

2018-09-08

Quota reform movement: Coverage in Daily Newspaper

Rahman, Md. Hasibur

Daffodil International University

<http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11948/3433>

Downloaded from <http://dspace.library.daffodilvarsity.edu.bd>, Copyright Daffodil International University Library



Daffodil
International
University

Quota Reform Movement: Coverage in Daily Newspaper

BSS Project

Submitted by

Md. Hasibur Rahman
Batch: 24, Id.: 151-24-464
Department of Journalism and Mass Communication
Daffodil International University

Supervised By

Sheikh Mohammad Shafiul Islam
Associate Professor & Head (acting)
Department of Journalism and Mass Communication
Daffodil International University

Date of submission: 08 September, 2018



September 08, 2018

To

Sheikh Mohammad Shafiul Islam
Associate Professor & Head (acting)
Department of Journalism and Mass Communication
Daffodil International University, Dhaka.

Sub.: Application for approval of final project.

Dear Sir,

I am pleased to state that I have completed my project titled '**Quota Reform Movement: Coverage in Daily Newspaper**' as a course requirement for my graduation programme. I have tried my level best to work sincerely to cover all aspects regarding the matter which I have been assigned.

I believe that this final project has enriched both my knowledge and experiences. I hope you will assess my report considering the limitations of the study. I shall be highly grateful if you kindly accept my project. Your kind approval is solicited.

Sincerely yours,

Md. Hasibur Rahman

ID: 151-24-464

Department of Journalism and Mass Communication
Daffodil International University

Letter of Approval

This is to certify that Md. Hasibur Rahman, Id.: 151-24-464 has done his Final Project of Graduation program entitled, '**Quota Reform Movement: Coverage in Daily Newspaper**' under my supervision and guidance.

The study has been undertaken in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Social Science (BSS) in Journalism and Mass Communication at Daffodil International University. The study is expected to contribute in the field of Journalism and Mass Communication as well as in further study about credibility of daily newspapers.



.....
Sheikh Mohammad Shafiul Islam
Associate Professor & Head (acting)
Department of Journalism and Mass Communication
Daffodil International University

Declaration of Authorship

I do hereby declare that the work presented here is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original and the result of my own investigations, except as acknowledged, and has not been submitted, either in part or whole, for a degree at this or any other University.

Sincerely,

Md. Hasibur Rahman

ID: 151-24-464

Department of Journalism and Mass

Communication Daffodil International University

Acknowledgement

It is my immense pleasure to thank my supervisor Sheikh Mohammad Shafiul Islam, Associate Professor and Head (acting) of the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication at Daffodil International University. The door of Mr Islam's office was always open whenever I ran into a trouble or had a question about my study. He consistently allowed this paper to be my own work, but steered me in the right the direction whenever he thought I needed it.

I would like to thank the rest of my teacher and mentors: Honourable Prof. Dr. Sakhawat Ali Khan, Prof Dr. M. Golam Rahman, Mr. Saleem Ahmed, Dr. Towfique E Elahi, Mr. Aftab Hossain, Shariful Islam and Mr. anayetur Rahman for their encouragement, insightful comments, and hard questions all the time whenever I wanted.

I must express my very profound gratitude to my parents and to my friends for providing me with unfailing support, space and encouragement throughout my study and through the process of researching and writing this thesis. This accomplishment would not have been possible without them.

Md. Hasibur Rahman

Id. – 151-24-464

Department of Journalism and Mass Communication

Daffodil International University

Table of Contents

S.N.	Name of Contents	Page Number
	Cover	I
	Application for approval	II
	Letter of approval	III
	Declaration of Authorship	IV
	Acknowledgement	V
	Table of Contents	VI
	Abstract	7
1.1	Introduction	7
1.2	Quota System in Bangladesh: A brief illustration	8
1.3	Quota Reform movement coverage in daily newspaper: scope of study	9
1.4	Objectives of the Study	10
1.5	Theoretical Framework and Literature Review	11
2.1	Major Research Questions	11-12
2.2	Methodology	12
2.3	Study Universe and sampling	12
2.4	Ownership and background of analyzed newspapers:	13
3.1	Major findings	14-16
3.1.1	Frequency of Coverage	13
3.1.2	Type of Contents	13
3.1.3	Treatment of the Contents	14
3.1.4	Focus of the Contents	15
3.1.5	Quality of Contents	15-16
3.2	Analysis of the findings	16-21
4.1	Conclusion and Recommendations	22
4.2	References	23

