



Stateless In South Asia: A Discourse Analysis Of Rohingya Muslim Crisis Coverage By News Organizations Of Myanmar, Bangladesh And India

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Abstract:

Based on Discourse analysis, this research article analyses the coverage of Rohingya Muslim refugee crisis by English language newspapers from Myanmar, Bangladesh and India. To gain insights into the construction of the portrayal of Rohingya Muslims, news articles of The Myanmar Times, Prothom Alo, and Times of India are considered. The discourse unveiled that the mainstream media newspapers have tried to conform to the popular opinion and obey the ideology and narrative put forth by the governments. The politicisation of the news articles has led to the understanding of the issue being more dogmatic of this dichotomy rather than of the demand of the denied human rights of the Rohingya Muslims.

Keywords: discourse analysis, news articles, portrayal of refugees, Rohingya Muslims,

Introduction

Refugee Crisis Around the world

A surge in the refugee crisis is dominant in the world since the last half decade. As per the statistics, in 2013, more than 50 million people were forcibly displaced from their place of residence, an alarming number after World War II. The figures of people who are displaced worldwide have now reached 68 million. Out of that more than one third of people – around 25.4 million – are displaced from their own countries, leaving their homes behind. Over two-thirds of those refugees come from only five countries, namely Syria, Afghanistan,

South Sudan, Myanmar and Somalia. (Amnesty, 2015) Syrian mass exodus and the influx of refugees in the European continent has been seem as one of the biggest refugee crises in the world's history. The scale of the refugee crisis of Syria has been enough for them to outweigh the other refugee crises in the world. (Amnesty, 2015)

South East Asia is no alien to refugee crisis. From the partition of India, to annexures of various regions by various countries, there have been consequential displacements and refugee crises. Myanmar has a long history of Rohingya crisis, the only difference perhaps being that it did not grab the attention of the media as much as the other refugee crises did. However, this changed in May 2015, as fishing boats crammed with refugees and migrants from Myanmar and Bangladesh were pushed back to sea by Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia. According to the reports of various newspaper reports, all of the passengers on boat were left without food, water and medical care for a week. This received a lot of attention not just from the local media, but internationally as well this issue was discussed at length and international pressure was levied on the South Asian countries to provide refuge to the Rohingyas stranded in the boats. After much international pressure Philippines, Indonesia and Malaysia decided to take them in.

Myanmar Refugee Crisis

In 2017, violence broke out in Rakhine, the north-western state of Myanmar. Over the course of the next three months more than 700,000 Rohingya have fled to Cox's Bazar, a district in south-east Bangladesh. Before the crisis, Bangladesh was already a host to nearly 300,000 Rohingya refugees who had escaped Myanmar in earlier periods of violence. Nearly one million Rohingya Muslims now reside as refugees in Bangladesh, all relying on the humanitarian aides and assistance from international communities to make ends meet, making it one of the world's largest and worst refugee crises. (Council H. R., 2018)

Myanmar is strongly influenced by an ethnic (Bamar, the majority in the country) and religious (Buddhist) approach. From the point of view of the citizens of Myanmar, Rohingyas are Bengalis who came to Myanmar during the partition and colonisation period of India by the British. Muslims have a long history and connect with the Rakhine region in Myanmar, however with increasing conflicts, Muslims have been subjected to ostracization. Because of this, Rohingyas have become non-state actors (NSAs). They are considered foreign entities and a threat to the nation. (IBRAHIM, 2016)

This crisis has had a deep impact on the demographics and politics of South-east Asia. India and Bangladesh share borders with Myanmar and it is clear that Dhaka and New Delhi are affected by the crisis because of humanitarian, political, religious and geopolitical reasons. Bangladesh shares a 193 km border with Myanmar's Rakhine State and India shares a 1,624 km border with Myanmar. Also, India being a prospective developed and superpower country, that seems to have an influence in its regional environment, and secular nation-state with Muslim demographics standing second to its Hindu population and with Muslim majority Bangladesh, these two nations become a point of easy access for the refugees to ask for refuge. In a macroscopic view, the Rohingya crisis has affected not just the internal harmony of Myanmar but has affected other countries in South Asia.

Media Role in case of crisis

In case of any crisis, mainstream media plays an important role of being a key and trusted resources for officials and public to make sense and take action in the course of events that is framing of any particular event. Patterns in media coverage about refugee crisis depend on the context and target audience, producing divergent storytelling on the same issue and potentially affecting public perception differently. (Bazzi, 2009) Media framing of the crisis has the potential power to influence public perception. The specific angles like humanitarian crisis, security threat, effects on economy and welfare, shapes the political debate. (Ostran, 2015)

Media also draws on widespread opinions and collective 'common sense', by using arguments that have a long history and have proved to be persuasive for readers. The construction and representation of the refugee crisis is culturally and historically specific. Media is at the centre of the discussion formation and performs a crucial role in representation of social relationship between two unequal communities and always plays on the cultural power. (Ostran, 2015) Academic literature has also highlighted issues of concern regarding the stereotyping of migrants, refugees and other minorities in certain media, which may result in prejudice and discriminatory attitudes against individual representatives of such groups and the rejection of cultural diversity altogether. (Bazzi, 2009) There is a growing volume of literature applying a critical approach to the media coverage of migration, predominantly refugee crises of an international scale.

