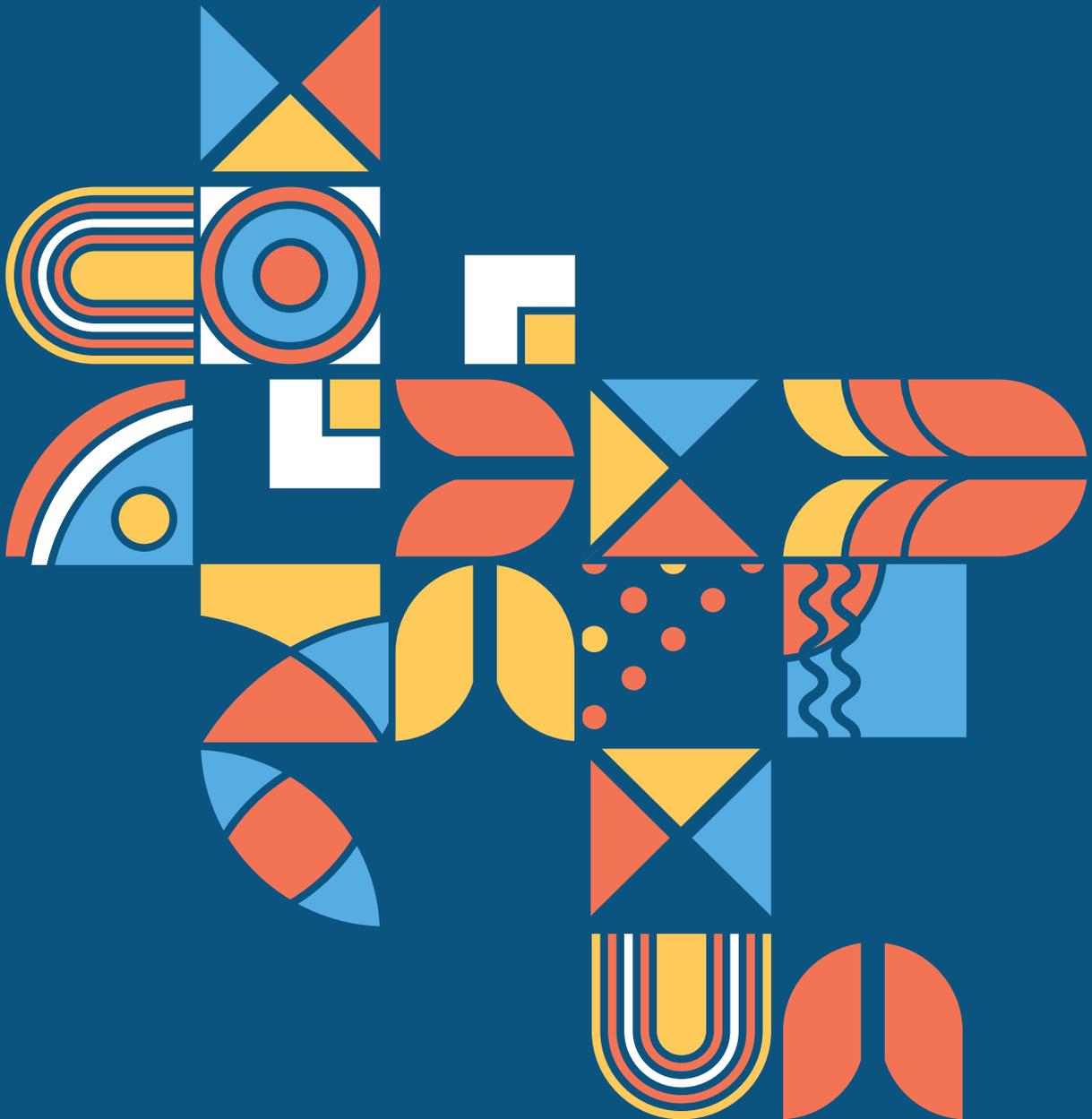


MARGINS OF THE GAZE

NEWS MEDIA COVERAGE OF
MARGINALIZED PEOPLE IN BANGLADESH



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Contents

Foreword	5
Executive Summary	6
Introduction	7
Methodologies	9
Coding Framework and Variables	12
Limitations of the Study	13
Findings from the Content Analysis	15
Expert Insights : Findings from Key Informant Interviews	25
Interpretation and Discussion	28
Annexes	31

FOREWORD

This report, titled *Margins of the Gaze*, is the culmination of a news media monitoring study conducted by MRDI covering 12 months spread over a period of three years. It reflects our ongoing commitment to understanding how Bangladeshi news media portrays—or overlooks—the lives, struggles, and voices of marginalized communities. The findings of this study are intended to inform, influence and inspire journalists, policymakers, academia and civil society.

Our hope is that this report will spark critical reflection and dialogue about the role of news media in shaping perceptions on marginalized groups. By highlighting patterns of visibility, omission, and narrative framing, we aim to provide a resource that encourages more inclusive, accurate and empathetic reporting. In a rapidly evolving news media landscape, such evidence-based insights are crucial for fostering accountability and advancing social justice.

We would like to extend our heartfelt gratitude to the team members for their tireless dedication and meticulous work throughout this study. Special thanks go to Shibabrata Barman, whose leadership and guidance were instrumental in shaping the methodology, overseeing data collection, and ensuring the highest standards of analysis. Each member of the team, along with our news media monitors, played a vital role in making this initiative successful.

Finally, we hope that *Margins of the Gaze* serves not only as a record of news media trends but also as a call to action for journalists to reflect on their practices, for policymakers to recognize news media's influence, and for society to engage critically with the narratives we consume. It is our sincere belief that awareness and reflection can pave the way for a news media environment that truly represents all voices.

We gratefully acknowledge the support of the Nagorikata: Civic Engagement Fund (CEF), managed by GFA Consulting Group and supported by Switzerland, Canada and the European Union which enabled the preparation of this publication under the project Strategic Togetherness for Inclusive Development (STID).

1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study investigates the representation of marginalized communities in Bangladesh's mainstream news media, analyzing coverage across five national newspapers and five television channels of twelve months spanning over a three-year period from 2022 to 2024. In total, 614 news items were examined out of 134,299 stories published and aired during this period, revealing that only **0.46%** of media coverage focused on marginalized groups. The analysis further distinguishes between print and broadcast media, highlighting differences in both the quantity and nature of reporting.

In newspapers, a total of 106,624 stories were published, among which only 508 stories, or **0.48%**, concerned marginalized communities. The analysis of these stories indicates that the majority—**70%**—were event or spot news, capturing immediate incidents rather than in-depth analysis. Special reports comprised a mere **6%**, while follow-up stories accounted for **8%**, suggesting a limited engagement with ongoing issues affecting these communities. Crime-related stories formed the largest thematic category at **40%**, followed by coverage of indigenous rights at **27%**. Placement of these stories in newspapers reveals marginalization: only **14%** appeared on the front page, compared to **18%** on the back page, while nearly half (**47%**) were confined to pages covering national news. Upper-fold placement, often associated with higher visibility, was observed in **67%** of cases, and these were primarily related to incidents of violence that occurred in hilly areas. **66%** of coverage portrayed hilly communities as central actors.

Television coverage presents a slightly different pattern but reflects a similar underrepresentation. Of the 27,675 stories aired on monitored TV channels, only 106 stories, or **0.38%**, addressed issues concerning marginalized groups. Among these, **76%** were event or spot news, **8%** were special reports, and **14%** were follow-up stories. Segment placement analysis shows that **45%** of these stories aired in the first segment of the news bulletin, which typically receives higher viewership, while **31%** appeared in the second segment. This indicates some prioritization but still highlights the overall scarcity of coverage dedicated to marginalized communities.

The visible disparity of media coverage between newspaper and television (**0.48%**, in contrast to **0.38%**) suggests that television news, with its tighter time constraints and emphasis on visual appeal, may be even less likely to cover marginalized communities than print media.

Taken together, these findings underscore a critical gap in both print and broadcast media: marginalized communities receive minimal visibility and are often represented in a limited and episodic manner. The dominance of event-driven reporting, low proportion of special reports, and selective narrative framing suggest that news media coverage tends to focus on immediate or sensational incidents rather than sustained, nuanced reporting that could promote understanding and inclusion.

The study clearly highlights the urgent need for more inclusive, ethical, and comprehensive journalism in Bangladesh. By expanding coverage, diversifying sources, and addressing structural biases in story selection and placement, news media organizations can play a crucial role in amplifying the voices and concerns of marginalized communities, fostering greater equity and social awareness across the country.

2. INTRODUCTION

News media plays a critical role in shaping public perception and policy discourse. The portrayal of marginalized communities has long influenced how society perceives them.

The term *marginalized communities* is a broad concept with a wide spectrum. To keep the focus of our study precise, we included ethnic minorities, small ethnic groups from both the hills and plains, and Dalit communities within this category. The reason for this selection is that these groups make up a major portion of the marginalized population.

According to the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, there are 51 ethnic minority groups in Bangladesh. These include: Chakma, Marma, Santal, Tripura, Garo/A'chik, Oraon, Tanchangya, Mro, Bawm, Pangkho, Chak, Khiyang, Khumi, Lusai, Koch, Dalu, Kuki, Rakhine, Manipuri, Hajong, Khasi, Mong, Barman, Pahari, Malpahari, Munda, Bhumij, Kol, Kond, Pangan, Lawra, Murong, Rajbongshi, Patra, Gond, Bagdi, Bhil, Tipra, Ranjongi, Hadi, Kharia/Khariya, and Kharwar/Kherwar. However, the 2022 national census states that the number of small ethnic groups is 50. According to the census, the population of these ethnic groups is 1,650,159.

In addition, this study also includes caste- and occupation-based 'untouchable' Dalit communities.

Objectives and Scope of the Study

The study titled *Margins of the Gaze* was undertaken with the objective of critically examining how marginalized communities in Bangladesh are represented in mainstream news media. At its core, this research seeks to understand not just whether these communities are visible in public discourse, but how they are seen, spoken about, and framed. The news media, as one of the most influential opinion-shaping institutions, plays a central role in determining public perception and policy priorities. Therefore, analyzing media portrayals becomes essential in tracing the lines between visibility and invisibility, inclusion and exclusion.

One of the primary objectives of the study is to measure the frequency and prominence of coverage regarding marginalized groups. This involves determining how often newspapers and television channels report on these communities, and where such reports are positioned. For example, stories placed on the front and back page of a newspaper or at the beginning of a news bulletin suggest higher editorial importance, while those relegated to inner pages or brief news segments indicate marginal attention. This helps in understanding whether the news media acknowledges marginalized people as subjects of national concern or merely as peripheral narratives.

Another key objective is to examine the framing, tone, and narrative structure of the stories. Representation is not only about being present but also about how that presence is constructed. Are these communities portrayed with dignity, agency, and complexity, or are they shown only as victims of poverty, conflict, or disaster? The study explores whether news media reports use a sympathetic, neutral, or stereotyped tone. It also analyses whether the narratives reinforce existing prejudices or attempt to challenge them by offering context and depth.

The research further aims to assess source diversity, with a particular emphasis on the presence or absence of voices from the communities themselves. In many cases, stories about marginalized people are told not by them but about them—filtered through the perspectives of government officials, experts, or civil society. By documenting who gets to speak in the news, the study evaluates whether news media platforms provide space for self-representation or perpetuate a one-sided narrative that excludes lived experiences. This is crucial in determining whether marginalized people are seen as active participants in the national dialogue or passive subjects of observation.

Lastly, the study tracks changes in representation across a defined period—2022, 2023, and 2024. This longitudinal approach allows for the identification of patterns and shifts in media attention. It also reveals whether certain socio—political events, such as elections, policy debates or natural disasters influence how these communities are portrayed. By comparing data across three years, the study provides insight into whether news media representation is gradually improving, stagnating, or declining.

Scope of the Study

To ensure a balanced and realistic understanding of media practices, the study encompasses a selection of five national newspapers and five television news channels. These outlets were chosen based on their reach, credibility, and influence in shaping public opinion.

The time frame of the study spans from January 2022 to December 2024, covering a continuous three-year period. This duration allows sufficient scope to observe both immediate and long-term trends in coverage patterns.

The unit of analysis includes five major types of media content: news reports, feature stories, editorials and photo stories. News reports provide factual and immediate coverage, while features offer depth and human stories. Editorials reflect institutional viewpoints and frames of thought within news outlets. Television news packages combine visuals, narration, and interviews, making them a powerful tool for representation. Together, these formats provide a comprehensive understanding of how narratives around marginalized communities are constructed and circulated.

3. METHODOLOGIES

3.1 Research Design

This study adopts a quantitative content analysis approach with qualitative interpretation to explore how marginalized communities are represented in Bangladeshi mainstream news media. The content analysis examines both the visibility (frequency and placement) and the nature of representation (framing, tone, and source diversity) in news content.

