

A CORPUS-ASSISTED DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE
REPRESENTATION OF THE 2017 ROHINGYA CRISIS IN
THE DAILY STAR

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FACULTY OF LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS
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**A CORPUS-ASSISTED DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE REPRESENTATION
OF THE 2017 ROHINGYA CRISIS IN *THE DAILY STAR***

ABSTRACT

There is a noteworthy lack of research on media coverage of refugees and other minority groups in South Asia. The aim of this study is to examine the discursive construction of the 2017 Rohingya Crisis and the representation of key social actors in *The Daily Star*, a popular Bangladeshi newspaper. The corpus contains 406 online articles reporting the Rohingya issue, published on *The Daily Star*'s website from August 2017 to August 2018. A mixed method combining quantitative and qualitative techniques from Corpus Linguistics and Discourse Analysis is utilized to analyze the data. Using the corpus analysis software AntConc 3.5.8, collocations, clusters, and concordances of key terms are explored in order to identify prominent discourses. Simultaneously, textual analysis is carried out on extracts using van Leeuwen's (1996, 2008) socio-semantic network model. This work is intended to enrich studies on refugee and migration issues, besides adding to existing literature on the Rohingya. Findings show that the Rohingya are predominantly portrayed as victims, followed by representation as problems and burdens in the host country. Myanmar is mostly represented as a savage and a violator of human rights. Bangladesh is represented as a savior to the Rohingya, while at the same time being depicted as being challenged by the Rohingya presence in the country. The Rohingya crisis is simultaneously constructed as a humanitarian issue and a securitarian one. Implications are discussed and avenues for further study are suggested.

Keywords: corpus assisted discourse studies, Bangladesh, news media, Rohingya crisis, social actor representation, van Leeuwen.

**ANALISIS WACANA BERBANTU KORPUS TENTANG PEMAPARAN
KRISIS ROHINGYA PADA TAHUN 2017 DALAM AKHBAR *THE DAILY STAR***

ABSTRAK

Terdapat kekurangan penyelidikan mengenai liputan media terhadap pelarian dan kumpulan minoriti lain di Asia Selatan. Tujuan kajian ini adalah untuk meneliti pembinaan kewacanaan Krisis Rohingya pada tahun 2017 dan pemaparan pelaku sosial utama dalam *The Daily Star*, akhbar Bangladesh yang popular. Korpus yang digunakan mengandungi 406 artikel dalam talian yang melaporkan isu Rohingya, yang disiarkan pada tapak sesawang *The Daily Star* sejak Ogos 2017 sehingga Ogos 2018. Kaedah campuran yang menggabungkan teknik kuantitatif dan kualitatif daripada Linguistik Korpus dan Analisis Wacana digunakan untuk menganalisis data. Menggunakan perisian analisis korpus AntConc 3.5.8, kolokasi dan konkordans kata kunci dikaji untuk mengenal pasti wacana yang menonjol. Pada masa yang sama, analisis teks dilakukan terhadap petikan akhbar menggunakan model rangkaian sosio-semantik van Leeuwen (1996, 2008). Usaha kajian ini diharapkan dapat memperkaya kajian tentang isu-isu pelarian dan penghijrahan, selain menambah kesusasteraan sedia ada mengenai Rohingya. Dapatan menunjukkan bahawa rakyat Rohingya sebahagian besarnya digambarkan sebagai mangsa, diikuti dengan gambaran sebagai masalah dan beban di negara tuan rumah. Negara Myanmar kebanyakannya digambarkan sebagai liar dan pelanggar hak asasi manusia, manakala Bangladesh ditunjukkan sebagai penyelamat kepada rakyat Rohingya, sementara pada masa yang sama juga digambarkan sebagai pihak yang tercabar dengan kehadiran rakyat Rohingya di negara tersebut. Krisis Rohingya dilihat terbina sebagai isu kemanusiaan dan isu keselamatan pada masa yang sama. Implikasinya telah dihuraikan dan usaha bagi kajian lanjut adalah digalakkan.

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LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ARSA	:	Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army
BNC	:	British National Corpus
CADS	:	Corpus-assisted discourse studies
CDA	:	Critical Discourse Analysis
CDS	:	Critical Discourse Studies
CL	:	Corpus Linguistics
DA	:	Discourse Analysis
ERT	:	Equal Rights Trust
EU	:	European Union
HRW	:	Human Rights Watch
IOM	:	International Organization for Migration
MSF	:	Médecins Sans Frontières
NGO	:	Non-governmental Organization
NLD	:	National League for Democracy
OCR	:	Optional Character Recognition
RAS	:	Refugees and Asylum Seekers
RASIM	:	Refugees, Asylum Seekers, Immigrants, and Migrants
UN	:	United Nations
UNHCR	:	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This research examines how social actors are represented in a Bangladeshi English language newspaper- *The Daily Star*, by analyzing a year of coverage of the 2017 Rohingya crisis. It also explores the discursive construction of the crisis itself, which saw about 700,000 Rohingya refugees cross over from Myanmar to Bangladesh. Discourse studies have examined refugee representation in media for decades, especially in the West, where research on refugees and asylum seekers (RAS) is abundant. Scholars have found that RAS are represented most often as victims, homogenous out-groups, economic burdens, and security threats. Comparatively, studies in Asia are significantly fewer, considering Asia not only makes up around half of the world's refugee population, but also hosts the majority of this population. For instance, Turkey has over 3 million Syrian refugees, Pakistan has over 1.5 million Afghan refugees, and Bangladesh has over 1 million Rohingya refugees. In fact, a United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] report from 2017 claims that developing countries in Asia and Africa host 84% of the world's refugee population (UNHCR, 2017). Discourse studies on refugees in Asia that have been done so far have found similar patterns repeated from Western representations of RAS.

Limited attention has been given to the Rohingya, who are not only refugees, but stateless refugees due to not being recognized or accepted as legal citizens in Myanmar, where they claim citizenship. This research intends to explore how the Rohingya are represented in media- more specifically, the media of a host country, Bangladesh, in the context of the Rohingya refugee crisis of 2017, during which over 600,000 Rohingya fled from Myanmar to Bangladesh between August and October alone. Since a well-rounded understanding of their representation warrants examination of the discourses involved, this research endeavors to analyze the representations of two other main social actors,

Bangladesh and Myanmar, alongside that of the Rohingya, in order to facilitate this understanding. Besides this, the research also intends to study how the crisis itself is discursively constructed, since studies that have looked at the construction of the phrase 'refugee crisis' more limited.

I begin with a discussion about statelessness in relation to the Rohingya and explain the humanitarian crisis they face, followed by some background information about Bangladesh and the newspaper chosen for analysis. This leads to my explanation of the research problem, following which I present my research objectives and research questions. The chapter ends with an overview of subsequent chapters in this dissertation.

1.2 Background of the research

The exponential growth in the amount of people being displaced or compelled to leave their homelands is staggering. By 2017, they numbered 68 million across the world, and almost 26 million of them were classified as refugees (UNHCR, 2018). Ullah & Hossain (as cited in Ullah, 2016) state that Myanmar leads Southeast Asia's contribution to this number, with the Rohingya unarguably being one of the world's most persecuted and vulnerable minority groups.

The Rohingya face a humanitarian crisis, due to being rendered stateless refugees as a result of their citizenship claims being refuted by Myanmar, and due to being subjected to human rights abuses forcing them to flee Myanmar. Bangladesh, the bordering nation to which the Rohingya head, has set up refugee camps and allotted certain forest areas for their shelter, but is widely recognized as itself being a poverty-stricken country, ill-equipped to do much to help.

1.2.1 Statelessness

A stateless person “is not considered as a national by any state under the operation of its law” (UNCHR, 2003). Stateless people are not given the same social and economic rights as those recognized by the state as its citizens, and so they become vulnerable to abuse in the same lands they claim to belong to (Weissbrodt & Collins, as cited in Faulkner & Schiffer, 2019). Statelessness degrades the basic human rights afforded to people, and gets in the way of conflict resolution and long term solutions when it comes to human and state security. “The consequences of being stateless reach far beyond the borders of one’s home as a person’s vulnerability is intensified when he/she must flee in search of refuge” (Faulkner & Schiffer, 2019, p. 4). Being stateless and not having any citizenship rights affects the level of international protection refugees are provided, and matters related to their repatriation intensify security issues for all countries involved.

An estimated 10 million people were identified as stateless persons in 2017 (UNHCR, 2017), of whom over 1.5 million people were considered to be stateless refugees who had fled from countries where they claimed to belong, in search of asylum elsewhere (Milton et al., 2017). Almost two thirds of these stateless refugees were Rohingya from Myanmar who had escaped to Bangladesh (UNHCR, 2017).

In 1951, the UN first adopted the Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, while in 1954, the Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons was established. While 145 countries are signatory to the first convention, the latter is recognized by 91 parties. Notably, Bangladesh has not signed or ratified either of these conventions.

The options, protection, and opportunities offered to stateless refugees are more limited than those offered to refugees. For one, repatriation is a complex consideration when it comes to stateless refugees. Though most refugees may prefer to be repatriated to their own countries, the prospect may be unappealing for stateless refugees, especially if their rights are denied by their countries of origin (UNHCR, 2017).

1.2.2 Who are the Rohingya?

The Rohingya are an ethnic and religious minority living mostly in the Rakhine State of Western Myanmar, adjacent to Bangladesh (Green, 2013; Oberoi, 2006). The controversial term 'Rohingya' started out by being used as a geographic rather than ethnic identifier. Muslim settlers in Arakan named themselves 'Rooinga,' after the term 'Rohang,' which Arakan (Rakhine State) used to be formerly known as, to signify themselves as Arakan natives (Ullah, 2016). Leider (2014) states that the term came to exist after World War II, and became politicized after Myanmar's independence in 1948. Before the 1962 military coup, democratic Burma treated the Rohingya as citizens with equal rights. It was after 1962 that their status and circumstances began deteriorating across decades of military rule (Lee, 2019).

There are two predominant views in Myanmar regarding the ancestry of the Rohingya. One holds that they settled in Myanmar in the 9th century, with the population carrying Bengali, Persian, Mughal, Turkish, and Pathani lineages. The other maintains that they were more modern settlers who arrived as recently as during the British colonial rule, and were mostly illegal migrants from Chittagong, Bangladesh (Human Rights Watch [HRW], 1996; Zarni & Cowley, 2014). Myanmar's government persistently refuses to acknowledge the name 'Rohingya,' and calls them 'Bangali' instead, in order to assert their illegality by referring to them as belonging to Bangladesh. Discrimination

against the Rohingya in Buddhist majority Myanmar has often been documented by human rights groups.

Reports describe a history of persecution (HRW, 2013), with the Rohingya experiencing restrictions on movement, marriage, education, and employment. Forms of abuse like rape, forced relocation, forced labour, and arbitrary detention have also been documented. The systematic, state-sponsored campaigns of violence, restriction, and expulsion against the Rohingya have handicapped them socially, economically, and educationally. UNHCR's independent fact-finding mission resulted in a report, released in 2018, which gave detailed evidence of crimes against humanity with genocidal intent carried out by the Myanmar army (UNHCR, 2018).

A number of events led to the Rohingyas' becoming the stateless minority they are today. 1978's Operation Nagamin saw many Rohingya seized of their official documents. Soon after, the military regime declared the 1982 Citizenship Law, according to Section 6 of which people who were already Myanmar citizens at the time of its enforcement, would continue being so (Ullah, 2016). Furthermore, the *Associate* citizenship was established for those whose applications for citizenship were then undergoing processing, and the *Naturalized* citizenship was established for those who were not recognized citizens but could show that they and their ancestors had been in Myanmar since before the Independence (ERT, 2014). The above laws meant that the Rohingya should have been granted citizenship under any one of the decrees, but even though most could trace ancestries back to at least the Colonial times, coming up with necessary documentation proved difficult as they had been seized from the public by military forces (Ullah, 2016). The sequence of processes that led to the Rohingyas' current statelessness is pictured in figure 1.1 below.

Chronology ID cards 1948–2017	
1948	Rohingyas given National Registration Certificates (NRCs)
1974	Rohingyas given alien (Foreign Registration cards) but many refuse to render their NRCs
1989	Rohingya NRC cards replaced with TRCs (white cards)
1989	New citizenship law enacted
1990	Full Burmese citizens receive NRCs mentioning ethnicity and religion
2010	Rohingyas vote in elections
2012	Rohingya vote in elections
2014	Pilot project by the UThein Sein grants 200 Kaman and Rohingya applicants citizenship if they agree to 'Bengali' label
2015	President Sein orders invalidation of white cards
2016	Out of 759,672 white cards disbursed, 469,183 have been returned and exchanged for new green cards
2017	New green cards (Identity Card for National Verification) are only temporary (valid for 2 years)

Figure 1.1: Hein's (2018) tabulation of the evolution of the Rohingya National ID card

Over the years, there have been a number of times when the Rohingya migration to Bangladesh has peaked due to ethnic conflict forcing them out: late 1700s, early 1800s, 1940s, 1978 (200,000 people), 1991 and 1992 (300,000 people), and more recently in 2012 (Ullah, 2016). 1978 saw a violent campaign of torture, rape, and murder launched by the Myanmar military against the Muslim population (Ragland, as cited in Ullah, 2016). In 2007, the Rohingyas' plight received widespread media scrutiny across the globe when hundreds of them lost their lives at sea while attempting to journey to Thailand and Malaysia to seek refuge (Uddin, 2018). 2012 saw two bursts of conflict between the Rohingya Muslims and the Buddhist majority in the territory which caused religious upheaval throughout the country, left above 200 people dead, and internally displaced an estimated 140,000 (Ullah, 2016). This is when the situation was first identified as the Rohingya refugee crisis. By 2014, 500,000 Rohingya refugees were dispersed across neighboring countries in Asia (UNHCR, as cited in Ullah, 2016). The most recent clashes erupted in October 2016, when Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) militants carried out attacks on police posts in Myanmar; this was followed by retaliation from Myanmar security forces and public, targeting Rohingya people and

villages (Lewis, 2019), and leading eventually to the largest migration yet, with above 650,000 people fleeing to Bangladesh between August and December of 2017. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) estimates the total number of Rohingya currently seeking refuge inside and outside Bangladeshi refugee camps to be 1,092,136 people.

1.2.3 Bangladesh's role in the context of the crisis

Bangladesh is among the world's poorest countries, and accommodates above 168 million residents in an area of 147,570 km². Its population density of 1,139/km² is one of the world's highest ("Total Population by Country 2019," 2019). Bangladesh is already an overpopulated nation, with most of its people living in poverty, not to mention they are vulnerable to the harsh effects of frequent natural disasters and climate change that the country is ill-equipped to deal with. Despite this, it is one of the fastest growing countries in terms of economic progress and social development. Even though Bangladesh is identified as a democratic republic, the ruling Awami League party, led by Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina, has controversially maintained power since 2009 in this country where elections take place every five years.

Bangladesh and the Rakhine State of Myanmar are separated by the Naf river, which the Rohingya use as a route to travel to Bangladesh. Since the Bay of Bengal migration crisis in 2015, authorities in Myanmar have taken measures to prevent Rohingya escaping Myanmar by sea, leaving Bangladesh as the only country possible for them to migrate to (Lee, 2019).

Bangladesh is not a signatory member of the UN's 1951 Refugee Convention, the 1954 Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons, or the 1967 Refugee Status Protocol. According to Ullah (2016), countries that are not bound by these laws do not have administrative and legal systems in place to address refugee issues, but also cannot

forcefully send refugees and asylum seekers back to their origin countries under the international principle of non-refoulement.

Notably, the Bangladeshi government suspended registration of refugees in mid-1992, leading to their becoming even more vulnerable. Nevertheless, it is obligated to give legal protection to refugees within its borders due to being involved with major human rights groups, besides being a member of the UNHCR Executive Committee since 1995 (Rahman, 2010). Moreover, pressure and expectations from the international community compels it to extend protection to these refugees within its borders who clearly face hostile conditions back home.

Just like there have been times of refugee exodus to Bangladesh, there have been occasions in the past when refugees have been repatriated to Myanmar. Many were sent back after the 1978 events, but repatriation first occurred on the largest scale from 1992 to 1997, wherein more than 200,000 Rohingya were returned to Myanmar with the cooperation of both the Bangladesh and Myanmar governments, and the UN. It must be noted that most refugees returned unwillingly, and were forced to go back to unimproved circumstances and uncertain futures. A survey by Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) in 1995 showed that 63% of refugees did not want to be repatriated, and 65% had no knowledge that they could refuse repatriation (MSF, as cited in Faulkner & Schiffer, 2019). The Rohingya seeking shelter in Bangladesh were denied ration, threatened, and abused, in order to force them to leave Bangladesh. (HRW, as cited in Faulkner & Schiffer, 2019). Even though Myanmar accepted the Rohingyas' return, restricted to those who could present documentation, their status as stateless endured, and there was no end to the humanitarian crisis, persecution, and abuse that they faced in their own country by being continued to be treated as illegal immigrants. This was clearly a case of refugee

refoulement. There would be a number of instances again, after 1996, of Rohingya exodus to Bangladesh rising from renewed conflict within Myanmar.

During the conflict of 2012, Bangladesh closed its borders to refugees, and the few displaced Rohingya who managed to enter the country were unwelcome. However, when refugees started entering Bangladesh again in large numbers during the 2017 conflict, the country adopted a friendlier stance, allowing them in and providing aid and shelter.

Most media producers frequently publish news detailing Rohingya involvement in shady activities like drug smuggling, illegal arms trading, militancy, and social crimes, which are said to go on in the refugee camps in Bangladesh (Uddin, 2018). Public perception of the Rohingya is negative too. Uddin (2018) claims he has records of many cases where Bangladeshi law enforcement carried out raids in Rohingya camps, leading to considerable human rights abuses. He reports that even though Bangladeshi media writes often about the problems caused by Rohingya presence in the country, human rights violations against the Rohingya within Bangladesh hardly make it to the news.

1.3 *The Daily Star*

Established In 1991 by Bangladeshi journalist Syed Mohammed Ali, *The Daily Star* is the country's oldest English Language newspaper. Its editor and publisher, Mahfuz Anam, is a former United Nations official. It is privately owned by Mediaworld, a media production company that is part of a conglomerate owned by Latifur Rahman. This conglomerate, Transcom group, also owns *Prothom Alo*, Bangladesh's leading Bengali language newspaper, and *ABC Radio*, Bangladesh's first FM radio news station. Besides this, it is a comprador of international brands in the country; its business interests include pharmaceuticals, electronics, and food and beverages.

The Daily Star identifies itself as a non-partisan and independent news agency, asserts its ethical, non-discriminatory, and socially responsible values, and claims to support a democratic system of government. The following quote gives us an idea of its objectives:

Being well aware of its social responsibilities and duties, the newspaper works to ensure human rights to all, remove gender discrimination, advocate rule of law, press freedom, transparency and accountability in the administration and in the world of trade and industry and above all to uphold national interests. While working for these ends, *The Daily Star* always maintains utmost sincerity and accountability to serve the nation the way it is bound by its norms and values.

Besides running news reports on these issues, *The Daily Star* carries special reports, human-interest stories, features, articles and essays written by its staffs and other professionals and talents from across the country and abroad.

During different national crises, the newspaper played an important role to solve those to stop people's sufferings. As it remain alert of its social duties, *The Daily Star* frequently organizes roundtables, seminars and discussions on the issues. It also works closely with the civil society for this end. ("About Us," 2019)

The newspaper was contacted for information about readership statistics and demographics but did not respond. Nor could any definitive statistics be found on the internet, but it claims to be the most popular and reliable English language news source in the country as well as the most read and cited newspaper among Bangladeshis and foreigners abroad ("About Us," 2019). Ubayasiri (2019) claims that the paper is read by Bangladesh's 'English-educated elite' (p. 261). The reporting process, as outlined in the same section, involves multiple participants including chief reporters, correspondents, news editors, sub-editors, and revision editors. No article is handled by a single person alone, so its authorship cannot be determined by the reader unless its byline states the name of the reporter. For online reports by *The Daily Star*, the bylines state 'Star Online Report.' The publication date and time are mentioned at the top of the report, and are often seen to be modified at a later time in the same day. This feature that allows website moderators to edit articles after they have already been officially published essentially

makes every report temporal, with no way for the reader or researcher to access previous versions.

1.4 Research problem

The Rohingya issue is recognized as the longest protracted refugee situation because it has been going on since the 1940s. Due to their being stateless and the issue of their repatriation being a sensitive one, regional countries' reluctance to help the Rohingya signifies a seemingly endless cycle of escape, detention, discrimination, trafficking, and deportation for the minority group. The humanitarian crisis has received heightened attention from international media, humanitarian organizations, and welfare groups since 2012 (Parnini, 2013), but despite this, there has been no solution to the century-long conflict or any cessation of troubles for the Rohingya, who remain one of the most persecuted ethnic groups in the world.

Gabrielatos & Baker (2008) state that news media is capable of influencing public perception of minority groups, in so far as possibly having the greatest impact on people's attitudes regarding such issues. As the Rohingya crisis features increasingly prominently in the news, academic efforts to explore the conflict and seek its alleviation demand an investigation of how news media represent social actors, because these perceptions are likely to be adopted by the public and reflected in their attitudes towards the Rohingya. In the case of Bangladeshi media this is particularly relevant, as the country is so closely tied with the crisis; not only is it the country that most Rohingya have been fleeing to since the 1970s, but it is also the country that Myanmar claims the Rohingya are illegal immigrants from. Lack of research on the discursive representation of the stateless Rohingya refugees in Bangladeshi media needs to be addressed in an effort to understand how the media may contribute to their situation within the country.

1.5 Research objectives

Discourse studies related to the Rohingya issue have varied potential, not only because the crisis has displaced nearly a million people, but also because of the controversy surrounding the Rohingya identity, resulting in their becoming not just refugees, but stateless refugees. Bangladesh, being the first country of asylum that the Rohingya head to, has been chosen in order to study how one of its most popular news media, *The Daily Star*, reports the issue online. The objectives of this research are:

- a) To investigate how key social actors are represented by *The Daily Star* in relation to the 2017 Rohingya crisis.
- b) To explore how the 2017 Rohingya crisis is discursively constructed by *The Daily Star*.

1.6 Research questions

In line with the above objectives, the research questions this paper intends to answer are:

RQ1: How does *The Daily Star* represent the main social actors in the context of the 2017 Rohingya crisis?

RQ2: How is the 2017 Rohingya crisis discursively constructed by *The Daily Star*?

1.7 Overview of chapters

Following the introduction chapter, this dissertation is divided into four other chapters, starting with chapter 2: literature review. This chapter first reviews current literature on the Rohingya, and then looks at past studies on refugees and asylum seekers in the field of discourse analysis, including how the refugee crisis is constructed. I narrow

down to a review of refugee studies done using Corpus-assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) as an approach. Research on the Rohingya and their representation in discourse is further evaluated, and these sections set the stage for the literature gap.

Chapter 3 introduces the conceptual framework, wherein important conceptual notions are defined as they pertain to the research. The research paradigm (CADS) is then detailed along with justification for its use. In the same chapter, the analytical framework, including analytical tools within the corpus software AntConc 3.5.8 and van Leeuwen's (1996, 2008) social actor network, are explained. Data collection and data analysis processes are further discussed.

In Chapter 4, the findings from the analysis are arranged to best address the research questions. Sections are categorized according to salient representations of each social actor and the crisis. Discursive strategies are discussed to show how they help operationalize these dominant constructions or serve to realize them linguistically. A discussion of the findings is carried out simultaneously, in view of past literature as seen in chapter 2 and the background of the study as seen in chapter 1.

The final chapter provides a conclusion including a summarization of the data analysis, implications of the research, limitations of the research, and suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews some literature that is relevant to the current research, and more specifically, to the findings that will be discussed in it. In the first section, I provide a glimpse at academic work that has so far been done surrounding Rohingya issues. The second section discusses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) research on media representation of RAS in general, and the media construction of ‘refugee crisis.’ The next three sections describe the notion of discourse, explain how the fields of Corpus Linguistics and Discourse Analysis merge to cater Corpus-assisted Discourse Studies as a methodological framework, and look at RAS studies that have employed CADS methodology. The sixth section narrows further into a review of literature that has studied Rohingya representation. I conclude this chapter with the literature gap.

2.2 Past studies on the Rohingya

Research on the Rohingya has long focused on denial of their citizenship in Myanmar and the difficult consequences they have faced as a result of being rendered stateless. Scholars discuss Myanmar’s discriminatory legislations and possible solutions to the protracted refugee issue, study the problems Rohingyas face in countries where they seek refuge, and call to action international players in holding Myanmar accountable. Some studies are discussed here.

Ullah (2016) discusses how the Myanmar government’s exclusionary policies involving the Rohingya have resulted in the minority group’s being discriminated against for decades. Besides military repression fueling Rohingya abuse, Buddhist monks with significant political strength have played a major role in determining Myanmar’s religio-nationalist landscape. Ullah claims that Myanmar’s goal is to be a mono-religious country, and so the Muslim Rohingya, stripped of citizenship, are vulnerable to state-

sponsored abuse, which is supplemented by laws that are deliberately enacted to target the Rohingya and oppress them further, closing off opportunities for them. The group thus faces restrictions on movement, education, marriage, and land ownership, among other things.

Alam (2017) similarly claims that the Rohingyas' being a minority in Myanmar plays an important part in the history of persecution against them. He discusses how their identity as a minority has been reconstructed over the years in various stages, through interconnected factors like the development of Burmese nationalism- which excluded the Rohingya based on their ethnic and linguistic differences, politicization of Myanmar's majority Buddhist identity- which caused the Muslim Rohingya to be ostracized, revocation of Rohingya citizenship through the Citizenship Law in 1982 and the Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar in 2008- which legitimized their protracted marginalization, and ethnic divisions in communities due to other ethnicities' not acknowledging the minority Muslim Rohingya as legitimate citizens like themselves, instead claiming they are foreigners. Through all this, Alam claims, the Rohingya have been reconstructed as a radically different population in Myanmar, the dangerous 'them' (p. 14), who are incapable of 'social cohesion' and threaten Myanmar's 'cultural homogeneity' (p. 13).

Hein (2018) uses Brass's (2003) ethnicity framework to sequentially explore the roots of the Rohingya crisis within Myanmar, and traces them back to the British colonial era's establishment of racial and ethnic classification systems, whose parting legacy led to the 're-ethnicization' (Hein, 2018, p. 379) of politics that followed in the country later. Some significant historical events exemplifying and institutionalizing this re-ethnicization were the census of 1973, the citizenship law of 1972, and the national ID card changes of 1989. Hein reports that after 1988, Myanmar's military started

proselytizing Buddhism, associating it with nationalism and belonging, thus leading to more conflict among people based on these principles. The political reforms beginning in 2011 and the consequent struggle for power between the military and civilian elite further exacerbated ethnic tensions. Some significant historical events during this time were the race laws of 2015, the dismissal of Rohingya members from Myanmar's National League for Democracy (NLD) in the same year, the murder of Suu Kyi's key advisor, U ko Ni, in 2017, and the widespread genocide of Rohingya that began in the same year. Hein concludes that the persecution of the Rohingya in Rakhine state will not be easy to bring an end to, considering that the ethnic conflict has been waged and stoked for centuries, resulting in irreparably damaged social relations among the Rohingya and Myanmar's recognized ethnic groups. He also opines that the crisis is unlikely to be resolved within Myanmar as Myanmar's military is adamant about not recognizing the Rohingya as rightful citizens.

Kaveri (2017), based on her field work in Delhi, India, and her work with the UNHCR in India, wrote about the causes and consequences of the Rohingyas' forced displacement from Myanmar, and the situations they faced after fleeing to India. Rohingya refugees in Delhi who were interviewed voiced the same grievances- how their citizenship rights being denied led to their being excluded, persecuted, deprived of opportunities, and subjected to abuse by the government and military, including rape, detention, and murder. The refugees also spoke about human trafficking syndicates that charged refugees for smuggling them across borders, and also sold and forcibly trafficked Rohingya from Myanmar or camps in Bangladesh. The author reports that the Rohingya are antagonized in India, being considered illegals and threats, and live in deplorable conditions in unauthorized makeshift camps or slums all over the country. They work mostly as manual laborers to get by, but face difficulties due to not knowing the local language. Since India is not signatory to any of the international conventions or policies

relating to refugees or stateless people, its provision of refuge and protection to refugees is arbitrary and, as the author notes, differential, depending on the refugee group in question. India's rising hostility towards Muslims does not help the Rohingyas' situation. Kaveri posits that statelessness can be just as much a cause of human rights violations as it is a product of rights violations, and states that legal intervention backed by international governments and communities is needed in order to get Myanmar to stop persecuting the Rohingya.