One of the predominant area that has been researched in this area is the anthropological or historical account of the Rohingya Muslims, their identification of an ethnic community and the crisis, the clashes and violence. (Ibrahim Azeem, 2016 and NN Kyaw, 2008) These narratives are inclined towards sympathising with the Rohingya Muslims and outright produce discussions of the Myanmar government being at fault, or the military abusing their power. A cross-sectional study of mental health among the Rohingya refugees settled in camps in Bangladesh were tested for mental health and indicative mental ailments and disorders. (Riley A, 2017)

In order to study the coverage of Rohingya Muslim refugee crisis of 2017 by newspaper organisations from India, Bangladesh and Myanmar on refugee crisis revolving around the mass exodus of 25th August 2017 to 25th of August 2018., the following objectives have been framed.

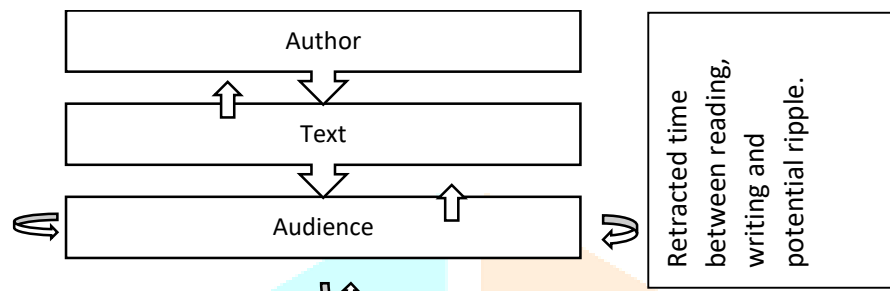
- To understand the historical description and nature of conflict of Rohingyas as the centre of the representations of the coverage of the mass exodus of Rohingyas with respect to the socio-political, cultural and economic references of the Rohingyas
- To scrutinize the discussions put forth in the coverage of Rohingya Muslim refugee crisis by highest circulated English language newspaper of India, Bangladesh and Myanmar in order to trace the standpoints of the newspapers from social, political, cultural and economic dimensions.
- To analyse the discussions put forth in the coverage of Rohingya Muslim refugee crisis by highest circulated English language newspaper of India, Bangladesh and Myanmar to direct emphasis towards the ideological and discursive underpinnings put forth through the body of text.

As per the requirements of the study, discourse analysis was considered to be the best fit and was selected as the primary method in analysis of the texts. While collecting data, the researchers came across 801 articles. Content analysis was taken up to create a basic grounding of the articles and certain hard data to base certain points of analysis of discourse analysis if any would require the same. For content analysis, the headlines, the journalistic beat of the article, the image published in the article, quotes by Rohingya Muslims, word count, and the source that is the author of the article were taken into consideration. Thus, the content analysis, though in a rudimentary format, provided the assistance to sort through 800 odd articles to choose articles for discourse analysis, finalize themes and sub-themes and profiling of newspapers and countries.

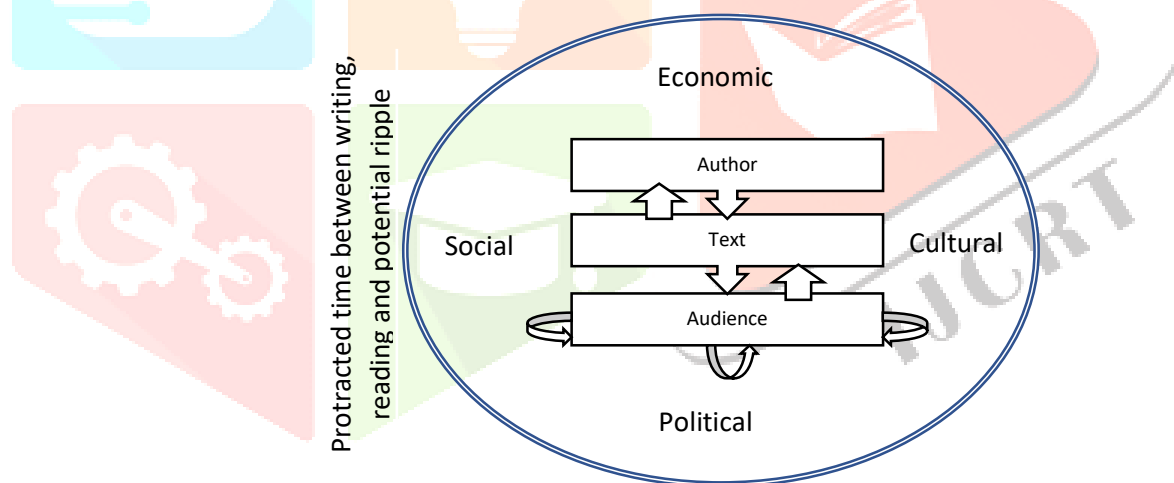
Analytical framework

Two existing models were taken into account for this research and modified as per the requirement of the study. Further, for consolidated analysis, separate themes and sub-themes were identified

The New Participatory Framework is proposed by Anne O'Keefe, that talks about the process of interaction contributing to the discourse of the text. However, this entire process is quite protracted and is limited to the written text, thus to blogs, newspapers, online news media, to name a few.



