

## Bangladeş Basınında Keşmir Çatışması ile ilgili haber yayın süresi: Bir İçerik İncelenmesi

### Coverage of The Kashmir Conflict in Bangladeshi Media: A Content Analysis

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#### Özet

Hindistan'ın işgal ettiği ve çoğunluğu Müslüman bir bölge olan Keşmir, Ağustos 2019'da küresel medyada yankı buldu. Hindistan Anayasasının 370. maddesi ve 35A Maddesi'nin yürürlükten kaldırılmasının ardından, Keşmir ağır bir askeri tecrit altına alındı. Keşmir, Hindistan, Pakistan ve Çin arasında uluslararası bir çatışma bölgesi olduğundan, Güney Asya gazeteleri Keşmir meselesine daha fazla vurgu yapmaktadır Aynı şekilde Bangladeş gazeteleri de Keşmir meselesine öncelik vermektedir. Bangladeş, Müslümanların çoğunlukta ve coğrafi olarak Keşmir'e yakın olduğu için Keşmir bölgesi ile ilgili haberlerler fazla ilgi duyulmaktadır.

Bu çalışmanın amacı, Bangladeş'teki medyada Keşmirdeki çatışmaya ilişkin yapılan haberciliğin doğasını incelemektir Ayrıca, Bangladeş'teki liberal ve muhafazakar gazeteler arasındaki Keşmir meselesinin kapsamındaki farklılığı tespit etmektir. Bu araştırmayı yürütmek için içerik analizi metodolojisi kullanılmıştır. Çalışma için iki Bangladeş ulusal gazetesi seçildi ve 370. maddenin yürürlükten kaldırılmasından sonraki 5 Ağustos 2019'dan sonra bir haftalık döneme ait 60 rapor toplandı. Bulgular, Müslüman bir ülke olmasına rağmen, tüm Bangladeş gazetelerinin uluslararası alanda tanınan Keşmir meselesinde tavır almaya pek hazır olmadığını ortaya koydu. Bangladeş medyası üzerindeki Hindistanın kontrolünü gösteriyor. Hindistan yanlısı yazı işleri politikasıyla tanınan Daily Janakantha, Keşmir sorununa çok önemsiz bir yanıt vermiştir. Janakantha gazetesi bu konudan kaçınmasa da, içeriği Hintli bir bakış açısıyla sunmuştur. Ayrıca, İslam yanlısı Inquilab gazetesi, Janakantha'ya kıyasla Keşmir sorununa önem verdi. Inquilab'ın tüm haber yayın süresi Keşmir için sempati yaratmaya çalıştı. Aynı şekilde, Bangladeş'teki günlük Star ve günlük Sun gibi İngilizce gazeteleri de ideolojik önyargı ile ayrıldı. Araştırma da göstermiştir ki, günlük Star kendisi Keşmir konu'yu tarafsız haber yayınmış gibi göstermeye çaba etmesi rağmen, günlük Star başyazarı onun Hindistan'a olan eğilimini açıkça göstermektedir. Gazetelerin analizi, Bangaldeşli medyasının polirizasyonunu ortaya koymaktadır.

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Bu çalışma, Bangladeş'in kamusal alan Keşmir'e büyük ölçüde sempati paylaştığını savunuyor. Ancak, elit ve rejim yanlısı gazeteler, Hindistan'ın Keşmir anlatısını temsil etmeye devam ediyor.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Jammu ve Keşmir, Bangladeşli medya, Madde 370, İçerik analizi, Popüler ayaklanma

Kashmir, a mostly Muslim region occupied by India, received global media coverage in August 2019. Following the abrogation of Article 370 and article 35A of the Indian constitution, Kashmir was put under severe military lockdown. Since Kashmir is an area of international conflict between India, Pakistan and China, South Asian newspapers focus more on the issue of Kashmir. In the same way, Bangladeshi newspapers prioritize Kashmir. As Bangladesh is a predominantly Muslim country and geographically close to Kashmir, Bangladeshis are interested in the current situation in the disputed territory of Kashmir.

The aim of this article is to investigate the nature of media coverage of the conflict in Kashmir, Bangladesh. Specifically, the objective of the study is to identify the difference in coverage of the Kashmir question between secular and conservative newspapers in Bangladesh. The content analysis methodology was used to carry out this research. Four Bangladeshi national newspapers were selected for the study. Of the selected newspapers, 60 reports were gathered over a week following the repeal of section 370 on August 5, 2019. The findings revealed that although a Muslim country, not all Bangladeshi newspapers are ready to take a position on the internationally recognized issue of Kashmir. It demonstrates how India is extending its control over the Bangladeshi media. The Daily Janakantha, known for its pro-Indian editorial policy, gave a very negligible response to the problem of Kashmir. While the paper did not avoid this question, it provided context from the Indian perspective. However, the pro-Islamic newspaper Daily Inquilab, gave an enormous coverage of the Kashmir problem compared to the Daily Janakantha. The entire coverage of the Inquilab tried to create sympathy for the Kashmiri. Likewise, the English language newspapers like the Daily Star and the Daily Sun in Bangladesh also divided with ideological biases. Research has shown that although the Daily Star tried to portray the Kashmir issue from neutral position, but the editorial of Daily Star clearly indicates his inclination with India. The analysis of the newspapers reveals the polarization of Bangladeshi media.