To minimize bias caused by event-driven or seasonal fluctuations in news media attention, the study employs a Stratified Time Sampling Method over a three-year period (January 2022 - December 2024). This approach ensures that news media content is sampled evenly across time and provides a comprehensive understanding of longitudinal trends.

3.2 Sampling Technique: Stratified Time Sampling

3.2.1 Rationale

News media reporting varies throughout the year due to political events, natural disasters, festivals, policy decisions, and social movements. Continuous monitoring for three years was not feasible due to logistical constraints. Therefore, stratified time sampling was used to provide accurate, periodic snapshots of news media behaviour.

3.2.2 Sampling Framework

- ▶ Each year was divided into 12 months.
- ▶ Months were rotated by year, ensuring representation across all seasons.

Year	Months Sampled
2022	January, April, July, October
2023	February, May, August, November
2024	March, June, September, December

This ensured that every quarter of each year is represented, capturing temporal changes without bias toward specific events.

3.3 News Outlets Monitored

3.3.1 Newspapers

Five widely circulated and influential national newspapers were chosen based on readership, editorial reputation, and diversity (Bengali and English language):

1. Prothom Alo
2. The Daily Star
3. Samakal
4. The Daily Ittefaq
5. New Age

3.3.2 Television Channels

Five major television news broadcasters were selected based on national reach, credibility, and prominence in shaping public discourse:

1. Jamuna TV
2. Maasranga Television
3. Channel 24
4. Channel i
5. Independent Television

3.4 Units of Analysis

The study included all news materials that mentioned or directly concerned marginalized communities. The units of analysis were:

- ▶ News reports
- ▶ Special stories
- ▶ Feature and human-interest stories
- ▶ Editorials and opinions published on the front page
- ▶ Standalone photo stories

3.5 Defining Marginalised Communities in this Study

To maintain focus and clarity, the study includes:

- ▶ Indigenous groups from both hill and plain areas such as Chakma, Marma, Santal, Garo, Tanchangya, Mro, Hajong, Manipuri, etc.
- ▶ Dalit and harijan communities, defined by caste- and profession-based exclusion.

These communities were selected because they represent a significant share of the country's structurally marginalized population.

3.6 Data Collection and Coding Process

3.6.1 Collection

- ▶ Newspapers were accessed via print archives and e-papers.
- ▶ Television news content was recorded and transcribed from daily bulletins, especially prime-time hours (7:00 PM-10:00 PM).
- ▶ All content referring directly or indirectly to marginalized communities was archived for coding.

3.6.2 Coding Procedure

Each item was coded using a structured codebook under the following categories:

- ▶ Publication/broadcast date and outlet
- ▶ Type of story (news, editorial, feature, package)
- ▶ Placement/prominence (front page, inside page, prime-time bulletin, brief ticker, etc.)
- ▶ Actors mentioned
- ▶ Tone/slant (positive, neutral, negative)
- ▶ Topics (crime, conflict, human rights, indigenous rights, land rights etc.)
- ▶ Tone/slant (positive, neutral, negative)
- ▶ Topics (crime, conflict, human rights, indigenous rights, land rights etc.)
- ▶ Source diversity (voices from community members, government officials, NGOs, experts, law enforcement)
- ▶ Visual or linguistic accuracy, authenticity, clarity and readability (for TV and print)

A group of trained news media content monitoring officers conducted the coding under the supervision of the Principal Investigator and Lead Writer.

3.7 Data Analysis

- ▶ Quantitative analysis measured frequency, prominence, and distribution of news items.
- ▶ Comparative analysis examined changes across 2022, 2023, and 2024 and what kind of topics got more negative or positive coverage, or what kind of issues news outlets picked more frequently for follow-up.
- ▶ Qualitative interpretation focused on the trend of maintaining authenticity, readability and clarity.
- ▶ Statistical software and spreadsheet tools were used to compile and analyze the data.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

The study relied solely on publicly available content. No personal or confidential data was used. All communities were represented respectfully, using terminologies aligned with academic standards and community preferences.

4. CODING FRAMEWORK AND VARIABLES

4.1 Overview

The coding framework for this study is designed in a way that it can be converted into qualitative aspects of news media reporting into structured, comparable data. The framework draws directly from the monitoring codebooks developed and standardized by MRDI for both print and television media.

It ensures that every coded news item—across outlets, formats, and years—can be systematically analyzed for visibility, framing, accuracy, and editorial treatment of marginalized communities.

Separate but synchronized code sheets were used for print and television content, maintaining consistency in conceptual approach while accommodating differences in medium and presentation.

The code sheets of both print and Television news media monitoring are available in Annex 3 and 4.

4.2 Coding Procedure

Coding is performed manually by trained news media content monitoring officers following the prescribed code sheets. Each selected item is logged, read or transcribed in full, and then coded variable by variable.

- ▶ Coders underwent a **training workshop** to familiarize themselves with **all** categories and numerical codes.
- ▶ A **pilot test** was conducted to ensure clarity and inter-coder alignment.
- ▶ Ambiguous or multi-coded items were discussed and resolved under the supervision of the **Principal Investigator and Lead Writer**.

4.3 Data Entry and Validation

All codes were entered into a unified digital dataset Kobo Toolbox (for print and TV separately) using spreadsheet templates. Data validation included:

- ▶ Range checks for every coded field.
- ▶ Consistency checks between "Item Type," "Source," and "Issue" categories.
- ▶ Elimination of duplicates through unique identifiers.

The validated datasets were later merged for cross-media comparison and statistical analysis.

4.4. Analytical Application

This coding framework allowed the study to:

- ▶ Quantitatively assess visibility, frequency, and prominence of coverage.
- ▶ Qualitatively interpret tone, accuracy, and thematic framing.
- ▶ Compare editorial patterns between print and television media.
- ▶ Identify long-term trends in representation of marginalized communities between 2022 and 2024.

Together, these procedures ensured that findings are systematic, evidence-driven, and replicable—anchored firmly in MRDI's established news monitoring methodology.

5. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Like any large-scale news media monitoring analysis, this study is shaped by a series of practical and methodological choices that inevitably introduce limitations. Recognizing these constraints is essential for understanding how the findings should be read-and just as importantly, how they should not.

5.1 Sampling Constraints

The stratified time sampling method was designed to strike a balance between breadth and feasibility. By selecting coverage across three separate years, the study ensured temporal diversity and avoided over-representation of any single news cycle. However, this approach did not capture every day of news media output. The stratified time sampling approach provided a balanced snapshot across three years, it did not include every single day of coverage. Some short-lived but significant events concerning marginalized communities may have occurred outside the sampled months and thus were not captured. However, the design was intended to prioritize temporal diversity and reduce redundancy, offering a broad yet manageable data set.

5.2 Selection of News Outlets

The study included ten news outlets- five newspapers and five television channels-but did not include regional or online-only media. Local publications, community radio, and emerging digital platforms might have provided different representations, especially of smaller or remote communities. Their exclusion indicates the study's limitation on showing the full diversity of news media representation. Future studies can include these to expand the scope of comparison.

5.3 Coding and Interpretation Bias

Content analysis relies on human judgment, and this study is no exception. Despite rigorous coder training and the use of a standardized codebook, subjectivity in interpretation could not be completely eliminated-particularly for variables such as tone, framing, and visual representation. To minimize this limitation, the research team conducted multiple inter-coder reliability checks and consensus-based discussions. Still, a degree of interpretive variance remains inherent to news media analysis.

5.4 Representation Beyond Visibility

This study primarily focused on news visibility and portrayal, not on audience perception or impact. Whereas it shows how marginalized communities are represented, it does not measure how audiences interpret or respond to those representations. A separate qualitative or reception study would be needed to explore that dimension.

5.5 Data Accessibility and Archival Gaps

Another issue was access to historical television content. Not all television archives were publicly available for the entire study period. For some channels, especially during the earlier months of 2022, recordings had to be sourced from secondary repositories or online archives, which occasionally lacked full-length bulletins. Although cross-verification was conducted wherever possible, minor discrepancies may still persist in data completeness.

5.6 Evolving Definitions and Context

The categorization of marginalized groups, particularly Dalit and indigenous communities, is subject to evolving terminology and social understanding. Language used by the news media itself may change over time, and some terminologies deemed acceptable in early 2022 may later be considered inappropriate or outdated. This dynamic nature of definitions presents a contextual limitation to longitudinal consistency.

5.7 Generalizability

The study provides strong evidence of trends within mainstream national news media but should be interpreted as indicative, not exhaustive. Given the stratified sampling and news media selection, the findings represent dominant tendencies rather than absolute measures of all Bangladeshi media.

5.8 Conclusion

Despite these limitations, the study maintains methodological integrity through a clearly defined sampling strategy, systematic coding, and consistent supervision. Within these parameters, the findings offer valuable insights into news media representation of marginalized communities in Bangladesh and contribute significantly to understanding inclusion, visibility, and bias in Bangladesh's national news media.

6. FINDINGS FROM THE CONTENT ANALYSIS

6.1 Overview

This chapter presents the empirical findings derived from the quantitative content analysis of five national newspapers and five television channels in Bangladesh over the three-year period from 2022 to 2024. From a total database of 134,299 news items, only 613 found to focus on marginalized communities, including indigenous groups and Dalit populations. The data reveals critical patterns in how mainstream news media represents the marginalized communities. This analysis measures not only the frequency and prominence of coverage but also delves into the qualitative aspects of representation-including framing, sourcing, thematic focus, and geographical bias. The findings suggest compelling evidence of systemic underrepresentation and problematic narrative patterns that collectively construct a limited and often distorted portrayal of marginalized communities in Bangladesh's news media landscape.

6.2 The Scale of Invisibility: Quantifying News Media Attention

6.2.1 Overall Underrepresentation

The most striking finding of this study is the underrepresentation of marginalized communities in Bangladeshi news media with every thousand news stories consumed by the public, fewer than five engage with the lives, struggles, or concerns of marginalized communities. It shows these communities' near-invisibility in mainstream public discourse despite constituting a significant portion of Bangladesh's population.

Total Stories Coverage

Table 1: Total stories across newspapers

Total stories on newspaper								
Year	Samakal	Daily Star	Ittefaq	Prothom Alo	New Age	Total	Total (Marginalized & Excluded Community)	Percentage of coverage
2022	8693	6485	8334	6485	5708	35705	508	0.48%
2023	8636	6836	8302	6408	5392	35574		
2024	8305	6345	9668	5820	5207	35345		
Grand Total	25634	19666	26304	18713	16307	106624		

Table 2 : Total stories on televisions

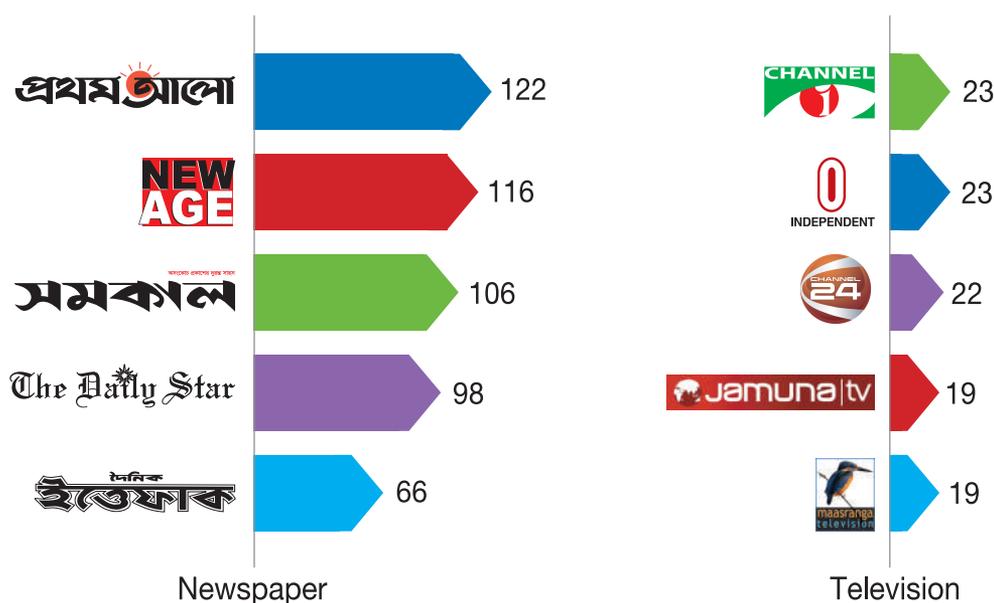
Total stories on TV								
Year	Jamuna TV	Maasranga TV	Channel-24	Channel I	Independent TV	Total	News Count (Marginalized & Excluded Community)	Percentage of coverage
2022	1874	1203	1562	2356	3172	10167	106	0.383%
2023	1729	1191	1264	1722	2416	8322		
2024	1695	1278	1571	2597	2045	9186		
Grand Total	5298	3672	4397	6675	7633	27675		

The data shows interesting variations between news media types:

6.2.2 Distribution Across News Outlets

Within this limited pool of coverage, certain outlets contributed more than others while television coverage was more evenly distributed.