Quota Reform Movement: Coverage in Daily Newspaper

Abstract: The Quota Reform Movement in Bangladesh has shaken the whole country within a very few days. It has been considered as one of the most powerful movements in the history of Bangladesh after independence. This movement was aimed to revise the system of recruiting in government services. The movement was greatly covered in media both in home and abroad. But there is a controversy about coverage of media in Bangladesh. Stakeholders argued that some media worked as propagators to spread the movement while some others worked to depict the activists of the movement as criminals. This study was aimed to know the style of coverage of different newspapers in Bangladesh on the issue.

Keywords: *Quota Reform, Government job, Unemployment, Coverage, Daily Newspaper, Mass Movement*

1.1 Introduction:

The movement is about more than five years old but it was informal before April of this year. The formal movement stayed for just a few days. It has come as a storm and also gone in the same way. The movement was basically Dhaka University based but it had been touched every corner of the country.

This movement has two phases after starting formally. The first phase of this movement had been started on 8th April, 2018 and finished on 12th of the same month. The movement has also a second phase which took place after around two months of the first phase. We have studied here only the first phase.

Objection of job seekers in our country was, they were being deprived from getting government jobs for the quota holders. They were demanding a 'level' competing field for all job seekers. With a view to get it they have demanded reformation of the existing Quota System. In favor of this demand they have gathered in Dhaka University area for several times in the earlier months of this year. But these were some separate processions in a limited area. Obviously these were also for a limited time. A lot of articles have been written in newspapers in favor and against their demand in recent years. At the same time there was a movement based on online platforms especially based on Facebook. But these were not something massive.

On 8th April a huge number of students, mostly from Dhaka University, gathered in Shahbag area for a human chain. But they did not occupy the road of this very busy area within sometime. They took place on road to show protest against the system. Then they declared that they will not go from the road before fulfilling their demand. Then the movement was on going till 12th April when

Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina declared acceptance of their demand. In these days, all the stakeholders of this movement acted differently. At the same time, those acts were also covered differently in different media outlets.

1.2 Quota System in Bangladesh: A brief illustration

While the students of various public universities and colleges along with private universities across the country have demonstrated on the streets demanding reforms in the existing Quota System in government job recruiting examinations, some groups of freedom fighters' children have also protested, but clearly, for the opposite reason. They have claimed that these protests and demand for reforms are actually a 'conspiracy' against the freedom fighters' quota. These groups are also demanding quota in all government recruitment processes. (Daily star online-March 5, 2018)

The rationale for the introduction of the quota system had its roots in the policy for recruitment to public service that was adopted in September 1972. The stated objective of the policy was to achieve more equitable representation of the residents of all the districts of Bangladesh in various services and posts. It needs to be mentioned that during the mid-seventies and eighties, the military governments did revise the system leading first to a rise in the merit-based quota from 20 percent to 40 percent, and then to 45 percent.

The freedom fighters' children and grandchildren enjoy 30 percent quota in the BCS exams. While 44 percent of recruitment in the BCS is done based on merit, the remaining 56 percent is recruited under various quotas. This system deprives many meritorious students with good educational backgrounds, of their desired jobs in the civil service. The result is inevitable—a less-than-efficient bureaucracy. (Dhaka Tribune- March 2, 2018)

The Public Administration Reforms Commission, June 2000 has questioned the existing system of quota distribution. In so doing, it has placed its trust on the relevant clause of the Constitution and concluded that quota reservation would be constitutionally valid only in case of women and backward classes of the country. It has further concluded that keeping the quota system alive to the exclusion of equality of opportunity in public employment for all classes of citizens will be a very weak alternative. (Daily Star-March 19, 2018)

There were also some allegation of giving fake freedom fighters certificates to fake people. One former commander of freedom fighters (muktijoddha commander) provided fake freedom fighters' certificate to 19 people of his village in exchange for a large sum so that they could get jobs in the police force (Prothom Alo- August 10, 2016). These reports have added fuel to the flame.

