangladesh as well as the people, both local and others, were portrayed as sympathetic and sincerely hospitable towards the Rohingya as they provided refuge to them since August 2017. After a few years, the narrative of the media took on a new shape. The situation worsened in August of 2019, when a large number of Rohingya people gathered to celebrate the day of their exodus from Myanmar as the “Rohingya Genocide Day”. Hereafter, this is referred to as the mass gathering of Rohingya people. After a period of time, the news and media reports portrayed the same hospitable locals as hostile towards the Rohingya. In fact, from mid-2019, Rohingya refugees witnessed widespread negative coverage from Bangladeshi media outlets, being portrayed as criminals, drug traders, and security threats (Wadud, 2020). Here lies the motivation of this study: why did the framing of the Rohingya change over time and how is this related to various other factors, including the ideological position of the media.

Background

Since this study entirely deals with the Rohingya refugee crisis, it is required to know who the Rohingyas are. There is debate with the term “Rohingya” as it has become a key conflict issue between the Buddhists and the Rohingya-Muslims in Myanmar. The latter want to be identified as ‘Rohingya’ in order to get recognized as Myanmar’s 136th distinct ethnic group and to secure their citizenship. Conversely, the government of Myanmar and other major ethnic groups are reluctant to treat them as ‘Rohingya’, instead preferring to label them as ‘Bengali’ or ‘Kala’ (foreigner) (Ware & Laoutides, 2018). By treating them as Bengali, the Myanmar government wants to indicate that they are not citizens of Myanmar and rather that they have come from neighboring Bangladesh (Wadud, 2020). Although there is no definitive evidence regarding the period in which the Rohingya Muslims settled in the Arakan region, Uddin (2017) in his study showed that Muslim people (including the Rohingya) have been living in Arakan since the 8th century. However, in other literature, the origin of the Rohingya people can be traced back to the 15th century during the period of the former Arakan Kingdom (Albert & Maizland, 2020). Afterwards, Arakan became a part of Myanmar following the country’s independence from Britain in 1948. The Rohingya Muslims have been denied citizenship rights since 1982 under the promulgations of the Citizenship Act. This became a widely known crisis in 2012, when violence erupted leaving hundreds dead and as many as 140,000 reportedly displaced (Letchamanan, 2013; Parnini et al., 2013). However, the Rohingya Muslims were officially still categorized by the government of Myanmar as illegal immigrants from Bangladesh (Shams, 2017). This fueled the forceful persecution of Rohingya in August 2017, following attacks by a rebel group. As a consequence, Rohingya refugees crossed the border and sought refuge in Bangladesh after experiencing several episodes of violence, destruction, and inhuman torture inflicted by the Myanmar military. The brutality against the persecuted was unprecedented. Since August 25, 2017, about 740,000 Rohingya have sought refuge in Bangladesh. The majority of them came in just two months (McDermid, 2017). Before that influx, about 200,000 Rohingya refugees were living at Cox’s Bazar, a southern district of Bangladesh adjacent to the Myanmar border. The Bangladeshi government, along with many national and international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) and United Nations organizations, helped the Rohingya refugees settle in a small area of Cox’s Bazar. After the 2017 genocide and the “ethnic cleansing”, about 91,000 babies were born in the refugee camps in Bangladesh (Hasan, 2019). In December 2017, there were more than one million Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh, which made Cox’s Bazar the largest refugee settlement in the world (Ahmed, 2020).

Why media framing is important

The term “framing” has been commonly used in several diverse fields. In the media, it has its own terms of implication and application. Media framing is significant because it serves as an alternative to the objectivity and bias paradigm (Gulzar et al., 2021). The difference between media framing and representation is while media framing deals only with the encoded media messages, media representation has both encoded and decoded meanings, therefore representation includes how the media message is received by the audience. Framing goes beyond the favorable or unfavorable notions and involves complex emotional responses and cognitive dimensions which include beliefs and attitudes (Afzal, 2016). Since the rise of the Rohingya crisis in Bangladesh in 2017, Bangladeshi print and broadcast media framed the developments in different manners at different times. The framing, as well as the acceptance by the audience, was in cases positive, negative, or neutral. Moreover, framing theories have advocated that news coverage brings changes in public opinions as it promotes particular definitions and explanations of any particular issues or crisis (Shah, et al., 2002). Media frames stress upon reality and point towards certain judgments, decisions, and attributes (Afzal, 2016).

Media framing has been playing the strongest and most influential role in shaping people’s perception by creating narratives throughout crises like this one (Braxton, 2021; Bleich et al., 2015; Pruitt, 2019; Wright, 2002; Backfried & Shalunts, 2016). This is probably the reason that scholarly works on how media influence public opinion has received sound attention for the last couple of decades (Somaini, 2019; Gunter, 2015; Kingsley, 2015). In fact, media representation can, directly and indirectly, steer public opinion, attitudes, and feelings toward refugees. The representation can both be positive and negative. Media practices can help motivate empathy, acceptance, and peace between or among different groups. Media representation can play a role as both a part of the problem and the solution by producing effects on the inclusion or exclusion of refugees in its representation (Pandir, 2020).

Johnson-Cartee (2005) argues that the mass media potentially have two levels of effects. Firstly, micro-effects, or individual effects: those effects related to an individual; and secondly, macro-effects, or social effects: those effects related to society at large. The effects on an individual can be 1) cognitive effects, which are associated with influence on what an individual knows or is aware of, 2) affective effects, which are influences on how an individual emotionally responds to what is known, or 3) behavioral effects, which include influences on how an individual acts on what is known and felt. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) published a report emphasizing the role of media as a bridge of communication between political and social actors (UNHCR, 2016). Johnson-Cartee (2005) also focused on this point. She strongly argued that news media plays a progressively powerful role in the process of constructing political reality by molding people’s thoughts (Johnson-Cartee, 2005; Conroy, 2015).

Media framing is initiated when a certain component of a news event or a crisis is needed to be framed distinctively. This may have a positive, negative, or neutral acceptance from the audience (De Vreese, 2012). Usually, there are several corresponding media frames when portraying an event. For example,

Rohingya have fled to Bangladesh multiple times for sanctuary, and the media framing played a critical role throughout the entire crisis to portray the big picture.