The paper argues that the public spare of Bangladesh massively share sympathy with Kashmir, the elite and pro regime newspapers continue to represent the Indian context.

**Keywords:** Jammu and Kashmir, Article 370, Content analysis, Bangladeshi Media, Popular uprising

## INTRODUCTION:

Jammu and Kashmir, the Indian-occupied territory is one of the longest and most violent conflict zones of modern times and much research has been done on this issue [CITATION BBC19 \t \l 1033 ] [CITATION Bos09 \l 1033 ] [CITATION Bha15 \l 1033 ] [CITATION Hab08 \l 1033 ] [CITATION Yas08 \l 1033 ]

Even in the Turkish language, several studies were carried out on the conflict in Kashmir [CITATION Ata60 \l 1033 ] [CITATION Ery17 \l 1033 ].

Indian-occupied Jammu and Kashmir is an area of South Asia prone to conflict, as is Israeli-occupied Palestine in the Middle East. India and Pakistan have gone through three wars in Kashmir. During the break-up of the Indian sub-continent, two new states were formed, India and Pakistan. Kashmir lies between India and Pakistan and both countries demand the right to Kashmir. [CITATION Kha17 \l 1033 ] UN Security Council resolution 39 calls for a referendum in Kashmir, but India has never allowed that to happen [CITATION Khu16 \l 1033 ]. Since that time, there has been an ongoing conflict in Kashmir [CITATION Fai20 \l 1033 ]. Jammu and Kashmir have always been regarded as integral to Indian territory [CITATION Bar00 \l 1033 ]. Subsequently, the Indian government granted some autonomy and special privileges pursuant to section 370 of the Indian constitution [CITATION www19 \l 1033 ].

The new problem came when the government of the Bharatiya Janata Indian Party (BJP) withdrew Article 370 of the Indian Constitution. Article 370 granted some autonomy to the disputed Muslim-majority state of Jammu and Kashmir. On 5 August 2019, following the abolition of Article 370, India imposed an indefinite lockdown and a massive deployment of the army in the contested area [CITATION BBC19 \n \l 1033 ]. This decision provoked further tensions in the predominantly Muslim region of more than seven million people and infuriated rival Pakistan. The Indian government also adopted a bill under which the state of Jammu and Kashmir is divided into two "union territories" directly governed from New Delhi. It aroused deep anger among the Kashmiris, Pakistanis and ordinary Muslims of the region. In this way, Kashmir entered a new phase of conflict and sought worldwide media coverage. Since August 2019, nearly all international and South Asian media have received significant media coverage [CITATION BBC19 \t \l 1033 ].

Numerous studies have been carried out on the conflict in Kashmir from regional newspapers. Most content and framing analyses have been done by Indian and Pakistani

newspapers [ CITATION Ria18 \l 1033 ][CITATION Imr11 \l 1033 ][ CITATION Sre09 \l 1033 ]. While some research was India-centric such as[CITATION Imr11 \l 1033 ],some were Pakistan-centric[CITATION Zah17 \l 1033 ]. Much research has undertaken based on both the newspapers from both India and Pakistan [ CITATION Sre09 \l 1033 ][ CITATION Ria18 \l 1033 ][ CITATION Sad19 \l 1033 ]. Kashmir is not only a matter of regional dispute, but of global tension. Some research were conducted using newspapers in the United States of America. [CITATION Kri11 \l 1033 ][CITATION Maz20 \l 1033 ] and China[CITATION Mem20 \l 1033 ] .

Bangladesh is an important South Asian country. Despite being a country of South Asia and having the majority of Muslims, no research found on the matter of Kashmir based on Bangladehi Media.

The purpose of this paper is to compare the coverage of the conflict in Kashmir in the Bangladeshi media. Using a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the content, this document attempts to reveal how Bangladeshi media dealt with this issue.

In this Study content analysis has carried out on the four mainstream newspapers of Bangladesh . Among them two are Bangla language newspapers such as the Daily Janakantha and the Daily Inquilab and rest two are English language Bangladeshi newspapers such as the Daily Star and The Daily Sun. After abrogation of Article 370 from Indian constitution, the issue of Kashmir was the subject of major coverage throughout the world. For the above background, it seems essential to examine the inclination and pattern of Bangladeshi media on the coverage of the Kashmir issue. The current study will be considered as the first content analysis of Bangladeshi newspapers, which analyses the representation of secular leaning and Islamic media on the question of Kashmir, exclusively in the Bangladeshi press.

The paper formulates three research questions in order to expose the essence of four selected newspapers' news coverage.

**RQ1:** How did The Daily Inquilab and The Daily Janankantha present the dispute in their respective news coverage?

**RQ2:** How does Daily Inquilab cover the Jammu and Kashmir dispute differently?

**RQ3:** What aspects of Article 370's revocation did the Daily Star and Daily Sun would like to emphasize?

## **THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK:**

The research employs framing theory as a theoretical framework to explain media discourses on the latest turmoil<sup>2</sup> in Kashmir valley following the abolition of Article 370. Framing theory is often used as an effective and popular theory in communication research [CITATION Den07 \l 1033 ]. In particular, framing theory has been widely used to assess the coverage of media.

