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NEWS FRAMING IN BANGLADESH, INDIA AND BRITISH MEDIA: BANGLADESH  
PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION 2018

A thesis presented in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree

Master of Arts

to

School of Journalism and New Media

University of Mississippi

Kazi Mehedi Hasan

May, 2020

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## **ABSTRACT**

The Bangladesh parliamentary election of 2018 was a significant political event in the South Asian region, and the news was covered across the world. After the abolition of the provision of parliamentary election under the non-partisan caretaker government from the constitution of Bangladesh, it was the first election in Bangladesh in which all opposition parties participated under a party government. This study examines how media from three different countries framed the issues of the election. These systematic and quantitative content analyses of three newspapers and online resources from the countries Bangladesh, India, and Britain examined how the media framed their election-related news, as well as differences across the countries' newspaper coverage. The study finds that election conspiracy, intimidation, and conflict were the dominant frames throughout the coverage on Bangladeshi and British media. Indian media overlooked intimidation and conflict news but emphasized game and economic frames. The results indicate that when media covers a national election in another country, they give priority to the national policy of the country. In addition, the nationality of journalists also plays a significant role in the framing process.

**Keywords:** Framing analysis, Bangladesh, India, Britain, Parliamentary election, Election coverage, Non-partisan caretaker government, Party Government, Media, Newspaper, Conspiracy, Conflict, Intimidation, Game, Issue, and Economic growth.

## **DEDICATION**

To my family who has been supporting me from thousands of miles away for my success.

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

I would like to express my sincere appreciation to my committee: Dr. Iveta Imre, chair of my thesis committee, who answered all of my questions and concerns as well as guided me to expand my knowledge for the success of my thesis; and to Professor Joseph B. Atkins and Dr. Kristen Alley Swain, members of my thesis committee, for their support and encouragement.

I would also like to thank the School of Journalism and New Media for extending me the opportunity to study here.

Finally, I would like to thank my mother Shirina Islam, my beloved wife Mahafuza Akter, and our daughter Sharliz Hasan for their support and for letting me spend two years thousands of miles away from them and facing much unpleasant situations without me, due to pursuing my degree.

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## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

Not only Bangladesh but also the rest of the world had their eyes toward December 30, 2018, the 11th parliamentary election of Bangladesh, to see how the election would function under party government. Ruling party Bangladesh Awami League (AL) and its alliance earned a landslide victory, securing 288 out of 300 seats in the house. The opposition Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) alliance managed only six seats in the parliament (Slater and Majumder, 2018). However, United Nations (UN, January 4, 2019), the U.S. government (US Department of State, January 1, 2019) and the U.K. government (Gov.uk, January 1, 2019) criticized the election process and called for an investigation vote rigging allegations, reprisal, and human rights violation. On the other hand, the Indian government congratulated AL leader and Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina for the victory (Ministry of External Affairs, India, December 31, 2018).

This election has been described by many international newspapers as being flawed (Riaz, 2019, p-2). Bangladesh parliamentary election 2018 was criticized in many international newspapers such as The Washington Post, The New York Times or manipulating election process by the ruling party (Riaz, 2019) before the election when government was arresting opposition activists on imposed criminal charges. The Election Commission denied opposition candidacy for loan defaulting, which means that the incumbent government influenced the public institutions before and during the election to weaken the opposition parties (Hasan & Rudd, 2019). In addition, a large portion of the election-related news was of conflict and violence. Throughout the election campaign, all parties except the ruling alliance, civil society of the country, the international

community, and multiple organizations from Transparency International Bangladesh to the U.S. State Department expressed deep concern about the election as well as about the intimidation and attack on opposition activists (U.S. Department of State, January 9, 2019)

This election received widespread coverage in the national and international media. Coverage style and the selection of issues depend on the media's editorial policy, nature and location, which also has a great role in supporting national foreign policy (Baum & Potter, 2008). However, experts argued that media cover national and international issues in a different way. Within the country, media coverage is subject to voter influence (Norris et al., 1999). Some argued that coverage, in general, depends on a number of aspects such as political orientation, government and media relationship, and advertisement (Kerbel et al., 2000), but coverage of foreign events depends on the national policy and political ideology (Kim, 2000). The cross-national issue also is regulated by the structural bias of journalists (Van Dalen, 2012). After five years of authoritarian and repressive policies by the government, the media and the international community were skeptical about the 2018 elections (Fair, 2020). The study looks at the changes in media coverage of the parliamentary election of Bangladesh in three different countries, India, Britain, and Bangladesh.

Guided by framing theory, the study of election coverage compared cross-national coverage of the Bangladesh Parliament Election of 2018 to understand the influence of the differences of cross-national relationships according to the news framing pattern. In particular, this study adheres to a deductive approach (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) to examine how frames are varied across the countries. This current research provided an overview of framing in election coverage while framing reflected on the social reality and how the selected the newspapers framed the election.

This paper enriched literature based on Bangladeshi media on election coverage in the country because there is a dearth of study of media framing. There is also a lack of comparative research on what kind of news is published within Bangladesh and outside the country. A few recent studies on the Bangladesh election focused on irregularities of election and criticism of the democratic values in the country (Fair, 2000). No comparative research was conducted on media framing in the Bangladesh parliamentary election of 2018. To fill the gaps, the current study seeks not only to figure out the framing pattern in Bangladesh, India and British media but also to explore the relationship between the press and state policy in influencing the coverage of the Bangladesh election.

## **CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **Bangladesh Parliamentary Election 2018**

The history of the parliamentary election in Bangladesh has been plagued (Akram, 2007) by enormous irregularities, intimidation, and violence. The country experienced 11 parliamentary elections in 49 years where all elections under party government (when the political government conducts the elections) were questionable; but four non-partisan caretaker governments (non-political interim government, who were selected by the president only for conducting parliamentary elections) could organize equal grounds for all parties and conducted fair and credible elections rather than party-government (Shanta, 2017). AL came in power in 2009 through an inclusive and credible election under a non-partisan caretaker government, then they amended the constitution to run elections under the party government. After the 15th amendment of 2011, the ruling AL organized the 2014 parliamentary election. Only some AL allies took part in the election, BNP and all opposition parties refused it.

There are 350 seats in the Bangladesh parliament, but 300 members are directly elected by a majority vote every five years from each constituency. Fifty seats are reserved for women and these are distributed by the proportion of elected seats. Elected members vote for selected women members and then they became parliament members (Union, 2016). At elections under party governments in Bangladesh, full participations are rare. Under similar circumstances, the last time all parties were seen participating was during the 1979 election (Khan & Zafarullah, 1979). Most of the time the main opposition party did not participate under the party government because the

governments were accused for manipulating the elections (Zafarullah & Akther, 2000). In 2018, Bangladesh observed all-party participation in elections again. BNP was not interested in taking part under party government election, but they anticipated participating in the election would reduce reprisal by the government (Fair, 2020). Despite the fact that their leader and ex-Prime minister Khaleda Zia was in prison under a corruption charge, BNP opted to participate in the election and experienced unprecedented intimidation and irregularities before and during the day of voting (Francesca et al., 2019).

The Awami League (AL) led a movement and consequently, a non-partisan caretaker government provision was incorporated in the constitution 24 years ago (1996). In 2011, that AL abolished the non-partisan caretaker government system suddenly by the 15th amendment of Bangladesh constitution (Khan, 2015). In protest of the amendment, the main opposition BNP organized movement, but they ultimately failed and boycotted the 2014 parliamentary election. The ruling AL got the landslide majority due to the fact most constituencies (parliamentary seat) had no counter candidates. Scholars predicted the consequence of a one-sided election that the democratic environment would face a severe setback and could turn into a de facto one-party authoritarian regime (Riaz, 2014). This apprehension became a reality in the 2018 election when BNP came to participate in the election as a weak dissent: their party leader and ex-prime minister Begum Khaleda Zia was in jail, and the party was facing an unprecedented crisis. On the other hand, ruling AL was into power for a decade, had enormous political and administrative authority (Francesca et al., 2019).

