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**REPRESENTATION OF THE ROHINGYA
PEOPLE IN BANGLADESHI MEDIA**
A Framing Analysis of Mainstream Newspapers

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Abstract

Md Riaz Uddin: Representation of the Rohingya People in Bangladeshi Media

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The Rohingya people are the most persecuted minority in the world according to the United Nations. On 25 August 2017, a brutal military operation was launched by the Myanmar Army against the Rohingya civilians in the Rakhine State of Myanmar. Rohingya villages were set on fire, and various heinous crimes like torture, murder and rape were committed by the army as well as the local Buddhist mob. Around 700,000 Rohingyas, a large portion of whom were women and children, fled to the neighboring state Bangladesh to escape persecution. In the immediate aftermath of the violence, the Government of Bangladesh sheltered the refugees and provided humanitarian support. About two years after the crisis, on 11 November 2019, the prime minister of Bangladesh declared the Rohingyas a threat to both national and regional security. This statement indicates a change of pace in the official position of the state regarding the refugees. Since the media play a key role in forming or shifting the public opinion, this research aimed to understand how the Bangladeshi media portray the Rohingya people. Forty articles from the top four newspapers of Bangladesh were analyzed in this regard. At the same time, the securitization framework was employed as an analytical tool. This research finds that the mainstream newspapers of Bangladesh utilize four broad frames to portray the Rohingyas: (i) Human interest, (ii) Attribution of responsibility, (iii) Securitization, and (iv) Conflict. The human interest frame is the most frequent frame across the analyzed articles followed by the attribution of responsibility frame, the securitization frame and the conflict frame. The English newspapers utilize the human interest frame more frequently than the Bengali newspapers. On the other hand, the securitization frame is more common in the Bengali newspapers than their English counterparts. Interestingly, the securitization frame begins to appear in the articles from 2018 onward, meaning there has been a shift in the media framing of the Rohingyas since the 2017 crisis. This research adds to the existing literature by bringing new insights into the securitization of the refugees and the changing nature of media framing in Bangladesh on the Rohingya issue.

Keywords: Rohingya, Rohingya representation, Bangladeshi newspapers, Framing analysis, Securitization.

The originality of this thesis has been checked using the Turnitin Originality Check service.

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List of Abbreviations

ARSA	Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army
BIDS	Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies
CADS	Corpus-Assisted Discourse Study
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
GoB	Government of Bangladesh
GoM	Government of Myanmar
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ICC	International Criminal Court
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
IFRC	International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
IOM	International Organization for Migration
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MSF	Médecins Sans Frontières
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NID	National Identity Document
SVS	Savage-Victim-Saviour
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
USA	United States of America
WHO	World Health Organization

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Chapter One: Introduction

Media framing, as a concept, offers an alternative approach to the previous paradigm of bias versus objectivity (Tankard, 2001, p. 95). This is a useful tool to understand the effects of mass communication. The concept also comes in handy when someone wants to go deep into a news story and uncover the inherent assumptions. There are multiple reasons why framing is different than the concept of biasness (Tankard, 2001, p. 96). Firstly, framing is a sophisticated concept that goes beyond negative or positive. It rather enhances the possibility of evoking emotional response from the audience. Secondly, framing enhances the scope of media representation to define an issue as well as fix the terms of debate on the issue. Studying media framing helps to understand how the public opinion can change when the media shift their framing of an issue. For example, the public support in the United States of America (USA) for President Nixon plummeted in the early 1970s when the press shifted to the ‘Watergate caper’ frame against the backdrop of his Watergate scandal (Tankard, 2001, p. 97).

Media coverage is more than a mere textual artifact. It is a data source from which inferences can be drawn regarding public discourse (Lawlor & Tolley, 2017, p. 969). This is possible because media are situated in specific cultural and societal norms, not in a vacuum. Moreover, media cover news stories in a way which is likely to resonate with the audience. When immigrants and refugees are portrayed in the media, they can be presented as either benign or threatening. For example, the media framing of the asylum seekers and refugees varied from country to country during the refugee crisis in Europe in 2015. In the Austrian media, the number of refugee intake was exaggerated while the German media framed them as a burden on the local labor market and the social welfare system (Joris, d’Haenens, Gorp, & Mertens, 2018).

According to the latest report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the number of persons forcibly displaced worldwide is currently 79.5 million (UNHCR, 2020, p. 2). The key reasons stated in the report for the forced displacements are conflict, persecution, human rights violation, violence and events significantly interrupting public order. Out of the forcibly displaced persons, 26.0 million are refugees and among these refugees, 20.4 million are under the mandate of the UNHCR. Interestingly, more than two thirds of all refugees come from

only five countries. Myanmar, a predominantly Buddhist state, is in that list from where 1.1 million refugees have originated. The UNHCR report describes the phenomenon as ‘the massive flow of stateless refugees from Myanmar to Bangladesh’ (UNHCR, 2020, p. 6).

The Rohingya people, according to the United Nations (UN), are the ‘most persecuted minority in the world’ (OHCHR, 2017). They are one of the many ethnic minorities in Myanmar. A vast majority of the Rohingyas live in the Rakhine State. This ethnic minority has their own language and culture distinct from the rest of state. However, Myanmar does not recognize them as its citizen and hence, they were not counted in the 2014 census (“Myanmar Rohingya,” 2020). The prevailing view in Myanmar is that the predominantly Muslim Rohingya community migrated illegally from Bangladesh. There are numerous allegations of systematic discrimination and abuses by the Myanmar authority against the Rohingyas. To protect their rights and build up armed resistance, several insurgent groups have been formed in Myanmar among which the most prominent is Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA).

On 25 August 2017, ARSA carried out violent attacks on 30 police check posts in the Rakhine State. In response, a massive operation was launched by the Myanmar Army (Tatmadaw) in which the local Buddhist mob also participated in burning the Rohingya villages as well as injuring and killing them. According to the UN, the targeted killings and widespread atrocities forced the Rohingyas to flee to the neighboring state Bangladesh (UNHCR, 2018, p. 24). The UN referred to the exodus as the ‘fastest growing refugee crisis and a major humanitarian emergency’ in the world (UNHCR, 2017). The Government of Bangladesh (GoB), volunteers, charities and many local and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) worked day and night to aid the incoming Rohingyas with relief and other humanitarian assistance.

The Rohingya refugee community in Bangladesh currently contributes to the majority of the stateless people in the Asia-Pacific (UNHCR, 2020, p. 60). Bangladesh now hosts almost one million Rohingyas among whom 56% are children and 52% are women. The Rohingya people are one of the most unfortunate communities in the world to be both refugee and stateless at the same time. Moreover, they might face new challenges in the host country, Bangladesh, since the Prime

Minister Sheikh Hasina has declared them a threat to both national and regional security (“Rohingyas Threat to National, Regional Security,” 2019).

1.1 Research Aim and Relevance

There have been three massive influxes of Rohingyas from Myanmar to Bangladesh. According to Human Rights Watch (HRW), the first exodus took place in 1978 when more than 200,000 Rohingyas took shelter in Bangladesh in the face of forced eviction by the Tatmadaw (HRW, 2000). The second exodus occurred during 1991-1992 when more than 250,000 Rohingyas fled from the rape, forced labor and religious persecution of the armed forces of Myanmar (HRW, 2000). This research focuses on the third and latest exodus that led about 700,000 Rohingyas to Bangladesh from 25 August 2017 onwards. The Kutupalong Rohingya refugee camp of Cox’s Bazar, Bangladesh, is now home to about 800,000 Rohingyas, making it the largest refugee camp in the world (“Inside the Kutupalong Refugee Camp, Cox’s Bazar,” n.d.).

Since the prime minister of Bangladesh declared the Rohingyas as a security threat, this research aims to understand how the refugees had been presented earlier in the media. So far, only a few scholars have researched the Rohingya framing in Bangladeshi newspapers. The researchers have either focused on the comparative analysis of Rohingya representation in the media of different countries or on the framing of the Rohingya issue in particular newspaper. Moreover, the focus on the securitization aspect is largely absent in the existing literature. This research aims to fill the gap by concentrating on how the mainstream newspapers in Bangladesh frame the Rohingya issue and whether any securitization move can be observed in their representation.

The timeline of the research data is set from the date of the latest Rohingya exodus (25 August 2017) to the date of the Bangladeshi prime minister’s declaration of the community as a security threat (11 November 2019). Using the framing analysis method, this research examines the top four newspapers in Bangladesh. Both English and Bengali newspapers are selected for evaluation, which can be useful to notice possible similarity or disparity across the newspapers. The securitization framework is utilized in the thesis as well to check the presence or absence of securitization move(s) in the data.

This research aims to contribute to peace studies through interesting and relevant findings. Peace research was originally established against the backdrop of the Cold War and nuclear arms race. The discipline is now established as a value-based, applied scholarship that focuses on deepening knowledge in peace and war (Thee, 1983, p. 203). From its original goal of limiting and eliminating violence, the discipline has expanded over time to include a wide range of issues like repressive violence, social deprivation and conflict resolution. A notable feature of present-day conflict management is the growing consensus on the importance of peacebuilding. Although the significance of post-conflict reconstruction has been acknowledged a long time ago, the broader concept of peacebuilding became popular in the early 1990s.

According to Milner (2009, p. 14), peacebuilding attempts today do not focus on the regional implications of a conflict as much as its country of origin. The intrastate conflicts in the Global South often have spillover effects on the neighboring states, like the Rohingya crisis of Myanmar has on Bangladesh. More than two-thirds of the recognized refugees are now stuck in protracted refugee situations worldwide as conflicts have become more and more protracted in the countries of origin. Refugees in these situations usually face a lot of restrictions in the host states. The continuation of the refugee problem often gives birth to various political and security concerns for the host countries, the countries of origin and other actors in the region.

The protracted refugee situations have a growing significance for peace and security (Milner, 2009, p. 15). Milner argues that the connection between refugees and peacebuilding goes far beyond just refugee repatriation. Rather, the likelihood of forced refugee repatriation by the host country and the politicization of the refugee community can undermine peacebuilding efforts. Milner also advocates for integrating the regional dynamics of conflict into the broader debates of peacebuilding. From this perspective, studying how the host community perceives the refugees is a key theme in peacebuilding research. Since media often play an important role in forming or changing the opinion of the audience on an issue, this thesis can contribute to the wider peacebuilding scholarship by analyzing the media framing of the Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh.

1.2 Research Questions

The primary question of this research is: *How are the Rohingya people framed in the mainstream newspapers of Bangladesh?* Additionally, the researcher aims to find the answers to the following supplementary questions:

1. Which frames can be frequently observed in the news articles?
2. Is there any similarity or disparity between the English and the Bengali newspapers?
3. Do securitization moves appear in the selected articles?

The following chapter (Chapter Two) focuses on the background of the Rohingya crisis to present an overview of the events that have led to the current scenario. Chapter Three provides the conceptual clarification of the key terms of the research, an introduction to the securitization theory and a brief overview of the existing scholarly works on the Rohingya representation in the media. Chapter Four explains the data collection and analysis methods, the ethical issues and the limitations of the research methodology. Chapter Five presents the findings of the thesis in brief, which is followed by a discussion on the identified frames in Chapter Six. Finally, Chapter Seven concludes the paper by summarizing the thesis and proposing new avenues for further research.

Chapter Two: Background of the Rohingya Crisis

Rohingya, as a term, has ethnoreligious origins in the northern Rakhine State of Myanmar (formerly known as Burma). The traceable past of the Muslim-majority Rohingya community can be largely divided into the precolonial and colonial era, the nationalist movement era, and the modern era of civic exclusion. The Rohingya crisis in Bangladesh is the culmination of an episodic history since the time of the Buddhist-ruled Arakan kingdom. The demographic growth of the Muslims in the region during the British colonial period hinted towards a struggle for wider regional autonomy. From 1962 to 2011, however, the authoritarian regimes in Burma suppressed all movements of the Rohingyas striving for their ethnic recognition (Leider, 2018, p. 1). Moreover, the organized Rohingya movements - both armed and unarmed - failed to gain notable sympathy from other ethnic groups in Myanmar. Nevertheless, with continuous unrest in the region since 2012, the international community had to pay attention to the Rohingya issue. In 2017, this community faced a massive military crackdown by the armed forces of Myanmar which the UN branded as a “textbook example of ethnic cleansing” (Nebehay & Lewis, 2017).

In this chapter, the historical development of the Rohingya will be discussed in separate, yet interlinked, sections in a loosely chronological order. A brief overview of the precolonial and colonial era will help us to understand how the early Muslims came to settle in North Arakan and in which context. This will be followed by a discussion on the rise of Rohingya movements in the late- and post-colonial Arakan. Later, we will consider the events leading to the civic exclusion of the Rohingyas in Myanmar. Since media played an important part in the latest Rohingya exodus, their role will be discussed briefly as well. Finally, a section will be dedicated to understanding the response of Bangladesh in the multiple Rohingya crises.

First, however, it would be convenient to familiarize ourselves with the border of Myanmar and Bangladesh which is vital for understanding the historical development of the Rohingya crisis. Figure 1 illustrates a close-up view of the Rakhine State in Myanmar and Cox’s Bazar in Bangladesh, which will become useful later on in the discussion.

Figure 1: Myanmar-Bangladesh Border



Source: International Crisis Group (2018, p. 18)

2.1 The Precolonial and the Colonial Era

The history of Arakan is intertwined with the claim of ethnic identity by the Rohingyas since the 1950s. The Muslim names of the Arakanese kings going as far back as the 15th century, the design of Arakanese coins and the influence of the Sufi cult on local tradition, as in other parts of the Indian subcontinent, are the testimonies of the impact of Muslim civilization on Myanmar (Leider, 2018, p. 4). By the 16th century, Chittagong (present-day Chattogram district in Bangladesh) was annexed as part of the Arakanese territorial expansion (Leider, 2018, p. 4). During the Arakanese rule, the local Muslims were employed in broadly three sectors. While the privileged group worked at the Arakanese court, a large group of workers was deported as bonded slaves due to the booming slave trade. The third and smallest group was the Arab merchants who prove to be a valid evidence of Arabian and Persian cultural influence on the local people.

By the late 18th century, the political power of Arakan declined and the Burmese annexed the kingdom in late 1784 (Leider, 2018, p. 4). After annexation, many local Hindu, Muslim and Buddhist families were resettled in the then capital of Burma, Amarapura. A Muslim from Arakan was employed as the head of the newly settled Muslim community in Burma. In 1795, a British physician named Francis Buchanan found that the local Muslim people speak in an odd language (Buchanan, 1799, p. 223). When asked, they identified their origin and language as ‘Rooinga’ which is an obvious predecessor of the modern-day ‘Rohingya’. When Buchanan’s article on this finding was discovered in the 21st century, it became an indisputable testimony to the claim that a Muslim Rohingya community resided in Burma even before the British colonial period. However, it should be noted that the British rulers did not classify the ‘Rohingyas’ as a distinct ethnic group mainly because the Muslims were not using the term as a particular ethnonym themselves.

After the annexation of Arakan, many people, including local Muslims, were displaced and were transported as slaves into Bengal by crossing the Naf River. The East India Company, which was already thriving in the region, relocated them in the present-day Cox’s Bazar. Meanwhile, the exiled chiefs of Arakan who had earlier lost to the Burmese incursion made several attempts at retaliation. This issue, coupled with other politico-economic rationales, led to the deterioration of relations between the East India Company and the Burmese, eventually resulting in the First

Anglo-Burmese War which lasted from 1824 to 1826 (Leider, 2018, p. 5). Amid all the turbulence, the Muslims integrated fluently with the Burmese society by adopting their food habits, traditions and lifestyles, except for the language and religion. They were faster than the Arakanese to adopt to the new British power in the region. In fact, the multilingual skill of the Muslims allowed them to act as British informers during the First Anglo-Burmese War. Moreover, it is estimated that they had a strong presence in the areas where British administrators were more active.

In 1869, the opening of the Suez Canal had a massive impact on the subsequent economic and demographic changes in Burma (Leider, 2018, p. 5). The British saw an opportunity to utilize the new maritime corridor for exporting rice. This goal, however, required a great number of labourers. Chittagonians began to work as the essential labourers in Burma during the harvesting season. Although most of them were seasonal workers, many settled in the long run. This newly arrived Muslim community now outnumbered the earlier Arakanese Muslims. By 1941, the number of Muslims in the region was 27% of the total population (Leider, 2018, p. 5). The British administration divided the inhabitants of Arakan into two major groups: Buddhist-majority Arakanese speakers and Muslim-majority Bengali speakers. However, with the surge in Chittagonian Muslims by the late 1800s and the early 1900s, a new census classified the Muslims into two distinct groups. The early Arakanese Muslims were now called Arakan Mahomedans as per their will and were classified as Indo-Burmans (Leider, 2018, p. 6). The remainder and the recently arrived Muslims were now called Chittagonians and were racially identified as Indians. By 1930, around 80% of the Arakanese Muslims were Chittagonians and almost three-quarters of their descendants were born in Arakan (Leider, 2018, p. 6). However, they were still perceived by the local community as foreigners with no roots in Burma.

2.2 The Nationalist Movement Era

During World War II, Japan invaded Burma in 1942. The invasion led to an exodus of around 400,000 Indians from Burma to India. The journey had to be made across Arakan to reach Bengal. In the meantime, Arakan witnessed anticolonial movements among the Buddhist communities. The Muslims of North Arakan supported the British colonial administrators to achieve the goal of greater regional autonomy in the following years. The details of the socio-political developments

that led to the tension between the two communities are not well documented. However, when Burma gained independence in 1948, neither the British nor the Burmese rulers met the demands of the Muslims (Leider, 2017). Rather, the vocal political Muslim activists were resented by the local Buddhist Arakanese. Moreover, the claim of the Muslims in North Arakan that they were native Burmese and indigenous to the land was rejected.

When the new border between Pakistan and Burma was drawn along the Naf River, where people had moved freely for hundreds of years in the past, the Muslim leaders became divided on the issue of appropriate response. A group wanted to join Pakistan but failed as Jinnah rejected the idea, and the other group hoped for British support, which had been promised to them informally during World War II for resisting the Japanese occupation. However, the British support never arrived in favour of the Muslims (Ullah, 2019). Understanding the harsh reality, the Muslim leaders now pleaded the Burmese government to declare an exclusive zone in North Arakan. The rationale behind the request was claimed as the bitter relationship between the Muslim and the Buddhist neighbours in the region. During the 1950s, this line of thinking guided the Rohingya movement towards an unconventional form of sub-nationalism.