Along with this, media framing varies from news category to category. Media research has shown that mainstream media follow a comparatively more serious reporting style than tabloids and online portals (Vliegenthart & Zoonen, 2011; Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017). On the other hand, tabloids usually present an event in a one-sided, populist narrative, and they use significantly more negative terminology than mainstream papers (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017).

Study objectives

The global objective of this study is to understand how media framing works in portraying the disenfranchised population, such as refugees, among media outlets, and how or why this framing changes over time. This is broadly related to the overall cultural politics of media, which is influenced by the geopolitics of the country it operates in. To be specific, this study will look at some Bangladeshi media to understand (a) how the Bangladeshi journalists, columnists, and feature-writers frame the Rohingya over a certain period of time and (b), which direction the framing is leading to, and (c) to reveal the differences in media framing in various historical situations related to the Rohingya crisis; so that (d) we can propose a set of recommendations for journalists covering the Rohingya issue. The broader hypothesis is that the Rohingya-framing of Bangladesh media has been subject to the media's ideological positions (liberal-centrist-right wing) and that it is simultaneously shaped by the individual journalists who work in these media.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Media plays a role in both facilitating and hindering social inclusion and cohesion, by producing positive and negative portrayals of refugees that influence everyday practices and interactions of people in a broader sense. The literature review aims to shed light on this through a review of existing research on media representations of refugees in general, and the Rohingya in Bangladesh in particular. The study identifies the dominant representational practices of media and viable themes to analyze the media framing of the Rohingya crisis, discusses their effects on refugee identity, and then considers their implications for the acceptance or exclusion of refugees in the host society.

Defining the Rohingya and the crisis

The Rohingya refugee crisis is one of the key international topics of the twenty-first century, just as the crisis of the Syrian refugees (Sunata & Yıldız, 2018). The interest in the Rohingya crisis gets substantial scholarly attention after the crackdown on Rohingya and the subsequent influx into Bangladesh in 2017. Rohingya, the world's most persecuted minority (Afzal, 2016), constitute the largest displaced and persecuted group settled in Bangladesh (Wadud, 2020). The influx started on 25 August 2017 when the

Myanmar military attacked the country's Rohingya Muslims following an attack of a Rohingya rebel group. It started with the "ethnic cleansing" and ended with genocide (Human Rights Watch, 2022). The Myanmar military resorted to what the UN referred to as "a textbook case of ethnic cleansing" (CNN, 2017). Within the next three months, more than 750,000 Rohingya people, mostly women, and children, fled Myanmar to take refuge in Bangladesh (Ahmed, 2020). The unfolding of the crisis otherwise showed that the issue was no longer limited to Myanmar and Bangladesh. Rather, it became an issue that was simultaneously national, regional, and international (Ahmed, 2020). The Danish Refugee Council (DRC) estimates that today, a total of 860,000 Rohingya refugees (and 153,971 households) live in more than 30 refugee camps in the Cox's Bazar, the world's largest and growing refugee settlement (Danish Refugee Council, 2021; UNHCR, 2021; BBC, 2020).

Media framing of the Rohingya

Media framing and particularly the encoding of the Rohingya in the media in certain periods of time received little scholarly attention. There is a lack of ample scholarly works that discuss the media framing of Rohingya. A few such works compare media framing in different countries, while some others discuss how refugees worldwide are framed by media outlets. Only a few articles discuss the variation of media framing. Therefore, there is a gap in scholarly articles with regard to the framing of Rohingya refugees in different newspapers over different periods, for example when the mass exodus began in 2017 or the mass gathering to commemorate the 'Rohingya Genocide Day' in 2019. Moreover, the Rohingya have been portrayed in different manners imposing different frames in different periods of time. Sometimes they are considered as an economic burden, element of social security threat, environmental threat, or the reason for the population crisis for Bangladesh.

A total of seven dominant frames have been found after reviewing the studies on the Rohingya refugee framing. They are briefly discussed in the following:

i) Rohingya refugees as victims

In most publications, Rohingya refugees are portrayed as victims of persecution. These publications focus on their plight and sufferings (Wadud, 2020; Horsti, 2008; Gorp, 2005; Gulzar et al., 2021; Farisy & Mandarani, 2020; Afzal, 2016; Islam, 2018; Wright, 2002). In the frame of victimization, the media call for humanitarian assistance and support (Khosravinik, 2009). The status of Rohingya Muslims is concerned with the exclusion of citizenship, the nationalization process, and ethno-political identification. Their status is unclear. They are refugees and stateless at the same time. Their refugee status along with socioeconomic uncertainty has made them one of the worst victim groups of human civilization (Pugh, 2013). Another study focuses on the causes of ethnic humanitarian vulnerability of the Rohingya (Rahman K. A., 2015). Based on the qualitative content analysis method, the study finds that Rohingya people are the least wanted community and the most persecuted in the world as stateless refugees deprived of basic needs (Afzal, 2016).

ii) Rohingya as economic burden

As different scholars point out, media associate refugees, immigrants, and asylum seekers with problems (Gemi et al., 2013; Heller, 2014; Lynn & Lea, 2003; Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017; Wadud, 2020). Rohingya refugees are not an exception in this regard. A few weeks after the Rohingya refugee crisis began in August 2017, all the newspapers started discussing the Rohingya crisis in terms of economic burden with an assumption that this influx may negatively impact the economy of Bangladesh (Wadud, 2020). After a few weeks of the crisis, economists and experts started a discussion about repatriation, predicting that Bangladesh's economy may face multiple adverse impacts due to the influx.

iii) Rohingya as baby boomers

Wadud (2020) in his study found that the Rohingya women were framed as 'Baby Boomers' by news articles. The media had portrayed them to be uneducated, unaware and unwilling to utilize birth control by any means, and this was because there was no access to birth control in Myanmar's Rakhine state. The extremity of this situation could be understood by the statement of an official of Cox's Bazar Family Planning in 2017. He said, "more than 25,000 expecting Rohingya mothers fled from Myanmar to Bangladesh, and more than 700 children were born already, also at least 10,000 more Rohingya mothers were about to give birth" (Wadud, 2020). The official went on to state that the Rohingya crisis had become more complicated with the influx of newborn babies (Wadud, 2020).