The ruling AL appeared emerged from the 2014 election with all authoritarian symptoms to exhibit the existence of democratic practice in the country (Riaz, 2019). In the 2018 election, weak BNP hobbled to finalize the candidate list, and most of their candidates could not campaign

properly (Francesca et al., 2019). Incumbent party activists occupied the election field and performed a one-sided campaign with the support of the police force (HRW, 2018). In most of the places, opposition candidates could not hang their festoon, poster, even many of them could not make a rally or door to door campaign. Police regularly raided houses and arrested opposition activists with fake charges, so opposition workers left their houses and took to the fugitive life. Police also arrested a few opposition candidates and detained them during the election. Continuous threatening of the opposition voters to deter them from voting were reported from most parts of the country. Violence, killing, looting, set fire, and harassment surpassed the record of the previous election and before the election situation became worsen. The national daily The New AGE warned the Election Commission in an article, "All the violence, harassment, intimidation and breaches of the code of conduct are enough to create a fearful situation that the Election Commission must guard against. It must ensure that political parties, all of whom are in the fray, stay in the race and that voters exercise their right to franchise without any obstruction, by the incumbent party people or the police, in choosing their representatives to the national parliament, hoping for a representative government to steer ahead for a better future" (The New Age, 2018, p-8).

Three days before the election, the opposition party BNP claimed that at least nine supporters were killed, 9,200 men arrested, 12,588 men injured in 2,117 incidents of attack by the ruling party AL (The Daily Star, 2018). The United Nations, European Union, Human Rights Watch, and some international organization expressed deep concern and called upon all parties to come forward in organizing a free, fair, and acceptable election. They also called on the government to ensure an environment free of intimidation, violence during and after the election (Targeted News Service, 2018). However, the Election Commission restricted some election monitoring groups, and the government of Bangladesh refused to provide the visa to an international election

monitoring group ANFREL (ANFREL, December 23, 2018). The Election Commission also prohibited to an NGO monitoring group with the accusation that they were politically connected to opposition BNP. Critics argued that the government decided to ensure their victory in the election by restricting any kind of interruption (Reuters, 2018). Election Commission applied some restrictions to the press and also restricted internet speed and social media, but journalists and voters criticized those decisions (The New Age, 2018).

At least 600,000 troops were deployed across the country on election day, internet speed slowed down, but violence took place all over the country and 17 people were killed (Francesca et al., 2019). After restricting observers and journalists, according to The Independent, a renowned English daily in United Kingdom, "Bangladesh election marred by 'vote-rigging', deadly violence and fears of media crackdown" (The Independent, December 30, 2018). According to the Time magazine, their reporter also harassed by ruling party supporters and forced to delete a video showing a women complaining about fake vote (Time, December 31, 2018). Prominent English daily of Bangladesh, the Daily Star, described the election as an "unprecedented feat" of the ruling party (The Daily Star, December 30, 2018). In their words, "Everything was fine except that it was a one-sided story all over. The festoons were of the ruling AL. The hundreds of polling agents and party men who thronged the voting centers all belonged to the AL or components of the alliance it leads" (The Daily Star, December 30, 2018). The opposition parties also rejected the election for fraud and intimidation and called for reelection immediately (Ohikere, 2019).

Transparency International Bangladesh (TIB) found serious irregularities 47 out of 50 constituencies in their investigation. They described the election, "Partially participatory, non-competitive, questionable and faulty," and they demanded a judicial inquiry to probe the irregularities of the election (The Daily Star, January 16, 2019). U.S Department of State deputy



spokesperson Robert J. Palladino also expressed his concern and called for an address of the issues of irregularities to the Election Commission of Bangladesh (US Department of State, January 1, 2019).

The role of the Election Commission, security forces, and public administration were highly questionable during the election (The Economist, January 5, 2019). These institutions were supposed to play a neutral role and display high professionalism to make sure of a free, fair, and credible election. However, opposition parties, civil societies, and international organization, including the United Nations, expressed their concern about the role of government institutions (Al Jazeera, December 29, 2018). The police force was highly biased for the ruling party, which gradually generated fear to the candidates and workers of the opposition party (The Economist, January 5, 2019). Police helped the ruling party activists from the very beginning of the campaign to the electoral day fraud. People accused the police force of killing opposition protesters on the election day. BBC reported, "Police opened fire as protesters tried to take over a polling station in northern Rangpur district, killing two people. In Nilphamari district, police also fired on about two dozen protesters. Two people died." (BBC, January 5, 2019)

Experts said that the Bangladeshi authoritarian government has been manipulating elections every five years and securing power under the democracy disguise (Al Jazeera, December 29, 2018). The ruling AL has been successful in eliminating its rivals from the picture for years. They imprisoned many BNP leaders, including Chairperson and ex-prime minister Begum Khaleda Zia, on a corruption charge. They hanged and imprisoned Jamat-E-Islami leaders on a charge of crime against humanity during the liberation war of Bangladesh 1971 (Hasan & Rudd, 2019). According to Ali Riaz, who is a professor of politics at the Illinois State University, the government has been using its ally Jatiyo Party as a "Showpiece" opposition party of the parliament to counter criticism

of the election engineering allegation, which ultimately formed a one-party parliament (Han, 2019). He said, "One, this is a moment to change the country's direction away from authoritarianism, which saw a shrinking of democratic space, the decimation of the opposition, gagging of the press and a general culture of fear." (Al Jazeera, December 29, 2018).

Freedom of the press in Bangladesh is also a hoax. Some laws have been made to restrict journalists and citizens from writing or criticizing media against the government (The New Age, April 18, 2019). Journalists often face intentional criminal charges, arrests, detention, and different kinds of intimidation. Eminent journalist Shahidul Alam was arrested and detained for his interview with Al Jazeera criticizing the government (The New Age, April 18, 2019). The Election Commission also imposed restrictions on journalists such as they were not allowed to polling station without permission of authority and were not allowed to take footage (UNB News, December 23, 2018). Despite the restriction and intimidation of the press, journalists are trying to present reality in their newspapers. During the 2018 parliamentary election, newspapers of Bangladesh published as many reports as they could to present the reality of the election field (Choudhury, December 23, 2018).

### **Framing in Election News Coverage**

Framing theory is one of the most widely used areas of research in communication and politics because framing explains and describes the media's impact on public understanding. (Leecheler & De Vresse, 2012). Framing is a process of how media describes, defines and constructs a social or political issue for the audience (Nelson et al., 1999 p-221). According to Robert Entman (1993), "Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or

treatment recommendation for the item described" (p-52). Media reinforces words and visual images through repetition, placement, and association with each other (Entman, 1991) and a frame can be determined by analyzing headlines, keywords, themes and metaphors from a news article (Entman, 1993).

The basis of framing theory is that the media attention on certain events lets the audience know that this event is essential and provides the meaning of the message. The way a particular news is framed, the frame in which the news is presented to the audience (Aorowolo, 2017). That means media focuses on specific events, and then it creates a meaning pertaining to them. In media research, frames are considered as selective and organized components to exclude others present in certain aspects of reality (de Vreese et al. 2001). Framing is now the central thought of understanding public opinion and other issues in political communication (Chong & Druckman, 2007), and people respond to a particular issue that could be altered depending on the framing (Kahneman & Tversky, 1984).