After independence, the Muslims took part in the national elections of Burma. The leaders from North Arakan requested the government once again for an acknowledgement of their ethnic identity and greater regional autonomy, which was denied repeatedly. By the mid-1950s, a group of Muslim insurgents fought against the Burmese armed forces as Mujahids (Yeger, 1972). However, they were not an inspiration for the young educated Muslims because the Mujahids not only attacked the state instruments but also terrorized the local population. They established a rice smuggling network by illegally bringing in immigrants from then East Pakistan. Due to the lack of popular support as well as the retaliatory actions taken by the Burmese military, most of the Mujahids were defeated by 1954 (Yeger, 1972). In addition, in the 1950s, there was a wave of political awareness among the young educated Muslims of North Arakan. They understood that without a common identity among themselves, any struggle was meaningless. Earlier, the term 'Rohingya' had been used by the Arakanese Muslims to distinguish themselves from the Chittagonians. Later, the Chittagonians used the term to differentiate themselves from the immigrants who were brought illegally by the Mujahids. When the Rohingya identity was

eventually established as a recognizable phrase for the Muslims in North Arakan by the late 1960s, the community had a stronger sense of unity to drive their political movement.

When the former Prime Minister of Burma U Nu came to power for the second term in 1960, he was ready to recognize a separate Arakan state within the Burmese Union. This step was alarming for the Muslims of North Arakan as it meant they had to coexist with the Arakanese Buddhists under the rule of unsympathetic Buddhist rulers. In 1960 and 1961, Rohingya leaders became vocal against the idea (Leider, 2018). However, the military coup of 1962 postponed the creation of the Arakan state within the Burmese Union until 1974. General Ne Win, soon after overthrowing U Nu, created a separate administrative region for the Muslim-majority areas which seemed like a victory for the Rohingyas at first. However, this move was deceptive since the military rulers appointed to the area made no socio-political developments, rather they were busy settling the border with Pakistan and fighting rebels and smugglers. By 1964, the administrative area was dissolved and reintegrated with the Akyab district (present-day Sittwe in Myanmar) (Leider, 2018). Although the dream of the Rohingyas came to an end soon, their motivation for identity and autonomy did not perish. The new generation of Rohingyas were motivated to combine their demand for recognition of identity with their political goals in an attempt to imitate the revolutions of the other contemporary ethnic groups in Myanmar. The ethnic Mon as well as the Arakanese Buddhists fought for their own states within the Burmese Union following a fairly similar strategy (Leider, 2018). The Rohingya movement was at least successful in creating a common 'Rohingya' identity among the local Muslims and setting themselves apart as a unique ethnic group distinct from the other Burmese Muslim communities.

2.3 The Modern Era of Civic Exclusion

In 1978, the Burmese government launched 'Operation Dragon King' with the help of Buddhist-influenced national security forces to arrest the immigrants whom they considered staying illegally in Arakan (Selth, 2003, p. 12). This led to an exodus of roughly 200,000 North Arakanese to Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh. The Rohingya Patriotic Front (RPF) claimed that the actual plan of the government was to annihilate the Rohingyas if they stayed any longer (Selth, 2003, p. 15). Although many Rohingyas returned home gradually, thousands of them stayed in Bangladesh

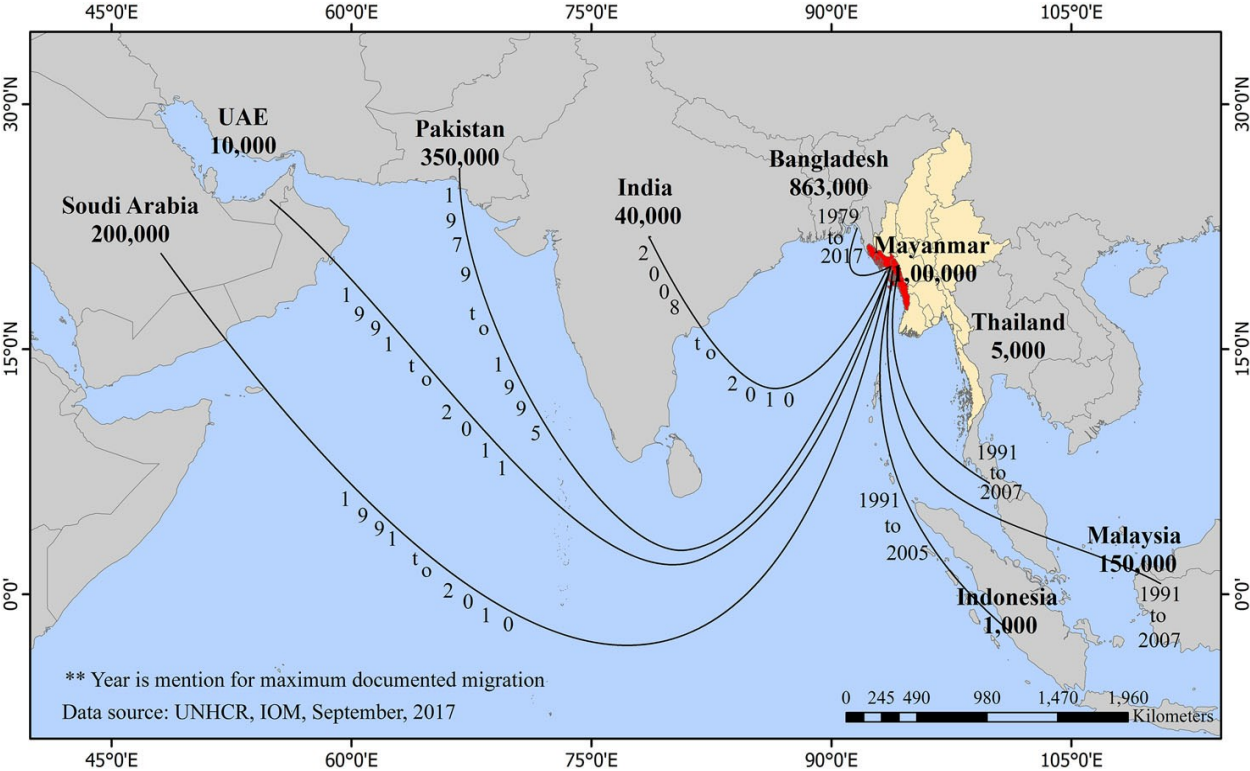
while some went to Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and other countries. The 1978 operation is considered a catalyst for the 1982 citizenship law of Burma which is the cornerstone of the modern Rohingya crisis. However, exclusionary policies of the state against the Rohingyas did not develop overnight. The following section briefly sheds light on the evolution of state discrimination against the Rohingyas over the past century.

Burma is a country that is defined by multi-ethnic groups coexisting in a shared region for a long time. It was never contested whether ethnic identity should be the primary determinant of civic rights or not. Therefore, when the Union Citizenship Act was enacted in Burma in 1948, the basis of citizenship for the ethnic groups was to prove their permanent residence in Burma before the First Anglo-Burmese war (Cheesman, 2017, p. 14). It was not the rigidity of ethnicity as a determinant of national identity that led to the multiple clashes between the government and the different ethnic groups, rather the political hegemony of the majority Barmans that discontented the others. One of those groups, the Rohingyas, had faced highly selective and unfair treatment by the state mechanism for a long time. In the 1950s, the National Registration Card (NRC) in Burma was commonly used as a proof of nationality. Since the 1970s, the Muslims in North Arakan were no longer issued those cards. When a new citizenship law was enacted in 1982, only few Rohingyas were issued the Temporary Registration Cards (also known as the white cards) stating that they were no longer full citizens of the country (Cheesman, 2017). In February 2015, the white cards became invalid and in June 2015, green cards were issued to the Rohingyas on the condition that they could no longer identify themselves as Rohingyas (Cheesman, 2017). That is how the Rohingya community faced a gradual, systematic discrimination by the state apparatus through selective application of the citizenship law in Myanmar.

From 1991 to 1992, Bangladesh experienced a second wave of mass Rohingya influx. An estimated 250,000 Rohingyas crossed the border and entered Bangladesh during this period (Lindblom, Marsh, Motala, & Munyan, 2015). The influx was triggered by the increasing presence of and violence by the Myanmar Army in the Rakhine State (former Arakan). The flow of the Rohingyas from Myanmar to Bangladesh continued intermittently throughout the late 1990s and the early 2000s. In 2012, three Rohingya men raped an Arakanese woman (Brooten, 2015, p. 135). Seeking vengeance, a large group of Arakanese men killed ten Rohingyas while they were

traveling on a bus. Later, the local Arakanese people, Buddhist monks and the security forces attacked Rohingya villages and mosques. Seventy Rohingyas, including 28 children, were killed in one village alone (Brooten, 2015, p. 135). In January 2014, violence broke out again when the Arakanese security forces and local mobs jointly attacked and killed 40 Rohingya men, women and children (Brooten, 2015, p. 135). In October 2016, the situation deteriorated with rising insurgent activities among the Rohingyas as well as the countermeasures taken by the Myanmar Army along the border. Soon afterwards, multiple insurgent attacks by ARSA on police check posts in Myanmar led to a security crackdown by the Myanmar Army in the Rakhine State in 2017. Thus, facing this latest episode of violence in Myanmar, the Rohingyas fled to Bangladesh once again to escape persecution. Although Bangladesh has hosted the greatest number of Rohingyas to date, it is not the only country to shelter this community. There are seven other major countries which accommodate a significant number of Rohingya refugees. Figure 2 illustrates the numbers and routes of Rohingya migration in different countries.

Figure 2: Numbers and Routes of Rohingya Migration in Different Countries



Source: Sahana, Jahangir, & Anisujjaman (2019, p. 47)

2.4 Media in Hindsight

Since Myanmar's independence from Britain in 1948, the military has been the most powerful institution in the country (Marston, 2021). General Aung San, the Father of the Nation of present-day Myanmar, founded the modern Burmese army in the early 1940s with the help from Japan. He was assassinated in 1947 just six months before the independence, but is still admired by the people for his contributions. Since its inception, the Tatmadaw has enjoyed unrestricted control over the country's political and economic affairs. In this regard, the famous Burmese historian Thant Myint-U has stated in a recent book that, "The modern state of Burma was born as a military occupation" (Myint-U, 2020).

In 1962, General Ne Win led the military and took control of Burma through a coup which ended the short-lived quasi-democracy of the country. The military immediately banned every opposition party and nationalised the major industries. They systematically and gradually replaced civilian institutions with military organizations and consolidated control over the political economy of Myanmar. The infamous ideology called "Burmese Way to Socialism" was also introduced which resulted in massive economic downturn and Myanmar's isolation from the international community. The Burmese people staged nationwide protests in 1988 against the mismanagement of the military junta and chanted for democratic reforms. The protests were violently suppressed and around 5,000 people were murdered (Marston, 2021). After ruling Myanmar for another two decades, the Tatmadaw drafted a new constitution in 2008 and held a controversial referendum that lacked participation from any opposition party.

By reserving one-fourth of all the seats for the military in local and national parliaments, the new constitution ensured that the Tatmadaw's power would remain protected. Such arrangement also provided legitimacy to the military to veto any constitutional reforms proposed by civilian legislators. Moreover, the constitution guaranteed an uninterrupted flow of cash to the military through the institution's 'legitimate' control over Myanmar's oil, gas and mining industries. Thus, the financial independence of the military was secured which allowed it to resist any local or international pressure for reform. A 2020 report from Amnesty International highlighted the financial security of the military by stating that Myanmar Economic Holdings Limited, one of the

two biggest corporations run by the military, had obtained US\$ 18bn in 1990-2010 through military-owned businesses alone, which invested most of the revenue back into the budget of the Tatmadaw (Marston, 2021).

The media in Myanmar, like other major institutions, have been owned and run by the junta throughout the history. The elite military class that grew up since the independence of Myanmar controls the channels of information in the country. They weaponize and instrumentalize the media in their favour to run disinformation campaigns against any actor deemed defiant (Mcelhone, 2017). The print and broadcast media are strictly monitored and regulated by the junta. Any journalist reporting the military or the state negatively is arrested and jailed. The subjects forbidden in the media include, but are not limited to, democracy, corruption, legitimacy of the regime and so on. The military is very cautious about international media, and therefore, most foreign media are banned from operating and reporting in Myanmar. Although the junta allowed some private media to operate through relaxation of the media laws in 2012, the legal environment and media policy in general remained strictly controlled with practically no space for independent journalism (“Reforming Media Law in Myanmar,” 2012).

Currently, there are five state-owned daily newspapers in Myanmar that promote the agendas and spread propagandas on behalf of the regime. During the Rohingya crisis, the access of the journalists to the Rakhine State was restricted which resulted in the reliance on official sources and distorted coverage. The state-owned *Global New Light of Myanmar*, for example, depicted the Rohingya community as a group of perpetrators posing threat to national peace and security (Kironka & Peng, 2021). Similarly, *Myanma Alinn* presented the government officials and the local inhabitants of the Rakhine State (which obviously excluded the Rohingyas) as victims of “ARSA extremist Bengali terrorists”. The Tatmadaw also arrested two journalists of Reuters in December 2017 and sentenced them to seven years in prison for collecting information on a massacre of Rohingya boys and men in Inn Din (a coastal town) in northern Rakhine State (Kironka & Peng, 2021).

Internet access was limited in Myanmar up until recently. When Aung San Suu Kyi was elected six years ago in 2015 as the de facto leader of the country, the restrictions imposed by the military

regime were gradually relaxed (BBC, 2018). Telecommunications was one of the few sectors which went through rapid liberalization. As a result, any subscriber identity module (SIM) card which used to cost US\$ 200 earlier could then be purchased at a price as low as US\$ 2 (BBC, 2018). Moreover, the number of internet users grew significantly with the booming mobile user base. Facebook, in particular, became highly popular among the mass people because it was the only social media site at the time which supported the Burmese text. The Internet became synonymous with Facebook to the point where people would not leave a cell phone shop until they had the social media app installed on their device. The lack of prior internet literacy among the common people in Myanmar was arguably a significant catalyst for their susceptibility to false news and propaganda against the Rohingyas. The UN stated that Facebook played a “determining role” in the mass exodus of the ethnic community (Miles, 2018). The UN Special Rapporteur on Myanmar Yanghee Lee commented on the social media site’s role that, “Facebook has now turned into a beast, and not what it originally intended” (Miles, 2018).

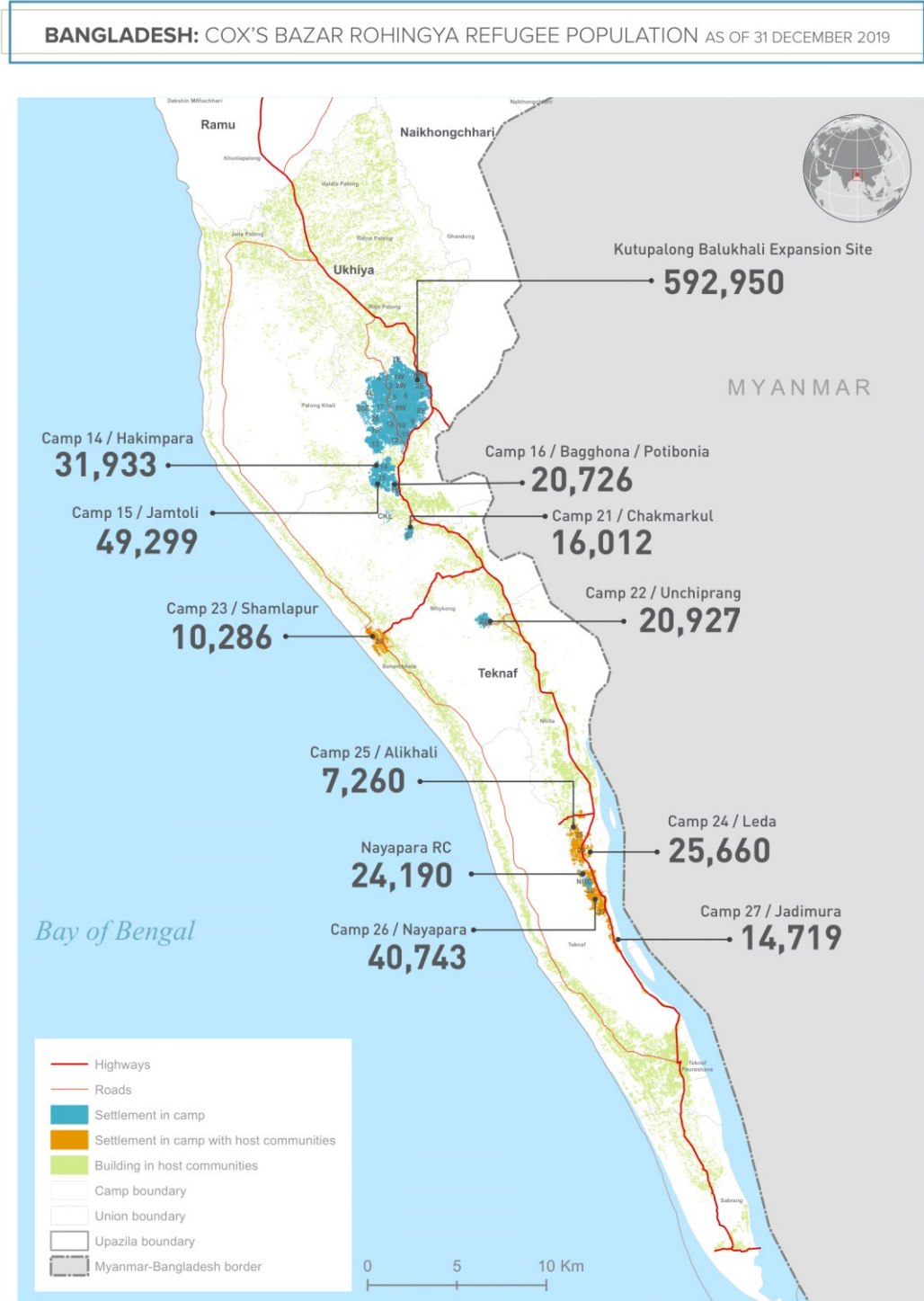
In August 2018, an investigation conducted by Reuters reported more than a thousand Burmese Facebook posts that targeted the Rohingyas (Stecklow, 2018). The investigation team noticed that there was a common aim to dehumanize the community. Some posts explicitly mentioned the Rohingyas as dogs, pigs or rapists. The team also found that there were widespread conspiracy theories claiming the community was producing ten times more babies than the rest of the country in an attempt to change Buddhist-majority Myanmar into an Islamic state. The report described the overall findings “sickening” and stated that such trend of hate posts and attacks on social media ensured that even if a genocide happened against the Rohingyas, public protest would be low since those people would not be even counted as humans in the first place (Stecklow, 2018). The report also pointed out that some of the investigated posts were couple of years old by the time the Facebook authorities were notified and the posts were removed. It is undeniable that Facebook did not take timely action to prevent the spread of hate speech, especially from the extremist Buddhist monks against the Rohingyas. For example, Ashin Wirathu who calls himself the “Burmese Bin Laden” warned the Muslims on Facebook to restrain from raping young Burmese girls and indulging in cronyism (Hodal, 2013). The Facebook authorities later admitted that they were too slow to act against the spread of hate speech in Myanmar despite the multiple warnings they had received earlier (BBC, 2018).