(New participation framework for written discourse Anne O'Keefe- Media and discourse analysis -The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis)



New participation framework for written discourse
Anne O'Keefe- Media and discourse analysis

The modification includes the addition of the various contributing factors to the model as even the research considers these factors as dimensions to the media discourse in the body of text, in that case, the news articles.

Content Analysis

Content Analysis was conducted to test the themes of the reportage study. Since the analysis provided some important insights, the contribution of a primary content analysis, that can be called categorization at best, has also been included.

Beats

The distribution of articles as per the beats are as follows:

Beats	Myanmar Times	ProthomAlo	Times of India
Political	15	23	22
War	2	8	1
Cultural	-	1	1
Crime	3	6	4
Economic	2	2	2
Editorial/Opinion	-	4	2
Aid	1	-	-
Entertainment	-	-	1

Across all the three newspapers organisations namely Myanmar Times, ProthomAlo and Times of India, politics has taken centre stage. A refugee crisis involving human beings has been looked into from a political angle more, followed by crime in cases of Myanmar Times and Times of India and war in terms of ProthomAlo.

Sources

Sources for the news articles also were taken into consideration. Geographical proximity and the prominence, and considering the financial backing of each of the news organisations, they could have very well sent a field reporter to investigate. However, this choice too, gave an insight and was utilised in the discourse analysis.

Sources	Myanmar Times	ProthomAlo	Times of India
Staff Reporter	21	25	28
News Agencies	2	19	5

ProthomAlo relied on news agencies heavily for their articles even though the refugee camps are set up in Bangladesh. Myanmar Times and Times of India have more of staff reporters' articles published than of news agencies. This move of ProthomAlo's could be aimed at connecting with the international government and political bodies, appealing to the international community at large, since the news agencies, that had their information and articles published by ProthomAlo are international in nature. Bangladesh's interests could align with the international narrative of refugees, or could want more international attention to the issue, or both.

Headlines

The themes utilised for the overall reportage analysis were tested in the headlines and were pre-decided based on the researchers' understanding. They were as follows: People Involved, Act/s of violence, Act/s of displacement, Human acting forces, Legislative bodies, Action/s by government/s and Personal anecdotes

Photos

Photos of	Myanmar Times	ProthomAlo	Times of India
Rohingya	-	15	8
Military	2	4	-
Officials	15	12	7
Location	2	3	2
Other people	-	4	8

For the photos published with the article, the trend was similar to that of the headlines. Quite interestingly, in the case of Myanmar, not a single picture of the Rohingya Muslims was published and only 2 pictures of the military were published even though the nation-state is a military state.

Quotes

Quotes of Rohingyas	Myanmar Times	ProthomAlo	Times of India
Number	1	20	5

When it came to publishing the personal quotes of Rohingya Muslims, Myanmar Times once again refrained from giving more than one quote out of 23 articles. ProthomAlo took the lead in voicing out the opinions of the Rohingya Muslims with Times of India still managing 5.

Overall, Myanmar Times and Times of India, both seemed to have focused more on the government, the officials and the entire politicisation of the crisis. Bangladesh on the other hand put forth more stories depicting the Rohingya Muslims, using their quotes and images as well. This could reflect on a possible humanitarian side that Bangladesh wants to incorporate in its image.

	Micro	Macro		Style	Rhetoric	Superstructure
Semantic	X	X		X	X	X
Pragmatic	X	X		X	X	X
Social	X	X		X	X	X
Cultural	X	X		X	X	X
Political	X	X		X	X	X
Economic	X	X		X	X	X
Levels and dimensions of Discourse Analysis- 'News As Discourse', Van Dijk						

Discourse Analysis:

This framework is vital for this research as the individual news articles have been analysed by this modified model and the overall analysis of all of the articles too has elements that were located using this model. Semantic and Pragmatic as dimensions have been retained. These two levels would provide the researchers with an insight into the framing aspect of the news article. Even though style would look at 'ways of being'

of the particular excerpt from the article, it essential for the researchers to draw onto the reasons of the same as well. Semantics and pragmatics thus, has not be looked without the reference of other dimensions or were linked eventually in the overall analysis to other dimensions.

Newspapers: Myanmar, Bangladesh and India

Myanmar:

Delving into the semantics and the pragmatic elements of the articles, the wording of the articles were not too elaborate and was kept as simple as it could get. These words carried connotations that could be realised through contexts of other dimensions either social, cultural, economic or political. The framing and the stylistic attempts in the articles were for the reporting to seem quite unambiguous, straightforward and as objective as possible. The newspaper tried to put up an image of reporting the reality, with no other bias. However, the newspaper did seem to be in line with the government's perspective on the entire issue. The stylistic features of the article most times did not resemble the journalistic styles that are followed such as inverted pyramid. However, the framing and the narrative structure of the articles did show a bias that Myanmar had developed over time. On the face of the articles, the reporting seemed to chalk simply the crime or the criminal act.

However, pragmatic functions such as tagging Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) members as 'terrorists', clearly highlight the government's efforts to create an image of the narrative of the 'hero' and the 'villain', as is done by most countries while they are at war with another country (or counterpart).