1.3 Quota Reform movement coverage in daily newspaper: Scope of study

In 1971, the Pakistan army arranged a tour for eight Pakistani journalists for spreading the propaganda that peace was returning to Bangladesh following military intervention. All the invited journalists, except for Anthony, helped spread the propaganda as set by Pakistan military. Then Anthony Mascarenhas, former assistant editor of Morning News, Karachi wrote an article titled "Genocide," on June 13, 1971 in The Sunday Times. The article had changed the history. It has organized the international community in favor of independence of Bangladesh. (Daily Star-December 17, 2011)

Now a days, In terms of circulation, The Daily Prothom Alo is the srcond largest newspaper in Bangladesh. It is published in the Bengali language and read by half a million people every day. (DFP)

But Prime minister Sheikh Hasina said she was the worst victim of media despite the fact that she was the one who had provided maximum opportunities for the media. Coming down hard on the Daily Star and Prothom Alo, Hasina said, "The two dailies wrote against me continuously for 20 years. I have never read those two newspapers since my release from jail in 2008." (Speech in the parliament, Mar 06, 2016.)

Again, the then Pakistani armed forces set ablaze the Ittefaq office during their overnight crackdown on the innocent people of the country on the night following March 25, 1971 as the newspaper highlighted the news of the atrocities, exploitation, repression and genocide carried out by the Pakistani military rulers and military forces in Dhaka and other parts of the country. (The new nation- December 27,2016)

Both in 2008 and elections of 2012, President Obama leveraged the power of media to mobilize grassroots activists and volunteers who encouraged people to get out and vote and thereby helped Obama win. Further, the savvy use of media can work wonders in improving the image of politicians and social activists. This can be seen in the way the Anna Hazare movement in India in 2011 was helped along by the media, which gave it extensive coverage and ensured that people in large numbers turned out to support the movement. This goes on to show that media can play a vital role in furthering the cause of social movements. (Management Study Guide: 2012).

It means obviously there was a great role of media in spreading the Quota Reform Movement all over the country. In the light of aforesaid discussion, the following aspects will be considered as the scope of the daily newspaper coverage for the present study:

Impact on general people: general people of Bangladesh wrote and talked in social media in favor or against the movement by taking mainstream media as source of information.

Impact on students: students came on the streets when they saw other students were beaten in the streets of Dhaka.

Impact on political persons: political persons expressed their opinion after getting analysis or investigative reports in mainstream media.

In the present study, it is investigated how daily newspaper in Bangladesh could deal with the issue, what were the levels of media interest to cover the same and in what way (treatment) it was covered.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The study has been conducted in order to:

- To understand which newspaper treated how the different stake holders of the movement.
- How newspapers' helped to create public opinion in favor and against the movement.
- Was these newspapers role ideal for keeping calm and quite all sides of the movement or not.
- To understand the position of the authorities of different and privately owned newspapers.
- To understand quality of news in different paper on the same issue.

1.5 Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

William Gamson and Gadi Wolfsfeld suggested that social movements rely on the media for three main services, (1) Mobilization of political support, (2) Legitimization (or validation) in the mainstreams discourse, and (3) To broaden the scope of conflicts. [1]

Consequently, the quality and nature of the media coverage that social movements obtain strongly influences how they are perceived in the public eye – to the extent that good or bad coverage can help to make or break a social movement.

Media coverage may be crucial for other, less well known social movements whose often transitional and adversarial nature tends to weaken their ability to secure public legitimacy. Their outsider status – that is, their marginalization from central political decision-making processes – along with their often resource-poor nature, means that traditional avenues of publicity are not easily accessible which forces them to rely on alternative methods to obtain media access. Traditionally, this involves some form of public spectacle – like a protest – to attract media attention.[2]

The theoretical framework of the present study bases on some established perspectives of media and communication which ideally include: Normative Media Theory and Agenda Setting Function of the Media. According to the normative theory of the mass media, the role of the media has

been defined as the 'social responsibility' of the media through their 'watchdog' functions. According to V. Held (1970), the role of media are usually determined through the vote of 'Majoritarian' reflecting expectation of the majority people in the society while in the 'Unitarian' notion, the role of the same is defined based on a particular class of the people having power and influence.

Public interest is really difficult to understand though the matters of public welfare should be the priority of media content. However, McQuail emphasized on four objectives of the role of media in a democratic society: (McQuail, 2000, p-46)

- Surveillance in the cases of violation of social and moral discipline in the society and access to information without interference
- Timely criticism of the functions of society and its organs
- Encourage people's participation through access to information
- Transmission of values and culture of particular groups to generations

According to the Kurt Lang & Gladys Engel Lang, the agenda setting of media denotes putting importance on those issues and affairs what they think important and beneficial to people while they similarly ignore those issues which they think less important. Thus, the media formulates the framework of people's thinking (Lowery & Defleur: 1988).