Chart 1: Story distribution across newspaper and television



6.3 Temporal Patterns: When Do Marginalized Communities Make News?

6.3.1 Yearly and Monthly Variations

Rather than being sustained or issue-focused, news coverage of marginalized communities appears largely intermittent and reactive. Across the three-year period, the data reveals significant fluctuations in coverage, with notable spikes in certain months. Newspaper coverage was highest in September 2024 (17.83%, 87 stories), followed by April 2022 (12.20%, 62 stories) and June 2024 (9.25%, 47 stories).

Television coverage showed an even more pronounced concentration, with September 2024 accounting for 34.91% of all stories (37 out of 106), primarily around specific dates (September 20-23, 2024). It was followed by April 2022 (17.92%, 19 stories) and May 2023 (10.38%, 11 stories). The clustering of coverage within such a limited timeframe reinforces the conclusion that news media attention is largely event-led.

These temporal patterns suggest that coverage of marginalized communities is predominantly event-driven rather than reflecting sustained editorial interest. The September 2024 spike was a result of series of violent incidents in Khagrachhari district in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (Annex 1). This indicates that coverage is activated by episodic crises rather than shaped by sustained editorial interest in the long-term realities of marginalized communities.

6.3.2 Longitudinal Trends

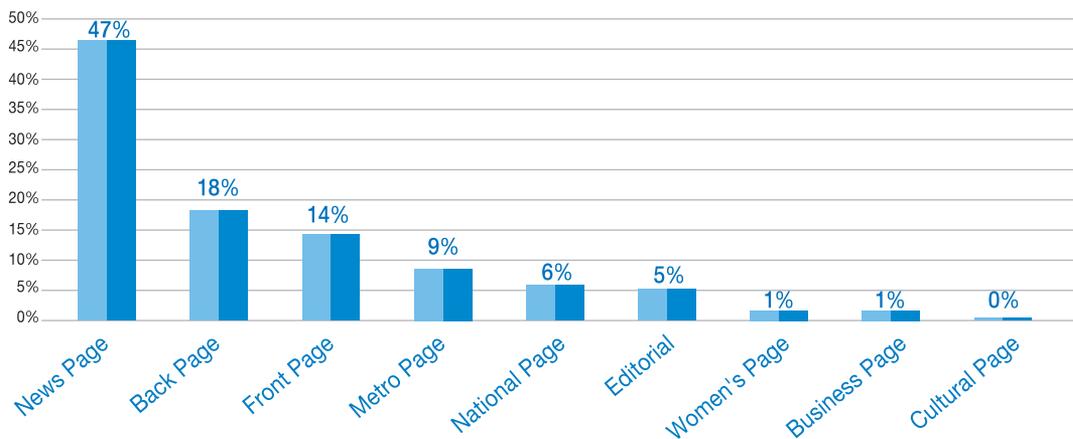
While the overall coverage remains minimal throughout the three-year period, there is no consistent upward or downward trend, suggesting that news media attention to marginalized communities remains stagnant rather than improving over time.

6.4 The Hierarchy of Visibility: Placement and Prominence

6.4.1 Newspaper Placement Analysis

The placement of stories within newspapers reveals additional layers of marginalization: the spatial placement of stories within newspapers adds another dimension to understanding how marginalized communities are represented and, in many ways, sidelined in news media. An examination of story placement shows that nearly half of all reports (47%) were published on general news pages. While these pages carry a high volume of content, stories placed here often struggle for visibility, competing with a wide range of other issues.

Chart 2: Page distribution across newspapers



Only 14% of stories appeared on the front page, the most influential space to indicate editorial priority along with 18% were placed on the back page. The marginal presence of these stories on editorial pages—just 5%—is particularly revealing. Editorial space is where newspapers typically interpret events, frame debates, and articulate institutional positions. The limited use of this space indicates that issues affecting marginalized communities are rarely engaged with as subjects of sustained opinion, reflection, or policy-oriented analysis.

Table 3: Story placement across newspapers

Placement	Frequency	Percentage
Upper Fold	342	67
Lower Fold	166	33
Grand Total	508	100

At the same time, the data on fold placement presents a more nuanced picture. A majority of stories (67%) appeared in the upper fold of newspaper pages, suggesting that when these stories are published, they often receive relatively prominent placement within their respective pages. Cross-tabulation of front-page placement and topic reveals that front-page coverage is dominated by crime (71%), law and order (43%), and communal violence (38%), indicating that visibility is often contingent on conflict or violence.

6.4.2 Television Segment Placement

Television news placement presents a somewhat different picture, with around 45% of stories airing in the first segment of news bulletins-typically reserved for the most important stories-and over 30% in the second segment. This suggests that when television covers marginalized communities, it often accords them reasonable prominence within the bulletin, though the overall scarcity of coverage remains the primary concern.

Table 4: Segment-wise placement across televisions

News Part	Frequency	Percentage
First Part	48	45
Second Part	32	30
Third Part	26	25
Grand Total	106	100

6.5 The Episodic Nature of Coverage: Story Type and Depth

6.5.1 Dominance of Event-Driven Reporting

Both newspaper and television coverage are overwhelmingly dominated by episodic, event-based reporting rather than thematic, analytical approaches:

- ▶ **Newspapers:** 70% event/spot news vs. 6% special reports
- ▶ **Television:** 76% event/spot news vs. 8% special reports

This pattern indicates that news media typically covers marginalized communities in response to specific incidents rather than exploring underlying structural issues, historical contexts, or ongoing challenges.

6.5.2 Scarcity of In-Depth and Follow-up Reporting

The low proportion of follow-up stories and special reports indicates limited engagement with the long-term developments or deeper analysis of issues affecting marginalized communities. This episodic approach fosters fragmented public understanding that lacks historical context and fails to connect individual incidents to broader patterns of marginalization.

Chart 3: Types of stories on newspaper

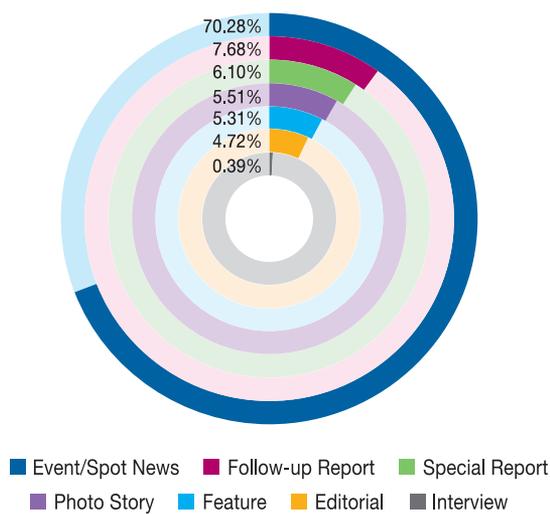
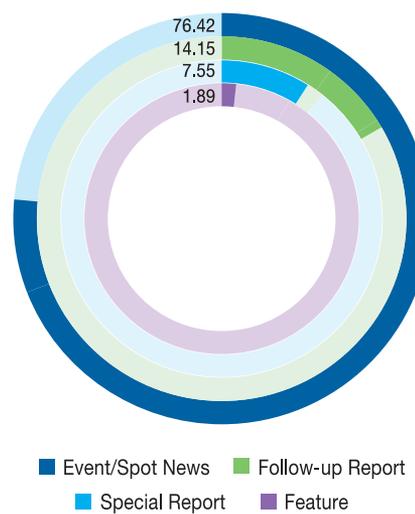


Chart 4: Types of stories on television



The distribution of follow-up reports across topics reinforces this tendency. Cross-tabulation reveals that follow-up reporting is primarily concentrated on crime, law and order, and communal violence. This suggests that follow-up journalism is largely reactive and conflict-centred on issues affecting marginalized communities. It emphasizes the news media's focus on moments of crisis rather than solution-oriented or developmental coverage.

Table 5: Cross-tabulation of newspaper topics vs follow-up reporting

Topic	Follow-up Report	Percentage
Crime	30	77
Law and Order	20	51
Communal Violence	18	46
Attack on Minorities	13	33

Table 6: Cross-tabulation of television topics vs follow-up reporting

Topic	Follow-up Report	Percentage
Crime	15	100
Communal Violence	13	87
Law and Order	11	73
Attack on Minorities	9	60

6.6 Thematic Framing: What Issues Define Marginalized Communities?

6.6.1 Predominance of Conflict and Crime Frames

The thematic analysis reveals that coverage of marginalized communities is overwhelmingly shaped by conflict-oriented frames, with crime, violence, and law-and-order issues dominating both print and television narratives. Rather than presenting these communities through a multidimensional lens, mainstream news media largely situates them within contexts of problems, conflicts, and victimhood.

Table 7 : Prominent topics across newspapers

Topic/issues	Frequency	Percentage
Crime	205	40
Indigenous Rights	137	27
Law and Order	119	23
Human Rights	104	20
Attack on Minorities	83	16

Table 8 : Prominent topics across televisions

Topic/issues	Frequency	Percentage
Crime	59	56
Law and Order	39	37
Communal Violence	35	33
Attack on Minorities	29	27
Culture	15	14

This persistent emphasis on crime and conflict has important implications for representation. This conflict-oriented framing potentially reinforces stereotypes of marginalized communities as either victims or perpetrators rather than as citizens with full agency, diverse experiences, and contributions to national life.

6.6.2 Limited Representation of Cultural and Positive Aspects

While some positive themes emerge-indigenous rights (27% in newspapers, 8% in TV), culture (8% in newspapers, 14% in TV), and festivals/celebrations (8% in newspapers, 13% in TV)-they receive substantially less attention than conflict-based themes. This emphasizes the need for more coverage on positive themes like cultural richness, resilience, and everyday life of the marginalized communities.

6.6.3 Issue-Specific Patterns

The data reveals interesting variations in how different issues are covered:

- ▶ **Land rights** (10%) and **land grabbing** (5%) appear frequently (in newspapers and television combined). This reflects the significance of land conflicts in the lived experiences of marginalized communities.

- ▶ Basic needs and development issues like **education** (6%), **water crisis** (5%), and **health** (2%) receive minimal attention. These themes tend to surface sporadically, often in response to immediate problems, rather than as part of a broader discussion on gradual development.
- ▶ **Economic issues** such as **livelihood** (6%) and **poverty** (3%) are underrepresented despite their fundamental importance.

The low prominence of development or economic issues can be identified as a gap in coverage of marginalized communities.

6.7 Geographic and Community Focus: Who is Represented Within the Marginalized?

6.7.1 Dominance of Hill Communities

The news media coverage overwhelming focus on hilly people (66% in newspapers, 79% in television) compared to plainland people (32% in newspapers, 13% in television). However, coverage on Harijan/Dalit communities revealed an interesting scenario. While newspaper coverage saw 6% presence of Harijan/Dalit communities, there were only 1% in television where they were mentioned. The data shows a hierarchy of visibility within marginalized populations, with hill communities-particularly those in the Chittagong Hill Tracts-receiving disproportionate attention while other marginalized groups remain nearly invisible.

6.7.2 Differential Treatment of Communities

Cross-tabulation indicates that news framing varies significantly across communities and platforms.

In newspapers, Harijan/Dalit communities are most frequently associated with structural and rights-related issues. A substantial proportion of coverage links them to human rights concerns (63%), followed by forced eviction or displacement (47%) and land rights disputes (37%). Plainland people, by contrast, appear most often in stories related to land grabbing (55%) and festivals/celebrations (47%). Bengali settlers in the Chittagong Hill Tracts are framed predominantly through conflict-driven narratives. Newspaper coverage associates them overwhelmingly with crime (77%), communal violence (65%), and, to a lesser extent, attacks on minorities (59%).

Television coverage presents a more restrictive and exclusionary framing pattern. Notably, Harijan/Dalit communities are only represented in forced eveiction/displacement, land grabbing and land rights related issues. Plainland people receive limited attention on television. Only 25% of stories connected plainland people to land grabbing, while festivals/celebrations involving plainland people appear in only 14% of stories, pointing to minimal and highly selective visibility. Bengali settlers dominate television narratives, but almost exclusively through negative frames. They appear predominantly in stories where crime (92%) and communal violence (84%) are the central issues.