iv) Rohingya as spreaders of diseases

Rohingya are also framed as a source for spreading diseases in Bangladesh. According to Wadud (2020), Bangladeshi newspapers were very worried about this and one of them published an article titled "250,000 AIDS patients in Myanmar: Fear of spread to Bangladesh". As mentioned in the article, this country is at a high risk of an AIDS epidemic because of the Rohingya, which brings a public health threat to the local communities in Bangladesh (Wadud, 2020). The media utilizes this frame in an attempt to create the idea that Bangladesh does not have the HIV-AIDS epidemic, and instead, the Rohingya are responsible for the spread of this disease.

v) Rohingya as a security threat

A good number of research articles have found that the media often associates the Rohingya crisis with the security of the country (Bennett et al., 2012; Goodman & Speer, 2007; Ibrahim, 2005). Wadud (2020) in his study discusses two different dimensions of the security threat posed by the Rohingya in Bangladesh. Firstly, Rohingya are framed as being associated with global terrorism and responsible for the deteriorating law and order situation. Rohingya refugees are framed as criminals and terrorists (Bennett et al., 2007; Ibrahim, 2005; Wadud, 2020). Secondly, they are framed as drug peddlers and the primary cause of increased crime rates in the areas where they are living. According to Wadud (2020), many news outlets

portrayed the Rohingya as a security threat and a part of the ongoing threat of global terrorism. They are seen as directly involved in killings, hijackings, beatings, smuggling, drug peddling, small arms trades, and other crime incidents in the region. This had made the Cox's Bazar district a crime zone.

vi) Rohingya as a prolonged crisis

Some authors have pointed at the prolonged duration of the Rohingya crisis and its depiction in the media (Wadud, 2020). The Rohingya crisis has turned into a protracted crisis because there is hardly any sustainable and quick solution in sight. Wadud (2020) quotes from a national newspaper report titled "Is Bangladesh headed for a prolonged Rohingya crisis?" which suggested that Bangladesh should not be too sympathetic with the Rohingya, and that instead, the country should be concerned about them, and find a better way to solve the crisis.

vii) Rohingya refugees as threats to the identity of the host country

Rohingya are framed as threats to the society of the host country (Wadud, 2020). In several cases, media quote local people who blame the Rohingya for overriding their own language, cultural identities, local habits, and values (Gilbert, 2013). A sharp difference between the local people and refugees has been created and a sense of "us versus them" has developed, although there is a significant similarity in language and religious identity between the two groups. The framing of the Rohingya as a threat to the host country has resulted in a polarization in society (Hickerson & Dunsmore, 2015; Benson, 2014). The situation is getting worse due to the protracted presence of the Rohingya (Idris, 2017). Local people have raised voices and expressed anxiety about the economic and security impact of the refugee influx (Hoekstra, 2017). In a way similar to this framing, some newspapers tried to portray the Rohingya as the "Other", far from Bengalis as a race. This argument claims that the Rohingya are descendants of the Arabs who came to the Arakan during the 7th and 8th centuries (Ezzati 2002)

Ideological positioning of media in terms of Rohingya crisis

There are a few cyclic stages in how the media cover the Rohingya issue over time. During the first five weeks of the influx, media frames predominantly focused on victimization and the plight of the Rohingya people, rather than portraying them as a threat. A humanitarian framing about the Rohingya refugees was always present in the right-wing newspapers (Wadud, 2020). According to Wadud (2020), a pro-Rohingya frame was probably used to justify the government's decision to give shelter to Rohingya in the initial stage. Gradually, the frame started to adopt a new shape by portraying the Rohingya crisis as an economic burden for Bangladesh. After this, another dominant frame used by the media regarding the crisis was the 'Prolonged Crisis' frame which is still relevant after five years of the influx. Moreover, Wadud (2020) in his study found that mainstream newspapers were more polite to the Rohingya than online news portals, which used hostile words and alienating sentiments. Whenever there is any unpleasant incident or crime, online newspapers termed the Rohingya as "Rohingya Criminal". Another interesting aspect of media is

that right-wing newspapers are Pro-Refugee. They were found to be consistently sympathetic towards the refugees throughout the crisis because of their religious identity (Wadud, 2020). The right-wing newspapers emphasized Muslim brotherhood and Muslim solidarity in each of their reports using the phrase “Rohingya Muslim”

Gap in the literature

The review of the past studies indicates that the media (both national/local and international) have portrayed the Rohingya either as victims or as threats to the host country. A neutral portrayal of the Rohingya was rarely searched for. Moreover, the literature, when dealing with threats, never divides them into tangible and intangible ones. For example, some threats are real and tangible (Rohingya causing economic hardship, prolonged trouble, and so on), while the intangible ones (such as Rohingya faking identities or trying to become Bengalis) are crucial to understanding the position of the host country towards the refugees at large. Although Wadud (2020) explains the media framing, the explanation is scanty and never consults the entire data set. This is another gap in the literature. Furthermore, there has been hardly any discussion on the opportunities created by the Rohingya refugee crisis for the host country. It has brought a massive surge of international humanitarian aid and opened employment opportunities for many unemployed groups in Bangladesh. The present study has some evidence of media framing in this pursuit, which has largely been absent in the existing body of literature.

As observed, there is some research undertaken to understand the media framing on the Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh. However, all these studies used national newspapers as their sources and tried to understand the macro picture from a national point of view. In doing so, it is obvious that the everyday lives of the Rohingya are missing from the constructed grand narrative. The studies presented ample evidence on that. So, it becomes an academic necessity to look at the media framing of the Rohingya both from national and local media viewpoints, and to see if there have been any variations.

Furthermore, the sampling procedure of existing studies is mainly based on the content available online. In that manner, the existing literature does not have evidence on working with the local newspapers, since most of them are either unavailable online or have a very feeble presence. It is important to understand how media framing takes place at the local level, since this has an immediate impact on the life of the Rohingya. Since the local newspapers are not consistently available online, we decided to work only on the print editions of the sampled newspapers.