Based on the aforesaid theoretical frameworks, it is said that the Quota Reform Movement is one of the most important movements of Bangladesh. The mass people should be informed and educated propagator and eradicator of the movement. Moreover, the people should be persuaded by the media to play direct roles in the policy advocacy with the national policy maker bodies as it is not yet a solved issue.

2.1 Major Research Questions

Based on the aforesaid discussions from different paradigms related to the role of media, the following inquiries were made in the present study:

- Did the newspapers in Bangladesh worked as propagator to spread the controversial movement?
- Did the daily events and surface matters around the 'Quota Reform Movement' issues get excessive coverage in the newspapers?
- What are the usual types of contents covered by the newspapers regarding this issue?

- Did they tried to understand and focus what people actually thinking about the reformation of the movement?
- Do the contents follow standard practices of journalism? Was there any yellow or embedded journalism regarding this issue?

2.2 Methodology

‘Content analysis’ method was applied in carrying out the study. ‘Content analysis’ is a specific research approach used frequently in all the areas of the media study. The method is popular with mass media researchers because it is an efficient way to investigate the content of the media. Walizer and Wienir (1978) defined ‘Content Analysis’ as any systematic procedure devised to examine the content of recorded information.

Krippendorff (2004) defines it as a research technique for making replicable and valid references from data to their context.

Lasswell, through his famous definition of communication, framed the base of the content analysis by stating: “Who says what, to whom, why, to what extent and with what effect? (Wahlstrom: 1992).

2.3 Study Universe and Sampling

The DFP (Department of Film and Publication, Ministry of Information) report of July 2017 shows that there are 479 daily newspapers registered with it as ‘media’ of which 203 are published from the Dhaka Metropolitan Area while the remaining 276 are published from various regions of the country. All the print media especially the daily newspapers are the study universe.

Among the universe, four Daily Newspapers (the Daily Ittefaq, the Daily Prothom Alo, and the Daily Janakantha) were selected as samples for the study based on their circulation and background (Source: DFP Report, July 2017) and experience. All these selected dailies came under the study during 9-16 April 2018. During that time news were covered regarding to this issue. A total of 28 issues of the selected dailies were analyzed.

2.4 Ownership and background of analyzed newspapers:

The Daily Prothom Alo is a major daily newspaper in Bangladesh, published from Dhaka in the Bengali language. Prothom Alo is second largest newspaper in Bangladesh based on circulation according to DFP. According to a brand equity study conducted by Quantum Consumer Solutions Limited, Prothom Alo is considered to be the most influential newspaper brand in Bangladesh.

The Prothom Alo is a sister concern of Transcom group of companies. Motiur Rahman is the Editor of the newspaper. Its Editor Motiur Rahman while a student, he became a Marxist and was a student leader in East Pakistan Student Union. Later, he was secretly a member of Communist Party of Bangladesh while it was still outlawed. [Wikipedia]

The Daily Ittefaq is a Bengali-language daily newspaper. Founded in 1953 by Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhasani and Yar Mohammad Khan. It is the oldest newspaper, and one of the most circulated newspapers in Bangladesh. This newspaper is printed by Ittefaq Group of Publications Limited. It is now edited by Tasmima Hossain, wife of Anwar Hossain Monju, Water resources minister of Bangladesh government. It was formerly edited by Mr Monju. [Wikipedia]

The Ittefaq office was burnt down and completely demolished on March 25, 1971 by the Pakistan Army as part of Operation Searchlight for its vital role in organizing liberation war.

The Daily Janakantha is a Bengali daily newspaper published from Dhaka, Bangladesh. It is owned by an industrialist Atikullah Khan. Executive editor of the paper is Swadesh Roy who is a journalist leader linked with Awami League. He was awarded Ekushey Padak in 2017 by the ruling Awami League Government in the journalism category. [Banglanews24.com, 13 February, 2017]

3.1 Major Findings:

3.1.1 Frequency of Coverage

During the study period (08 -16 April 2018), the dailies undergoing the study published a total of 128 contents (reports, features, editorial and post-editorial and photo-features) on Quota Reform Movement. The Prothom alo published the highest amount of contents and the Janakantha published the lowest amount of contents.