Bhatia et al. (2018) carried out a brief needs assessment survey of recently arrived Rohingya and locals in Cox Bazar, Bangladesh, in March 2018, going into a total of 802 homes to gather data on demographics, livelihoods, mortality, and access to food and water, education, and healthcare. The researchers discovered that Rohingya households had more women than local households, and significantly more Rohingya households were headed by women. Mortality rates in the span of a year were found to be higher among Rohingya compared to locals; there were notably high mortality levels amidst Rohingya men. These findings confirmed reports that Rohingya men were hunted and murdered by Myanmar forces. Food shortage was reported by both Rohingya and host communities. There was also a rise in poverty, little access to vaccinations, and a poor system of education among the Rohingya. Due to being denied formal provision of refugee status in Bangladesh, the Rohingya lack social protection and are neglected with regard to provisions and resources. The authors stress that while Bangladesh looks for solutions in the form of repatriation, relocation, or resettlement for the Rohingya, the government must see to it that they are afforded rightful human dignity.

Kyaw (2017) critically examines the Rohingyas' status of statelessness through a process-tracing-research method, analyzing legal policy texts and events related to the history of the Rohingya citizenship debate, and argues that despite there being many

discriminatory provisions in the 1982 Citizenship Law of Myanmar, the real reason for the Rohingyas' predicament is that successive Myanmar governments have deliberately avoided measures they could take to legalize the Rohingya in the nation-state. This, the author claims, is significant because the government states that if the Rohingya can provide proper documentation to prove their ancestry and pass the citizenship scrutiny, they will be granted citizenship rights, while at the same time, leading governments have for decades carried out exclusionary operations against the Rohingya by classifying them under lower categories compared to other ethnicities, confiscating their identity documents, removing voting rights, and stealing or destroying their lands to ensure they have no justifiable claim to citizenship.

MacLean's (2018) essay similarly tracks how successive governments in Myanmar and their practices of erasure steadily delegitimized the Rohingya and rendered them stateless. Under the concept of lawfare, the author observes the Rohingya crisis within a politico-military context, noting that the authorities' treatment of the Rohingya is different from its treatment of other ethnicities. Under the concept of spacio-cide, he lists discriminatory tactics of segregation, dispossession, and eviction against the Rohingya by the Myanmar government and military, and expects that the decades-long cycle of persecution is likely to continue, and repatriation efforts likely to fail, unless the underlying causes of the conflict are addressed.

Parashar & Alam (2018), studied the history of the Rohingyas' legal status in Myanmar across constitutional provisions spanning decades, specifically during 1947, 1974, and 2008, also examined the 1982 Citizenship Law and preceding citizenship laws in 1948. The authors found that in the earlier constitutions, the Rohingya were recognized as an ethnic minority belonging in Myanmar and provided citizenship rights therein. Later constitutions, however, steadily removed their rights and changed their status, leading to

their present state, in which they are not recognized as an ethnic minority, as citizens, or as having any legitimate claim to belonging in Myanmar.

Faulkner & Schiffer (2019) hold that the Rohingyas' status of statelessness plays a contributive role in the failure of repatriation processes involving them. They used process tracing to study the 1992-1997 repatriation process wherein above 200,000 Rohingya refugees were forcibly repatriated from Bangladesh to Myanmar with the cooperation of both countries and the UNHCR. They summarize that the condition of statelessness convolutes the protections offered to refugees, decreases motivation for Rohingya to return, hinders measures for long term solutions, and further complicates security issues concerning humans and state. By recounting a case of successful refugee repatriation in Angola, the authors posit that the absence of statelessness for the Rohingya may improve their prospects of return by assuring their rights and safety. They state that unless the Rohingyas are guaranteed citizenship, the latest repatriation deal between Bangladesh and Myanmar, involving about 900,000 refugees, is likely to repeat the case of refugee refoulement that took place in the 1990s.

2.3 Studies on media representations of refugees and asylum seekers

Nolan et al. (2011), in discussing the media's role in the representation of minorities or migrants, says that it can decide to represent groups as social actors or social problems, set agendas that may influence policy-making, and determine how groups are perceived and treated by the public.

The last couple of decades have seen representations of refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants, and migrants (RASIM) explored extensively in research, with most studies being done in the field of critical linguistics. It is important to understand the meaning of each category before proceeding with the review. IOM's (2018) definitions for important terms are provided in table 2.1 below.

Table 2.1 Definitions adapted from IOM (2018)

Asylum seeker	A person who seeks safety from persecution or serious harm in a country other than his or her own and awaits a decision on the application for refugee status under relevant international and national instruments.
Migrant	IOM defines a migrant as 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 (i) the person's legal status; (ii) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; (iii) what the causes for the movement are; or (iv) what the length of the stay is.
Refugee	A person who stays outside or leaves their country of origin out of valid fears of persecution based on religion, ethnicity, and political or social affiliations etc. The UNHCR recognizes anyone in such a situation as a refugee qualifying for protection by the organization, regardless of whether or not the country hosting them is party to the 1951 Refugee Convention or the 1967 Refugee Protocol.
Stateless person	"A person who is not considered as a national by any State under the operation of its law" (Art. 1, UN Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons, 1954). Accordingly, stateless people are deprived of rights that citizens of a State are customarily offered as nationals. They are considered illegal residents in any State of residence, even ones they claim to belong to, and do not have the right to return if they travel outside the State.

This research is related to refugees and asylum seekers, and hence this review, which is concerned with literature related to RAS, includes works that study RASIM together, but not those that study immigrants and migrants exclusively. Leading studies include Baker & McEnery (2005) and Baker et al. (2008), gaining momentum with following works like Khosravinik (2009, 2010), Sulaiman-Hill et al. (2011), Bennett et al. (2013), Esses et al. (2013), Don & Lee (2014), Blinder (2015), Hickerson & Dunsmore (2015), Lueck et al. (2015), Dykstra (2016), Cooper et al. (2016), Nguyen & McCallum (2016), Afzal (2016), Lippi et al. (2017), Greussing & Boomgaarden (2017), Haider & Olimy (2018), and many more. While linguistic research initially relied on qualitative analyses to examine representations, research since 2010 has increasingly employed quantitative tools from corpus linguistics to either direct or supplement qualitative work.

Some key themes have been found to consistently recur across a range of countries and events. RAS have been constructed simultaneously as victims, invaders, and threats. Some common labels attached to them are 'illegal,' 'illegitimate,' 'criminal,' and 'burden,' among others. For instance, Khosravinik (2009), investigating British newspaper representation of RASIM during two major events, found that among other things, positive or negative portrayal were connected to how close in proximity the groups were to the UK, and to how dramatic the events were. All news accounts representing Kosovo refugees from the 1999 Balkan conflict did so in a supportive and positive manner. With regards to the period surrounding the 2005 British General Election, Khosravinik found when comparing prejudiced negative representation in conservative broadsheet and tabloid newspapers, that the latter perpetuated existing stereotypes of RASIM, hence reproducing negative attitudes, while the former refrained from doing so explicitly, instead creating and introducing newer negative portrayals. Conservative newspapers tended to only refer to names and characteristics when they could be placed inside negative topoi, while liberal newspapers tended to be more interested in representing diversity, and drew on topoi of human rights, ethics etc. Negative topoi like number, threat, and danger, and strategies like aggregation, collectivization, and functionalization all served to represent RASIM negatively. In the case of the Kosovo refugees, it was found that linking them with natural disasters did not imply negative characteristics.

RAS are most often seen to be constructed within discourses of securitization, economization, and victimization, embodying mostly negative attitudes compared to positive ones (Philo et al., 2013a; Gilbert, 2013; Don & Lee, 2014; Burroughs, 2015; Dykstra, 2016; Elsamni, 2016; Lippi et al., 2017; Müller, 2017; Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017; Holzberg et al., 2018; Efe, 2018). While negative attitudes are more obvious in the framing of migration in terms of security and economy, the victimization

frame can be problematic as well, when RAS are depicted as helpless sufferers who are wholly reliant on external aid (Chouliaraki, 2016), by implying that they are burdens.

Gilbert (2013), studying articles, posts, and comments collected from the internet to examine how the 2007 Mexican refugee crisis was constructed in Canadian media, found that dominant discourses represented them as illegals, frauds, and criminals. Claims costs were often brought up as being exorbitant, and RAS were accused of being illegal claimants abusing the system. Rhetorical devices like lexicon, numbers, and authority legitimation were frequently used to other RAS and present them as threats to security and culture.

Don & Lee (2014) looked at how elite voices were incorporated in news reports to present refugees and asylum seekers in Malaysia as illegals, threats, and victims, also considering voices that treated them more sympathetically, by analyzing discursive strategies and different features of text. RAS were found to be portrayed as a problem to be dealt with, and alternately as victims in need of help. Direct and indirect reporting, along with attribution, were some journalistic tools used to recontextualize different voices and aspects of original text, reflecting ideological positioning. Elites used the media to justify policy decisions and legal actions against RAS. The dominating presence of elite voices, as opposed to the relative absence of RAS voices or voices speaking for them in mainstream media, showed that media was used to push political agendas and influence ideological positioning among the public. Criminalization and securitization discourses were used to exclude RAS and present them as threats. Non-governmental news media represented RAS more sympathetically and were more critical of the government's stance towards the groups.

Greussing and Boomgaarden (2017), attempted to identify the dominant frames in Austria's coverage of RAS issues during the 2015 EU Refugee Crisis by using automated frame analysis, focusing specially on differences between tabloid and quality media, and variation over a year of coverage. Stereotypical narratives of securitization and economization were most salient, followed by narratives of victimization. Contrary to previous literature, refugees' cause of flight and personal histories were found mentioned in the data, claimed by the authors to counteract RAS' dehumanization and objectification. Tabloids were found to employ the criminality frame more often than quality news, but other frames were more or less equally noted in both kinds of media. The most intense phase of the crisis found coverage patterns in both media types become similar, employing established frames which were later narrowed down as the issue became less salient. The victimization frame was found to be more prominent in the initial stages of the news cycle compared to its later stages.

Holzberg et al. (2018) used content analysis and discourse analysis to study German media representation of borders during the 2015 European Refugee Crisis, collecting data from news sources online and offline, including magazines. Narratives of the undeserving refugee were built around the three major themes of economic productivity, gender dynamics, and state security. RAS were constructed as threats to national security and burdens whose shelter and provisions cost the host country a lot of money. Male RAS were more prominent in coverage and represented as dominating and dangerous; female RAS were rarely mentioned or represented as passive and voiceless. The content analysis found that discourses surrounding RAS were constructed to sometimes evoke empathy and sometimes fear. The authors suggest that this seemingly conflicting representation works through a 'logic of deservingness' (p. 540), which makes readers focus on the advantages and disadvantages RAS bring to the host country rather than on the historical and political factors that forced RAS into such situations.

Another finding is the conflation of categories related to RASIM (Bennett et al., 2013; Philo et al., 2013a; Lueck et al., 2015; Blinder & Allen, 2016; Goodman et al., 2017), which at the very least misinforms the public about their situations.

Lueck et al. (2015) found in a study focusing on two incidents from 2009, that asylum seekers were constructed as criminals by Australian news media, through conflation of the terms ‘people-smuggling’ and ‘human trafficking’ (p. 616). They were also portrayed as threats by reporting human-smuggling and asylum seeking within a border-security context. The authors further identify strategies used to justify extreme actions against and legitimize the exclusion of asylum seekers. The discourse of unlawfulness is heavily evident as a tool to reduce what is a humanitarian issue of people seeking refuge, to a criminal one.

Goodman et al. (2017) studied the development of the terminology used by the UK media to construct the 2015 European Refugee Crisis and the people involved. Initially, the event was reported as the ‘Mediterranean migrant crisis’ (p. 3), with calls to prevent ‘migrants’ from entering Europe. Next, it was reported as the ‘Calais migrant crisis’ (p. 4), with migrants being presented as threatening the security of the UK, followed by ‘European migrant crisis’ (p.5), expanding the scope of threat to include all of Europe. When news and photos of a drowned child, Aylan Kurdi, became viral, a shift to ‘refugee crisis’ (p.5) was observed, wherein refugees were represented sympathetically and positively. When reports later linked a terrorist attack with the refugee crisis, ‘refugees’ once again became ‘migrants’ (p. 6), a problematic and unwanted category, presented as a threat to Europe that had to be controlled. The terminology thus attempted to determine how actors would be perceived by the public.

Metaphors have been studied extensively to explore how they function in discourse surrounding RAS (Nguyen & McCallum, 2016; Lippi et al., 2017; Abid et al., 2017; Arcimaviciene & Baglama, 2018; Lams, 2018).

Nguyen & McCallum (2016) looked at how Australian media reported maritime asylum seekers and found that water metaphors were used prevalently to construct them with the aim of dehumanizing them and conceptualizing them as dangers similar to natural disasters. Combined with the home metaphor, which was used to construct Australia as a container, the media presented a picture of Australia 'overflowing' from the 'influx' of asylum seekers (p. 167). The 'containment' trope further created the concept of Australia as being able to be penetrated or closed off, bringing into scrutiny its border policies and immigration laws (p. 168).

Lippi et al. (2017), while analyzing Australian print media reports around the 2013 federal election, found that a third of the articles framed refugees and asylum seekers negatively, either as 'threats' needing military action, or 'victims' needing management (p. 13). Invasion metaphors, descriptors with negative connotations, and the use of numbers all served to construct them as intruders who were illegitimate, and 'others' who were different from 'us' (p. 13). Accidents prompted sympathetic reporting, with use of words like 'tragedy' and 'victim' (p. 11).

Significant cross-country research has been done in order to compare representations of RAS (Taylor, 2014; Dykstra, 2016; Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti, 2016; Müller, 2017; Abid et al., 2017; Lams, 2018; Oregan & Riordan, 2018; Somaini, 2018; Cock et al., 2018; Hovden et al., 2018).

Lams (2018) examined media coverage of the 2015 European Refugee Crisis by right leaning newspapers from Belgium, France, the Netherlands, and the UK using discourse analysis and transitivity analysis to explore how refugees were collectivized and individualized, and how actors' semantic roles and agency were realized. The water metaphor featured prominently through the corpus as a tool to collectivize refugees. All four newspapers mostly positioned refugees in passive roles. While *The Times* from the UK had a balanced number of articles representing refugees as beneficiaries as well as victims or patients, the other three news sources represented refugees as mostly the latter two types, with the Belgian media manifesting the most instances of the victim frame. In terms of agency, *The Times* was again seen to be more balanced in attributing positive and negative action to refugees while the other three newspapers tended to attribute negative agency to refugees more often, with the newspaper from the Netherlands most frequently constructing refugees in negative agentive roles. Europe too, was more often given negative agentive roles than positives ones. Angela Merkel of Germany was primarily constructed as a positive agent while Germany was mostly attributed a negative semantic role, except by the Belgian newspaper. All newspapers unequivocally presented Hungary in a negative agentive role.

Somains (2018) employed quantitative content analysis to study the relationship between news coverage of RASIM and author identifiability, collecting data from four major newspapers from Arizona in the US and Italy in the EU. Both newspapers were found to represent RASIM negatively overall. In the Italian dataset, which had an equal number of articles with and without bylines to identify article authors, articles without bylines were seen to portray RASIM more negatively. The newspapers from Arizona showed no conclusive differences. In terms of online comments, it was seen that comments on articles without bylines were more antipathic and hostile towards RASIM, but only in case of the Arizona dataset.

Hovden et al. (2018), using quantitative analysis to investigate how the Syrian refugee crisis was represented in Scandinavian newspapers found that Denmark and Sweden differed drastically in reporting the migration. Denmark showed a more negative attitude towards the group, frequently reporting the adverse effects of refugee arrivals on the economy, while Sweden showed a more positive attitude, mentioning positive moral consequences more often. Norway's stance was balanced between the two. Scandinavian press was found to generally report refugee arrivals less negatively overall than European press. The prominence of the humanitarian frame was seen to decrease over time in all the Scandinavian data, mirroring European coverage.

Diachronic research has also been carried out to see how coverage changes with time and how representations evolve (Goodman et al., 2017; Müller, 2017; Haider & Olimy, 2018; Tong & Zuo, 2018).

Müller (2017) carried out a comparative qualitative analysis to look at how British and German newspapers represented the 2015 European Refugee Crisis in relation to Islam during two distinct time periods in 2015 and 2016. Findings revealed that Muslim refugees were framed in contrast to a 'Christian European identity' (p. 265), portrayed as a radical group that was culturally inferior, a threat to security, and responsible for the rise of extremism. German media tended to link Islam and refugees more frequently than British media did. Both countries linked Muslim refugees to terrorism on 'cognitive and affective' levels (p. 274). Discourses identifying Europe, the UK, and Germany as law-abiding, liberal democracies served to construct a socio-cultural border that heightened the exclusion of the 'outsiders' (p. 265), by representing them as being religiously and culturally undesirable.

A number of studies found that voice was mostly given to politicians, and thus disempowered RAS (Philo et al., 2013a; Elsamni, 2016; Chouliaraki & Zaborowski, 2017; Cock et al., 2018).

Philo et al. (2013a), doing a content analysis of UK newspapers from 2011 to examine right-wing media discourse on asylum, found that politician voices were far more prominent in coverage than voices of refugees, NGOs, or organizations representing refugees. Most opinions attributed to politicians were negative in attitude towards RAS. Other voices sought and reconstructed by the media were seen to belong to judges, lawyers, and anti-immigration bodies, and spoke predominantly in opposition of RAS. Furthermore, 56 out of 69 articles mentioned economic migration with a negative stance towards asylum. The phrase 'illegal immigrant' featured heavily in discourse and appeared to be conflated with 'refugee' quite commonly (p. 30), often used interchangeably in the same article, while the term 'asylum' was noted to be absent (p. 31). Terms like 'foreign criminals' and 'foreign prisoners' were also seen (p. 37), and crime related coverage was frequent, as was the use of superlatives and numbers, functioning to depict migrants as having a negative impact on the host country. Immigration control and policing of borders were frequently advocated as well.

Chouliaraki & Zaborowski (2017) examined 1200 articles from eight European countries relevant to the 2015 European Refugee Crisis by using content analysis in order to explore how refugees were narrated with regard to voice. They found that the allocation of voice maintained a strict political hierarchy in line with journalistic strategies of bordering. National politicians' voices were most frequent, followed by politicians from EU and other foreign countries. These voices dominated the news. There was a notable lack of refugee voices; the authors explain that this legitimizes their exclusion. Of the

strategies of bordering, silencing, collectivization, and decontextualization were frequently used by journalists when it came to refugees.

News media appeared to differ in coverage when RAS were differently conceptualized, depending on geographical, political, or historical considerations (Taylor, 2014; Burroughs, 2015; Ehmer & Kothari, 2016; Lawlor & Tolley, 2017; Berg-Nordlie, 2018; Cock et al., 2018).

Berg-Nordlie (2018) analyzed newspapers from three rural Norwegian districts and found that immigration was mostly represented in an appreciative manner. Immigrants were assigned two positive roles in society as workers and participants in civil life. However, when immigrants were regarded as RAS and Muslims, discourse tended to construct them as economic burdens and security risks who were culturally radically different. Editorial policies affected how these different views were constructed in each of the three newspapers. Reports that were critical of immigration correlated with increased asylum seeker presence in reception centers.

Cock et al. (2018), in their comparative content analysis of articles from six national Belgian and Swedish newspapers, found that Swedish and Francophone Belgian press focused more on positive aspects of the 2015 refugee issue than Belgian Flemish press did. The latter also appeared to mention religion, especially Islam, more in articles related to RAS. Both Flemish and Swedish data showed more association between Islam and threat related news, while Francophone Belgian press mentioned numbers more in relation to immigration. Significant differences in views and levels of tolerance were since within Belgian press. Female refugees were mentioned more often in Swedish press than Belgian, reflecting the countries' cultural leanings. Both countries prioritized politician voices over RAS voices.

A significant relationship was found between media representations and public attitudes about RAS (Esses et al., 2013; van Klingeren, 2014; He´ricourt & Spielvogel, 2014; Blinder & Allen, 2016; Coninck et al., 2018; Arcimaviciene & Baglama, 2018)

Esses et al. (2013) examined how common media representations of RASIM as sources of diseases, bogus asylum claimants, and potential terrorists could lead to dehumanization and further negative consequences for RASIM. Findings suggest that the media may use the climate of anxiety and uncertainty surrounding immigration to construct a ‘crisis mentality’ (p. 519), depicting RASIM as outsiders and ‘others’ (p. 521) posing threats to the host country. This, combined with the tendency to report negative stories much more frequently than positive ones, serves to dehumanize RASIM and shape how the public perceives and treats RASIM, while justifying their exclusion and any hostility toward them.

Arcimaviciene & Baglama (2018) used critical metaphor analysis on US and EU online news media spanning from 2015 to 2016 to study how metaphors were constructed in the context of the 2015 European Refugee Crisis. Coverage perpetrated us-versus-them distinctions by using metaphors that treated migrating groups as objects or commodities, thus dehumanizing them and causing positive feelings like compassion within readers to be suppressed. Using metaphors of crime, natural phenomena, and terrorism further served to delegitimize and stigmatize the groups by inciting fear among the public about their own lives and safety.

2.3.1 Studies on media constructions of refugee crises

Krzyzanowski, Triandafyllidou, & Wodak (2017) state that since the time that the ‘refugee crisis’ or emergency began in Europe in 2015 with RAS from mostly the middle east entering Europe, there have been ‘divergent interpretations’ (p. 1) of the issue in public discourse, incorporating concepts like ‘humanitarianism, security, diversity, and

protectionism' (p.1) among others. The authors argue that the phrase 'refugee crisis' is an ideologically packed term that is used intentionally rather than objectively within politics and media to 'legitimize' (p. 2) the sense of urgency and justify the measures taken regarding RASIM arrival and presence in countries. They claim that the intentionally used concept of 'crisis' not only signals significant economical and sociopolitical change to the public, but also stigmatizes RASIM by creating apprehension and alarm among the public concerning them.

Some studies that looked at the discursive construction of refugee crises are already mentioned above (Gilbert, 2013; Goodman et al., 2017; Hovden et al., 2018; Müller, 2017). Besides this, the *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* published a double special issue in 2017, featuring CDA articles from authors studying the complex interrelation and contextual diversity involved in the mediatization and politicization of the 2015 Refugee Crisis in several EU countries. Some of the articles in the special issue are reviewed below.

Rheindorf & Wodak (2017) found that long-standing discursive concepts within Austrian politics, like borders, limits, and fences, became more hegemonic and pronounced within politics, media, and the public during the peak of the crisis. These discourses were used in response to pressure for action by right-wing politicians, and at the same time used to appeal to potential voters, which in turn led to the normalization of restriction policies related to borders and foreigners.

Vezovnik (2017) studied how immigration in Slovenia was securitized in television news during the crisis and found that this securitization discourse encompassed discussions of criminality, security, and military. The researcher argues that such discourse acts as a tool to legitimize government action.

Krzyzanowski (2017) discovered that anti-immigration and anti-refugee discourse, which had been absent in Poland's political sphere since 1989, resurfaced in the political campaigns of its right-wing party, disseminating discriminatory ideologies through the expression of Islamophobia, anti-Semitism, and Euroscepticism. These then became widely mediatized and reflected in the public sphere as well.

Colombo (2017) studied discourses that were salient and interweaved within Italian press reports concerning the crisis, in order to understand how the crisis was represented. She also analyzed a speech posted on Facebook and delivered in Parliament by Italian premier Matteo Renzi following the 18th April Mediterranean Sea Tragedy in 2015. The author found that within the speech, security-related discourses were interweaved with humanitarian discourses serving to legitimize the former, as opposed to media discourse which constantly pitted one view against the other. Renzi's speech was seen to display a geopolitical understanding of the crisis wherein he recognized the struggles that forced the refugees to migrate, but at the same time emphasized the need to control their mobility by strengthening European borders.

Boukala & Dimitrakopoulou (2017) investigated Greek social media discourses surrounding the crisis in view of the threats concerning Greece's Schengen zone expulsion and found that political leaders as well as the media reconstructed a European issue as a national issue. The topos of threat was dominant across all media sources, with the conservative news source *Kathimerini* constructing a threat of isolation attributed to government inefficiency, the populist *Proto Thema* fostering xenophobia and fear through its discourse, and the leftist *Efimerida ton Syntakton* blaming the European Union for the crisis. A dichotomous discursive construction of Europe, dependent on political affiliation, is found through the analysis.

2.4 Discourse

The term ‘discourse’ has been defined in a number of ways by scholars. Some descriptions are simple, for instance, Brown & Yule (as cited in Baker, 2006) refer to discourse as ‘language in use’ (p. 3), while Blommaert (as cited in Baker, 2006), calls it ‘language in action’ (p. 4). Other explanations are more complex, and involve external considerations. For example, Partington, Duguid, & Taylor (2013) say discourse may be language ‘beyond the clause’ (p. 2), relating to how language can be structured in various ways in order to create meaning. Then again, discourse may be ‘language doing some job in some context’ (Halliday, as cited in Partington et al., 2013, p. 2) in the functional sense, with a lexico-grammatical focus. Critical Discourse Studies (CDS)¹ approaches mutually understand discourse as “language use in speech and writing where discourse is a form of social practice rather than purely an individual activity or a reflex of situational variables, it represents things and positions people” (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258). It lies within the constructionist and post structuralist strains, which consider social life as being made up of practices (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). This is the definition I adopt for this study, because within the broad field of Discourse Analysis (DA), my dissertation most closely follows research within the CDS subgroup. CDS primarily takes interest in how social practices are carried out discursively- hence the focus on text of any form, be it spoken, written, or signaled. It must be noted that this discursive formation process is not a linear one; it is reciprocal, wherein social practices, identities, and relations are not only formed from discourses, but are also constitutive of discourses (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). Reisigl & Wodak (2001) similarly state that discourse is just as much reflective of social phenomena as it is responsible for shaping them. Fairclough (1992a) and Wodak & Meyer (2009) term this relationship between discourse

¹ Critical Discourse Studies is more commonly used now instead of Critical Discourse Analysis when referring to this discourse analytical field (Van Dijk, 2013).

and other social dimensions dialectal. This establishes the role of discourse in shaping and maintaining social relations of power and dominance.

CDS practitioners are interested in power exercised through and embedded within discourse, working to shape how people perceive things (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Some actors, groups, or institutions have privileged access to modes of public communication, or possess various resources like status, wealth, and qualification, through which they “may influence the structures of text and talk in such a way that, as a result, the knowledge, attitudes, norms, values and ideologies of recipients are – more or less indirectly affected in the interest of the dominant group” (van Dijk, 1996, p. 85). Thus, language becomes not just a manifestation of social structures, but also a means through which social control can be established. CDS scholars consider language to be a powerful tool used by powerful people who are perceived as being responsible for inequality (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Hence, a large part of CDS research is geared towards studying texts from powerful and public institutions, in order to deconstruct how they reflect attitudes and beliefs within people which on the surface appear to be natural and autonomous (Fairclough, 1995; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; van Dijk, 1993).

CDS researchers combine micro analysis of linguistic devices used within text with macro analysis of its contextual background, allowing for a holistic explanation and interpretation of the text. Thus, context, which includes sociopolitical and historical factors besides discourse production, dissemination, and reception practices, is a significant consideration within CDS (Fairclough, 1992a; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). CDS is interdisciplinary, in that its researchers interpret text and explicate context by referring to theories from various social, political, and cultural fields of study (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

Though this research does not delve too deeply into the critical part because it is outside its current scope, I do borrow frameworks, theories, and analysis procedures from CDS and its prominent scholars to carry out my own analysis, placing my dissertation within the same strain of socially significant research.

2.5 Corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS)

McEnery et al. (2006) define a corpus as “a collection of (1) *machine-readable* (2) *authentic* texts (including transcripts of spoken data) which is (3) *sampled* to be (4) *representative* of a particular language or language variety” (p. 5). Biber, Conrad & Reppen (1998) define a corpus as “a large and principled collection of natural texts,” often stored electronically and used for linguistic research (p. 4). Corpus Linguistics (CL) has been defined as a branch of linguistics that aims at “studying language based on real life language use” with computer software (McEnery & Wilson, 2001, p. 1). CL involves the analysis of corpora made up of thousands of text fragments, while DA is more concerned with thoroughly analyzing smaller extracts of whole texts. Baker et al. (2008) argue that the fusion of the two make for a useful ‘methodological synergy’ and co-penetration (p. 274). There are many studies, some of which have been mentioned in the literature review, that have already exhibited the benefits of this methodological combination in analyzing media discourse.

The advantage of corpus analysis is that by revealing the regular patterns in corpora, it helps us understand dominant constructions surrounding different topics. Repeated associations signal discourses that are systematically and preferentially disseminated (Jaworska & Krishnamurthy, 2012). It is precisely this ability of a corpus approach that it allows us “to see which choices are privileged, giving evidence for mainstream, popular or entrenched ways of thinking” (Baker et al., 2013, p. 25).

However, corpus analysis done alone often faces the criticism that it does not consider socio-cultural context; in-depth analysis of context is out of its scope, seeing as most large-scale corpora analyzed are a compilation of decontextualized texts (Baker, 2006)- take for example the British National Corpus (BNC). Another issue is that since corpus linguistics gives precedence to frequency, and has cut-off points to enable the researcher to handle the data, results elicited might overlook absences and outliers in the data (Mautner, 2009) that, despite not showing up often, may “contribute cumulatively to a certain discursive effect or may represent traces of alternative discourses” (Motschenbacher, 2018, p. 151). This brings us to CADS.