METHODOLOGY

This study has employed content analysis as its core method, which is backed up by a primary categorization of media framing as found in the existing body of literature. However, as discussed in the literature review, the existing studies rarely analyze time-series data, therefore the framing there cannot be read in line with the historical progression of the Rohingya crisis. Nonetheless, the present study takes these framings as a primary point of consultation, in order to validate them in the time-series data. This is because with the time context missing, the framing found in other studies cannot provide us with a coherent narrative of a media framing on the Rohingya crisis. For example, the existing body of literature does not clarify the context behind the shift of the framing; where the changed framing depicts the hosts as the “victims”, instead of the Rohingya, who used to be framed as “victims”. In doing so, this study has gathered media content around three historic events related to the Rohingya crisis. These are:

- (a) 25 Aug 2017– 2 weeks of influx reached to Cox’s Bazar
- (b) 25 Aug 2019 – Mass Gathering – 1 week before the event and 1 week after the event
- (c) September 2021 – 2 weeks – Ongoing Crisis/Relocation and COVID-19

Five newspapers were selected for the study using stratified purposive sampling. In the process, the geographic (national/local), and ideological (liberal-centrist-right wing) exposure of the newspapers were considered. Only print editions of these newspapers were chosen to understand the media framing, given the online add-ons are sometimes out of the central editorial concern.

The study was conducted on 3 national newspapers and 2 local newspapers (based in Cox’s Bazar), where journalists of most news organizations report on Rohingya refugees at the grassroots level. Of them, two national newspapers are the highest circulated ones in Bangla and English, whereas the third one is a representative of a right-wing newspaper, having the highest circulation among this category as well. The local newspapers are also the highest circulated and best-regarded newspapers in the locality.

Newspaper sources

| Name | Type | Orientation | Accessing tactic |
|--------------------|----------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| The Daily Star | National | Liberal | E-paper subscription |
| Daily Prothom Alo | National | Liberal | E-paper subscription |
| Daily Naya Diganta | National | Right-wing | E-paper subscription |
| Daily Cox's Bazar | Based in Cox's Bazar | Centrist | Hard copies |
| Daily Ruposhi Gram | Based in Cox's Bazar | Centrist | Hard copies |

During the sampling period, a total of 786 hard news stories, 96 editorials/op-eds, and 33 features were gathered from the 5 newspapers. Yearly distribution of the content is provided below:

| Year | Hard News | Op-ed/Editorial | Feature Story | Total |
|------|-----------|-----------------|---------------|-------|
| 2017 | 524 | 56 | 23 | 603 |
| 2019 | 199 | 36 | 10 | 145 |
| 2021 | 63 | 04 | 00 | 67 |

Data collection procedure

This is a mixed-method study, where content analysis was the only tool for data collection. The quantitative content analysis sheds light on the patterns of entries under various categories (news, feature, op-ed, etc.), the differential between national and local media, and the development of themes over time. Firstly, news, feature stories, editorials, and op-eds were gathered from 5 sample news media in an exhaustive manner for the mentioned study period. Then, in line with the findings of the review of literature, a shortlist of analysis-worthy content was made from the long list, based on different attitudinal factors and perceptual categories (such as the Rohingya as an exterminated and distressed community, unwelcome guests, baby boomers, sources of crime, etc.).

Data analysis procedure

The qualitative content analysis employs a compare and contrast (C&C) method and critical discourse analysis (CDA) to understand nuances of media representation of the Rohingya by the selected newspapers. By employing C&C, we can understand the key features and differences between national and local newspapers in treating certain Rohingya-related events. We see how differently they are portrayed by them. Employing CDA helps us understand what caused the difference. The method matrix below shows how the research objectives are handled by proposed methods.

| Study objective | Investigative questions | Data analysis tool | Analytical framework |
|---|--|--|---|
| To understand how the Bangladeshi journalists, columnists, and feature-writers frame the Rohingya over a certain period of time | How is a particular news/ event treated differently by the sampled newspapers? What different meanings are produced? What assumptions are made? | Content analysis of certain news or events related to the Rohingya which has been covered as news, features, or op-eds in sampled media. | Compare and contrast: the topographical differences between different media treatments of a common event will be identified |
| To analyze in which direction the media framing of the Rohingya is leading to | How are the Rohingya received by the host media (distressed, oppressed, brethren, unwelcome guests, disease-bearers, sources of evils, etc)? How has this been responded to and reflected on at different time-specific events related to the Rohingya crisis? | Qualitative content analysis | Critical Discourse Analysis: certain analytical categories will be sorted from the existing literature on the media portrayals of the Rohingya |
| | Is there any propaganda and biased attitude regarding Rohingya issues in the media and the communication mechanism? | Semiotics; Qualitative content analysis. | CDA: selected content will be examined against the attitudinal factors and perceptual categories primarily taken from similar studies (such as Wadud, 2020) |
| To reveal the differences in media framing in different contexts if there is any | How is content presented differently in national and local media, as well as media with diverse political orientation (such as liberal, centrist, and right-wing media), at different times of influx, mass gathering, and relocation? | Mixed-method with a semiological reading | Compare and contrast: media comparison, time comparison, and content-type comparison will be attempted |

Furthermore, an online data validation session was organized on March 05, 2022, with both local and national level newspaper editors and journalists covering the Rohingya topic, which was moderated by the study consultant. The participants were Mohammad Ali Zinnah, Editor-in-Charge, Daily Ruposhi Gram, Moinul Hasan Polash, Editor Dainik Somudro Kantho, Lakmia Jesmin Shoma, Bangladesh Correspondent, WION, Dhaka, Syed Samiul Bashir Anik, Special News Editor, Dhaka Tribune and Mihraj Rayhan, Correspondent, Dainik Purbokon, Chattogram. In the hour-long discussion, they were invited to share their opinions on the process of Rohingya-host relationship, relocation and their policies of reporting on the Rohingya. The results were incorporated into the conclusion and recommendations.