During the period Prothom Alo published total 49 contents which was 10 percent of total published contents in the daily. The Janakantha published total 43 contents on the issue which was only 5.7 percent of their total contents.

In these 7 days paper number of various types of contents were as like below:

S.N.	Type of content	Prothom Alo	Janakantha	Ittefaq	comments
1	Lead news	5	4	5	
2.	Special news except lead news	1	4	3	
3.	Normal event coverage	38	28	39	Special reports excluded, leads included
4	Editorial	2	1	1	
5	Columns	8	3	-	
6	Supplement	1	No	No	Ros-Alo

3.1.2 Type of Contents

The study shows that out of 128 contents, 90 contents were the 'Strait Jacket' reports of daily event coverage which were description of incident and accidents regarding with the movement. These reports gave only a 'superficial' view of an event or issue by answering 'What, Where, When and Who' with a little information on 'How and Why'.

The Daily Prothom Alo covered only 1 'Investigative Report' on injury of three activists of the movement who were under treatment in the Dhaka Medical College Hospital. The daily Ittefaq published 3 investigative reports and the Janakantha published 4 investigative reports.

Only the Daily Prothom Alo covered 08 post-editorial columns. But there was no such columns in the Ittefaq while the Janakantha published only one column. Publication of editorial was: Prothom Alo- 2, Ittefaq-1, Janakantha -1.

All the editorials of Prothom Alo was directly in favor of the movement and the protesters while the Ittefaq was indirectly and the Janakantha directly opposed the movement and the demand of the protesters.

3.1.3 Treatment of the Contents

Of the contents, there were 14 'Lead News' in these 3 newspapers. Which was 67% of total published lead news. That's why it is very clear that it was a highly emphasized issue in these media outlets.

Again Prothom Alo published 7 items except these 'Lead News' in their first pages during that time which were 25% of total published contents in the front page except 'Lead News'. Number of published contents in front and back page of the Ittefaq was 52% of total published contents regarding the issue while it was 48% for the Jankantha.

3.1.4 Focus of the Contents

Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina declared acceptance of the demand of the students on 11th April evening in the Parliament. This was published in the papers of 12th April. Till that date, focus of all the studied newspapers were the happenings in different places. All the incident and accidents of these 4 days were published in front or back page.

From 13th April, focal point of the Prothom Alo was the suppression and torture on the students by police and others. But the focus of the Ittefaq and the Janakantha was sufferings of people for the movement and crimes done by anonymous miscreants during the movement.

3.1.5 Quality of Contents

Contents published in the dailies were rated in a scale of 10 points in the areas of 'Use of dependable sources', 'clarity of description', 'accuracy', 'fairness', 'un-biasness' and 'following journalistic styles and principles'. Based on these indicators all the contents were categorized in three ways:

- i. The contents that achieved 8-10 points in terms of maintaining the above-mentioned indicators were rated as 'good'
- ii. The contents that achieved 5-7 points in terms of maintaining the above mentioned indicators were rated as 'moderate'
- iii. The contents that achieved below 5 points in terms of maintaining the above motioned indicators were rated as 'weak'

The rating of the contents which were published as daily event coverage in the Pothom Alo were goodly maintained the aforesaid indicators. 80% of these types of items in the Ittefaq were good and rest 20% were moderate. 75% of such contents published in the Janakantha were good while the rests were weak.

Only one investigative report was published in the Prothom Alo which was goodly maintained the aforesaid indicators. But all the investigative reports published in the Janakantha and in the Ittefaq were 'weak'. There were greatly lack of credible sources, journalistic approach in writing and impartiality in criminalization someone.

3.2 Analysis of the findings:

The movement was started formally on 8th April. In 9th April's paper, the Prothom Alo did their lead story with a big picture covering 5 columns. The picture was of action of a group of law enforcement agency members'. All the members were having fire arms there. Some of them were firing tear cells to the protesters to remove them from the spot.

Here Prothom Alo tried to depict a picture that, 'How brutal the police was to those peaceful protesters'. Without reading anything inside of news, anyone will must think that the law enforcers massed the peaceful protesters. This obviously creates sympathy for the protesters and hate for the police.