The multidisciplinary Corpus-assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) approach that combines quantitative and qualitative methods adopted from CL and DA has many benefits. Both utilize similar theoretical bases while focusing on the use of language in real life. CADS as a term was introduced by Partington (2004) to identify research in the discourse field that was utilizing corpus techniques more and more often, strongly influenced by pioneering works of Stubbs (1995), Hardt-Mautner (1995), and Krishnamurthy (1996), and enabled by easier and quicker access to databases containing large amounts of computable data with the advent of the internet age. Such an approach, Partington et al. (2013) claim, serves to uncover meanings which may not be easily observed from a close qualitative analysis of smaller samples of text. The authors argue that language use is a ‘semi-conscious’ process involving ‘semi-automatic’ linguistic choices, patterns in which may be overlooked during manual analysis, suggesting that CADS gives researchers access to ‘non-obvious’ meanings (p. 11). Similarly, Baker (2006) considers language as a system of choices wherein choices made by language users are not arbitrary regardless of whether they are made consciously or unconsciously. Instead, they reflect users’ ideological positions, which can be uncovered through CADS.

2.6 CADS on refugees and asylum seekers

Combining Corpus Linguistics (CL) with discourse analytical approaches has given rise to the relatively new Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS), first introduced by Partington (2004), and seen in seminal works like Baker & McEnery (2005), Baker et al. (2008), Gabrielatos & Baker (2008), and more recently in Taylor (2014), Blinder & Allen (2016), Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti (2016), Abid et al. (2017), Oregan & Riordan (2018), Haider & Olimy (2018), Tong & Zuo (2018), and Efe (2018). Corpus linguistics has allowed researchers to analyze larger amounts of data than discourse analysis has, by significantly reducing the time it takes to observe patterns and determine points of focus for further analysis, while also helping to address the criticism of researcher bias associated with discourse analysis (Baker, 2008). Triangulation of quantitative methods from corpus linguistics with qualitative ones from discourse analysis helps the researcher achieve findings that are more robust and replicable.

The seminal research done by Baker et al. (2008) studied a 140-million-word corpus of British newspapers. The mixed method approach involved doing collocation and concordance analyses to identify categories within which RASIM were commonly represented, followed by in-depth qualitative analysis of representative texts using CDA techniques. Collocation and concordance analyses showed high references of RASIM in association with categories of entry, residence, and provenance to be indicative of the UK press' fixation with RASIM entering and staying in the UK. Quantification was used frequently in the form of water metaphors like 'flood' and 'stream' as a strategy to dehumanize and exclude RAS. While the CL and CDA researchers both found categories of negative representation, the CL researcher alone found some positive categories. The terms refugee, asylum seeker, immigrant, and migrant appeared to be conflated in the corpus. CDA techniques, besides revealing information CL methods had not found,

helped triangulate the findings from the quantitative analyses, thus lending more strength to the research.

Taylor's (2014) cross-linguistic study looked at a total of 9742 articles from the UK and Italy, and found that different categories from among RASIM tended to be overrepresented in different media, and RASIM from only certain parts of the world were constructed within a moral panic frame while others were not. Geographical identity and related terms were significant in associating RASIM with moral panic. Asylum seekers were the most prominent group in UK broadsheets and Italian national press; the authors found that more coverage was not associated with negative stance in the case of UK broadsheets. Italy's regional press, along with UK tabloids, mostly foregrounded the migrant category, and did so negatively. For instance, Afghan migrants were portrayed as a threat by UK tabloids, but were not seen to be the subject of moral panic. Nigerian migrants were portrayed as unlawful by Italian regional press.

Blinder & Allen (2016) analyzed a corpus of 5800 articles from 2010 to 2012, totaling 43 million words, to explore how British media representations and public perceptions about RASIM were connected. Though they could not stress a causative relationship, findings strongly supported the idea that selective reporting of issues related to immigration may influence public attitudes towards RASIM. Coverage focused more on the asylum seeker category and the economic and legal aspects of migration as opposed to family migrants, international students, or legal migrants. The public too, was seen to be more concerned with the former category, even though immigration statistics at the time showed no cause for concern. In the data, the word 'illegal' significantly modified the category 'immigrants,' and 'failed' significantly collocated with the category 'asylum seekers,' thus attaching negative evaluations to the groups. Asylum seekers were also frequently found conflated with migrants or immigrants. Media

portrayal of labor migration, revealed by collocates to have mostly negative associations, was also found to be mirrored by public opinion.

Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti (2016) used CADS to compare Greek, German, and British media representations of the 2015 European Refugee Crisis in 1340 articles. Notably, they did not use any CL software, choosing to manually note collocates and then interpret the findings, claiming the dataset, containing two months' worth of articles, was small enough to be manually studied. They found that the newspapers frequently used numbers in discussing the crisis, as well as geographical descriptors. Syrian refugees were presented as helpless, desperate victims of a civil war. The topics covered most commonly were an important EU-Turkey arrangement, the management of the crisis, and the question of child refugees.

Abid et al. (2017) explored how metaphors were used to represent Syrian refugees in host countries and non-host ones by comparing two large corpora of online news articles from relevant countries. Collocation analysis enabled them to determine several categories of metaphors, with the most (83.4% of total) being used in describing the refugee exodus, and the least (0.7% of total) being used to report the difficulties the refugees face in their host countries or from civil war. Host countries were found to use more metaphors than non-host ones, and both used mostly water metaphors. Host countries seemed to contain more metaphors describing the entry of refugees and how they posed problems to economy and security. Both corpora were seen to use metaphors in unique ways.

Efe (2018) studied discourse surrounding Syrian asylum seekers in Turkish news spanning five years and 2321 articles. Some prominent discourses in the news were humanitarian and aid related- with asylum seekers constructed as passive victims and Turkey as the positive and benevolent aid provider. Discourse around the effects the

asylum seekers were having on the host country were also aplenty, wherein they were constructed as potential threats to security, economy, and culture. Turkey's refugee policies were also criticized within this discourse. Constructions of asylum seekers included 'our brothers,' 'victims,' 'needy people,' 'threats,' or 'criminals,' with newspapers using selective combinations to shape discourses around the group and the crisis. The reporting strongly reflected political and ideological leanings.

Haider & Olimy (2018) used WordSmith Tool 7, a popular corpus linguistics software, to look at 1494 Arabic news headlines from Petra- a Jordanian news agency, and compare how refugees (Laji'een) and migrants (Muhajireen) were represented. How the groups were portrayed by was determined by factors like the year of arrival, the number of people arriving, and the socio-economic state of the host country. In early 2012, when the conflict began and refugees started arriving in Jordan, the headlines appeared welcoming and involved references to how the country was helping and providing for them. Later in 2012 and well into 2013 and 2014, as the numbers kept increasing, headlines revolved around requesting assistance to help Jordan provide for the refugees and to find a solution for the issue. In 2015, the headlines were concerned with scarcity of funds, and by 2016, the focus had been shifted to Europe because many refugees had begun fleeing there since 2015.

Oregan & Riordan (2018) combined CL and CDA to compare representations of RASIM in UK and Irish digital and print news from 2015. The corpus was made up of nearly 4.5 million words, two thirds of which were from UK newspapers. In November 2015, both countries manifested preoccupation with terror and related attacks, most likely as a consequence of the 13th November Paris terrorist attacks, thus indicating as implicit connection between the refugee crisis and terrorism within public debate. RASIM terms were used much more frequently, and with more variety, in UK news compared to Irish

news. The us-versus-them dichotomy was also more highlighted in the UK press through recurrent use of the pronoun ‘they.’ CDA of randomized downsamples further corroborated the findings, while also revealing that Irish press constructed RASIM more as victims while UK press framed them more as invaders. The UK had largely negative attitudes towards RASIM, fueled by fear of ‘foreign threats’ (p. 21), while Ireland had positive and neutral attitudes overall.

2.7 Studies on representations of the Rohingya

Some studies on representations of the Rohingya that were found through an exhaustive search are Brooten (2015), Brooten, Afzal (2016), Au-On et al. (2017), Howe (2018), Lee (2019), and Ubayasiri (2019).

Brooten (2015) carried out textual analyses on a series of Pulitzer Prize-winning *Reuters* reports on the Rohingya from 2013, and alternately on a series of online posts from transnational media, in order to investigate how human rights discourse is constructed in global media, what purposes such constructions serve, and how alternate discourses online challenge mainstream journalistic practices. She used Makau Mutua’s (2002) savage-victim-savior (SVS) framework within critical human rights theory to guide her analysis. The study found that Rohingya Muslims were primarily framed as victims by the *Reuters* reports. They were constructed as victims of injustice, hatred, and violence in detailed accounts of atrocities and human rights abuses against them. Burma’s Buddhist public, alongside their monks, are prominently depicted as savages in the articles, with government forces occasionally being included in the frame. The author argues that their representation as deviant, barbaric, and violent nationalists reinforces the ‘Orientalist framework’ (p. 138) often seen in Western media. Regional governments like Malaysia, India, and Thailand are for the most part also portrayed negatively within this frame, as nations that do not recognize refugees, that abuse and deport them, or extort and

smuggle them. Multiple saviors are constructed within the savior frame in the *Reuters* articles, like the democratic Myanmar, the United Nations, and the United States. *Reuters* reporters are frequently portrayed as ‘saviors of truth’ (p. 140), undertaking dangerous quests and going to risky lengths to bring readers the truth. Alternative media, or online blog posts, however, challenge this savior frame *Reuters* constructs for itself by revealing the agency’s inaction and silence over the lawsuit against two Thailand based bloggers by the Royal Thai Navy for quoting excerpts from the *Reuters* articles.

Brooten et al. (2015) analyzed text and images to compare how three different media sources- *The New York Times*, the *Inter Press Services*, and the popular *Rohingya Community* page on Facebook constructed the 2012 conflict in the Arakan State between the majority Buddhists and minority Rohingya Muslims. The Facebook page, *Rohingya Community*, uses language and mostly images to construct violent victimization of the Rohingya, employing ‘politics of immediation’ (p. 718). It constructs Rakhine Buddhists, the Burmese military forces, and even Bangladeshi officials as savages within the SVS framework; while some metaphorical savages are genocide, racism, oppression, killing, and global silence. The international community, the United Nations, the UNHCR, some Muslim groups, and relief workers are depicted as saviors, with metaphorical saviors being justice, democracy, and freedom, among others. The *NYT* uses the most metaphors, and constructs the Rohingya as victims alongside the reform process and investment in Burma. The latter are conditional victims, being potential saviors given foreign intervention takes place, preferably directed by the US, which is thus constructed as a savior. This reflects a ‘corporate politics of immediation’ (p. 718). The *IPS* constructs the Rohingya Muslims as well as the Rakhine Buddhists as victims of the state and its strict policies, which are the savages within the SVS framework. Media and investment are also constructed by the *IPS* as savages, with the latter being in direct contrast with the *NYT*’s representation of investment as a savior.

Afzal (2016) examined media framing of the Rohingya crisis in English language editorials from Pakistan, the UK, and USA. The overall tone of all three sources was found to be the same- supportive of the Muslim minority group, and against the Buddhist majority group and the Myanmar military. The articles were found to often frame emotional appeals to readers as a way to effectively garner policy support, hold attention, and influence perceptions.

Au-On et al. (2017) used transitivity analysis to analyze comments on a YouTube video on the Rohingya by BBC News in an effort to uncover ideational meanings. Findings suggest that the Rohingya were constructed most frequently in material processes (71%), wherein they were mostly goals of negative action, but also actors doing both non-negative and negative action in fairly equal proportion. In relational processes (23%), the non-negative characteristics they were attributed outnumbered the negative characteristics. Non-negative identification within comments included race (Rohingya), religion (Muslim), and country (Bangladesh), while negative identification included criminal involvement and illegality. Overall, the results suggested a neutral representation of Rohingyas simply as a people in conflict with the Myanmar government and its Buddhist population. They were seen not as victims, but as actors who were involved in negative or non-negative action involving Myanmar, and as people who were acted upon in a similar strain.

Howe (2018) examined the progression of violence in Myanmar's Rakhine state over six years, from 2012 to 2018, arguing that the Buddhist nationalist crusade involving monks, 969 members, the *Ma Ba Tha*, and Myanmar's government have, in collaboration, incited unrest among the public regarding the ethnic and religious minority Rohingya, depicting the latter as a threat to the state's unity, peace, and Buddhist identity. The author claims that prejudiced and inflammatory discourse surrounding the group has justified

their abuse and discrimination in Myanmar. He employs Buzan et al.'s (1998) securitization thesis to explain how hate-filled discourse against the Rohingya is related to notable occurrences of violence against them, and posits that besides worsening Islamophobic sentiment among Myanmar's public, this securitization discourse further creates an environment that threatens to ruin the lives of Rohingyas and their future generations in the country.

Lee (2019) also examined the role played by Myanmar's state authorities in the perpetration of hate speech and the ways in which these acts of abuse against the marginalized Rohingya were normalized and legitimized by the state. The article analyzed how a popular state newspaper, the *Global New Light of Myanmar*, published and promoted anti-Rohingya discourse, inciting hate-filled posts and narratives on social media about Rohingya Muslims. Myanmar's official media outlet thus created an atmosphere which encouraged vitriol against the Rohingya minority and justified human rights abuses against them. The author stresses that state media deserves as much scrutiny as social media when it comes to their being used as tools to spread ideology.

Ubayasiri (2019) carried out a qualitative frame analysis to explore how the Rohingya minority group's migration into Bangladesh was framed by the country's most read English language newspaper, *The Daily Star*, by selecting one hundred random news stories covering the Rohingyas' 2012 flight from Myanmar, and fifty news reports covering their 2017 flight. Based on the perspective that news media shapes as well as reflects public opinion, the article attempts to understand how Rohingya refugees are constructed and perceived among Bangladesh's English-speaking upper middle to upper class. Findings showed that the Rohingya were othered by being framed as victims of Myanmar's abusive campaigns, impediments to economic prosperity whose humanitarian needs were secondary to those of Bangladeshi citizens, and intruders who threatened

Bangladesh's national security and social identity. The group is constructed as a problem for which repatriation is the desirable solution. Voice was given to border security forces to highlight their effectiveness. Previous bouts of migration to Bangladesh were presented as proof of Bangladesh's having honored its humanitarian obligations. Ubayasiri holds that *The Daily Star* did not manage to observe the Fourth Estate mandate, because it did not raise questions about the role Bangladesh played in the plight of the Rohingya when the country denied refugees entry as they tried to escape renewed conflict in Myanmar.

2.8 Literature gap

Despite Asia's having the highest number of displaced people, studies on their representation in Asian media are relatively lacking. Moreover, despite searching extensively online, I could not, until recently, find a published paper that explored the media representation of refugees in the Bangladeshi context. The one I did find (Ubayasiri, 2019), was published very recently, and indicates a significant direction for further research. It is this literature that my dissertation intends to enrich by exploring in depth how Bangladeshi news media portrays Rohingya refugees. Understanding how they, along with two other important social actors, Bangladesh and Myanmar, are represented in news, would give us a rounded idea of public discourse in Bangladesh regarding the Rohingya. Whether and how the Rohingyas' statelessness plays into these discourses is also an important consideration in this research. The analysis is further expected to shed light on how media representation in a non-Western country may differ from or align with Western media representation, by discussing findings in light of the literature review and the background of the study. One of the goals is also to find out whether constructions surrounding the Rohingya conform with or diverge from constructions of RAS and minorities from other backgrounds. Furthermore, the literature review shows the phrase 'refugee crisis' as an ideologically charged term in the context of Europe's 2015 refugee emergency. There is a clear lack of research on the discursive

construction of the Rohingya refugee crisis, which is worth looking into and comparing with how other refugee crises are constructed. Since literature on the Rohingyas' plight and possible solutions needs constant update as their situation still remains unresolved, this dissertation would add to current research on the persecuted minority.

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CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses more about CADS, which is the field of study that this research falls under, and most relevant to which is the notion of discourse, explicated in section 2.4. The later sections propose and justify the methodology adopted for the study, and explain the data collection and analysis procedures. The final section summarizes this chapter.

3.2 Corpus-assisted discourse studies

There is a distinction made between corpus-based and corpus-driven research, initially pointed out by Tognini-Bonelli (2001)- while the first methodology uses a corpus mostly to test or expound theories so as to confirm or refute them, the second relies solely on the corpus to guide linguistic research and direct hypotheses. However, some linguists are of the view that all CL research can be considered corpus-based, and reject the binary distinction detailed above (McEnery & Hardie, 2012, p. 147-153). Researchers are more likely to shift between the two approaches at different points throughout the study, with each stage of analysis informing the next; Taylor (2013) calls this a 'key feature' of CADS (p. 85). I adopt the same position for my work. The current study looks to quantitative corpus evidence to reveal entry points into the data for qualitative exploration.

CADS researchers combine DA techniques with CL ones to examine corpora in a number of ways, like close-reading, watching, or listening (Partington et al., 2013, p. 12) to specific parts of the data that are determined by corpus techniques to be worth exploring further. As seen from the literature review, social, historical, and political contexts of the phenomena are often further investigated in order to better explain findings and make research more well-rounded. Researchers may choose from among a variety of discourse analytical techniques and theories to study parts of the corpus qualitatively, like

conversation analysis (Partington, 2003), Systemic Functional Grammar (Mulder, 2011; Taylor, 2014), sociolinguistics (Mautner, 2007), van Leeuwen's (1996, 2008) socio-semantic categorization of social actors (Caldas-Coulthard & Moon, 2010), and Wodak's (2000, 2001) Discourse Historical Approach (Baker et al., 2008). Apart from discourse surrounding RAS, reviewed in chapter 2 of this dissertation, researchers have successfully used CADS to study a variety of other topics, not limited to scientific discourse (Taylor, 2010), morality discourse (Marchi, 2010), representation of Islam and Muslims (Baker et al., 2013; Al-Hejin, 2014; Brindle, 2016; Samaie & Malmir, 2017), representation of immigrants (Taylor, 2014; Brouwer, Woude, & Leun, 2017), gender discourse (Caldas-Coulthard & Moon, 2010; Jaworska & Krishnamurthy, 2012; Taylor, 2013; Baker & Levon, 2015), sexuality discourse (Motschenbacher, 2018), and identity discourse (Jaworska, 2016).

The process of integrating quantitative and qualitative techniques, termed 'triangulation' in CADS, has been proposed and exemplified by several scholars (Mautner, 2007; Baker et al., 2008; Wodak & Krzyżanowski, 2009; Caldas-Coulthard & Moon, 2010) in response to criticism that CDS research can be biased in its selection of data for analysis. Baker et al. (2008) argue that the methodological synergy of CADS leads to analysis being more thorough because it involves the whole dataset, and hence ensures that interpretations are more robust and findings more valid. McNeill & Chapman (2005) state that triangulation allows researchers "to cross-check and verify the reliability of a particular research tool and the validity of data collected" (p. 23). Details about the methods follow in the following sections, but before that, some more terminology from within DA needs to be understood for a better understanding of the conceptualizations that guide this study. Key concepts in relation to this research are detailed in the Glossary (see Appendix A).

3.3 Methodological framework

Corpus Linguistics uses analytical tools that calculate frequency, keywords, collocations, clusters, and concordances in a corpus that either already exists, like the BNC, or is custom built to suit the purposes of an investigation.

In both situations, researchers first determine a linguistic topic or an issue for study. Once that is decided, they work on sourcing the data for analysis. In the case of generalized corpora, the data is already present among a selection of corpora available online; researchers select ones that help fulfill their research objectives. Some examples are the British English corpus, the American English corpus, the British National Corpus, and the Brown corpus. These encompass both spoken and written language; the BNC also has a distinct corpus for each. Generalized corpora are usually used to study linguistic features on a wide scale, and corpora in languages besides English are available to researchers as well.

In the case of specialized corpora, researchers source exclusive data to address their research objectives, and build their own corpora. Specialized corpora are most often much smaller than generalized ones, and are used with a focus towards studying patterns within a particular range, as opposed to studying linguistic phenomena on a large scale. Data can be found in news, interviews, speeches, novels, school textbooks, academic papers, and social media, among others. The internet is commonly used to collect data for corpus analysis.

Corpus typology can be different for each research, for example, full-text, sample, synchronic, diachronic, monolingual, bilingual, and more. It must be noted that researchers need permission from text producers in order to use their content, unless it is public information which may be reproduced freely.

Following collection, researchers convert the data into plain text format in order to make it readable by a corpus software. Spoken data, like speeches and interviews, can be transcribed, hard copies can be scanned and saved as PDFs, and PDFs can be converted to plain text format using Optical Character Recognition (OCR) software. Other formats can also be saved as plain text. Either before or after conversion, researchers eliminate whatever is unnecessary in the data, like repetitive words, images, and hyperlinks etc. depending on the requirements of the research.

According to the resources and funds available to researchers, they then choose a corpus analysis software to analyze the data. The most popular toolkits at present are WordSmith Tools (Scott, 2012), AntConc (Anthony, 2012), SketchEngine (Kilgariff, 2013), and Wmatrix (Rayson, 2013).

A specialized corpus has been compiled for the current research, and the analytical tools relevant to it will now be explained with reference to AntConc 3.5.8.

The 'Word List' tool generates a list of the different words- known as 'word types' in AntConc 3.5.8- in the corpus, arranging them according to frequency. A 'word token' is each incidence or appearance of a 'word type.' The total number of words or word tokens in the current corpus is 122128. A frequency count is the most basic step that helps a researcher get an overview of the data being dealt with, in order to determine possible entry-points into the data for further study in the case of bottom-up research.

Salient word types may signal themes in the data, but since they appear only as single items, meaning or context cannot be understood without studying they words they are used along with. This brings us to the 'Collocation' tool, which generates a list of the words that 'collocate' most frequently with a keyword, or in other words appear within a span of a few words to the left and a few to the right of the search item. The default

window span in AntConc 3.5.8 is from 5L to 5R. Significance of collocation is an important consideration here, and the measure of significance chosen can show collocates in differing order. AntConc 3.5.8 has four collocation measures, of which Mutual Information (MI) and T-score are relevant to this study. MI calculates the strength and T-score calculates the certainty of collocation between a node word and its collocate (Hunston, 2002, p. 73; McEnery & Wilson, 2001, p. 86). Clear (as cited in Mautner, 2007) explains that while MI is independent of corpus size and can highlight lexical collocates that despite low frequencies show high chances of co-occurrence with the node word, T-score takes corpus size into consideration and tends to highlight collocates with high frequencies, including grammatical words. Church, Hanks, & Moon (as cited in Mautner, 2007) recommend using both measures in conjunction in order to identify salient collocates. For this study, a threshold value of 3 for both MI and T-score, along with a minimum joint frequency of 10 (frequency to the left and right of a node word), indicate that a collocate is salient.

Collocation analysis helps the researcher identify significant lexical choices in a dataset. These choices are not incidental; Jaworska (2016) claims that frequent patterns of collocation reflect evaluations and established practices of text producers and consumers, besides revealing how subjects and topics are framed within discourse. That being said, infrequent collocates also signal relevant discourses about topics, and are not to be underestimated in their ability to shape representations. Stubbs (2001) states that collocations are shared commonly within speech communities, acting as 'nodes' that dictate 'ideological battles' (p. 188).

The 'Cluster/N-gram' tool generates a list of co-occurring words or phrasal constructions, arranging them according to frequency. This can reveal phrases, idioms,

metaphorical constructions, and other patterns in the data, helping the researcher identify themes surrounding a search term by observing its collocates and concordances.

Finally, the 'Concordance' tool generates a list, or key word in concordance (KWIC) lines, showing each instance of a search term surrounded by its immediate context. The 'key word,' in KWIC, which can be a word or cluster, appears in the middle, with a researcher-determined span of characters to its left and right- displaying enough surrounding text to enable understanding of the context it is used in. Concordance analysis, unlike the preceding corpus linguistic features discussed, involves qualitative techniques.

The socio-semantic approach to social actor representation proposed for discourse analysis by van Leeuwen (1996, 2008) will be used to analyze the data qualitatively. A variety of DA and CDA works, focusing on gender, identity, health, immigration, and academia etc., have utilized this approach to study how social actors are represented. Some studies on RAS that have implemented van Leeuwen's (1996, 2008) social actor network model to carry out qualitative analyses on discourse are KhosraviNik (2009, 2010), Don & Lee (2014), Smith-Khan (2017), Efe (2018), and Torkington & Ribiero (2019). A few of these articles have been reviewed in chapter 2.

Representations of social actors become clearer once socio-semantic categories can be linked with their linguistic realizations. This categorization is held to be the 'starting point in discourse analysis,' with some relevant categories to be analyzed being suppression and backgrounding, activation and passivation, individualization and assimilation, personalization and impersonalization, and nomination and categorization. These will now be described in detail.

Exclusion involves the linguistic deletion of social actors from a text for any purpose intended by the text producer. There are two subcategories of exclusion: suppression and backgrounding. Suppression occurs when a social actor is completely excluded in the text, and backgrounding occurs when a social actor is not explicitly linked to a particular social action but placed elsewhere within a text.

Activation involves the representation of social actors as the active, agentive forces carrying out an action, while passivation means that they are depicted as undergoing an action. Within passivation, when actors are 'subjected,' they are constructed as objects, and when 'beneficialized,' they are constructed as positively or negatively benefiting from an action.

Individualization occurs when social actors are referred to in a text as individuals, and assimilation occurs when they are referenced in groups- this can happen through aggregation, wherein social actors are quantified, or collectivization, wherein they are constructed in terms of plurals or collective words.

Nomination occurs when social actors are represented in text with reference to their unique identities, for instance by their names or titles, and categorization occurs when they are represented with reference to functions or identities that they may share with other social actors or groups, for instance, their religious identity or occupation. Within categorization, we have functionalization and identification; the former is realized when social actors are represented in relation to things they do or roles they play, and the latter is realized when social actors are represented in terms of what they exist as. Identification has three subcategories: classification- whereby social actors are represented in terms of class categories, relational identification- whereby social actors are represented in terms of relationships, and physical identification- whereby social actors are represented in terms of physical appearances.

While the preceding categories are about personalizing social actors, linguistic impersonalization of social actors is also possible, and occurs when they are constructed using abstract nouns- abstraction, or concrete nouns or associations that remove ‘human’ attributes from the actor- objectivation. The complete model of van Leeuwen’s (1996, 2008) social actor network is provided in figure 3.1 below.

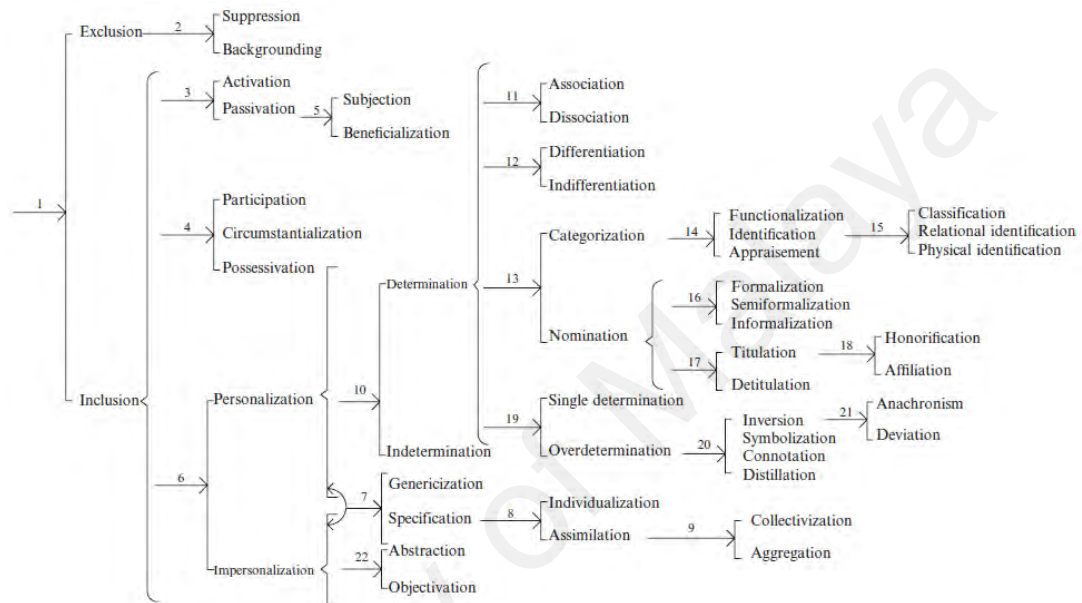


Figure 3.1: van Leeuwen’s social actor network (1996, 2008)

To sum up, CADS is advantaged by its quantitative element; findings revealed by automatically examining large amounts of text are arguably more empirical, generalizable, and replicable than those attained by manually studying small numbers of text. The risk of researcher bias, a criticism often addressed to discourse analysts, is also greatly reduced, as there is more objectivity involved in the corpus analysis stage; findings are achieved by computationally evaluating the whole dataset. Later, however, as the researcher determines extracts or subsets of the data to examine in depth using discourse analysis, cognitive bias may be present, but this can be explained by what Baker (2012) calls researcher reflexivity. This involves understanding that all social research is biased to some extent, and attempting to account for all significant observations while acknowledging that the choices made at each stage of analysis may be affected by

cognitive biases possessed by every individual researcher. Baker suggests seeking multiple perspectives to further inform the researcher's findings and help frame interpretations.