This is seen through a lot of pathos that they wish to create. There is a heavy use of rhetoric tools; ethos, pathos and logos have been applied to a vast extent. However, rhetoric tools too need to be understood in the contextual settings that would enable the audience to understand the text in the way the author intended. As contextualisation has been central to the entire process and the study itself, Myanmar too has adopted this well enough. There is not much focus on the style of the articles and the linguistic patterns in the articles.

A lot of semantic and pragmatic elements have been applied in the articles in order to address to the superstructures. This is highly evident in the cultural article that is about the Pope's visit to Myanmar. To describe the Pope and his visit, the amount of glorification utilised for the same are indicative of the hold and the dominance of the West and the utilisation of religion as a method to achieve that. For Myanmar, it is

establishing diplomacy among other countries and with the Pope, it tries to highlight the fact that Myanmar is inclusive of different religions, a point they need to emphasize on since the Rohingya issue has sparked a religious debate. This religious debate now requires Myanmar to even assure the international community of the social integration of all religions and cultures. The effort to establish social integration and harmony is not just meant for the international audience, but also for the citizens of Myanmar. It helps retain the popular opinion in the country to be on the same wavelength to that of the government's stand, or even the military's. Vietnam War has been set as an example that doesn't matter whether the war is being fought on domestic or international soil, the public opinion should not differ from the government's stand. Myanmar has a bigger problem of the crisis being on its very own soil.

News that mentions the displacement and violence against Buddhists and Hindus exhume the religious hierarchy prevalent in Myanmar. There is a clear lack of socio-cultural integration that is put across, but there seems no assurance of that changing since the article that contains excerpts of the State Chancellor's speech, does not contain promise of fostering socio-cultural integration but talks about the peace and repatriation talks with Bangladesh and socio-economic development in the Rakhine state region.

The lack of description of the word 'refugee', the lack of acknowledgment of the refugee camps, all contribute to the government's stand of not recognising Rohingya Muslims as ethnic minorities. The divide between the society has been diverted towards the poor and the rich as the Pope visit article talks about the same. In all of the articles high weightage of the political facets and aspects than any other dimension was visible. The Pope's visit was to foster political diplomacy as clearly mentioned in the article, the speech by the State Chancellor was published at a right time where she was forced by the international community to speak for the Rohingya Muslims, and the article on European Union was to emphasize upon the international relations that Myanmar has and the reporting of the dead bodies of the Hindus being found too was very politically charged.

The economic aspects and stability were highlighted in two articles. Myanmar's effort to showcase internal harmony have been prevalent across all the dimensions. In the speech by Daw Aung San Suu Ki, she explained of how there is socio-economic development in the region of Rakhine in the pipeline; some initiatives set already in action, some proposed. The investment into the Rakhine state for development of roads and accessibility seems like the government is working towards the comfort of the people in the disturbed region, but it latently agrees that the area was neglected as well, it was not invested into and probably the construction

of roads would only enable the military to have a better, rather dominant presence there. The Myanmar in general tries to paint a rosy picture of the country's finances, social, cultural and political dynamics and treat the Rohingya crisis as a small hiccup.

The images used in the articles are all of people who have political power in Myanmar namely, State Chancellor and the military. There is one image of Pope Francis however it is with the State Chancellor. These images indicate a very controlled media environment of the reporting being restricted to the official, sanctioned information. Myanmar Times' investor is one of the military generals and the newspaper automatically displays the vested interests of the investors. The entire styling and phrasing of the articles in Myanmar Times have been of decorative style, with descriptive language used to highlight the superstructure and direct attention towards the government and the government's ideology. The articles when looked through the scheme of analysis, Myanmar Times seemed like a mouthpiece for the Myanmar government, ultimately the Myanmar military. Through the articles, Myanmar Times has tried to mimic a public broadcasting service in the process. A public broadcasting service does not and cannot question its government and so doesn't Myanmar Times.

The reasons for Myanmar Times doing so could be to appease the government and be in sync with the popular opinion

Bangladesh

As the semantics and pragmatics of the articles were studied, the micro level incidences and details were highlighted with vivid linguistic backing. Detailed description with vivid linguistic backing included excerpts such as "squalid camps", "brutal military crackdown", "systematic Rohingya crackdown plan", "persecuted minority" "torched homeland" "slaughter of dozens of Hindus".

The sense to recreate the imagery in the minds of the audiences does seem to be an attempt to create sympathy for the Rohingya Muslims. At a macro level as well, ProthomAlo seems to have a macro level semantic and pragmatic function played to ensure that the topic is discussed in international circles. Detailed explanations of the incidences, utilising flowery language and creating a visual imagery seems to be the style of ProthomAlo.

“On the back of his right shoulder is a large scar, round and concave, a thumb-sized gouge of flesh taken from his body”

In the framing of the articles, there is a prominence of human element and human stories with Rohingyas being central to the narrative of each article. The conditions of the Rohingya Muslims is shown to be a direct effect of the actions by the Myanmar military. Bangladesh seems to directly putting the blame on Myanmar. For the same, it is not just the plight of the Rohingya Muslims that has been highlighted with grave details, it also underscores the actions by the Myanmar military that have been pinned down to vivid details.