Then along with the lead news, Prothom Alo also gave a full page coverage to the issue in the fifth page of that day. In that page they published three news and four pictures. Among the published pictures, one was that two police men are beating a student with sticks. The student was totally armless and he was just trying to save himself from the beating of police. In caption, Prothom Alo wrote that the photo was taken from inside the Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujib Medical University where people go to take treatment.

By this total coverage of this page this paper have tried strongly to draw the picture of aggressive police and peaceful students.

In 10th April's paper Prothom Alo published an editorial on the movement. It is very important because considering this one thing is enough to understand the position of this prominent media house in this movement.

The heading of their editorial was- 'Quota Reform Movement- want to see peaceful solution'. Inside the editorial in the first paragraph they have termed the demand 'logical' and the movement 'peaceful'. Then calling the government 'nonsense' they wrote, 'it seemed that government was trying to avoid the demand and police attacked on the protesters without any thinking as 'nonsense'.

Then they have also expressed their satisfaction as the representatives of the government talked with the representatives of the movement. They were more satisfied as government announced to consider the demand of the students.

Then they have described that why the quota system is not acceptable. They have talked here just in the voice of the protesters. The representatives of the protesters said that they are

demanding reformation of the system because meritorious students are being deprived from job as long as the nation from getting excellent services of the talented. Here, Prothom Alo added that 'specialists are also arguing for reformation of the system'.

Then they also wrote that there are most of the people's support in favor of the movement. So that government should must reform it as early as possible. Then at the last they hoped that government will reform the existing quota system after doing necessary inquiry.

Then there was also column on the movement. It was written by Shohrab Hasan who is the joint-Editor of Prothom Alo.

In his column, Shohrab Hasan wrote that, 'All people have support in favor of the movement. From general citizen to the officers of the secretariat including the professors of the University Of Dhaka, all have support to the movement because the demand is very much logical.' It means that he is an active supporter of the movement also.

From this, it is clear that as an institution, prothom alo took their position in favor of the movement. They have demanded the fulfillment of the demand of the students to reform quota system.

Prothom Alo also did advocacy in favor of the movement by publishing an exclusive interview of former Cabinet Secretary and former advisor of Care Taker government Akbar Ali Khan in 11th April's paper. Where he argued to the government to abolish some quota and to reform some including the freedom fighter quota.

In 12th April's paper, description of the news of Prothom Alo was, students of total 34 institutions have come on the road in favor the movement. That's why the total city's transportation system was broken. But their description was positive to the protesters. There was a continuation of the news in the second page. There they published a photograph. The photo caption was, activists of the movement blocked the road but they helped an ambulance to go smoothly when it came on the street with patient. Through this, they tried to glorify the image of the protesters.

In the fifth page there were three pictures which are very much important. In one picture a freedom fighter's son is declaring that he doesn't want quota, holding a placard in his hand. In the other picture, a one handed student is declaring that he doesn't want disabled quota and in the 3rd picture a female student is declaring that she doesn't want female quota in the same way as like the first picture.

This is a trying of the newspaper of depicting an all accepted and positive image of the movement.

The Prothom Alo didn't cover the demand of freedom fighters with so much importance. This newspaper published only one news regarding the demand of freedom fighters in and inner page. But the description was very much simple and there were no photographs with the description.

There were two news published in the Prothom Alo on 12th April's paper. These news were, some activists of Bangladesh Chhatra League attacked on the peaceful protesters in Dhaka University and in the Jahangir Nagar University campus.

Then the Prothom Alo published an investigative report on 16th April. The report was written by Ahmed Jayif. Among the victims one was Ashikur Rahman who is a student of Dhaka University. He was bulletted inside the campus during the movement. Citing several friends of Ashikur, the reporter accused BSL for the bullet. Though the organization rejected the accusation.

The two other victims were Tanvir and Shahriar from the same university. Among them Shahriar was victim of tear cells but Tanvir was beaten brutally. For this two case, the reporter accused police. Through the total report, there was an all-out effort to present the protesters as hero. And criminalizing Chhatra League and police.

The Daily Ittefaq, the historical newspaper of Bangladesh have tried to criminalize the protesters on the road. In 13th April's Ittefaq, there was a news regarding the attack on the VC's residence. They did their lead news about the attack on the VC's residence.

The headline of the lead news clearly stated that the activists of Chhatradal (student organization of Bangladesh Nationalist Party, BNP) and Chhatra Shibir (student organization of Bangladesh Jamaat-E-Islami) were involved in the attack.