2.5 Rohingyas in Bangladesh

Influxes of Rohingyas into Bangladesh have occurred multiple times in history. The first mass exodus of around 200,000 Rohingyas from Myanmar to Bangladesh in 1978 resulted in a major humanitarian crisis (HRW, 2000, p. 7). Nonetheless, the GoB managed to provide emergency relief to the incoming refugees with the support of the Red Cross. When providing humanitarian assistance became difficult for the GoB, the UN provided logistical support in building 13 camps near the Myanmar-Bangladesh border (HRW, 2000, p. 7). The GoB pushed the then military regime in Myanmar to take back the refugees immediately. The government also emphasized that the Rohingyas would not be allowed to integrate with the local people of Bangladesh. With the support of the UN, most of the Rohingyas were soon repatriated back to Myanmar. The second mass exodus of about 250,000 Rohingyas from Myanmar to Bangladesh occurred in 1991-1992 (Parnini, Othman, & Ghazali, 2013, p. 137). This time 20 camps were established in the Cox's Bazar and the Bandarban districts of Bangladesh (Parnini et al., 2013, p. 137). The GoB supervised the camps and the funding was provided by the UNHCR. The GoB strongly stated that Rohingyas would not be given any legal status in the country and the Government of Myanmar (GoM) should repatriate them as soon as possible. However, this time Bangladesh could not repatriate all the Rohingyas. Officially 28,000 registered Rohingyas still reside in the camps in Bangladesh (Parnini et al., 2013, p. 137).

In the latest Rohingya influx of August 2017, nearly 700,000 people, with a majority of women and children, crossed the border and came to Bangladesh to escape persecution in Myanmar (UNHCR, 2018, p. 18). The GoB immediately responded with humanitarian assistance and built temporary camps in Cox's Bazar. There are currently 12 major campsites in the district, making it the largest refugee settlement in the world (Kolstad, 2018). Correspondingly, the Kutupalong camp in Ukhia, Cox's Bazar, is one of the two refugee camps run by the GoB and it is the world's largest refugee camp (Sengupta & Fountain, 2018). It is estimated that around 1 million Rohingya people, both documented and undocumented, currently live in Bangladesh. Figure 3 illustrates the latest Rohingya population in Cox's Bazar.

Figure 3: Rohingya Population in Cox's Bazar



Source: United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA, 2019, p. 8)

Chapter Three: Literature Review

To understand how the Rohingyas are portrayed in Bangladeshi news media, it is crucial to explore existing literature on this theme. Since the scope of this paper is highly context-specific, the convenient approach would be to study the literature in specific subthemes. Therefore, this literature review chapter is divided into four sections. The first section aims to set precise definitions of migration and refugees. The second section explores the securitization theory - particularly from the Copenhagen School's perspective. The third section focuses on the security issues concerning the Rohingyas since this is a major factor in the whole crisis. The fourth and final section analyses the current studies on media representation of the Rohingyas.

3.1 Migration and Refugees

Before we explore the literature on the Rohingyas, it is important to have a clear understanding of what migration means and how can we define the term 'refugees' or this research. International Organization for Migration (IOM), the UN Migration Agency, defines migration as "the movement of persons away from their place of usual residence, either across an international border or within a state" (IOM, 2019, p. 137). Correspondingly, a migrant is:

Any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a state away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of (1) the person's legal status; (2) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; (3) what the causes for the movement are; or (4) what the length of the stay is (IOM, 2019).

When we think of refugees, the most notable aspect of their migration appears to be the involuntary nature. However, this is certainly not enough to delineate who is a refugee and who is not. Other relevant factors must be taken into account as well. There are multiple definitions of refugees in the international policy level as well as in the academia. The UNHCR has defined refugees as below:

A refugee is someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war or violence. A refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group. Most likely, they cannot return home or are afraid to do so. War and ethnic, tribal and religious violence are leading causes of refugees fleeing their countries (UNHCR, 2017).

The definition of refugees which is most accepted worldwide comes from the Article 1 of the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. This Convention defines refugees as below:

[Any person] owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it (UNHCR, 1951).

The above-mentioned definition of refugees is most appropriate for this research because the definition acknowledges nationality as a precise factor in defining refugees. The Rohingyas, as discussed earlier, do not officially hold the citizenship of Myanmar which is a major impediment to any sustainable solution for their misery.

Like the citizenship issue, the refugee status of the Rohingyas is a crucial factor which makes the crisis even more complicated. The UNHCR recognizes the Rohingyas as refugees since they fulfil the criteria set by all internationally recognized definitions while the GoB refuses to officially acknowledge their refugee status (Sullivan, 2020, p. 9). The country has neither acceded to the 1951 Refugee Convention nor the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. Even though Bangladesh has several international conventions like the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), which oblige the state to ensure various human rights of the refugees, the GoB is cautious not to draw more Rohingyas and raise their expectation for resettlement in the country through official recognition. As pointed out by Sullivan (2020, p. 9), access to education,

freedom of movement and livelihood opportunities are the key areas where the Rohingyas suffer the most due to the lack of refugee status.

3.2 Securitization Theory

Until the 1980s, the security studies literature was significantly narrow in the sense that the referent object of security was considered to be states alone. It was unanimously accepted in the International Relations scholarship that the security of states can be at stake either internally (e.g., civil war) or externally (e.g., interstate war). States were deemed homogenous actors with similar sets of objectives and interests along this line of thinking. Some scholars eventually aimed to broaden the understanding of security in order to capture how complex the issue inherently is. Arnold Wolfers proposed a new definition of security in this pursuit: “Security is the absence of threat to acquired values” (Baldwin, 1997, p. 13). The new classification indicated that security has both subjective and objective features. Arnold and his supporters claimed that the traditional view on security sustained the primacy of state as the sole referent object by ignoring the more complex authorities within the state system. Arnold’s work set the foundation for a later breakthrough in security studies, which we consider today as the ‘human security’ paradigm with a focus on individuals rather than the state.

Adherents of the Copenhagen School like Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver widened the security framework from the 1980s onwards. Up until then, security had been a highly contested notion with no agreed upon definition. Security was more like “a concept that generates debates that cannot be resolved by reference to empirical evidence because the concept contains a clear ideological or moral element and defies precise, generally accepted definition” (Fierke, 2007, p. 35). To the Copenhagen School, security is inherently inter-subjective and thus, value-laden. Challenging the traditional views, Barry Buzan in his seminal work *People, States, and Fear* argued that security studies should include non-militarized sectors like societal security and political security (Buzan, 1983). Although Copenhagen School advocate for a broader definition of security, they still consider states to be the key referent object – a stance debated by the modern critical security studies scholars (Howe, 2018, p. 6).

In the book *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, the writers Barry Buzan, Jaap de Wilde and Ole Wæver have defined securitization as a move made beyond the realm of normal politics in order to frame an issue as a part of special politics (Buzan, Wæver, & Wilde, 1998). These adherents of the Copenhagen School argue that existential threats drive securitization moves although the definition and boundary of existential threats are highly debated among the contemporary scholars. In general terms, securitization is the act by a securitizing actor to elevate an issue from the realm of low politics to high politics by labelling it as an urgent threat, and convincing the target audience of taking extraordinary measures to solve the issue even though the issue was not simply 'out there' but was enunciated using carefully articulated discourses.

The Copenhagen School identifies three phases in discursive security (Howe, 2018, p. 6). At the first step, an authoritative voice with social and/or institutional power claims an issue as an existential threat which would require action beyond normal politics (i.e. emergency politics). The goal at this stage is to disseminate the message to the discursive audience/referent object through a speech act. Speech acts are carefully formulated and delivered messages that do not only explain the reality but also create it. The second step in securitization is to put forward an emergency act as a solution to counter the existential threat. The final and most important step is tracing the impact of the speech act on the target audience. Until the intended population is convinced and accept the authenticity of the existential threat, the securitization narrative and its associated rhetoric can be considered as a securitization move. According to the different phases in the securitization process, Copenhagen School proposes a broader framework of securitization studies:

Based on a clear idea of the nature of security, securitization studies aims to gain an increasingly precise understanding of who securitizes, on what issues (threats), for whom (referent objects), why, with what results and, not least, under what conditions (what explains when securitization is successful) (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 32).

For Wæver, desecuritization is almost always preferable over securitization because that ensures the return to normal politics (e.g., democracy) (McGlinchey, Walters, & Scheinpflug, 2017, p. 107). Securitization theory, according to Wæver, enables the audience to accept or reject the securitization speech of an authoritative power and hence, creates a sense of responsibility and

agency in the referent object. At the state level, securitization theory aims to protect politics from the excessive power of the authorities by making citizens aware of their ability to accept or reject a narrative (McGlinchey et al., 2017). In order to understand the Rohingya crisis better, it is imperative to explore how the existing literature understands (in)security vis-à-vis the Rohingyas. The following section focuses on this issue.

3.3 Rohingya and Security

Siegfried O. Wolf framed the Rohingya crisis as a religious conflict with politico-economic rationales (Wolf, 2017). According to him, the nature of the conflict impacts the response from the countries most affected by the calamity - Myanmar, Bangladesh and India. Wolf stated that the high amount of illegal activities (e.g., drug trafficking, smuggling, prostitution) that cripple the Rohingya society pose a threat to the established law and order of society. In the past, attacks by ARSA resulted in its branding as a terrorist organization by the GoM (Wolf, 2017, p. 5). Due to the religious dimension of the crisis, Wolf found the Rohingyas susceptible to local and global jihadi groups which want to misuse their cause and utilize it in their own favor. With the extended exposure of the Rohingya youths to global jihadi movements, this community have become a security concern for multiple states over time. The ‘caravan of jihad’, as envisaged by the al-Qaeda in the Indian Subcontinent (AQIS), marks the Rohingya population as its target group. Similarly, the Islamic State (IS) has called for jihad in Myanmar. Although the GoM claims that ARSA is trying to establish an Islamic state in the country, the militants reject such statements by denying any kind of link with IS or AQIS. Wolf concluded by opining that only an internal approach from Myanmar would bring sustainable solutions in the Rohingya crisis since India and Bangladesh are reluctant to take more refugees on the grounds of security and resource scarcity.

With a theme similar to Wolf (2017), Md. Mahbubul Haque took a different approach and examined how the protracted Rohingya refugees have affected Bangladesh since 1978 (Haque, 2016). Haque found that the refugee population has created multidimensional pressure on the socio-politico-economic condition of the state. Not only some Rohingyas crossed the border between Bangladesh and Myanmar illegally, but there have also been frequent allegations of using makeshift camps as the recruitment centres for Rohingya militant groups like ARSA. The

smuggling of the infamous *Yaba* narcotic, also known as the ‘madness drug’ or ‘Nazi speed’, through the Burmese border is an easy income source for the Rohingyas which has led to a massive drug addiction problem among the Bangladeshi youth (Haque, 2016, p. 864). Haque also found that the protracted Rohingyas in Bangladesh can neither access the rights outlined for refugees in the 1951 refugee convention of the UN, nor can they benefit from the very limited livelihood opportunities around the camps. Moreover, the protracted Rohingya crisis has serious adverse impacts on the Bangladesh-Myanmar bilateral relations as well as the border security of these countries. Nonetheless, Haque opined that the home country (Myanmar), the host country (Bangladesh) and the international community cannot avoid their responsibility to ensure the rights of the Rohingyas in the name of security concerns.

While Wolf (2017) and Haque (2016) focused on the Rohingya crisis from a macro perspective, Wahiduzzaman Siddique took a micro approach to study the issue (Siddique, 2019). Siddique collected qualitative data from the Rohingya camps by employing ethnographic observation as his data collection process. In this research, Siddique explored the impacts of the Rohingya refugees on the host community of Cox’s Bazar. Using Chamber’s framework on the impacts of refugees on the host community, the researcher identified multiple areas where changes could be observed (Siddique, 2019, p. 53). It was found that some common effects were felt by everyone in the host community. For example, due to multiple reports of Rohingyas fleeing their designated camps, local people of the host community now had to go through multiple security checks and prove their identity while traveling. On top of that, Siddique noted two major complains from the local residents against the Rohingya refugees. The first was that prostitution increased manifold in the community after the latest Rohingya influx. The second accusation was that the Rohingyas smuggle *Yaba* through the border and infiltrate the local market. The inhabitants even feared informal integration of the refugees into the host community as they claimed some Rohingyas had illegally managed the national identity card of Bangladesh as well as the passport with which they could commit other illegal activities abroad (Siddique, 2019, p. 55). Siddique concluded his research by stating that further research is possible on this issue to understand the “perception about the presence of a large number of Rohingya refugees” in Bangladesh (Siddique, 2019, p. 57).

3.4 Rohingya Crisis in Media

Using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Arina Isti'anah analysed the headlines of two newspapers titled *Mmtimes* and *The Nation*, the former from Myanmar and the latter from Bangladesh (Isti'anah, 2018). The author analysed 40 headlines in total, 20 from each newspaper. The researcher claimed that the newspaper in Myanmar uses the term 'refugees' instead of 'Rohingyas' to avoid mentioning this community explicitly in the public space and to show that the GoM is making sincere efforts to solve the problem. The headlines, according to the author, are a testimony to the allegation that the government controls the media in Myanmar. In contrast, the newspaper headlines from Bangladesh depict the Rohingya crisis as a humanitarian issue. There is an implicit appeal to the readers to sympathize with the Rohingya cause by focusing on how they escaped persecution in Myanmar. By mentioning the term 'Rohingya' in the headlines, the Bangladeshi media source wants to draw attention of the audience to this issue. Moreover, the initiative of the GoB to vaccinate the Rohingya children is highlighted in the headlines as a way to showcase the government's support to the community. Overall, Isti'anah found that the media of Myanmar emphasizes the government's efforts and consciously avoids the term 'Rohingya' in the headlines while the Bangladeshi media explicitly mentions the term to draw international attention and to showcase how the government is supporting them. Since the research was conducted on only one newspaper from each country, a possible drawback of the overall findings is that it may fall short on the question of representativeness.

Similarly, Sharufatun Nahar conducted a Corpus-Assisted Discourse Study (CADS) on the articles published in *The Daily Star*, a prominent Bangladeshi newspaper, from August 2017 to August 2018 (Nahar, 2019). CADS is a multidisciplinary approach combining both qualitative and quantitative techniques for data analysis. In this research, the author utilized Makau W. Mutua's Savage-Victim-Saviour (SVS) metaphor in critical human rights theory as an analytical tool for guiding the textual analysis. The study found that *The Daily Star* follows the SVS framework to construct the main actors of the crisis. The Rohingyas are portrayed as victims by highlighting their plight in the news articles. The role of Bangladesh is showcased positively by focusing on the shelters provided to the Rohingyas while Myanmar is projected negatively by elaborating on the abuses of the armed forces. Moreover, the repatriation of the Rohingyas is a common salient

topic in the articles. The paper concluded that by excluding the voices of the Rohingya community and the Myanmar officials, *The Daily Star* reproduces the existing human rights discourse and leans towards Eurocentric ideals (Nahar, 2019, p. 123). This research encouraged more studies to be conducted on similar themes to understand the broad picture of Rohingya representation in Bangladeshi newspapers.

While Nahar (2019) and Isti'anah (2018) researched on Rohingya representation in the media by analysing one and two newspapers respectively, Md Khadimul Islam analysed six different newspapers from three countries - China, India and Bangladesh – to understand how the Rohingya crisis of 2017 is framed in the respective media (Islam, 2018). The method of his study was qualitative content analysis which is distinct from the approaches taken by the two researchers mentioned earlier. By using the policy-media interaction model developed by Piers Robinson, he examined 308 news articles in total over the timeframe of 1 month starting from 25 August 2017. Islam found that the media in the three neighbouring countries presented the Rohingya crisis in significantly different manners. In the Indian and Bangladeshi media, the most used frames were the aid frame and the human interest frame, respectively. In the Chinese media, the conflict frame was most apparent (Islam, 2018, p. 35). Aid agencies were cited most in the Bangladeshi news media while the national officials were frequently quoted in the Indian media. As for China, the top source for news coverage on the Rohingya crisis was the Myanmar government. Islam concluded by highlighting that the news reports in Bangladesh focused on the plight of and relief for the Rohingya people as well as the actions taken by the UN agencies against the brutality of the Myanmar government. On the other hand, the Chinese media projected the plans and initiatives taken by the GoM to address the Rohingya issue. The Indian media took a cautious strategy and covered news on the aids received by or required for the Rohingya people while quoting statements from the government officials of the state.

The analysis of the existing literature shows that there is still room for research on the representation of the Rohingya people in Bangladesh. The framing analysis of Rohingya people in Bangladeshi media through the lens of securitization theory is a possible avenue for further research. There is also scope for approaching the theme alternatively. Among the research methods mentioned in this section, CDA as a data analysis technique is criticized by some scholars for

overemphasizing the macro context and paying little attention to the immediate context (Breeze, 2011, p. 520). Correspondingly, the vague data analysis process of CADS can lead to a high risk of bias from the researcher (Baker, 2006, p. 11). Keeping the limitations of these methods in mind, this research takes a different approach and employs Framing Analysis which is a commonly used method for analysing news articles. With the alternative methodological approach, this research can bring a new perspective to the existing literature on Rohingya representation in Bangladeshi media.

Chapter Four: Methodology

This chapter sheds lights on the data collection process and the data analysis process of the research. Individual news articles were set as the unit of analysis in this study. In coherence with the research questions as well as the broader research objective, the data were collected from the online portals of selected newspapers. Later, the Framing Analysis method was employed to analyse the data systematically. Securitization theory, which served as an analytical tool, further aided the analysis in order to trace any potential sign of securitization in the framing of the Rohingyas. The chapter concludes by acknowledging the limitations of the methodological choices made in this research.

4.1 Data Collection

When we think of media representation of an issue, we generally consider how the issue is portrayed in television, radio and newspaper. Compared to television and radio, newspaper can “communicate more complex ideas” according to McNair (2000, p. 136). Moreover, it is easier to identify different frames in news articles than in other kinds of media. Therefore, this research aims to analyse newspapers and identify the frames utilized for Rohingya representation in Bangladesh. Since this paper focuses on the mainstream news media, the top four newspapers with the highest circulation were analysed. Both English and Bengali newspapers were equally selected in this purpose. According to the official statistics from the Bangladesh Ministry of Information, the top English newspaper is *The Daily Star* which is followed by *The Financial Express* and *Daily Sun* – both holding the second position (*Desher Media Talikavukto Potro-Potrikar Porishongkhan [Statistics of Newspapers Registered as Media in the Country]*, 2020). Since *The Financial Express* is a specialized newspaper focused on financial news, it was omitted from the research and *Daily Sun* was selected. As for the Bengali media, the top two newspapers are *Bangladesh Pratidin* and *Prothom Alo*. Since this study is aimed at finding frame(s) through in-depth analysis of articles, a total of 40 write-ups (ten articles from each newspaper) was deemed sufficient and manageable by the researcher.

