

**REPRESENTATION OF THE ROHINGYA CRISIS IN *THE DAILY
STAR***

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2022

REPRESENTATION OF THE ROHINGYA CRISIS IN *THE*
DAILY STAR

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DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS (LINGUISTICS)

FACULTY OF LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS
UNIVERSITI MALAYA
KUALA LUMPUR

2022

UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA

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REPRESENTATION OF THE ROHINGYA CRISIS IN *THE DAILY STAR*

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the representation of the Rohingya crisis in the media. The corpus of 223 news articles has been collected from Bangladeshi newspaper, *The Daily Star* from November 2017 to November 2019, after the repatriation deal between Bangladesh and Myanmar on 23 November 2017. To explore how *The Daily Star* used quoted voices to represent the Rohingya crisis, Halliday's transitivity process was used as an analytical tool from his Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) method. The UN, NGO, Government and Other government voices state that the human rights violation by Myanmar created the Rohingya crisis. The humanitarian UN and NGO voices reflect the Rohingya victimization and also represent them as a vulnerable group in both Bangladesh and Myanmar. The crisis is also reflected as a humanitarian issue in Bangladesh through Government, UN and Other government voices. Meanwhile, the Government voices reflect Myanmar as obliged to make a successful and voluntary return of the Rohingya in Rakhine and Rohingya as threat, representing the crisis as a problem in Bangladesh and the voluntary return of the Rohingya to Myanmar is the only solution to the crisis.

Keywords: Discourse Analysis, Representation, Refugees, Rohingya crisis,

PERWAKILAN KRISIS ROHINGYA DALAM *THE DAILY STAR*

ABSTRAK

Kajian ini menyiasat representasi krisis Rohingya dalam media. Korpus 223 artikel berita telah dikumpulkan daripada akhbar Bangladesh, *The Daily Star* dari November 2017 hingga November 2019, selepas perjanjian penghantaran pulang antara Bangladesh dan Myanmar pada 23 November 2017. Untuk meneroka cara *The Daily Star* menggunakan suara yang dipetik untuk mewakili krisis Rohingya, proses transitiviti Halliday digunakan sebagai alat analisis daripada kaedah Tatabahasa Fungsian Sistemik (SFG) beliau. Suara UN, NGO, Kerajaan dan Kerajaan lain menyatakan bahawa pencabulan hak asasi manusia oleh Myanmar menimbulkan krisis Rohingya. Suara UN dan NGO kemanusiaan mencerminkan penganiayaan Rohingya dan juga mewakili mereka sebagai kumpulan yang terdedah di Bangladesh dan Myanmar. Krisis itu juga dicerminkan sebagai isu kemanusiaan di Bangladesh melalui suara Kerajaan, UN dan kerajaan lain. Sementara itu, suara Kerajaan mencerminkan Myanmar sebagai bertanggungjawab untuk menjadikan kepulauan Rohingya yang berjaya dan sukarela di Rakhine dan Rohingya sebagai ancaman, mewakili krisis sebagai masalah di Bangladesh dan pemulangan sukarela Rohingya ke Myanmar adalah satu-satunya penyelesaian kepada krisis itu.

Kata kunci: Analisis Wacana, Perwakilan, Pelarian, Krisis Rohingya.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I confess to the mercy and grace of Almighty Allah out of whom I might not have made my dream come true to do my dissertation. Throughout the journey his vision and kindness helped me to overcome the challenging moments I faced to complete this dissertation.

I would like to convey a profound appreciation and sincere gratitude to my supervisor **Dr. Charity Lee Chin Ai**, for her assistance during the supervision. This dissertation would not have been possible without her support, assistance, concern, encouragement, consistent guidance and helpful advice over the time of this study. I would like to thank her along with other panel members for their ongoing faith in my ability to pull through the dissertation and motivating words along the way.

I am proud to say that all the members of my family including my parents, brother, sisters and my beloved husband provide me with their continued moral support, love, inspiration and advice to continue my patience during the hard times throughout this work. They made this dissertation a great success in my career with their sacrifice and affection.

Special thanks to my father and mother for their effort and concern during the entire journey and help in so many ways. I would like to express my cordial love to my husband who has bestowed me love and support throughout my journey here in Malaysia.

Finally, thank you to those nearest to me, especially concerned friends who have given me their generous support, often in many ways than they recognize.