Framing is similar to the agenda-setting tradition, but it broadens the scope of analysis by concentrating on the nature of the topics at hand rather than a specific subject. The media focuses attention on such events and then positions them into a field of significance, according to framing theory. Goffman was the first to propose the theory, which he called Frame Analysis. People view what is going on in their world through their primary framework, he claims. This system is considered primary since it is assumed by the consumer. Its utility as a system is not contingent on the existence of other frameworks [CITATION Gof74 \l 1033 ].

Agenda setting theory refers to "ability (of the news media) to influence the importance placed on the topics of the public agenda [CITATION McC02 \l 1033 ]" Agenda setting theory and framing are inextricably linked in several ways. Both are concerned with how the media attracts the public's attention to particular issues. Framing, on the other hand, goes a step further in that the way the news is portrayed creates a frame for the content. The way media as gatekeepers organize and present the thoughts, events, and subjects they cover is referred to as a frame in this case. While mediating a crisis in a conflict zone, the media transforms into a 'central arena for political conflicts.' [CITATION Wol97 \l 1033 ].

Additionally, [CITATION Sch99 \l 1033 ] highlights two alternative types of frames used in frame analysis: the media frame and the individual frame. Media is how it utilizes frames to build something noticeable into media contents. In the minds of those to whom the brand and/idea is presented News content which is associated with frames influences how the audience views the news. While dealing with the political issues through the media, news frame impacts those 'particular definitions and interpretations' [CITATION Sha02 \l 1033 ]

Framing includes a source of communication and describes a major issue [CITATION DeV05 \l 1033 ] Both arguments, however, underscore the media's critical role in shaping and mediating political discourse during times of conflict. Internal politics dynamics in a conflict region are cultivated by opposing political institutions' fundamental positions, and issues

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<sup>2</sup> <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/jammu-and-kashmir-turmoil-live-updates-1576967-2019-08-04>

are 'mediatized' and framed by the media, which assigns various interpretations to contested issues in political discourse [ CITATION Cot06 \l 1033 ].

The media is presumed to be a potential ally in resolving a conflict [ CITATION Lyn10 \l 1033 ]. The mechanism through which people create a specific conceptualization or reorientation of thought about a topic is referred to as framing in the news media.

Peace and war framing have been widely used in content analysis studies on conflict zone. Johan Galtung [CITATION Gal65 \l 1033 ] came up with this idea. Peace journalism is based on analysis that shows that reporting about conflict often has a value bias toward violence. It also provides realistic approaches for correcting this bias by journalism in both the conventional and alternative media, as well as collaboration with editors, media practitioners, viewers, and conflicting organizations. Johan Galtung and Jake Lynch [ CITATION Lyn10 \l 1033 ] expanded on the idea of peace journalism, arguing that the media (particularly war reporting) has biases against violence and is based on the conceptual presumption that 'conflict' equals 'war.'

There are several researchs carried out on Kashmir conflict based on peace framing. [ CITATION Sad19 \l 1033 ] conducted their research 'A Comparative Study of the Kashmir Conflict Coverage in Pakistani and Indian Press' based on peace frame. The paper argues that as war frames predominated in Indian press coverage rather than in Pakistani press coverage.

There was another study have done on Chinese media by [CITATION Mem20 \l 1033 ] where they used peace frame to compare the news on Kashmir issue between two major chinese newspapers. The research found that, Both newspapers view Pakistan and India in a neutral light; however, Pakistan is viewed more positively and affirmatively than India.

[ CITATION Sad19 \l 1033 ] also used war and peace fram in their paper 'A Comparative Study of the Kashmir Conflict Coverage in Pakistani and Indian Press'. The paper reveals that, War frames were more prevalent in Indian press coverage than in Pakistani press coverage. Moreover there are a substantial gaps in coverage of the two countries' press.

This study examines media frames embedded in newspaper content related to coverage of the Kashmir issue in Bangladeshi press. Bangla language newspapers gave more coverage than the English language newspapers in Bangladesh. Secular leaning newspapers were more objective and even showed indifference toward Kashmir by giving less space and negative coverage.

## **SIGNIFICANCE OF THE KASHMIR ISSUE IN BANGLADESH**

The Kashmir question is an important one for Bangladesh, as is the Palestinian question in Turkey. The conflict has an impact beyond India.

Historically, Bangladesh and Kashmir were closely linked. Since Bangladesh was part of Pakistan from 1947 to 1971 and a South Asian Muslim country, two countries have shared memory and history. The people of Kashmir and Bangladesh travelling on each other's land. Numerous Kashmiris have settled permanently in Bangladesh. Specifically, the founder of the royal family of Dhaka, the capital city of Bangladesh, emigrated from Kashmir. They are local known as the Dhaka Nawab family. Firstly, their surname was Khwaja. It is said that the ancestors of the Khwaja were traders of golden dust and leather in Kashmir [CITATION Akb12 \ 1033 ]. The first founder of the Dhaka Nawab succession was Maulvi Khwaja Hafizullah Kashmiri, who maintained the family tradition and made a fortune in business[CITATION Akb12 \ 1033 ]. Leather and salt were the most important items in his business. Together with the European merchants of Dhaka, he developed a thriving trade in skins, skins, salt, and spices[CITATION Akb12 \ 1033 ].