The sampling process was divided into two phases. In the first phase, the total amount of relevant articles was identified using the following three criteria:

1. To find articles from particular news website, the string “site:sitename” was used in Google.
2. To find articles that contain the term ‘Rohingya’ in the headline, the string “intitle:Rohingya” (in both English and Bengali alphabet) was used in Google.
3. The timeframe for the search was set from 25 August 2017 (the date of the latest military crackdown against the Rohingyas) to 11 November 2019 (the date of the Bangladeshi prime minister’s statement declaring the Rohingyas a security threat).

For example, articles from *The Daily Star* were searched in Google using the string “site:thedailystar.net intitle:Rohingya” with the custom time range of 25/08/2017-11/11/2019. The following number of results was found for each newspaper:

1. The Daily Star: 300 articles.
2. Daily Sun: 81 articles.
3. Bangladesh Pratidin: 27 articles.
4. Prothom Alo: 162 articles.

In the second phase, a sampling technique was selected and utilized. Since the samples were practically homogenous and the sample size had been decided earlier, the most appropriate sampling technique for the research was systematic sampling. In this probability sampling method, samples are selected at regular intervals to ensure that the whole population is evenly sampled. In other words, every x/n^{th} sample is selected where x is the entire population size and n is the intended sample size (Shantikumar, 2010). Following this sampling technique, every 30th, 8th, 2nd and 16th article was selected from *The Daily Star*, *Daily Sun*, *Bangladesh Pratidin* and *Prothom Alo*, respectively. To have a chronological overview of the news coverage and to simplify data analysis, the selected articles were first rearranged by their date of publication (from earliest to latest) and then a code was assigned to each individual article. The articles of *The Daily Star* were coded from A1 to A10 (see Annex 1), *Daily Sun* articles were coded from A11 to A20 (see Annex 2), *Bangladesh Pratidin* articles were coded from A21 to A30 (see Annex 3) and *Prothom Alo* articles were coded from A31 to A40 (see Annex 4).

4.2 Data Analysis

Framing Analysis, a widely popular method across multiple disciplines of social science, is the primary data analysis technique in this research. The method is useful to examine social structures that shape our experience of a phenomenon or a particular event. As experience is difficult to analyse in terms of raw sensory inputs alone, Framing Analysis aims to make sense of how the nature and limitations of our social conceptions shape the way we make sense of any information that we perceive. Erving Goffman, the pioneer in developing the Framing Analysis method, defines frames as the “principles of organization which govern events - at least social ones - and our subjective involvement in them” (Goffman, 1986, p. 10). Correspondingly, Goffman understands Framing Analysis as “an examination [of the] terms of the organization of experience” (Goffman, 1986, p. 11). Simply put, these ‘terms’ can be best understood as a frame which positions issues by focusing the attention on aspects that justify, or are reflective of, the underlying social context.

While Goffman understands and explains Framing Analysis in theoretical terms, describing what frames are and how they operate, Entman explores framing more as a process. According to Entman, the framing process is understood as the “selection of some aspects of perceived reality” which are made “more salient in a communicating text” (Entman, 1993, p. 52). In other words, the framing of an issue in any representation of reality (e.g., written, visual) involves necessarily deciding on the inclusion of the issue’s specific components and giving prominence to certain aspects deemed important enough to understand the reality.

Entman (1993) argues that framing serves four primary functions: (1) problem definition, (2) causal interpretation, (3) moral evaluation, and (4) treatment recommendation. The first, problem definition, pertains to the classification of events as problems and their emphasis as such. Causal interpretation relates to an assertion of blame/responsibility regarding the issue at hand, while moral evaluation is concerned with the relevant social and ethical norms, such as cultural values. Finally, treatment recommendation offers prescriptions that are deemed acceptable by the communicator. Framing is, as interpreted by Entman, a process of selection and salience where problems, causes, etc., are specifically chosen - consciously or unconsciously - for dispersal by the

communicator in correspondence with his/her belief structure, and through this process, only certain components are emphasized as important for the receiver to understand.

Framing is particularly relevant to the analysis of news media since the framing of news not only reflects our cultural understanding but also shapes them. Indeed, the news media's role is to provide information that is accurate and useful. Therefore, due to the societal position of news providers, the framing of issues in news media is especially impactful on public understanding of various events. Denis McQuail argues that mass media, including news media, have unique powers that include "attracting and directing public attention; persuading in matters of opinion and belief; influencing behavior; structuring definitions of reality; conferring status and legitimacy; and informing speedily and broadly" (McQuail, 1994, p. 69). In correspondence with Entman's understanding of framing as a process of selection and salience, news accounts of events are necessarily limited in their scope, and therefore, must make inherent judgments about what information is important or relevant and what is not. Through this process of inclusion, emphasis, and exclusion of information, news "represents ideas, beliefs, values, theories, and ideology" (Qing, 2000, p. 666). News framing analysis, therefore, aims to understand how issues are framed in news media and how the frames reflect and/or foster certain cultural norms or attitudes.

Frames focus on particular parts of information and thus enhance their salience. Salience commonly refers to making a piece of information more meaningful, noticeable, or memorable to the audience, and an elevation in salience strengthens the probability of the receiver perceiving the information, discerning and processing the meaning, and storing it in the memory (Fiske & Taylor, 2017). To systematically capture how frames construct salience in news articles, this paper recognizes two types of major framing devices – rhetorical and technical – as means of framing, and these are utilized as the operating criteria for examining the appearance of the frames.

Entman argues that rhetorical devices in a text can establish frames. According to him, the frames can be manifested by the existence or the lack of certain keywords, stock phrases, and sentences providing thematically reinforcing clusters of judgement or facts (Entman, 1993, p. 52). According to Gamson and Lasch, rhetorical devices propose a framework to examine the issue at hand and

such devices include metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases and depictions (Gamson & Lasch, 2013, p. 399). These elements of rhetorical devices are briefly explained below:

1. *Metaphors*: Metaphor is a figure of speech which consists of two parts - the principle subject that the metaphor is supposed to illuminate and the associated subject about which the metaphor aims to enhance the receiver's understanding.
2. *Exemplars*: With a purpose similar to metaphors, exemplars serve as appropriate models that utilize real events of the past or present to frame the principle subject.
3. *Catchphrases*: When the commentator aims to summarize a statement regarding the principle subject in the form of a tagline, slogan or title, it is counted as a catchphrase.
4. *Depictions*: When the principal subject of a text is characterized in a particular fashion through metaphors or exemplars or through colorful string of modifiers, such characterization is called depiction.

While the rhetorical devices are usually utilized in qualitative studies, the technical devices are more common in quantitative studies since they are easily categorizable and codifiable. Based on the objective of this research, the combination of both rhetorical and technical devices can possibly render interesting results and shed light on new aspects. Tankard (2001, p. 100) has proposed a total of 11 technical devices to identify the frame(s) in a text: (1) Headlines and kickers (small headlines over the main headlines), (2) Subheads, (3) Photographs, (4) Photo captions, (5) Leads (the beginnings of news stories), (6) Selection of sources or affiliations, (7) Selection of quotes, (8) Pull quotes (quotes that are blown up in size for emphasis), (9) Logos (graphic identification of the particular series an article belongs to), (10) Statistics, charts, and graphs, and (11) Concluding statements or paragraphs of articles.

In order to systematically and coherently take into account the above-mentioned framing devices for data analysis, Table 1 served as a reference point in this research. It should be noted that the data analysis was conducted by manually analysing the rhetorical and technical devices in each article. Some researchers prefer conducting framing analysis with advance software like NVivo, ATLAS.ti or Provalis. While computer-assisted analysis can be useful to assess technical devices, rhetorical devices can be better evaluated through manual, in-depth examination. Moreover, 20 out of the 40 news articles, which are part of the research data, are originally in the Bengali language

which makes the computer-aided analysis complicated. Therefore, taking the pros and cons of computer-assisted analysis into account, manual data analysis was regarded more advantageous for this research.

Table 1: Framing Devices

Framing Devices	Items
Rhetorical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presence or absence of certain keywords • Stock phrases • Sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of judgement or facts • Metaphors • Exemplars • Catchphrases • Depictions
Technical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Headlines and kickers • Subheads • Photographs • Photo captions • Leads • Selection of sources or affiliations • Selection of quotes • Pull quotes • Logos • Statistics, charts, and graphs • Concluding statements or paragraphs of articles

Source: Entman, 1993; Gamson & Lasch, 2013; Tankard, 2001

Securitization theory, as discussed earlier in the literature review chapter, was employed as an analytical tool in this research to assist the data analysis process. According to the Copenhagen School, when a researcher analyses securitization in a particular context, his/her role is not similar to the securitizing actor itself. Analysing securitization does not make anyone responsible to judge what is a reasonable threat and what is not (Charrett, 2009, p. 14). It is also beyond the rational scope of a researcher to decide which issue should be securitized and which should be not. The primary goal of the analyst is to explore the methods utilized by the securitizing actors to mobilize support from the target audience. After all, understanding ‘how’ securitization occurs is more important in security studies than finding ‘why’ securitization occurs (McGlinchey, Walters, & Scheinflug, 2017, p. 107). Therefore, the goal of utilizing securitization theory in this research was to see if any securitization move occurs in the articles and if yes, how that occurs.

4.3 Ethical Issues

Personal bias, whether conscious or unconscious, is a valid concern in this research since any kind of bias can significantly affect the research output. Although there is no direct human participant, the research focus is explicitly on the Rohingya people which required the researcher to be aware of the ethical issues throughout the study. The positionality of the researcher plays an important role in qualitative research process. Being a Bangladeshi by birth, this researcher had significant exposure to the Rohingya crisis beforehand. Moreover, as a native Bengali speaker, it was possible for the researcher to understand and analyse the Bengali newspapers without the help of any intermediary. However, the identity and the emotionality of the researcher brings forward the issue of potential bias, especially in the polarized context of Bangladesh in regard to the Rohingya issue. Against this backdrop, to maximize emotional distancing, the researcher repeatedly reflected upon the research aim and methodology throughout the thesis process.

The research questions were formulated carefully to omit any inherent assumption in favour of or against the Rohingya people or the Bangladeshi media. To present the history of the Rohingya people as accurately as possible, numerous literatures were cross-checked and only the widely accepted ones were cited. The research data were selected in a precise, well-defined manner using advance search strings and the systematic sampling method. The selected articles are accessible

online which ensures the availability of the data and the replicability of the research. As for data analysis, specific framing devices as well as the securitization theory were employed to make sense of the findings and generate useful outputs. Lastly, the potential consequences of the research for the Rohingya people were evaluated to maintain the ethical principles. Since the research is solely focused on understanding the media framing of the Rohingyas, not on exploring any normative dimension or policy implication, it is less likely that the research output will have adverse impact on the Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh.

4.4 Limitations

In the data collection part, the first limitation would be the number of news articles selected for the research. Since the goal of the study was to identify potential frames in news articles, more articles could possibly enhance the chance of better results. However, given the time constraints, 40 articles from four newspapers were deemed sufficient by the researcher. The advance search strings helped find the most relevant articles with the term ‘Rohingya’ in the headlines. There is a possibility that some Rohingya centric articles were filtered out from the result during the search because the term was simply not there in the headlines. Keeping the available number of articles over the span of two years in mind, the calculated risk is acceptable. The systematic sampling technique is not without drawbacks. This technique selects data less randomly than simple random sampling because there is always a risk of potential pattern in the sample. Nonetheless, given the nature of data in this research, systematic sampling simplified the selection process. The strings used in Google’s advance search did not render results in any particular order and thus, the drawbacks of systematic sampling were kept to the minimum.

As for data analysis, the major areas of concern regarding framing analysis were reliability and validity. In order to ensure the reliability of framing analysis, the specific rhetorical and technical devices were listed in Table 1. The validity of any frame can be questioned if it is not operationally defined. To tackle this challenge, all the identified frames will be properly defined in the “Discussion” chapter. There are multiple, sometimes conflicting, views in the academia on how to identify frames through different devices. The technical and rhetorical devices are widely used by the researchers in social science. Therefore, these devices were chosen to conduct a standard data

analysis in the research. Moving on to securitization theory, the Copenhagen School's view has faced various criticisms over the years. The common concerns are the objectivity of the analyst, the centrality of state as the referent object and the definition of security from a survival perspective. Those concerns were duly acknowledged and the researcher analysed the data keeping the potential risk factors in mind.

Chapter Five: Research Findings

The systematic utilization of both rhetorical and technical devices allowed the researcher to take a new look at how the news on the Rohingyas are structured and the subjects are portrayed. A few things should be noted before we proceed to the findings from individual newspapers. First of all, the number of kickers in the articles is almost none. Only one article in the *Bangladesh Pratidin* uses a kicker. Secondly, the subheads are also low in number although they are more prevalent than the kickers. To be exact, A1-A10 have four subheads, A11-A20 have one, A21-A30 have three and A31-A40 have none. Thirdly, the *Bangladesh Pratidin* is the only newspaper which does not put any photo caption under the news photos. Fourthly and finally, no pull quote or logo is present in the selected articles. The following sections briefly present the research findings from each newspaper.

5.1 The Daily Star

Beginning with the technical devices, the first headline of the list (A1) terms the atrocities against the Rohingyas as ‘genocide’. The rest of the headlines either highlight their perilous journey or denote their miserable condition in the camps due to environmental hazards. Concern over their status and/or future is evident in A5, A8 and A10. A8 is particularly interesting as the headline states ‘Rohingya presence posing serious threat to host community’. The subhead of A1 states the world leaders’ call for action while the subheads of A3, A4 and A8 quote the foreign minister, the foreign secretary and policy analysts of Bangladesh respectively, implying a gradual shift of the Rohingya issue from an international concern to a national concern. The photographs used in *The Daily Star* articles portray Rohingya suffering (A1-A3). The congested makeshift houses in the camps as well as the Rohingya children are recurrently depicted in the subsequent photographs, with the only exception being A8 which has a photograph of a workshop on “Forcibly Displaced Myanmar Nationals in Bangladesh”. Likewise, the photo captions range from the miserable journey of the Rohingyas to their new shelter in the camps to the que of the Rohingya children for registration.

Personal stories of individual Rohingyas are traced in the leads of A2 and A10 while the leads in A1, A3, A4 and A5 highlight how the Rohingya issue is addressed at the state level. The A7 and A9 leads mention the concern of international organizations like International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) and IOM about the weak shelters of the Rohingyas that provide hardly any protection against natural disasters like cyclone and flood. The articles with interesting leads are A6, beginning with a Rohingya child marriage incident, and A8, beginning with a workshop where some prominent economists and policy analysts of Bangladesh argue against the access of the Rohingya people to the local market of Cox's Bazar. The common sources of *The Daily Star* articles are high level government officials of Bangladesh and Myanmar and international organizations like the UNHCR, IFRC, IOM, World Food Programme and Save the Children. Since A2 elaborates the perilous journey of the Rohingyas, only in this case there are individual Rohingya sources who survived the journey from Myanmar to Bangladesh.

The quotes observed in *The Daily Star* articles focus on issues like the international community's responsibility to act, Bangladesh's initiative to solve the crisis bilaterally with Myanmar, the initiatives of IFRC and IOM to assist the Rohingyas and the arguments of leading experts in Bangladesh on the inability of the local market to further accommodate the Rohingyas. The common statistics in the articles are the number of Rohingyas in Bangladesh before and after 25 August 2017. There are also statistics of the humanitarian support provided to the community by the GoB and international organizations, the environmental impact of the new refugees and the situation of malnutrition among the Rohingya children. The concluding paragraphs usually highlight the misery of the Rohingyas, Myanmar's failure to fulfill their earlier commitment and the responsibility of the international community to protect the Rohingya children.

Moving on to the rhetorical devices, some of the keywords frequently found in *The Daily Star* are 'genocide', 'insurgent attack', 'military offensive', 'refugee crisis', 'repatriation', 'birth rate', 'malnourished' and 'safe and voluntary return'. Stock phrases like 'spark a backlash', 'the clock is ticking' and 'around the clock' are used in the articles in various forms. Some of the thematically reinforced judgements/facts are the Western leader's condemnation of Myanmar, the poor condition of the Rohingya shelters, the difficulty for Bangladesh to accommodate the Rohingyas and the bleak future of the Rohingya children in the camps. 'Information war' (indicating

information and misinformation as tools of violence), ‘vacant look’ (implying the reaction of a Rohingya father who lost his children) and ‘robbing of the chance’ (referring to the lost dreams of Rohingya children) are the notable metaphors traced in the articles.

As for exemplars, A1 mentions the religious unrest of 2012 in Cox’s Bazar as an example of religious tension in the locality, A3 states the failure of Myanmar to act upon the 1993 Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) signed with the UNHCR as an example of the state’s unwillingness to repatriate the Rohingyas and A10 points out the Rwandan genocide of 1994 as an atrocity comparable to the Rohingya crisis. The UN’s catchphrases like ‘textbook example of ethnic cleansing’, ‘the fastest growing refugee crisis’ and ‘safe, voluntary and dignified return’ are present in the articles of *The Daily Star*. Lastly, Myanmar is depicted as a breaker of promises in A3, Bangladesh is depicted as a constant humanitarian supporter of the Rohingyas in A5 and the future of the Rohingya children is depicted as bleak in A10.

5.2 Daily Sun

The analysis of the *Daily Sun* articles with technical devices resulted in some interesting findings. The headlines of A11-A14 and A19 highlight the distress of the Rohingyas, particularly the women and the children, while the rest of the headlines focus on issues like repatriation, citizenship and solution for the Rohingya crisis. The only subhead of the *Daily Sun* traced in A14 adds to the headline that half of the 84 sexual violence survivors treated by Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) at the Rohingya camps were less than 18 years old. The illustrations made by the photographs range from the suffering of the Rohingya women and children to their condition in the Rohingya camps to the portraits of two state officials. Photo captions in A17 and A18 identify the subjects of the photographs as Rohingya children and a congressman of the USA, respectively. The leads in A11-A14 suggest the Rohingya crisis took a heavy toll on the community in the form of arduous journey, sexual violence and acute malnourishment. The other leads mention issues like voluntary repatriation (A15), the impossibility of obtaining Bangladeshi citizenship by the Rohingyas (A17), the proposal of the USA to annex the Rakhine State with Bangladesh (A18), the wide range of diseases among the Rohingya children (A19) and Bangladesh’s willingness to peacefully solve the crisis (A20). A notable article is A16 in which the lead mentions the visit of an Indian actress in

the Rohingya camp as a Goodwill Ambassador of United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF). This is the only *Daily Sun* article to cover the action taken by a celebrity to raise awareness and draw attention to the suffering of the Rohingya children.

The main sources of the *Daily Sun* articles are other news agencies like United News of Bangladesh, Associated Press and The Washington Post. The other sources are international organizations like World Health Organization (WHO), Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) and MSF and the high-level officials of the USA, Myanmar and Bangladesh. The A17 is the only article to refer to an official document, Bangladesh Citizenship Act, that outlines the prerequisites for Bangladeshi citizenship. At the state level, the quotes of the *Daily Sun* highlight Bangladesh's support for the Rohingyas, the country's preference for a peaceful solution, Myanmar's reluctance to provide specific strategy for Rohingya repatriation, the view of the USA to join the Rakhine State with Bangladesh and Bangladesh's official policy to not recognize the Rohingyas as its citizen. At the community level, the selected quotes in the *Daily Sun* emphasize the miserable condition of the Rohingya people including the prevalent malnutrition, pregnancy and the high risk of contagious diseases in the camps.