3.4 Data collection

Bangladesh's reporting of the Rohingya Crisis was determined as a relevant research topic, since Bangladesh hosts a significant number of Rohingya refugees. The online version of *The Daily Star*, Bangladesh's leading daily English newspaper, was chosen as representative of Bangladeshi online news media. The data sample gathered for this study is considered to be public information whose reproduction does not require approval or violate any research ethics regulations. To create the corpus, 406 articles spanning a year were collected from its archives if they were found to report the Rohingya crisis. The time period determined for analysis was from August 2017 to August 2018; the most recent refugee migration to Bangladesh started at the end of August 2017, prompted by the worsening of internal conflict and violence in the Rakhine State. August 2018 was set as the cut-off point for data collection for the purpose and scope of this study, even though the situation the Rohingya face remains unresolved.

The corpus includes only online articles, specified by bylines reading 'Star Online Report.' *The Daily Star* archives its articles using tags, and so when the search term 'Rohingya' was used, the tag 'Rohingya crisis' came up as a suggestion which, when clicked, opened up a chronological archive of all relevant articles, besides some irrelevant and unrelated ones. The latter kind were removed from the selection, along with articles that recurred and those that had been sourced from external news agencies like *Reuters*, *Associated Press (AP)*, etc., after scanning through every article collected. To make sure that the tag hadn't excluded relevant articles, further searches were run using the search terms 'Rohingya,' 'Rohingya refugee,' and 'Rohingya refugee crisis.' The results were

repetitive for the most part, showing articles that had already been found under the tag ‘Rohingya crisis.’ A few additional articles that were found to have been omitted by the tag were gathered for the corpus, resulting in 406 articles with a total of 122128 words. These articles were downloaded and saved as text files, automatically and manually removing hyperlinks, pictures, and captions- because the study focuses on text only, and headlines and subheadings- to avoid repetition in the data.

3.5 Data analysis

The corpus analysis software AntConc 3.5.8 for Windows was chosen because it is a free and efficient tool for computational analysis of large corpora, which makes it convenient for researchers who cannot access more exclusive software. It is multi-purpose, offering tools to carry out keyword, frequency, collocation, concordance, and cluster analyses among others, and can be easily run on a range of platforms.

The total number of words, also known as tokens, in the corpus is 122128. A word list analysis was initially done once the corpus was loaded on AntConc 3.5.8. The results arranged all the words in order of descending frequency, giving an idea of the most salient lexical and grammatical items in the dataset. As the words ‘Rohingya,’ ‘Myanmar,’ and ‘Bangladesh’ were found to be the topmost frequent nouns, it was decided to explore the representations of these social actors for the study. Since the term ‘crisis’ is relevant to the study and was also salient, it was chosen to be analyzed as well. Table 3.1 shows the frequency of each keyword in the corpus, generated in AntConc 3.5.8. The ‘*’ appearing at the end of a key word is a wildcard indicating zero or more characters after it, for instance ‘Rohingya*’ includes all instances of ‘Rohingya’ and ‘Rohingyas’ in the search.

Table 3.1 Keywords and frequencies

Rank	Keyword	Frequency
1	Rohingya*	1840
2	Myanmar	1318
3	Bangladesh	1130
4	Crisis	303

The next step involved exploring collocates, clusters, and concordances of the terms, as Baker (2006) says, these tools reveal the most information about the representation of migrants and minorities in media. Collocation and concordance analyses help us understand links among words that co-occur significantly frequently and get an idea of the contexts in which they are used. Alongside AntConc 3.5.8, to address RQ1, van Leeuwen's (1996, 2008) socio-semantic categorization was used to identify how social actors were represented by *The Daily Star* in the context of the Rohingya crisis. To address RQ2, besides using AntConc 3.5.8, a textual analysis was carried out in order to understand how the Rohingya crisis was discursively constructed by *The Daily Star*.

Searches were run using threshold collocation measures of 3 for MI and T-score, and words with a minimum joint frequency of 10 that co-occurred in the two collocate lists were noted for further analysis. For instance, a collocation analysis of 'Rohingya*' (1402 occurrences of 'Rohingya' and 438 occurrences of 'Rohingyas,' revealed significant collocates like 'Bangladesh,' 'Myanmar,' 'refugee,' 'crisis,' 'women,' and 'repatriation' among others (see figure 4.1). Analyzing expanded concordance lines of selected collocates and clusters using van Leeuwen's (1996, 2008) social actor model helped identify discourses and understand how the main social actors were represented. Besides this, every concordance line pertaining to each of the key terms was studied carefully to identify absences and further discourses that may have been missed by quantitative inquiry alone. Simultaneously, emergent representations and constructions were categorically discussed with reference to past studies reviewed in chapter 2, and the

background of the research covered in chapter 1. This was a back and forth analytical process rather than a linear one. Categories were formulated based on evaluations made throughout the research, from reviewing past literature on RAS, to discerning patterns from collocates and concordance lines, while also being guided by van Leeuwen's (1996, 2008) social actor categorizations. Taking note of the meanings that were created through the vocabulary in relation to each social actor and topic helped in identifying representations and labeling the categories. Concordance lines that matched an established category were noted as examples, while newer patterns observed were placed in newer categories. Categorizations and concurrent discussions were periodically revised throughout the analysis. The methodological procedure is broken down in the model below.

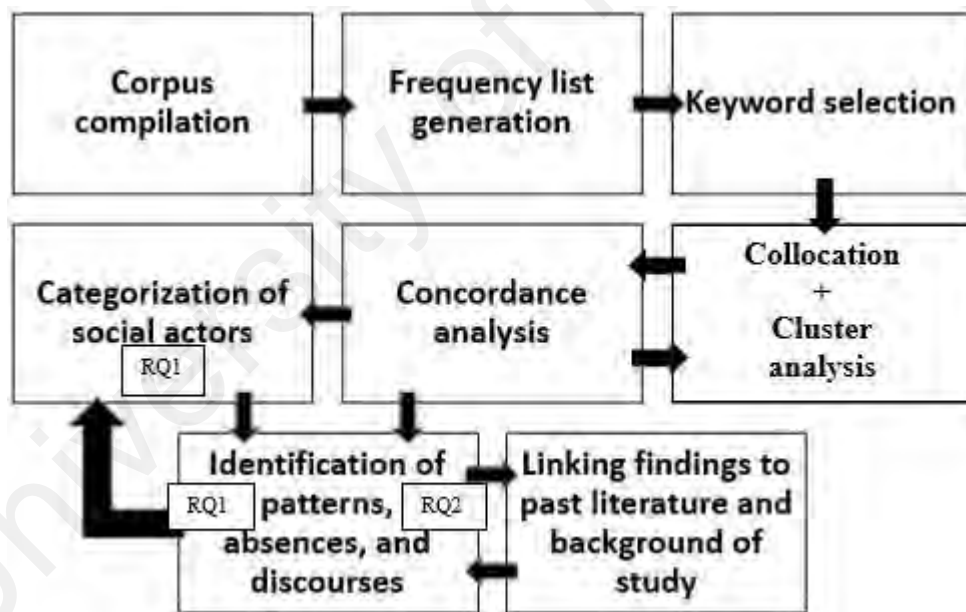


Figure 3.2: Model of methodological procedure

It must be mentioned that this is for the most part a qualitative study rather than a quantitative one, since discourses are discussed regardless of whether they are salient or not, in order to observe and account for patterns as well as absences in the data. The quantitative analysis involving frequency counts and collocation measures help to organize the data more systematically and proceed to the qualitative analysis.

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I explained what corpus-assisted discourse analysis entails, including its advantages and disadvantages. I then detailed the steps in corpus creation, and described the tools within AntConc 3.5.8 and strategies within van Leeuwen's (1996, 2008) social actor network that I used to conduct my analysis and facilitate my discussion. Next, I detailed my data collection methods and analysis process, and presented a figure demonstrating the entire methodological procedure.

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CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the findings of the collocate, cluster, and concordance analyses. Sections are sequentially arranged to address the two research questions from chapter 1, which are repeated here for reference.

RQ1: How does *The Daily Star* represent the main social actors in the context of the 2017 Rohingya crisis?

RQ2: How is the 2017 Rohingya crisis discursively constructed by *The Daily Star*?

From section 4.2 to 4.4, I address RQ1 by order of frequency of keyword, which has already established the Rohingya, Myanmar, and Bangladesh as the main social actors respectively (see table 3.1). I begin with the corpus analysis and simultaneous discussion of how the Rohingya are represented as social actors in *The Daily Star*. I repeat the process for Myanmar, followed by Bangladesh, as social actors. Following the analysis and discussion of the three main social actors in the context of the Rohingya crisis in the news reports, I move to section 4.5, where I address RQ2, again carrying out a corpus analysis along with a discussion of my findings.

Categories of representation for each social actor are determined and arranged according to salient depictions arising from the collocation, cluster, and concordance analyses, explicated with references to expanded concordance lines from the corpus that serve as examples for each category. Two subsection titles, ‘Myanmar’s Aung San Suu Kyi’ (4.3.3) and ‘Bangladesh’s Sheikh Hasina’ (4.4.6), are not categories of representation, but social actors whose representations as their countries’ respective leaders are analyzed from the corpus.

Findings are discussed with reference to past literature, covered in chapter 2, and in relation to the background of the study, detailed in chapter 1. I conclude this chapter with a summary before moving on to the final chapter of my dissertation.

4.2 The Rohingya

In this section, the categories of representation for the Rohingya are arranged and discussed under the following subsections:

- Victims (4.2.1)
 - Assimilation (4.2.1.1)
 - Suffering (4.2.1.2)
 - Vulnerability (4.2.1.3)
- Passivated social actors (4.2.2)
 - Persecution (4.2.2.1)
 - Shelter and aid (4.2.2.2)
 - Repatriation (4.2.2.3)
 - Visitation (4.2.2.4)
- International responsibility (4.2.3)
- Rightful citizens of Myanmar (4.2.4)
- Problem (4.2.5)
- Burden (4.2.6)
- Criminals (4.2.7)
- Security threat (4.2.8)
- Suppressed as asylum seekers (4.2.9)
- Summary (4.2.10)

I start with a collocation analysis of ‘Rohingya*’ (1402 occurrences of ‘Rohingya’ and 438 occurrences of ‘Rohingyas.’ The complete output of the collocates results is

provided in Appendix B. From studying the collocates, we can see patterns starting to emerge. For example, the words ‘issue,’ ‘situation,’ and ‘crisis’ construct a discourse of ‘concern’ around the term ‘Rohingya,’ while prominent collocates like ‘violence,’ ‘atrocities,’ ‘persecution,’ ‘crimes,’ ‘fleeing,’ and ‘burning’ indicate a discourse of ‘danger.’ Numbers appear to be used frequently in connection with the Rohingya. This, as we already know from past literature (Baker & McEnery, 2005; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008; Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti, 2016; Haider & Olimy, 2018), is a common feature of media discourse on RASIM. To better understand the collocates, we proceed to the analysis of expanded concordances, discussed in the following sections in relation to discourses they help shape about the Rohingya. A random output of about a 100 KWIC lines of ‘Rohingya*’ is provided in Appendix B.

4.2.1 Victims

Terms indicating a discourse of abuse, like ‘violence,’ ‘atrocities,’ ‘persecution,’ ‘rape,’ ‘brutal,’ ‘attack,’ and ‘genocide,’ among others, are salient collocates of ‘Rohingya*’ (Appendix B) throughout the corpus. Studying the expanded concordances of each of these collocates reveals that the Rohingya are represented as being on the receiving end of these acts of abuse, thus being constructed as victims in the corpus. In the following subsections, I discuss three ways in which this representation is linguistically realized: i) assimilation of Rohingya, ii) suffering of Rohingya, and iii) vulnerability of Rohingya.

4.2.1.1 Assimilation

Statistics are frequently used to report the numbers of Rohingya fleeing abuse in Myanmar to seek shelter in Bangladesh, as evidenced in Figure 4.1 below. Van Leeuwen (1996, 2008) calls this aggregation of social actors. This strategy of quantification of refugees in the reporting frames the Rohingya as one homogenous body of victims fleeing

from Myanmar and requiring help in Bangladesh, as elaborated further down with examples.

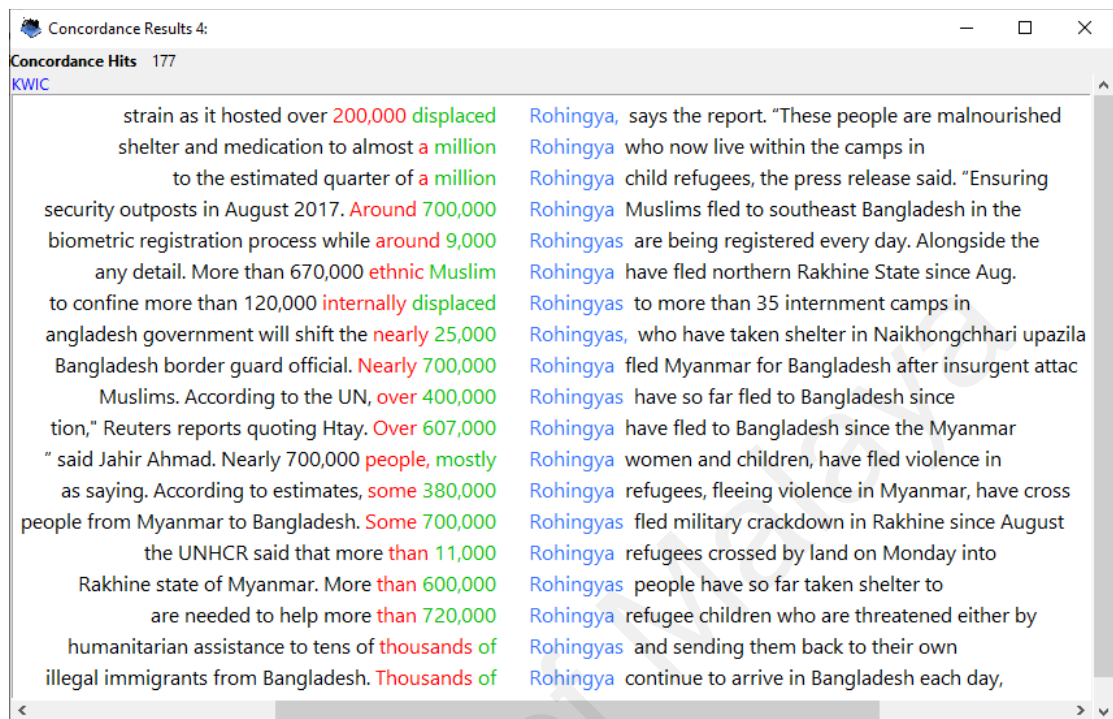


Figure 4.1: Aggregation of the Rohingya

It is clear from figure 4.1 above that pre-modifying quantification is frequently used when reporting about the Rohingya in the news- 1 in 5 KWIC lines of the node word ‘Rohingya*’ appears to be a form of quantification. The numbers of Rohingya entering Bangladesh vary significantly among news reports. Phrases like ‘tens of thousands’ and ‘hundreds of thousands,’ seen further down the concordance list, can be misleading because of how vague they are, and can cause confusion and alarm among readers. Besides aggregation, we also see frequent instances of collectivization in the corpus, which is another strategy of assimilation of social actors according to van Leeuwen (1996, 2008). Clusters in the corpus with ‘Rohingya*’ appearing to the left of the cluster (Appendix B) demonstrate collectivization of the Rohingya through phrases like ‘Rohingya refugees,’ appearing 287 times in the corpus, ‘Rohingya people’ (167), ‘Rohingya Muslims’ (57), ‘Rohingya women’ (38), ‘Rohingya children’ (30), ‘Rohingya

population' (25), 'Rohingya villages' (22), 'Rohingya community' (21), 'Rohingya women and girls' (9), 'Rohingya women and children' (6), 'Rohingya minority' (5), and 'Rohingya minorities' (5). Studying the expanded concordance lines of these clusters reveals that these collectivized Rohingya are passivated and represented as victims of various acts of abuse (see section 4.2.1) carried out by Myanmar and its representative social actors.

This strategy of assimilation can serve two purposes. One is to bring attention to the sheer volume of Rohingya victimized by Myanmar and forced to flee as a result, thus representing the Rohingya as a homogenous group of helpless victims, and the other is to show concern at the same time about the large number of Rohingya entering the small country of Bangladesh to seek shelter. Some examples are discussed below:

- a) "Also, the rights body claimed the **Myanmar government continues to confine more than 120,000 internally displaced Rohingyas** to more than 35 internment camps in eight townships of Rakhine state, **depriving many** of adequate humanitarian aid and lifesaving assistance" ("Prevent premature repatriation", 2018).

In the above example, **120,000 Rohingya** are aggregated and passivated. They are reportedly subjected **displacement** within their country, **confined** to concentration camps, and **deprived** of essential facilities. This aggregation portrays them as a large group of victims, whereas the **Myanmar government**, individualized and functionalized in this example, is activated and held responsible for these acts of **confining** and **depriving** the Rohingya. The claim is attributed to a **rights body**- Fortify Rights, which is an international human rights organization. The utterance autonomization realized through '**the rights body claimed**' supplies what van Leeuwen (2008) terms 'expert authority legitimation' (p. 107) to the **claim**, which means that it has more credibility

since it comes from a highly regarded and well-known source, and imparts a ‘sense of consensus among experts’ (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 54).

- b) “Nearly **700,000 people**, mostly **Rohingya women and children**, have **fled violence** in Rakhine State, Myanmar and **taken shelter** in Bangladesh since August 2017” (“Myanmar’s BGP asks Rohingyas”, 2018).

The Rohingya are aggregated as **700,000 people**, followed by the majority of them being classified and collectivized in the phrase ‘**Rohingya women and children**,’ and reported to be **taking shelter** in Bangladesh after **fleeing violence** in Myanmar. Narrowing down and highlighting **women and children** as victims of **violence** seeking **shelter** serves to intensify the representation of this demographic as helpless, focusing on the more vulnerable members among the Rohingya.

- c) “In Bangladesh, they joined over **300,000 other Rohingya**, who **fled previous waves of violence** since 1980s in Myanmar, where they have been **denied citizenship** though they lived there for generations” (“Red cross doubts”, 2018).

300,000 Rohingya are aggregated and stated to already be in Bangladesh. They are reported en masse as being victim to injustice through **denial of citizenship** and surges of conflict (‘**waves of violence**’) since the 1980s in Myanmar. ‘Though they lived there for generations’ shows the reporting as being on the side of the Rohingya, by presenting the view that since generations of the group have existed in Myanmar, they deserve to be recognized as citizens of the country.

Another observation shows the assimilation of Rohingya appear in relation to the conditions the refugees face within Bangladesh, but interestingly, my search produced very few concordance lines, all expanded below, with instances of assimilation of the Rohingya appearing alongside a description of the problems they face in Bangladesh.

- d) “His plea came the day the IOM said more than **500,000** newly arrived **Rohingya refugees** are now **living in dire conditions in Bangladesh's Cox Bazar region**, reports Xinhua” (“UN migration agency”, 2017).
- e) ““The UK is at the forefront of responding to the **plight of the Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh**,” the secretary of International Development stated” (“UK declares £25m”, 2017).
- f) “William Lacy Swing, director general of the UN's International Organization for Migration (IOM), on Wednesday issued a personal plea to intervene to end the **suffering of Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh**” (“UN migration agency”, 2017).

In (d), **500,000 Rohingya refugees** are activated in the process of ‘**living in dire conditions.**’ In (e) and (f), postmodification of the nominalizations ‘**plight**’ and ‘**suffering**’ realizes the activation of **Rohingya refugees** as sufferers. These situations represent the Rohingya as victims in distress **in Bangladesh**, however, notably, there is no mention of the causes of the situations or any social actors who may be responsible. Compared to examples related to Myanmar, where the country and social actors representing it are often included and activated as victimizing the Rohingya, the above examples indicate exclusion of Bangladeshi social actors through suppression. This is not to claim that such examples are altogether absent in the corpus where difficulties faced by the Rohingya in Bangladesh are reported. Rather, my observation is that where and if these difficulties are reported, the term ‘Bangladesh’ is rarely mentioned in the span of a few words surrounding the events. This strategy helps remove any direct association in the reader’s mind between the difficulties and Bangladesh’s role in the context of these difficulties.

- g) **“Tens of thousands of Rohingya refugees living in Bangladesh camps** are at **imminent risk of landslides**, according a statement of Human Rights Watch (HRW)” (“Rohingya refugee camps”, 2018).
- h) “Spokesman for the UN Secretary General Stephane Dujarric has said urgent efforts are needed to help more than **720,000 Rohingya refugee children** who are **threatened** either by **the approaching cyclone season in Bangladesh** or by **ongoing violence and denial of their basic rights in Myanmar**” (“No forceful Rohingya repatriation”, 2018).

In the above examples, ‘**tens of thousands of Rohingya refugees**’ and ‘**720,000 Rohingya refugee children**’ are assimilated as victim to **risks** and **threats** in the form of natural phenomena like **landslides** and **cyclones**. In example (g), the **approaching cyclone threatening** the lives of **refugee children** in Bangladesh is contrasted with the human-led acts of persecution- **ongoing violence** and **denial of rights**, that they face in Myanmar. This shows yet again how threats that the group possibly face from human agents in Bangladesh are clearly excluded in the reporting, while natural problems afflicting the Rohingya, which human agents cannot be held responsible for, are included therein.

The above is in line with Ubayasiri’s (2019) finding (see section 2.5); she mentions that *The Daily Star* avoided reporting how Bangladesh contributed to the plight of the Rohingya by being unwelcoming towards them during previous episodes of exodus, and by sending back refugees in the past. As I noted in section 1.2.3, Uddin (2018) also claims to have proof of abuse against the Rohingya in refugee camps by Bangladeshi security forces, which goes unmentioned in news reports. References to these events were not found in my own analysis of *The Daily Star* corpus either.

Thus, specifically in terms of assimilation, representations of the Rohingya as victims of situations within Myanmar are seen to significantly outweigh representations of the Rohingya as victims of situations within Bangladesh. Furthermore, the above examples are instances of indirect reporting, with statements of difficulties faced by the Rohingya attributed to experts, alongside their **'plea'** (d) and **'personal plea'** (e) for **intervention** (f) and **urgent efforts to help** (h) the refugees suffering in Bangladesh. Given the points discussed above, I argue that the difficulties the Rohingya face in Bangladesh are mentioned in *The Daily Star's* reports with the primary purpose of garnering sympathy and financial assistance towards the Rohingya cause. Afzal (2016) shares a similar finding (see section 2.5) in the framing of emotional appeals in articles to influence readers.

4.2.1.2 Suffering

Examining the collocates of 'Rohingya*' (Appendix B) shows heavy use of terms related to abuse, like 'violence,' collocating 65 times with 'Rohingya*,' 'persecution' (42), 'atrocities' (42), 'displaced' (30), 'attacks' (24), 'forced' (22), 'genocide' (21), 'killed' (19), 'ethnic cleansing' (17), 'sexual' (14), 'deportation' (14), 'burning' (13), 'rape' (10), 'discrimination' (10), 'crackdown' (10), and 'brutal' (10). Studying the expanded concordances of each of these collocates reveals that the Rohingya are represented as being on the receiving end of these acts of abuse, projecting the image of a heavily victimized and helpless group of sufferers. Some examples of the Rohingyas' suffering appear in section 4.2.1.2 above, and some more are provided and discussed below:

- a) ““The Burmese military **destroyed hundreds of Rohingya villages** while committing **killings, rapes, and other crimes against humanity that forced Rohingya to flee for their lives,**” Robertson adds” (“New satellite images”, 2017).
- b) “The CEDAW committee request followed numerous reports of Myanmar army-led **attacks on Rohingya Muslims**, including **mass killings, rape** and other **sexual violence**, and **widespread arson** in hundreds of predominantly Rohingya villages, **forcing more than 717,000 Rohingya to flee** to neighboring Bangladesh since August 2017” (“Comply with UN”, 2018).
- c) “He says the refugees detailed **horrific violence** including **sexual assault, aerial bombings, beheadings** and **attacks on children** with machetes” (“Pretence won’t work”, 2017).

The **Burmese military** (a) and **Myanmar army** (b), both referring to the same forces, are functionalized with reference to their occupation, and activated in the process of **burning** and **destroying** Rohingya villages, **attacking** Rohingya Muslims, and **killing** and **raping** the Rohingya besides committing other **crimes against humanity**, eventually **forcing** them to **flee** because **their lives** are at risk. The Rohingya, with some demographics classified- **Rohingya Muslims** and **Rohingya children**, are reported as being subjected to these **attacks**. Readers are provided personal details by the Rohingya (c) of violent acts like ‘**attacks on children with machetes**’; these details intensify the representations of suffering and victimhood in the case of the Rohingya, and at the same time paint Myanmar as a vicious violator of human rights.

As reviewed in section 2.3, Greussing and Boomgaarden (2017) state that mentioning the causes of refugee flight from countries of origin or telling their stories serves to humanize them and counteracts their objectivation. A similar effect of humanization is achieved here through *The Daily Star*’s reporting of the threats that the

Rohingya face within Myanmar which compel them to flee abroad, and of the personal stories from refugees. The reporting also depicts Myanmar as the savage and the Rohingya as victims in line with Mutua's (2002) SVS framework, mentioned in section 2.5 when reviewing Brooten's (2015) and Brooten et al.'s (2015) study.

4.2.1.3 Vulnerability

Representation of the Rohingya as vulnerable victims is realized in a way through frequent references to certain demographics among the population that are considered weaker in comparison to others, like Rohingya women, girls, and children as opposed to Rohingya men. I have already mentioned in section 4.2.1 how the Rohingya are collectivized in groups, for instance 'Rohingya people' and 'Rohingya Muslims.' I have also discussed how analyzing the expanded concordances of most clusters with Rohingya as the head word reveals that the groups are represented as victims. This is especially notable in the case of 'Rohingya women,' appearing 38 times in the corpus, 'Rohingya children' (30), 'Rohingya women and girls' (9), 'Rohingya women and children' (6), 'Rohingya minority' (5), and 'Rohingya minorities' (5). Besides the fact that the classification 'minority' itself indicates vulnerability by signaling the marginalization of the Rohingya, I note the classification of and increased focus on the above groups as an attempt to foreground them as the more vulnerable and worse affected victims of the crisis. Some examples are elaborated below:

- a) **“Rohingya women and their families need a strong and committed champion on the international scene”** (“Atrocities against Rohingyas”, 2018).

In the above example, **Rohingya women** are classified and portrayed as heads of their **families**; I claim this because the phrase 'Rohingya men and their families' would imply to me that the men are the heads of their families. The **women** are likely depicted as the family heads because it is mostly Rohingya men who are killed in Myanmar, as reported

by Bhatia et al. (2018) in section 2.2, resulting in the women's having to escape alone with their dependents. However, these **women** and their **families** are held to be helpless and vulnerable victims in the example, because they are constructed as being in **need** of **international** saviors, who are assumed to have the solution to the problems faced by the refugees by being '**strong and committed.**' This finding mirrors Brooten's (2015) observation (see section 2.5) wherein the international community is depicted as a savior with regard to Mutua's (2002) SVS paradigm.

- b) "She said **Rohingya women are twice victimised — for being Rohingya and for being women** — and "are **affected by the ethnic cleansing** and are also **subject to high levels of sexual and gender-based violence.**" ("Persecution of Rohingyas", 2018).

Attributed to female Nobel Laureate Tawakkol Karman, the above quote focuses on the injustices faced by **Rohingya women**, and claims that they are **doubly victimized** due to being **women facing gender discrimination and sexual violence**, and **women facing existential threats due to their ethnicity**. This implies that while other Rohingya demographics, Rohingya men for instance, may also be at risk of ethnic cleansing, **Rohingya women** remain more threatened and thus more vulnerable than other demographics, because they **face the risk of ethnic cleansing and the additional risk of sexual violence**.

- c) "“We are **particularly worried** about the fate of **Rohingya women and children subject to serious violations of their human rights**, including **killings, rape and forced displacement**,” the experts said in a joint statement issued today” (“Rohingya abuse may be”, 2017).

'**Experts,**' autonomised and collectivized in the above example to lend unanimity to their **joint statement**, are seen to be **particularly concerned** about **Rohingya women and**

children and the **human rights violations** they face, even though Rohingya men no doubt face the same threats mentioned in the statement. The special concern highlights **Rohingya women and children** as being vulnerable and weak, but on the other hand, it also shows lack of regard for Rohingya men by excluding them from the **statement**.