In recent years, many Kashmiri students have been coming to Bangladesh for higher education. Mostly, there are a lot of medical students at the Bangladeshi universities. In addition, many Bangladeshi tourists travel to Kashmir. Bangladeshi people still feel sympathy for Kashmiris.<sup>3</sup>The peace of South Asia is underpinned by the peace of Kashmir.

### **METHODOLOGY:**

The content analysis approach was used to assess how the Kashmir issue was represented in two major newspapers in Bangladesh, one from each secular side and one from the Conservative bloc. The method is common among media scholars because it is a useful tool for analyzing media content [ CITATION Mac05 \ 1033 ]. The content of major Bangladeshi newspapers has been collected and analyzed for this research, which aims to explore frameworks regarding the issue of Kashmir in the Bangladeshi press. The researcher focused on the global text and meaning of the news coverage when reviewing the content categories in order to draw conclusions about the content categories. For content analysis, all online editions of selected Bangla newspapers for a specified period were used[CITATION Sar16 \ 1033 ].

### **Categorization of content:**

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<sup>3</sup> Bangladeshi people staged rally in Dhaka in support of Kashmiri people. <https://www.bd-pratidin.com/first-page/2019/08/10/447595>



To evaluate the content that we derived from newspaper articles and editorial pages, we need to establish a basic strategy and framework. The phrases, keywords, sentences, and other framing devices that have been used to represent each "subject" have been coded in the articles. After identifying the frames based on the keywords found and coded in the 48 papers under study, the researcher made a list of the frames that were noticeable for each topic and compared them.

To test the reliability of the coding decisions, the authors chose a random sample of papers and coded them. The pilot study coded a total of ten papers: five from Daily Inquilab and five from Daily Janakantha. The coders' inter-coder reliability was estimated employing Holsti's formula.

The authors used a coding sheet to code all 48 documents after establishing inter-coder reliability, categorizing the words in the articles according to the "subject" they described. This was made up of the following three frames:

1. Friendliness/Positive Frames
2. Adverse Frames
3. Neutral/impartial frames

A friendliness frame is one that acknowledges the existence of the Kashmir issue and respects Kashmiris' right to self-determination.

In addition, which news or perspectives reflected a Kashmiri or Pakistani perspective, whereas the negative frame is the polar opposite of this picture. Negative frames are documents that represent or tell the story of Indian perspectives. Contextual analysis of news coverage was used to build and interpret both of these frames.

#### **SAMPLE:**

Four Bangladeshi national daily newspapers were selected by purposive sampling. Quantitative and qualitative content analysis was conducted on 60 articles published in these four Bangladeshi national newspapers between 6 August 2019 and 8 August 2019. All reports were gathered from the online version of the newspapers. The newspapers preserve their old news in their archive and anyone can see it without any charge.

#### **Justification for Newspaper Selection:**

The mentioned newspapers were chosen for this study's content analysis:

(1) **Daily Inquilab.** Inquilab is one of Bangladesh's well-known traditional newspapers. The newspaper was founded by a religious leader and former Bangladeshi

minister Mawlana M. A. Mannan in 1986.<sup>4</sup> The publication of Muslim news was the founding principle of this paper. So, this newspaper gives priority to the issue of Muslims living in the Muslim world.<sup>5</sup>

(2) **Daily Janakantha.** Janakantha is the estate of Janakantha Silpo Pariber, who was created in 1993 by the late Atikullah Khan Masud. Janakantha has clear inclination towards India. The paper is circulated in print and online and has secular tendency in its editorial and news treatment.<sup>6</sup>

(3) **The Daily Star:** The Daily Star is Bangladesh's largest English daily newspaper in term of circulation. The paper founded 14 January 1991 by Syed Mohammed Ali and now owned and operated by Transcom Group. Prothom Alo, one of the most widely read Bengalis journals in the world, is also owned by the Transcom Group. The daily Star is not only the most circulated English language newspaper of Bangladesh, the paper have been playing crucial role to shape the democracy in Bangladesh. With the help of the Prothom alo and the Daily Star along with ABC radio, Transcom group trying to present the dominant narrative of Bangladeshi people to home and abroad. The daily is a kind of "The New York Times of Bangladesh" To the BBC [CITATION Row16 \l 1033 ].

(4) **The Daily Sun:** Daily Sun is an leading English-language Bangladeshi newspaper. It was founded in 2010. East West Media Group, a Bashundhara Group company, is the owener of the newspaper. Bashundhara Group is one of the large holding company of Bangaldesh and it owned a number of media units including newspapers, radio and television. This papers also maintian very good relations with India. [ CITATION ban20 \l 1033 ]

## **RESULT:**

### **Dominant Frames Representation of the Kashmir Question**

The following paragraphs detail how the Kashmir issue has been portrayed in Bangladeshi secular and conservative print media. In the tables, the following main letters / symbols have been used as indicated against each:

N = Quantity of item

A = Negative/Foe Frames

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<sup>4</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daily\\_Inqilab](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daily_Inqilab)

<sup>5</sup> [www.dailyinqilab.com/newscategory/islami-world/](http://www.dailyinqilab.com/newscategory/islami-world/)

<sup>6</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Janakantha>

B= Positive/Friend Frames

C = Objective / Neutral Frames

*Table 1 Coverage in the Daily Inquilab*

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>The nature of the news</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>C</b>
Daily Inquilab	Hard news	23		19	4
	Editorials/ op-ed/Soft news	4		4	
	Total	27		23	4

Table 1 shows that out of a total of 27 frames, Daily Inquilab used No news for foe, 23 (85.19 percent) buddy, and 4 (14.81 percent) neutral frames for the Kashmir issue.