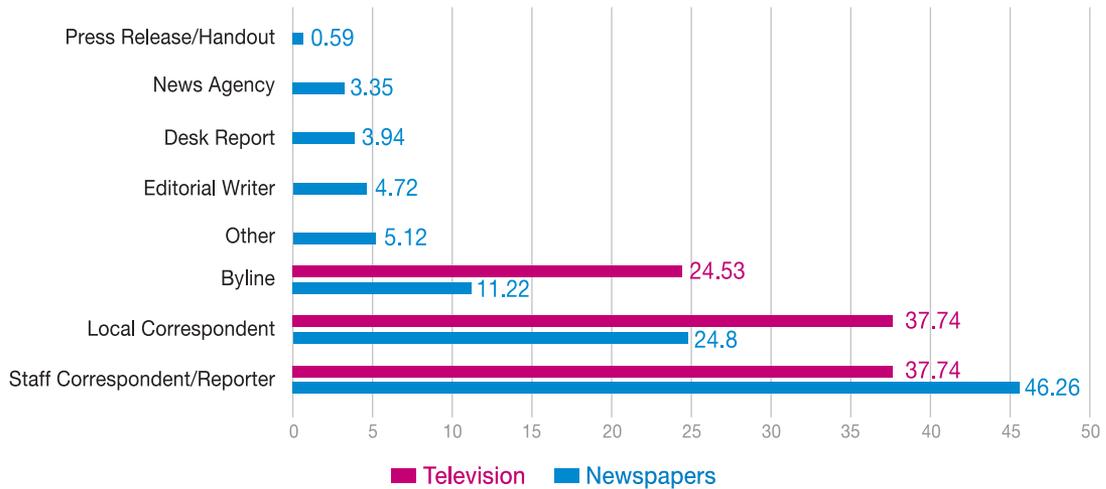
These differential framing patterns suggest that news media representations are not monolithic but reflect complex dynamics between different communities and their relationships with dominant groups.

6.8 Quality of Reporting: Sourcing, Authenticity, and Clarity

6.8.1 Sourcing Patterns

A deeper look into sourcing patterns reveals another structural limitation in how marginalized communities are represented in the news media. Newspaper stories primarily rely on staff correspondents/reporters (46%) and local correspondents (25%), with only 11% featuring bylines that would indicate specialized expertise. Television news depends heavily on desk reports and staff correspondents (38% each). The limited use of community voices as primary sources suggests that stories are often told about marginalized communities rather than by them.

Chart 5: Sourcing patterns across newspapers and televisions



6.8.2 Challenges with Authenticity and Completeness

The findings point to persistent weaknesses in the authenticity and completeness of news coverage on marginalized communities. More than half of the stories in both newspapers (51%) and television (55%) fail to incorporate all relevant parties, resulting in narratives that reflect a narrow range of perspectives. Additionally, 53% of newspaper stories and 54% of television stories contain unanswered questions or incomplete information, suggesting superficial coverage of complex issues.

6.8.3 Readability

While 69% of newspaper stories present no readability problems, 14% suffer from lack of flow in language and structure, and 7% contain long and complex sentences that may hinder comprehension.

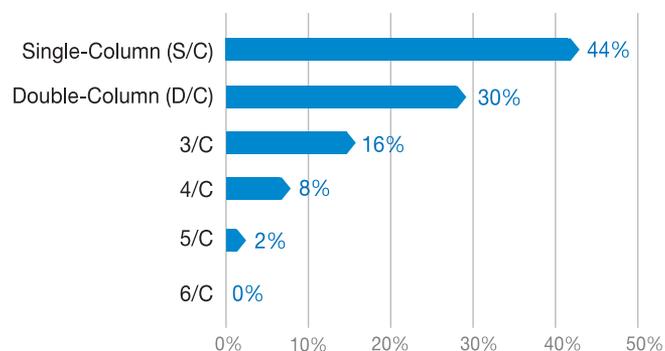
6.9 Visual and Presentation Elements

6.9.1 Headline Size and Treatment

An analysis of headline size and visual treatment in newspapers reveals a restrained approach to presenting stories on marginalized communities. Most headlines appear in one column (44%) or two columns (30%). Only 10% receive larger headline treatment across four to six columns, which is typically reserved for top-priority news. This suggests that these issues are rarely framed as major public concerns.

Visual emphasis is also limited. More than half of the stories (53%) appear without any special treatment. About one-third include photographs (32%), while 22% use inserts or highlights. Overall, print coverage tends to publish these stories without giving them strong visual signals of importance.

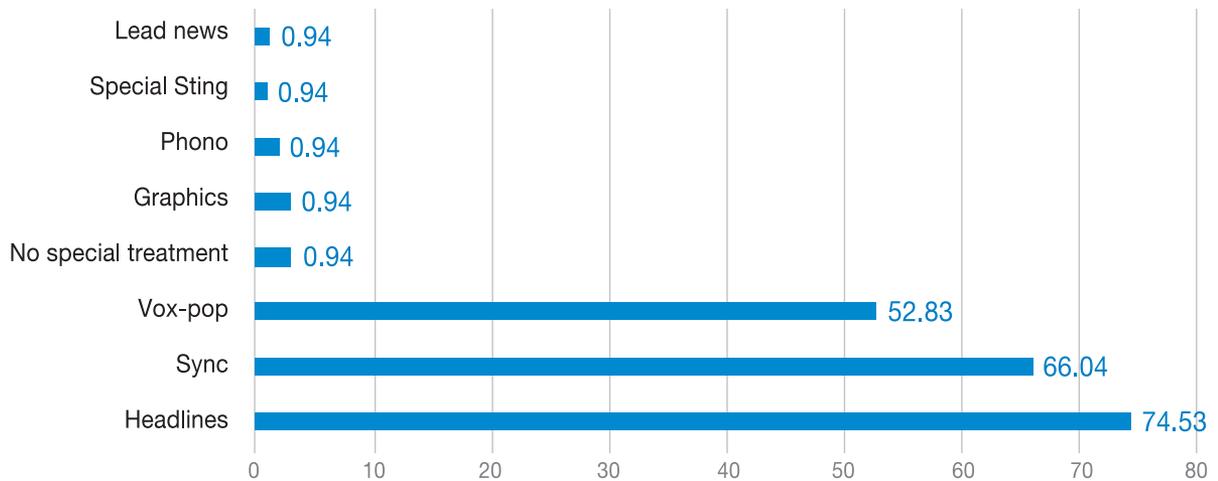
Chart 6: Newspaper headline size



6.9.2 Television Treatment Techniques

Television coverage employs a varied and dynamic set of presentation techniques. Nearly half of the stories (49%) use out-of-vision narration, and 48% are presented as packaged reports. Broadcasters also make frequent use of headlines (75%), sync bites (66%), and vox-pop segments (53%).

Chart 7: Use of special treatment on television



These techniques suggest an effort to make stories more engaging and accessible. However, strong presentation does not always translate into deeper or more balanced coverage. Without sufficient context or diverse voices, visual treatment alone has limited impact on audience understanding.

6.10 Tone and Perspective: How Stories are Framed

6.10.1 Dominance of Negative Framing

The tone analysis reveals a strong emphasis on negative perspectives in both newspapers and television coverage. A combined look into the newspaper and television reports revealed that more than half of the stories (57%) carried negative tone.

This negative framing potentially reinforces pessimistic public perceptions about marginalized communities and the issues affecting them.

Television shows a stronger negative trend than newspapers. Of the all TV stories found, 62% are negative.

6.10.2 Topic-Specific Tone Variations

Topic-wise cross-tabulation reveals that negative framing is not evenly distributed across issues, but is heavily concentrated in certain topics like crime or law and order.

Table 9: Cross tabulation of newspaper topic vs negative tone

Topic	Negative	Percentage
Crime	180	64
Law and Order	92	33
Attack on Minorities	65	23
Indigenous Rights	61	22
Exploitation	56	20

Table 10: Cross tabulation of television topic vs negative tone

Topic	Negative	Percentage
Crime	53	80
Law and Order	35	53
Communal Violence	30	45
Attack on Minorities	24	36
Tourism	7	11

6.11 Synthesis: The Composite Portrait of Marginalization

The findings collectively paint a concerning picture of how Bangladeshi news media represents marginalized communities. The representation is characterized by what might be termed a triple marginalization:

First, quantitative marginalization: The extreme scarcity of coverage (0.46% of all stories) renders these communities virtually invisible in mainstream public discourse.

Second, prominence marginalization: When coverage does occur, it's often confined to less prominent sections of newspapers, and while television gives reasonable placement within bulletins, the overall attention remains minimal.

Third, qualitative marginalization: The coverage is dominated by conflict, crime, and problem-focused framing, with limited representation of cultural richness, agency, or everyday experiences. The overwhelming focus on hill communities further marginalizes other groups within the already marginalized population.

This triple marginalization in news media representation likely reinforces social marginalization by limiting public understanding, shaping perceptions primarily through a lens of conflict and problems, and denying these communities a platform for self-representation and voice in the national conversation.

The data clearly indicates that achieving equitable representation requires not just increasing the quantity of coverage but fundamentally transforming how news media frames and engages with marginalized communities—shifting from episodic, conflict-driven reporting to sustained, nuanced coverage that acknowledges agency, diversity, and complexity.

7. EXPERT INSIGHTS: FINDINGS FROM KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

7.1 Overview

This chapter presents a qualitative analysis based on in-depth interviews with ten key informants including prominent indigenous rights leaders, journalists, academics, civil society representatives and researchers. Their insights provide a critical, ground-level perspective on the quantitative findings of the content analysis, helping to explain the why behind the numbers. The themes emerging from these interviews reveal a consensus on the systemic neglect and problematic representation of marginalized communities in Bangladesh's mainstream news media, while also charting a path toward more inclusive and ethical journalism.

7.2 A Consensus on Negligible and Selective Visibility

A unanimous view among the experts is that marginalized communities suffer from a profound lack of visibility in mainstream news media, directly corroborating the finding that only 0.46% of news coverage is dedicated to them.

- ▶ **Event-Driven and Negative Coverage:** Key informants consistently noted that visibility is contingent on specific, often negative, events. An indigenous rights activist stated, "Visibility is not entirely absent... but it is only seen when an incident occurs," citing conflicts in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) or attacks on Santal communities. This statement directly corroborates to the finding of event-driven coverage of marginalized communities where September 2024 saw the highest coverage due to violence and clashes in Chittagong Hill Tracts. An academic echoed this, pointing out that news media is "vision-wise class media," covering communities during festivals or violence but ignoring their ongoing struggles. The prominence of clash or festival related reports in this monitoring initiative also confirms the statement.
- ▶ **Hierarchy of Visibility:** Several experts, including chief executive of a civil society organization highlighted a "marginalization within marginalization." He noted that while the Chakma and Garo communities receive some attention, "the tea garden groups, the Rishi, the Das, the Shukurhari (Kaiputra)... these groups are not covered." This creates an invisible hierarchy among the marginalized themselves.
- ▶ **The Politics of Omission:** A journalist described this as a "sins of omission" trend, where the news media systematically ignores to include marginalized communities in the national narrative, a pattern she argues also applies to women, people with disabilities, and children.

7.3 Drivers of Episodic and Superficial Coverage

The experts identified a complex web of factors that lead to limited, event-driven reporting.

- ▶ **Political Pressure and State Policy:** This was cited as the most significant barrier. Multiple key informants referenced the unofficial government directive against using the term "Adivasi." Chief executive of a civil society organization detailed how a circular from the Ministry of Information discouraged ministers from attending indigenous events, after which "the media also became cautious." This state-level non-recognition trickles down to editorial policy.

- ▶ **Editorial Priorities and Commercial Interests:** An academic argued that news media owners, some of whom may be involved in land grabbing, have no incentive to investigate these issues. One renowned indigenous rights activist added that "audience interest, political pressure, advertisers, newsroom bias" all play a role, with media outlets avoiding stories that could jeopardize government advertising revenue.
- ▶ **Structural and Resource Constraints:** A lack of institutional priority was frequently mentioned. One key informant pointed out the absence of dedicated "Adivasi beats" in newsrooms. Two civil society representatives highlighted the logistical and financial challenges, with journalists lacking the resources and motivation to travel to remote areas.
- ▶ **Fear and Safety Concerns:** One journalist and writer identified "fear" as a primary reason—fear of the military, the administration, and powerful local interests for lack of visibility in news media. In the CHT, as described by one prominent human rights activist and development professional, news is "censored" both at the source and again in the newsroom before publication.

7.4 Problematic Framing and the Absence of Agency

The key informants were critical of how marginalized communities are portrayed when they do make the news.

- ▶ **Victimhood and Stereotyping:** The dominant narrative is one of victimhood. One key informant, "We usually see them as passive victims." Another cited a specific example of a news outlet presenting Garo wedding traditions through a stereotypical and misunderstood lens, focusing on "the boys leaving home and crying" without understanding the cultural context.
- ▶ **Exclusion of Agency and Voice:** Experts noted that the communities' own agency is systematically ignored. The academic said that agency is only attributed in a negative context: "They are given agency that they are committing these crimes. But in good work, they have no agency." Another academic expanded on this, arguing that even NGOs and the state keep these communities in a "dependent" and "passive" condition, which the news media then reflects.
- ▶ **The "Balance" Bias:** One rights activist provided a crucial critique of how news media's attempt at "balance" often distorts the truth. She gave the example of a communal attack being reported as a "clash between hill people and Bengalis," thereby obscuring the one-sided nature of the violence and impeding justice.