The media often represents specific keywords, phrases, and particular images as significant and influential and tries to mix emotion with it. At the same time, certain aspects of the subject are neglected. As a result, the whole communication text (article, picture, video) can have a different meaning. Sometimes journalists try to make a frame using a specific person's quote or particular parts of his speech (Ngwainmbi, 2017). Most of the time, the personal beliefs of a journalist, media's editorial policy, the journalistic practice of an organization, political climate and cultural issues influence the journalist to select specific words, phrases or pictures in the framing process (Dekavalla, 2018; Scheufele, 1999). Media frames are generally regarded as independent variables.

Research on framing analysis can be divided into two approaches: Inductive Approach and Deductive Approach. The inductive approach requires close inspections to find the inner meaning

of the text for conceptualization and it involves the researcher's subjectivity in creating frames (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). The second one, deductive approach analyzes news material to identify its prominence based on pre-determined frames. This approach examines pre-defined news frames that have already prevailed in the news text (De Vreese et al., 2006).

When Entman (1991) worked on a comparative study of news coverage KAL and Iranian air, he found different types of frames were prevalent in the US and International newspapers. He identified five types of frames: conflict frame, human interest frame, consequence frame, morality frame and responsibility frame were present in those news coverages. Guided by the deductive frame analysis approach, De Vreese(2005) and Semeto & Valkenburg (2000) used the same set of frames used in election coverage such as: conflict, economic, morality, human interest, game and issue. Tsegyu Santas (2017) study on coverage of the Nigerian Presidential election used conspiracy while Gonzalez-Ocantos et al. (2019) study on the Guatemala election used voter intimidation frames. The aforementioned research studies helped the current study to shape the pre-determined frames. The result of using frames can explain the media's character and cross-national validity (De Vreese et al., 2001).

Most of the previous studies on election coverage in cross-national newspapers show that there are many differences (Strömbäck & Dimitrova, 2006) in styles and issues among the countries. Indian (Mudgal, 2015) and the U.S. (Strömbäck & Dimitrova, 2006) media emphasize the specific candidate, the media in European countries pick policies and national issues, Columbian (García-Perdomo, 2017) and Pakistani (Shah, Younis, & Kusher, 2017) media discuss the conflict, hate speech, corruption and law and order in their election coverage.

The game frame is a common frame in any election coverage. It helps understand how media adopted the particular reporting style because this frame determines the possibility of

winning or losing the election by focusing on the political strategy of a particular candidate or party (Mattes, 2009; Woong, 1997). Cappella & Jamieson (1997) offer five strategies to identify the game frame: 1) Winning and losing as the central concern, 2) the language of wars, game, and competition, 3) A story with performers, critics and audience (voters), 4) Centrality of performance, style and perception of candidates, and 5) Heavy weighing of polls and the candidates standing in them. (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997: p-33)

Strömbäck & Van Aelst, (2010) examined how television stations, tabloids and newspapers framed politics in their coverage of Swedish election of 2006 and Belgian election of 2007. They found that media type does matter concerning the meta-framing of politics as a game. Meta-framing was significantly common in commercial television in two countries. Ming Dai (2013) study found that four out of five frames (economic, ideology, game, and conflict) were consistently present in the news coverage on Chinese mainland media on Taiwan's presidential election of 2004 and 2008. The study found that frames and issues were not different between the Chinese official and the commercial newspapers. Vipul Mudgal (2015) analyzed election coverage data from seven mainstream television channels to identify their frames. The study found that television channels emphasized the game frame. They provided more coverage of political parties and politicians. BJP supreme Narendra Modi who got more coverage than all rivals, was expected to be a winning candidate. Victor García-Perdomo (2017) examined Twitter post framing of 100 most followed journalists of Columbia on the Colombian Presidential election 2014. The study found that journalists followed the issue frame, while the public was more interested in the conflict frame. In the second, journalists adopted the hate frame, whereas the public followed the peace frame. Marijana Grbesa (2012) examined four national newspapers to determine the framing of coverage in the presidential election in Croatia 2010. The study also examined self-defined frames such as

winners, loser, suitable, unsuitable, honest, and dishonest frames. This study found that a positive newspaper frame might contribute to winning for a particular presidential candidate.

### **Frames on election coverage vary in countries**

Esser & D'Angelo (2006) compared the coverage of election campaigns in the U.S., the U.K., and Germany from the flagship evening news programs of the two most-watched U.S., German, and British television networks. They found many differences in election coverage among the countries (the U.S., British, and Germany), and press and publicity topics were particularly more frequent in U.S. news than in British news, corroborating systemic differences between the countries. Strömbäck & Dimitrova (2006) compared Sweden and the U.S. election coverage. They examined three Swedish newspapers at the time of the 2002 national election and three U.S. newspapers at the time of the 2004 presidential election. They found that the meta-frame was common in the U.S. and Sweden, but the coverage style was different. The U.S. newspaper articles were also more likely to use the horse-race and political strategy frames. While U.S. coverage was predominantly descriptive in focus, an interpretive journalistic style was more often dominant in the Swedish articles. The results also showed that the U.S. news stories were triggered by the words and actions of the campaigns more often than the Swedish news stories.

Shah, Younis, & Kausar (2017) compared the editorial treatment of English and Urdu newspapers on political party's election manifesto in Pakistan General Election of 2013. The study found that the newspaper editorials of English dailies provided enormous treatment of the manifestos of political parties than those of Urdu dailies. Comparatively, PMLN secured the maximum coverage, which comprises the maximum neutral and unfavorable treatment among all selected mainstream parties, and the PTI got highly significant space in terms of favorable treatment. Tsegay Santos (2017) analyzed three national dailies' data of presidential election

coverage of Nigeria 2015 to identify the presence of framing in newspaper content. The research revealed that three newspapers emphasized different kinds of frames, but the rescued frame was the most predominant frame adopted by the three newspapers.

McMenamin, et al. (2013) examined twelve newspaper data of election campaign newspapers during the 2011 Irish national election to determine framing and comparison between standard broadsheet newspaper and tabloids. The study did not find any homogeneous frame in Ireland newspaper during the 2011 election. Van Aelst et al. (2018) analyzed data of 14 newspapers from the United States and six European countries, France, Belgium, Netherlands, UK, Spain, and Germany (two newspapers from each country). They found that there were some variations of issue coverage on U.S. Election, but there was no structural difference between the U.S. and the European newspapers. The study determined that coverage depends on news value and specific content across the border.

O'Malley et al. (2012) analyzed four newspapers in Ireland and their coverage of the economic crisis framed in three consecutive Irish parliamentary elections 2002, 2007 and 2011. The study found two types of election in Ireland, climate of contentment and sense of crisis. The game frame was common in the 'contentment' election and emphasized on policy in 'crisis' election.

Some framing studies on election coverage identified conflict issue was common in the newspaper (Bartholome, Lecheler, & De Vreese, 2018; Dai, 2017; Gracia-Perdomo, 2017), while most of the studies found conflict is a predominant issue, but a few studies illustrated that voter intimidation as a big problem or issue in election coverage (Frye, T. et al., 2018). Gonzalez-Ocantos et al. (2019) study found that vote-buying and voter intimidation were common reporting issues in the election coverage in Guatemala general election 2011. A study of Russian election campaigns in

2010-11 showed that voter intimidation and vote-buying is a common campaign pattern by political parties (Frye, T. et al., 2018).

### **Britain and Indian policy on Bangladesh election**

Britain was aware of the political and human rights condition during the 2018 election. The British government and British High Commission of Dhaka issued several statements concerning irregularities, intimidation, and human rights violation of the Bangladesh Government. British High Commission worked with the European Union at that time, and they also expressed deep concern about the irregularities, violence, and obstacles of the election. EU demanded to Bangladesh government to investigate all allegations and irregularities in a transparent way (EU, January 1, 2019).