*Table 2 Coverage in The Daily Janakantha*

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>The nature of the news</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>C</b>
Daily Janakantha	Hard news	19	5	5	9
	Editorials/ op-ed/Soft news	2	1		1
	Total	21	6	5	10

Table 2 shows that 06 foe, 5 friend and 10 neutral frames for Kashmir issue were used in The Daily Janakantha. Out of a total of 21 frames, the paper used (28.57 percent) foe, (23.81 percent) buddy, and (47.6 percent) neutral frames for the Kashmir question.

*Table 3 Coverage of Daily Star*

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>The nature of the news</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>C</b>
	Hard news	4			4
	Editorials/ op-ed/Soft news	2	1		1
	Total				

Daily Star	news				
	Total	6	1		5

Table 3 shows that out of a total of 6 frames, the number of foe item is 1 (16.6 %), no friendly item, and 5 (83.3%) neutral frames for the Kashmir issue published in the Daily Star.

*Table 4 Coverage of Daily Sun*

Newspaper	The nature of the news	N	A	B	C
Daily Sun	Hard news	3		1	2
	Editorials/ op-ed/Soft news	3		2	1
	Total	6		3	3

Table 3 shows that out of a total of 6 frames, no friendly item the number of foe item found and the friendly items were 3 (50% ), Objective items were 3 (50%) among the news published in the Daily sun related to Kashmir issue.

## **RESULT:**

### **Dominant Frames Representation of the Kashmir Question**

The following paragraphs detail how the Kashmir issue has been portrayed in Bangladeshi secular and conservative print media. In the tables, the following main letters / symbols have been used as indicated against each: -

N = Quantity of item

A = Negative/Foe Frames

B= Positive/Friend Frames

C = Objective / Neutral Frames

*Table 5 Coverage in the Daily Inquilab*

Newspaper	The nature of the news	N	A	B	C
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Daily Inquilab	Hard news	23		19	4
	Editorials/ news	4		4	
	Total	27		23	4

Table 1 shows that out of a total of 27 frames, Daily Inquilab used No news for foe, 23 (85.19 percent) buddy, and 4 (14.81 percent) neutral frames for the Kashmir issue.

*Table 6 Coverage in The Daily Janakantha*

Newspaper	The nature of the news	N	A	B	C
Janakantha	Hard news	19	5	5	9
	Editorials/ news	2	1		1
	Total	21	6	5	10

Table 2 shows that 06 foe, 05 friend and 10 neutral frames for Kashmir issue were used in The Daily Janakantha. Out of a total of 21 frames, the paper used (28.57 percent) foe, (23.81 percent) buddy, and (47.6 percent) neutral frames for the Kashmir question.

*Table 7 Coverage of Daily Star*

Newspaper	The nature of the news	N	A	B	C
Daily Star	Hard news	4			4
	Editorials/ news	2	1		1
	Total	6	1		5

Table 3 shows that out of a total of 6 frames, the number of foe item is 1 (16.6 %), no friendly item, and 5 (83.3%) neutral frames for the Kashmir issue published in the Daily Star.

*Table 8 Coverage of Daily Sun*

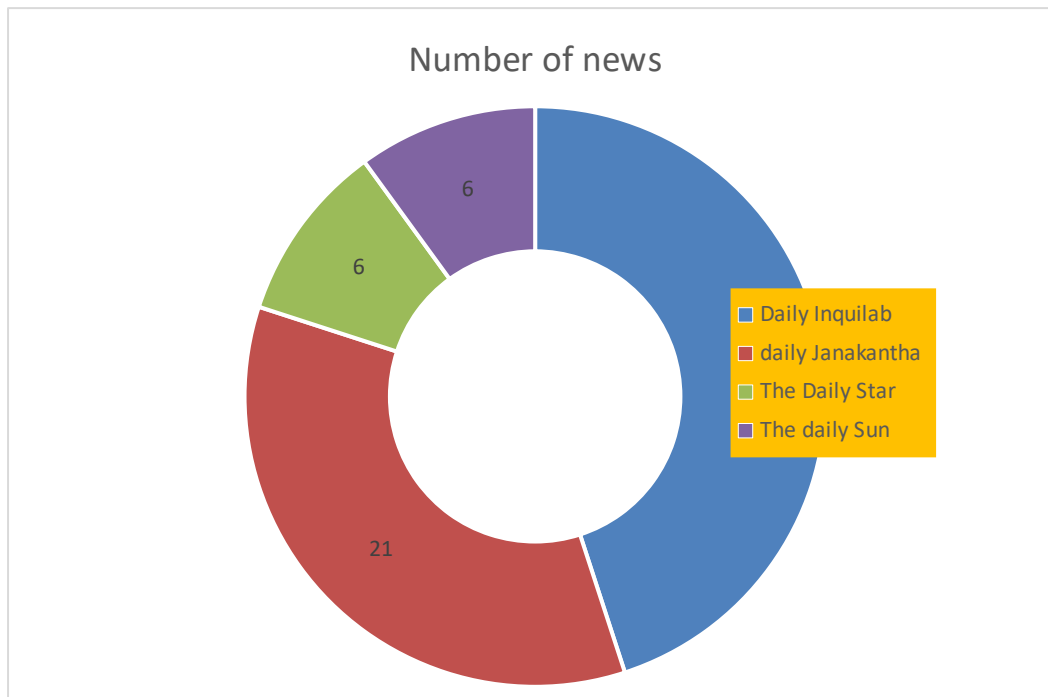
Newspaper	The nature of the news	N	A	B	C
	Hard news	3		1	2
	Editorials/ news	3		2	1
	Total				

Daily Sun	Total	6		3	3
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Table 3 shows that out of a total of 6 frames, no friendly item the number of foe item found and the friendly items were 3 (50% ), Objective items were 3 (50%) among the news published in the Daily sun related to Kashmir issue.