In the *Daily Sun* articles, there are statistics of the new Rohingyas in Bangladesh (A11), the pregnant women among the newcomers (A12) and the malnourishment among Rohingya children (A13). Moreover, there are statistics of sexual violence victims treated by MSF and the rate of contagious diseases among Rohingya children under the age of five. The concluding paragraphs highlight the need for more humanitarian support from organizations like UNICEF, MSF and WHO, the constant attempts by Bangladesh to repatriate the Rohingyas and the lack of cooperation from the Myanmar side.

Similar to the technical devices, the rhetorical devices unfolded an array of important insights into the *Daily Sun* articles. The common keywords found in the articles are 'pregnant', 'acute malnourishment', 'sexual violence', 'psychological treatment', 'ethnic cleansing', 'citizenship', 'annexation', 'peaceful solution', 'referendum' and 'highly contagious'. As for stock phrases, the researcher traced 'stand by', 'on the backdrop of', 'all day long', 'next door neighbor' and 'all-out support' as the noteworthy ones. Among the thematically reinforced judgements/facts, the most

notable ones are the participation of the Buddhist mob of Myanmar in the latest atrocities, the inadequate medical facilities previously available to the Rohingyas in Myanmar, the psychological support needed for a significant number of non-adult Rohingya victims of sexual violence and the joint initiative of the GoB and WHO to curb contagious diseases in Rohingya camps. Some interesting metaphors in the *Daily Sun* articles are ‘smelt the same’ (referring to the resemblance between the Rohingya camps in Bangladesh and the refugee camps for Bangladeshis in India during the liberation war of 1971) and ‘nightmarish experience’ (indicating the suffering of a Rohingya mother whose child was affected by chickenpox).

Nur-e Alam as an example of malnourished Rohingya children, Priyanka’s visit to meet Syrian children as an example of the role of UNICEF’s Goodwill Ambassador and South Sudan as an example of independence through referendum are three interesting exemplars in the *Daily Sun*. The most significant catchphrase in the articles is “Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina has stood by the Rohingyas like a mother”, a statement frequently present in the speeches given by the Awami League (the current ruling party in Bangladesh) leaders. Finally, Myanmar’s delay to repatriate the enlisted Rohingyas is depicted as the state’s reluctance to take them back (A15), the annexation of the Rakhine State is depicted as a possible solution by the American expatriates (A18) and the role of Aung San Suu Kyi in the Rohingya crisis is depicted as controversial due to her reluctance to criticize the armed forces of Myanmar (A20).

5.3 Bangladesh Pratidin

Beginning with the technical devices, the only kicker (found in A27) among the data of this research mentions a decision of Bangladesh announced to the UN Security Council. The headlines commonly focus on the debate on the actual number of Rohingyas in Bangladesh, the rising number of Rohingya children in the camps and the inability of Bangladesh to accept more Rohingyas. The subheads in A23, A26 and A28 direct the reader’s attention to the significant difference between the UN and the locals on the number of Rohingyas in Bangladesh, the burden created by the refugees on Bangladesh and the ‘marriage spree’ of the Rohingyas amid their refugee life. The photographs in the *Bangladesh Pratidin* usually portray the perilous journey of the Rohingya people and large groups of Rohingya children in the camps. The leads traced in the

articles focus on a range of issues. For example, as per the lead of A23, the claimed number of the newly arrived Rohingyas by local Bangladeshis is twice as much as stated by the UN. Moreover, the budget spent each year for the Rohingyas is described as a huge burden for Bangladesh in the lead of A26.

The most common sources mentioned in the *Bangladesh Pratidin* are the UN organizations like the UNHCR and UNICEF. Besides, international news agencies like BBC and Reuters as well as the local officials of Bangladesh are the usual news sources. The selected quotes in the articles denote the initial delay in Rohingya registration, the massive size of the Rohingya camps and a grim future waiting for Bangladesh due to the Rohingya population burst. The quotes in A29 particularly draw attention to the number of new children born in the Rohingya community and the reluctance of the Rohingya women to take birth control measures. The statistics of the previous and the current Rohingyas in Bangladesh are repeatedly mentioned in the *Bangladesh Pratidin*. Moreover, the rate of childbirth among the Rohingyas and the money spent by Bangladesh for this community are present in the statistics. The only exception is A30 in which the amount of maritime trade by China is emphasized in order to explain the country's support for Myanmar on the Rohingya issue. The concluding paragraphs mostly highlight the rising number of Rohingya children in the camps, the humanitarian support provided by the GoB and the possible consequences of the growing Rohingya population on the local community of Cox's Bazar.

The common keywords present in the *Bangladesh Pratidin* are 'manobik shongkot (humanitarian crisis)', 'manobotabirodhi oporadh (crimes against humanity)', 'ugro Islamponthi (Islamic extremist)', 'bishfora (carbuncle)', 'prottabashon (repatriation)', 'biyer utshob (marriage spree)', 'oniyontrito jonmodan (uncontrolled childbirth)', 'jonobishphoron (population burst)' and 'oporadher matra (crime rate)'. Stock phrases in the Bengali language like 'jekono poristhiti mokabelay (to counter any situation)', 'uddeg prokash (expressing concern)', 'boraborer motoi (as usual)', 'manobik karone (on humanitarian grounds)' and 'paltapalti obosthan (standoff)' are detected in the articles. The notable thematically reinforced judgements/facts are the armed struggle of ARSA, the support enjoyed by Myanmar from China and the perception among the Rohingya women against birth control measures.

Moving on to metaphors, there are some interesting findings in the articles: ‘*sroter moto onuprobesh* (influx like wave – referring to the mass inflow of Rohingyas in Bangladesh)’, ‘*bishfora* (carbuncle – implying the Rohingyas as a massive problem for Bangladesh)’, ‘*bojha tana* (carrying the load – indicating the Rohingyas as a burden on the Bangladeshi economy)’, ‘*shapmukti* (breaking the curse – implying any solution to the Rohingya crisis is a relief)’, ‘*phaka buli* (empty words – indicating the vague promises of Myanmar)’ and ‘*dabar guti* (a pawn in the game – implying the Rohingya issue is exploited in both national and international politics)’. The common exemplars observed in the *Bangladesh Pratidin* are the story of a dead Rohingya couple as an example of the violence faced by the armed forces of Myanmar, the environmental damage done by the Rohingyas as an example of the expenses borne by Bangladesh and the proposal of the USA to annex the Rakhine State with Bangladesh as an example of the importance of the area as a geopolitical hotspot.

There are two catchphrases worth highlighting: ‘*shimante jekono poristhiti mokabelay BGB totpor royeche* (BGB is intent on dealing with any situation in the border – a catchphrase commonly used by the armed force)’ and ‘*e shongkot mokabelay shobaike ekshongge kaaj korte hobe* (everyone has to work together to tackle this crisis – a catchphrase used by international and national organizations alike). Lastly, the Rohingyas are depicted as an utmost concern for Bangladesh due to the potential impacts of the crimes committed by them in the locality (A25), the massive budget required for the community (A26) and the unwillingness among the Rohingya women to control the population surge (A28).

5.4 Prothom Alo

The headlines of the *Prothom Alo* articles primarily focus on the crimes committed by the Rohingyas. The other notable issues highlighted in the headlines are the decision of the UN to assist Bangladesh in Rohingya relocation to Bhasan Char, the investigation of International Criminal Court (ICC) on the role of Myanmar in the Rohingya crisis and China’s mediation between Bangladesh and Myanmar for an effective solution. The photographs primarily depict the dense housing of the Rohingyas as well as large congregations of the community in refugee camps. Besides, there is a picture of four Rohingya women arrested for passport fraud and an infographic

on the development of the ICC investigation on the Rohingya crisis. There are three interesting photo captions that denote the humanitarian activities of the GoB in the camps (A31), the popularity of online TV channels among the Rohingyas (A39) and Myanmar's inaction to take back the refugees. The mentionable leads in the *Prothom Alo* articles highlight the progress in the ICC investigation, the arrest of a Rohingya woman for making a false National Identity Document (NID) card and the death of two Rohingya drug smugglers in crossfire.

The usual sources of the *Prothom Alo* are the local actors and the officials active in the Rohingya issue. These actors include the local police, union council members and doctors of local health complex. Moreover, high level officials of Bangladesh and various diplomatic sources are cited in the articles. The quotes found in the data emphasize on the rationale for Bangladesh's support for the ICC investigation on the Rohingya crisis and the rising popularity of online TV channels in the Rohingya camps. The statistics in the *Prothom Alo* articles underline the burden created by the Rohingyas on the local community, the Rohingya death toll since the inception of the anti-drug campaign in Bangladesh and the number of mobile phones accessible to the Rohingyas in the camps. The concluding paragraphs mention the emphasis put by different human rights organizations on the voluntary relocation of the Rohingyas to Bhasan Char, the potential gains from a successful ICC trial and the necessity to monitor whether false propagandas are promoted in the online Rohingya TV channels.

The noteworthy keywords in the *Prothom Alo* articles are '*manobik netri* (humanitarian leader)', '*shecchay* (voluntarily)', '*manobotabirodhi oporadh* (crimes against humanity)', '*todonto* (investigation)', '*golaguli* (crossfire)', '*online vittik* (online based)', '*prottabashon* (repatriation)', '*nagorikotto* (citizenship)', '*tripokkhiyo* (trilateral)' and '*moddhostota* (mediation)'. As for stock phrases, the common ones in the *Prothom Alo* are '*jhukipurno poribeshe boshobash* (inhabitation in a hazardous environment)', '*remand monjur korechen adalot* (the court has granted permission for remand)' and '*kortobboroto chikitshok tader mrito ghoshona koren* (the doctor on duty declared them dead). Among the thematically reinforced judgements/facts, the interesting ones are the help received by the Rohingyas from local brokers to get passport and NID card of Bangladesh, the engagement of the refugees in drug smuggling across the border and the concern of the civil society about the contents broadcasted in the Rohingya TV channels.

An interesting metaphor found in A31 is '*Bangladesh-er mukh ujjol korechen* (brightened up the face of Bangladesh – referring to the prime minister's decision to shelter the Rohingyas which made a positive impression of the country in front of the world). In A36, the UN Truth Commission's report on the Rohingya crisis is cited as an exemplar of the previous investigations launched internationally. On a similar note, in A39, a local Rohingya man's statement on the Rohingya TV channels is illustrated as an exemplar of the community's view. Two catchphrases worth highlighting here are '*attorokkharte BGB-o palta guli chalay* (BGB fired back in self-defense – a catchphrase of the security force)' and '*bivinno issue-te Myanmar-er mitthachar* (lies of Myanmar on various issues – a catchphrase of the Rohingyas)'. Last but not least, the Rohingya community is largely depicted as concerning for Bangladesh for their attempt to illegally get the country's passport (A35) and NID card (A37), and the involvement of the community in illegal drug smuggling at the border (A38).

Chapter Six: Framing Rohingyas in Bangladeshi News Media

When analyzing news articles to identify frame(s), the researcher can choose to either look for the primary frame or both primary and secondary frames in each article (Linström & Marais, 2012, p. 30). The primary frame (also called the dominant frame) represents the key theme of an article, and the secondary frame represents a subsidiary theme of the primary frame. In this research, both primary and secondary frames have been identified by the researcher. It is important to note that short articles usually consist of one frame in contrast to long articles which contain several frames in general (Gregorio, Price, Saunders, & Brockhaus, 2010, p. 1). The primary frame can be usually identified through the most prominent elements like headline, subhead and lead. However, this might not be always effective as the headline and subhead occasionally differ from the lead. Therefore, a careful observation is required to determine which elements play the most important role in framing an article (Gregorio et al., 2010, p. 1). The primary frame is more likely to quote different sources to establish the frame unlike the subsidiary frame(s). After eliminating the key elements supporting the primary frame, the remaining text is analyzed to identify potential secondary frame(s) in the article.

In order to conduct framing analysis, it is imperative to know what to look for as well as how to look for frames in the data. The ‘what’ in this research were the technical and rhetorical devices discussed in the previous chapters. As for the ‘how’, identifying news frames required several readings of the selected articles, recognizing possible patterns and themes using the devices and interpreting the contents and structures extensively. The findings were then grouped into broad, simplified categories. In this process, mainly four news frames have been identified in the selected newspapers. Table 2 outlines these frames as well as their frequency in the articles. The following sections further discuss the frames in details.

Table 2: Frames Identified in the Mainstream Newspapers

Frame Title	Frequency as the Primary Frame	Frequency as a Secondary Frame
Human Interest	16	6
Attribution of Responsibility	12	2
Securitization	10	2
Conflict	2	9

Source: Author

6.1 Human Interest Frame

The ‘human interest’ frame is the most frequent primary frame and the second-most frequent secondary frame across the analyzed articles. This frame presents an issue, problem or event from a humanistic standpoint – in other words, it puts a ‘human face’ on the story. It is also called the ‘human impact’ frame by Neuman et al. (1992). Bennett (1995) explains that in the highly competitive news market, newspaper editors and journalists constantly strive to publish stories that engage the audience by drawing their interest. In this regard, bringing a human face to the news is a foolproof solution. The human interest frame, in general, can be identified in an article if personalization, emotionalization or dramatization of the story takes place. In addition, Semetko & Valkenburg (2000, p. 100) have outlined some indicators to identify the human interest frame which are as below:

- The story brings a ‘human face’ or provides a human example on the issue.

- The story employs personal vignettes and/or adjectives that evoke feelings like rage, sympathy, empathy or compassion.
- The story has visuals which evoke feelings like rage, sympathy, empathy or compassion.
- The story puts emphasis on how an issue affects individuals and/or groups.
- The story goes deep into the private/personal lives of the actors.

The human interest frame is present five times as the primary frame and five times as a secondary frame in *The Daily Star*. The articles where the human interest frame is the primary frame are A2, A6, A7, A9 and A10. The frame is also present as a secondary frame in A1, A3, A4, A5 and A8. It is evident that *The Daily Star* emphasizes the human side in framing the Rohingya issue since every article of this newspaper has the human interest frame as either the primary or a secondary frame.

In A2, the heartbreaking stories of two Rohingya individuals named Mohammad Zafar and Nur Fatema are narrated who lost their children during the dangerous journey from Myanmar to Bangladesh. The article highlights how individual Rohingyas as well as the community as a whole lost many close ones during the perilous boat journey. The photographs of a crying Rohingya father and a dead Rohingya child add an emotional tone to the article which evokes a strong sense of sympathy in the reader's mind. The articles A6 and A10 both depict the condition of the Rohingya children while A7 and A9 highlight the exposure of the refugees to environmental hazards. A6 describes a Rohingya child marriage event in Malaysia which was prevented from taking place. The article mentions that almost all Rohingya children drop out of school in Malaysia between the age of 13 to 16 because of poverty. The detailed personal story of the Rohingya girl as well as the unfortunate situation of a large number of Rohingya children evoke sympathy. Similarly, A10 focuses on the story of a young Rohingya girl named Fatima (pseudonym) whose dream to become a teacher is hindered by difficulties. The future of the Rohingya children in the camps of Bangladesh is termed as 'bleak' - mostly due to their lack of access to education beyond the primary level. The article photograph illustrating a congested que of Rohingya children at the registration camp implies an unpromising environment for their childhood.

A7 brings a human face to the story by highlighting the necessity of sturdy shelters for the Rohingyas. The suffering of the community in monsoon rain, scorching heat and annual cyclones are mentioned in the article along with the concern expressed by IFRC. Likewise, A9 brings attention to the casualties in the camps due to heavy rain over several days. The death of two Rohingyas and the damage of 3,400 houses are mentioned in the headline which can make the reader empathetic towards the affected. IOM's data on the damage caused by wind, landslide and flood are provided in A9 as well which demonstrate the suffering of the Rohingya refugees.

The human interest frame as a secondary frame sheds light on the human aspect of a story just like a primary frame, but to a lesser extent. In A1, some elements of the human interest frame are present. For example, the photograph of a Rohingya child struggling to get relief immediately catches the attention of the audience. Moreover, there is mention of an attack on the Buddhist population of Cox's Bazar by a Muslim mob which reinforces the cautions required to offset another religious violence in the area. The A3 photograph projects the suffering of Rohingya children due to inadequate drinking water. In A4, the relocation of the Rohingyas to Bhasan Char is mentioned and the construction of temporary shelters at the refugee camps is visualized through a photograph. The mass exodus, murders and rapes suffered by the Rohingyas are stated in A5 while A8 sheds light on the literacy, birth rate and malnutrition among the Rohingya population.

The Daily Sun, similar to *The Daily Star*, presents the Rohingya issue mostly through the human interest frame. There are seven articles where the human interest frame is the primary frame although the number of cases where it is identified as a secondary frame is zero. A11-A14, A16-A17 and A19 are the articles where the 'human face' is prominent. A11 describes the horrific events experienced by the Rohingyas including the burning of their houses that forced them to leave everything behind and head toward Bangladesh. A12 sets a strong tone of misfortune of the pregnant Rohingya women during and after their exodus. The compelling photograph of a pregnant Rohingya woman lying on the floor due to labor pain evokes empathy among the readers. The necessity of food and medical assistance for the Rohingya people is also stated in the article. Similar to A12, A13 has a strong visual showing the deformed body structure of a Rohingya baby with his elder brother, both of whom are clearly suffering from malnutrition. The sufferings of

Nur-e Alam and Aslam Islam, the deformed boy and his elder brother respectively, due to inadequate food and medical facilities are described in the article.

A14 describes the sufferings of the victims of sexual violence in the Rohingya crisis. The article highlights the trauma of the survivors due to the rape and sexual assault they faced. There is an emphasis on the age of the victims - around half of them are less than 18 years old while several of them are below ten. The description of their ill-fortune can make a reader sympathetic. A16 highlights a celebrity's visit to the refugee camps as a UNICEF Goodwill Ambassador and her call to the world to render support to the uprooted Rohingya children. A17 focuses on the issue of citizenship of the Rohingya children. It is stated in the article that the Bangladesh Citizenship Act prohibits the issuance of citizenship to children whose parents are non-Bangladeshi. The article also clarifies that the birth certificates provided to the newborn Rohingya children have a 'Citizen of Myanmar' seal on it, which reinforces the official stance of the GoB on Rohingya repatriation. A19 provides the examples of two Rohingya children named Nafisa and Ali, who suffered from fever and chickenpox respectively, to shed light on the widespread diseases among the Rohingya children. The photograph of the article portraying the weary faces of Rohingya children, along with the details of their miseries, evokes sympathy for the children among the readers.