Limitations of the Study

In order to become more systematic, this study had a relatively short sample timeframe for its content collection. Because of this, it could not find a few categories which were addressed or explored by previous studies. However, to mitigate this issue, the present study has two sets of data: one is the data from the sampled timeframe, and the other data is from the same news media but beyond the sampled timeframe. In this way, we can see all the available media framing within the collection of content, alongside a few new ones. However, to avoid confusion, the study clearly mentions which contents are from the timeline and which are from beyond the timeline. Furthermore, the reception of the audience to these various framing exercises is a crucial signifier to understanding media framing and its progress. However, this is beyond the scope of the present study.

FINDINGS

The framing matrix proposed in earlier studies did not provide many clues about the time of the framing, and as such, it is not easy to read the framing in line with the socio-contextual events. Instead, this study first looks at the individual newspapers following a time chronology, to understand if there has been a change in their framing.

Multifaceted “victimhood” narrative

From when Rohingya refugees first came to Bangladesh in 2017, following the brutal attack of the Myanmar military and the complicity of the Myanmar government, the overarching media framing of the crisis in Bangladesh has followed a multifaceted victimhood narrative. Across the five newspapers, the victimhood narrative has been in sharp focus in all the textual categories (hard news, feature news, op-ed/editorial). While the framing of “the Rohingya as victims” has emerged as the dominant narrative (Wadud, 2020), significant departures from this narrative can be observed, which portray a more holistic view of the crisis along personal, collective, ethnic, national, regional, and international lines during the timeline from which our data was collected, observed, and analyzed. These departures involve the multiple identities of entities involved in the crisis (victims as survivors, survivors as victims, hosts as victims), the multiplicity

of victims of the crisis in the local scene (the hosts, the Rohingya), and the change in the causality of the victimhood of all kinds of victims (brutality of Myanmar military, unwillingness of the Myanmar military and government, inaction of the international community).

During the 2017 time period, national newspapers of the liberal-secular bend, such as *The Daily Star and Prothom Alo*, took a very concerned and sympathetic approach towards the Rohingya, intertwined with a critical and stern approach towards both the Myanmar military and government. This framing depicted the Rohingya as the victims of the Myanmar military and emphasized the willing complicity and negligence of the Myanmar government. Multiple terms, such as “apartheid”, “stranded”, “tale of horror”, “torture of Muslims”, “killing of Rohingya Muslims” were frequently used to denote the initial phase in 2017. During this stage, the term “Rohingya Muslim” was coined by a few newspapers to indicate the Rohingya. However, this coinage was not seen in the following years. This approach was observed to be present in other newspapers such as the local *Daily Cox’s Bazar* and *Daily Ruposhi Gram*, and also in the right-wing/pro-Islamic *Daily Naya Diganta*. Besides hard news and op-eds/editorials exhibiting these sentiments in the Daily Star and Prothom Alo, a discerning effort was observed that aimed at humanizing this crisis by including human interest stories at a time when the arrival of the sheer number of the refugees flooded the hard news of these newspapers. Examples of these human interest stories included articles published by the *Daily Star* such as “A rough road to refuge” and “Rohingya children”, and Prothom Alo published articles titled “One unbearable day at the border”. On a smaller scale, these feature stories were also found in the local, liberal newspapers such as the *Daily Cox’s Bazar*. However, these human interest stories remained largely absent in the right-wing/pro-Islamic *Naya Diganta*. Towards the end of the 2017 period, some stories regarding the victimhood of the host country started to emerge. From all the five sample newspapers, there are at least 314 items (news, feature and op-eds) found during the 2017 sample period which drastically decreased in 2019 (only 5) and 2021 (none).

During the 2019 period, the framing centered around the victimhood, which was being perpetuated by the uncooperativeness of the Myanmar military and government and by the international community’s inaction, delay, and lack of urgency. Here, victimhood first split into two, with both the Rohingya and the hosting country as victims of the inaction of the international community. For example, Daily Star mentioned the Rohingya as the “victims of the failure of international action” indicating the negative role played by key regional players. This sentiment and this trend were observed in all the five newspapers - reflecting a general national sentiment, independent of the ideological inclinations of these newspapers. Towards the end of the 2019 period, this split was observed to converge. However, this time with the narrative of the host being the victim as the dominant frame, and across multiple frontiers such as the Rohingya as threats (killings, crime, economic and environmental) and a focus on the inaction and complacency of the international community in finding a resolution to the conflict. This represented a sharp deviation in the general sentiment from the 2017 time period.

In the 2021 time period, the narrative from the end of the 2019 time period is not only sustained but also more aggressively emphasized to the extent that only the negative framing of the crisis, and of the host being the victim, can be found. The types of published articles included “3 Bangladeshis abducted by Rohingya terrorists rescued” (Daily Cox’s Bazar), and “Crystal meth creeps up on city” (Daily Star).

The “burden” frame

The media framing of the Rohingya as victims, and the general positive acceptance of the refugees across the five newspapers led to significantly less reporting after the initial period of the Rohingya influx. Therefore, the construction of the refugee crisis being a burden, either environmental or economic, on the host country is weak. However, the frequency of these kinds of news does differ across time and the ideological spaces of the newspaper.

During the 2017 period, news reports of any format with the sentiment of the Rohingya being a burden, either with an explicit declaration or with implicit undertones, were absent from the liberal-secular and the right-wing/pro-Islamic newspapers alike. It was, in fact, in the local newspapers such as *The Daily Cox’s Bazar* that news reporting about the environmental burden was found in articles such as “50 acres of land are evicted from hill lands for a new influx of the Rohingya”.

In 2019, there was a slight increase in the reportage of news carrying these sentiments across all the newspapers except the right-wing/pro-Islamic *Naya Diganta*. With the liberal-secular newspapers, the undertone centered more around the environmental and economic burdens themselves, and not around victim-blaming the Rohingya. The article titled “Two-thirds still unmet” in the Daily Star focused on the insufficient international funding for the refugee crisis. The local papers had some instances of news articles that showed the same sentiments such as “Bangladesh has incurred a cost of 72, 000 crore taka!” in *Daily Cox’s Bazar*. *The Daily Ruposhi Gram* reported news with headlines titled “The local people are extremely distraught with the overall activities of the Rohingya” and “The whole world has to take the responsibility of the Rohingya”. This showed that there had been a rise in what can be called “compassion fatigue”, which led to news explicitly indicating the Rohingya as a burden and an unbearable responsibility to their locality. The terminology of the Rohingya as Muslims, or refugees, all but disappeared from the framing, along with human interest stories, during this time. These were replaced by stories of anxieties regarding the future of the crisis.