“...and removed fencing from their homes for a clearer line of sight.”

“Scars and disfigured skin of Rohingya civilians- men, women and children- tell a different story”

“The Burmese military had come to her home, killed her husband, threw her six-month old into the pond, then raped her repeatedly, finally discarding her in a field.”

This obviously has been done with the intention of wanting to underline the causation and the causal factor of the all of these micro issues. Taking a microscopic perspective also adds to the understanding that Rohingya Muslims are devoid of basic human rights. This entire argument constructed by ProthomAlo does support the stand of the Bangladesh government. There are a lot of rhetoric elements applied that support the other dimensions of study in order to create the stand that ProthomAlo and Bangladesh has. Unlike Myanmar, the articles aren't heavy on contextualising the details and rhetoric tools. The efforts here are to create and enforce the exact opposite of the same. There is a heavy inclination towards the logos and pathos of rhetoric and trying to create the desired effect. Numbers have been mentioned wherever possible and also addressal to the victims and the reiterated mention of the crime, adds to the sense of logos and pathos simultaneously.

“Aid group Doctors Without Borders says it has treated more than 2600 patients for injuries from bullets, knives and burns-- the figure does not include women subjected to sexual violence.”

Interestingly, there were some elements of logos that were used in multiple articles by merely paraphrasing.

“...700,00 Rohingyas fled terror..” has been published in another article as “....700,000 Rohingyas who fled the bloody purge.”

Bangladesh is heavy on trying to create the rhetoric in social and cultural dimensions by emphasizing on the rights of the rights of the Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar. They try to play the fact of Myanmar's religious majority being not of Muslims but of Buddhists. In a country like Bangladesh, a Muslim majority, it is easier to use religion for creating the imagery of socio-cultural divide in Myanmar. The utilisation of faith does aid Bangladesh to create a near-uniform opinion in the country. It plays on two levels- micro and macro. At the micro level, it helps to create and maintain the popular opinion in the country and at the macro level it helps to construct a narrative for the refugees and Bangladesh's role in providing them with refuge.

"The Rohingya have long lived in Rakhine but are seem as outsiders in Buddhist-majority Myanmar after years of marginalisation propaganda from successive military regimes."

"Prayers were offered in makeshift mosque"

There is a strong sense of pathos being created by ProthomAlo articles through sentences such as the following. This creates a sense of how the fundamental aspects of a person's culture too are a luxury now. For Muslims, offering prayer and visiting the mosque is fundamental to their beliefs and the mention of makeshift mosque does take us to the next element the cultural and religious aspect

At a micro level, super powers and their economic hegemony has brought to light by talking about the veto powers that they enjoy. Russia and China, both part of the same continent and both super powers enjoy the permanent positions in the security council of United Nations. The superstructure and the power dynamics that Myanmar subscribes to is similar to that of Russias and Chinas. They could very well discuss the Rohingya crisis at the meetings of UNSE, however as per the claims of Bangladesh, due to economic interests they are unlikely to do so. In the article that talks about this precedence of vested economic interest over a refugee crisis, ProthomAlo tries to display that it takes on the super structures be it economic or political and tries to create a sense of humanitarian crisis being pushed aside to gain and retain power.

There are certain key elements discussed by ProthomAlo that no other news organisation in our sample has talked about. This includes 1) The limited power of Daw Aung San Syu Ki and 2) The political hegemony of the superpowers and how its plays in the favour of Myanmar. For this, two articles are key to the analysis. One article talking about the a delegation of three women Nobel Peace laureates demanding action from Nobel Peace winner Aung San Syu Ki. This article tries bring to light the power of the military and the hypocritical

stand the State Chancellor has to take due to this power. The second article talks about United Nations calling the crisis an ethnic cleansing act by the Myanmar military rather than a genocide. A case is also created for the crisis to be tagged as genocide. ProthomAlo also talks about how if the crisis is tagged as genocide then the United Nations would have to take action against Myanmar and since Russia and China as mentioned earlier, would not let that happen, this hegemonic practice is tried to be made apparent.

In doing so ProthomAlo does align with the interests as those of Bangladesh's. Through these articles it appeared that Bangladesh wants to achieve the agenda of pleasing the Muslim majority in the country, pinning down the blame on Myanmar and creating sympathy for Rohingya Muslims and creating an altruistic image for itself.

India

The articles selected from Times of India were as per pre-decided criteria. The cultural article for Times of India is about celebration of Ramzan in camp. The article under crime section talked about killing of Hindu people by Rohingya army based on report by Amnesty International. One of the political articles was about remarks on Rohingya by senior Muslim leader of a national party in India. The second article was about the problem faced by local people in Cox Bazaar because of Rohingya.

The semantic-pragmatic levels are used to describe different events and conditions of Rohingya in detail. As language used in the article tries to maintain journalistic standards but metaphor is also used to make more meaning.

“...dismal campsite with its wild growth of shrubs and muddy ditches seems to reflect their faith.”

Also vivid description of attack on Hindus, Ramzan celebration in camp and thoughts of local hosts on Rohingya create more sympathy towards different victims in each article. As they were three different articles emphasizing on three different victims.