7.5 Critical Lack of Source Diversity

A key finding from the interviews is the consistent sidelining of community voices in their own stories.

- ▶ **Amplification of Intermediaries:** One key informant noted that government officials, MPs, and activists are the most quoted, while community voices are cut or marginalized. Another observed that within communities, it is often the "elite" whose voices are heard, while the most vulnerable remain unheard.
- ▶ **Barriers to Direct Access:** One journalist pointed to barriers of "language" and "distance," while another noted that a lack of education and confidence prevents many from approaching news outlets.

7.6 Impact of Coverage

The experts had mixed but largely pessimistic views on the tangible impact of news coverage.

- ▶ **Raising Social Awareness:** Most agreed that news media has played a role in increasing public awareness. One key informant said that news comments often show public sympathy and spark debate. Another shared a positive example where news coverage of the 1927 Land Act contributed to advocacy efforts that eventually led to its reform.

- ▶ **Failure to Drive Policy:** On the contrary, the consensus was that raising awareness rarely translates into policy change. One CSO representative clearly said that news media "cannot play a role in policy making." Another concurred, stating that while media influences public debate and awareness, its role in "policy change is not really seen."

7.7 Expert Recommendations

The key informants provided a clear set of recommendations for creating a more equitable news media landscape.

- ▶ **For News Organizations:**
 1. **Develop Clear Editorial Policies:** Need for strong, written editorial policies that mandate sensitive and fair coverage of marginalized groups.
 2. **Ensure Diversity in the newsroom:** Promote diversity within the newsroom including hiring journalists from marginalized communities.
 3. **Prioritize In-Depth and Follow-Up Reporting:** Moving beyond event-based reporting to sustained, investigative journalism.
- ▶ **For Journalists:**
 1. **Commit to Continuous Learning and Sensitization:** Journalists must "read extensively" and acquire "deep knowledge" to overcome stereotypes.
 2. **Engage in Fieldwork and Direct Sourcing:** Move beyond desk reports and secondary sources to engage directly with communities
- ▶ **For Civil Society, NGOs, and Academia:**
 1. **Facilitate Training and Bridge-Building:** Training institutions should organize workshops, facilitate community visits for journalists, and provide fellowships for reporting on marginalized issues.
 2. **Conduct and Disseminate Research:** More comprehensive research on marginalized communities to increase more informed reporting.
 3. **Advocate and Hold Media Accountable:** Civil society must "put pressure on the media" and hold them accountable for biased or omissionary coverage.

7.8 Conclusion

The insights from these ten experts paint a picture of a news media ecosystem that, through a combination of political pressure, commercial interest, structural inertia, and unconscious bias, systematically marginalizes the already marginalized. Their testimonies confirm that the quantitative scarcity of coverage is compounded by a qualitative crisis of framing and representation. The path forward, as they outline, requires a concerted, multi-stakeholder effort to reorient editorial priorities, invest in sensitized and rigorous journalism, and build bridges of trust between newsrooms and marginalized communities. Without such fundamental reforms, the news media will continue to perpetuate the very exclusion it is meant to challenge.

8. INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

8.1 Overview

The findings of this three-year news media monitoring study shows that marginalized communities in Bangladesh remain on the *margins of the gaze*—visible at moments of crisis, invisible in everyday discourse.

This chapter interprets those numbers through three interlocking perspectives: (a) the structural logic of Bangladeshi news media institutions, (b) the representational habits embedded in journalistic culture, and (c) the implications of those patterns for public understanding, policy, and democracy.

In doing so, it connects empirical results from the content analysis to broader debates on inclusion, voice, and accountability in contemporary journalism.

8.2 Visibility without Presence: The Paradox of Inclusion

The increase in the number of news items referencing marginalized groups indicates that these communities are not wholly absent from mainstream news media. However, this quantitative visibility often lacks qualitative presence. Most stories arise in reactive contexts—conflict, eviction, or disaster—where the community functions as a subject of pity or statistics rather than as an actor with voice and agency - *seen but not heard*.

Television channels' tendency to cover marginalized people mainly through short spot news or vox-pops reinforces this visibility-without-presence. By contrast, print media occasionally achieves greater narrative depth through features and editorials, yet even these retain a top-down tone. Hence, the news media system provides a form of *symbolic recognition* that satisfies diversity optics but rarely challenges structural inequality.

8.3 Structural and Professional Constraints

The interviews of journalists and experts reveal that structural and professional constraints affecting coverage of marginalized communities operate not as discrete problems but as an inter-connected and mutually reinforcing system. Resource scarcity lies at the core of this cycle. This affects safety and access which results in editorial priorities for "safe" stories. Finally, due to all these shortcomings, gaps in journalists' skills emerges which ultimately negatively affects the coverage of marginalized communities.

Resource Scarcity

Chronic resource constraints limit newsroom capacity to fund travel and time-intensive reporting from remote areas such as the hill tracts or Dalit settlements. This structural limitation produces a persistent absence of journalists on the ground, making marginalized communities largely invisible in routine news production.

Safety and Access

The lack of institutional investment heightens safety and access challenges for reporters, particularly when covering politically sensitive ethnic or caste-related issues. Without adequate logistical or editorial backing, such assignments are perceived as high-risk, further discouraging field-based reporting.

Editorial Priorities

These constraints translate into editorial preferences for short, "safe" stories sourced from official briefings, especially under deadline pressure. This reinforces a narrow definition of newsworthiness that privileges institutional voices while sidelining marginalized perspectives.

Skill Gaps

The routine avoidance of complex reporting limits opportunities for journalists to develop rights-based and diversity-sensitive skills. These professional gaps then feed back into editorial decisions, reinforcing reluctance to commission in-depth stories and normalizing minimal coverage.

Taken together, these dynamics form a chain of limitations in which structural shortcomings, editorial choices, and professional capacity deficits mutually reinforce one another, systematically constraining meaningful news media representation of marginalized communities.

8.4 Framing and the Hierarchies of Empathy

The dominance of victimhood framing reflects a deeper hierarchy of empathy within Bangladeshi journalism. When marginalized people appear mainly as sufferers, their experiences invite sympathy but not solidarity. Audiences may feel compassion for flood victims or displaced families yet rarely perceive them as equal participants in civic life.

This limits public imagination to a humanitarian rather than a rights-based understanding of marginalization.

8.5 Source Diversity and the Question of Voice

Perhaps the most critical deficit revealed by the analysis is the under-representation of direct community voices. Elite sourcing remains the default: government officials, police, NGOs, and experts dominate the quote space. According to indigenous rights leaders or researchers, when community members are quoted, their speech is frequently confined to emotive testimony-suffering, loss, complaint-while interpretation is left to elites. Thus, the "voice" of marginalized people is heard but not recognized as knowledge.

This imbalance perpetuates epistemic injustice. It means the systematic undervaluing of marginalized people as credible knowers. Without active sourcing from within communities, journalists cannot fully verify local realities, leading to various qualitative problems like authenticity and clarity in news reports identified in the coding results. Improving source diversity is therefore not merely ethical but epistemological-essential for the accuracy and completeness of journalism itself.

8.6 From Marginalization to Mutual Recognition : The Role of Journalism

At its core, journalism is a practice of recognition. When marginalized people are consistently portrayed through deficit frames, the public imagination learns to see them as peripheral. Conversely, when they appear as experts, artists, or community organizers, they become part of the national "we." Therefore, improving representation is not a matter of political correctness but of democratic necessity.

The findings highlight a gap between journalism's informational function and its relational function. Bangladeshi news media continue to inform audiences about the existence of marginalized groups, but they rarely cultivate relational understanding.

Bridging this gap requires participatory storytelling methods-co-creation of content, collaborative photo essays, and partnerships with community news media- for marginalized communities that reposition journalists as facilitators rather than narrators.

8.7 Implications for Policy and Capacity Building

To translate these insights into action, three domains require attention:

1. Newsroom Policy:

- ▶ Adopt inclusion checklists for story planning.
- ▶ Track diversity indicators (sources, topics, placement) as part of editorial audits.
- ▶ Institutionalize sensitivity review processes before publication or broadcast.

2. Professional/Academic Training:

- ▶ Conduct comprehensive training for reporters covering districts with significant ethnic or Dalit populations.
- ▶ Frequent news managers engagement programme for their buy-in.
- ▶ Integrate modules on rights-based and diversity reporting into journalism and media studies.

3. Collaboration and Accountability:

- ▶ Encourage collaboration between national outlets and local/community outlets to share context and voices.
- ▶ Collaboration between news media and civil society for evidence based reporting.

8.8 Toward a More Inclusive News Media Landscape

The study's title, *Margins of the Gaze*, encapsulates both a diagnosis and a call to action.

To move from margins to mainstream, three shifts are necessary:

- ▶ **From episodic to structural reporting:** Treating marginalization not as isolated incidents but as systemic outcomes linked to policy and history.
- ▶ **From empathy to equality:** Reframing subjects not merely as victims deserving pity but as citizens entitled to rights.
- ▶ **From representation to participation:** Involving communities directly in story conception and verification.

These shifts demand courage from editors, curiosity from reporters, and commitment from policymakers who recognize that inclusive news media are integral to inclusive governance.

8.9 Conclusion

The interpretation of findings underscores that representation is both a professional practice and a moral horizon. Bangladeshi news media have made progress toward inclusivity, yet the underlying paradigms of newsworthiness, authority, and narrative control remain unchanged. As long as marginalized communities appear primarily through crisis frames and mediated voices, the news media will continue to reproduce the very hierarchies it claims to expose.

The challenge, then, is not merely to add more stories about the marginalized but to change how stories are imagined—to expand the newsroom's field of vision so that the margins become part of the centre. Only through such a transformation, journalism can fulfil its democratic promise: giving visibility, voice, and dignity to all citizens of the republic.

KEY EVENTS

Six arrested over rape of two Garo girls

January 2022

In Haluaghat upazila of Mymensingh, six people were arrested in a case filed over the alleged gang rape of two Garo schoolgirls. The incident took place in Katabari village near the India border, when girls were returning home from a neighbour's wedding ceremony. A case was filed on 30 December naming 10 accused, and local residents held protests demanding their arrest before law enforcement conducted drive in Gazipur, Tarakanda and Haluaghat to detain the suspects.

Two farmers kill self

April 2022

Two Santal farmers in Godagari upazila of Rajshahi allegedly committed suicide by drinking poison after being denied irrigation water for their farmland during the boro season. Local sources said they had repeatedly sought water from a deep tube-well operator but were refused, leaving their crops at risk of severe damage. The incident sparked protests and drew attention to discrimination and water access issues affecting indigenous farmers in the area.

23 houses set on fire in Khagrachhari

July 2022

In Mahalchhari, Khagrachhari, locals of the hill community accused neighbouring Bengali settlers of looting and burning around 30 homes amid a long-standing land dispute. The alleged incident has been denied by the Bengali locals, and administration and police officials had said their investigation did not find

evidence that the houses were set on fire by others. Political parties as well as civil society organizations, however, condemned the accused and demanded prompt action.

KNF-peace committee meeting in Bandarban

November 2023

Peace talks between representatives of the Kuki-Chin National Front (KNF) and local authorities took place in Bandarban, amid escalating security concerns following a series of armed incidents, including attacks on banks and clashes with law enforcement in the hill district. The dialogue was initiated to curb violence, restore stability, and create conditions for the surrender and rehabilitation of KNF members. Both sides agreed to continue discussions as part of broader efforts to stabilise security and prevent further violence in the region.

Eviction drive at Harijan Colony

June 2024

Dhaka South City Corporation (DSCC) had launched an eviction drive at Miranzilla Harijan City Colony in Bangshal, Old Dhaka, to clear land for a market project, affecting hundreds of families from the Harijan community who have lived there for generations. The move sparked protests as residents said they were being displaced without rehabilitation. Following a writ petition, the High Court issued a 30-day stay on the eviction and directed authorities to arrange proper alternative housing before proceeding further.

Kalpana Chakma's unresolved abduction

June 2024

A woman named Kalpana Chakma was abducted from her home in Baghaichhari, Rangamati on 12 June 1996 and has remained missing since then. Her family and rights activists have continued to protest and demand answers about her whereabouts, saying she was never found despite long-running efforts. The case remains emblematic of unresolved abduction in CHT area and continues to receive coverage in national news outlets each year on the anniversary of her abduction.

Communal violence and arson in Khagrachari and Rangamati

September 2024

Between 18 and 20 September 2024, a series of communal violence were reported in the Khagrachari and Rangamati districts of the Chattogram Hill Tracts. Homes and business establishments belonging to

indigenous hill communities were vandalised and set ablaze after a series of clashes with the Bengali settlers. In total, four people were killed, at least 72 were injured, and more than 70 shops were vandalised or burned during the clashes.