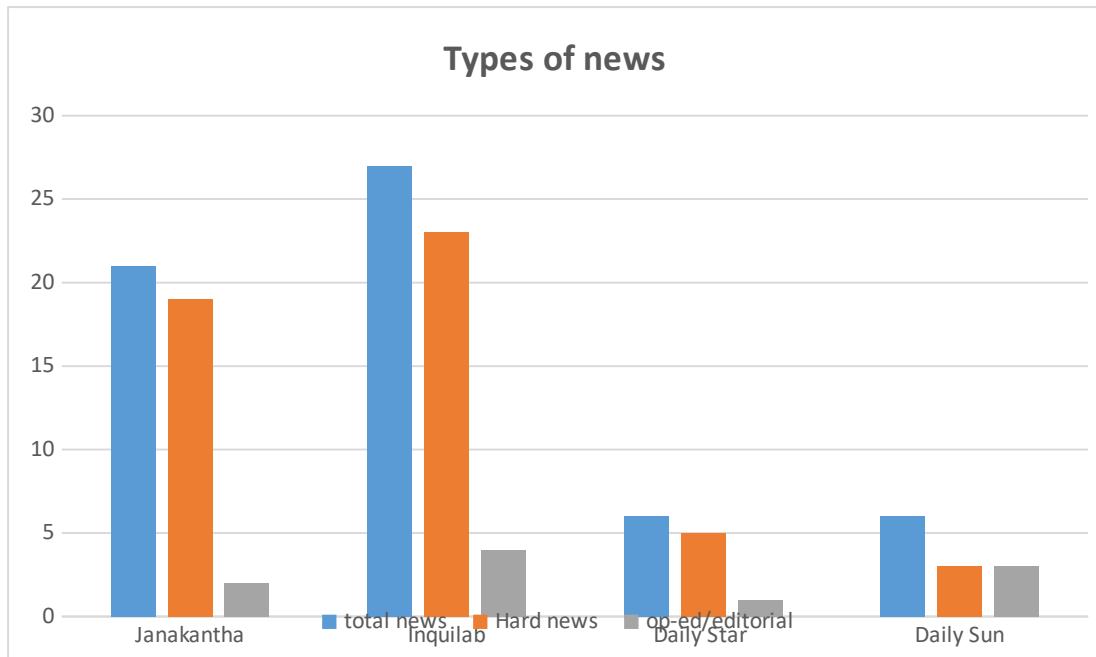
### QUANTITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS:

The study found 60 items related to Kashmir issue in selected days of which 27 from Daily Inquilab and 21 from Daily Janakantha and 12 from the Daily Star and the Daily Sun. While The Daily Inquilab published 23 hard news, The Daily Janakantha published 19 hard news and Daily Star published 5 hard news and the Daily Sun 3 news. Following charts describe the quantitative data of this study.



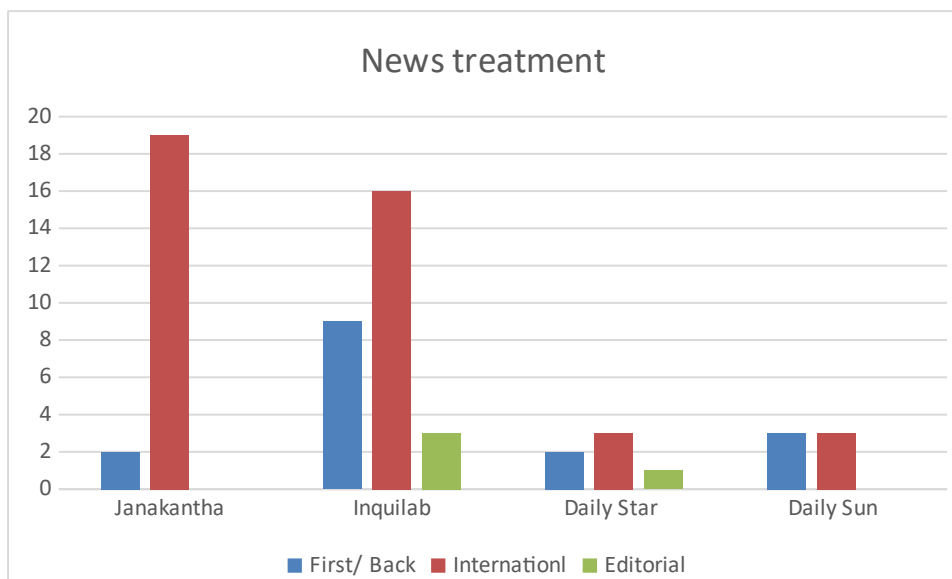
*Şekil 1 Number of news*

Figure 1 signify that Bangla language newspapers made 3 times more coverage than the English language newspapers in Bangaldesh. But in both English and Bangla language newspapers were polarized in term of coverage.