“Rohingya terrorists robbed & killed innocent villagers”

This headline of the article about Rohingyas' attack on Hindu villages starts with the term 'Rohingya Terrorists' shatters the image of Rohingya as refugees. This article also contains quotes from Hindu victims which is a tool for political pathos in order to create sympathy and shows connection for Hindus. In the second article they

mostly contain thoughts of local Bangladeshi host from cox bazaar. They talk about their fear about rohingyamuslims and how they started to hate them. Convinced that they are a burden and living luxurious lives.

–“..but the refugees seem to have accepted that uncertainty has become a part of their life since they fled Myanmar to escape persecution.”

As rhetorically it create more sympathy towards Rohingya and portrayed rohingya as victims. As this article is completely opposite to first two article but still it does not mention about Myanmar army. It refer to India's stand on crisis. As India openly never blame or supported Myanmar government. At global level it has maintain a suitable distance from crisis. In other article which is about statement from national party and community leader. This article indicate a political situation of rohingya in India. As a ruling party in India is pro-Hindu government. How crisis is used by political parties for their political profit.

As India is a Hindu majority country and Hindu-Muslim divide is going on from many throughout the ages and pro Hindu government is in power. This has been reflected in news reports of TOI. As TOI is business oriented newspaper it always glow with a flow of popular opinion. And it always find itself on same page as government. It created a image of rohingya as a treat to country which gives more support to government decision to deport back Rohingya. But super structurally is also create a new side of rohingya which is completely opposite to rohingya poor refugee portrayed.

Through this article TOI has appeared to achieve the agenda of challenging the notion that Rohingyas are victims, poor, and trying to portray them as rich, criminals and terrorists as well, Finding actions by Myanmar to be justified and Hosting refugees has started to pose problems such as economic problems and lack of social integration. These articles have created an image of Rohingya as a threat to country and they should not be given asylum in country. As popular opinion and government decision are reflected through this one can say India does not want to take a risk of refugee also it tries to maintain good political relationship with Myanmar.

Portrayal of Rohingyas in Myanmar, Bangladesh and Indian newspapers

Myanmar Times through the articles attached certain adjectives to the Rohingya Muslims such as ‘terrorists’, ‘criminals’. This deliberate, incessant tagging of the Rohingya Muslims as terrorists, created an image of them

stating a dichotomy of the conflict. At the other end of the dichotomy, the Myanmar government portrayed itself and the Buddhist, Hindu and Rakhine native population as the victims of the crime. In doing so, the Myanmar military has also put forth the actions taken by them only as a retaliatory action against the criminal activities of the Rohingya Muslims. Myanmar further tries to create a wave of sympathy towards the Myanmar government and those who have been victims of the criminal acts carried out by Rohingya Muslims. Here, the government does not even stop to pull out the religion card, since they have been dealing with it at a national level. They target the Muslims against the Hindus and justify the actions and the alliance with India at an intellectual level. Ultimately, Myanmar also tries to challenge the western narrative of looking at refugees as victims, helpless human beings and overtly explains that this narrative does not hold true in case of Myanmar.

Bangladesh is in stark contradiction with the narrative and the portrayal that Myanmar puts forth. Bangladesh ensures that the plight of the Rohingya Muslims is seen, is highlighted and sympathised by people throughout. Rohingya Muslims have been portrayed as victims, as helpless people who require the aide and the assistance from countries. They focus on the struggle of the Rohingya Muslims have to go through in order to attain and enjoy their human rights. There is a lot of vivid description of the violent acts that were carried out against the Rohingya Muslims and the conditions that they have lived and live in. This creates a mental imagery and a wave of sympathy from the audiences. This would account for more aide, more investments thus reducing the burden from Bangladesh itself. In order to do so, Bangladesh avoids talking about the criminal acts that the Rohingyas have carried out against the Myanmar government and citizens. In doing all of this, Bangladesh too has played the religion card shamelessly, by identifying the majority religion to be Muslim and appealing to other rich Muslim countries like those in Middle East to come to the aide. Through all of this, Bangladesh goes further and tries to elevate its position in the international standing. They try to portray themselves as a messiah, a saviour for the Rohingyas and try to fight for the human rights of the Rohingya Muslims for creating pressure on Myanmar and ultimately repatriating Rohingyas back to Myanmar.

Rohingya Muslims have been portrayed through the lens of centre-right – as criminals and as victims, both; or so it may seem. India has been able to mask the attack on Rohingya Muslims terrorists and criminals as a concern for the socio-economic and political environment of South Asia. India has predominantly tried to place the Rohingya Muslims as the perpetrators of the atrocities and the criminals against the Hindu population

of Myanmar. India tries to create justification of the decision of the country rejecting to house Rohingya Muslims in India. To ensure this, India has tried to highlight not just the atrocities and the acts of the Rohingya Muslims but has also tried to justify the acts by the Myanmar military till a certain limit. Also, the socio-economic conditions of the Rohingya Muslims in the refugee camps being a drastic downfall in their lifestyle, and the economic burden of the Rohingyas being too much for Bangladesh. There is also another element of growing hostility among the citizens of Bangladesh and Rohingya Muslims. All of these elements add to the narrative and image of justification for India more than the portrayal of Rohingya.