Michael Chakma files complaint over his enforced disappearance

December 2024

UPDF leader Michael Chakma filed a written complaint with the International Crimes Tribunal in connection with his enforced disappearance. After testifying before the Commission of Inquiry on Enforced Disappearances, he alleged that he was picked up from Dhaka in April 2019 and held in secret detention for over five years before being released in August 2024. Michael said he holds Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina responsible for his enforced disappearance and subjected to prolonged detention without trial.

KII TALKING POINTS

1. General Perception

- ▶ In your opinion, how visible are marginalized and excluded communities in mainstream media?

Why do you think their visibility is limited or selective? Can you share specific examples?

2. Representation & Stereotypes

- ▶ Do you think marginalized groups are portrayed fairly in the news? Why or why not?
- ▶ How often do you notice stories focusing on their agency versus portraying them as passive victims?
- ▶ Whose voices are usually amplified - the communities themselves, or intermediaries (government, NGOs, elites)?

3. Access & Participation

- ▶ What barriers prevent marginalized communities from directly accessing mainstream media platforms?
- ▶ Do journalists and editors make active efforts to reach out to these communities? Or do they mostly rely on secondary sources?
- ▶ Are there any alternative/community media spaces where marginalized voices are more strongly represented?

4. Editorial Choices & Priorities

- ▶ What factors influence editorial decisions to cover or ignore marginalized communities (audience interest, political pressure, advertisers, newsroom bias)?
- ▶ Do you notice sustained, follow-up reporting on their issues, or mostly one-off, event-driven coverage?

- ▶ Are there topics or communities that are consistently overlooked? Why do you think that is?

5. Challenges for Journalists

- ▶ What practical challenges do journalists face in reporting on marginalized communities (access, safety, censorship, lack of resources)?
- ▶ How do newsroom hierarchies or editorial policies shape coverage?
- ▶ Do journalists receive any training or guidance on covering marginalized issues?

6. Impact of Coverage

- ▶ From your perspective, has media coverage led to policy change, public debates, or social awareness around marginalized groups?
- ▶ Do marginalized communities themselves perceive media coverage as helpful, harmful, or irrelevant?

7. Recommendations & Way Forward

- ▶ What steps can news organizations take to ensure fair, inclusive, and sustained coverage?
- ▶ How can journalists be better trained or sensitized to avoid stereotypes and strengthen marginalized voices?
- ▶ What role can civil society, NGOs, and academia play in building stronger bridges between the media and excluded communities?

CODE SHEET FOR NEWSPAPER

Newspaper

1. Ittefaq
2. Prothom Alo
3. Samakal
4. The Daily Star
5. The New Age

News Type

1. Event/Spot News
2. Follow-up Report
3. Special Report
4. In-depth/Investigative Report
5. Feature
6. Interview
7. Editorial
8. Opinion (Front Page)
9. Photo Story

News Source

1. Staff Correspondent /Reporter
2. Local Correspondent
3. News Agency
4. Press Release/Handout
5. Foreign Correspondent
6. Byline
7. Desk Report
8. Editorial Writer
9. Other

Headline Size

1. Single-Column (S/C)
2. Double-Column (D/C)
3. 3/C
4. 4/C
5. 5/C
6. 6/C
7. Banner

News Page

1. Front Page
2. Back Page
3. News Page
4. Editorial
5. Metro Page
6. National Page
7. Business Page
8. Cultural Page
9. Women's Page
10. Children's Page
11. Health Page

Story tone

1. Positive
2. Negative
3. Neutral
4. Colour
5. Black & White
6. Four-colour

Placement

1. Upper Fold
2. Lower Fold

News Treatment

1. Boxed
2. Italic Headline
3. Coloured Heading
4. Reversed Heading
5. Screen
6. Illustration/Logo
7. Insert/Highlight
8. Report with picture
9. No special treatment

Issues

1. Adaptation
2. Agriculture
3. Attack on Minorities
4. Crime
5. Children
6. Child Rights Violations
7. Climate Displacement
8. Communal Violence
9. Constitutional Recognition
10. Culture
11. Custodial Deaths
12. Deforestation
13. Destruction of Cultural Heritage Sites
14. Development Intervention
15. Discriminatory Laws
16. Dropouts
17. Economy
18. Education
19. Environment
20. Environmental threats
21. Events

22. Exploitation
23. Extrajudicial Arrests
24. Extrajudicial Killing
25. Festivals/Celebrations
26. Festivals/Celebrations Under Threat
27. Forced eviction/displacement
28. Gender Based Violence
29. Government Policies
30. Health
31. Health Hazards
32. Hilly People
33. Human Rights
34. Indigenous Languages
35. Indigenous Rights
36. Lack of Education
37. Lack of Healthcare Access
38. Land
39. Land Grabbing
40. Land Rights
41. Law and Order
42. Legal Battle
43. Livelihood
44. Malnutrition
45. Maternal Health
46. Migration
47. Natural Disaster
48. Peace Accord
49. Political Representation
50. Poverty
51. Plainland people
52. Torture
53. Tourism
54. Unemployment
55. Voting Rights
56. Water crisis
57. Women

Actor

1. Ain O Salish Kendra
2. Armed Forces (Bangladesh Army, Bangladesh Navy and Bangladesh Air Force)
3. Armed Group (local)
4. Armed Group (transnational)
5. Bangladesh Adivasi Forum
6. Bangladesh Awami League and affiliates
7. Bangladesh Nationalist Party and affiliates
8. Bangladesh Police
9. Border Guard Bangladesh
10. Development Partners
11. Embassies/ Diplomatic Missions
12. Government of Bangladesh
13. Harijan & Dalit
14. Hilly People
15. Human Rights Organisations
16. Indigenous Cultural Organization
17. Indigenous and Minority Political Groups/Affiliates
18. Intelligence Agencies
19. Jamaat-e-Islami and affiliates
20. Jatiya Party and affiliates
21. International Rights Organisations
22. Local Administration
23. Local Bengali People/Settlers
24. Ethnic Association and Cultural Group
25. Ministry of Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs
26. Marginal Professionals
27. NGOs/CSOs/Civil Society
28. Other Political Party/affiliates
29. Parliamentary Caucus
30. Plainland people
31. Private Sector
32. Rapid Action Battalion

33. Religious Leaders
34. Religious Minorities
35. Transparency International Bangladesh
36. United Nations

Authenticity

1. Info Gaps/Inaccuracy
2. Sweeping Statement
3. Evidence-documents/Direct observation not cited
4. Source weak and vague/inadequate
5. All involved parties not covered
6. Too short for proper assessment
7. No Problem
8. N/A

Readability

1. Jargons/hard words
2. Sentences long and complex
3. Lack of flow of language and structure-Ideas or Information/ Paragraphs not linked
4. Irrelevant information/Repetition/ Unnecessary Length
5. Lacking in Human Interest
6. Too short for assessment
7. No problem with readability
8. N/A

Clarity

1. Information Inconsistent/Not Authentic
2. Unanswered questions/Incomplete Information (Gaps in context, cause, consequences)
3. Focus not clear/lack of focus
4. Jerks in logical sequence
5. No Problem in Clarity
6. N/A

CODE SHEET FOR TELEVISION

TV

1. Channel 24
2. Channel i
3. Independent Television
4. Jamuna Television
5. Maasranga Television

News Type

1. Event/Spot News
2. Follow-up Report
3. In-depth/ Investigative Report
4. Special Report
5. Feature
6. Interview

News Source

1. Staff Correspondent /Reporter
2. Local Correspondent
3. News Agency
4. Desk Report
5. Other

Story Tone

1. Positive
2. Negative
3. Neutral

News part

1. First Part
2. Second Part
3. Third Part

Treatment

1. In Vision (IV)
2. Out of Vision (OOV)
3. Package (Pkg)

Special Treatment

1. Graphics
2. Sync
3. Phono
4. Vox-pop
5. Lead news
6. Studio discussion
7. Special Sting
8. Headlines
9. Coming up
10. Breaking news
11. No special treatment

Topic/issues

1. Adaptation
2. Agriculture

3. Attack on Minorities
4. Crime
5. Children
6. Child Rights Violations
7. Climate Displacement
8. Communal Violence
9. Constitutional Recognition
10. Culture
11. Custodial Deaths
12. Deforestation
13. Destruction of Cultural Heritage Sites
14. Development Intervention
15. Discriminatory Laws
16. Dropouts
17. Economy
18. Education
19. Environment
20. Environmental threats
21. Events
22. Exploitation
23. Extrajudicial Arrests
24. Extrajudicial Killing
25. Festivals/Celebrations
26. Festivals/Celebrations Under Threat
27. Forced eviction/displacement
28. Gender Based Violence
29. Government Policies
30. Health
31. Health Hazards
32. Hilly People
33. Human Rights
34. Indigenous Languages
35. Indigenous Rights
36. Lack of Education
37. Lack of Healthcare Access
38. Land

39. Land Grabbing
40. Land Rights
41. Law and Order
42. Legal Battle
43. Livelihood
44. Malnutrition
45. Maternal Health
46. Migration
47. Natural Disaster
48. Peace Accord
49. Political Representation
50. Poverty
51. Plainland people
52. Torture
53. Tourism
54. Unemployment
55. Voting Rights
56. Water crisis
57. Women

Actor

1. Ain O Salish Kendra
2. Armed Forces (Bangladesh Army, Bangladesh Navy and Bangladesh Air Force)
3. Armed Group (local)
4. Armed Group (transnational)
5. Bangladesh Adivasi Forum
6. Bangladesh Awami League and affiliates
7. Bangladesh Nationalist Party and affiliates
8. Bangladesh Police
9. Border Guard Bangladesh
10. Development Partners
11. Embassies/ Diplomatic Missions
12. Government of Bangladesh

13. Harijan & Dalit/Hilly People
14. Human Rights Organisations
15. Indigenous Cultural Organization
16. Indigenous and Minority Political Groups/Affiliates
17. Intelligence Agencies
18. Jamaat-e-Islami and affiliates
19. Jatiya Party and affiliates
20. International Rights Organisations
21. Local Administration
22. Local Bengali People/Settlers
23. Ethnic Association and Cultural Group
24. Ministry of Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs
25. Marginal Professionals
26. NGOs/CSOs/Civil Society
27. Other Political Party/affiliates
28. Parliamentary Caucus
29. Plainland people
30. Private Sector
31. Rapid Action Battalion
32. Religious Leaders
33. Religious Minorities
34. Transparency International Bangladesh
35. United Nations

Authenticity

1. Info Gaps/Inaccuracy
2. Sweeping Statement
3. Evidence-documents/Direct observation not cited
4. Source weak and vague/inadequate
5. All involved parties not covered
6. Too short for proper assessment
7. No Problem

Clarity

1. Information Inconsistent/Not Authentic
2. Unanswered questions/Incomplete
3. Information (Gaps in context, cause, consequences)
4. Focus not clear/lack of focus
5. Jerks in logical sequence
6. Too brief for proper assessment
7. No problem with clarity

DATA TABLES

Total Stories Coverage

Total stories of newspaper								
Year	Samakal	Daily Star	Ittefaq	Prothom Alo	New Age	Total	Total (Marginalised & Excluded Community)	Percentage of coverage
2022	8693	6485	8334	6485	5708	35705	508	0.476%
2023	8636	6836	8302	6408	5392	35574		
2024	8305	6345	9668	5820	5207	35345		
Grant Total	25634	19666	26304	18713	16307	106624		

Total stories of TV								
Year	Jamuna	Maasranga	Channel-24	Channel I	Independent TV	Total	News Count (Marginalised & Excluded Community)	Percentage
2022	1874	1203	1562	2356	3172	10167	106	0.383%
2023	1729	1191	1264	1722	2416	8322		
2024	1695	1278	1571	2597	2045	9186		
Grand Total	5298	3672	4397	6675	7633	27675		

Outlet-wise Total Stories

	Outlets	Frequency	Percentage
Newspaper	Prothom Alo	122	24.02
	The New Age	116	22.83
	Samakal	106	20.87
	The Daily Star	98	19.29
	Ittefaq	66	12.99
	Total	508	100.00
TV	Channel i	23	21.70
	Independent Television	23	21.70
	Channel 24	22	20.75
	Jamuna Television	19	17.92
	Maasranga Television	19	17.92
	Total	106	100.00

Newspaper Analysis

Month-wise Total Stories

Year	Month	Frequency	Percentage
2022	January	41	8.07
	April	62	12.20
	July	44	8.66
	October	43	8.46
2023	February	40	7.87
	May	23	4.53
	August	40	7.87
	November	24	4.72
2024	March	15	2.95
	June	47	9.25
	September	87	17.13
	December	42	8.27
Grand Total		508	100.00

Newspaper-wise Total Stories

Outlets	Frequency	Percentage
Prothom Alo	122	24.02
The New Age	116	22.83
Samakal	106	20.87
The Daily Star	98	19.29
Ittefaq	66	12.99
Grand Total	508	100.00