Despite being the closest neighboring country, India did not issue any statement during the Bangladesh parliament election 2018. Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi was the first world leader who congratulated Bangladeshi Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina over the phone for her victory. Then for the first time, the Ministry of External Affairs of India issued a statement about the conversation with Prime Minister Modi and his Prime Minister Hasina, and India describes the election as "reaffirming faith in the democracy of Bangladeshi people." (Ministry of External Affairs, India, December 31, 2018).

Historically, Indian policy always supports the ruling AL government for three reasons: India has a historical tie with AL, India does not prefer the second party in power because the party can make a close relationship with its rival China and lastly, AL has been successful in fighting against Islamic terrorism and anti-Indian political parties (Kapoor, 2018). The question is, did the national strategy of India and Britain on the incumbent government of Bangladesh influence the



newspapers framing on the coverage election-related news? Applying the framing theory, this study looked at how the selected newspapers and online news portals framed the 2018 parliament election in Bangladesh. The theory will further help to understand how particular media interpreted the election issue in the light of the vested interest of its political and cross-national landscape.

### **Research Questions**

Studies showed that horse-race common in the U.S. presidential elections (Aelst et al., 2018, Esser & D'Angelo, 2016). European newspapers always emphasized political and strategic frames, and there were a few differences between public and commercial media (Van Aelst et al., 2018, McMenamin, et al., 2013). This assumption seems to be determined by these comparative studies of election coverage that journalists give substantial coverage on their national issues and interests. Dai's (2013) study on the Taiwan election found that Chinese mainland newspapers journalists could not report without going beyond the totalitarian mindset. Other studies found that journalists tend to prioritize some particular issues while writing election news (Santas, 2017; Bartholome et al., 2017; Garcia-Perdomo, 2017; O'Malley, 2013; Grbesa, 2010). Although newspaper or media policies are different, a few dominant frames were common in their overall coverage. In the light of previous research, this study examined how news frame change in terms of country and location and what are the dominant frames in the coverage of the Bangladesh parliamentary election 2018.

The current study proposes two research questions to examine this framing.

RQ-1: How did the media of Bangladesh, India, and Britain frame the news during Bangladesh's parliament election 2018?

RQ-2: Were there any differences in news framing?

RQ-3: How the differences supported the media's national strategy to influence the coverage of the Bangladesh parliament election in 2018?

## CHAPTER 3: METHOD

This study used quantitative content analysis to examine the newspaper and online coverage of the Bangladesh parliamentary election. In the field of comparative framing analysis of newspapers, content analysis is an extensively used research method to calculate the presence of any specific issues in the news articles. Content analysis is a detailed procedure where researchers practice practically applicable, relevant, evident, and exemplary work to determine the shape of research, which ultimately helps the professionals (Downe-Wamboldt, 1992).

### Sample

Each newspaper or online news agency from three countries was selected based on circulation and influence on society. The newspaper and online agencies are- The *Prothom Alo* from Bangladesh, *The Times of India* from India, and *BBC Bangla* from Britain.

The Bangladeshi newspaper The *Prothom Alo* has the largest circulation and is the country's leading Bangla daily newspaper (House, 2017). The owner of the newspaper is the Transcom Group, and they follow a neutral role in the context of Bangladesh politics. The *Prothom Alo* was selected for its high circulation and influence in the country because this newspaper achieved 6.6 million readerships around the world (Rehana, 2019).

The Indian newspaper *The Times of India* (TOI) is an Indian English-language daily newspaper but has a significant influence in Bangladesh as well. It is not only the largest newspaper in India by circulation but also and largest selling English-language daily of the world (Times,

1996). The Times of India was chosen because of its high circulation and influence in the countries, India and Bangladesh. The Times of India's circulation was 3,057,678, and the overall readership is estimated to be over 7.6 million, according to the Indian Readership Survey (The Times of India, 2019).

*BBC* is a public-funded news organization of Britain and widely known for its reputation of objectivity and practice of journalism ethics for years. *BBC* is also well in Bangladesh as a trustworthy news source. *BBC Bangla Radio* programs are much more popular than national radio programs in Bangladesh. It has a Bangla online news service called *BBC Bangla*, and they maintain objectivity highly on their content. Though it is a foreign news agency, it has a significant influence on the audience of Bangladesh. *BBC Bangla* was chosen for language service and Bangladeshi people visit this site most rather than any international news site (Google Trends). They have an office in the country with some members who work there and know the real scenario of the country (BBC Bangla, 2016).

**Table 1: Articles from the Newspapers**

Country Name	Newspaper/News portal	Number of Articles
Bangladesh	<i>The Prothom Alo</i>	220
India	<i>The Times of India</i>	8
Britain	<i>BBC Bangla</i>	32
	Total	260

One-week (seven days) time frame was chosen from December 25 to December 31, 2018, because the election was held on December 30, 2018, and major campaigns and incidents happened within this time. Articles from The Times of India were retrieved from the online archive of the

newspaper <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/topic/archive-of-our-own> , and BBC Bangla were retrieved from the particular segment of parliament election coverage <https://www.bbc.com/bengali/news-46633372> using keywords, Bangladesh, National Election 2018, Parliament Election 2018 and Poll in Bangladesh, vote in Bangladesh, 2018 General Election in Bangladesh by selecting period December 25 to 31, 2018. Articles from the *Prothom Alo* were retrieved from its paid online subscribed archive from the selected period December 25 to 31, 2018. Then the articles were sorted manually after reading the headline and intro, and the coder did twice this process to ensure that all election-related articles are adequately collected. Articles were sorted by election topic from the *Prothom Alo*, *The Times of India*, and *BBC Bangla*. The study ignored a few articles, which were less than 200 words; in most cases, short articles were news based on instructions, notices and press releases, determining the frame of the articles were difficult.

### **Data analysis**

This study followed the deductive approach to framing. According to Semetko & Valkenberg (2000) two approaches of news frames can be structured, inductive, and deductive. The inductive approach finds all possible frames which are mixed in a particular media and determines frames by investigating inner meanings and characteristics (p-94). The second approach is deductive, investigating through pre-defined frames and codes in the samples. In the deductive process, researchers start with a focus to see the patterns of data (De Vreese, 2005). According to Tankard (2001), the framing mechanism must examine at least one specific criteria of media content from headlines, subheads, photos, photo captions, leads, source selection, quotes selection, pull quotes, logos, statistics and charts, segments and paragraphs (p-101).

A codebook was developed as the direction of deductive content analysis approach to determine the frame of the newspaper articles of election coverage. The codebook actually a

diagram where the variables were aligned. At first, topics or issues were defined according to the definition and made a list of all topics or issues from the articles. Secondly, topics were piled according to the broader theme of the topic. Thirdly based on findings and code sheets, the theme decided the presence of a frame in a particular newspaper/online article.

A unit analysis is a distinct component for counting of a communication content. It can measure the degree of content to the smallest to the most significant element of content analysis (Wimmer & Dominick, 2003). In this content analysis study, the unit analysis was a newspaper story. This study used syntactical direction unit analysis and tries to find any expression, opinion, ideology, and angle of sentences presented to the audience to perceive a particular frame on the election-related news article. Following De Vreese's (2005) study, to know the specific frame this study use "pull quote" as a topic, then it merges in themes. So meaningful expression, opinion, ideology, and angle determine as a topic, make a theme, and help to determine a specific frame. Here every frame becomes a unit, and the analysis of unit is the central phenomenon of any content analysis study. Based on the pre-determined definition, the study used eight frames.