In the 2021 time period, the liberal-secular newspapers and the right-wing/pro-Islamic newspapers had no news with regards to economic and environmental burdens. Neither was any reportage observed in the local newspapers pertaining to these issues. Numerically speaking, the burden frame was not found very prominent during our sample timeline in all five newspapers. In 2017, there was only one report found, while five items were found in 2019 and four reports and features in 2021.

Refugees as “threats”

Across the five newspapers and the three chosen timelines, the media framing of the Rohingya crisis as a threat to the host country and its populace can be categorized in three main ways:

- Demographic threat
- Hygiene and spreading of diseases
- Community threat (drugs and criminality)

Demographic threat

During the 2017 timeline, the liberal-secular newspapers published no news regarding the baby booming threat of the Rohingya refugee crisis. There was news explicitly mentioning the influx of the Rohingya into the country in both the liberal-secular newspapers. This can be found in articles such as “Thousands of Rohingya are waiting at the border” in *Prothom Alo* and “Fresh Influx On” in the *Daily Star*. Therefore, the issue of the influx of the Rohingya and the baby booming were decoupled from one another, which showcased a discerning framing that accomplished to report the reality on the ground without victimizing the refugees in the eyes of the host population, which otherwise, might have led to panic and thereby contributing to an unwelcoming attitude on part of the host. The other newspapers seem to have followed suit, and largely avoided raising the issue of baby booming that could cast the Rohingya in a negative light.

During 2019, the trends from 2017 seem to have continued, but in this period, the focus on the baby boom was heightened. The local newspapers, *Daily Cox’s Bazar* and *Daily Ruposhi Gram*, showcased an exceptionally crude focus, as demonstrated in the articles titled “91,000 childbirths in the Rohingya camps in two years” and “Rising birth rate in the Rohingya camps are also increasing risks”. During our chosen 2021 time period, issues related to the influx and/or baby boom remained absent from all the newspapers.

Hygiene and spreading of diseases

Narratives involving the hygienic nature of the crisis saw the Rohingya in two distinct lights. In the local papers, during the 2017 and 2019 time periods, the Rohingya crisis was framed as the cause of disease spreading. The frequency of news increased in 2019 in comparison to 2017. The right-wing/pro-Islamic, *Naya Diganta* reported no news related to this in the 2017 and 2019 time periods. Like many other framing criteria, *Naya Diganta* seemed to just skip reporting news that shed the Rohingya in a negative light. Conversely, during 2017, the *Daily Star* published an article that framed the Rohingya refugees as victims of disease spreading, and it was here that the Rohingya themselves were framed as the “victims of the unhygienic environment” in the article titled “Disease stalks new camps” during 2019.

Community threat (drugs and criminality)

During the 2017 time period, drug dealing, and criminality remained largely absent in the liberal-secular and the right-wing/pro-Islamic newspapers - thereby maintaining the Rohingya as victims (and/or survivors) narrative. In fact, any news pertaining to the community threat could be observed in the local newspapers.

It was during the 2019 and 2021 time periods, especially from mid-2019 (of the chosen time period) onwards, that an increase in the number of news articles related to criminality, drug dealing, and to fake identities starting to emerge. This occurred in parallel to the shifting focus from the victimhood of the Rohingya to the victimhood of the host. It can be assumed that this increase was influenced by the “mass gathering” event, but no evidence can be established due to the lack of appropriate data. In the 2019 data, a surge was observed in the category of Rohingya as “Prolonged Crisis” (167 reports, features and op-eds altogether in our sample time period) which decreased significantly in 2021 (only 4). No considerable differences could be observed in either the ideological spaces of the newspapers or in the nature, local or national, of the newspapers. The liberal-secular *Daily Star* published articles titled “Rohingya man held with 10,000 Yaba pills” and “Rohingya criminals a threat to both locals and refugees”; and this extended the sphere of victimhood, caused by the criminal element of the Rohingya population, to both the Rohingya population and the locals alike. Such nuance was absent from the local newspaper *Ruposhi Gram* which published articles titled “A man and woman are arrested at Teknaf for possession of Yaba” and “Armed Rohingya criminal was captured from the Kutupalong camps”. With the progression of time and the failure of diplomacy to bring an end to the crisis, the ideological position of the newspapers, and the proximity of the newspapers to the crisis stopped playing a significant role in the nature of news reportage. That is why we see the surge of reportage on Rohingya as “Prolonged Crisis” (167 total items in 2019) diminished in 2021 (only 4 in all newspapers).

Identity politics

The issue of identity politics, through the lens of historical “Othering”, was similar across all five newspapers, despite ideological inclinations and locality. Following the persecution of the Rohingyas and their subsequent arrival in Bangladesh in 2017, there was an uptick in news reporting about the historical, cultural, and religious identity of the Rohingya. Across all newspapers, a more descriptive and distant take could be observed with regard to the historical origins of the Rohingya; whereby, the ‘Othering’ remained as the undertone while avoiding antagonistic approaches. In fact, the explicit religious identification of Rohingyas as Muslims was observed in all the newspapers, irrespective of ideological inclinations. This observation was in sharp contrast with the claim that only right-wing newspapers explicitly used the term “Muslim Rohingya” (Wadud, 2020). This helped maintain the Rohingyas as victims narrative which was the dominant frame during this period. Beyond 2017, this narrative significantly weakened in the subsequent time periods between 2019 and 2021 due to the lack of news reportage.