The reportage and the stand by country on the pre-identified themes were as follows:

People involved:

Myanmar talks about the people involved in a sense of disassociating them as humans. Among the people involved, Myanmar covers Buddhists, who they consider as natives of Myanmar, as the victims. The mention of Buddhists has been limited to only provide numeric data regarding those who have been affected by the crisis. The divide between Hindus and Muslims has been emphasized. Hindus are portrayed as the victims and Rohingya Muslims have been portrayed to be terrorists. In the article covering the State Chancellors speech, she mentions Muslims and Rakhines to have fled their homes such as Daing-Net, Mro, Thet, Mramagyi and Hindus. Even Christians are addressed to with detailed figures in an article of the Pope's visit. In a country that is Buddhist majority, however still houses other religions as well, the Pope visiting the Buddhist leaders does talk about the dominance of one religion over others in the country.

Bangladesh, a Muslim majority has predominantly focused on reporting Rohingya Muslims as victims. Although the crisis did involve multiple ethnic groups, Bangladesh does not address their plight. Prothom Alo gives a passing reference to the Hindus by claiming that the government of Myanmar has accused Rohingya's of murdering Hindus. Interestingly, Bangladesh calls Buddhists as militants who have attacked on the Rohingya's. This as well is a mere passing reference but indicates how Bangladesh wants to construct the image of the Rohingya Muslims as the primary victim in the entire ordeal. Any other ethnic community has been reported with either comparative apathy or has been blamed for the condition of the Rohingya Muslims. Times of India discusses Rohingya Muslims, Hindus, Muslims and Buddhists in their coverage. Rohingya Muslims have been tagged as terrorists and Hindus have been tagged as the victims in this crisis. The

Buddhists are portrayed as the natives of Myanmar. There is a strong Hindu-Muslim divide marked in the articles of Times of India. It also tries to showcase that Hinduism is the dominant religion in India most probably in order to appease the popular opinion and the rightist government. Further, developing the Rohingyas as criminal, violent people is seen to be central to another article by Times of India.

Acts of violence:

The entire crisis revolves around multiple acts of violence either committed by ARSA or the Myanmar military. The reportage of these acts of violence has varied levels of intensity which in Myanmar Times changed as per the perpetrator of the act. If the crime has been committed, by the ARSA, then those acts are tagged with vivid descriptions and labelled as nothing less than terrorist acts. However if the action has been taken by the Myanmar military then those actions are justified as retaliatory attacks or as contributions to the efforts undertaken by the military to restore peace and order in the region. In an exceptional case of the article that talks about European Union's view on the entire crisis the criminal acts by the military are termed as 'disproportionate use of force' and 'clearance operation'. These indicate excessive usage of force, however also claim that force in certain proportion was required. Thus through the coverage, Myanmar tries to justify the army's actions and intensify the severity of the acts by ARSA.

By mentioning the acts of violence with vivid details and description, Bangladesh wants the audience to have a visual imagery formulated that would help in contributing to the creation of sympathy towards Rohingya Muslims. Acts of violence by the Myanmar military have been discussed in grave detail with words such as ethnic cleansing, systematic crackdown, killing, rape being used repeatedly.

Acts of violence have been described in grave detail with vivid adjectives used to explain the actions. There are words such as 'slaughter' 'killing', 'rape' etc being used to describe criminal activities. These criminal activities are largely by Rohingya Muslims on Hindus in Myanmar. Acts of violence by the Myanmar military have been termed as 'disproportionate campaign of violence' hinting at the violent nature of the act on the surface level, and hinting at the campaign of violence being justified although in certain proportion. There are also mentions of how attacks on the Myanmar security forces by the ARSA.

Act of displacement:

The entire refugee crisis regained spotlight due to the mass exodus of Rohingya Muslims from Myanmar to Bangladesh on 25th August 2017. Interestingly, Myanmar does not acknowledge the displacement of Rohingya Muslims and them seeking refuge in Bangladesh in overt statements. Myanmar however acknowledges the internal displacement of Hindus and Buddhists due to their conflict with Rohingya Muslims. In the speech made by the State Chancellor, she acknowledges that the Muslims have had to 'flee their homes' but emphasizes on the fact of displacement of other ethnic communities due to this conflict as well. None of the articles express Myanmar Governments stand on efforts for repatriation.

Bangladesh hosts the largest number of Rohingya refugees in the world. As expected Bangladesh talks about the acts of displacement of the Rohingyas. ProthomAlo mentions acts as fleeing, expulsion, and seeking refuge as the acts of Rohingyas were forced into. Bangladesh evades addressing this as mass exodus or mass influx in order to avoid portrayal of being overwhelmed by the number of Rohingyas seeking refuge in Bangladesh. The acts of immigration of Rohingya Muslims to Bangladesh has been tagged as 'fleeing'. However, the migration of the Rohingya Muslims has been included as a passing reference in most of the articles elaborating on the conditions of the Hindus in Myanmar. There is no mention of the actual act of Rohingya Muslims seeking refuge or in some cases asylum. This displacement has also been mentioned as 'Rohingya refugees come and settle' as making it sound too normal to happen.

Human acting forces:

Myanmar being controlled by the Myanmar military thus mentions the army and the actions by them as actions carried out for the countries peace and order. The Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army on the other hand is shown to be a group of terrorist.