Game frame: Any content or quote of the news article that represents the weight to polls and position in evaluating the candidates and campaigns, content emphasizes the perception and performance of the candidates or content predict of winning and losing determine game frame. (i.e., The local media, however, have reported that Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina led Bangladesh Awami League are likely to take over the government in the country for the third consecutive term.)

Conflict Frame: Any content or quote of the news article that reflects confrontation, disagreement, reproach, conflict, violence, killing, or any kind of controversy between two parties, determines the conflict frame. (i.e., Violent skirmishes have broken out between supporters of the two main camps, the incumbent Awami League and Bangladesh Nationalist Party, BNP).

Intimidation Frame: Any content or quote of the news article that describes fearing, harassment, arrest, mass arrest, threat, humiliation, fake charge, etc., determines the intimidation frame. (Since 2009, the government has decimated the opposition with politically motivated lawsuits and arrests, and even extrajudicial disappearances and murders.)

Election Conspiracy Frame: Any content or quote of the news article that indicates that any candidate or party involve and plan for a manipulated the election was believed to be a conspiracy of the government or any party. Conspiracy news presented in the newspaper in many ways, such as abuse of power by the ruling party, the bias of public administration, police force, security force, Election Commission, or any government agency and institutions to the ruling party. (Members of ANFREL (Asian Network for Free Elections), an NGO, are yet to get their visa and for which the US embassy criticized Dhaka as the members of ANFREL canceled their trip to Bangladesh).

Issue Frame: Any portion of the news article gives general information about the election (i.e., EVM machine, ballot distribution), or discuss the general issue, contemporary agenda (i.e., Rohingya Issue, women empowerment) and agenda of party manifesto presented in news articles.

Economic Frame: Any segment of the news report discusses economic development and compares the situation in the light of development and economic growth, determines the economic frame (The ruling party has emphasized the economic growth in Hasina's last ten years in power to justify her reelection.).

Morality frame: Stories that emanate from moral obligation, for example, corruption, money laundering, begging pardon to another candidate for activists' wrongdoing determines morality frame (AL candidate Nasrul Hamid Bipu met yesterday with injured BNP candidate Goyesor

Chandra Roy in a local hospital. Bipu said sorry to Roy for the attack alleged by his party activists on Sunday in Keranigonj).

Human Interest Frame: Newspaper presents some different types of election-related stories, which are not regular hard stories, but it touches many people. These contents are not usually hard news, engaging, exceptional can sake readers, determine human interest Frame (Bangladesh cricket legend and ODI skipper Mashrafe Mortaza, who was contesting in Bangladesh's eleventh parliamentary elections have registered a landslide victory from his Narail 2 constituency).

### **Inter-coder Reliability**

To test the inter-coder reliability of the study, a second independent coder was trained, and he analyzed randomly selected 38 (15 %) news articles. The parentage agreement for the frame was 96%, which was acceptable (Neuendorf, 2002).



## CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

A total of 260 articles were retrieved from the newspapers and online in seven days sample period. The largest number of articles came from the *Prothom Alo* (220), followed by 32 articles from *BBC Bangla* and eight articles from *The Times of India*. Most of the articles were straight news stories, and a few articles were features and investigative reports.

**Table: 2 Number of frames identified from the codebook**

<b>Name of Country</b>	<b>Name of Media (Newspaper/ News portal)</b>	<b>Number of Articles</b>	<b>Number of Frames</b>
Bangladesh	<i>Prothom Alo</i>	220	466
India	<i>The Times of India</i>	8	21
Britain	<i>BBC Bangla</i>	32	84
	Total	260	571

Table 2 shows that multiple frames were found in the newspaper articles. However, a single frame was taken once from a news article. As a result, 466 total number of frames were found in the *Prothom Alo*, 21 frames were found in *The Times of India* and 84 frames in the *BBC Bangla*, were previously divided into eight categories.

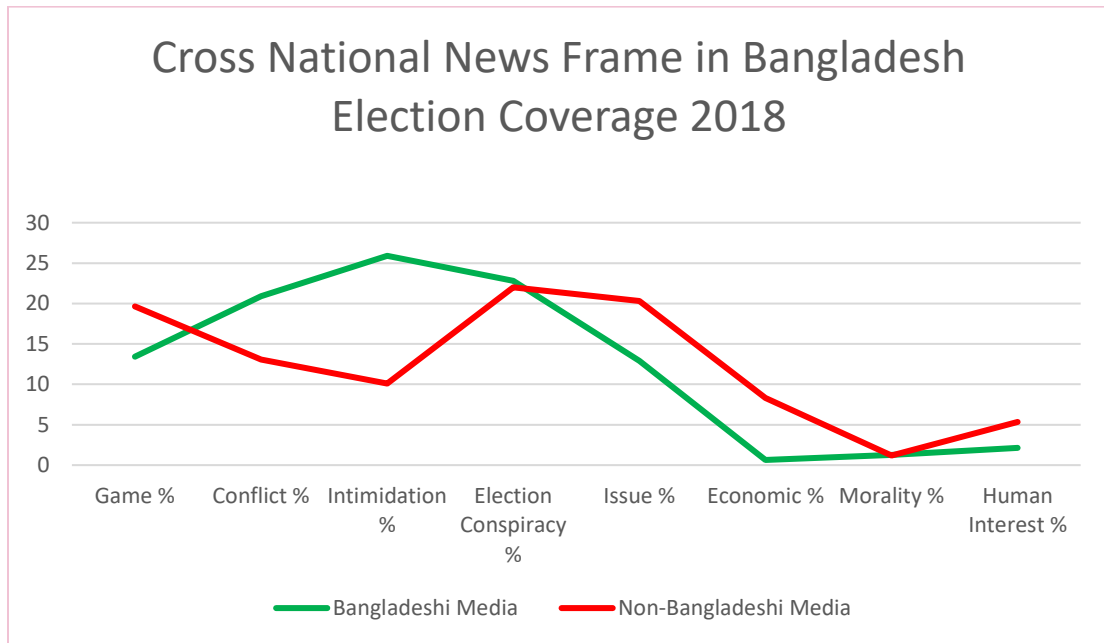
Research question 1 identified the news frames used the Bangladesh, India, and Britain's media in their stories about Bangladesh's parliamentary election 2018. Table 3 shows the percentage of each frame per newspaper for the coverage in Bangladesh and the other three country's media. Table 3 generated eight news frames for each media from three countries, game, conflict, intimidation, election conspiracy, issue, economic, morality, and human-interest frames.

**Table 3: Presence of the frames across the countries**

<b>Frames</b>	<b><i>Prothom Alo</i> (Bangladesh)</b> %	<b><i>The Times of India</i> (India)</b> %	<b><i>BBC Bangla</i> (Britain)</b> %
Game	13.44	28.6	10.71
Conflict	20.9	9.52	16.66
Intimidation	25.9	4.76	15.47
Election Conspiracy	22.8	23.8	20.23
Issue	12.9	14.28	26.4
Economic	0.64	14.28	2.38
Morality	1.28	0	2.38
Human Interest	2.18	4.76	5.95
Total	100%	100%	100%

The initial analytical universe included all articles, and several frames were found in each news article. Then common frames were listed by the criteria, and the percentage of frames was calculated from the data list. Table 3 showed that Bangladeshi media the *Prothom Alo* mostly covered news related to intimidation (26%) and election conspiracy (23%) where *The Times of India* emphasized on game (28%) and election conspiracy (23%) and *BBC Bangla* mostly looked on issue coverage (26%), on Bangladesh's parliament election in 2018. Results showed that Election conspiracy was a big issue in Bangladesh's parliamentary election. All three media from three countries emphasized on election conspiracy frame.