*Şekil 2 Types of news*

Figure 2 indicates that Janakantha all newspapers published more hard news than softnews as usual but the amount of soft news published in the Daily Star was minimal.



*Şekil 3 News treatment*

The figure 3 shows that, Janakantha published more news on First/Back page while the number of editorial were most in the Inquilab. The Daily sun published equal news on the first page and international page.

## QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS:

Based on quantitative data and the content of selected news and articles, we present the nature of the coverage, processing and framing of two selected newspaper contents .

### Coverage of Daily Janakantha

Janakantha is one of Bangladesh's most widely circulated newspapers. The focus of this newspaper's coverage has been on fostering India-Bangladesh friendship since its inception and the newspaper have liberal and secular leaning.<sup>7</sup> On the 6th, 7th, and 8th of August, we gathered all news and viewpoints from online version of these newspapers. the Kashmir dispute. That is, we will examine Janakantha in light of the 5 August Kashmir incident. Conflict Janakhanta's coverage of Kashmir demonstrates its pro-India editorial stance once again. While it gave room to the Kashmir issue from the beginning, it gave it very little attention and significance.

For example, on August 6, the day after India removed Jammu and Kashmir's special status, Janakantha did not publish any Kashmir-related news on the front or back pages. Rather, it puts all four Kashmir-related stories on the international list. Janakantha was featured as the top story on the International page on Kashmir, alongside three other single stories.

Among 4 news two news about the Indian action, one of the reactions of Pakistan and rest news about the reaction of the United Nations and the United States on Kashmir. So the coverage of the first day in Kashmir was insignificant.

Let's look at the second day of treatment in Kashmir. Daily Janakantha published 9 news on August 7 2019 amongst these only got space on the front page and it was just a piece of unique news. Rest 8 news puts on the international page. A single piece of news on the front page has nothing to do with Indian action or the reaction of Kashmir, but rather with the United Nations call for peace in Kashmir. Kashmir and Pakistan held unprecedented demonstrations against the withdrawal of Article 370.<sup>8</sup> But Janakantha did not publish any news about this big incident on the first or last page rather they put all news on the international page. Among the 8 news items on the international page, the only main news

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<sup>7</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Janakantha>

<sup>8</sup> In the northern Indian subcontinent, Jammu and Kashmir, which was controlled by India from 1954 to October 31, 2019 and granted it the power to have the separate constitution, state flag and autonomy of the internal government in particular, were granted special Status in Article 370 of the Indian constitution. Article 370 granted it special status. The Jammu and Kashmir Indian Administrators form part of the greater Kashmir region, which has been the subject of contention between India, Pakistan and China, in part, since 1947.



was on the situation of Kashmir, who said that Kashmir was completely locked from the rest of the world. Other stories concerned the Indian, Pakistani and American reaction in Kashmir. While Janakantha published a report about the Kashmir crisis from the Indian newspaper, but it's not published anything similar report from Pakistani or Kashmiri newspaper. Thus, Janakantha only published India's media reflection on Kashmir. Neither any op-ed not editorial published on Kashmir issue.

On 8 August 2019, the 3rd day of the Kashmir crisis, Janakantha published 8 news. It placed two news on First and back pages. Compared to the first two days Janakantha gave more importance to this day. Again, its first-page news was a single page and it was about Bangladeshi govt. Reaction on Kashmir. Interestingly, as one of the Bangladeshi minister said, Kashmir is a matter of Indian internal affair and we will not comment on it, Janakantha put this news on the first page on 8 August 2019 which also went for Indian side. The back page news was 2 columns and about Pakistan's cut of diplomatic and trade relations with India over the Kashmir crisis. This day, news and views on Kashmir on Janakantha was diverse and seeks more neutral. While some were related to the reaction of Pakistan and China, one was about the consequence of Kashmir's issue of the Afghan peace deal.

Overall, Janakantha gave minimal coverage of the Kashmir conflict and most of the news was from an Indian source. It does not write any editorial or op-ed like this burning issue.

### **Coverage of Daily Inquilab**

The Daily Inquilab is one of Bangladesh's most important traditional newspapers. The Daily Inquilab is a pro-Islamic newspaper. Since its launch, Inquilab has encouraged relations with the Muslim world. Even in the international page there is a fixed space for information about Muslim countries.

Kashmir is one of the most important issues of the Muslim world. The daily inquilab also gave enormous importance to the question of Kashmir in its coverage after the incident of August 5 2019. On August 6th, Inquilab published four articles about Kashmir. It Published two news on the first page and one was two-column news, which placed the right upper side. Surprisingly, the Inquilab published an article about Kashmir the day after the incident in Kashmir. Thus, deleting Article 370 was not a sudden incident and enclave followed these events. Senior columnist of Inquilab wrote this column as “why extra 8000 Indian forces deployed in Kashmir?”