In stark contradiction to Myanmar, Bangladesh pins down Myanmar military abusing the power it enjoys in the country. It also mentions of Buddhist in Myanmar resorting to violence by calling them Buddhist militants. Both of these human acting forces as per the narrative created by Bangladesh are to be heavily blamed for the crisis.

Reportage of ARSA and the Myanmar army has been throughout the articles. ARSA has been reported as a violent group of Rohingya Muslims with them being called a rebel group, terrorists and propagators of the

Hindu-Muslim divide. Myanmar military has been addressed in passing remarks that talk about the attacks of 25th August 2017.

Legislative bodies:

In case of reportage of legislative bodies, Myanmar Times talks about the Myanmar Government quite extensively, their efforts to restore peace and harmony, the investigations undertaken by the government officials and covering an entire speech of State Chancellor. They address the European Union and The United Nations by explaining the pressure they have built upon the Myanmar Government to take action and work towards peace. Myanmar Times does not mention the Bangladesh Governments stand on the entire crisis. The mention of EU and UN's pressure on one hand talks about the control and the larger superstructure that Myanmar is a part of, but on the other hand the mention of only pressurising the government addresses to the significant role these two legislative bodies have.

Bangladesh tries hard to unearth the political hegemony Russia and China are practising in order to protect their economic interest in Myanmar. In the articles Bangladesh has mentioned how the efforts undertaken by European Union, ASEAN, United Nations and the Myanmar Government have failed to restore peace in the State of Rakhine. It also hints at how these legislative bodies could do more yet do not put force into the matter.

India looks at Bangladesh being victim and relentlessly being forced to accept the refugees. China, Myanmar, and India are shown to be on their own missions of trying to showcase the narrative of Rohingyas being terrorists and not the victims with other ethnic groups being victims to the acts of Rohingyas. Even Amnesty International has been quoted in one of the articles that conforms to this narrative.

Actions by the government:

In the reportage of the actions by the government, Myanmar Times ensures that it highlights the humanistic actions of the government in the reports. Actions such as border control, ethnic cleansing has been avoided throughout the reportage. Policies for development, scheduling peace talks with the neighbouring countries are central to the coverage of the government's actions.

The Bangladesh government has granted refuge to 700 000 Rohingya Muslims in Bangladesh and the news reports have ensured that this has been highlighted by repeating it across several articles. Actions taken by the Myanmar government have been showcased as humanitarian efforts.

Actions by India are highlighted than the ones that Bangladesh has taken. India's decision to not accept the refugees and the Court hearing has been discussed at great lengths. The decision by the Bangladesh government of granting refuge has not been covered. However, repatriation talks are hinted at by indicating at the fact that the citizens of Bangladesh are expecting repatriation and rehabilitation to happen.

Personal anecdotes

Throughout the articles selected for the discourse analysis, none of the articles publish a quote of the people involved apart from the Hindus that suffered a violent attack from the Rohingya Muslims and State Chancellor as part of her much awaited and demanded speech. The very lack of mentioning the opinions of Rohingya Muslims does indicate them to not have a voice in the country of Myanmar.

Recollection of the attacks on Rohingya Muslims have been mentioned with prominence. The condition of Rohingyas in the refugee camps too has been mentioned through the testimonies of Rohingya Muslims. Statements by the Nobel laureate delegation and international university professors all tried to aim at supporting the Rohingya Muslims and call for acknowledgement of the term genocide in this crisis.

The quotes of Bangladesh citizens burdened by the Rohingya refugees, Hindus in Myanmar who have suffered from the violent attack of the ARSA have been highlighted. Azam Khan, an Indian political has been quoted throughout an article, with his opinion on the Muslims in India being central to the article. Quotes of government officials and Amnesty international that subscribe to fact that Rohingyas have inflicted violence are highlighted as well. In the cultural article, the condition of the Rohingya Muslims in refugee camps has been elaborated. Here the quotes of the Rohingyas have been taken however pertaining to a specific event.

Conclusion:

The three nation-states selected for this research are developing countries and have less number of English news readers compared to regional language newspapers in the respective countries. The English newspapers are mostly used for creating an appeal to the developed world and international bodies. As per Amnesty report (2016), world leaders mostly ignore the refugee crisis in non-developed countries to suit their convenience.

English newspapers often are used to levy more pressure on world leaders to act on behalf of the respective country's interest. Myanmar tried to establish its stable country images through Myanmar times and India created some negative side of Rohingya as they were least interested in hosting refugees. These were efforts on their parts to keep the developed countries on the buffers so as to not be pressurized to take an action, which they desist. The Amnesty report does hold true to its ground as there hasn't been much interference by the Western powers till the date, the researchers write this dissertation. This could be as the Amnesty report mentions ignorance on their part.

The entire study is comprised of various dynamic elements and thus these acceptance and rebuttals or modifications of past literature could be valid for the period of time that the researchers refer to. However, throughout the course of the study, there have been various studies that have guided the analysis and those could very well be considered as accepted literature. Finally, this study is deeply rooted in history, sociology, economics, politics, psychology and even linguistics. The same study can be looked at from these various faculties as well.

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