**Chart 1: Framing valence difference Bangladesh and Non-Bangladesh media**

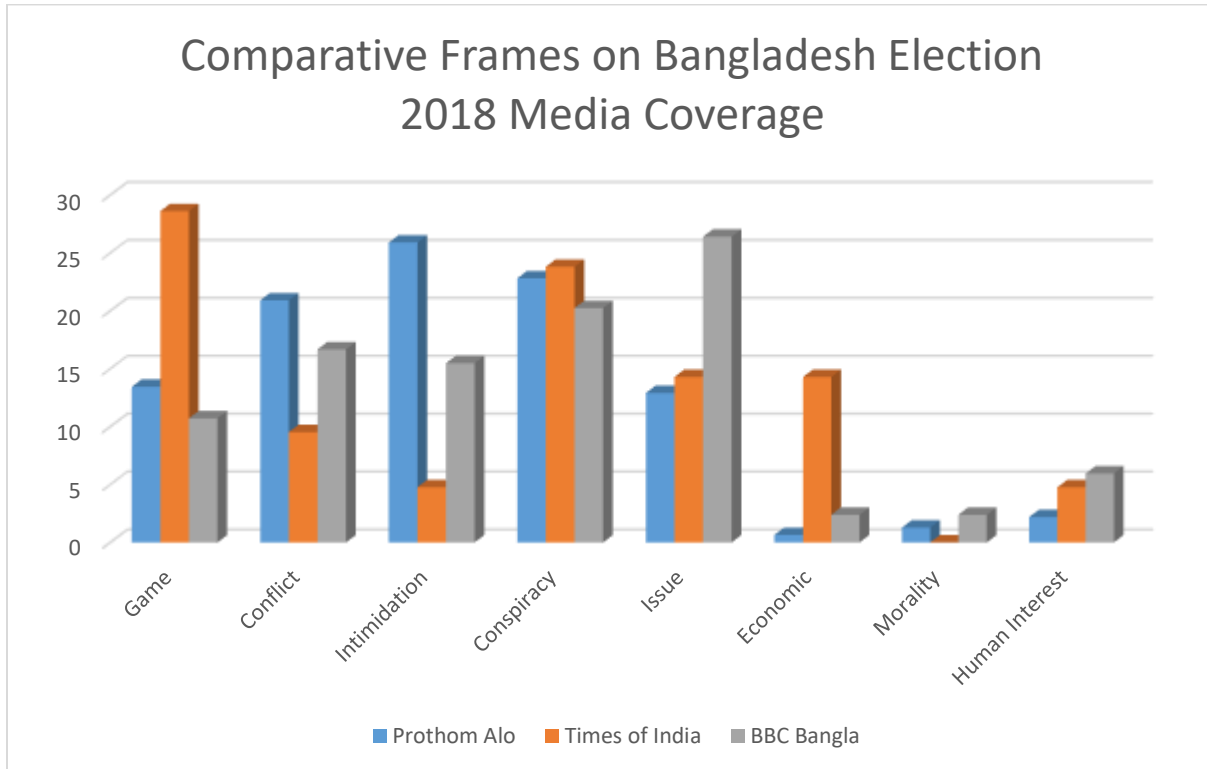


According to Chart 1, the overall content analysis revealed that intimidation (26%) and conspiracy (23%) and conflict (21%), frames were generally visible in Bangladesh's media. On the other hand, election conspiracy (22%), game (20%), Issue (20%), and economic frames (8%) were more prominence in non-Bangladesh's media. Election conspiracy frame was significant both Bangladesh's and non-Bangladesh media.

Research question 2 asked whether there were any differences and prominence in the Bangladeshi and the other country's media's framing of Bangladesh's parliament election in 2018. Conspiracy frames were a common phenomenon in all countries' media about the Bangladesh election. However, a few differences were presented in media across the country. The game frame was significant in *The Times of India*, and this newspaper commented more about winning party than other media, *BBC Bangla* commented less about winning and losing. The *Prothom Alo* represented the most coverage in conflict than other media. Then *BBC Bangla* covered conflict-

related news extensively. *The Times of India* talked little about the conflict of Bangladesh's parliament election in 2018.

**Chart 2: Difference of frames among the media coverage**



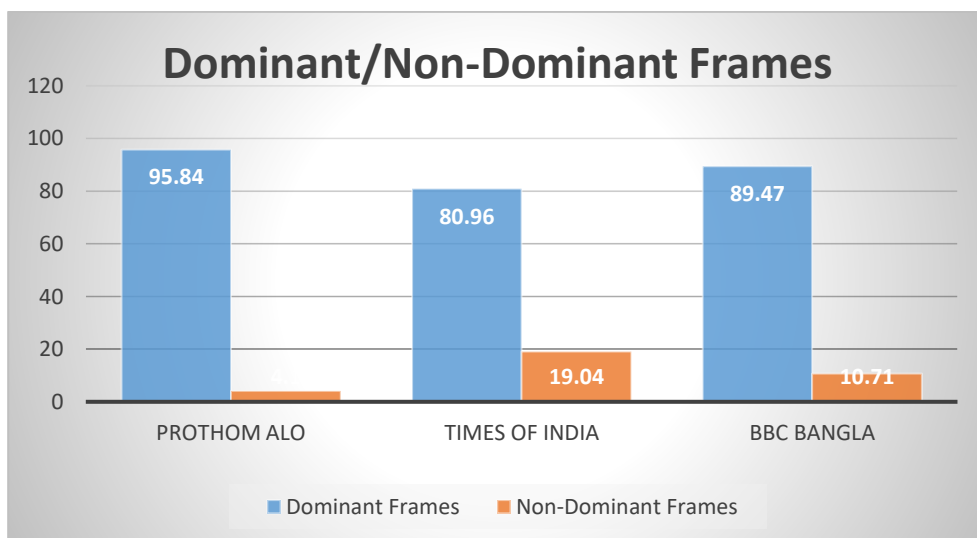
The *Prothom Alo* provided importance most on intimidation news. BBC Bangla also covered this issue significantly, but *The Times of India* tried to overlook intimidation issues in their election coverage. *BBC Bangla* reported general issue coverage than other media. The *Prothom Alo* covered a comparatively lower number of issue coverage. *The Times of India* appreciated the current economic growth of Bangladesh and praised the ruling government for its development role of years. However, the *Prothom Alo* and *BBC Bangla* rarely appreciated the ruling government for their economic growth and development work. *The Times of India* (24%), the *Prothom Alo* (23%), and *BBC Bangla* (20%) covered election conspiracy related news.

**Table 4: Ratio of five dominant frames**

<b>Five Dominant Frames</b>	<b><i>Prothom Alo</i> (Bangladesh) %</b>	<b><i>The Times of India</i> (India) %</b>	<b><i>BBC Bangla</i> (Britain) %</b>
Game	13.44	28.6	10.71
Conflict	20.9	9.52	16.66
Intimidation	25.9	4.76	15.47
Conspiracy	22.8	23.8	20.23
Issue	12.9	14.28	26.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>95.94 %</b>	<b>80.96 %</b>	<b>89.47%</b>

According to Table 4, conflict, intimidation, game, election conspiracy, and issue frames ranked high in the coverage. These five frames became dominant frames in this study. The *Prothom Alo* covered five frames, about 96 %, *The Times of India* 91 %, and *BBC Bangla* covered five dominant frames about 90 % of their election coverage. However, non-dominant frames such as Morality, economic, and human-interest frames received low attention in the media of all three countries.

**Chart 3: Ratio of Dominant and Non-Dominant Frames**



The *Prothom Alo* covered non-dominant frames, about 4%, *The Times of India* 19 %, and *BBC Bangla* covered about 10 % of their election-related news.