Type of Stories

News type	Frequency	Percentage
Event/Spot News	357	70.28
Follow-up Report	39	7.68
Special Report	31	6.10
Photo Story	28	5.51
Feature	27	5.31
Editorial	24	4.72
Interview	2	0.39
Grand Total	508	100.00

Source of Stories

News source	Frequency	Percentage
Staff Correspondent /Reporter	235	46.26
Local Correspondent	126	24.80
Byline	57	11.22
Other	26	5.12
Editorial Writer	24	4.72
Desk Report	20	3.94
News Agency	17	3.35
Press Release/Handout	3	0.59
Grand Total	508	100.00

Headline Size of Stories

Headline size	Frequency	Percentage
Single-Column (S/C)	222	43.70
Double-Column (D/C)	153	30.12
3/C	80	15.75
4/C	39	7.68
5/C	12	2.36
6/C	2	0.39
Grand Total	508	100.00

Pages of Stories

News Page	Frequency	Percentage
News Page	238	46.85
Back Page	89	17.52
Front Page	72	14.17
Metro Page	45	8.86
National Page	29	5.71
Editorial	24	4.72
Women's Page	5	0.98
Business Page	4	0.79
Cultural Page	2	0.39
Grand Total	508	100.00

Tone of the Stories

Story tone	Frequency	Percentage
Negative	281	55.31
Positive	158	31.10
Neutral	69	13.58
Grand Total	508	100.00

Colour of the Stories

Colour	Frequency	Percentage
Black & White	317	62.40
Four-colour	191	37.60
Grand Total	508	100.00

Placement of Stories

Placement	Frequency	Percentage
Upper Fold	342	67.32
Lower Fold	166	32.68
Grand Total	508	100.00

Treatment of Stories

Treatment	Frequency	Percentage
No special treatment/ NA	270	53.15
Report with picture	165	32.48
Insert/Highlight	114	22.44
Boxed	16	3.15
Screen	8	1.57
Illustration/Logo	2	0.39
Coloured Heading	1	0.20

Issues Covered in the Stories

Issues	Frequency	Percentage
Crime	205	40.35
Indigenous Rights	137	26.97
Law and Order	119	23.43
Human Rights	104	20.47
Attack on Minorities	83	16.34
Peace Accord	69	13.58
Communal Violence	68	13.39
Land	66	12.99
Exploitation	65	12.80
Land Rights	60	11.81
Events	50	9.84
Culture	43	8.46
Festivals/Celebrations	43	8.46
Women	42	8.27
Government Policies	37	7.28
Livelihood	33	6.50
Agriculture	32	6.30
Land Grabbing	29	5.71
Forced eviction/displacement	28	5.51
Water crisis	27	5.31
Education	26	5.12
Indigenous Languages	24	4.72
Constitutional Recognition	19	3.74
Political Representation	18	3.54
Torture	16	3.15
Economy	15	2.95
Poverty	14	2.76
Children	14	2.76
Gender Based Violence	13	2.56
Health	11	2.17
Legal Battle	10	1.97
Natural Disaster	10	1.97
Development Intervention	10	1.97
Tourism	8	1.57
Environment	8	1.57

Lack of Healthcare Access	7	1.38
Extrajudicial Arrests	6	1.18
Deforestation	5	0.98
Child Rights Violations	4	0.79
Environmental threats	4	0.79
Unemployment	4	0.79
Voting Rights	4	0.79
Discriminatory Laws	4	0.79
Adaptation	4	0.79
Lack of Education	3	0.59
Destruction of Cultural Heritage Sites	2	0.39
Dropouts	2	0.39
Extrajudicial Killing	2	0.39
Climate Displacement	1	0.20
Maternal Health	1	0.20
Migration	1	0.20
Festivals/Celebrations Under Threat	1	0.20

Actor Covered in the Stories

Actor	Frequency	Percentage
Hilly People	333	65.55
Government of Bangladesh	169	33.27
Plainland people	165	32.48
NGOs/CSOs/Civil Society	157	30.91
Local Administration	139	27.36
Bangladesh Police	116	22.83
Armed Group (local)	78	15.35
Ethnic Association and Cultural Group	77	15.16
Indigenous and Minority Political Groups/Affiliates	77	15.16
Local Bengali People/Settlers	69	13.58
Armed Forces (Bangladesh Army, Bangladesh Navy and Bangladesh Air Force)	56	11.02
Ministry of Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs	41	8.07
Other Political Party/affiliates	38	7.48
Bangladesh Adivasi Forum	35	6.89

Harijan & Dalit	30	5.91
Rapid Action Battalion	27	5.31
Indigenous Cultural Organization	22	4.33
Human Rights Organisations	20	3.94
Private Sector	20	3.94
Bangladesh Awami League and affiliates	19	3.74
Border Guard Bangladesh	13	2.56
United Nations	7	1.38
Parliamentary Causcus	7	1.38
Religious Leaders	3	0.59
International Rights Organisations	3	0.59
Bangladesh Nationalist Party and affiliates	3	0.59
Ain O Salish Kendra	3	0.59
Religious Minorities	2	0.39
Development Partners	2	0.39
Armed Group (transnational)	2	0.39
Embassies/ Diplomatic Missions	1	0.20
Transparency International Bangladesh	1	0.20

Authenticity of Stories

Authenticity	Frequency	Percentage
All involved parties not covered	258	50.79
No Problem	151	29.72
Evidence—documents/Direct observation not cited	75	14.76
Source weak and vague/inadequate	69	13.58
N/A	50	9.84
Too short for proper assessment	30	5.91
Info Gaps/Inaccuracy	11	2.17
Sweeping Statement	1	0.20

Readability of Stories

Readability	Frequency	Percentage
No problem with readability	349	68.70
Lack of flow of language and structure— Ideas or Information/Paragraphs not linked	70	13.78
N/A	44	8.66
Sentences long and complex	35	6.89
Irrelevant information/Repetition/ Unnecessary Length	14	2.76
Too short for assessment	14	2.76
Jargons/hard words	9	1.77
Lacking in Human Interest	7	1.38

Clarity of Stories

Clarity	Frequency	Percentage
Unanswered questions/Incomplete Information (Gaps in context, cause, consequences)	270	53.15
No Problem in Clarity	183	36.02
Jerks in logical sequence	70	13.78
N/A	43	8.46
Information Inconsistent/Not Authentic	13	2.56
Focus not clear/lack of focus	10	1.97

Analysis TV

Month-wise Total Stories

Year	Month	Frequency	Percentage
2022	Jan	9	8.49
	Apr	19	17.92
	July	0	0.00
	Oct	4	3.77
2023	Feb	10	9.43
	May	11	10.38
	Aug	6	5.66
	Nov	1	0.94
2024	Mar	1	0.94
	Jun	4	3.77
	Sep	37	34.91
	Dec	4	3.77
Grand Total		106	100.00

TV-wise Total Stories

TV	Frequency	Percentage
Channel i	23	21.70
Independent Television	23	21.70
Channel 24	22	20.75
Jamuna Television	19	17.92
Maasranga Television	18	16.98
Grand Total	106	100.00

Type of Stories

News type	Frequency	Percentage
Event/Spot News	81	76.42
Follow-up Report	15	14.15
Special Report	8	7.55
Feature	2	1.89
Grand Total	106	100.00

Source of Stories

News source	Frequency	Percentage
Desk Report	40	37.74
Staff Correspondent /Reporter	40	37.74
Local Correspondent	26	24.53
Grand Total	106	100.00

Tone of Stories

Story issue	Frequency	Percentage
Negative	66	62.26
Positive	33	31.13
Neutral	7	6.60
Grand Total	106	100.00

Parts of Bulletin

News part	Frequency	Percentage
First Part	48	45.28
Second Part	32	30.19
Third Part	26	24.53
Grand Total	106	100.00

Treatment of Stories

Treatment	Frequency	Percentage
Out of Vision (OOV)	52	49.06
Package (Pkg)	51	48.11
In Vision (IV)	3	2.83
Grand Total	106	100.00

Special Treatment of Stories

Special treatment	Frequency	Percentage
Headlines	79	74.53
Sync	70	66.04
Vox-pop	56	52.83
No special treatment	3	2.83
Graphics	3	2.83
Phono	2	1.89
Special Sting	1	0.94
Lead news	1	0.94

Issues of Stories Covered

Issues	Frequency	Percentage
Crime	59	55.66
Law and Order	39	36.79
Communal Violence	35	33.02
Attack on Minorities	29	27.36
Culture	15	14.15
Festivals/Celebrations	14	13.21
Tourism	12	11.32
Events	10	9.43
Education	8	7.55
Indigenous Rights	8	7.55
Children	7	6.60
Indigenous Languages	7	6.60
Economy	6	5.66
Forced eviction/displacement	5	4.72
Exploitation	4	3.77
Agriculture	4	3.77
Water crisis	4	3.77
Land Grabbing	4	3.77
Peace Accord	3	2.83
Livelihood	3	2.83
Natural Disaster	3	2.83
Land	3	2.83
Human Rights	2	1.89
Gender Based Violence	2	1.89
Women	2	1.89
Development Intervention	2	1.89

Poverty	2	1.89
Land Rights	2	1.89
Dropouts	1	0.94
Lack of Education	1	0.94
Health	1	0.94
Maternal Health	1	0.94
Political Representation	1	0.94
Festivals/Celebrations Under Threat	1	0.94
Constitutional Recognition	1	0.94
Extrajudicial Arrests	1	0.94
Deforestation	1	0.94

Actor of Stories Covered

Actor	Frequency	Percentage
Hilly People	83	78.30
Government of Bangladesh	39	36.79
Local Administration	37	34.91
Bangladesh Police	29	27.36
Armed Forces (Bangladesh Army, Bangladesh Navy and Bangladesh Air Force)	28	26.42
Local Bengali People/Settlers	26	24.53
Armed Group (local)	17	16.04
Plainland people	15	14.15
Local Ethnic Association	12	11.32
NGOs/CSOs/Civil Society	11	10.38
Indigenous and Minority Political Groups/affiliates	10	9.43
Indigenous Cultural Organization	8	7.55
Rapid Action Battalion	7	6.60
Border Guard Bangladesh	5	4.72
Ministry of Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs	4	3.77
Bangladesh Awami League and affiliates	2	1.89
Bangladesh Nationalist Party and affiliates	2	1.89
Religious Leaders	1	0.94
Other Political Party/affiliates	1	0.94
Development Partners	1	0.94
Harijan & Dalit	1	0.94
Religious Minorities	1	0.94

Authenticity of Stories

Authenticity	Frequency	Percentage
All involved parties not covered	58	54.72
No Problem	37	34.91
Source weak and vague/inadequate	17	16.04
Too short for proper assessment	15	14.15
Evidence—documents/Direct observation not cited	14	13.21

Clarity of Stories

Clarity	Frequency	Percentage
Unanswered questions/Incomplete Information (Gaps in context, cause, consequences)	57	53.77
No problem with clarity	43	41.51
Too brief for proper assessment	3	2.83
Jerks in logical sequence	2	1.89
Focus not clear/lack of focus	1	0.94

Major Combined Codes for Newspaper and TV

Combined Total Stories

Outlets	No. of Stories	Percentage
Prothom Alo	122	19.87
The New Age	116	18.89
Samakal	106	17.26
The Daily Star	98	15.96
Ittefaq	66	10.75
Independent Television	23	3.75
Channel i	23	3.75
Channel 24	22	3.58
Jamuna Television	19	3.09
Maasranga Television	19	3.09
Grand Total	614	100.00

Combined Type of Stories

Type of stories	No. of stories	Percentage
Event/Spot News	438	71.34
Follow-up Report	54	8.79
Special Report	39	6.35
Feature	29	4.72
Photo Story	28	4.56
Editorial	24	3.91
Interview	2	0.33
Grand Total	614	100.00

Note: Editorial are not applicable to TV news outlets.

They have been included in this table for complete distribution ensuring total percentage sums to 100.