Historical “Othering”

When the Rohingya refugees were entering Bangladesh in 2017, the right-wing/pro-Islamic newspaper *Naya Diganta* published a news feature series titled “Rohingyader Rokto Jhorar Itihaas” (History of Rohingyas bloodshed). The third episode of this feature series referenced the Arabic kalima, written on Arakanese coins, which demonstrated the historical legacy of the Arakanese in Myanmar. Arakan was inhabited by Muslims in the 7th and 8th centuries, at a time when they came into contact with the Arabs. According to Ezzati (2002), during the reign of King Sulaiman Shah in the 15th century, the third wave of Muslims arrived with the establishment of the independent kingdom of Arakan. Persian was adopted as the state language during that time, which lasted until 1845, 21 years after the British conquest of Arakan (Ezzati, 2002).

The seventh episode of this feature series described the Rohingya as heirs of a culturally rich and long Muslim rule in Arakan of about 1200 years. In 1947, 1948, 1951, 1956, and 1990, many members of parliament were elected from the Rohingya community in elections led by the military government. However, in 1982, the Rohingyas were excluded from the ethnic minority list in Myanmar’s constitution. According to that list, Myanmar’s military claimed that the Rohingyas were not citizens of Myanmar and that they were originally the inhabitants of Bangladesh. In the eighteenth episode, the Burmese, and not the Rohingyas, were deemed as “outsiders” and “invaders” of Arakan, although no reliable sources were referenced.

In 2017, an op-ed was published in *Prothom Alo* titled “God, protect the Rohingya”. It mentioned that Bangladesh’s relationship with Myanmar/Burma had started a thousand years ago, at the time when Bengali literature was practiced in Arakan during the middle ages by prominent Muslim poets including Alaol, Daulat Kazi, and others. *The Daily Star*, in an op-ed titled “Rohingya crisis: A concern for the regions”, described the Rohingya as “an ethnic minority group living for centuries in the Rakhine State of Myanmar”.

In 2019, the local *Daily Cox’s Bazar* published “Myanmar’s successful deception of Rohingya repatriation”. It claimed that the real owners of the state of Arakan were the Arakanese Magh or Rakhine community, and the Rohingya Muslim leaders played a prominent role in the Burmese independence movement.

Regarding the identity threat and historical “Othering” categories, we can see a slight progression in the newspaper framing with the development of time. In 2017, only 7 items were detected in the sampled newspapers within the sampled time period, while it is increased in 2019 (21 items) and kept a prominent presence in 2021 as well (14 items in all newspapers).

DISCUSSION

The victimhood narrative underwent different and curious dimensions over the years: starting with the most common “victims of brutal persecution” to “victims of international inaction”, which seems to be a regular framing in all sample newspapers. This is quite an empathetic yet populist trend in the media, which arose with various engagements textually sanctioned for the Rohingya population: intimate neighbors, Muslim brethren, and so on. In some cases, this plight was compared to that of 1971 when millions of Bangladeshi people took refuge in India during the brutal attack of the Pakistani army. However, soon this fellow-feeling ran thinner, and the victimhood narrative turned on its head, obviously in line with the swing of the populist pendulum. At this stage, the “empathetic” host is framed by the media as the victim of this refugee influx which occupied huge amounts of land, forced the local people into resource sharing, made lives harder for the local blue-collar workers due to the low-cost Rohingya labor, and so on. What is being underplayed here is the fact that lots of new jobs and support for the host community were brought in at the same time. This framing is particularly visible in local newspapers and in some liberal national newspapers as well. The right-wing *Naya Diganta* remains silent about it all the way through, while the liberal national newspaper *The Daily Star* takes a very articulate and well-concerted stance in framing this phenomenon.

As a matter of fact, both *Naya Diganta* and *Daily Star* make quite an observable stance in the framing of the Rohingya. *Naya Diganta* adopt a policy of silence when the populist perception went against the Rohingya. They do not publish any reports or op-eds to denote how these people became a “burden” or “threat” to the host communities and constantly urge for international actions for repatriation. On the other hand, the *Daily Star* adopts a very articulate policy. For instance, while all other newspapers unequivocally emphasize the lack of hygiene sense among the Rohingya, thus overtly or covertly blaming them for polluting the environment, *The Daily Star* rather perceives the Rohingya as “victims of the unhygienic environment”. Although the local newspapers remain quite vocal in exposing how the Rohingya appear as a long-time burden for the local community, especially in the later years; both the liberal and right-wing national newspapers keep their mouths shut on this.

Interestingly, the “threat” narrative develops in the opposite direction. In 2017, the Rohingya are rarely framed to be associated with drug dealing and other criminalities. With time, this becomes a common negative framing by the newspapers. The local newspapers appear to be quite vocal about it, although the liberal-secular *The Daily Star* and *Prothom Alo* have quite frequent coverage of this issue, at least in the hard news item. Again, *The Daily Star* coins the term “Rohingya criminals” to distinguish them from both the locals and the “Rohingya refugees”. This indicates another positive framing of the majority of the vulnerable refugees that do not deserve to be victimized by the criminal activities of a handful of Rohingya.

Framing the Rohingya identity is yet another very interesting feature framed by the local newspapers. At the beginning of the influx, the newspapers, irrespective of their politico-religious stance, identify

Rohingya as “Rohingya Muslims”. However, this framing does not last long, and quite contrary to the claim of Wadud (2020), the Muslim brotherhood fellow-feeling has not been framed after 2017, even in the right-wing newspapers. Instead, some of the newspapers say that the Rohingya are not illegal occupants in Myanmar, rather a community that has been residing there since the Middle Ages. This seems to be a radical historical claim, made by Naya Diganta, however strongly based on facts, that the Rohingya are the earliest settlers in the Arakan, whereas the Burmese were invaders.

As the framing exercise about Rohingya is observed in line with the Downs (1972) framework, the crisis is yet to reach the declining or post-problem phase. Yet, the humanitarian framing has been gradually strengthened by the regular sensitization among the journalists on refugee reporting. Although the local newspapers are quite obsessed with the incidental events and often miss the broader picture, the national ones become more aware of that over time. Among all the sample newspapers, it is to be noted that only The Daily Star has had an articulate pro-refugee stance since the beginning of the crisis, while the other liberal newspaper, Prothom Alo falls into the nationalist-populist agenda quite often. While Wadud (2020) argued that the right-wing newspapers play a pro-refugee role, our study could only identify a policy of silence in the right-wing Naya Diganta instead of any negative framing instances, particularly in the later stages.