Despite the difference of frames among the media, collectively, they covered similar frames. So, the overall media of the three countries, Bangladesh, India, and Britain, framed a parallel way. Table 3 showed that they did not emphasize morality, economic and human interest, except *The Times of India*, covered 15% of news about economic frames.

## CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

The current AL government came into power first in 2009 by an inclusive and credible election under the non-partisan caretaker government. Then the AL government had the constitution amended and removed the non-partisan caretaker government option, which was dedicated to organizing neutral elections (Bergmann, D, 2018). Main opposition BNP protested to this change, and they did not participate in the 2014 parliamentary election. AL candidates won most of the seats uncontested. The western and international community, including the U.S., Britain and the European Union did not support the election and urged the government to initiate a new inclusive election. However, India congratulated the AL government and continued to support its full five years tenure. According to the international human rights groups, during the 2013 to 2018 period, Bangladesh experienced a severe level of human rights violation, including enforced disappearance, extrajudicial killing, intimidation, mass arrest, false criminal and corruption charges against opposition party leaders and activists (Fair, 2020). Britain and other international community expressed their concern about human rights violations in Bangladesh. However, India did not issue any statement to the AL government except whenever any Hindu minorities were harassed in Bangladesh (The Daily Star, November 6, 2016). Indian authorities always indicated that they supported all the actions of the AL government of Bangladesh (Kapoor, 2018).

The primary aim of the study was to identify how the media of different countries framed the news during Bangladesh's parliament election 2018. Another objective was to look at any cross-national strategy that existed in the election-related coverage of different countries' media. Applying

deducting content analysis method, the study used eight pre-determined frames namely: game, conflict, intimidation, election conspiracy, issue, economic, morality, and human interest. There were 80 significant codes that were defined under the eight frames and the "pull quotes/topics/paragraphs" were examined and separated by defined codes. In the light of the definition of a frame, it was previously determined which code would be covered by which frame. A single frame was calculated if there were multiple paragraphs or quotes from the same frame in a particular news article. According to the results, the common frames were game, conflict, intimidation, election conspiracy, and issue. However, non-common frames were economic, morality, and human-interest.

The election conspiracy frame was the most common frame in three media of three countries. *The Times of India* represented 24% election conspiracy frames, which included vote-rigging, voting fraud, bias role of the police force and election administration to manipulate the election. The *Prothom Alo* represented a 23% election conspiracy frame where *BBC Bangla* published this frame as 20%. Then game, conflict, intimidation, issue frames were discussed in media. However, each and every media represented their frame according to their own policy and strategy.

Data showed that there were big differences among the media coverage of the Bangladesh election and cross-national issue. First of all, the game frame generally describes winning or losing prediction, perception about candidates, field situation, the position of the election campaign and polls. Chart 2 showed that three media covered news related to the game frame but *The Times of India* covered the most news applying the game frame. In some cases, this newspaper confidently projected the ruling party's victory. On the election day, *The Times of India* reported, "The local media, however, have reported that Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina led Bangladesh Awami League is



likely to make the government in the country for the third consecutive term" (The Times of India, December 31, 2018).

Framing theory focuses on news or word selection by the journalist as well as mass media to influence people's choice. According to Robert Entman (1994), framing delivers specific concepts, explanations, evaluation, solutions, and most of the time, the media frames highlighting the interest of elites. The study watched the reflection of the elites' interest in the backdrop of national policy. Media of Bangladesh, India and Britain all followed and highlighted the national elites' concerns in their coverage of Bangladesh parliamentary election.

*The Times of India* did not highlight the conflict frame in their coverage. Where the *Prothom Alo* of Bangladesh represented 21% of conflict and violence related news, *The Times of India* presented only a 9% conflict frame. However, they highlighted economic frames and appreciated the incumbent AL government for that achievement i.e. "The ruling party has emphasized the economic growth in Hasina's last ten years in power to justify her re-election" (The Times of India, December 26, 2018). *The Times of India* discussed 14% economic frames on their election-related coverage in Bangladesh. From this result, it is conceivable that the Indian newspaper *The Times of India* supported its country's national strategy about the AL government.

British government and diplomats always expressed their deep concern about the Bangladesh situation. They used to discuss some issues like credible, free and fair election, equal grounds for all parties, the non-partisan role of the Election Commission and electoral institution, acceptable law and order situation. Interestingly, *BBC Bangla* covered most issue frame (26%) of the Bangladesh parliament election 2018. *BBC Bangla* also emphasized on election conspiracy (20%), conflict (16%) and intimidation (15%); those were concerning issues for the British government and their national strategy regarding Bangladesh AL government.

Framing theory also describes that media creates its frame by narrow contextualization (Arowolo, 2017); frames are pre-defined by the policy. Media creates its own frame for the audience to provide the picture such that the public is made to assimilate in that way. The results of this study indicate that media emphasized some issues and ignored the others. Endemic corruption is a big challenge in Bangladesh, and it has been scoring consecutively low in Transparency International (TI) perception index for years (The Daily Star, January 23, 2020). Nevertheless, this result showed that corruption was not an issue in the 2018 election. Incumbent and opposition both parties talked so little about corruption as though they were ignoring it. Media gave so much significance to the severe violence, law and order situation, the bias of administration and intimidation toward opposition that the issue of corruption was overlooked throughout the election coverage.

The overall pattern of coverage illustrates that media reporting of the Bangladesh parliament election 2018 was centered on dominant frames conflict, intimidation, election conspiracy, game and issue; which indicated that the coverage is mostly dependent on negative issues. The shape of the coverage also portrayed that the press of India and Britain supported or were biased to their national foreign policy regarding Bangladesh's incumbent government. On the other hand, Bangladeshi press enormously criticized the ruling party's illegal activities, irregularities and conspiracies of government institutions including the Election Commission and promoted opposition parties' activities.

## **CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION**

The purpose of this study was to compare the framing involved in parliament election news coverage in Bangladesh. Findings are four-fold: First, there were significant elaborations in the framing of the election. Conflict, intimidation and election conspiracy were the more common frames for Bangladeshi media but did not put importance on the game and economic development. Indian media eyed the game and economic growth and overlooked conflict and intimidation frames. British media cared about issues, conflict, and intimidation frames, but did not emphasize on economic growth and game frame. Second, analysis of the frame indicator revealed that the intimidation frame hugely covered by Bangladesh and British media. Intimidation occurred throughout the election coverage and destroyed the healthy election environment. Fearing environment was the most pointed out topic in the election coverage and opposition candidates and activists could not attend the campaign generally. The police force, local administration, and Election Commission all supported ruling party candidates and activists so that people who wanted to vote opposition would not go polling center to cast their vote. Third, the exploration of the election conspiracy frame revealed that the Election Commission did not investigate any of the opposition's allegations. Although ruling AL candidates violated electoral laws in every step, the commission did not take action against them. Government officials participated in the election campaign who otherwise were not allowed to do so legally. Police officers spoke in the political rally but the Election Commission or the administration could not take any action even though the opposition polling agents were driven out from most of the polling centers of the country. Finally, conflict and violation marred throughout the election campaign, in some places police forces

provoked violence and helped the attackers as they were involved with the ruling party. Police issued criminal charges against opposition activists when they got the opportunity.

Another purpose of the study was to identify the frames in coverage that had a relation with national strategy. The findings supported and answered the question related to the cross-national issues. As this study found that, the Indian media put less priority to the issues of conflict and intimidation in Bangladesh, thus highlighting the possibility of winning and economic constancy. Coverage of *The Times of India* emphasized on game frame because the Indian media did not want to embarrass the ruling government of Bangladesh. Therefore, somehow, they framed suitable issues more than unpleasant issues regarding Bangladesh. On the other hand, British media emphasized issues such as conflict, fearing environment, harassment, and election rigging and irregularities. Since the British government has been criticizing various issues of the Bangladesh government, the issues likely gained importance in the British media, like *BBC*.