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LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Commonly used abbreviations:

RAS	:	Refugees and asylum seekers
ASR	:	Asylum seekers and refugees
UN	:	United Nations
NGO	:	Non-governmental organization
MOU	:	Memorandum of Understanding
SFG	:	Systemic Functional Grammar
TIB	:	Transparency International, Bangladesh
RSF	:	Reporters sans frontiers
U.S.	:	United States
EU	:	European Union
UK	:	United Kingdom
SVF	:	savage-victim-savior
MASs	:	maritime asylum seekers
DA	:	Discourse Analysis
CDA	:	Critical Discourse Analysis
UNHCR	:	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
RASIM	:	Refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix: List of *The Daily Star* news articles referenced in the dissertation.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This dissertation presents an investigation on the representation of the Rohingya crisis using transitivity analysis. The corpus of 223 news articles has been collected from Bangladeshi newspaper, *The Daily Star* from November 2017 to November 2019, following the repatriation deal signed between Bangladesh and Myanmar on November 23, 2017. The background information and the problem statement of the study is gradually presented in Section 1.1 and section 1.2. Similarly, in section 1.3 the research objective and questions are stated as well. Gradually the following section 1.4 and 1.5 discusses the significance and limitations of the study.

Section 1.6 provides the study's contextual grounding through a concise review of aspects of the sociopolitical situation that impacts the Rohingya refugees in both Bangladesh and Myanmar. Section 1.7 presents a brief definition on print media\newspaper and a discussion on media regulations in Bangladesh. Gradually the next sections 1.8 and 1.9 present the wider social context of journalism in Bangladesh. The chapter ended with section 1.10 providing the summary of the entire chapter.

1.1 Study Background

The Rohingya refugee issue is currently one of Bangladesh's most frequently covered subjects in the media. Despite the fact that Bangladesh is not facing this crisis for the first time. From the 1970s to the present, the Rohingya people have surpassed the Bangladesh border for a variety of causes. However, the number of the Rohingya refugees this time exceeded all past records. The Rohingya community have escaped violence in Myanmar and have taken shelter in Bangladesh since 2017. The escalation of the conflict in Myanmar also increased the number of refugees in Bangladesh (“Rohingya Refugees,” n.d.). The Myanmar

military and native Buddhists began “clearance operations” in Rakhine state on August 25, 2017, killing over 24000 Rohingyas. Furthermore, the number of mistreated Rohingya in Myanmar is 116000, more 36000 were killed in fires set by a deliberate act of arson and some 18000 Muslim Rohingya women and girls become rape victim (“Rohingya Refugees,” n.d.). Consequently, the Rohingyas managed to flee Bangladesh to avoid the military crackdown in Myanmar. According to the UNHCR’s recent survey in Bangladesh, there are currently 913,080 Rohingya refugees with just 34,665 being registered, and since the refugee figure arriving in Bangladesh has increased in recent years, 81 percent of the total evaluated refugee population arrived in Bangladesh within August -December 2017 (UNHCR, 2019a).

In order to inaugurate an added legal refugee definition, the 1951 UN Refugee Convention manifested a series of ethics that has served as the foundation of refugee protection since the past few decades. Bangladesh is neither a signatory to the UN Refugee Convention of 1951 or its Protocol of 1967 like some other countries in South Asia, and nor an enactor of any national laws on asylum or refugee affairs. Considering the difficulties lie in assuring fostering and permanency in the standards of refugee protection in the absence of law governing refugee status itself, Bangladesh signed the Rohingya repatriation deal with Myanmar on 23 November 2017 (“Rohingya Refugees,” n.d.).

1.2 Problem statement

This study will address differences in representations of the Rohingya crisis in *The Daily Star*. Representation is a vital idea within the object of this dissertation. Hall (1997) claims that the representation is the formation of meaning through language as applied by social actors to serve ideas, opinions, and feelings. While addressing Hall's constructionist view on representation, it is observed that meaning itself is not stable but continuously shifting as

social actors constantly obtain and redeploy new meaning. Since social actors construct meaning, Hall argues that representation is inextricably linked to power, which always strives to generate meaning that will favor its agenda. In order to legitimize negative representation of 'others' a common strategy of the media is to rely on the voices of figurative elites whose supremacy is bestowed on them due to their position or function in a certain institution (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 106). The implementation of authority by the discursive methods, which is obtained through some type of collective assent, is less explicitly oppressive and largely mental than physical in character (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). The 'politics of representation' refers to the disagreement among groups on what should be regarded as the acceptable or accurate meaning (Holquist, 1983; Shapiro, 1988). Hall (1982) clarifies that representation connotes 'the active work' of choosing and expressing, as well as constructing and shaping, rather than just offering the neutral reflection of the universe (p. 64). The media is extremely selective in whatever it chooses to include or exclude in respect of the way in which it represents the refugee crisis. Media representations are considered to have an impact on the public opinion formation (Pedersen et al., 2006; McKay et al., 2012; Croston & Pedersen, 2013). Furthermore, it is claimed that public opinion has a significant effect on the policy making strategy (Burstein, 2003; Palmer, 2008).