- d) “Dil Mohammad, a Rohingya community leader, told the correspondent that a patrolling BGP man from Myanmar territory **opened fire on a group of 15-20 Rohingya children**, who were **playing football** at Konapara in the no man's land” (“Myanmar BGP shoots”, 2018).

The example presents the collectivized and classified **group of Rohingya children** as being engaged in an innocent recreational activity like **football**, and thus having their guard down and posing no threat to anyone. The Myanmar border guard is functionalized with reference to his occupation and activated in the process of **opening fire** on the **children**. Thus, the act of violence against the vulnerable **children** by the guard is depicted as being all the more undeserved and ruthless.

In comparison with the above representation of **Rohingya women, children, and girls**, Rohingya ‘men’ alone are seldom foregrounded as vulnerable victims in the corpus.

Even in the case of the cluster ‘Rohingya Muslims,’ we see from the expanded concordances that the actors are collectivized as a group experiencing abuse by Myanmar. There is a significance of adding the term ‘Muslim’ to ‘Rohingya’; readers implicitly understand through association that the refugees’ Muslim identity plays an important role in their persecution. Some examples discussed below.

- e) ““**Rohingya Muslims** are being **repressed, tortured and exiled in a planned way**. It is a rare example of the **ethnic cleansing**,” the queen told reporters

after visiting Rohingya camps at Kutupalang in Ukhia upazila of Cox's Bazar this noon" ("Myanmar carries out", 2017).

The group, classified as '**Rohingya**' Muslims, are said to be facing **ethnic cleansing**, which tells us that their **Rohingya ethnicity** makes them a **targeted group** for **persecution**. The addition of the religious classification '**Muslims**' to '**Rohingya**' tells us that though it is not overtly stated, their **Muslim** identities are held to be another reason that the Rohingya are targeted for persecution. This collectivization again serves to represent the group as a homogenous mass of victims.

- f) "Myanmar has blocked most international agencies, including the UN, from parts of northern Rakhine state, where security forces are accused of **raping and massacring Rohingya Muslims**" ("World failing Myanmar's Rohingyas", 2017).
- g) "So far 19 **Rohingya Muslims were rescued** after the trawler capsized that took place due to bad weather in the Bay, said Stalin Barua, sub-inspector of Inani police camp" ("15 Rohingyas die", 2017).
- h) "King Salman of Saudi Arabia yesterday ordered the allocation of \$15 million to **alleviate the suffering of Rohingya Muslims who fled persecution** in Rakhine state of Myanmar" ("Saudi king orders", 2017).

In the three examples above, **Rohingya Muslims** are presented as vulnerable victims of their circumstances- **rape and massacre** (f), a **trawler capsize** (g), and **refugees suffering after to being forced to flee** (h). They are portrayed as being in need of **saving and assistance**, while **the UN** by possibly intervening (f), the **Bangladeshi police by rescuing** (g), and the **Saudi King by donating \$15 million** (h), are represented as their saviors. **Myanmar and its security forces** (f) are represented as the savages as seen within Mutua's (2002) SVS paradigm, for engaging in acts including **rape and massacre**.

Compared to most DA studies that have analyzed the representations of Muslims in media (see chapter 2), *The Daily Star* corpus represents them differently in that Rohingya Muslims specifically are not depicted as criminals or troublemakers with a focus on their religion. Of the 131 occurrences of ‘Muslim*’ in the corpus, only one expanded concordance line identifies Rohingya militants activated in a criminal act as ‘**Muslim.**’ The remaining KWIC lines mostly represent Rohingya Muslims as a persecuted group of victims. These statistics may be explained by the fact that Bangladesh is itself a Muslim majority country, with Muslims making up 90% of its population. Rohingya Muslims are rather treated sympathetically within the reports, as vulnerable victims facing abuse in Myanmar. This finding is similar to Afzal’s (2016) observation (see section 2.5) that news editorials in Pakistan, the US, and the UK reported in support of Rohingya Muslims.

As reviewed in section 2.3, Chouliaraki (2016) claims that the victimization of RAS can be problematic even though it portrays them sympathetically, because it can construct them as helpless masses of people that are completely reliant on external assistance, and thus depicts them as burdens on the host country. While their representation as burdens in the corpus has not yet been examined, it is evident from the analysis so far that the most dominant representation of the Rohingya seen in *The Daily Star* corpus is that of victim, and within this discourse they are indeed constructed as being reliant on external support.

4.2.2 Passivated social actors

Examining the lists of clusters with ‘Rohingya*’ reveals frequent representations of the group as passivated social actors in *The Daily Star* corpus (Appendix B). In the first list with ‘Rohingya*’ at the head of the clusters, ‘Rohingyas were killed’ and ‘Rohingya refugees sheltered’ each appears 5 times in the corpus. While it is clear from

the construction of the first cluster that the Rohingya are passivated as goals of the act of killing, thus exemplifying their victimization, the construction of the second cluster only discloses passivation of the Rohingya upon its KWIC lines being analyzed. In these lines, the Rohingya are represented as goals of shelter by Bangladesh. Passivation of the Rohingya is more apparent from the second list of clusters, where ‘Rohingya*’ appears to the right of clusters like ‘to the Rohingya’ (55), ‘against the Rohingya’ (50), ‘of the Rohingyas’ (44), ‘repatriation of Rohingya’ (16), ‘displaced Rohingyas’ (14), and ‘visited the Rohingya’ (11) among others. Studying expanded KWIC lines of these and other clusters from both lists shows that the Rohingya are passivated in relation to a number of salient topics, including persecution, aid, repatriation, and visitation. These will be discussed with examples in separate subsections below.

4.2.2.1 Persecution

The Rohingya are most frequently passivated as goals subjected to persecution by Myanmar, for instance,

- a) ““We are particularly concerned about the **clearance operations** conducted by the Myanmar military during which various independent reports have documented **systematic burning of Rohingya villages sexual violence against Rohingya women and opening fire on unarmed civilians,**” the organisations and individuals said” (“114 int’l orgs”, 2017).

Rohingya villages are subjected to **systematic burning**, **Rohingya women** are subjected to **sexual violence**, and **unarmed civilians** are subjected to **open fire**. The **Myanmar military** is activated in the process of conducting **clearance operations** against the Rohingya. Utterance autonomisation of **reports** imparts an impersonal authority to the **documentation** of the persecution, as does the collectivization of ‘**organizations and individuals.**’

- b) “In a report published in November 2017, Fortify Rights and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum documented Myanmar Army-led **massacres, mass gang-rapes, and arson attacks against Rohingya** since October 2016” (“Fortify Rights urges”, 2018).

The above internationally recognized groups quoted above provide expert authority legitimation to the claim that the Rohingya have been subjected to **massacres, rapes, and arson attacks** by the **Myanmar army** since 2016. Both the above examples of passivation represent the Rohingya as victims of persecution by Myanmar.

4.2.2.2 Shelter and aid

The next most frequent topic within which the Rohingya are passivated as social actors is related to their aid, shelter and management in Bangladesh. Related words collocate often with ‘Rohingya*,’ like ‘support’ (45), ‘shelter’ (38), ‘relief’ (20), ‘assistance’ (20), and ‘sheltered’ (11). In section 4.2.1 I have already examined how the Rohingya are represented as victims reliant on external support. More examples are discussed below.

- a) ““I express my gratitude to Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina as she set up an example of humanity by providing **shelter to the Rohingya Muslims**,” she added” (“Myanmar carries out”, 2017).

Rohingya Muslims are represented as beneficiaries of **shelter** provided by Bangladesh’s Prime Minister, who is individualized and nominated through honorification as **Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina**. This tool represents Bangladesh’s premier as a **humanitarian** savior and the **Rohingya Muslims** as helpless victims whom she chooses benevolently to **provide shelter** to.

- b) “As a result, Bangladesh has to face the pressure of **taking care of the Rohingya refugees**, he also said” (“Rohingya crisis”, 2017).

- c) “Today’s meeting held at Ukhia Upazila Parishad Auditorum to coordinate the **management of Rohingya refugees** was chaired by Cox’s Bazar Deputy Commissioner Md Ali Hossain, and attended by high officials including district Superintendent of Police AKM Iqbal Hossain” (“New refugee camps”, 2017).

In the above examples, **Rohingya refugees** are passivated as goals in the processes of **caretaking** and **management** by Bangladesh and its representative social actors. These examples shape a discourse of burden with regard to Bangladesh’s ‘**pressure of taking care,**’ and efforts to ‘**coordinate the management**’ of the refugees. The nominal ‘**management**’ in (e) abstracts and impersonalizes the **Rohingya refugees** by representing them as objects to be handled. It also helps to remove agency by backgrounding the social actor or actors who will be doing the **managing**. The discourse of burden is discussed in more detail in section 4.2.6 below. From the above analysis it is noted that the Rohingya can be represented simultaneously as victims and burdens through passivation in processes related to their being sheltered and provided aid in Bangladesh. This finding echoes Chouliaraki’s (2016) point from section 2.3 and section 4.2.1.3, claiming that the victimization of RAS can construct them as burdens on the resources of host countries and aid organizations.

4.2.2.3 Repatriation

Following the topics of persecution and shelter within which the Rohingya are mostly passivated, I come to the topic of repatriation, wherein the Rohingyas’ return and repatriation to Myanmar is discussed frequently while passivating them. Before discussing through examples, I shall demonstrate the salience of the topic of Rohingya repatriation in *The Daily Star* corpus. In the list of collocates of ‘Rohingya*’ (Appendix B), words related to the process of repatriation occur a total of 175 times. ‘Repatriation’

collocates 71 times with ‘Rohingya*,’ ‘return’ collocates 46 times, ‘back’ collocates 40 times, and ‘repatriate’ collocates 18 times. Examples are discussed below.

- a) “He added that the center has implemented the first phase of the **repatriation of Rohingya** from Rakhine state in a number of governorates in cooperation with the International Organization for Migration” (“Saudi king orders”, 2017).

The process noun ‘**repatriation**’ is postmodified with ‘**of Rohingya**’ to realize the passivation of the refugee group. The use of this nominalization, ‘**repatriation**,’ makes it possible for the reporter to exclude the social actor carrying out the repatriation. Moreover, impersonalization of agent is achieved by using the term ‘**center**,’ activated here in the act of implementing **Rohingya repatriation**. This tool also helps to obscure the identity of the human actor behind the implementation. Additionally, the **repatriation** is reported to be carried out **in cooperation** with **IOM**; this information serves to legitimize the **repatriation** by showing authority **cooperation**. Contrastingly, there is no mention of the Rohingyas’ take on the issue of their repatriation. In fact, my analysis revealed very few instances in *The Daily Star* corpus where Rohingya voices on the matter of their repatriation were reported. Where they are given voice, the Rohingya are found to be unwilling to return to Myanmar.

- b) ““After the widespread atrocities, safe and voluntary **return of Rohingya** will require international monitors on the ground in Burma,” Frelick said” (“Rohingya repatriation deal”, 2017).

The **Rohingya** are again passivated as objects to be **returned**. The above example functionalizes **international** social actors as ‘**monitors**,’ and constructs them as saviors who can ensure **safety** for the **returned Rohingya** in Myanmar. In relation to these

saviors, The Rohingya are depicted simply as powerless victims of **widespread atrocities**.

In both examples above and throughout the corpus, their repatriation is observed to be a frequent topic of discussion by other actors, including politicians, diplomats, and aid organization representatives etc. However, Rohingya voices are far fewer in comparison, showing that elite voices are prioritized in the reports. This observation is similar to Don & Lee's (2014) finding (see section 2.3) that elite voices were dominant in news reports while RAS voices were relatively absent.

The Rohingya are activated in relation to acts of fleeing to Bangladesh, but other than that, they are mostly passivated. Even the topic of the Rohingyas' 'return' to Myanmar is often discussed along the lines of their being returned to Myanmar by Bangladesh, the actor, as opposed to their being the actors returning to Myanmar. This representation removes the Rohingyas' agency and voice concerning the issue of their repatriation. Moreover, with regard to actual voice given to Rohingya social actors, there is an absence of quotes or statements attributed to Rohingya social actors. This finding is similar to Philo et al. (2013a), Don & Lee (2014), Chouliaraki & Zaborowski (2017), and Cock et al. (2018) wherein RAS voices are absent or excluded while elite voices are included. Chouliaraki & Zaborowski (2017) posit that this silencing of RAS voice legitimizes their exclusion. As we see from the rest of the data analysis, voices speaking about them or for them are frequent throughout the corpus, in the form of aid organizations and foreign diplomats etc. asking the public to lend support to the Rohingya, but actual Rohingya voices on this matter or the issue of their repatriation for instance, are limited in the corpus.

The salience of the issue of repatriation is a unique finding in my dissertation. Other articles reviewed in chapter 2 did not have return or repatriation of RAS to origin

countries appearing as a salient observation. There may be two explanations for the frequency of this topic in *The Daily Star* corpus, and these have to do with the Rohingyas' statelessness and the fact that Bangladesh is not signatory to the UN's (1951) refugee convention. As discussed in chapter 1, the Rohingya were denied citizenship by Myanmar and rendered stateless. In the corpus, Bangladesh, foreign diplomats, and human rights organizations see the Rohingyas' persecution as a crime against humanity and the denial of their citizenship as a violation of human rights. Thus, they are frequently reported as putting pressure on Myanmar to repatriate the Rohingya and restore their rights as a move towards achieving justice for the minority group. Secondly, unlike other countries, mostly Western, that RAS head to, Bangladesh is not obligated to provide asylum or recognition to the Rohingya refugees due to not being signatory to the above convention. However, the vast majority of the stateless Rohingya are now in Bangladesh, belonging neither here nor there, and Bangladesh may face international pressure to accommodate them long-term in case their persecution in Myanmar does not end. This is evidently not an ideal solution for Bangladesh, which explains why *The Daily Star* reports Bangladesh as being involved in persistent efforts to repatriate the Rohingya.

4.2.2.4 Visitation

Variations of the word 'visit' collocate, and also appear in clusters with 'Rohingya*', very frequently in the corpus. From the collocate list in Appendix B, I note the occurrence of 'visit' (37), 'visited' (26), and 'visiting' (24), while from the clusters list in Appendix B, I note the presence of 'visited the Rohingya' (11), 'visiting Rohingya' (11), 'visit Rohingya' (9), 'visit the Rohingya' (8), 'visiting the Rohingya' (7), 'to visit the Rohingya' (6), 'visited Rohingya' (5), and 'will visit Rohingya' (5). Analyzing KWIC lines of the above reveal that the Rohingya as social actors are heavily passivated as objects of visits by various authorities, government officials, and public figures etc. Some expanded concordance lines are discussed below.

- a) “**International Organization for Migration Director General William Lacy Swing is visiting Rohingya refugee camps** in Cox’s Bazar to observe refugee crisis on the ground” (“Malaysia to create pressure”, 2017).
- b) “**UNHCR Goodwill Ambassador and acclaimed actress Cate Blanchett is set to visit the Rohingya refugee camps** in Cox’s Bazar of Bangladesh on March 17” (“Cate Blanchett to visit”, 2018).

In the context of visitation in the above examples, the **Rohingya** are represented with reference to **Rohingya refugee camps**, passivated here. This is an example of objectivation through spatialization, that is, reference to the place that the Rohingya are linked with rather than to the Rohingya themselves. This is a strategy that impersonalizes the social actors by backgrounding the human aspect of their representation according to van Leeuwen (1996, 2008). In contrast, social actors who are activated in the process of visiting the camps are functionalized with reference to their positions- the **IOM ‘Director General’** and the ‘**UNHCR Goodwill Ambassador,**’ and nominated through the inclusion of their names- ‘**William Lacy**’ and ‘**Cate Blanchett**’ in the reporting. This establishes the social actors doing the visiting as being more important than the Rohingya, and the latter as mere objects in the representation who are found to have no privacy or voice in the matter of who gets to visit them or when.

4.2.3 International responsibility

Some salient collocates of Rohingya are words like ‘aid,’ ‘assistance,’ and ‘support,’ and upon studying KWIC lines of these collocates, we find many instances where the Rohingya are constructed as a deprived group that needs all the help it can get. We see frequent appeals made by and to international actors for contributions, and there is a sense of urgency and desperation in the framing of these appeals. Some examples are discussed below to demonstrate how the Rohingya are depicted as an international responsibility.

- a) “We believe that **200,000 Rohingya children need our urgent support**” (“200,000 Rohingya children”, 2017).

The possessivation of ‘**urgent support**’ using ‘**our**’ serves to include the readers in the in group that is held capable of helping the **Rohingya children**. The aggregation with ‘**200,000**’ and classification with ‘**children**’ attempts to highlight the vulnerable **Rohingya** demographic and elicit sympathy from readers.

- b) “United Nations Under-Secretary General Dr Natalia Kanem has **pleaded for increased support for the Rohingyas**, who are facing a major challenge in the upcoming monsoon season when much of the refugee camps in Bangladesh could be flooded and see landslides” (“Step up monetary support”, 2018).
- c) “Unicef has **appealed for \$US 7.3 million to provide emergency support to Rohingya children** over the next four months” (“Rohingya influx may reach”, 2017).
- d) “The UN and its partners are **seeking \$434 million to help the Rohingya** through February” (“UK, Switzerland pledge”, 2017).

In the above examples, individuals and organizations of authority are nominated, individualized, and collectivized, for example the **UN under-secretary**, **UNICEF**, and the **UN**, as they **seek**, **appeal**, and **plead** for **urgent** and **emergency support** for the **Rohingya**, citing **major challenges** that they face as refugees in Bangladesh. Description of the risks they face can make for a more effective appeal to readers and the public so that they can be convinced to donate out of morality. **Children** are often specified in the appeals, perhaps to evoke more sympathy among readers.

- e) “**Solidarity expressed by the international community** regarding the Rohingya issue **has not been translated into sufficient support** to the

Rohingya people of Myanmar in Bangladesh, the UN chief said” (“UN chief calls”, 2018).

- f) “Swedish Ambassador in Dhaka Charlotta Schlyter today **urged the international community to provide more financial support and assistance** for Rohingya refugees” (“Sweden envoy urges”, 2017).
- g) “A parliamentary body of the United Kingdom has called upon its government to strengthen its efforts to **persuade the international community to share the responsibilities** of the Rohingya refugees now being sheltered in Bangladesh” (“UK urged to persuade”, 2018).

In example (e), the **UN chief** charges the **international community** with not providing enough financial assistance to match the outpouring of **solidarity** towards the **Rohingya**. The phrase ‘**sufficient support**’ realizes the activation of the **international community** by premodifying the nominalization ‘**support**’ with ‘**sufficient.**’ In examples (f) and (g), the **international community** is beneficialized as receiver of the processes of **urging** and **persuading** by authority actors, and at the same time activated in the expected processes of **sharing responsibility** and **providing support** to the **Rohingya**. The above lines express a sense of desperation in the way the authority figures seek to **urge** and **persuade** the **international community**, collectivized in these examples, to give significant consideration and **financial** contribution to the Rohingya cause, by appealing to their sense of **responsibility**.

4.2.4 Rightful citizens of Myanmar

Analyzing the expanded concordances of ‘Rohingya*’ shows that collocates like ‘rights’ (44), ‘displaced’ (30), ‘justice’ (12), ‘forced’ (22), ‘citizenship’ (17), ‘deportation,’ (14), and ‘nationals’ (11) are used frequently in *The Daily Star* corpus to construct the Rohingya as a persecuted minority group forced out of Myanmar and stripped of their rights as Myanmar’s citizens. There is also an obvious concern with the

Rohingyas' repatriation to Myanmar, which has already been discussed in section 4.2.2.3.

Examples are discussed below.

- a) "Foreign Secretary M Shahidul Haque says the government has decided to **call Rohingya people "forcibly displaced nationals from Myanmar" instead of "refugees"**" ("Rohingyas are forcibly displaced", 2017).
- b) "**Rohingyas, the Myanmar nationals** who have **fled their homes in Rakhine state** following persecution, have taken refuge there" ("Rohingyas building new slum", 2017).

In (a), Bangladesh's foreign secretary expresses his preference for the classification of the Rohingya in Bangladesh as '**forcibly displaced nationals from Myanmar**' as opposed to their functionalization as '**refugees**.' In (b), the **Rohingya** are classified as '**Myanmar nationals**' with **homes** originally in the **Rakhine State**.

- c) ""**Peaceful deportation and rehabilitation of Rohingya people on their own land** is only the solution to put an end to the crisis and Bangladesh wants it," said Inu, also president of Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (JSD-Inu)" ("Dhaka to deal", 2017).

Rohingya people are passivated through the postmodification of nominalizations relating to their **deportation** and **rehabilitation** in Myanmar, which is claimed to be '**their own land**' by an authority figure. This authority figure also presents their repatriation as the **only solution to the crisis**, and collectivizes **Bangladesh** to achieve consensus agreement regarding this proposed **solution**. Bangladesh's voice is included in the representation, while Rohingya voices and what the ideal solution to the crisis is in their view, are excluded.

The few opinions shared by the Rohingya in the reports appear to be unenthusiastic and apprehensive concerning their return to Myanmar.

- d) “The **Rohingyas** in the refugee camps in Bangladesh **were reportedly traumatised by fears of forced return to Myanmar**, with their community leaders demanding the Myanmar authorities first **guarantee the Rohingyas of their long-denied citizenship** and include them in the country’s list of recognised ethnic groups” (“Rohingya crisis”, 2018).
- e) ““If the international community wants to move us, we can go. But **sending us back by force** would be worse than throwing us into creek, and bury us,” said Nur Alum, a 65-year-old grandfather at Balukhali camp in Bangladesh” (“Rohingyas want safety”, 2017).

The **Rohingya** are activated as sensors feeling **traumatized** and **fearful** of being **forcefully sent back** to Myanmar. Their fear about being forced to return is valid, as we have seen in chapter 1 that Bangladesh has forcefully repatriated the Rohingya in the past, just as Myanmar has forced them out on a number of occasions, leading to an unending cycle of persecution, escape, and deportation. Therefore, the Rohingya seek the **guarantee** of their **citizenship** rights before being **returned to Myanmar**, as seen in example (d). These opinions by the Rohingya, or voice given to them, appear sparingly in the corpus; the above examples were found through a thorough perusal of every KWIC line of ‘Rohingya*.’

4.2.5 Problem

The collocates of ‘Rohingya*’ (Appendix B) do not reveal any specific words that represent the Rohingya as a problematic group. However, even though it is present in a smaller capacity throughout the corpus compared to the discourse of victimization, discourse representing the Rohingya as a problem in Bangladesh can be observed from the complete concordance analysis of ‘Rohingya*.’ Some KWIC lines are expanded and elaborated below.

- a) “There were allegations that **Rohingyas managed Bangladeshi passport through unfair means** and go to Saudi Arabia, **creating problems for Bangladesh**” (“Over 10 lakh Rohingyas”, 2018).

The Rohingya are accused of illegally and **unfairly** procuring **Bangladeshi passports**, which they then use to travel abroad from **Bangladesh**; the latter reportedly faces the repercussions of these activities by the Rohingya, who are activated in the process of ‘**creating problems**’ for **Bangladesh**. The nominal ‘**allegations**’ is autonomised, and helps suppress the social actor or actors making these accusations against the Rohingya. What is notable in this example is the absence of actors within Bangladesh, presumably Bangladeshi, who might be involved in the ‘**unfair means**’ through which the Rohingya **manage Bangladeshi passports**. This exclusion results in the focus being placed solely on the Rohingya group as the cause of **problems for Bangladesh**.

- b) “The instructions of Bangladesh Police came amid **escalating concern that the Rohingyas might spread out** across the country” (“Don’t rent out houses”, 2017).
- c) “The Jatiya Sangsad committee also expressed concern as **number of Rohingyas in different areas in Cox’s Bazar outnumbered the locals**” (“Over 10 lakh Rohingyas”, 2018).

Example (b) abstracts **escalating concern** while suppressing the identities of the social actors feeling this concern about the **Rohingyas’ spreading out across** Bangladesh, The National Parliament (**Jatiya Sangsad**) is reported to be **concerned** about the population of **Rohingya**, abstracted in example (c) as ‘**number of Rohingyas,**’ in certain areas being higher than the population of **locals**. Presenting these situations as a concern for the country’s collectivized authorities- **Bangladesh Police** and **Jatiya Sangsad**, implies that it should be cause for concern among the readers and public as well. The situation in line (c) is seen as being unfavorable and a problem which needs to be dealt with, as seen from

the next line in the news report, “The JS body therefore recommended to repatriate several lakh Rohingyas to Sonadia island under Hatia of Noakhali, meeting sources said.”, where the committee recommends relocating many of the refugees to an isolated island. This kind of concern about foreigners outnumbering nationals, though seen relatively less in this dataset, is a common feature of CDS literature on RASIM, as reviewed in the chapter 2.

- d) ““The government has given a commendable effort in sheltering the refugees,” said Dr Iftekharuzzaman, executive director of TIB. “The **problem has been imposed on Bangladesh.**”” (“Rohingyas being exploited”, 2017).

The Rohingyas’ needing to be given shelter in Bangladesh is presented as a **problem** that has been **forced upon Bangladesh**. Bangladesh’s **government**, individualized here, is activated in showing **remarkable effort** in dealing with this **problem** despite the **imposition**. This example not only abstracts and negatively appraises the **Rohingya** as a **problem**, but also glorifies Bangladesh as a social actor.

4.2.6 Burden

Besides the term ‘influx,’ (25) among the collocates of ‘Rohingya*’ (Appendix B), the collocate and cluster lists do not reveal specific references to the Rohingya as burdens, but like with the previous section, analyzing the complete list of KWIC concordances of ‘Rohingya*’ shows more constructions of the minority group as a burden on Bangladesh.

References to the Rohingyas’ entering and being in Bangladesh are highly frequent in the data, and this finding is similar to past findings as seen in chapter 2, wherein the press is fixated on RASIM entrance and residence in the UK (Baker, 2008). The water metaphor ‘influx’ in relation to the Rohingyas’ entry into Bangladesh occurs 56 times in the entire corpus. The literature review (chapter 2) shows that this metaphor

can be used to dehumanize the social actor by removing their human characteristics, and makes them out to be dangerous by likening them with natural disasters (Baker, 2008; Nguyen & McCallum, 2016). As seen in figure 4.2 below, the use of the word by *The Daily Star* serves a similar purpose.

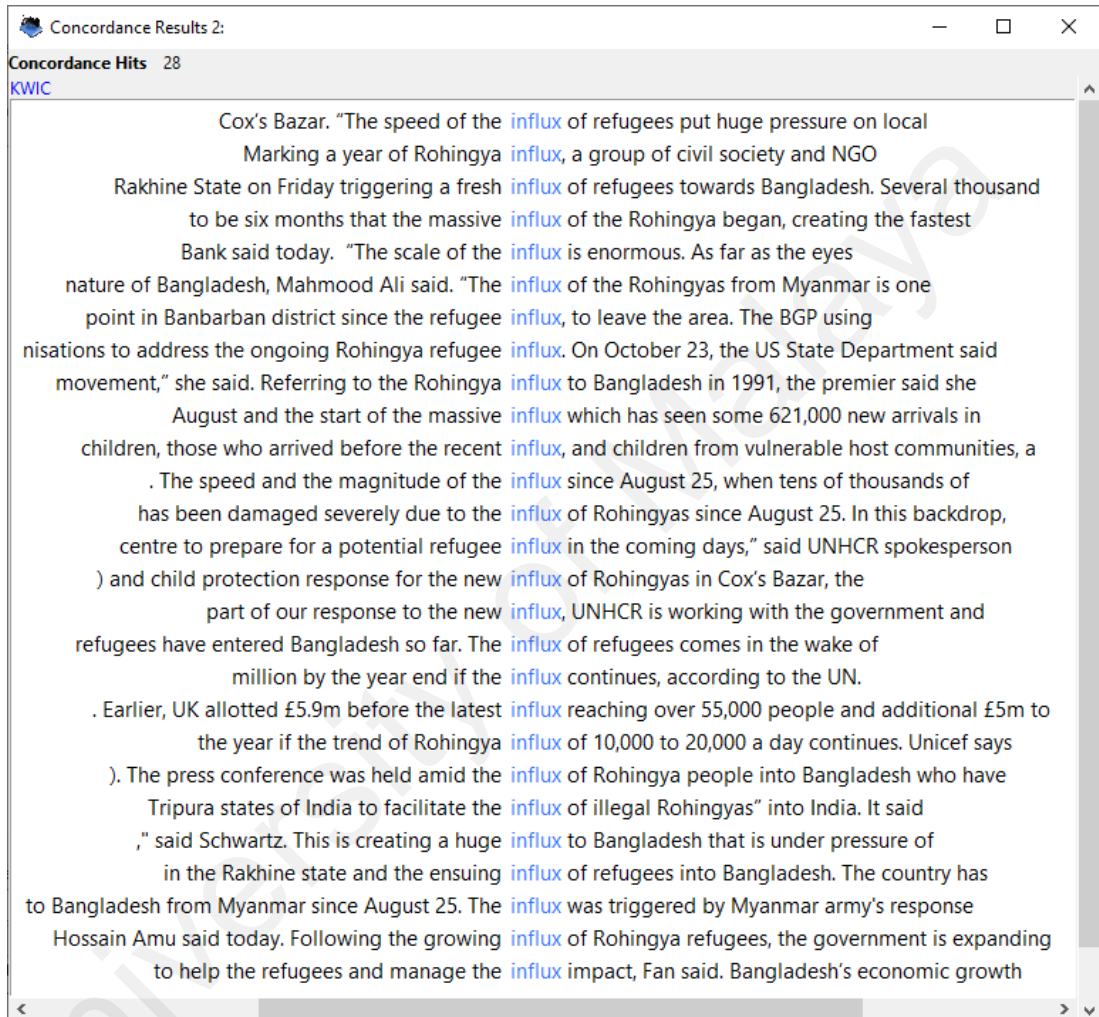


Figure 4.2: KWIC lines of 'influx'

The figure above shows that 'influx' is surrounded by words like 'huge,' 'massive,' 'disaster,' 'magnitude,' and 'impact,' indicating that the host country, **Bangladesh**, faces a veritable struggle and 'pressure' due to the **Rohingyas'** entry. In all these KWIC lines, the **Rohingya** are activated as agents of the **influx**. **Bangladesh**, on the other hand, is passivated as the beneficiary that negatively benefits from the entry of the Rohingya.