Inside the news the clearly stated words are: activists of Chhatradal and Chhatra Shibir who have been percolated in the BSL did the attack. They were armored so that BSL activists couldn't protest them. The attack was to kill VC Dr. Akhtaruzzaman.

This report was written by Mr. Abul Khair who is the Chief-reporter of Ittefaq. He stated these boldly but citing only one person anonymously. As the source is single and he is not anyone prominent or not anyone of the law enforcement agency, so his description is not more acceptable.

There was an investigating report on 16th April's paper. In the report, the reporter tried to find out some of the movement leader's political background. Through the writing, there was an effort to establish that the movement was actually BNP-Jammat patronized because the top leaders of the movement are from this background having family.

The reporter wrote, Muhammad Rashed Khan who is a co-convener of the movement was involved with politics of Shibir. For this reason he was fired from residential hall of Dhaka University. Another leader was Hasan Al Mamun who is a coordinator of the movement. He is also a leader of BSL. But the reporter accused his family for having involvement with BNP. He also accused Hasan Al Mamun for giving like in Facebook page 'Basher kella'.

The reporter wrote, the two other leader Faruk and Nur were also involved with Shibir and BNP though they are now doing politics of BSL. The reporter termed the movement in his total report as 'Movement against Quota' instead 'Quota Reform Movement'.

On the back page of 10th April's Ittefaq there was a news in the headline: '72% are getting job through BCS from the meritorious'. Inside the news they have given some data from the Public Service Commission (PSC). Through these data they have tried to establish that there is no such problem as much as the protesters are arguing in government employment. They wrote most of the students are getting job by the PSC from the meritorious students rather than the quota holder. It have been happened in the previous BCS examinations and the same thing will happen in the upcoming examinations.

The Ittefaq also tried to highlight the demands of the freedom fighters along with the activists of the Quota Reform Movement. In 11th April's and 13th April's paper they published several news to highlight this.

The Ittefaq published an editorial on 11th April's paper on this issue. They have indirectly expressed the authority's disagreement with the demand of the students. Heading of the editorial was: 'More Unemployment for less skill'. They tried to say that the high employment rate is not for the unfair quota system but it is for lack of skills of the job seekers.

There was a news on 12th April's Ittefaq that a female leader of Bangladesh Chhatra League tortured some other female students in the resident hall of Dhaka University. This news was in the back page but there was a note in the front page of the leader's activity. Due to her activity she was suspend from the university and from her own party also. It was clearly stated also in the Prothom Alo.

The attack of Chhatra League activists' on the protesters in Jahangir Nagar University was not covered here. Rather than that 'the organization congratulates PM's declaration', was covered.

But when we see the Janakantha, the scenario is different. In Janakantha of 9th April, there were no news about the movement in their front page. They have published a news covering just two columns and a picture of three columns in the back page. Through their coverage style, The Janakantha tried to depict a picture that this movement is noting to be talked. And situation of the total country is calm and quite.

The Janakantha also did some fake news. In the lead news of 11th April, they published a news that those who are protesting yet are 'against the independence.' They made the tag cited two leaders of the movement. According to the report of Janakantha, Nur Islam Nur and Mohammad Rashed Khan, two senior leaders of the movement told it in a press conference that 'Those, who are continuing the movement are against our independence and general students are not with them.' But the report didn't specify where and when the press conference was held. Who were present in the conference along with these two leaders also not mentioned.

In the same day's paper, they published two other news in the front page regarding the movement. In these news they have tried to depict the protesters image as a criminal.

The first one is Obaidul Kader's speech. Here he stated that, this BNP is trying to turn the 'so called Quota Reform Movement' in their Chairperson's jail free movement.

But very surprisingly they have abolished the news of attack of Bangladesh Chhatra League (BSL) activists on the protesters both in Dhaka University and in Jahangir Nagar University. Rather than that there was a news of BSL's satisfaction rally after the declaration of Prime Minister. Their total effort was to depict a good image of BSL and a bad image of the protesters.

There was a column published in the editorial page regarding the issue which was written by their executive Editor Swadesh Roy. Through his column, Mr. Roy advocated in favor of keeping the quota system. Here he used Bangabandhu as the weapon of his advocacy.

In 13th April's Janakantha, there was a news in the first page regarding the issue. That was, BNP is hopeless as the movement have been postponed. Inside the news the description is: BNP had tried to turn the movement into the movement of removing the government from power. But PM declared abolition of the system. So that BNP have missed the chance to remove the government from power. That's why they are really hopeless!