Much of the debate surrounding the Rohingya crisis is played out in the media, for example in newspapers like *The Daily Star*, one of the highly circulated English language newspapers of Bangladesh. The media mainly reported different voices of people about the same crisis. According to Van Leeuwen (2008) when text-based discourse or knowledge is embedded into novel content in order to "serve the contextually determined goal" it is called recontextualization (p. 6). He also argues that through recontextualization some components of social practice, such as participants or social actors, actions, locations, performance

manners and presentation styles are purposefully represented via the language manipulation. Thus, during the recontextualization of voices in the media the authors have choices in order to represent others. The authors can choose different languages to represent the same crisis. Consequently, there can be a difference in views or representations of the crisis which should be examined because the way Rohingya are represented in the public space have the ability to control the emotions of others. If their representation is totally negative, absolutely they will be perceived negatively and the world will be less likely to sympathize with them. It may also reinforce the 2017 Rohingya repatriation deal between Bangladesh and Myanmar.

For this reason, it shows that we do require a language model to assist us comprehend how texts work to generate meaning. Halliday's Functional grammar can do this. According to Halliday (1994), language is structured around metafunctions, which is a medium of meaning making. The 'ideational' function portrayed the main idea, intention and situational context of the text. According to Halliday, the clause's 'Ideational role' suggests "representation" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 30). The 'ideational' function of representation in media happened through the detailed description of what happened to whom and when it occurred. It apprises the readers about current incidents that are considered newsworthy or significant. It also comprises various processes and illustrates what is 'happening, going and doing' and under what circumstances (Gerot and Wignell 1994:12). The 'ideational' function of a text is recognized through the 'Transitivity System' in language (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014). The 'Transitivity System' looks over the analysis of the clauses, i.e. what actions are taken by whom and what are the circumstances of the actions. Moreover, it revealed six different types of verb processes from individual clauses. Van Leeuwen (2009) stresses on the relevance of doing textual analysis at the time he claims that the "theory of transitivity" allows for the interpretation of distinctly worded representations of the same fact as different

social formulations of that fact (p. 148). This interprets why this study examines the text's linguistic elements to understand how the media exercises language to establish certain social meanings.

1.3 Research aim and objective

Bangladesh, being the country sheltering a large number of Rohingya refugees without any national refugee policy and who signed a Rohingya repatriation deal with Myanmar, is one of the strategic study sites. In this regard, one of the country's most prominent news agencies, *The Daily Star*, has been chosen in order to investigate how the Rohingya crisis has been constructed. Considering this the objective of this study has been chosen and it would be attractive to explore the following research objective.

Research Objective:

In this study the selected objective is to explore how *The Daily Star* used quoted voices to represent the Rohingya crisis.

Research Questions:

The following two research questions will be addressed in this study, in respect to the above selected objective for this study.

RQ 1. What are the transitivity processes involved in the representation of the Rohingya crisis?

RQ 2. What do the representations by the quoted voices say about the Rohingya crisis?

1.4 Significance of the Study

For decades, the Western discourse studies have explored media reporting of the RAS (refugees and asylum seekers). Depending on the ideological orientation of the media, they have discovered both the favorable and unfavorable constructions of the RAS. There are significantly fewer RAS explorations in Asia in comparison to the West, although the greater number of the refugee community pertains to and is welcomed by the countries in Asia. So far, discourse studies examined on refugees in Asia have discovered common constructions followed by the Western perceptions of RAS. Among all other refugees in Asia, the Rohingya refugees were not given enough coverage in literature, even though they were officially rendered stateless under the Myanmar Citizenship Act 1982 (Letchamanan, 2013; Parnini, Othman, & Ghazali, 2013). So they are not only refugees but also stateless refugees.