To conclude, game, conflict, intimidation, election conspiracy and issue frames were quite dominant in Bangladesh and British media. However, games, election conspiracy and economic frames were dominantly common in Indian media. Bangladesh and the British media did not emphasize the economic frame. As a result, there is a similarity in coverage of Bangladeshi and British media. Indian media was an exception to this. Interestingly, Indian media emphasized on the election conspiracy frame. In most articles, they supported the incumbent government, they talked little about conflict and intimidation but they pointed out in several articles that government agencies were playing bias roles and covered allegations by opposition parties of Bangladesh. This appears as a big contrast to this study.

Strömbäck & Dimitrova (2006), studied coverage of the U.S. presidential election 2004 and 2002 national election of Sweden. They indicated that there was a big difference in cross-national

coverage. This study also supported their findings but added another dimension of cross-national coverage. In most articles, Bangladeshi newspapers described news based off of news spots, attributed to the first-hand source, interpreted situation by local experts. British media, *BBC Bangla*, also followed the same way because they maintain an office in Bangladesh and most of the journalists of *BBC Bangla* are Bangladeshi. As a result, there was a similarity of coverage between *Prothom Alo* and *BBC Bangla*. On the other hand, *The Times of India* had no office in Bangladesh and they depend on their foreign correspondents and international news agencies. Because of this, a big difference in coverage and framing was explicit between *The Times of India* and the previous two news organizations, and this study assumed that the nationality of journalists was an essential factor along with news organization editorial policies in terms of cross-national coverage.

### **Limitations and Future Research**

Some questions in this study remain unanswered; there is still room for future research to address these issues. The data was collected from one media outlet in each country, which may not indicate the overall framing of each country's media. Future research might explore the influence of each country's government ideology on coverage of elections in Bangladesh. One week's data was not sufficient to identify the general frame tendency, because some important event might have happened in the earlier week when journalists and media were much more selective but that may not have found its place in this study. Another future study might compare coverage of two elections and media policies, such as another past parliamentary election of Bangladesh. This study also found that the nationality of a journalist played a big role in framing in the cross-national issue. This issue warrants further study.

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## **LIST OF APPENDICES**



**APPENDIX: CODE SHEET FOR QUANTITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS**

Variables	Coding Diagram
Articles Number	1. Number of the articles
Headlines	2. The headline of the articles
Media/Newspapers' country	3. The story was published in the newspaper of _____ (1) Bangladesh (2) India (3) Britain
Media/Newspapers' name	4. The news report was published in the newspaper of _____ (1) Prothom Alo (2) The Times of India (3) BBC Bangla
Defined code	5. The codes are found in the article _____ (1) Election Campaign (2) One sided campaign (3) Winning Message (4) Election Rally (5) Political Party Activities (6) Party Agenda (7) Party Rejects Election Result (8) Party Demands Reelection (9) Party Demands Resignation (10) Attack (11) Clash (12) Violence (13) Bullet fire (14) Killed (15) Casualties (16) Beaten (17) Looting (18) Vandalism (19) Burn/set fire (20) Provocation of violence (21) Rumors of violence (22) Obstacle on campaign (23) Abstain from campaign

	(24) Confined/blockage
	(25) Agent fired from polling center
	(26) Protest on vote rigging
	(27) Torture
	(28) Harassment by ruling party
	(29) Harassment by police
	(30) Lawsuit/fake charge
	(31) Fear climate
	(32) Fear of harassment
	(33) Fear of Arrest
	(34) Threat
	(35) Intimidation
	(36) Opposition struggle for deploy agent
	(37) Muscle power showing
	(38) Mass Arrest
	(39) Arrest for lame cause
	(40) Extra judicial killing
	(41) Disappearance
	(42) Fugitive life
	(43) Attack by police
	(44) Bias role of police
	(45) Bias Role of Administration
	(46) Restriction on Election Monitoring/observation
	(47) Discouraging observation
	(48) Candidacy cancellation
	(49) Restriction on Press
	(50) Restriction on Internet
	(51) Restriction on Social Media
	(52) Vote Rigging
	(53) Fake Voting
	(54) Polling center capture
	(55) Unfair election
	(56) Managed Election
	(57) Election Manipulation
	(58) Government denial
	(59) Taking no-action on allegation
	(60) Election routine work
	(61) Ballot and material distribution
	(62) Security force deploy
	(63) Ensuring security
	(64) Level playing field
	(65) Free-fair election
	(66) Women empowerment
	(67) Price hike
	(68) Job opportunity
	(69) Rohingya Issue

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(70) Minority issue</li> <li>(71) Election Result</li> <li>(72) International Relationship</li> <li>(73) International community concern</li> <li>(74) Congratulation from other country</li> <li>(75) Development</li> <li>(76) Economic growth</li> <li>(77) Corruption</li> <li>(78) Honesty</li> <li>(79) Sympathy</li> <li>(80) Human Interest</li> </ul>
Defined frames	<p>6. The Defined Frames are matched according to code_____</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) Game</li> <li>(2) Conflict</li> <li>(3) Intimidation</li> <li>(4) Election Conspiracy</li> <li>(5) Issue</li> <li>(6) Economic</li> <li>(7) Morality</li> <li>(8) Human Interest</li> </ul>

## VITA

Kazi Mehedi Hasan, is a seasoned broadcast journalist, writer, and news anchor from Bangladesh. Over 15 years of his journalism career, he worked for three most viewed private television channels in different positions of news gathering, presentation, managing team. He has proven skills in overseeing teams, breaking stories and the editorial direction of the newsroom.

Born in 1978, in a rural town, Faridpur, Kazi was raised in Jessore, another town in Bangladesh. He had to move to capital Dhaka to pursue a Bachelor's degree in Mass Communication and Journalism from the University of Dhaka (top-ranking university of Bangladesh). Kazi started journalism career as a university correspondent at NTV in 2003, while he was an undergraduate student. As a student journalist, he accumulated a good amount of responses by reporting on problems, corruption and flaws in the educational system. He was elected the vice-president of Dhaka University Journalists' Association. Before coming to the U.S., he had driven a profound career and he served as an Assignment Manager at Independent Television.

After completing BA and MA from the University of Dhaka, he joined another television station, Channel One, as a political reporter. He also worked with government offices, educational institutions and climate change issues. In 2006, he flew to Malaysia to cover the special summit of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC). He came to New York, USA from Bangladesh in 2008 to cover the 63<sup>rd</sup> UN General Assembly. Kazi worked at Channel One for six years, then became a senior reporter as well as news anchor and covered many significant events during that

time. BDR (Para Military force) mutiny, Cyclone Sidr and the parliamentary election of 2008 were some big events that he covered.

In July 2011, Kazi Mehedi Hasan joined a new news-based television station Independent Television as a senior correspondent. He was the first reporter who reached on the spot of Rana Plaza Collapse incident. More than a thousand textile workers died in that particular incident. He was a member of an anti-tobacco media group who was advocating for better journalism regarding better health for the country. He is still a member of Dhaka Reporters Unity (DRU) and Forum for Energy Reporters of Bangladesh (FERB).

Kazi Mehedi Hasan covered many momentous events at home and made several investigative reports on education and climate change issues which had a huge impact on the country and the government had to design a program to protect the coastal area after his report. He has written three academic books on strategies and techniques of broadcast journalism. Since fall 2018, Kazi has been pursuing his Master's in journalism at the University of Mississippi. He is eager to learn and build a research-driven academic career in communication and journalism aspects.