Two days after the Kashmir incident, Inquilab released a record 13 items. While it put 4 news on the first page on Kashmir and 2 news on the back page. From Inquilab editorial board it published one editorial on Kashmir, where it criticized Indian illegal steps and demand international pressure on India. Moreover, it published a large op-ed over Kashmir, where the writer tried to connect the fate of Kashmiri with the fate of the Palestinian people. Most of the area of the international page was occupied by news about Kashmir. Among 5 news one was 3 columns, two were 2 columns and the rest 2 was a single column. The story was related to demonstrations in Kashmir, Pakistan, and Indian statements about demonstrations in Kashmir.

On 8th August, Inquilab continues its coverage on Kashmir and even increased its amount of news from 13 to 14. It includes a three-column article on the situation in Kashmir as well as a piece of a single article on the reaction of the Bangladeshi government. On the back page, Inquilab published a two-column report with a picture of widespread protest among the Bangladeshi people supporting Kashmir's freedom. On the international page, there was limited space for other issues while 11 news was only on Kashmir. To give importance, among 11 items 2 were 2 columns, 5 were 2 columns and rest 4 were a single column. Content of news was related to the increasing grip of Indian administration on Kashmir, protest and casualties in Kashmir, Chinese and Pakistani reaction, and statement of Bharatiya Janata Party(BJP) MP.

Overall, by diverse news and views, Inquilab intensified coverage on Kashmir and tried to raise the sympathy of Bangladeshi readers for the Kashmiri people.

**Coverage of Daily Star:** The overall coverage of the Daily Star was minimal in term of number of Item published in the selected day compare to the Bangla newspapers. The daily Star published total 6 news only. Among them 5 news were hard news with fact and figure about what happened in Kashmir. The paper published one editorial but it grossly reflected indian governments perspective. The daily Star considered a pro Indian newspapers which agian have seen its editorial. [CITATION EDI20 \l 1033 ]In the editorial the daily star have presented logic of withdrawal of article 370 from Indian government's point of view and despite the injustice on Kashmiri people it hoped for peace without any justice to them.

**Coverage of Daily Sun:** The daily Sun also published 6 news items which was same as the Daily Star. But its singnificant that they published 3 reports and softnews that to some extent show the sufferings of Kashmiri people. Out of the 6 published items around 50

percent were with positive tone to Kashmir. The papers policy went match with the public sentiment of Bangladesh. On 6th August, the paper marked a comment of former chief minister of Kesmir Omar Abdullah as news of the day in International page which signify its soft corner to the Kahmiri peoples democratic right.

## **DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION:**

The main objective of the study was to explore the nature of media coverage of Bangladeshi newspapers on the question of Kashmir. Our first research question was how The Daily Inquilab and The Daily Janakantha portrayed the dispute in their respective reports. After quantitative content analysis the study reveals that the secular newspaper Janakantha published mostly hard news to inform its reader the fact of the event. However, it did not publish any editorial or opinion letters on this burning topic. Moreover, they have translated most of the news of the Indian papers and thus its present perspective of India in this issue.

Similarly Daily Inquilab published hard news, but in greater number. Furthermore, it has published editorials, editorials, articles and several short stories. Our second research question was how does the Daily Inquilab deal with the conflict in Jammu and Kashmir differently? As a leading Islamic newspaper, the Daily Inquilab not only published more news, but Also gave this issue priority. It puts Kashmir news on their First page and gave 3 column treatment. Whereas among the published news of Janakantha was 23.81 percent friendly to the people of Kashmir, about 85 percent of the news of Daily Inquilab was friendly to the people of Kashmir. Thus, it is clear that a conservative newspaper has shown the utmost sincerity to the question of the suffering of Muslims in Kashmir while the daily Janakantha provides only a minimum amount of factual information.

Unlike the Banga-language paper, we found that the English-language papers produced much less news. Similiarly, among some English language Bangaladeshi newspapers also polarised with Pro-Indian and anti-Indian or neutral position.

Previous studies found that Indian newspapers were largely supportive of the actions taken by the Indian government and that their coverage provided an extensive description of the Indian perspective on the Kashmir issue[CITATION Imr11 \l 1033 ]. Conversely, Pakistani newspapers primarily support the question of Kashmir on behalf of the Kahmiri people. They published lost of human stories [CITATION Zah17 \l 1033 ].

Our article sheds light on the a unexpected trends of newspapers in a Muslim country. It can be assumed that all newspapers in a Muslim country can treat a Muslim issue amicably. But the paper found that In spite of a Muslim country secular newspaper like Daily Janakantha mostly reflected the Indian viewpoint. Although newspapers such as Daily Inquilab have shown their sympathy to the people of Kashmir by publishing soft news and editorial some newspapers still reluctant to the suffering of the Kashmiri people. This is due to the political economy of the Bangaldehysi newspaper, as most newspaper owners have business with India. In addition, the Indian government official in Dhaka meets regularly with the editors and journalist leaders of Bangladeshi media and attempts to establish a close relationship with the Bangladeshi media [ CITATION ban21 \l 1033 ].

It is an important observation that a country with a Muslim majority does not mean that all its newspapers will provide friendly coverage of Muslim issues such as Kashmir, Palestine and the Rohingya. Because of the political economy of the media industry, the ideological difference of the newspapers of a Muslim country might also be silent or even indifferent to Muslim questions. [ CITATION Sre09 \l 1033 ][CITATION Maz20 \l 1033 ] conducted research on Pakistani newspapers. Similar research could be done in newspapers in Afghanistan and the Maldives.

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