CONCLUSION AND STUDY RECOMMENDATION

As we see, the ideological stance of the newspaper plays a crucial role in shaping up the framing of the newspaper towards the Rohingya. Yet, there are similar stances found in cases of *Daily Star* and *Naya Diganta* while the former one has a liberal bend and the latter is a right-wing newspaper. While the Daily Star wants to develop a refugee-sensitive reporting, the *Daily Naya Diganta* perhaps cherishes an Islamic brotherhood. The reason for this assumption is that while Daily Star tries to frame various events in a pro-refugee manner, *Naya Diganta* simply does not publish reports that would probably go against the Rohingya. However, as we found out from the data validation and discussion session with the journalists, the local newspapers remain all the way populist, and serve the anti-Rohingya vibe since it serves the purpose of the local elite.

In a prolonged refugee crisis, newspaper framing is an extremely sensitive issue. In order to ensure a sustainable refugee-host ecosystem, it is very important that the media avoid even the slightest provocation of stereotyping and victim-blaming. This becomes difficult for a media driven by a nationalist-populist agenda if it is not properly sensitized and can see beyond the narrow lens. In a refugee crisis, many national, regional, and global players are engaged in agenda setting, and the media, knowingly or unknowingly, fall prey to it. This study shows how radical the media were during the initial phase of the crisis, and how the same media were outplayed by sheer populism and took an opposite stance. If the policy of silence from right-wing newspapers is put aside and we cast a closer look into the framing of Daily Star, we shall be able to understand a consistent humanitarian mindset behind its refugee framing over the years. Since the

Rohingya crisis does not seem to be solved any time soon, it is important that a sustainable ecosystem in the media persists which avoids victim-blaming, stereotyping, and scapegoating. Of course, the media cannot be silent about any criminal activities undertaken by criminals from the Rohingya community, but the framing should single out the criminals, not cast over the entire community. All national and local media need to undertake this in a concerted way, and the journalists need to be aware of the global standards of refugee reporting. To be specific, the study has the following recommendations:

- a. A proper historical understanding of the refugee crisis is instrumental. The journalist community needs to be aware of the persistence of any refugee crisis: this is almost always going to be a long-lasting challenge for any host country. The average stay of refugees in exile is about 17 years (UNHCR, 2004). So, any false hope in the framing of repatriation or resettlement would surely frustrate both the refugees and the host community.
- b. Critical literacy is an essential skill when covering refugee issues. A large part of the population in most parts of the country has an anti-refugee stance, and it would not be wise to fan the flame by producing a report or an opinion piece that serves the narrow nationalist agenda and ignores the wider humanitarian perspective.
- c. As was found during the discussion sessions with the reporters, the local reporters and newspapers need in-depth refugee literacy, along with critical literacy. They are the front liners and are engaged with the national newspapers in various capacities. They need to know how to avoid stereotyping, scapegoating, victim-blaming, and other oppressive tools in writing. A fundamental change in the framework is pivotal: the Bangladesh media should be able to see beyond the nationalist and populist lens.
- d. Dehumanizing refugees through statistics and events is unnecessary and often counterproductive. To ensure a sustainable refugee-host ecosystem in the locality, journalism needs to be more personalized and engaged. Producing more human-interest stories and special day features would be helpful in this pursuit.

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ANNEXURE

Sampling distribution

Table 1: Naya Diganta (Total: 241)

| SL No. | Year | Hard News | Op-ed/Editorial | Feature Story | Total |
|--------|------|-----------|-----------------|---------------|-------|
| 01 | 2017 | 182 | 15 | 03 | 200 |
| 02 | 2019 | 29 | 05 | 00 | 34 |
| 03 | 2021 | 06 | 01 | 00 | 07 |

Table 2: Prothom Alo (Total: 162)

| SL No. | Year | Hard News | Op-ed/Editorial | Feature Story | Total |
|--------|------|-----------|-----------------|---------------|-------|
| 01 | 2017 | 106 | 14 | 04 | 128 |
| 02 | 2019 | 25 | 04 | 00 | 29 |
| 03 | 2021 | 09 | 00 | 00 | 09 |

Table 3: The Daily Star (Total: 136)

| SL No. | Year | Hard News | Op-Ed/Editorial | Feature Story | Special Occasion Story |
|--------|------|-----------|-----------------|---------------|------------------------|
| 1 | 2017 | 54 | 17 | 13 | 0 |
| 2 | 2019 | 33 | 9 | 2 | 1 |
| 3 | 2021 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

Daily Ruposhi Gram (Total: 248)

| SL No. | Year | Hard News | Op-Ed/Editorial | Feature Story |
|--------|------|-----------|-----------------|---------------|
| 1 | 2017 | 126 | 9 | 3 |
| 2 | 2019 | 63 | 9 | 5 |
| 3 | 2021 | 30 | 3 | 0 |

Daily Cox's Bazar (Total: 128)

| SL No. | Year | Hard News | Op-Ed/Editorial | Feature Story |
|--------|------|-----------|-----------------|---------------|
| 1 | 2017 | 56 | 1 | 0 |
| 2 | 2019 | 49 | 9 | 2 |
| 3 | 2021 | 11 | 0 | 0 |

ANNEXURE

Sampling distribution

Table 1: Naya Diganta (Total: 241)

| SL No. | Year | Hard News | Op-ed/Editorial | Feature Story | Total |
|--------|------|-----------|-----------------|---------------|-------|
| 01 | 2017 | 182 | 15 | 03 | 200 |
| 02 | 2019 | 29 | 05 | 00 | 34 |
| 03 | 2021 | 06 | 01 | 00 | 07 |

Table 2: Prothom Alo (Total: 162)

| SL No. | Year | Hard News | Op-ed/Editorial | Feature Story | Total |
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Daily Ruposhi Gram (Total: 248)

| SL No. | Year | Hard News | Op-Ed/Editorial | Feature Story |
|--------|------|-----------|-----------------|---------------|
| 1 | 2017 | 126 | 9 | 3 |
| 2 | 2019 | 63 | 9 | 5 |
| 3 | 2021 | 30 | 3 | 0 |



ARTICLE 19