According to UNHCR's (2019b) latest survey on populations that have been forcefully displaced in 2018, an approximate 70.8 million masses were evicted by force around the world, from them refugees are almost 25.9 million and within this 1.1 million are Myanmar Rohingya refugees sheltered by Bangladesh. Furthermore, 80 percent of overall refugees used to seek refuge in neighboring countries, the majority of which were developing countries. So Bangladesh, which is hosting a huge number of Myanmar Rohingya refugees without recognizing national or international refugee policy, is a strategic study site on RAS, but the lack of substantial and structural work from linguistic background remains evident in Bangladesh.

This study is expected to fill a void by investigating the representation of the Rohingya crisis in the local media of Bangladesh *The Daily Star*, with a research aim to explore how *The Daily Star* used quoted voices to represent the Rohingya crisis. In this regard, this study

will look over the ‘transitivity system’ of analysis of the clauses, i.e. what actions are taken by whom and what are the circumstances of the actions. This research will focus on the transitivity analysis of the quoted voices that were reported in news articles during the coverage of the Rohingya crisis in Bangladesh in one of its most circulated popular newspapers, *The Daily Star*.

Nowadays the news discourse is most commonly investigated under discourse analysis due to the electronic accessibility of newspapers. As print media discourse is being generated, we need to understand how this is being done from both practical and ideological level because of its influencing manner to the social world. An important part of news discourse analysis is concerned with identifying a critical influence on public discourse (O’Keeffe, 2011). The newspaper media’s linguistic construction is very often critical, and linguists often consider this process as the enforcing dramatic use of language to twist reality. Bednarek (2006a,) argues that the newspaper’s daily role in meaning-making results biasness through the use of language.

Although the primary aim of producing a newspaper is to disseminate information to the readers regarding trending affairs, ideas or incidents, in reality it rarely happens, very often it demonstrates the ideologies of individuals having powerful societal positions (Talbot, 2007). Conversely the minority people of the society become biased by practicing diverse language tools and persuasive reasoning in order to shape the nation’s conception (Van Dijk, 2001). Moreover, through the construction of framing or content representation of media generated realism and of a particular truth by recognizing the context media formed public opinion (Siom & Xenos, 2000). Therefore, the investigation on the Rohingya crisis

representation in *The Daily Star* after the 2017 Rohingya repatriation deal could also bring the political position or perception of the media.

1.5 Limitations of the study

In this study, I have tried to show how *The Daily Star* represents the Rohingya crisis by quoted voices to the public of Bangladesh. The narrow focus on the English language selective newspaper of Bangladesh *The Daily Star* which is published for the English-educated elites limits the study to investigate how the Rohingya crisis has been represented. In doing so, two other most significant news media of Bangladesh were omitted from this study including the vernacular press and a small number of Cox's Bazar and Rohingya focused alternative media such as *Coxsazar vision* and *Rohingya Vision*. The unavailability of different data sources and time constraints limits the focus on one newspaper only; it provides a scope for an in-depth exploration of the narrowly focused media data set at the core of this investigation. This study is limited by the number of fields of action it was able to analyse due to the same reason.

1.6 Contextual grounding: Socio-political aspect

The socio-political situation that shaped the study's background is explained in this section. This presents a concise outline about the Rohingya community as well as social and political challenges that forced them to flee in Bangladesh, together with some significant context appropriate for this study.

1.6.1 Definition of Refugee

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), was formed by the UN Refugee Agency on December 14, 1950. Since its formation, the UNHCR has become one

of the United Nation (UN) specialized institutions which is dealing with refugee matters. The UNHCR is a United Nations' volunteer organization that works worldwide. It seeks sustainable solutions to the problem of refugees, provides international refugee protection, coordinates volunteer agencies and supports the needs of the most vulnerable refugee community, especially regarding their voluntary return, local consolidation or relocation to third countries.

The Convention on the Status of Refugees was established at the Geneva Diplomatic Conference in July 1951, and was subsequently revised by the Protocol of 1967. The 1951 UN Convention regarding Refugee Status is a fundamental legal treaty in describing refugees, the rights of refugees and the law of States. At first, the 1951 Convention was more or less confined on the post-World War II, to the protection of European refugees, latter the Protocol of 1967 broadened its range since the issue of displacement of populations increased all over the world.¹

The 1951 Convention regarding the Refugee Status and its Protocol of 1967 have functioned as the provisional tools in the international refugee law progression. There are now 148 countries which committed to one or both of these agreements, indicating global consent upon the concept of the "refugee" and the basic rights to be conceded to them. Following the 1951 Refugee Convention, a refugee is a person:

who, owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.