Combined Source of Stories

Source of stories	No. of stories	Percentage
Staff Correspondent /Reporter	274	44.70
Local Correspondent	152	24.80
Desk Report	60	9.79
Byline	57	9.30
Other	26	4.24
Editorial Writer	24	3.92
News Agency	17	2.77
Press Release/Handout	3	0.49
Grand Total	613	100.00

Combined Tone of Stories

Story tone	Frequency	Percentage
Negative	347	56.51
Positive	191	31.11
Neutral	76	12.38
Grand Total	614	100.00

Combined Major Issues Covered

Issues	No. of response	Percentage
Crime	264	43.00
Law and Order	158	25.73
Indigenous Rights	145	23.62
Attack on Minorities	112	18.24
Human Rights	106	17.26
Communal Violence	103	16.78
Peace Accord	72	11.73
Exploitation	69	11.24
Land	68	11.07
Land Rights	62	10.10
Events	60	9.77
Culture	58	9.45
Festivals/Celebrations	44	7.17
Women	43	7.00
Government Policies	37	6.03
Livelihood	36	5.86
Agriculture	36	5.86
Education	34	5.54
Land Grabbing	33	5.37
Forced eviction/displacement	33	5.37
Water crisis	31	5.05
Indigenous Languages	31	5.05
Economy	21	3.42
Children	21	3.42
Constitutional Recognition	20	3.26
Tourism	20	3.26
Political Representation	19	3.09
Torture	16	2.61
Poverty	16	2.61
Gender Based Violence	15	2.44
Natural Disaster	13	2.12
Health	12	1.95
Development Intervention	12	1.95
Legal Battle	10	1.63
Environment	8	1.30
Lack of Healthcare Access	7	1.14
Extrajudicial Arrests	7	1.14
Deforestation	6	0.98
Child Rights Violations	4	0.65

Environmental threats	4	0.65
Unemployment	4	0.65
Voting Rights	4	0.65
Discriminatory Laws	4	0.65
Adaptation	4	0.65
Lack of Education	4	0.65
Dropouts	3	0.49
Destruction of Cultural Heritage Sites	2	0.33
Extrajudicial Killing	2	0.33
Maternal Health	2	0.33
Festivals/Celebrations Under Threat	2	0.33
Climate Displacement	1	0.16
Migration	1	0.16

Combined Major Actors Covered

Actor	No. of response	Percentage
Hilly People	416	67.75
Government of Bangladesh	208	33.88
Plainland people	180	29.32
Local Administration	176	28.66
NGOs/CSOs/Civil Society	168	27.36
Bangladesh Police	145	23.62
Armed Group (local)	95	15.47
Local Bengali People/Settlers	95	15.47
Ethnic Association and Cultural Group	89	14.50
Indigenous and Minority Political Groups/Affiliates	87	14.17
Armed Forces (Bangladesh Army, Bangladesh Navy and Bangladesh Air Force)	84	13.68
Ministry of Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs	45	7.33
Other Political Party/affiliates	39	6.35
Bangladesh Adivasi Forum	35	5.70
Rapid Action Battalion	34	5.54
Harijan & Dalit	31	5.05
Indigenous Cultural Organization	30	4.89
Bangladesh Awami League and affiliates	21	3.42
Human Rights Organisations	20	3.26
Private Sector	20	3.26
Border Guard Bangladesh	18	2.93
United Nations	7	1.14

Parliamentary Caucus	7	1.14
Bangladesh Nationalist Party and affiliates	5	0.81
Religious Leaders	4	0.65
International Rights Organisations	3	0.49
Ain O Salish Kendra	3	0.49
Religious Minorities	3	0.49
Development Partners	3	0.49
Armed Group (transnational)	2	0.33
Embassies/ Diplomatic Missions	1	0.16
Transparency International Bangladesh	1	0.16

Cross Tabulation - Newspaper

Major Issues vs Negative Tone of Stoties

Issues	Negative	Percentage
Crime	180	64.06
Law and Order	92	32.74
Attack on Minorities	65	23.13
Indigenous Rights	61	21.71
Exploitation	56	19.93
Human Rights	51	18.15
Communal Violence	46	16.37
Land	43	15.30
Land Rights	36	12.81
Peace Accord	28	9.96
Women	24	8.54
Water crisis	23	8.19
Land Grabbing	22	7.83
Forced eviction/displacement	21	7.47
Agriculture	16	5.69
Torture	15	5.34
Gender Based Violence	13	4.63
Government Policies	11	3.91
Indigenous Languages	10	3.56
Political Representation	9	3.20
Poverty	8	2.85
Legal Battle	8	2.85
Education	7	2.49

Children	7	2.49
Natural Disaster	7	2.49
Events	6	2.14
Livelihood	6	2.14
Lack of Healthcare Access	6	2.14
Economy	5	1.78
Health	5	1.78
Tourism	5	1.78
Extrajudicial Arrests	5	1.78
Culture	4	1.42
Constitutional Recognition	4	1.42
Environment	4	1.42
Child Rights Violations	4	1.42
Festivals/Celebrations	3	1.07
Deforestation	3	1.07
Environmental threats	3	1.07
Unemployment	3	1.07
Voting Rights	3	1.07
Development Intervention	2	0.71
Lack of Education	2	0.71
Destruction of Cultural Heritage Sites	2	0.71
Dropouts	2	0.71
Extrajudicial Killing	2	0.71
Climate Displacement	1	0.36
Maternal Health	1	0.36
Migration	1	0.36

Major Issues vs Hilly and Plainland People

Issues	Hilly People	(Hilly)	Plainland people	(Plainland)
Land grabbing	15	51.72	16	55.17
Festivals and Celebration	27	62.79	20	46.51

Major Issues vs Harijan and Dalit

Issues	Harijan and Dalit	Percentage
Human Rights	19	63.33
Forced eviction/displacement	14	46.67
Land Rights	11	36.67
Exploitation	10	33.33
Indigenous Rights	7	23.33
Land	7	23.33
Government Policies	6	20.00
Crime	4	13.33
Discriminatory Laws	3	10.00
Poverty	2	6.67
Development Intervention	2	6.67
Law and Order	1	3.33
Land Grabbing	1	3.33
Legal Battle	1	3.33
Events	1	3.33
Livelihood	1	3.33
Economy	1	3.33
Health	1	3.33

Issues vs Bengali Settler

Issues	Bengali Settler	Percentage
Crime	53	76.81
Communal Violence	45	65.22
Attack on Minorities	41	59.42
Law and Order	36	52.17
Indigenous Rights	11	15.94
Peace Accord	10	14.49
Human Rights	9	13.04
Land	8	11.59
Land Grabbing	7	10.14
Land Rights	5	7.25
Tourism	3	4.35
Forced eviction/displacement	2	2.90
Government Policies	2	2.90
Development Intervention	2	2.90
Legal Battle	2	2.90
Events	2	2.90
Livelihood	2	2.90

Agriculture	2	2.90
Indigenous Languages	2	2.90
Political Representation	2	2.90
Natural Disaster	2	2.90
Environment	2	2.90
Economy	1	1.45
Women	1	1.45
Water crisis	1	1.45
Gender Based Violence	1	1.45
Education	1	1.45
Children	1	1.45
Culture	1	1.45
Constitutional Recognition	1	1.45
Deforestation	1	1.45
Environmental threats	1	1.45
Extrajudicial Killing	1	1.45

Issues vs Follow-up Stories

Issues	Follow-up Report	Percentage
Crime	30	76.92
Law and Order	20	51.28
Communal Violence	18	46.15
Attack on Minorities	13	33.33
Women	4	10.26
Water crisis	4	10.26
Exploitation	4	10.26
Agriculture	3	7.69
Human Rights	2	5.13
Natural Disaster	2	5.13
Gender Based Violence	2	5.13
Indigenous Rights	1	2.56
Peace Accord	1	2.56
Tourism	1	2.56
Indigenous Languages	1	2.56
Environment	1	2.56
Economy	1	2.56
Deforestation	1	2.56
Poverty	1	2.56
Torture	1	2.56

Newspaper vs Follow-up Stories

News outlet	Follow-up Report	Percentage
Ittefaq	12	30.77
The Daily Star	10	25.64
The New Age	8	20.51
Prothom Alo	7	17.95
Samakal	2	5.13
Grand Total	39	100.00

Issues vs Front Page

Issues	Front Page	Percentage
Crime	51	70.83
Law and Order	31	43.06
Communal Violence	27	37.50
Attack on Minorities	22	30.56
Human Rights	10	13.89
Indigenous Rights	10	13.89
Exploitation	6	8.33
Land Rights	6	8.33
Agriculture	5	6.94
Land	5	6.94
Events	4	5.56
Festivals/Celebrations	4	5.56
Women	3	4.17
Water crisis	3	4.17
Torture	3	4.17
Forced eviction/displacement	3	4.17
Political Representation	3	4.17
Culture	3	4.17
Natural Disaster	2	2.78
Peace Accord	2	2.78
Indigenous Languages	2	2.78
Land Grabbing	2	2.78
Government Policies	2	2.78
Education	2	2.78
Extrajudicial Arrests	2	2.78
Gender Based Violence	1	1.39
Tourism	1	1.39
Environment	1	1.39
Economy	1	1.39

Legal Battle	1	1.39
Livelihood	1	1.39
Constitutional Recognition	1	1.39
Environmental threats	1	1.39
Voting Rights	1	1.39
Climate Displacement	1	1.39
Adaptation	1	1.39

Outlet vs Special Report

Outlet	Special Report	Percentage
Prothom Alo	11	35.5
Ittefaq	8	25.8
Samakal	5	16.1
The Daily Star	4	12.9
The New Age	3	9.7
Grand Total	31	100.0

Major Date vs No. of Stories

Date	No. of story	Percentage
09/22/2024	24	4.72
09/21/2024	19	3.74
09/23/2024	11	2.17
04/13/2022	9	1.77
02/21/2023	7	1.38
12/03/2024	7	1.38
08/10/2023	7	1.38
06/13/2024	7	1.38
08/09/2023	6	1.18
12/02/2024	6	1.18

Cross Tabulation - TV

Major Issues vs Negative Tone of Stories

Issues	Negative	Percentage
Crime	53	80.30
Law and Order	35	53.03
Communal Violence	30	45.45
Attack on Minorities	24	36.36
Tourism	7	10.61
Forced eviction/displacement	5	7.58
Children	4	6.06
Exploitation	4	6.06
Education	3	4.55
Water crisis	3	4.55
Land	3	4.55
Events	2	3.03
Indigenous Rights	2	3.03
Indigenous Languages	2	3.03
Agriculture	2	3.03
Natural Disaster	2	3.03
Poverty	2	3.03
Gender Based Violence	2	3.03
Women	2	3.03
Land Rights	2	3.03
Peace Accord	1	1.52
Human Rights	1	1.52
Deforestation	1	1.52
Political Representation	1	1.52
Dropouts	1	1.52
Lack of Education	1	1.52
Land Grabbing	1	1.52

Major Issues vs Harijan and Dalit

Issues	Harijan and Dalit	Percentage
Forced eviction/ displacement	1	100.00
Land Grabbing	1	100.00
Land Rights	1	100.00

Issues	Hilly People	(Hilly)	Plainland people	(Plainland)
Land grabbing	3	75.00	1	25.00
Festivals and Celebration	12	85.71	2	14.29

Issues vs Bengali Settler

Issues	Bengali settler	Percentage
Crime	24	92.31
Communal Violence	22	84.62
Law and Order	17	65.38
Attack on Minorities	16	61.54
Tourism	3	11.54
Land	2	7.69
Forced eviction/displacement	1	3.85

Issues vs Follow-up Stories

Issues	Follow-up Report	Percentage
Crime	15	100.00
Communal Violence	13	86.67
Law and Order	11	73.33
Attack on Minorities	9	60.00
Tourism	3	20.00
Gender Based Violence	2	13.33
Women	2	13.33
Peace Accord	1	6.67
Children	1	6.67

Issues vs Follow-up Stories

Outlet	Follow-up Report	Percentage
Channel 24	6	40.00
Independent Television	2	13.33
Jamuna Television	4	26.67
Maasranga Television	3	20.00
channel i	0	0.00
Grand Total	15	100.00

Issues vs 1st Part of Bulletin

Topic	First Part	Percentage
Crime	37	77.08
Communal Violence	29	60.42
Law and Order	22	45.83
Attack on Minorities	22	45.83
Tourism	4	8.33
Children	4	8.33

Events	4	8.33
Indigenous Languages	4	8.33
Education	4	8.33
Exploitation	3	6.25
Water crisis	3	6.25
Culture	2	4.17
Festivals/Celebrations	2	4.17
Indigenous Rights	2	4.17
Agriculture	2	4.17
Peace Accord	1	2.08
Land	1	2.08
Forced eviction/displacement	1	2.08
Natural Disaster	1	2.08
Poverty	1	2.08
Development Intervention	1	2.08
Deforestation	1	2.08
Political Representation	1	2.08

Outlet vs Special Report

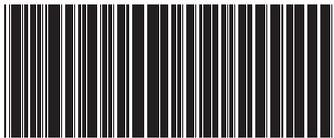
Outlet	Special Report	Percentage
Jamuna Television	1	12.50
Maasranga Television	7	87.50
Channel 24	0	0.00
Independent Television	0	0.00
channel i	0	0.00
Total	8	100.00

Major Date vs No. of Stories

Date	No. of story	Percentage
2024-09-20	13	12.38
2024-09-21	12	11.43
2023-05-17	5	4.76
2024-09-22	5	4.76
2024-09-23	5	4.76
2022-04-16	4	3.81
2022-04-12	4	3.81
2023-05-08	4	3.81
2023-02-07	4	3.81
2023-08-09	3	2.86
2022-01-08	3	2.86



The findings of this three-year news media monitoring study shows that marginalized communities in Bangladesh remain on the *margins of the gaze*— visible at moments of crisis, invisible in everyday discourse.



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