Assimilation can be used to construct the Rohingya as a burden on the host country, as seen in the literature review (Philo et al., 2013a; Holzberg et al., 2018, Berg-Nordlie, 2018). There are fewer occurrences of this phenomenon in the current news corpus compared to instances of assimilation being used to present the Rohingya as victims, but they are there, nevertheless. For example,

- a) “Prior to the August **influx, infrastructure and basic services** in Cox's Bazar were already **under strain** as it **hosted over 200,000 displaced Rohingya**, says the report” (“UN ramps up aid”, 2017).

‘**Infrastructure and basic services**,’ standing for the social actors providing these services, are activated as being **strained** by **Rohingya** presence even before the Rohingya exodus of August 2017 begins. The Rohingya are impersonalized through abstraction by being termed ‘**influx**.’ They are also aggregated and passivated as **200,000 displaced Rohingya**, and this representation highlights their picture as a burden on Bangladesh’s resources. In attributing the claim to a ‘**report**,’ utterance autonomisation helps background the identity of the social actor or actors behind the ‘**report**.’

- b) ““The **scale of the influx of Rohingyas** arriving in Cox’s Bazar is **unprecedented** and it’s **putting huge stress on host communities and humanitarian agencies**,” said Mark Pierce, appreciating the efforts of Bangladesh that has generously allowed the Rohingyas amid humanitarian crisis” (“Save The Children fears”, 2017).

The **Rohingya** are activated as **arriving** in Bangladesh in the above example, and their movement is described as an ‘**influx**’ that is **unprecedented in scale**. They are also activated as **putting huge stress** on both **host communities** and **humanitarian groups** in Bangladesh. Notably, this example does not mention the term ‘refugees’ when referring to the Rohingya; including or excluding this important classification can affect the way

the group is perceived by the public. Bangladesh is represented as being **generous** and **appreciable**, and activated as magnanimously **allowing** the Rohingya into Bangladesh. The addition of ‘**amid humanitarian crisis**’ implies that Bangladesh is the actor that is undergoing the crisis due to the Rohingyas’ being in the country. The point that the Rohingya face a far worse **humanitarian crisis** with regard to their persecution in Myanmar is not acknowledged in the reporting. The above example thus wholly constructs the Rohingya as a burden.

- c) ““WHO has made the appeal as a **grossly underfunded** health sector **grapples to meet the needs of 1.3 million Rohingyas** in Bangladesh’s Cox’s Bazar.”” (“Rohingya crisis”, 2018).

The sentence emphasizes how **grossly ill-equipped** the World Health Organization’s health sector in Cox’s Bazar is, and activates it as ‘**grappling**’ to provide aid to the **1.3 million** aggregated **Rohingya** in Cox’s Bazar. This paints a picture of the WHO’s struggling to cope with the assimilated Rohingya presence in Bangladesh. Its appeal for financial support is strengthened by presenting this picture of a refugee population so large that it is a burden on the facilities available.

- d) “The forests in Ukhiya and Teknaf upazilas of Cox's Bazar will perish by 2019 if **Rohingya habitation continues to overuse natural resources** in those areas, experts said today” (“Overuse of resources”, 2018).

The Rohingya are activated as putting a strain on Bangladesh’s **natural resource** reserves in Cox’s Bazar by **overusing** them and risking depleting them entirely by 2019. ‘**Experts**’ is functionalized and collectivized, serving authority legitimation to the claim. This furthers the representation of the Rohingya as a burden and a geographical threat to the host country.

- e) “Addressing a media conference after wrapping up his two-day visit to India, Bangladesh Foreign Secretary Shahidul Haque, who met his Indian counterpart S Jaishankar and National Security Adviser Ajit Doval, said, while **the presence of so many Rohingyas in Bangladesh was a “huge burden” on the country’s small economy** but also posed a security threat“ (“Dhaka warns SAsia”, 2017).

In the above example, the Foreign Secretary of Bangladesh is nominated and titled to give authority legitimation to his voice. He is quoted as terming **so many Rohingya** a veritable **burden** on Bangladesh’s **small economy**. Moreover, he fears that their presence **threatens the security** of the country. The fact that he makes the statement during a press conference following his meeting with Indian diplomats signifies that they might share the same views. The idea that not only Bangladesh, but also India considers the Rohingya to be a burden and a threat, might reinforce these views among readers. More examples on the discourse of security and threat surrounding the Rohingya are discussed in section 4.2.8 below.

The discourse of economization is a common finding in literature related to RAS, as seen in chapter 2. It is another way to conceptualize the groups as burdens on host countries. However, in this corpus, the discourse of economization serves an added purpose; it is used by politicians, aid organizations, and diplomats etc. to express how the host country Bangladesh and humanitarian groups supporting the Rohingya in the country are pressed for funds to provide for the helpless refugees, and thus appeal for financial assistance from the public for the Rohingya cause. This finding is different from how Western media represents RAS within the discourse of economization. Perhaps because most Western countries that RAS head to for asylum are first world countries that are not economically challenged, media from these countries are not found to report appeals to help RAS with financial assistance. Within the discourse of economization, most Western

media are only found to represent RAS as burdens on the respective countries' economies. In the case of Bangladesh, however, the media very often directly and indirectly reports appeals from various sources to help the Rohingya.

4.2.7 Criminals

Like the categories of problem and burden, the representation of the Rohingya as criminals is also not apparent from the lists of collocates and clusters. Going through the entire list of KWIC lines of 'Rohingya*' reveals instances of representation of the Rohingya as criminals, some of which are discussed below.

Another word besides **influx** that negatively evaluates the entry of the Rohingya into Bangladesh is '**intruded**.' Note the following expanded concordance lines:

- a) "The International Organization for Migration (IOM) yesterday said around **507,125 Rohingya refugees intruded into Bangladesh** till September 30" ("26,000 Rohingyas being shifted", 2017).
- b) ""Over **10,000 Rohingya refugees intruded** until 11:00am," Palongkhali Union Parishad Chairman Abdul Gafur Chowdhury told our local staff correspondent on today's development" ("10,000 more Rohingyas", 2017).

The word '**intruded**' is used in the above examples to describe the entry of aggregated **Rohingya refugees** into Bangladesh. This term creates a discourse of crime around the Rohingya, and may serve to create a sense of concern and apprehension among readers with regard to their being in the country.

- c) "Five people were injured after being **attacked allegedly by Rohingya miscreants** in Ukhia upazila of Cox's Bazar last night" ("5 injured in attack", 2017).

- d) ““Around 11:30pm last night, a **gang of Rohingya miscreants** tried to enter the Balukhali camp when a group of social workers guarding the Balukhali camp tried to resist them. At one point, a **fight** broke out between them where the five people were left injured, the official said” (“5 injured in attack”, 2017).

The group of **Rohingya** above are identified as a **gang of miscreants**- words that overtly negatively appraise the Rohingya group. In (c), they are activated as **attacking** and **injuring 5 people**. These **miscreants** are contrasted with ‘**social workers**’ in (d). The **social workers** are functionalized, and this identification evokes images of the humanitarian work they do. These lines are from the same news report; it is noteworthy that line (c), which is the first line of the report, mentions the word ‘**allegedly**’ with reference to the **attack by Rohingya miscreants**, but following that instance, the article does not use the word anymore to refer to the actions of the ‘**miscreants**.’ In line (d), the **social workers** are activated as ‘**resisting**,’ implying that the Rohingya **miscreants** are the antagonists of the fight that breaks out.

- e) “Meanwhile, **police arrested a Rohingya youth** with a **foreign made pistol and two rounds bullets** in Balukhali Rohingya camp” (“Rohingya man shot dead”, 2018).
- f) “On September 27, a team of the **Rab-7 arrested four people, including three Rohingya people**, along with some **eight lakh yaba tablets** from Shah Parir Dwip in Teknaf upazila” (“3 Rohingya youths held”, 2017).

The **Rohingya** identity of the people ‘**arrested**,’ ‘**held**,’ and found carrying **pistols and drugs**, is classified and included in the reports. In (e), the **pistol** found in the **Rohingya youth**’s possession is claimed to be ‘**foreign made**,’ suggesting that it has likely been procured from outside Bangladesh. In (f), it is specified that **three** of the **four people arrested** with **drugs** are **Rohingya**, but there is no mention of the identity of the fourth

person arrested alongside them. The constructions intend to associate the Rohingya with unlawful activities like the above. Uddin (2018) has also found that media producers in Bangladesh report the Rohingya as being involved in a variety of illegal and criminal activities (see section 1.2.3).

- g) “Border Guard Bangladesh (BGB) members **detained 18 Rohingyas** from a house in Kolaroa upazila of Satkhira today after **they entered Bangladesh illegally** through India-Bangladesh border” (“18 Rohingyas held”, 2017).
- h) “Police have **detained three Rohingya people** from Bogra passport office as **they attempted to collect Bangladeshi passports, providing fake birth certificates**” (“3 Rohingyas detained”, 2017).
- i) “It said many **Rohingyas “illegally” obtained voter identity cards and Permanent Account Number cards** required for filing income tax returns and for high-value financial transactions and **some are “using the 'hawala' route to raise money for illegal activities”**” (“Rohingyas are security threat”, 2017).
- j) “**Five Rohingyas were jailed** today by a Rab mobile court for setting up shops in Cox’s Bazar and selling mobile phones and SIM cards to Rohingya refugees, who have fled military persecution in Myanmar” (“5 Rohingyas jailed”, 2017).

The Rohingya are activated in relation to a variety of criminal activities, like **entering Bangladesh illegally** (g), **presenting fake documents** (h), **illegally attempting to procure Bangladeshi passports** (h) and **voter identity cards** (i) that can legitimize their being in the country, and unlawfully **selling SIM cards to other Rohingya** (j). They are also accused of using underground money transfer routes (**hawala**) to raise funds for **criminal activities**. In all the examples above, the Rohingya are classified as simply ‘**Rohingya**’ when reported as being involved in criminal activities. In (j), the

'**Rohingyas**' **jailed** for selling SIM cards and phones are differentiated from the '**Rohingya refugees**' who buy them. The former are represented as criminals, while the latter are represented as victims **of persecution who have fled Myanmar**. When reported in relation to crimes, the Rohingya are hardly referred to as 'refugees.' This exclusion strategy functions to remove the elements of pity or tragedy that surround the Rohingya when identified as refugees, working in a similar way to the conflation of categories related to RASIM, as seen in Philo et al. (2013a), and Blinder & Allen (2016), reviewed in section 2.3.

4.2.8 Security threat

Concordance analysis of 'Rohingya*' further reveals a discourse of security within the corpus in relation to the group. Some examples are discussed below.

- a) "Sahely Ferdous, an assistant inspector general of police, told The Daily Star that **security has been beefed up across the country** to avoid any unwanted incident **following the Rohingya exodus**" ("Rohingya crisis", 2017).

Bangladesh's **assistant inspector general** is nominated and functionalized in the report, and indirectly quoted as saying that '**following**' the **Rohingya exodus**, **security** across Bangladesh **has been increased**. Relating the increase of security to the entry of the Rohingya implies that the Rohingya pose threats to the security of the country; the **Rohingya exodus** is credited with the potential to trigger '**unwanted incidents**.'

- b) "Asked if Bangladesh shared India's concern over the **possibility of Rohingyas turning into a security threat**, Haque said: "We also believe that the **Rohingya issue has the potential to destabilise the region**. We are speaking in the same language on this.'" ("Dhaka warns SAsia", 2017).

The **Rohingya issue** is treated with apprehension by both Bangladesh and India, The Rohingya are abstracted as '**Rohingya issue**' and are assumed to have the **potential to**

threaten the country's **security and stability**. This is presented as a **shared concern** between Bangladesh and India. Collectivization through 'we,' provides expert authority legitimation, strengthening the actor's claim, '**we are speaking the same language on this.**'

- c) "The Rohingya refugees face deportation in India with the **government terming them** illegal immigrants and a **threat to the security of the country**, reports the Outlook" ("World must join", 2017).
- d) "Indian government today told the Supreme Court that it has intelligence of **links between some Rohingya Muslims and Pakistan's ISI and terror group Islamic State**, making them "a **serious security threat to the country**" ("Rohingyas are security threat", 2017).

The Daily Star often reports India's take on the Rohingya issue, which is mostly negative towards the minority group, with its government activated in **terming the Rohingya as illegal immigrants** in (c), and **security threats** in (c) and (d). The Rohingyas' **Muslim** classification is referred to in (d) in order to connect them to international **terrorist groups** and militant factions. The individualized **Indian government's** claim that it has **intelligence** regarding these **links** provides legitimacy to its statement that the **Rohingya Muslims** are '**a serious security threat.**' Identifying the Rohingya as '**illegal immigrants**' delegitimizes their plight as refugees forced to flee violence in Myanmar, and moreover, India appears to be more concerned about the Rohingyas' being a security risk than about their being refugees in need of aid and assistance.

- e) "**Militants** will get no place on Bangladesh soil even if they enter the country as Rohingya refugees, Director General (DG) of the Rapid Action Battalion (Rab) Benazir Ahmed said today" ("No place for militants", 2017).

- f) “The law enforcers are strictly monitoring whether members of **Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA)**, an **armed group** in Myanmar, are entering into Bangladesh as Rohingya refugees, Benazir said, adding that Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina has given clear order in this regard” (“No place for militants”, 2017).

The news constructs a security threat posed by **militant members** and insurgents from the **Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA)**, who are expected to try to **enter Bangladesh** disguised as **refugees**. Bangladeshi law enforcement is represented as being vigilant against these threats.

Discourses of securitization and criminalization wherein RAS are represented as security threats and criminals are common in the literature (see section 2.3). Ubayasiri (2019) presents this finding in her own analysis of *The Daily Star*'s representation of the Rohingyas' migration. It is clear that even though these representations of the Rohingya as problems, burdens, security threats, and criminals separately occur less frequently than their dominant representation as victim, the former discourses work together to construct the Rohingya as a group with unfavorable attributes, and can altogether create a more pervasive representation of the refugees as negative and undesirable.

4.2.9 Suppressed as asylum seekers

A significant observation was the absence of the phrase ‘asylum seeker’ in the corpus. This may be explained by the fact that Bangladesh is not a signatory member of the UN’s 1951 Refugee Convention. The clear absence of ‘asylum seeker’ except for one instance,

- a) ““Respect the fundamental principle of non-refoulement, in accordance with international law, which forbids a country from returning **asylum seekers** to their country of origin when they would be likely to face persecution based on

race, religion, nationality, and from membership of a particular social group or political opinion.”” (“114 int’l orgs”, 2017).

which is a direct quote attributed to The Association of Southeast Asian Nation (ASEAN) and its members states, indicates that *The Daily Star* consciously avoids acknowledging the Rohingya as asylum seekers in Bangladesh. It could be because Bangladesh does not have systems in place for asylum processing, or because acknowledging the refugees as asylum seekers could possibly necessitate provision of asylum to the Rohingya by Bangladesh, since the country is a member of the UNHCR executive committee. By not using the term, Bangladesh can ignore or sidestep the fact that the Rohingya might need long-term protection and asylum in the country.

4.2.10 Summary

To sum up, it is found that *The Daily Star* corpus represents the Rohingya mostly as a homogenous group of victims persecuted by Myanmar and forced to flee from their rightful homes in Myanmar. Large numbers of Rohingya are frequently reported to be fleeing from Myanmar and arriving in Bangladesh. Women, girls, and children are foregrounded in the representation as opposed to Rohingya men. The Rohingya are goals of aid and shelter by Bangladesh and the international community, with frequent appeals made by these actors to the global public for financial support toward the Rohingya cause. At the same time, they are treated as a burden on Bangladesh’s land and resources. Their numbers are constructed as cause for concern, and their spreading out in Bangladesh is considered a threat to security. They are also incriminated in criminal and illegal acts, resulting in their being depicted as problems for Bangladesh. When reported as being involved in criminal activities, the Rohingyas’ ‘refugee’ classification is excluded. Discourses of victimization, economization, and securitization are echoed from past studies on RAS representation. However in this analysis, within the discourse of economization, besides being represented as burdens on Bangladesh’s economy, the

Rohingya and their suffering are frequently referenced by Bangladesh and aid organizations to appeal to the public for financial support. The Rohingyas' repatriation to Myanmar is a prominent topic in the corpus, constructed as the ideal solution to the crisis in Bangladesh's view, but Rohingya voices on the topic of their repatriation are negligible. *The Daily Star* visibly avoids referring to the Rohingya refugees as asylum seekers throughout the corpus. The news producer also publishes reports detailing the difficulties Bangladesh faces due to Rohingya presence in the country, but avoids reporting about the abuses that the Rohingya population face within Bangladesh at the hands of human actors.

4.3 Myanmar

In this section, the categories of representation for Myanmar are arranged and discussed under the following subsections:

- Abuser (4.3.1)
- Subject to pressure (4.3.2)
- Myanmar's Aung San Suu Kyi (4.3.3)
- Deflecting blame (4.3.4)
- Summary (4.3.5)

There are a total of 1318 occurrences of the term 'Myanmar' in *The Daily Star* corpus. As with the term Rohingya, I begin with a collocation analysis of 'Myanmar' in order to get an idea of its most salient collocates and thus a blanket idea of how Myanmar is represented. The complete output of the collocation analysis is presented in Appendix C.

Some of the most frequent collocates of 'Myanmar' relate to the acts of abuse carried out by actors representing Myanmar, like the 'authorities,' 'military,' 'army,' 'security forces,' 'government,' and 'police,' all being social actors that collocate

saliently with ‘Myanmar.’ These actors are clearly specified in the news reports as violators, and some of the acts of abuse that they are attributed with being responsible for, and which collocate most frequently with ‘Myanmar,’ are ‘persecution,’ ‘atrocities,’ ‘violence,’ ‘crackdown,’ ‘genocide,’ ‘cleansing,’ and ‘attacks.’ These and other collocates and clusters (Appendix C) are discussed below by analyzing expanded concordances in order to explicate the representations they create about Myanmar in *The Daily Star*’s news reports. About a 100 randomized KWIC lines of ‘Myanmar’ are provided in Appendix C.

4.3.1 Abuser

The list of clusters with ‘Myanmar’ (Appendix C) shows the frequencies of ‘Myanmar government’ (88), ‘Myanmar military’ (52), ‘Myanmar authorities’ (36), ‘Myanmar army’ (35), and ‘Myanmar security forces’ (22) in the corpus. Acts of abuse that are seen to frequently collocate with ‘Myanmar’ (Appendix C) are ‘violence’ (71), ‘persecution’ (65), ‘atrocities’ (19), ‘genocide’ (14), ‘crackdown’ (13), and ‘attacks’ (12). Analyzing the expanded concordances of these clusters and collocates reveals that Myanmar’s government, military, authorities, army, and security forces are represented as social actors who are collectivized and mostly activated in material processes that involve abuse of the Rohingya encompassing the acts detailed above as collocates of ‘Myanmar.’ Some examples are discussed below.

- a) “Since October 2016, the **Myanmar authorities forced** more than 775,000 **Rohingya into Bangladesh, causing a humanitarian crisis**” (“Bangladesh, involve ICC”, 2018).
- b) “The **Myanmar authorities also continue to confine** more than 120,000 **Rohingya to dozens of internment camps** in eight townships of Rakhine

State—mostly survivors of violent attacks in 2012, it said” (“Fortify Rights urges”, 2018).

- c) “The **Myanmar authorities** have for years **denied the Rohingya citizenship** and **deprived them of other ways** of proving their identities” (“No Rohingya repatriation”, 2017).

Myanmar authorities are activated as participating in several abusive processes like **forcing the Rohingya out of Myanmar** (a), **confining them within concentration camps** (b), and **denying them citizenship rights** (c). They are held responsible and activated in ‘**causing a humanitarian crisis.**’

- d) “**Myanmar government and its media** have been **spreading this entire issue as Islamic terrorism or radical Bangali terrorism**” (“3,000 Rohingya Muslims killed”, 2017).

- e) “However, the **Myanmar government** has long been provided with evidence by Human Rights Watch and other international monitors and **has taken no genuine action to impartially investigate the full range of abuses committed against the Rohingya**” (“UNSC should refer Myanmar”, 2018).

In (d) **Myanmar’s government and media** are collectivized and activated as **spreading** the Rohingya issue as **Islamic or Bangali terrorism**. The use of the word ‘**spreading,**’ here, which is usually used in relation to rumors or falsity, indicates that the **government and media** are reportedly **spreading** propaganda. In (e), **Myanmar’s government** is initially passivated as being ‘**provided with evidence**’ of abuse against the Rohingya from reliable authorities like the HRW. It is then evaluated as a negligent and **partial** actor, and activated in not taking ‘**genuine**’ steps to **investigate** the crimes against the Rohingya.

- f) “Survivors and eyewitnesses described **mass killings and arson attacks by the Myanmar Army, Myanmar Police Force, Lon Tein (“security guards”) riot police, and local armed-civilians**” (“Rohingya women, children”, 2017).
- g) “The images corroborate accounts gathered by Human Right Watch from refugees who have described **arson, killing, and looting by the Myanmar military, police, and ethnic Rakhine mobs**” (“New satellite imagery”, 2017).

In the above examples, **Myanmar’s army, security forces, military, and even public** are activated through circumstantialization using ‘**by**’ to represent them as social actors involved in a range of abuses against the Rohingya, including **arson attacks and killings**. **Witness reports from survivors** and international organizations (‘**Human Rights Watch**’) are mentioned in order to lend validity to the claims by referring to their personal experiences.

Reporting the circumstances of the refugees’ plight and showing how Myanmar subjects the Rohingya to various forms of abuse serves to elicit sympathy for the latter by highlighting their victimization. This finding is similar to Greussing & Boomgaarden’s (2017) research (see chapter 2). The coverage also constructs Myanmar as the ‘savage’ according to Mutua’s (2002) SVS framework, which Brooten (2015) and Brooten et al. (2015) employ in their studies (see section 2.5). Thus, Myanmar is mostly negatively represented within a discourse of abuse in *The Daily Star* through frequent collectivization with respect to its representative army, military, security forces, government, and authorities.

4.3.2 Subject to pressure

Frequent collocates like ‘pressure’ (30), ‘urged’ (15), ‘must’ (28), and ‘should’ (22) construct a sense of pressure and accountability around ‘Myanmar.’ Analyzing expanded concordances of these collocates and going through the entire KWIC list of ‘Myanmar’ reveals that in the reports, Myanmar and its representative social actors are frequently held accountable and subjected to pressure and demands to stop the persecution of the Rohingya, take back the Rohingya, and grant citizenship rights to the Rohingya. Within this discourse, there are also frequent references to deals and agreements signed by Myanmar, with related words like ‘signed’ (23), ‘agreement’ (14), and ‘deal’ (12) appearing as salient collocates. The lists of clusters with ‘Myanmar’ also reveal frequent constructions like ‘Myanmar should’ (9), ‘Myanmar to take back’ (9), ‘Myanmar must’ (7), ‘Myanmar government must’ (6), ‘Myanmar and Bangladesh signed’ (5), ‘Myanmar signed’ (5), and ‘agreement with Myanmar’ (5). Some examples are discussed below.

- a) “Bangladesh has **repeatedly urged Myanmar** to take back the Rohingyas” (“Rohingya persecution”, 2017).
- b) “The country is also **trying to pressure Myanmar** to take back its nationals” (“FM to visit Rohingyas”, 2017).

In the above examples, Bangladesh, collectivized to represent the government and the people, is seen actively **urging** and **pressuring Myanmar** to ‘**take back**’ its ‘**nationals**,’ while Myanmar is represented as the social actor subjected to this **pressure**. The possessivation of the Rohingya as **Myanmar’s nationals** makes it clear that according to Bangladesh, Myanmar is where the Rohingya are from and where they should be **taken back**.

- c) “But this is not enough – the **Myanmar government must also end the entrenched discrimination** that has trapped Rohingya in a cycle of deprivation and abuse for decades.” (“No Rohingya repatriation”, 2017).

The **Myanmar government** is individualized, and charged with **ending discrimination** against the Rohingya. The abstraction ‘**discrimination**’ backgrounds the social actor responsible for the ‘**deprivation and abuse**’ of the Rohingya, but it is understood that actors representing Myanmar are responsible, due to which its **government** is expected to resolve the issue. By using the modal ‘**must**,’ the reporting subjects Myanmar these demands.

- d) “The IPU resolution firmly **called upon the authorities of Myanmar to grant citizenship and all other rights to the Rohingya people**, including freedom of movement and access to the labour market, education and health and social services” (“IPU calls upon UNSC”, 2017).

Myanmar’s authorities are passivated in relation to the IPU resolution, but activated in the process of **granting citizenship rights to the Rohingya**. The IPU resolution ‘**calls upon**’ **Myanmar authorities** to give the Rohingya the **rights and freedoms** that come with **citizenship**, and thus pressurizes the **authorities**, while the latter are represented as being subjected to this pressure.

- e) “**Amid the global pressure, Myanmar has signed deals** with Bangladesh, UN Refugee Agency and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to accelerate safe and dignified repatriation of the Rohingyas” (“Rohingya camps turned”, 2018).

Myanmar is activated as having ‘**signed deals**’ to **repatriate the Rohingya** due to ‘**global pressure**.’ **Myanmar** is also represented as the social actor subjected to pressure

by the international community, which is activated here through the possessivation of ‘pressure’ by ‘global.’

4.3.3 Myanmar’s Aung San Suu Kyi

Myanmar’s State Counselor, Aung San Suu Kyi, is nominated 175 times in *The Daily Star* corpus, and collocates 21 times with ‘Myanmar.’ Expanded concordance lines show that her representation in the corpus is distinctly negative. Examples are discussed below:

- a) “In stark contrast to Aung San Suu Kyi of Myanmar, the “lady of Dhaka” has promised aid to Rohingya Muslim refugees fleeing Myanmar, allotting 2,000 acres of land in Bangladesh for the refugees, Forbes said on its website” (“Hasina 30th on Forbes”, 2017).

Only **Aung San Suu Kyi** is nominated, but both she and Sheikh Hasina are relationally identified as being ‘of Myanmar’ and ‘lady of Dhaka’ respectively. This establishes both leaders as women and sets the stage to differentiate them, through the statement that Hasina, in contrast to Suu Kyi, has promised to aid the Rohingya. Hasina is further activated in the benevolent process of allotting land for the refugees. Suu Kyi, by being contrasted with Hasina, is implied to be doing the opposite of these actions. The example thus establishes that Bangladesh’s ‘lady’ leader is the more compassionate woman between the two.

- b) “Amid widespread international criticism for failing to address the issue of displaced Rohingya refugees, Canada’s newly-appointed special envoy has said Myanmar State Counselor Aung San Suu Kyi’s “pretence” will not help to resolve the ongoing crisis” (“Pretence won’t work”, 2017).

‘Widespread international criticism’ of Suu Kyi is collectivized to lend impersonal authority to the criticism, and ‘widespread’ helps to legitimize it further by indicating its

prevalence, all the while obscuring the social actors behind the criticism. This strategy helps impart a sense of agreement among the social actors. This criticism is condensed into the **Canadian envoy's** claim that **Suu Kyi pretends** to be oblivious to the **situation of the displaced Rohingya**. Suu Kyi is nominated and functionalized here with reference to her occupation as **'Myanmar's State Counselor.'** It is implied that such **'pretense,'** is not fitting for a person of her position and power.

- c) "In face of **international condemnation** and subjection over violence on Rohingyas – which has been termed ethnic cleansing, Van Thio reiterated some of the **dubious claims of Suu Kyi**" ("Myanmar vice president", 2017).
- d) "According to Penny Green, a professor of law at Queen Mary University of London, **Suu Kyi chose to use the word in relation to a terrorist group**, that means that is the only **identity that Rohingya will be attached to**, from **her perspective** and she hopes from the **international perspective**" ("5 dubious claims", 2017).