In the *Bangladesh Pratidin*, the human interest frame acts as the primary frame in A21 and A24 and as a secondary frame in A23. A21 shows the picture of a dead Rohingya couple murdered by the Border Guard Police (BGP) of Myanmar. The story of the couple's unfortunate demise at the Bangladesh-Myanmar border is narrated in details in the article, adding a human face to the violence faced by the community by the security forces of Myanmar. The personalization of the story can either trigger outrage or sympathy in the mind of a reader. A24 directs attention to the fact that more than half of the Rohingya refugees are children who are in dire need of food, shelter and drinking water. The concern of an Indian actress over the risk of contagious diseases among Rohingya children in the rainy season is given attention in the article. A23 mentions the suffering of a Rohingya couple due to intense heat and lack of food. The article also draws attention to the misery of the Rohingya refugees due to diseases like cough, fever and diarrhea.

The *Prothom Alo* has two articles (A33 and A34) containing the human interest frame as the primary frame. A33 highlights a visit paid to the Jamtoli Rohingya camp by an American super model named Gigi Hadid on an invitation from UNICEF. A photograph of the celebrity wearing a UNICEF t-shirt with the location mentioned as Bangladesh hints towards the cause of her visit. The article also emphasizes the role of UNICEF in better drainage, drinking water and education for the Rohingya refugees at Cox's Bazar. A34 focuses on the dangers perceived by the Rohingya community in relocating to Bhasan Char. The story mentions that the GoB has taken initiative to reduce demographic pressure on Cox's Bazar and transfer the refugees to a new location. However, the article also highlights the concern expressed by human rights organizations on the ground that Bhasan Char is a flood-prone and cyclone-prone area. Moreover, the organizations fear that the island may fully submerge under water during high tide. The write-up sheds light on the risks posed to the Rohingya community in Bhasan Char and mentions that the UNHCR will assist the GoB in the relocation process only if the Rohingyas agree to move voluntarily.

6.2 Attribution of Responsibility Frame

The 'attribution of responsibility' frame is the second-most frequent primary frame and the least frequent secondary frame across the analyzed articles. This frame attributes the responsibility of the cause or solution of an issue to an individual, group or government. Iyengar (1987) has stated that the way news presentations frame an issue significantly influences the audience in their perception of the issue. According to Iyengar, the news media shape the public opinion on the cause or solution of important social issues (e.g., poverty). He also argues that news media encourage the audience to form their own explanation of a particular issue by presenting the topic in terms of specific events or cases rather than the larger historical context. In this way, for example, an underprivileged individual is believed to be responsible for his/her fate rather than the system or the government. The indicators of the attribution of responsibility frame outlined by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000, p. 100) are as below:

- The story suggests that an individual or a group is responsible for the problem/issue.
- The story suggests that the government(s) had a role in creating the problem/issue.
- The story suggests that the government(s) has/have the capacity to solve or alleviate the problem/issue.

- The story suggests urgent or long-term solution to overcome the problem/issue.

The attribution of responsibility frame is present four times in *The Daily Star* - three times as the primary frame and one time as a secondary frame. A1, A4 and A5 are the articles with the attribution of responsibility frame as the primary frame. A3 is the only article in *The Daily Star* to have the attribution of responsibility frame as a secondary frame. In A1, the concern and condemnation of the international community over the Rohingya crisis is the primary focus. The term 'genocide' used by the French President Emmanuel Macron to describe the atrocities against the community is highlighted in the lead which implies the international community's responsibility to act. Moreover, the statements from the USA, the UK and Iran to end the violence of the Myanmar authority and the army are mentioned in the article. Interestingly, the Buddhist mob's interruption of an International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) ship carrying humanitarian aid for the Rohingyas is mentioned in the article, which sheds light on the role of the local civilians in the Rohingya crisis.

A4 focuses on the initiative taken by the GoB to solve the housing problem of the Rohingyas. The article elaborates the government's plan to relocate around one lakh Rohingya refugees to Bhasan Char where the construction of the housing facilities is ongoing. The concluding paragraph also puts emphasis on the asylum provided by the GoB to the Rohingyas when they needed it the most. A5 extensively details the support provided by the GoB to the Rohingyas in terms of shelter, education, relief, water, sanitation, healthcare and disaster management. The government's effort to render assistance is visually represented through various photos in the article. Moreover, the Bangladeshi Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina's statement on the inaction of the authority of Myanmar to take back the Rohingyas despite multiple bilateral dialogues is highlighted in the article, which implies the latter as a part of the problem. A3 mentions the proposal made by the GoB to repatriate the Rohingyas and the lack of specific details from the Myanmar side on how to successfully repatriate such a huge population. The article also mentions the role of the Myanmar Army in the earlier and the latest atrocities against the Rohingyas. Moreover, the previous solutions (diplomatic initiative and bilateral deal between Bangladesh and Myanmar) to Rohingya repatriation are elaborated in the article which is suggestive of the probability that the states will go for bilateral agreements again to solve the crisis.

The attribution of responsibility frame is identified as the primary frame in three articles (A15, A18 and A20) of the *Daily Sun*. A15 draws attention to the initiative taken by the GoB and the UNHCR to sign a MoU for repatriating the Rohingyas to Myanmar. In addition, the lack of sign from the Myanmar side to begin the first phase of repatriation is emphasized in the article. A18 focuses on a statement made by a congressman of the USA about the solution of the Rohingya crisis. The statement highlights the support of the USA in the annexation of the Rakhine State with Bangladesh if the GoM is unable/unwilling to provide security to the Rohingyas. He also stated that the Rohingya people support this solution since they opt for a government which will “work cordially to save them instead of killing” (A18, para.2). A20 highlights an interview of the Bangladeshi prime minister where she states that a sanction by the international community against Myanmar could be a good solution but she cannot suggest that since Myanmar is the next-door neighbor of Bangladesh. The article stresses the responsibility of Aung San Suu Kyi in the crisis by mentioning her decision to follow the army and avoid using the term ‘Rohingya’ in her statements. The Bangladeshi prime minister is quoted in this regard where she indicates that Suu Kyi has changed her side on the Rohingya issue since their last meeting in 2016.

The *Bangladesh Pratidin* has the attribution of responsibility frame in three articles (A23, A27 and A30) as the primary frame and in one article (A25) as a secondary frame. A23 shows the humanitarian support provided to the Rohingya refugees by individuals, NGOs and other organizations in the form of food, shelter and medical treatment. The article also highlights the activities of the Bangladesh Army, BGB and the GoB in registering the new refugees in Bangladesh. Besides, the Amnesty International’s accusation against the Myanmar Army in committing crimes against humanity is described in details in the article. A27 emphasizes Bangladesh’s statement to the UN Security Council that the country can no longer accept Rohingyas since the earlier promises made by Myanmar on Rohingya repatriation were ‘*phaka buli* (empty words)’. The obstacles created by Myanmar at various times is mentioned in the write-up implying the role of the country in sustaining the problem. Additionally, China and Russia are portrayed as a part of the problem since these states back Myanmar in the UN Security Council by giving veto to any proposal against the country. Furthermore, some Western ambassadors’ statement on the acceptable solution to the Rohingya crisis is mentioned as ‘*nirapod, shecchamulok ebong shommanjonok prottabashon* (safe, voluntary and dignified repatriation)’.

A30 explains China's geopolitical and strategic business interests in backing Myanmar in the Rohingya issue. China is portrayed in the article as a country responsible for prolonging the crisis by rendering support to the Myanmar Army. The article also suggests that China's sincere intention to end the Rohingya crisis is necessary to solve the problem. A25 mentions the responsibility of the previous governments of Bangladesh for not taking appropriate measures to prevent the Rohingya influx from happening again and again. The article accuses the past authorities of failing to send a strict message to Myanmar. The authorities of Myanmar are also blamed in the write-up for being unable to solve the Rohingya issue internally. Interestingly, the article criticizes the Rohingya people for not taking right decisions at the watershed moments of history. It is suggested in the article that Bangladesh needs long term vision and advance projection of the crisis trajectory to tackle future challenges.

The attribution of responsibility frame is the primary frame in three articles (A31, A36 and A40) of the *Prothom Alo*. A31 suggests that the GoB is alleviating the miseries of the Rohingya people by providing relief, medical support and solar power to the refugee camps. The write-up also highlights the construction of shelters in Bhasan Char as a temporary solution until the Rohingyas are repatriated to Myanmar. A36 focuses on the ICC investigation against the officials of Myanmar over their involvement in the genocide and crimes against humanity in the Rohingya crisis. The article also points out the previous recommendations of the UN Truth Commission in 2018 against six generals of the Myanmar Army. A40 highlights China's call for dialogue to mediate between Bangladesh and Myanmar on the Rohingya crisis. The article notes the failure of a similar attempt which took place earlier. Moreover, the responsibility of Myanmar to acknowledge and take back the Rohingyas is given importance in the write-up.

6.3 Securitization Frame

The securitization frame is the third-most frequent primary frame and the least frequent secondary frame in the articles analyzed in this research. To identify securitization in the newspapers, Thierry Balzacq's conceptualization came in handy which explains it as "an articulated assemblage of practices whereby heuristic artefacts (metaphors, policy tools, image repertoires, analogies, stereotypes, emotions, etc.) are contextually mobilized by a securitizing actor, who works to

prompt an audience to build a coherent network of implications (feelings, sensations, thoughts, and intuitions), about the critical vulnerability of a referent object, that concurs with the securitizing actor's reasons for choices and actions, by investing the referent subject with such an aura of unprecedented threatening complexion that a customized policy must be undertaken immediately to block its development" (Balzacq, 2011, p. 3). According to the definition, some indicators of securitization in news articles can be identified which are mentioned below:

- The story evokes emotions, perceptions, opinions and instincts among the readers.
- The story projects a referent object as vulnerable.
- The story hints towards unprecedented threats against the referent object.
- The story suggests to adopt new policy to counter the threat.

The securitization frame is present in *The Daily Star* as the primary frame in A8 and as a secondary frame in A5. The headline of A8 is a quote that states the Rohingyas as a threat to the host community and the subhead mentions leading economists and policy analysts as the source of the quote. The Rohingyas are mentioned in the lead as 'Myanmar nationals' which establishes the group as the 'others' or outsiders in Bangladesh. The referent objects that are projected as vulnerable in the article due to the presence of the refugees are the local community, demography, education, labor market, biodiversity and environment. To a Bangladeshi reader, the emphasis put on the depletion of resources by the Rohingyas can appear concerning, maybe even threatening. This write-up implies that Rohingya repatriation is the policy response Bangladesh must adopt to deter the threats posed by the refugees. In A5, the adverse effects of Rohingya settlement on the local environment, fossil fuel, groundwater level and wildlife are mentioned. Moreover, the involvement of the Rohingyas in internal clashes, drug cases and unauthorized movement are stated in the article. To offset the risks posed by the refugees, the article indicates that 1,000 police have been deployed at seven Rohingya camps.

The only article of the *Daily Sun* that contains the securitization frame as a secondary frame is A15. The news photograph depicts rows of refugee shelters in Cox's Bazar. Moreover, the lack of sign from the Myanmar side to take back Rohingyas and the depiction of the number of Rohingyas in Bangladesh as larger than the entire population of Bhutan insinuate the community as a huge problem for Bangladesh. On top of these, the article mentions Rohingya protest during the visit of

a minister of Myanmar which implies the official repatriation process is likely to get even more complicated. Such way of framing the Rohingyas portray the community as a pressing concern for Bangladesh which needs to be solved as soon as possible.

The *Bangladesh Pratidin* has four articles (A25, A26, A28 and A29) where the securitization frame is the primary frame. In A25, the Rohingyas are presented as residing illegally in Cox's Bazar who are a carbuncle (used as a metaphor to resemble massive burden) for Bangladesh. The article makes the Rohingyas responsible for the crisis stating that the community failed to unite and integrate with the mainstream population in Myanmar. Moreover, the write-up accuses that the Rohingyas have received shelter and assistance from Islamic extremists in Bangladesh in the past. The refugees are depicted as a security threat to Bangladesh due to their 'illegal' stay, unmonitored movement, disruptive activities at the border and potential involvement of the future generation in terrorist activities out of hatred. The story suggests that Bangladesh needs strategic thinking and advance analysis of future crisis to handle the Rohingya problem.

The A26 headline mentions the Rohingya issue as a '*shomossha* (problem)' and the subhead extends the issue as a carbuncle for Bangladesh. The story begins with highlighting that for the 'citizens of Myanmar', Bangladesh spends at least 3 thousand crore taka each year and about one-third of that amount needs to be covered from the country's own budget. Besides, the article mentions that the local environment has become vulnerable due to the pressure created by the refugees while their depletion of natural resources is 'immeasurable' in monetary terms. The reluctance of the Rohingyas to relocate to Bhasan Char is depicted as a waste of the GoB's money which was spent for the new infrastructures. Moreover, the article states that with the growing number of Rohingya children each year, the local society will face immense adverse effects in a few years. The suggestion provided in the story is that Bangladesh should be more prompt to repatriate the Rohingyas for its own interest.

The headline of A28 highlights the rate of childbirth at the Rohingya camps as a 'record' while the subhead states more than one lakh children have been born over the last 20 months. The subhead also states that marriage spree is ongoing amid the 'refugee life' of the Rohingyas. The lead mentions that childbirth among the Rohingyas is high and uncontrolled, which is depicted by the

photograph that shows a congregation of Rohingya children at the camps. The article points out that almost 50 thousand pregnant Rohingya women entered Bangladesh during the latest influx while there are many marriages taking place. These incidents are framed as a concern for the local administration who fear a demographic catastrophe in the area. The reasons to be concerned over the Rohingya issue are presented in terms of their large families, high rate of pregnancy, high crime rate and reluctance in family planning and birth control measures. Interestingly, to imply the perception of the local people, the article quotes the president of a local committee titled *Cox's Bazar Rohingya Protirodh o Prottabashon Committee* (Cox's Bazar Rohingya Prevention and Repatriation Committee) which is suggestive of the anti-refugee stance of the organization. The article advocates for birth control measures like injections, birth control pills and condoms as a solution for the potential '*voyaboho shongkot* (terrible crisis)' awaiting Bangladesh.

A29, in a similar manner of A28, indicates the number of children born in the Rohingya camps over the last two years in the headline while using a photograph of many Rohingya children sitting densely in the camp. The article mentions that even though the Rohingyas had come to Bangladesh earlier, they came in massive numbers in the latest exodus of 2017. The story highlights the community's aversion to birth control and inclination to large families. Moreover, the article highlights the higher percentage of Rohingya women compared to Rohingya men in the latest influx insinuating the probability of higher population growth in the upcoming days. Like A28, the article implies that running awareness campaigns for birth control measures is the solution at the moment for Bangladesh to prevent the population 'explosion' among the Rohingyas.

The *Prothom Alo* has the highest implementation of the securitization frame. This frame is present as the primary frame in five articles (A32, A35, A37, A38 and A39). A32 depicts the Rohingya camps as a security concern for Bangladesh. The article highlights the arrest of 11 foreigners who tried to enter a camp without passports. The various nationalities of the arrested individuals are explicitly stated in the article depicting the movement of unauthorized persons in the camps as a concern of national security. The headline of A35 states that four Rohingya women have been arrested while attempting to get Bangladeshi passport. The photo caption also mentions the same. Interestingly, there is no mention of a local Bangladeshi broker who assisted those Rohingya women even though the news photograph shows her face. The focus of the writing on the attempt

of the Rohingyas to illegally acquire Bangladeshi passport presents the refugees as a threat to the established law and security of the country. Additionally, the article mentions that the Rohingya women had illegally travelled to the Kurigram district of Bangladesh from the refugee camps of Cox's Bazar which can be alarming for the Bangladeshi readers due to the unregulated movement of the refugees and the possibility of their informal integration with the mainstream population.

A37 focuses on a false Bangladeshi NID card of a Rohingya woman in the server of Bangladesh Election Commission. The article highlights that the Rohingya woman had successfully completed the application procedure. She got caught only when she tried to acquire the card from the local election office. The write-up emphasizes the concern of election officers over a possible crime syndicate which made it possible for the woman to put her details on the server of Bangladesh Election Commission. Additionally, a local Bangladeshi associate of the Rohingya woman is mentioned who had helped her with various credentials to get the false NID card. This story portrays the administrative system of Bangladesh as vulnerable to criminal groups, local brokers and even common Rohingyas which can be concerning for a Bangladeshi national. It is mentioned in the article that investigation is going on to understand how the false information were uploaded in the server and to detect the people involved in the crime.

The headline of A38 states that two Rohingya drug smugglers died in a crossfire with BGB. It is interesting that their identity as 'drug smugglers' is supplemented with the 'Rohingya' identity, which inevitably draws attention to the involvement of the community in the crime. The article mentions that the smugglers were carrying 50 thousand pieces of Yaba, implying they were involved in a large smuggling network. The focus of the writing on the involvement of the refugees in cross-border drug smuggling network becomes evident in the concluding paragraph where the number of Rohingyas killed since the beginning of an anti-drug campaign in Bangladesh is specifically mentioned. Such highlight on the linkage of the refugees in criminal activities make them a center of concern and a threat to the established law and order of Bangladesh.

The A39 headline states that ten online television channels are 'active' in the Rohingya camps. The emphasis put on the word 'active' signifies concern over these channels. As the article proceeds, concerns emerge over the transmission of footage from within the Rohingya camps to the online

channels. Quoting the local police, this article mentions that there are allegations of spreading rumor through them. While the Rohingyas argue that these channels broadcast programs to counter the lies and propagandas of Myanmar, a local civil society organization titled *Shushashoner Jonno Nagorik* (Citizens for Good Governance) opines that strict monitoring of the channels is mandatory to check whether any rumor is being spread through them. The story mentions that all the on-air programs advise the Rohingyas in Bangladesh to stay united and not return to Myanmar under any circumstances until their demands are met. The article insinuates that there are reasons to be concerned about the online channels as they can spread misinformation as well as sensitive information from the camps.

6.4 Conflict Frame

The conflict frame is the least frequent primary frame and the most frequent secondary frame in the articles of this research. This frame focuses on the conflict between individuals, groups or institutions and reduces any political discussion to simplistic conflict narratives rather than comprehensive political debates. For example, Patterson (1993) found that the news of presidential campaigns during election in the USA are mostly framed in terms of conflict. Cappella & Jamieson (1997) argued that utilizing the conflict frame can induce mistrust and cynicism among the readers against political actors. According to Semetko & Valkenburg (2000), a news story framed in this way emphasizes the disagreement among the groups, parties or states, or highlights two or multiple different, even conflicting, aspects of the issue in question. They identified several indicators of the conflict frame which are mentioned below:

- The story highlights disagreement between individuals/groups/states.
- The story suggests that the individuals/groups/states express disapproval or disappointment over the action of the other.
- The story mentions two or more sides of the problem/issue in question.
- The story hints towards the winners and the losers of an action/event/argument.