They published news on the female leader named Esha of BSL of Dhaka University branch. This leader was accused in the reports of Prothom Alo and Ittefaq for torturing other students. These reports were published a day before. But in this day's report, Janakantha presents her as a 'victim of rumor'. They wrote that, Esha was just a victim of rumors and she didn't torture anyone. She has been humiliated in a very bad manner that's why she has gone to one of her relative's house to hide herself. This report also stated that she was suspended from the university and also from her party based on a fake allegation and that was illegal.

On 13th April's Janakantha, a news was there about target of the movement. Here the reporter wrote that the ultimate target of the protesters were doing free Khaleda Zia from jail. There was no clear source cited in the total report. Rather that the reporter used his own words as like comments. Here he accused BNP for attacking on resident of Dhaka University VC. But how it is, that was not clear. The writing was totally same with the speech of Obaidul Kader which was published in the same paper on 12th April.

The Janakantha published an Editorial on 13th April's paper regarding this issue. Headline of the Editorial was: 'Who are they?'

Inside the editorial the authority have written that: those students who were involved in the several violation are against our independence. A citizen of independent Bangladesh can never demand the reformation of Freedom Fighter quota. Such demand is like doing conspiracy against the state. The activists of the movement were just used as a weapon by BNP and Jamaat.

In one place they have written, they are confused about their father who were allegedly involved in those violation. Then they asked the government to give hard punishment to them by doing quick trial. After this Editorial, it is clear that the Janakantha authority was sincerely against the demand of reforming Quota System.

4.1 Conclusion and Recommendations

The study depicts that all these studied newspapers gave a biased coverage to different stake holders of the movement. No one gave a totally impartial coverage. The Prothom Alo tried to spread the movement through their covering. At the same time the daily Ittefaq and the daily Janakantha gave an all-out effort to criminalize the movement and de-criminalize the activists of BSL. They focused on the negative sides rather than the positive sides of the movement.

No one of these three newspapers tried to understand and publish the public perception about the movement. Coverage of the Prothom Alo seemed as an anti-government position while the Ittefaq and the Janakantha talked in the same voice of the leaders of ruling party and the officials of law enforcement agency. Among these three newspapers, Prothom Alo got the lowest number of government advertisement while the Ittefaq got the highest number of government advertisement.

The main problem through coverage of all these newspapers is, no one was responsible to the interest of the general people. These things should do to minimize the problem:

- i. Strong media advisory committee have to be formed from the representatives of civil society, experts, member of law enforcement agencies and senior journalists.
- ii. Code of conducts have to be specified for journalists and also for media houses.
- iii. Ownership of media has to be changed. Media have to be owned by group of people or by several organizations. Community based media can be a good solution for it.
- iv. Minimum and maximum number of government advertisement have to be limited and specified.
- v. Journalists have to be trained enough about covering issues. They have to be motivated through various training session about doing impartial and accurate journalism.
- vi. Strong professional organizations have to form which will take care about work and behavior of their members.

References

1. Gamson, W. A. and Wolfsfeld, G. (1993) "Movements and media as interacting systems" in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 528 pp. 114-125.
2. Michael Barker, "Mass Media and Social Movements" in *Global Research*, April 22, 2008-page 2-4.
3. DOMINICK, R. J & WIMMER, D. R. (2011). *Mass Media Research, An Introduction*. 9th Edition, Wadsworth, Cengage Learning.
4. Kerlinger, F. N. (2000). *Foundations of behavioral research* (4th Ed.). New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
5. Krippendorf, K. (2004). Reliability in content analysis. *Human Communication Research*, 30(3), 411–433.
6. Lasswell, H. D. (1948). Bryson, L. (ed.) *the Structure and Function of Communication in Society. The Communication of Ideas*. New York: Institute for Religious and Social Studies. p. 117.
7. Quail, Mc. (2000). *Mc Quail's Mass Communication Theory*, 4th Edition, SAGE Publications, London, P: 46.
8. Walizer, M. H. & Wienir, P. L. (1978). *Research methods and analysis: Searching for relationships*. New York: Harper & Row.
9. Wahlstrom, B. J. (1992), *Perspectives on Human Communication*, Published by Wm. C. Brown, Pennsylvania State University, USA