In (c), **'international condemnation'** of **Suu Kyi** is again activated in place of social actors behind the **condemnation**. **Suu Kyi** is represented as an unreliable and dishonest actor; in (c) she is activated as making **'dubious claims,'** and in (d) she is activated as **choosing to use a word** associating **the Rohingya** with **terrorism** in an attempt to shape the group as terrorists in front of the world. These views are attributed to actors with authority, who are nominated and functionalized (**'professor'**) to imbue their claims with expert authority legitimation.

- e) ""The **lack of acknowledgement** or care the **Myanmar authorities including Aung San Suu Kyi** have shown for Rohingya women and girls who have been brutally raped by Myanmar soldiers as part of their ethnic cleansing

campaign is almost as shocking as the horrific crimes themselves,” she told the Guardian” (“Suu Kyi ‘skipped’ talks”, 2017).

- f) “While it was positive to hear **Aung San Suu Kyi condemn human rights violations** in Rakhine state, **she is still silent about the role of the security forces** there, the regional director also stated” (“Suu Kyi burying”, 2017).
- g) “Nobel Peace laureate and Myanmar’s de facto leader **Aung San Suu Kyi faced widespread criticism across the world** for her **long silence and failure to protect Myanmar's Rohingya minorities** from what rights groups say is a systematic campaign of abuse by the country’s army” (“Bangladesh Rohingya crisis”, 2017).

Suu Kyi is steadily nominated and represented as a social actor who has the power and position to resolve the Rohingya crisis, and is portrayed as being **criticized globally** for choosing to remain **silent** and **not acknowledging** the crimes committed against the Rohingya in Myanmar.

4.3.4 Deflecting blame

KWIC lines show that Myanmar is represented as providing justification for its actions against the Rohingya by accusing Rohingya militants of starting the conflict. Examples are discussed below.

- a) “The **Myanmar army maintains** that their **reaction was proportionate to the terrorist threat posed by ARSA**, a **stance reiterated** on August 21 by **Suu Kyi**, who **blamed the group for the crisis** and **spoke in praise of the military**” (“Rakhine horror recounted”, 2018).
- b) “**The army**, which has been accused of conducting ethnic cleansing, **has said it is only targeting militants**” (“Myanmar beauty queen”, 2017).

In the above examples, actors representing **Myanmar** are activated in **maintaining** and **reiterating** that their actions were **targeted at militants** and a **proportionate** response to acts of **terrorism** perpetrated by the latter (**ARSA**). **Suu Kyi** is activated as **accusing ARSA** for the **crisis** while **praising** the **military's** actions.

- c) “**Myanmar also alleges that ARSA massacred scores of Hindu villagers** on the same day the military crackdown began, an accusation the militants have "categorically" denied” (“One year into the biggest”, 2018).
- d) “**The Burmese military alleges that ARSA militants and Rohingya villagers have burned down their own homes** but has provided no evidence to substantiate this claim” (“New satellite imagery”, 2017).

Myanmar and its military are activated as making **allegations** against **ARSA** of **massacres** and **arson**. *The Daily Star* reports that **ARSA denies** these allegations (c), and that the **Myanmar military** shows **no proof** for the **claims** it makes (d). ‘**But has provided no evidence**’ indicates that the news treats this explanation as an attempt by Myanmar to deflect blame, and does not accept it. In contrast, the following concordance line reports the **abuses** committed by **Myanmar's military** as being ‘**credible**’:

- e) “**Myanmar military has rejected credible accounts of widespread abuses** and said it is conducting operations against the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA)” (“New satellite imagery”, 2017).

By claiming that the **military rejects ‘credible’ reports** of its crimes against the Rohingya, the above line establishes the social actor’s explanation about targeting only ARSA as false.

From the examples, it is seen that Myanmar's crimes against the Rohingya are reported with clear certainty; in contrast, the crimes Myanmar accuses Rohingya militants of are mostly always reported as 'alleged' offences. In this way, Myanmar is incriminated and represented as attempting to justify its actions and deflect blame.

4.3.5 Summary

To sum up, Myanmar's dominant representation is as a violator and abuser, whereby Myanmar security forces, army, military, and sometimes the public are activated as conducting crimes against humanity with regard to the Rohingya. Myanmar is often spatialized, and encompasses the social actors mentioned. In line with these abuses, Myanmar is depicted as the savage within Mutua's (2002) SVS paradigm. Myanmar is further portrayed as being pressurized by Bangladesh and the international community to repatriate the Rohingya and stop persecuting them, besides being held accountable for the plight of the Rohingya and responsible for resolving the crisis by recognizing them as rightful citizens of Myanmar. The country's leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, is nominated and represented as a dishonest social actor making excuses for the violent actions of Myanmar's military against the Rohingya. She is compared to the more positively favored leader of Bangladesh, Sheikh Hasina, and reported as being globally criticized for her deliberate silence over the plight of the persecuted group. Myanmar is also represented as attempting to mitigate the severity of its crimes and deflecting blame, accusing the ARSA of starting the conflict, and falsely claiming to be carrying out security operations against only militants and not the entire Rohingya population.

4.4 Bangladesh

In this section, the categories of representation for Bangladesh are arranged and discussed under the following subsections:

- Passivated social actor (4.4.1)

- Savior (4.4.2)
- Benevolent aid-provider (4.4.3)
- Intent on Rohingya repatriation (4.4.4)
- Struggling nation (4.4.5)
- Bangladesh's Sheikh Hasina (4.4.6)
- Summary (4.4.7)

There are a total of 1130 occurrences of the term 'Bangladesh' in *The Daily Star* corpus. As with the terms 'Rohingya*' and 'Myanmar,' I begin with a collocation analysis of 'Bangladesh' in order to get an idea of its most salient collocates and thus a blanket idea of how Bangladesh is represented as a social actor. The complete output of the collocation analysis is presented in Appendix D.

Some of the most salient collocates of 'Bangladesh' relate to the entry of the Rohingya into Bangladesh, whereby the latter is constructed as a passive social actor who is subjected to and beneficialized by acts like 'entering,' 'fleeing to,' 'crossing into,' 'arriving in,' 'taking shelter in' and 'escaping to,' carried out by Rohingya refugees. Other frequent collocates like 'guard,' 'government,' 'minister,' and 'authorities' indicate the presence of political discourse. These and other collocates and clusters are discussed below through an analysis of concordance lines, in order to elucidate the representations that they create about Bangladesh in *The Daily Star's* news reports. About a 100 randomized KWIC lines of 'Bangladesh' are provided in Appendix D.

4.4.1 Passivated social actor

My analysis of 'Bangladesh' shows that this social actor is largely passivated in sentences reporting the arrival of the Rohingya to the country. Bangladesh frequently appears as the goal or recipient in material processes involving the Rohingya, who are

presented as ‘fleeing,’ ‘entering,’ or ‘crossing’ into Bangladesh to escape persecution in Myanmar, for example:

- a) “Nearly **seven lakhs Rohingya people have entered Bangladesh** since a fresh upsurge of violence in Myanmar on August 25” (“EU needs to reassess”, 2018).
- b) “According to United Nations, over **150,000 Rohingyas have fled into Bangladesh to escape** the persecution in Rakhine state” (“Rohingyas building new slum”, 2017).

Similar examples are already seen in section 4.2.1.1; the assimilation of the Rohingya can serve to create concern among the public by highlighting the numbers of Rohingya entering Bangladesh, as previously discussed in the same section. Besides this, **Bangladesh** is represented as a safe **escape** for the Rohingya from their persecution in Myanmar.

4.4.2 Savior

In the process of providing ‘shelter,’ which collocates 34 times with ‘Bangladesh,’ the country is often activated as the agent, as seen in the examples below.

- a) “**Bangladesh has provided shelter to nearly one million ethnic Rohingyas Muslims minority** who escaped Myanmar following military crackdown which the UN described as ‘text book example of ethnic cleansing.’” (“Trump lauds Hasina’s role”, 2018).

Bangladesh is activated as **providing shelter** to a large number of Rohingya. The assimilation of the Rohingya in this example serve to represent the act of Bangladesh as a commendable one, for accommodating such a large population. The use of the word ‘**shelter**’ in relation to **Bangladesh** in the same sentence where words like ‘**crackdown**’ and ‘**ethnic cleansing**’ are used in relation to Myanmar, implies that the Rohingya are

protected and safe in Bangladesh as opposed to the country they have ‘**escaped**’ from. The two social actors are thus differentiated- Myanmar as the savage and Bangladesh as the savior. Quoting the UN provides expert authority legitimation to the claims of ethnic cleansing against the Rohingya in Myanmar.

- b) “**Bangladesh has offered temporary shelter** to them” (“BNP against safe zone”, 2017).
- c) “**Bangladesh has given shelter to the displaced Rohingya** people on **humanitarian ground** after they fled persecution and atrocities by Myanmar army, BGB DG Hossain said, adding that in doing so **Bangladesh has set an example of generosity and humanity** before the world” (“Rohingya crisis”, 2017).

The **Rohingya** are constructed as the beneficiaries of ‘**shelter**’ given by Bangladesh. Example (c) contrasts **Bangladesh** with the **Myanmar army**, representing the latter as the violent actor **persecuting** the Rohingya and the former as the **exemplary** social actor **sheltering** the Rohingya on ‘**humanitarian grounds.**’ Noble characteristics like ‘**generosity**’ and ‘**humanity**’ are attributed to **Bangladesh** through indirect reporting (c), demonstrating a positive representation of the country in *The Daily Star*. However, as we see from (b), the provision of **shelter** is meant to be a **temporary offer**. This, combined with the observation that repatriation to Myanmar is a top concern for Bangladesh (see section 4.2.2.3) and the fact that Bangladesh has still not signed the UN’s (1951) refugee convention, indicates that Bangladesh does not intend to provide extended asylum to the Rohingya or integrate them into Bangladeshi society. One reasons for this may be that Bangladesh as a country is overpopulated and economically challenged, and does not have the capacity to accommodate the Rohingya long-term. This explanation is based on the representation of the Rohingya as burdens on the country’s resources, as analyzed and discussed in section 4.2.6.

4.4.3 Benevolent aid-provider

Studying the KWIC lines of ‘Bangladesh,’ reveals that Bangladesh and its representative government and people are represented in an appreciative manner in relation to the provision of shelter to the Rohingya. Examples are discussed below.

- a) “**The Turkish Deputy Prime Minister** in a meeting with Bangladesh Ambassador to Turkey **thanked the Bangladesh government for hosting a big number of the Rohingya refugees**” (“Turkey thanks Bangladesh”, 2017).
- b) “**Extending thanks to the Bangladeshi people and its government**, she said **Bangladesh is a poor country and it suffers a lot but hosting the Rohingya people**” (“Noble laureates break down”, 2018).
- c) “**The US has also praised Bangladesh’s generosity** in responding to the humanitarian crisis in the wake of the mass exodus of Rohingya refugees” (“US to give USD32m”, 2017).
- d) “He called for a **deep gratitude to the government and people of Bangladesh** for **opening their borders** to the Rohingyas **while so many borders in the world are closed**” (“UN chief calls”, 2018).

The above examples show how **Bangladesh**, including its **government** and **people**, are ‘**thanked**’ and ‘**praised**’ for being **generous** enough to **respond** to the Rohingyas’ plight by **hosting** a **big number** of them despite being a **poor** nation that already **suffers**. Authority figures like the **US** and the ‘**Turkish Deputy Prime Minister**’ are individualized in the above examples to lend more strength to the positive representation of Bangladesh. The idea that Bangladesh, despite its circumstances, **opens its borders** to the Rohingya while ‘**so many borders in the world are closed**,’ intensifies this positive construction by comparing Bangladesh to other countries and evaluating it positively.

The Myanmar government and its people, in comparison to Bangladesh, are represented as social actors responsible for the plight of the Rohingya, and uncooperative in relation to conflict resolution, since they have to be ‘pressured’ and ‘urged’ to this effect (see section 4.3.2).

Positive self and negative other representation is a common finding in the literature (Efe, 2018; Haider & Olimy, 2018). It is usually the minority groups that are negatively represented while the host country represents itself positively or is represented positively by its media. Here, however, Myanmar is constructed as the negative ‘other,’ or the savage according to Mutua’s (2002) SVS framework, while the Rohingya are largely constructed as a helpless group of victims. The positive representation of Bangladesh cannot be termed positive self-representation by *The Daily Star*, but from the analysis so far, it is clear that the representation of Bangladesh is biased. As discussed previously, there is no mention of the difficulties faced by the Rohingya when they are caused by Bangladeshi social actors. The Rohingya are connected to crimes in Bangladesh, but there is no mention of Bangladeshi actors who might be involved in those crimes. Voice is also seen to be most frequently given to Bangladeshi social actors, like ministers, organization heads, and police chiefs. In comparison, social actors from among the Rohingya and Myanmar are seldom given voice in the news reports. One of *The Daily Star*’s objectives, which is “to uphold national interests,” as quoted in chapter 1, explains the positive representation of Bangladesh.

4.4.4 Intent on Rohingya repatriation

Words referring to the Rohingyas’ return to Myanmar collocate often with ‘Bangladesh,’ like ‘repatriation’ (27), ‘return’ (14), and ‘back’ (12). It has also been discussed in a previous section (4.2.2.3) that Bangladesh is keen on repatriating the Rohingya to Myanmar, and seeks international support to this effect. I discuss some more

on this topic based on a concordance line I found while studying the KWIC lines of ‘Bangladesh’:

- a) “Following a **repatriation deal** signed on November 23 **between Bangladesh and Myanmar**, the **repatriation was scheduled to begin yesterday** (January 23) despite **huge concerns from the refugees** as well as from the **international community** on the **safety, and guarantee of their citizenship and basic rights** including education, health and freedom of movement in Rakhine” (“Put pressure on Myanmar”, 2018).

In the above extract, **in spite** of the issues at the core of the Rohingya crisis, like the **denial of citizenship** and the question of the Rohingyas’ **safety** not being addressed, the **repatriation deal** made **between Bangladesh and Myanmar** is reported to have been **scheduled** to go into effect from January 23rd, 2018. This information, along with the previous examples I have analyzed and discussed in section 4.2.2.3 where Bangladesh is insistent about Myanmar’s repatriation of the Rohingya, implies that Bangladesh is more concerned with sending the Rohingya back to Myanmar than with ensuring their safety.

4.4.5 Struggling nation

As we have already seen in sections 4.2.5 and 4.2.6, the Rohingya are represented as being a problem and a burden for Bangladesh. Along the same lines, Bangladesh is represented as being challenged economically and geographically in view of having to accommodate and aid the Rohingya refugees. Among the lists of clusters of ‘Bangladesh,’ constructions with the word ‘support’ appear three times, including ‘support Bangladesh’ (7), ‘to support Bangladesh’ (6), and support to Bangladesh (5), demonstrating that Bangladesh struggles to assist the Rohingya and seeks external support. Some expanded concordances exemplifying Bangladesh as a struggling and challenged nation are discussed below.

- a) ““**They (Bangladesh) are undertaking efforts in incredibly difficult and challenging circumstances** and and I'm thankful for the opportunity to see their commitment to helping those (Rohingyas) in need’,” Shayne Neumann MP, opposition representative of Australia, said in a press release issued by Australian High Commission, Dhaka” (“Rohingya crisis”, 2018).
- b) “Addressing the occasion, he appreciated the **Bangladesh government for its effort to deal with the “unprecedented challenges”**” (“Rohingya aid from India”, 2017).
- c) ““[The crisis is] creating **enormous humanitarian needs in an area of Bangladesh already affected by earlier refugee influxes, recent floods and not equipped to cope with large numbers of new arrivals,**” the UN News Centre quoted Andrej Mahecic, a spokesperson for the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), as saying” (“Rohingya crisis fastest growing”, 2017).

Bangladesh’s **efforts to cope with the difficult and ‘unprecedented challenges’ and commitment to help** the Rohingya is **appreciated** by other actors. Words like **‘incredibly difficult’** modify **‘circumstances,’** while **‘enormous’** modifies **‘humanitarian needs,’** and **‘unprecedented’** modifies **‘challenges.’** These words intensify the representation of Bangladesh as struggling to **deal with** the refugee situation in Bangladesh. Example (c) represents Bangladesh as a victim that is **‘already affected’** and faces enough struggles due to **earlier refugee arrivals and seasonal floods,** without the added challenge of helping the Rohingya. The information that Bangladesh is providing support to the entrants despite being **ill-equipped** to handle such a large population of refugees and despite the difficulties it imposes on the country’s own population and resources, represents its **commitment** to help the Rohingya as being all the more beneficent, and strengthens the positive construction of the social actor.

- d) “But **their needs are enormous and the world needs to step up support,**” **said Bangladesh** Finance Minister AMA Muhith” (“Rohingya crisis”, 2018).
- e) ““The other most **important task** now for the **international community** is to **support Bangladesh so that Bangladesh does not bear the burden of the refugees alone,**” said the WFP official on a visit from Geneva to see the Rohingya crisis” (“WFP to help”, 2017).
- f) ““I **call on the international community to do more to support Bangladesh in shouldering this responsibility,**” he urged” (“Atrocity crimes on Rohingya”, 2018).

The Rohingya, with their ‘**enormous needs**’ (d), are represented as a ‘**burden**’ that Bangladesh struggles to ‘**bear alone**’ (b) and a ‘**responsibility**’ that it struggles to ‘**shoulder.**’ Intertwined with the expression of the challenges that Bangladesh faces, are frequent appeals made by local and international actors to the public to **support Bangladesh** in providing shelter and aid to the Rohingya. *The Daily Star*’s representation of the Rohingya as a burden is thus found to realize another aim, that is to garner sympathy for Bangladesh as a social actor that struggles to deal with this burden, and thereby convince the public to lend financial assistance to Bangladesh to handle the burden..

4.4.6 Bangladesh’s Sheikh Hasina

The Prime Minister of Bangladesh, Sheikh Hasina, appears a total of 62 times in *The Daily Star* corpus. Studying the KWIC lines shows that she is steadily represented positively across the dataset, mostly through indirect reporting of appreciation showed by other social actors for her sheltering the Rohingya. I have already discussed in section 4.3.3 how she is contrasted with Myanmar’s Aung San Suu Kyi and constructed as the better woman and leader between the two. The examples below show more of the same positive representation of Hasina.

- a) “**She also lauded Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina** for her role in **giving shelter, food and medical assistance to the hapless Rohingyas** and said Bangladesh has done a lot despite being a small country with its own problems” (“Myanmar should come forward”, 2017).

Sheikh Hasina is nominated, and activated as playing a **role** in the provision of **assistance** to the ‘**hapless Rohingya**’ refugees. Quoting other social actors’ approval and appreciation of **Sheikh Hasina** (‘**lauded**’) serves to validate her actions in the corpus and evaluate her positively. She, along with a spatialized Bangladesh in ‘**Bangladesh has done a lot,**’ is represented as a savior to the ‘**hapless**’ refugees.

- b) ““We have come to Bangladesh in a lot of pain. My daughter was pregnant. She gave birth to a daughter here. We have named her Sheikh Hasina. **She has given us hopes of a new life** and we now expect some peace in our lives.”” (“Rohingya woman names”, 2017).

Sheikh Hasina is activated in the process of **giving** the Rohingya ‘**hopes of a new life.**’ Relaying an emotional personal story by a refugee, who names her granddaughter after Sheikh Hasina, is another way that *The Daily Star* constructs the leader in a positive light.

- c) “**Hasina also said the world leaders** are playing a special role in **mounting pressure on Myanmar** and **have stood beside Bangladesh on this issue**” (“Bilateral talks with Myanmar”, 2017).

Sheikh Hasina is indirectly quoted as **saying** that Bangladesh has the support of **foreign leaders**, who **stand on Bangladesh’s side** concerning the **Rohingya issue**. She further activates them as **increasing pressure** on Myanmar to hold it accountable. This claim of having global support constructs Bangladesh and its leader as being valid and justified while constructing Myanmar as the opposite.

4.4.7 Summary

To sum up, Bangladesh is represented as the savior in *The Daily Star's* news reports on the Rohingya crisis. Bangladesh is spatialized and represented as the beneficiary that receives the Rohingya as well as the actor that provides aid and shelter to the Rohingya. The reports make it clear that the country struggles to deal with the large numbers of refugees, but despite this continues to open its arms and accommodate the Rohingya. This strategy helps represent Bangladesh as a benevolent social actor. Bangladesh's prime minister, Sheikh Hasina, is nominated and equally praised by international and local actors for her generosity. Bangladesh is also depicted as being challenged by the burden the Rohingya presence puts on the country's resources and economy. This can work to convince the public to provide the financial support Bangladesh and other authority figures are often reported to seek. Bangladesh's keenness to repatriate the Rohingya is reiterated throughout the corpus, and this is at times done without consideration for their safety in Myanmar. As Ubayasiri (2019) notes in her study (see section 2.5), the Rohingyas' needs are constructed as less of a priority than Bangladesh's needs. This is also clear from my analysis, considering Bangladesh represents the Rohingya as a burden on its resources and is eager to repatriate them in spite of the root causes of their persecution in Myanmar remaining unaddressed. Of all social actors, those representing Bangladesh are most frequently quoted and attributed in the corpus, while social actors from among the Rohingya and Myanmar seldom attributed in comparison. This finding is similar to Philo et al. (2013a), Don & Lee (2014), Elsamni (2016), Chouliaraki & Zaborowski (2017), and Cock et al. (2018), where elite voices are given preference in reporting. Voices that are directly or indirectly reported by *The Daily Star* either belong to Bangladeshi politicians, or to foreign diplomats and international aid organizations, and are often found to be in favor or praise of Bangladesh. This shows a clear bias in reporting. Moreover, difficulties that the Rohingya face in Bangladesh at

the hands of Bangladeshi social actors are absent in the data, indicating another instance of bias.

4.5 The 2017 Rohingya crisis

In this section, I address RQ2, conducting a corpus analysis on the construction of ‘crisis’ while simultaneously discussing the findings under the categories in the following subsections:

- Humanitarian issue (4.5.1)
 - Humanitarian issue in Myanmar (4.5.1.1)
 - Humanitarian issue in Bangladesh (4.5.1.2)
 - Human tragedy (4.5.1.3)
- Situation to be resolved (4.5.2)
- Unprecedented situation (4.5.3)
- Myanmar’s responsibility (4.5.4)
- Problem and burden for Bangladesh (4.5.5)
- International and diplomatic concern (4.5.6)
- Security crisis (4.5.7)
- Summary (4.5.8)

To answer RQ2, which seeks to understand how the Rohingya crisis is constructed by *The Daily Star*, I follow the same process as with the terms ‘Rohingya*,’ ‘Myanmar,’ and ‘Bangladesh.,’ doing a collocation analysis followed by a complete concordance analysis. This qualitative part is a simple textual analysis of the construction of ‘crisis,’ unlike for RQ1 which I analyzed using van Leeuwen’s (1996, 2008) social actor model to analyze the representations of social actors. The phrase ‘Rohingya crisis’ appears a total of 121 times in the dataset, while the word ‘crisis’ appears a total of 303 times.

Appendix E shows the complete list of collocates of ‘crisis,’ and about a 100 random KWIC lines of ‘crisis.’

Upon analyzing the expanded concordance lines of the term ‘crisis’ and those of the salient collocates of ‘crisis,’ it was found that the ‘Rohingya crisis’ was constructed in a variety of ways, with layered meanings. It is depicted as a humanitarian issue at times, and at times as an issue of security. It is modified by terms like ‘grave,’ ‘tragic,’ ‘serious,’ ‘unprecedented,’ ongoing,’ ‘fastest-growing,’ and ‘one of the biggest.’ It is further presented as an ‘emergency’ and a ‘multi-faceted challenge,’ while verbs like ‘resolve,’ ‘handle,’ and ‘address’ construct solution processes. As such, examples are categorized and elaborated in the following sections.

4.5.1 Humanitarian issue

From the concordances, it is noted that the Rohingya crisis is predominantly constructed as a humanitarian issue, with the adjective modifying many instances of ‘crisis.’ ‘Humanitarian’ collocates 46 times with ‘crisis,’ and the cluster ‘humanitarian crisis’ appears 26 times in the corpus (Appendix E). This humanitarian issue is constructed in a few different ways- sometimes as a humanitarian crisis for the Rohingya in Myanmar, sometimes one within Bangladesh and affecting the Rohingya as well as Bangladesh, and at times as a human tragedy. Examples are discussed below.

4.5.1.1 Humanitarian issue in Myanmar

- a) “The **humanitarian situation of populations affected by conflict in Kachin and Shan States**, including 100,000 **internally displaced** people, is also of great concern” (“EU to review”, 2017).
- b) ““This report brings much needed awareness to the **grave humanitarian crisis and gross violations of human rights** faced by hundreds of thousands

of people, including Rohingya communities, other religious and ethnic minorities, and women and girls," he said" ("Canada should take", 2018).

- c) "Crucially, **humanitarian aid organizations** have been almost completely **denied access, creating an appalling humanitarian crisis** in an area already extremely poor" ("12 Nobel laureates", 2017).

A '**humanitarian crisis**' and '**human rights**' crisis has reportedly been created in **Myanmar** among minorities from Rakhine, Kachin, and Shan states, due to '**conflict**,' '**internal displacement**,' '**gross violation of human rights**,' and '**denial of access to aid**' in an **already impoverished area**. These **human rights** violations are identified as causing the '**humanitarian situation**' faced by the minorities. It is not mentioned in these examples who is behind these acts; the social actor is backgrounded, but it is understood to be Myanmar authorities, military, and security forces from the complete news reports.

4.5.1.2 Humanitarian issue in Bangladesh

- a) "The **humanitarian situation in parts of Bangladesh sheltering hundreds of thousands of Rohingya refugees** continues to deteriorate, **making the crisis one of the fastest growing refugee crises** of recent years, according to the United Nations" ("Rohingya crisis fastest growing", 2017).
- b) "He arrived in Dhaka yesterday afternoon on a four-day visit that aims to demonstrate the **enormity of the humanitarian needs of Rohingyas** and the UN response to it to address the **urgent needs of greater humanitarian support**" ("Malaysia to create pressure", 2017).
- c) "The ROK government expects that its donation will help **alleviate sufferings and improve living conditions of the Rohingya people in a grave humanitarian crisis**, especially the **humanitarian situation of the most vulnerable brackets, such as women and children**" ("Korea to give", 2017).

- d) “Citing the facts, the foreign minister sought the engagement of all foreign diplomats for a peaceful end to the Rohingya crisis as **their forced exodus to Bangladesh created a serious humanitarian crisis**” (“Myanmar’s proposed repatriation”, 2017).
- e) “The **deportation of Rohingya** from Myanmar has **particularly affected Bangladesh**. Since October 2016, the Myanmar **authorities forced more than 775,000 Rohingya into Bangladesh, causing a humanitarian crisis**” (“Bangladesh, involve ICC”, 2018).

The **fast-growing ‘humanitarian situation’** in Bangladesh is reportedly created by the **‘enormity’** of the Rohingyas’ **‘humanitarian needs;**’ they are depicted as **‘suffering’** due to poor **‘living conditions’** in Bangladesh. **‘Women and children,’** are highlighted as the **‘most vulnerable’** of the sufferers of this **‘grave humanitarian crisis.’** On the other hand, the humanitarian crisis is also portrayed as being **‘created’** in and **‘particularly’** affecting Bangladesh due to the **forced Rohingya exodus** from Myanmar. Examples (d) and (e) imply that the Rohingya are the cause rather than the subjects of the **humanitarian crisis** within Bangladesh. We see international actors and organizations, like the UN, the **ROK government,** and **foreign diplomats** constructed as the saviors who, by providing **‘humanitarian support’** and **‘donations,’** can **‘alleviate sufferings and improve living conditions’** of the **‘victims.’**

4.5.1.3 Human tragedy

The crisis is identified as a ‘human tragedy’ 6 times throughout the corpus. Some concordance lines are analyzed below to understand what this means.

- a) “Earlier in January, the committee expressed “grave concern” about the plans to repatriate the Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh, **terming the crisis a “huge human tragedy” caused by Myanmar’s actions**” (“Rohingya crisis”, 2018).

- b) “The **human tragedy unfolding in southern Bangladesh is staggering** in its scale, complexity and rapidity’ (“Senior UN officials”, 2017).
- c) “Terming the **plight of the Rohingya people a “huge human tragedy”**, the committee said in the report that Myanmar's actions have “**imposed human suffering** on hundreds of thousands of people and presented the world with a huge bill for humanitarian relief estimated to amount to a billion pounds per year.” (“UK MPs concerned”, 2018).

The ‘**crisis**’ and ‘**plight**’ of the **Rohingya** population, reported to be ‘**caused by Myanmar’s actions,**’ is termed a ‘**human tragedy**’ that is ‘**staggering**’ in conception. From (c), the **tragedy** appears to be that Myanmar has i) brought **suffering** upon so many people, and ii) placed **financial responsibility** of **humanitarian** assistance toward the Rohingya upon the rest of the **world**.