The conflict frame is present as the primary frame in one article (A3) and as a secondary frame in three articles (A1, A5, A8) of *The Daily Star*. A3 begins with highlighting the difference in the approach of Myanmar and Bangladesh in Rohingya repatriation. The write-up points out that

Myanmar has proposed to take the refugees back without any specific details while Bangladesh has already handed over a draft proposal for a bilateral deal to a visiting minister of Myanmar. Moreover, Dhaka's call to stop the persecution of the Rohingyas and Myanmar's denial of committing such crime by its armed forces are mentioned in the article. A1 states the official stance of the Western states (i.e. France, the USA, the UK) and Iran against the atrocities committed by the government and the army of Myanmar. In addition, Facebook's ban of ARSA from its platform as a move to prevent violent groups is mentioned in the article along with the past and present religious tension between the Muslim and Buddhist communities of Cox's Bazar.

A5 focuses on the disagreement between Myanmar and Bangladesh over Rohingya repatriation which is made evident by a quote of the Bangladeshi prime minister where she accuses Myanmar for taking no action to solve the issue. The story touches on multiple aspects of the Rohingya crisis. For example, the concern of internationally renowned figures over the Rohingyas, the murders and rapes faced by the community, the GoB's humanitarian support in the camps and the law and order situation among the refugees are mentioned in the article. A8 sheds light on the disagreement between the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) and the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS) over the Rohingya issue. While IFPRI suggests that the local labor market of Chattogram is able to sustain the Rohingyas, BIDS argues that Bangladesh does not have the capacity to accommodate them. The threats posed to the local community and environment of Cox's Bazar by the refugees are emphasized by BIDS in their argument.

The conflict frame is present in only one article (A20) of the *Daily Sun* as a secondary frame. A20 reflects the Bangladeshi prime minister's disappointment in the stance of Aung San Suu Kyi to follow the footsteps of the Myanmar Army and refuse to use the term 'Rohingya' to describe the ethnic group. The article also mentions that while Sheikh Hasina does not want the Rohingya issue to remain as a burden for her country, she cannot suggest the international community to impose sanction on Myanmar since it is the next-door neighbor of Bangladesh.

The *Bangladesh Pratidin* has the conflict frame as the primary frame in one article (A22) and as a secondary frame in three articles (A21, A27, A30). In A22, the mutual blaming of violence by ARSA and the Myanmar authority is highlighted. The write-up also draws attention to ARSA's

disapproval of the violent acts committed by the Myanmar Army against the Rohingya people. Moreover, the article implies that ARSA is weaker than the armed forces of Myanmar by focusing on the one-sided declaration of ceasefire by the organization. A21 mentions the disagreement between the Rohingyas and the Myanmar authority over the actual number of casualties in the violence in the Rakhine State. A27 states the disapproval of the Western states' initiative, especially that of the UK, by Russia and China to propose a deadline against Myanmar and ensure a favorable environment for Rohingya repatriation. The article also highlights Bangladesh's disappointment in the 'empty promises' made by Myanmar. A30 denotes the disagreement between China and Russia and the other UN Security Council members over the possible prosecution of the Myanmar authority. Interestingly, the article sheds light on multiple aspects of the Chinese rationale for supporting Myanmar. China's interest in backing the Myanmar Army is explained in terms of international trade, oil and gas supply, deep sea port, large scale investment and geopolitical standoff.

The *Prothom Alo* has the conflict frame in two articles (A36 and A40) as a secondary frame. A36 mentions the disagreement between Myanmar and ICC over sending an observation on the Rohingya crisis, which Myanmar denied by stating that ICC does not have the jurisdiction to work on this issue since Myanmar had not signed the Rome Statue. The article touches on multiple aspects of the ICC investigation. There are mentions of the procedures and developments of the investigation, a possible MoU between the ICC delegation and the GoB and the necessity for Bangladesh to support ICC. The writing implies that Bangladesh can gain from the investigation since it can put more pressure on Myanmar internationally. A40 mentions the disagreement between the Rohingyas and Myanmar on the demands made by the former as a precondition for repatriation. The different aspects of the crisis, like the failed trilateral meetings between Bangladesh, China and Myanmar and the inaction of Myanmar to take back the refugees, are also highlighted in the article.

6.5 The Final Verdicts

Going back to the original research questions, the mainstream newspapers of Bangladesh present the Rohingya people through four key frames: 1. Human Interest, 2. Attribution of Responsibility,

3. Securitization, and 4. Conflict. The human interest frame is the most frequent frame in the analyzed newspapers, which means the human face of the Rohingya issue gets the highest priority while portraying the refugees. This research finds that the atrocities faced by the Rohingya people, the sufferings of the pregnant Rohingya women and the prevalence of malnourishment among Rohingya children are the usual foci of the articles structured with the human interest frame. In addition, the humanitarian support rendered by the GoB to the Rohingya people is frequently highlighted in the newspapers. The attribution of responsibility frame comes second in the list. In the relevant articles, the Myanmar Army and the authority are held responsible for the crisis. Moreover, the role of China and Russia in the crisis is questioned and the international community's responsibility to solve the issue is mentioned repeatedly. The securitization frame is slightly less frequent than the two frames mentioned previously, but it is a significant one nonetheless. The securitization moves mostly highlight the pressure created by the Rohingyas on the host community, the threats posed by them to the established law and order and the population explosion in the camps since the latest exodus. Lastly, the conflict frame focuses largely on the disagreement between the Western powers and China and Russia over creating pressure on Myanmar, the disappointment of Bangladesh in the inaction of Myanmar to repatriate the refugees and Myanmar's disapproval of the ICC investigation on the Rohingya crisis.

There are some significant differences between the English and the Bengali newspapers. The human interest frame is way more evident in *The Daily Star* and the *Daily Sun* than the *Bangladesh Pratidin* and the *Prothom Alo*. While the frame is present 17 times either as the primary frame or a secondary frame in the English newspapers, it is identified only five times in the Bengali newspapers. When it comes to the securitization frame, there is noticeable disparity as well. The frame is present three times in the English newspapers compared to nine times in the Bangladeshi newspapers. That means the English newspapers usually portray the human side of the crisis while the Bengali newspapers are more inclined to securitizing the refugees. Interestingly, the securitization frame begins to appear in the articles only since 2018. The first article of *The Daily Star* containing the securitization frame was published on 25 August 2018. Similarly, the articles containing the securitization frame were first published in the *Daily Sun* on 13 April 2018, in the *Bangladesh Pratidin* on 03 September 2018 and in the *Prothom Alo* on 23 February 2018.

While it is beyond the scope of this research to understand why securitization moves began to appear in the newspapers, a field report prepared by Refugees International can be helpful to understand the context and the effects of the securitization. The report mentions about the realization among the local community and politicians that the Rohingyas will not return voluntarily anytime soon and this made them frustrated, especially in regards to the pressure created by the refugees on the local labor market and natural resources (Sullivan, 2020, p. 21). The report also highlights the growing concern among many Bangladeshis over the Rohingyas due to the latter's involvement in criminal activities like murder and drug smuggling across the border. Moreover, a large rally organized by tens of thousands of Rohingyas in Cox's Bazar to demand justice and a favorable environment for repatriation to Myanmar was perceived negatively by the local media and politicians. The ability of the refugees to organize on such a large scale was viewed as a security threat by the host community.

The effects of a securitized view of the Rohingyas have become gradually evident in the policies of the GoB. The government has always refused to officially recognize the community as refugees fearing that the move would make them entitled to the rights defined in the UN Refugee Convention and Protocol (Sullivan, 2020, p. 9). With the growing concern over the Rohingyas among the local community, media and politicians, the authorities have increased restriction on the refugees as well as on the NGOs (Sullivan, 2020, p. 22). Several national and international NGOs active in the camps have been expelled on the charges of helping the Rohingyas in organizing the rally mentioned earlier. The remaining NGOs at the camps have faced frequent requests for information from various authorities of Bangladesh. These NGOs are also under pressure to not assist the Rohingya civil society. The GoB's increasing restriction on internet, mobile phones, volunteers and various 'cash for work' programs in the camps have made the refugee life even more difficult for the Rohingyas.

On 01 February 2021, the Myanmar Army staged a coup and seized power of the country (Head, 2021). The military detained Aung San Suu Kyi along with other democratic leaders accusing them of election fraud in their recent landslide victory. The night curfew has been enforced and a state of emergency has been declared for one year in Myanmar by the military. Moreover, the internet and mobile services have been disrupted and banking services have been forcibly stopped at the

time of writing this research paper. Against this backdrop, Al Jazeera has published a short documentary on the reaction of the Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh. The documentary shows that the Rohingyas condemn the coup and they are afraid to return to Myanmar. Nurul Amin, a Rohingya refugee, states:

Now, since the military has snatched power from Aung San Suu Kyi, I believe our repatriation will not happen. Even if they try to repatriate us, we will not agree to go back under the current situation. If they take us back into that regime, they will continue the genocide (“Rohingya Refugees Fear Returning to Myanmar after Military Coup,” 2021).

Myanmar’s earlier commitment to repatriate the refugees according to a bilateral deal with Bangladesh has become uncertain with the coup. The Rohingyas claim that their dream of going back to Myanmar have been interrupted by the change of regime in Myanmar. Such perception among the Rohingyas can be taken negatively by the local community and other Bangladeshis, leading to further securitization of the community. Although it is impossible to foresee when the Rohingya repatriation will take place, it is highly likely that the latest military coup in Myanmar will complicate the process even more.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

Understanding how the Rohingya refugees are framed in the mainstream Bangladeshi newspapers was the primary objective of this research. Media framing as a concept goes beyond bias and objectivity. Framing enhances the possibility of evoking emotional response from the audience. News stories are therefore covered in the media in a way which is likely to resonate with the audience. When immigrants and refugees are portrayed in the media, they are presented as either benign or threatening. For example, during the refugee crisis in Europe in 2015, the Austrian media exaggerated the number of refugee intake while the German media framed them as a burden on the local labor market and the social welfare system. According to the latest UNHCR report, Myanmar is one of the top five refugee generating countries worldwide from where 1.1 million refugees have originated. The Rohingya people are one of the many ethnic minorities in Myanmar, a vast majority of whom live in the Rakhine State of the country. This ethnic minority is not recognized by the state since the predominant view in Myanmar is that they migrated illegally from Bangladesh. There are numerous allegations of systematic discrimination and abuses by the Myanmar authority against the Rohingyas. To protect their rights and build up armed resistance, several insurgent groups have been formed in Myanmar among which the most prominent is ARSA.

On 25 August 2017, ARSA carried out violent attacks on police check posts in the Rakhine State. In response, a massive clearance operation was launched by the Myanmar military against the Rohingya civilians. According to the UN, the targeted killings and widespread atrocities by the army and local Buddhist mob forced the Rohingyas to flee to the neighboring state Bangladesh. The government, volunteers and NGOs in Bangladesh arranged shelter and other humanitarian assistance for the incoming refugees. Currently, Bangladesh hosts almost one million Rohingyas who are the biggest group of stateless people in the Asia-Pacific. While the future of the Rohingyas in Bangladesh is already uncertain, they may face new challenges since the Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina has declared them a threat to both national and regional security.

There have been three massive influxes of Rohingyas from Myanmar to Bangladesh. The first exodus took place in 1978 when more than 200,000 Rohingyas took shelter in Bangladesh in the

face of forced eviction by the Myanmar military. The second exodus occurred during 1991-1992 when more than 250,000 Rohingyas fled from the rape, forced labor and religious persecution of the armed forces of Myanmar. This research has focused on the third and latest exodus that led about 700,000 Rohingyas to Bangladesh from 25 August 2017 onwards. The goal of this thesis was to understand how the Rohingya people are portrayed in the mainstream media, particularly in newspapers, of Bangladesh. Therefore, the primary question of this research was: *How are the Rohingya people framed in the mainstream newspapers of Bangladesh?* Additionally, the researcher aimed to find the answers to three supplementary questions: (i) Which frames can be frequently observed in the news articles? (ii) Is there any similarity or disparity between the English and the Bengali newspapers? (iii) Do securitization moves appear in the selected articles?

In order to find the answers to the above-mentioned questions and understand how the Rohingya crisis developed over time, the history of the Rohingya people has been briefly explored in this research. The Muslim names of the Arakanese kings going as far back as the 15th century, the design of Arakanese coins and the influence of the Sufi cult on local tradition are testaments to the impact of Muslim civilization on Myanmar. In the 16th century, the present-day Chittagong district of Bangladesh was annexed as part of the Arakanese territorial expansion. By the late 18th century, the political power of Arakan declined and the Burmese annexed the kingdom in late 1784. Arakan was later annexed by the British in 1826 after the First Anglo-Burmese War. In 1869, the opening of the Suez Canal created an opportunity for the British to export rice. This required a great number of labourers which was filled up by Chittagonians. While most of them were seasonal workers, many settled in the long run. This newly arrived Muslim community now outnumbered the earlier Arakanese Muslims.

With the surge in the number of Chittagonians, a new census by the British classified the Muslims into two distinct groups: Arakan Mahomedans and Chittagonians. During World War II, the Muslims of North Arakan supported the British colonial administrators to achieve greater regional autonomy in the following years. However, when Burma gained independence in 1948, neither the British nor the Burmese rulers met the demands of the Muslims. In the 1950s, there was a wave of political awareness among the young educated Muslims of North Arakan. They understood that without a common identity among themselves, any struggle for autonomy was meaningless. When

the Rohingya identity was eventually established as a recognizable phrase for the Muslims in North Arakan by the late 1960s, the community had a stronger sense of unity to drive their political movement.

In 1962, the former Prime Minister of Burma U Nu was overthrown by General Ne Win who created a separate administrative region for the Muslim-majority areas. However, this move was deceptive since the military rulers appointed to the area made no socio-political developments. By 1964, the administrative area was dissolved and reintegrated with the Akyab district. Since the 1970s, the Muslims in North Arakan were no longer issued National Registration Cards. When a new citizenship law was enacted in 1982, only few Rohingyas were issued the Temporary Registration Cards stating that they were no longer full citizens of the country. In February 2015, those cards became invalid and in June 2015, green cards were issued to the Rohingyas on the condition that they could no longer identify themselves as Rohingyas. That is how the Rohingya community faced a gradual, systematic discrimination by the state of Myanmar.

In 2012, an Arakanese woman was raped by three Rohingya men. Seeking vengeance, a large group of Arakanese men killed ten Rohingyas while they were traveling on a bus. Later, the local Arakanese people, Buddhist monks and the security forces attacked Rohingya villages and mosques. Seventy Rohingyas, including 28 children, were killed in one village alone. In January 2014, violence broke out again when the Arakanese security forces and local mobs jointly attacked and killed 40 Rohingya men, women and children. In October 2016, the situation deteriorated with rising insurgent activities among the Rohingyas as well as the countermeasures taken by the Myanmar Army along the border. Soon afterwards, multiple insurgent attacks by ARSA on police check posts in Myanmar led to a security crackdown by the Myanmar Army in the Rakhine State in 2017. Thus, facing this latest episode of violence in Myanmar, the Rohingyas fled to Bangladesh once again to escape persecution.

Since Myanmar's independence from Britain in 1948, the Tatmadaw has been the most powerful institution in the country. It controls all the major industries and businesses in Myanmar. The print, broadcast and social media are no exception. The elite military class that grew up since the independence of the country weaponize and instrumentalize all the media in their favour to run

disinformation campaign against any actor deemed defiant. During the Rohingya crisis, the access of the journalists to the Rakhine State was restricted which resulted in the reliance on official sources and distorted coverage. The state-owned *Global New Light of Myanmar*, for example, depicted the Rohingya community as a group of perpetrators posing threat to national peace and security. Similarly, *Myanma Alinn* presented the government officials and the local inhabitants of the Rakhine State (excluding the Rohingyas) as victims of “ARSA extremist Bengali terrorists”. The Tatmadaw also arrested two journalists of Reuters in December 2017 and sentenced them to seven years in prison for collecting information on a massacre of Rohingyas in northern Rakhine State.

In August 2018, an investigation conducted by Reuters reported more than a thousand Burmese Facebook posts that targeted the Rohingyas. The investigation team noticed that there was a common aim to dehumanize the community. Some posts explicitly mentioned the Rohingyas as dogs, pigs or rapists. The report described the overall findings “sickening” and stated that such trend of hate posts and attacks on social media ensured that even if a genocide happened against the Rohingyas, public protest would be low since those people would not be even counted as humans in the first place. It is undeniable that Facebook did not take timely action to prevent the spread of hate speech, especially from the extremist Buddhist monks against the Rohingyas. For example, Ashin Wirathu who calls himself the “Burmese Bin Laden” warned the Muslims on Facebook to restrain from raping young Burmese girls and indulging in cronyism. The Facebook authorities later admitted that they were too slow to act against the spread of hate speech in Myanmar despite the multiple warnings they had received earlier.

The existing literature on the media framing of the Rohingyas either focus on comparing the media of different countries or a single newspaper in depth. Using Critical Discourse Analysis, Arina Isti'anah analysed the headlines of two newspapers titled *Mmtimes* and *The Nation*, the former from Myanmar and the latter from Bangladesh. The author found that the media of Myanmar emphasizes the government's efforts and consciously avoids the term ‘Rohingya’ in the headlines while the Bangladeshi media explicitly mentions the term to draw international attention and to showcase how the government is supporting them. Similarly, Sharufatun Nahar conducted a Corpus-Assisted Discourse Study on the articles published in *The Daily Star*, a prominent

Bangladeshi newspaper, from August 2017 to August 2018. The paper concluded that by excluding the voices of the Rohingya community and the Myanmar officials, *The Daily Star* reproduces the existing human rights discourse and leans towards Eurocentric ideals. Md Khadimul Islam analysed six different newspapers from China, India and Bangladesh and found that the news reports in Bangladesh focused on the plight of and relief for the Rohingya people while the Chinese media projected the initiatives taken by the authorities of Myanmar to address the Rohingya issue. The Indian media took a cautious strategy and covered news mostly on the aids received by and required for the Rohingya people.

The analysis of the existing literature showed that there was still room for research on the representation of the Rohingya people in Bangladeshi media. Among the research methods observed in the existing literature, Critical Discourse Analysis as a data analysis technique is criticized by some scholars for focusing mostly on the macro context and often overlooking the immediate context. Similarly, the vague data analysis process of Corpus-Assisted Discourse Study can lead to a high risk of bias from the researcher. Keeping the limitations of these methods in mind, this research took a different approach and employed Framing Analysis which is a commonly used method for analysing news articles. With the alternative methodological approach and the securitization theory as an analytical tool, this research aimed to bring a new perspective to the existing literature on Rohingya representation.

The data of this thesis were collected from the top four English and Bengali newspapers in Bangladesh, namely, *The Daily Star*, *Daily Sun*, *Bangladesh Pratidin* and *Prothom Alo*. In the Google search engine, two advanced search strings “site:sitename” and “intitle:Rohingya” were combinedly used within a timeframe of 25/08/2017-11/11/2019 to find available articles on the Rohingya issue. Afterwards, the systematic sampling technique was employed to finalize 40 articles from the selected newspapers. To have a chronological overview of the news coverage and to simplify data analysis, the selected articles were then rearranged by their date of publication (from earliest to latest) and a code was assigned to each article. The articles of *The Daily Star* were coded from A1 to A10 while *Daily Sun* articles were coded from A11 to A20, *Bangladesh Pratidin* articles were coded from A21 to A30 and *Prothom Alo* articles were coded from A31 to A40.