4.5.2 Situation to be resolved

Three of the most salient collocates of ‘crisis’ (Appendix E) are ‘end’ (27), ‘solution’ (22), ‘resolve’ (21), and ‘address’ (15), indicating that the solution of the Rohingya crisis is a salient topic in *The Daily Star*’s reports on the issue. Some concordance lines are analyzed below.

- a) “Speaker of Indian Lok Sabha Sumitra Mahajan today said **Myanmar should come forward for solving the ongoing Rohingya crisis recognizing the people as its nationals**” (“Myanmar should come forward”, 2017).
- b) “The premier reiterated that **Myanmar has to find a solution to the protracted Rohingya crisis** saying her government is committed to take steps for **sending back** the forcibly displaced Myanmar **citizens to their homeland safely and respectfully**.” (“Bilateral talks with Myanmar”, 2017).

- c) **“Peaceful deportation and rehabilitation of Rohingya people on their own land is only the solution to put an end to the crisis** and Bangladesh wants it,” said Inu, also president of Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (JSD-Inu)” (“Dhaka to deal”, 2017).
- d) **“First, the root causes of the problem must be addressed.** Only then can this population **return in safety and dignity** to Myanmar” (“Atrocity crimes on Rohingya”, 2018).

In the examples above, reinstatement of the Rohingyas’ **citizenship** rights, and **safe and dignified return to their own lands** in Myanmar is seen as an imperative condition for a **peaceful solution** to the **Rohingya crisis**. In (c), a Bangladeshi social actor, seemingly on behalf of Bangladesh, states that the Rohingyas’ repatriation to Myanmar is **the only solution** to the **crisis**.

- e) “The Mission also suggested **implementing the recommendations** made by the UN Advisory Commission on Rakhine State, and the five consecutive Special Rapporteurs on the human rights situation in Myanmar, **in order to solve the crisis, which it termed as “a matter of the utmost urgency”**” (“UN, int’l community”, 2018).
- f) “Amnesty International Canada said Rae’s **report offers a roadmap for global leadership to address the urgent and long-standing human rights crisis**, and called on the Liberal government to adopt the recommendations without delay” (“Canada should take”, 2018).

Solving the crisis is classed as a **‘matter of utmost urgency’** by aid organizations, which are reported to provide **roadmaps** and **recommendations** to **address the crisis**.

The lengthy duration of the Rohingya crisis is referred to with the words ‘ongoing’ (a), ‘protracted’ (b), and ‘long-standing’ (f), establishing it as an issue that has continued for too long, and communicating a sense of urgency with regards to addressing and solving it. Bangladesh and international powers are all portrayed as having the same goal.

4.5.3 Unprecedented situation

12 of the 15 total occurrences of the term ‘unprecedented’ in the corpus refer to the Rohingya crisis, indicating the unexpectedness of the scale of the crisis. Examining the complete concordance list of ‘crisis’ reveals more ways that the unprecedented nature of the crisis are referenced. Examples are discussed below.

- a) ““We are facing here a **crisis that is quite unprecedented not only in scale, but in the depths of the multiple deprivations that people are facing,**” Guardian reports today quoting Sy” (“World failing Myanmar’s Rohingyas”, 2017).
- b) ““The roots of this crisis go back decades, but 12 months ago we saw an **unprecedented campaign of terror by the Burmese military,** resulting in 700,000 people fleeing across the border into Bangladesh,” said International Development Secretary Penny Mordaunt” (“UK calls on int’l”, 2018).
- c) ““There is no denying that this is a **problem of significant magnitude,**” Van Thio. “I am [however] happy to inform you that the situation has improved” (“Myanmar vice president”, 2017).
- d) ““This is **one of the biggest humanitarian crisis** in recent times. **No single agency or the Government of Bangladesh alone can meet the massive health needs** of such a **large population group.**”” (“Rohingya crisis”, 2018).

The above examples use superlatives like ‘**unprecedented,**’ ‘**biggest,**’ ‘**multiple,**’ ‘**significant magnitude,**’ and ‘**massive**’ to emphasize the unexpected severity of the

crisis, including the Rohingyas' sufferings and their consequent humanitarian needs. In (b), Myanmar is attributed responsibility for the '**unprecedented campaign of terror**' experienced by the Rohingya. In (d), Bangladesh is reported to be incapable of handling '**alone**' the **massive needs** of the **large** numbers of Rohingya in the country, thus facing an unprecedented **humanitarian crisis**.

- e) "The **Rohingya refugee crisis** in Bangladesh is **growing at a rapid pace** and there is an **urgent need to support the host communities to cope with the influx and to help the refugees**, the World Bank said today" ("Rohingya crisis growing", 2018).
- f) "This is a **growing humanitarian crisis** and children are at the heart of this crisis" ("200,000 Rohingya children", 2017).

The crisis is described to be **growing rapidly**, and the **urgency** conveyed in (e) further elucidates the unprecedented nature of the crisis by communicating that **host communities** need **support** in order to **cope** with the situation. In (f), the coverage positions **children** at the **center** of the '**growing humanitarian crisis**,' bringing attention to the vulnerable demographic to perhaps elicit sympathy from readers.

4.5.4 Myanmar's responsibility

The KWIC lines of crisis show that the reports directly and indirectly quote actors who place responsibility for the crisis upon Myanmar. Examples are discussed below.

- a) ""Only Myanmar has the solution to the Rohingya crisis as **the issue has started from the country**," he said while addressing a press conference over the issue at a Gulshan hotel in Dhaka this afternoon" ("Solution to Rohingya crisis", 2017).

- b) **“The refugee problem stems from the crimes against humanity being committed by the Myanmar military and government against the Rohingya,”** she said in the email” (“Persecution of Rohingyas”, 2018).
- c) **“Terming the Rohingya issue “a problem of Myanmar”,** the minister said **the country has to solve it”** (“3,000 Rohingya Muslims”, 2017).

The **Rohingya crisis** is claimed to be an **‘issue’** and a **‘problem’** created by **Myanmar**, due to **‘crimes against humanity,’** specifically by its **‘government’** and **‘military.’** It is depicted as an **issue** that **‘only Myanmar’** has the responsibility to resolve.

- d) **“It is Myanmar’s internal conflict, forced on to the shoulder of Bangladesh. The problem has come from there and the solution lies there as well,”** Shahriar Alam said in the briefing” (“Myanmar’s problem imposed”, 2018).
- e) **“This is a crisis Bangladesh dealing with. But it’s not made in Bangladesh,”** she said, adding since the **crisis is created in Rakhine,** so **Myanmar government must take the lead to resolve it”** (“UK for permanent solution”, 2017).

The **crisis** is constructed an **‘internal conflict’** **‘created’** by **Myanmar** and **‘forcefully’** placed **upon Bangladesh,** which the latter is constructed as not obligated to resolve. The modal **‘must’** obliges **Myanmar** to take responsibility for the crisis and work towards its **resolution.**

4.5.5 Problem and burden for Bangladesh

The KWIC lines of **‘crisis,’** by demonstrating how the Rohingya crisis is constructed as a problem for Bangladesh, further confirm the discourse of burden and problem surrounding the Rohingya from Bangladesh’s perspective, as previously discussed in sections 4.2.5, 4.2.6, and 4.2.8. Examples are analyzed below.

- a) “The **deportation of Rohingya from Myanmar** has **particularly affected Bangladesh**” (“Bangladesh, involve ICC”, 2018).
- b) ““This **humanitarian crisis of the Rohingya refugees** is a **multi-faceted challenge for us,**” the press release said quoting Masud Bin Momen, Bangladesh Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the UN” (“Manhattan concert conveys”, 2018).
- c) “Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina today said **Bangladesh is facing an unprecedented crisis over providing humanitarian assistance** to tens of thousands of **Rohingyas** and **sending them back to their own country**” (“Bangladesh facing unprecedented crisis”, 2017).

In the above lines, the Rohingyas’ being **deported** to Bangladesh is reported as acutely **affecting** the country, while their requiring **humanitarian aid in Bangladesh** is portrayed as an **unprecedented challenge**. The **crisis** of conflict resolution through **sending back** the Rohingya to Myanmar is also constructed as being problematic for Bangladesh.

- d) “Terming Bangladesh as India’s closest neighbor, she expressed her concern saying that the **Rohingya issue is a problem for Bangladesh**” (“Myanmar should come forward”, 2017).
- e) “Earlier, the ADB expressed its eagerness to **help Bangladesh in dealing with the Rohingya crisis** that has already become a **tremendous burden for the country**” (“ADB considering grant support”, 2018).

The above lines report authority figures terming the **Rohingya crisis** a ‘**problem**’ and a ‘**tremendous burden**’ for Bangladesh, and therefore a cause for **concern** among friends of the country. While examples (a), (b), and (c) indirectly construct the crisis as a problem for Bangladesh by referring to the challenges it faces in helping the Rohingya, examples (d) and (e) are more direct in classifying the Rohingya issue as a problem and a burden.

- f) “Terming the current **refugee crisis “a real mess”**, Foreign Minister Abul Hassan Mahmood Ali, also present at the programme, said, **“The longer they (Rohingya refugees) will stay here, more will be the problems.”**” (“Rohingya refugee crisis”, 2017).
- g) **“Rohingya is now the reasons of different short term and long term crisis of Bangladesh**, he added” (“Put pressure on international community”, 2018).
- h) “Terming the ongoing **Rohingya crisis “a humanitarian disaster”**, Director General of Border Guard Bangladesh (BGB) Major General Abul Hossain today urged the international community to play an effective role to resolve the crisis” (“Rohingya crisis”, 2017).

Compared to examples (a) through (e) in this section, examples (f) and (h) above evaluate the Rohingya crisis even more negatively by terming it a ‘**mess**’ and a ‘**disaster**.’ Examples (f) and (g) report the victims of the crisis- the **Rohingya**, as the **reason** for protracted **crisis** and **problems** affecting Bangladesh. These views are markedly hostile towards the Rohingya, and have the potential to be internalized by readers of *The Daily Star* and reflected in their attitudes towards the refugee group.

The above examples construct Bangladesh as being subjected to the crisis, which is problematic because it detracts from the difficulties that the Rohingya face in Bangladesh, and constructs them as a burden on the country by focusing on the difficulties Bangladesh faces in attempting to accommodate and help the Rohingya. The Rohingyas’ welfare and needs are thus established as being secondary to those of Bangladesh. As reviewed in section 2.5, this finding is also present in Ubayasiri’s (2019) analysis of *The Daily Star*’s framing of the Rohingya’ migration to Bangladesh in 2012 and 2017. Returning to the refugee crisis’ being constructed as a problem for Bangladesh, Holzberg et al. (2018), reviewed in section 2.3, finds similar results from his analysis of German media representation of borders during the European refugee crisis of 2015, and argues

that constructing refugee crises as problems for host countries encourages readers to focus on RAS' desirability and deservingness rather than on their plights.

4.5.6 International and diplomatic concern

Among the KWIC lines, it is observed that the Rohingya crisis is constructed as an issue that concerns not just the minority group or Myanmar or Bangladesh, but rather the wider international community. I analyze some expanded concordance lines below and discuss how the crisis is constructed as an international and diplomatic concern by *The Daily Star*.

- a) "As the **crisis is not only for Bangladesh and it is the crisis of the world** for which **World community will have to take responsibility** of the problem, he said" ("Put pressure on international community", 2018).
- b) "'**We share a global responsibility to respond to this crisis and meet the needs of those displaced and most vulnerable,**" he said" ("Canada should take", 2018).
- c) "To reduce the humanitarian disaster in Rohingya camp, **increasing pressure of international community to repatriate of Rohingya** refugees is a must, said Salam" ("Put pressure on international community", 2018).

The above lines construct the **Rohingya crisis** as a **global concern** and hold the '**international community**' responsible to '**meet the needs**' of the Rohingya refugees, who are describes as being '**displaced**' and '**vulnerable**' subjects of '**humanitarian disaster**' in camps within Bangladesh. To '**reduce**' this '**humanitarian disaster,**' the '**international community**' is obliged to put **pressure** on Myanmar to **repatriate** the **Rohingya**. The lines construct the '**world community**' as being bound by duty to help the Rohingya.

Overall, most concordance lines where the international community is mentioned involve appeals to their sense of responsibility and morality; this seems to be in an effort to convince and push the public to donate or increase their financial contributions towards the Rohingya cause, and support the eventual repatriation of the Rohingya to Myanmar.

The crisis is also constructed as a diplomatic issue receiving attention and resolution efforts from other nations, for example,

- d) “**Indian High Commissioner** in Dhaka Harsh Vardhan Shringla today **assured Bangladesh of his country’s “diplomatic and humanitarian” support to resolve the ongoing Rohingya refugee crisis**” (“Rohingya refugee crisis”, 2017).
- e) “Visiting **US Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs** Thomas A Shannon today said they are **working to resolve the Rohingya crisis through diplomatic efforts**” (“US working to solve”, 2017).
- f) “Citing the facts, the **foreign minister sought the engagement of all foreign diplomats for a peaceful end to the Rohingya crisis** as their forced exodus to Bangladesh created a serious humanitarian crisis” (“Myanmar’s proposed repatriation”, 2017).

Representatives from **India**, the **US**, and Bangladesh are quoted to offer **diplomatic support** to Bangladesh and the Rohingya in an **effort** to alleviate and **peacefully resolve** the **humanitarian crisis** ‘created’ by the **Rohingya exodus** to **Bangladesh**, whereby the country is challenged by the humanitarian needs of the unprecedented numbers of refugees, as discussed in section 4.5.3.

This finding- the construction of a refugee crisis as an international and diplomatic concern compelling the international community to provide support and assistance in resolving it- is not seen in the literature review of studies on the discursive construction

of other refugee crises. This may be owing to the historical and socio-political circumstances' behind RAS flight in the case of each refugee crisis being vastly different. These circumstances are not considerations in this dissertation, and will not be discussed further. Another reason may be that Bangladesh, the host country for the Rohingya, is an already impoverished country, as discussed in chapter 1, while most Western countries in the context of the 2015 European refugee crisis (see section 2.3.1) are developed first world countries that are considered to have the capacity to aid RAS. So, in the Bangladeshi context, the appeal for global support towards refugees and the host country is a salient finding in *The Daily Star*.

4.5.7 Security crisis

Analysis of the KWIC lines also shows instances where Rohingya crisis is constructed as a security crisis in *The Daily Star* corpus, for example,

- a) ““We cannot remain on the sidelines as one million people flee violence and persecution. **This crisis is a major threat to regional peace and security.**””
 (“IPU calls upon UNSC”, 2017).
- b) ““It has the **potential to destabilise** not only **Bangladesh** but also the **entire region**. It has **ingredients to become a security threat**,” he asserted”
 (“Dhaka warns SAsia”, 2017).
- c) “Addressing a media conference after wrapping up his two-day visit to India, Bangladesh Foreign Secretary Shahidul Haque, who met his Indian counterpart S Jaishankar and National Security Adviser Ajit Doval, said, while the **presence of so many Rohingyas in Bangladesh** was a “huge burden” on the country’s small economy but also **posed a security threat**” (“Dhaka warns SAsia”, 2017).

The Rohingya crisis is constructed as a ‘**major threat**’ to **peace, stability, and security** in the ‘**entire region**’ within which Bangladesh and Myanmar exist. Example (c) shows Bangladesh’s foreign secretary claim the Rohingya presence in Bangladesh to be not only **burdensome**, but also a **security** risk. This kind of securitization discourse surrounding the construction of refugee crises in media is a common finding in the literature review of past studies (see section 2.3.1), whereby RAS are represented as threats to host countries with the possible intention of influencing public perception of the groups.

4.5.8 Summary

The finding about the multi-faceted construction of the Rohingya crisis in the corpus is similar to Goodman et al.’s (2017) study, which found that the terminology related to the term ‘crisis’ was modified over the duration of the reporting in an effort to determine how social actors would be perceived by the public. Like nearly all past studies reviewed, even the current research is found to report effects asylum seekers had on the host country- which are for the most part negative. What Krzyzanowski, Wodak, & Triandafyllidou (2017) claim about the term ‘crisis’ being an ideological term that is used to raise alarm and justify policies against RAS is relatable with the findings of the current analysis- by reporting the Rohingya as a security threat and a burden on Bangladesh’s resources, Bangladeshi leaders attempt to justify their urgency to repatriate the Rohingya to Myanmar. The Rohingya crisis is at times constructed as a humanitarian crisis experienced by the Rohingya through persecution and forced exodus from Myanmar, and at times as a humanitarian crisis experienced by Bangladesh due to being overwhelmed by Rohingya presence. The crisis is frequently and clearly constructed as a problem and a burden on the small economy of Bangladesh; and within these constructions lie Bangladesh and foreign aid organizations’ appeals to the public to provide financial support to Bangladesh so it can cope with the refugees’ needs. The crisis is seen as a humanitarian issue that Myanmar is responsible for causing, with the Rohingya and

Bangladesh facing its effects. However, it is claimed to be a global issue that concerns the wider international community as well, and therefore an issue that the community is responsible for resolving. To this end, there are frequent appeals to the international community and foreign powers to hold Myanmar accountable and help resolve the Rohingya crisis. Colombo's (2017) finding (see section 2.3.1) of securitarian discourses interplaying with humanitarian discourses is reflected here, and wraps up how the Rohingya crisis is discursively constructed.

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I carried out a corpus analysis of social actor representation of the Rohingya, Myanmar, and Bangladesh in *The Daily Star*, and also analyzed the discursive construction of the 2017 Rohingya crisis therein. Using AntConc 3.5.8, I conducted collocate, cluster, and concordance analyses to understand how these representations and constructions were linguistically realized. Simultaneously, I discussed the findings and their implications. My analysis revealed a few ways in which representations of the Rohingya mirrored representations of refugees and asylum seekers seen in past studies, and also demonstrated some new findings. The Rohingya were mostly represented as a homogenous group of victims needing aid, and at the same time as a problem, in Bangladesh. Myanmar was represented negatively throughout the corpus, while Bangladesh was represented positively and, as discussed within the analysis, with some bias. The Rohingya crisis was constructed as both a humanitarian issue and a securitarian one. The findings are summarized in the next and final chapter of this dissertation, where I also detail the significance and limitations of this research and provide recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This research used CADS to study how a popular English newspaper in Bangladesh, *The Daily Star*, reported the 2017 Rohingya crisis. AntConc 3.5.8 and van Leeuwen's (1996, 2008) social actor categorization were used to analyze a corpus consisting of 406 articles on the crisis. Collocates, clusters, and concordances of the keywords were analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively, and findings were discussed in light of past studies on RAS representation in media and the background of the study.

In the next two sections of this chapter (5.2 and 5.3), I summarize the findings of the analysis carried out in chapter 4 to answer the research questions from chapter 1. In section 5.4, I discuss the implications of this research, including its significance. In section 5.5, I present the scope and limitations of the research. The final section (5.6) details recommendations for further research.

5.2 Representation of social actors

This section summarizes the analysis done in chapter 4 to address research question 1 in this dissertation, which asks how the main social actors in the context of the 2017 Rohingya crisis- the Rohingya, Myanmar, and Bangladesh, are represented in *The Daily Star*. In the following three subsections, I summarize the findings of the analysis in the case of each social actor separately.

5.2.1 The Rohingya

The dominant representation of the Rohingya in *The Daily Star*'s news reports is as a homogenous group of victims subjected to various forms of abuse and persecution by Myanmar. The frequent assimilation of the minority group using numbers and collective nouns realizes this homogeneity, while the detailing of acts of abuse against the Rohingya realizes their representation as victims by communicating their suffering.

Certain demographics like women and children are foregrounded in news reports to emphasize their vulnerability.

The Rohingya are most often passivated in the reports, being represented as goals of persecution by Myanmar, beneficiaries of shelter and aid from Bangladesh and others, objects of visits by public figures, and most importantly, actors to be repatriated to Myanmar urgently, as opposed to their being activated in returning or wanting to return willingly. Along this line, Rohingya voices on the topic of their repatriation are absent compared to elite voices.

The refugees are represented as an international responsibility, whereby readers and the public are constantly pleaded to support them with their donations. *The Daily Star* also represents them as rightful citizens of Myanmar, classifying them as ‘Myanmar nationals,’ while other actors advocate for their citizenship and rights to be reinstated. Notably, the term ‘asylum seeker’ is absent in the corpus with reference to the Rohingya, and implies that Bangladesh does not intend to provide long-term refuge to them.

The Rohingya are represented as problems, burdens, criminals, and security threats in Bangladesh. Their entry is frequently described as an ‘influx’ negatively affecting Bangladesh. Their humanitarian needs as refugees in Bangladesh are claimed to be burdensome for the latter. They are also activated as being involved in illegal and criminal activities, besides being constructed by authority figures as threats to peace and security. All these representations combine to portray the Rohingya as an undesirable population in Bangladesh. In contrast, there is seldom any mention of the difficulties that the Rohingya face, specially at the hands of human actors, within Bangladesh.

Discourses of victimization, economization, and securitization are found in *The Daily Star*’s news reports on the 2017 Rohingya crisis, and are all common findings in

studies on RAS representation in media. However, the topic of refugee repatriation is an unusual and novel finding in this research, and is represented from two perspectives- one being the demand by local and international actors for safe repatriation of the stateless Rohingya to Myanmar, including cessation of the human rights violations against them and reinstatement of their citizenship status, and the other being Bangladesh's demand for Myanmar to take the Rohingya back because of the humanitarian burden and security risk that the latter are seen as within Bangladesh.

5.2.2 Myanmar

Myanmar has a negative representation throughout *The Daily Star's* year of coverage of the 2017 Rohingya crisis analyzed. It is often spatialized to represent its government, authorities, military, and security forces. These actors are also often individualized, and mostly activated as carrying out various acts of abuse and persecution against the Rohingya. Thus, Myanmar is represented as the savage within Mutua's (2002) SVS framework. It is passivated as being subjected to pressure and demands by Bangladesh and other public figures to repatriate the Rohingya. Myanmar's state counselor, Aung San Suu Kyi, is often nominated, and has a markedly negative representation, with reports constructing her as a dishonest actor who makes excuses for the Myanmar military's campaign against the Rohingya, and remains deliberately silent about the Rohingyas' sufferings. Myanmar and its representative social actors are also activated in attempting to mitigate the severity of their actions against the Rohingya, while also trying to deflect blame for the Rohingya crisis on ARSA militants.

5.2.3 Bangladesh

Bangladesh is represented positively throughout the year of coverage of the 2017 Rohingya crisis by *The Daily Star*. Like Myanmar, it is often spatialized to collectively represent its government and people. It is found to be both activated and passivated in

relation to sheltering the Rohingya. When it is constructed as the beneficiary of the Rohingya, it is represented as a passive receiver of refugees, and when it is activate as giving shelter to the refugees, it is represented as being in charge. Assimilation is used across the board to represent the Rohingya in both situations, and this assimilation functions in the first situation to raise concern among readers about the numbers of refugees overwhelming Bangladesh, while it functions in the second situation to construct Bangladesh as the benevolent actor providing shelter and aid to large numbers of refugees. Along these lines, Bangladesh is represented as a savior according to Mutua's (2002) SVS framework.

Bangladesh is represented as being eager to repatriate the Rohingya, and is activated as urging Myanmar to take them back, while also appealing to the international community to put pressure on Myanmar to do so. It is frequently portrayed as a nation that struggles to handle the unprecedented arrival and numbers of refugees; while this represents Bangladesh as being burdened by refugee presence, it also legitimizes the frequent appeals made to the public by Bangladeshi and other authority figures to lend support to the country to deal with this presence.

Bangladesh is at times represented as the victim of a humanitarian crisis imposed upon it by Myanmar and the Rohingya arrivals. This detracts from the sufferings of the Rohingya by shifting the focus from them to Bangladesh and establishing Bangladesh as a primary concern instead of the refugees or their welfare.

Lastly, Bangladesh's prime minister, Sheikh Hasina, is nominated often and represented positively through direct and indirect speech attributed to authority figures, praising her efforts to help the refugees. Bangladesh's government and public are also commended alongside the prime minister.

I argue that the positive representation of Bangladesh is biased, firstly because my analysis reveals that voice is mostly given to Bangladeshi social actors and authority figures speaking in favor of Bangladesh, secondly because there is exclusion of social actors from Bangladesh who may be involved in crimes alongside Rohingya, for which the Rohingya alone are identified in the news reports, and thirdly because there is no mention of the difficulties that the Rohingya likely face in Bangladesh at the hands of Bangladeshi social actors.

5.3 Discursive construction of the Rohingya crisis

This section summarizes the part of the analysis in chapter 4 that addresses research question 2, which asks how the 2017 Rohingya crisis is discursively constructed in *The Daily Star*.

The Rohingya crisis is found to have a multi-faceted construction in *The Daily Star*, with humanitarian and securitarian discourses surrounding the crisis intertwined within the reporting. It is at times presented as a humanitarian crisis and human tragedy faced by the Rohingya due to being persecuted by Myanmar, and at times as a humanitarian crisis and human tragedy faced by a struggling Bangladesh due to the unprecedented numbers of refugees needing shelter and aid.

The crisis is constructed as an event that is unprecedented in magnitude with regard to the numbers of refugees as well as the extent of their humanitarian needs. Thereby, the crisis and the refugees are constructed as problems and burdens that have unfairly been forced upon Bangladesh. Consequently, the crisis is constructed as a situation that needs urgent and immediate resolution, for which Bangladesh relies on the international community's putting pressure on Myanmar to repatriate the Rohingya and reinstate their citizenship rights. Authority figures construct the crisis as Myanmar's doing, and thus something that Myanmar is responsible for resolving.

The Rohingya crisis is also constructed as a security crisis, specially by authority figures from India and Bangladesh, who represent the refugees as a threat to regional security and stability and intend to restrict their movements. This construction distracts from and delegitimizes the suffering and victimhood of the refugees, besides having the potential to generate negative attitudes towards the Rohingya among the public.

5.4 Implications of the research

This research enriches literature concerning the representation of refugees and asylum seekers in Bangladeshi media by analyzing *The Daily Star*'s representation of social actors in the context of the 2017 Rohingya crisis. It also addresses a gap in literature concerning the discursive construction of the 2017 Rohingya crisis in media.

This research is significant because the historical and socio-political context of the crisis are vastly different from those of other refugee crises that have been studied in the past, mostly relating to the 2015 European refugee crisis. Hence, the analysis was expected to reveal findings that were both similar to and different from Western media's representations of RAS and its construction of other refugee crises.

How the news presents events and people is of great significance because these representations have been found to have the potential to influence public perception. Until the 2017 Rohingya crisis forced almost a million refugees into Bangladesh, the persecution they had been suffering for decades in Myanmar had not received much attention in global mainstream media. After the 2017 exodus, the Rohingya issue started receiving more media scrutiny, not only worldwide, but also in the impoverished host country of the refugees, Bangladesh. This warranted a study of Bangladeshi news media's representation of the refugees and the crisis for an understanding of public discourse surrounding the minority group, other important social actors involved, and the crisis itself.

Lastly, this research demonstrates the effectiveness of CADS methodology and corpus software like AntConc 3.5.8 in analyzing large amounts of data.

5.5 Limitations of the research

Although *The Daily Star* is the most popular English language newspaper in Bangladesh, a very small percentage of Bangladeshis are within its readership demographic, and do not represent the majority population, who prefer to read news in Bengali. A Bengali language online news source might have been more representative of Bangladeshi readership, but data analysis would have required translation of excerpts from Bengali to English to facilitate interpretation- a lengthy process that was outside the scope of this study, and hence was not chosen.

The literature shows media representations reflected in public attitudes. Supplementing the analysis of news reports with an interview or survey to gauge reader perceptions of Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh would have resulted in a more well-rounded research, but due to space constraint, only news reports were analyzed for this research. As they stand now, the findings of this research cannot be generalized.

Researcher bias may have been involved in the interpretation of the findings; Baker (2012) recommends that multiple perspectives be sought during the analysis and interpretation of data in order to minimize the risk of researcher bias, but this, too, was outside the scope of this research and hence could not be done.

5.6 Suggestions for further research

The socio-political and historical context of the crisis, and also the news production and dissemination practices, are not given much regard in the current research due to its not being a *critical* discourse study. Future research is suggested to carry out a more in-depth analysis taking into account all these factors. There are more social actors

present in the corpus besides the Rohingya, Myanmar, and Bangladesh. Further research is recommended to examine the representations of all social actors in the news.

Some comparative studies that can be done surrounding the Rohingya crisis will now be presented. A similar corpus-assisted discourse study to the current one is recommended, focusing on *Bengali* news media representation of the 2017 Rohingya crisis and the social actors in the context of the crisis. This can be followed by a comparison of the similarities and differences between media representations of the same topic in the two different languages. A comparative study can also be done on the media representation of the Rohingya crisis between a host country and non-host country. Analysis of the 2012 Rohingya crisis in *The Daily Star* and a comparison with the analysis of the 2017 Rohingya crisis is also suggested.

Since the literature review shows that news discourse has the potential to influence public discourse, future DA research on the representation of the Rohingya crisis and related social actors in Bangladeshi news media can utilize an interview or survey as a research tool to analyze reader perceptions of the topics.

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