Framing an issue in any representation of reality involves the inclusion of the issue's specific components and giving prominence to certain aspects deemed important enough to understand the reality. Rhetorical devices like metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases and depictions can establish frame(s) in a text. Similarly, technical devices like headlines, photographs and quotes can frame an issue in a particular manner. While computer-assisted analysis can be useful to assess technical devices, rhetorical devices can be better evaluated through manual, in-depth examination. Moreover, a significant portion of the research data were originally in the Bengali language which made computer-aided analysis less preferable to human analysis. Therefore, the selected data of this research were analysed manually by the researcher.

Securitization theory was employed as an analytical tool in this research to assist the data analysis process. In the book *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, the writers Barry Buzan, Jaap de Wilde and Ole Wæver have defined securitization as a move made beyond the realm of normal politics in order to frame an issue as a part of special politics. These adherents of the Copenhagen School argue that existential threats drive securitization moves although the definition and boundary of existential threats are highly debated among the contemporary scholars. In general terms, securitization is the act by a securitizing actor to elevate an issue from the realm of low politics to high politics by labelling it as an urgent threat, and convincing the target audience of taking extraordinary measures to solve the issue even though the issue was not simply 'out there' but was enunciated using carefully articulated discourses.

The research questions in this thesis were formulated carefully to omit any inherent assumption in favour of or against the Rohingya people or the Bangladeshi media. To present the history of the Rohingya people as accurately as possible, numerous literatures were cross-checked and only the widely accepted ones were cited. The research data were selected in a precise, well-defined manner using advance search strings and the systematic sampling method. The selected articles are accessible online which ensures the availability of the data and the replicability of the research. As for data analysis, specific framing devices as well as the securitization theory were employed to make sense of the findings and generate useful outputs. Lastly, the potential consequences of the research for the Rohingya people were evaluated to maintain the ethical principles. Since the research was solely focused on understanding the media framing of the Rohingyas, not on

exploring any normative dimension or policy implication, it is less likely that the research output will have adverse impact on the Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh.

7.1 Research Output and Contribution

In this research, both primary and secondary frames have been identified by the researcher. The primary frame can be usually identified in an article through its most prominent elements like headline, subhead and lead. However, this might not be always effective as the headline and subhead occasionally differ from the lead. Therefore, a careful observation was required to determine which elements play the most important role in framing an article. The primary frame is more likely to quote different sources to establish the frame unlike the subsidiary frame(s). After eliminating the key elements supporting the primary frame, the remaining text was analyzed to identify potential secondary frame(s) in each article.

Going back to the original research questions, the mainstream newspapers of Bangladesh present the Rohingya people through four key frames: (i) Human interest, (ii) Attribution of responsibility, (iii) Securitization, and (iv) Conflict. The human interest frame has been identified 16 times as the primary frame and six times as a secondary frame across the analysed articles. The second most frequent frame is the attribution of responsibility frame, which appeared 12 times as the primary frame and twice as a secondary frame. The third most frequent frame, the securitization frame, appeared ten times as the primary frame and twice as a secondary frame in the research data. The least frequent frame identified in this research was the conflict frame, which appeared twice as the primary frame and nine times as a secondary frame.

Some significant differences were observed between the English and the Bengali newspapers. The human interest frame was way more evident in *The Daily Star* and the *Daily Sun* than the *Bangladesh Pratidin* and the *Prothom Alo*. While the frame was present 17 times either as the primary frame or a secondary frame in the English newspapers, it was identified only five times in the Bengali newspapers. When it came to the securitization frame, there was noticeable disparity as well. The frame was present three times in the English newspapers compared to nine times in the Bangladeshi newspapers. That means the English newspapers usually portrayed the human

side of the crisis while the Bengali newspapers were more inclined to securitizing the refugees. Interestingly, the securitization frame began to appear in the articles only since 2018. The first article of *The Daily Star* containing the securitization frame was published on 25 August 2018. Similarly, the articles containing the securitization frame were first published in the *Daily Sun* on 13 April 2018, in the *Bangladesh Pratidin* on 03 September 2018 and in the *Prothom Alo* on 23 February 2018. This is a clear indication to the shift in media framing of the Rohingyas in Bangladesh since 2018.

This research contributes to peace scholarship through both its approach and results. By analyzing the top newspapers of Bangladesh with framing devices, the research has reflected on the approach of the media in portraying the Rohingyas. The changing nature of the media discourse, as identified in this thesis, implies that media framing is synchronized to the immediate reality. The human interest frame, for example, was gradually replaced by the securitization frame in the newspapers due to the changing dynamics of the Rohingya issue in Bangladesh. The rise in xenophobia among the local inhabitants of Cox's Bazar, originating primarily from the demographic pressure, criminal activities and security risks posed by the Rohingyas, was reflected in and bolstered by the mainstream newspapers. When the prime minister of Bangladesh declared the Rohingya people a security threat, the decision was analogous to the concurrent image of the refugees in the media. The official policy of the GoB to brand the refugees as a security concern had profound implications for the community. A field report of Refugees International has already documented the tighter restrictions imposed on the Rohingyas and different organizations active in the camps since late 2019. Therefore, it is undeniable that analyzing the media framing of the refugees can significantly contribute to understanding the changing realities of the refugees, and in turn, to the wider peace scholarship.

7.2 Limitations

Like every other research, this thesis has its limitations. Since the goal of the study was to identify potential frames in news articles, analyzing a higher number of articles from a wider range of newspapers would definitely enrich the research outputs even more. However, the researcher had to confine the data to 40 articles from four newspapers due to time constraint. While advance

search strings of the Google search engine allowed the researcher to find the most relevant articles on the Rohingya issue, there remains a slight possibility that some relevant articles got filtered out during the process because they did not fulfil the search criteria. Keeping the significant number of available articles over the span of two years in mind, the risk margin in the data collection process deemed acceptable to the researcher. The systematic sampling technique is not without any drawback. This technique selects data less randomly than simple random sampling because there is always a risk of potential pattern in the sample. Nonetheless, given the nature of data in this research, systematic sampling simplified the article selection process. The strings used in Google's advance search did not render results in any particular order, and thus, the drawbacks of systematic sampling appeared minimum.

7.3 Scopes for Further Research

There are ample scopes for further research on the media framing of the Rohingyas. Analyzing how the refugees have been portrayed in the newspapers since the prime minister's declaration can be helpful to understand the current approach of the news media in presenting the community. The 2021 military coup in Myanmar and the recent transfer of the Rohingyas to Bhasan Char in Bangladesh have resulted in interesting discussions and debates in the media, which are certainly reflected in the mainstream newspapers. A comparative analysis between the national newspapers and the local newspapers of Cox's Bazar may also bring interesting results. Apart from newspapers, evaluating the portrayal of the refugees in other popular media like television and radio can be a unique approach. Last but not least, exploring how the Rohingya issue is addressed in social media platforms against the backdrop of the new developments will certainly enrich the existing literature.

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Annexes

Annex 1

The Daily Star Articles

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A1	It's Genocide. (2017, September 22). <i>The Daily Star</i> . Retrieved from https://www.thedailystar.net/frontpage/mayanmar-rohingya-refugee-crisis-its-genocide-1465801
A2	Habib, W. B., & Jinnat, M. A. (2017, September 30). Voyage for Safety Ends in Tragedy. <i>The Daily Star</i> . Retrieved from https://www.thedailystar.net/frontpage/mayanmar-rohingya-refugee-crisis-voyage-safety-ends-tragedy-1469821
A3	Rohingyas in Bangladesh: Myanmar Proposes Taking Them Back. (2017, October 3). <i>The Daily Star</i> . Retrieved from https://www.thedailystar.net/frontpage/mayanmar-refugee-crisis-myanmar-take-back-rohingyas-1470688
A4	'Rohingyas to be Relocated to Habitable Places.' (2018, April 2). <i>The Daily Star</i> . Retrieved from https://www.thedailystar.net/rohingya-crisis/rohingya-refugees-relocation-in-livable-places-of-bangladesh-1556980
A5	One Year of Rohingya Crisis: The Fastest Growing Refugee Crisis. (2018, August 25). <i>The Daily Star</i> . Retrieved from https://www.thedailystar.net/news/rohingya-crisis/one-year-rohingya-crisis-the-fastest-growing-refugee-crisis-1624102
A6	Child Marriage of Rohingya Girl Stopped in Malaysia. (2019, February 10). <i>The Daily Star</i> . Retrieved from https://www.thedailystar.net/asia/news/child-marriage-rohingya-girl-stopped-malaysia-1700125
A7	600,000 Rohingya Refugees: Exposed to the Elements. (2019, February 19). <i>The Daily Star</i> . Retrieved from https://www.thedailystar.net/rohingya-crisis/news/ifrc-warns-over-cyclones-rohingya-camps-1703836

A8	‘Rohingya Presence Posing Serious Threat to Host Community.’ (2019, May 9). <i>The Daily Star</i> . Retrieved from https://www.thedailystar.net/rohingya-crisis/rohingya-refugees-presence-posing-serious-threat-host-community-1741159
A9	Cox’s Bazar Rohingya Camps: 2 Killed, 3,400 Houses Damaged in 5 Days’ Heavy Rains. (2019, July 9). <i>The Daily Star</i> . Retrieved from https://www.thedailystar.net/rohingya-crisis/news/coxs-bazar-rohingya-camps-2-killed-3400-houses-damaged-5-days-heavy-rains-1768747
A10	Skinner, D. (2019, August 22). Rohingya Children Staring at a Bleak Future. <i>The Daily Star</i> . Retrieved from https://www.thedailystar.net/opinion/human-rights/news/rohingya-children-staring-bleak-future-1788430

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A11	Fire Seen in Myanmar Village, Rohingya Huddle in Bangladesh. (2017, September 15). <i>Daily Sun</i> . Retrieved from https://www.daily-sun.com/post/254733/Fire-seen-in-Myanmar-village-Rohingya-huddle-in-Bangladesh
A12	Among Rohingya Refugees 70,000 Pregnant Women: Nasim. (2017, September 17). <i>Daily Sun</i> . Retrieved from https://www.daily-sun.com/post/255208/Among-Rohingya-refugees-70000-pregnant-women:-Nasim
A13	Malnourishment, a Silent Threat to Rohingya Kids. (2017, November 3). <i>Daily Sun</i> . Retrieved from https://www.daily-sun.com/post/265998/Malnourishment-a-silent-threat-to-Rohingya-kids
A14	84 Sexual Violence Rohingya Survivors Get Treated at MSF. (2017, December 1). <i>Daily Sun</i> . Retrieved from https://www.daily-sun.com/post/272427/84-sexual-violence-Rohingya-survivors-get-treated-at-MSF
A15	Rohingya Repatriation: Bangladesh, UNHCR to Sign MoU in Geneva Today. (2018, April 13). <i>Daily Sun</i> . Retrieved from https://www.daily-sun.com/post/301999/Rohingya-Repatriation:-Bangladesh-UNHCR-to-sign-MoU-in-Geneva-today
A16	Priyanka Chopra Visits Rohingya Camps in Cox's Bazar. (2018, May 21). <i>Daily Sun</i> . Retrieved from https://www.daily-sun.com/post/310380/Priyanka-Chopra-visits-Rohingya-camps-in-Cox's-Bazar
A17	'Rohingya Children Get Birth Certificates, Not Citizenship.' (2018, May 27). <i>Daily Sun</i> . Retrieved from https://www.daily-sun.com/printversion/details/311635/Rohingya-children-get-birth-certificates-not-citizenship
A18	'Annex Rakhine to Bangladesh for Solution to Rohingya Crisis.' (2019, June 30). <i>Daily Sun</i> . Retrieved from https://www.daily-sun.com/post/403480/Annex-Rakhine-to-Bangladesh-for-solution-to-Rohingya-crisis

A19	Pangs of Diseases Forcing Rohingya Children Face Ordeal. (2019, September 19). <i>Daily Sun</i> . Retrieved from https://www.daily-sun.com/post/424764/Pangs-of-diseases-forcing-Rohingya-children-face-ordeal
A20	I Prefer Peaceful Solution to Rohingya Crisis: PM Tells Washington Post. (2019, September 30). <i>Daily Sun</i> . Retrieved from https://www.daily-sun.com/post/427676/I-prefer-peaceful-solution-to-Rohingya-crisis:-PM-tells-Washington-Post

Annex 3

Bangladesh Pratidin Articles

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A21	Azad, S. (2017, September 2). <i>Cheler Kapor Ante Giye Laash Hoye Firlen Rohingya Dompoti</i> [Rohingya Couple Died as They Went to Bring Son's Cloth]. <i>Bangladesh Pratidin</i> . Retrieved from https://www.bd-pratidin.com/national/2017/09/02/261083
A22	<i>Myanmar-er Rohingya Joddhader Ostro Birotir Ghoshona</i> [Rohingya Fighters of Myanmar Declared Ceasefire]. (2017, September 10). <i>Bangladesh Pratidin</i> . Retrieved from https://www.bd-pratidin.com/international-news/2017/09/10/262766
A23	Taher, F. (2017, October 19). <i>Deshe Rohingya Shongkha Ekhon Koto</i> [What is the Current Number of Rohingya in the Country]. <i>Bangladesh Pratidin</i> . Retrieved from https://www.bd-pratidin.com/first-page/2017/10/19/273358
A24	<i>Chaar Lakh Rohingya Shishur Jonno Priyankar Uddeg</i> [Priyanka's Concern for Four Lakh Rohingya Children]. (2018, May 24). <i>Bangladesh Pratidin</i> . Retrieved from https://www.bd-pratidin.com/facebook/2018/05/24/332625
A25	Shikder, A. K. M. A. (2018, September 3). <i>Rohingya Shongkot O Bangladesh—Otit, Bortoman, Vobisshot</i> [Rohingya Crisis and Bangladesh - Past, Present, Future]. <i>Bangladesh Pratidin</i> . Retrieved from https://www.bd-pratidin.com/editorial/2018/09/03/357444
A26	<i>Rohingya Shomossha</i> [Rohingya Problem]. (2019, February 16). <i>Bangladesh Pratidin</i> . Retrieved from https://www.bd-pratidin.com/editorial/2019/02/16/400551
A27	<i>Rohingya Neowa Aar Shomvob Noy</i> [Accepting Rohingyas is No Longer Possible]. (2019, March 2). <i>Bangladesh Pratidin</i> . Retrieved from https://www.bd-pratidin.com/first-page/2019/03/02/404683

A28	Taher, F. (2019, May 8). <i>Jonmohare Record Rohingya Camp-e</i> [Record in Birth Rate in Rohingya Camp]. <i>Bangladesh Pratidin</i> . Retrieved from https://www.bd-pratidin.com/last-page/2019/05/08/422049
A29	<i>Dui Bochore 91 Hajar Shishur Jonmo Rohingya Camp-e</i> [91 Thousand Children Born in Rohingya Camp in Two Years]. (2019, August 25). <i>Bangladesh Pratidin</i> . Retrieved from https://www.bd-pratidin.com/national/2019/08/25/451110
A30	Hamid, H. I. (2019, October 27). <i>Rohingya Shongkot O Chiner Vumika</i> [Rohingya Crisis and China's Role]. <i>Bangladesh Pratidin</i> . Retrieved from https://www.bd-pratidin.com/open-air-theater/2019/10/27/469560

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A32	<i>Rohingya Camp-e Probeshar Cheshta, 11 Bideshi Atok</i> [Attempt to Enter Rohingya Camp, 11 Foreigners Arrested]. (2018, February 23). <i>Prothom Alo</i> . Retrieved from https://www.prothomalo.com/bangladesh/crime/রোহিঙ্গা-ক্যাম্প-প্রবেশের-চেষ্টা-১১-বিদেশি-আটক
A33	<i>Rohingya Camp-e Markin Super Model</i> [American Super Model in Rohingya Camp]. (2018, August 20). <i>Prothom Alo</i> . Retrieved from https://www.prothomalo.com/entertainment/রোহিঙ্গা-ক্যাম্প-মার্কিন-সুপার-মডেল
A34	<i>Bhasan Char-e Rohingya Sthanantore Shohayota Debe Jatishonggho</i> [United Nations Will Provide Assistance in Rohingya Relocation to Bhasan Char]. (2019, March 24). <i>Prothom Alo</i> . Retrieved from https://www.prothomalo.com/bangladesh/ভাসানচরে-রোহিঙ্গা-স্থানান্তরে-সহায়তা-দেবে-জাতিসংঘ
A35	<i>Passport Korte Eshe Chaar Rohingya Nari Atok</i> [Four Rohingya Women Arrested while Attempting to Get Passport]. (2019, April 4). <i>Prothom Alo</i> . Retrieved from https://www.prothomalo.com/bangladesh/পাসপোর্ট-করতে-এসে-চার-রোহিঙ্গা-নারী-আটক
A36	Ejaz, R. (2019, July 15). <i>Rohingya Gonohottay Myanmar-er Biruddhe Todonto Shuru Hocche</i> [Investigation Launching against Myanmar on Rohingya Genocide]. <i>Prothom Alo</i> . Retrieved from https://www.prothomalo.com/bangladesh/রোহিঙ্গা-গণহত্যায়-মিয়ানমারের-বিরুদ্ধে-তদন্ত-শুরু

A37	Firoz, G. (2019, September 1). <i>Rohingya Narir Vua NID Server-e</i> [Fake NID of Rohingya Woman in Server]. <i>Prothom Alo</i> . Retrieved from https://www.prothomalo.com/bangladesh/crime/রোহিঙ্গা-নারীর-ভুয়া-এনআইডি-সার্ভারে
A38	<i>Golagulite Dui Rohingya Madok Pacharkari Nihoto: BGB</i> [Two Rohingya Drug Smugglers Dead Following Shooting: BGB]. (2019, September 3). <i>Prothom Alo</i> . Retrieved from https://www.prothomalo.com/bangladesh/গোলাগুলিতে-দুই-রোহিঙ্গা-মাদক-পাচারকারী-নিহত
A39	Giasuddin. (2019, September 28). <i>Rohingya Shibire “Shokriyo” 10-Ti Online TV</i> [10 Online TVs “Active” in Rohingya Camp]. <i>Prothom Alo</i> . Retrieved from https://www.prothomalo.com/bangladesh/district/রোহিঙ্গা-শিবিরে-‘সক্রিয়’-১০টি-অনলাইন-টিভি
A40	<i>Rohingya Shongkot Niye Bangladesh O Myanmar-ke Niye Boshche Chin</i> [China Set to Begin Discussion with Bangladesh and Myanmar on Rohingya Crisis]. (2019, October 28). <i>Prothom Alo</i> . Retrieved from https://www.prothomalo.com/bangladesh/রোহিঙ্গা-সংকট-নিয়ে-বাংলাদেশ-ও-মিয়ানমারকে-নিয়ে-বসছে