(United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2010)

The Article 1A (2) of the 1951 Convention on Refugee status outlines the following guidelines, a refugee must demonstrate four components of situational circumstances, i.e., i) “fear of persecution that is well founded”, ii) “flee over the border of one's country”, iii) “discrimination on the basis of religion, gender, or race”, iv) “reluctant to return to one's home country until safety is ensured”. The first one *fear of persecution that is well founded* usually implies a mental state which suggests that there must be the existence of cause to be afraid of being oppressed, accompanying the fact of its existence. This indicates the fear is not only of the individuals who are seeking refugee status but also being an absolute truth. The second one *flee over the border of one's country* indicates Refugees escaping their own nationality or region of residency intended to seek shelter in another country. The third one, *discrimination on the basis of religion, gender, or race* signifies Refugees are compelled to escape because they face unjust discrimination due to their ethnicity, gender, religion or engagement in a social or political organization. The fourth one, *reluctant to return to one's home country until safety is ensured* implies the refugees are unwilling to return unless they are assured of the end of the trouble situation that has forced them to flee their own country, and until the UNHCR is satisfied that there is a reasonableness in the situation that allows these refugees to return to their own country.¹

1.6.2 Rohingya refugee population in Bangladesh

According to the UNHCR report on August 2019, there are 913,080 Rohingya refugee population in Bangladesh, among them 34,665 are registered under the UNHCR (see Table 1.1) and from the total refugee population male are 48 percent, female are 52 percent and 55 percent are children under the age of 18 (UNHCR, 2019a).

Table 1.1: Number of Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh with period of arrival

Period of arrival	Rohingya population
Before 09 Oct 2016	75,109
09 Oct 2016 - 24 Aug 2017	94,762
25 Aug 2017 - 31 Dec 2017	725,197
1 Jan 2018 - 31 Jan 2018	16,918
1 Jan 2019 - current date	1,094
Total	913080

Source: UNHCR, 2019. Rohingya Refugee Response Bangladesh, Population factsheet as of 31 August 2019.

1.6.3 Causes behind the Rohingya refugee crisis in Bangladesh

The Rohingya refugees are an ethnic community inhabiting the Rakhine state of Myanmar and most oppressed people around the world. Despite Myanmar's Buddhist majority, this ethnic groups are predominantly Muslim, with few Hindus. At the time Myanmar achieved liberty in 1947, these Rohingya minority groups were not formally designated as an official national group of the country. Despite having lived in Myanmar for generations, once the Citizenship Act of 1982 established citizenship standards this group was excluded from both complete and companion citizenship criteria. As a result, they were remaining stateless and illegal in their own country.² In addition to being stateless the Rohingya community experienced various types of persecution, discrimination, and abuse. The Rohingyas have suffered the lack of freedom of movement and they must have to seek for permits even to travel inside their own nation, which are not free of charge; they also have restricted

marketing access and limited employment opportunities. They were subjected to forced labor on a regular basis, as well as arbitrary taxation and sexual assault.³

However, the Rohingya crisis is not a new phenomenon in Bangladesh. Two large Rohingya refugee influxes had occurred in Bangladesh in 1978 and during the conflict between 1991 and 1992, when Myanmar ruled the systematic genocidal and ethnic cleansing operation. The recent violence originates mostly from differences between Rakhine Buddhists and Rohingya Muslims based on their culture, race and religious beliefs. The Harakah al-Yaqin, a new mutinous organization, attacked Burma border security as well as Bangladesh-Myanmar frontier in October 2016, killing 40 militants. In November, conflict erupted once more, raising the demise up to 134 individuals. The Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (previously referred as Harakah al-Yaqin) carried out a coordinated assault on 24 cope stations and a military facility on 25 August 2017, killing 71 persons.⁴ As a result of this conflict, Myanmar military forces launched a military campaign against Rohingya people. The oppressions such as torture, killing, rape, destruction and flaming down habitation of the Rohingya people in Rakhine pushed them to escape to neighboring Bangladesh. The Rakhine state of Myanmar is geographically situated near to Bangladesh's south coast so the huge number of Rohingya people fled to this part by boat across the Naf River, usually fragile districts such as Cox's Bazar escaping Myanmar military crackdown. Generally, Bangladesh is the initial transit destination for them, afterwards they pay the human traffickers to flee India, Thailand, and Malaysia.

1.6.4 Regulations in Bangladesh that affect the Rohingya community

This subsection focuses on national as well as international policy that has an impact on the Rohingya community.

1.6.4.1 Universal commitments and cooperation with UNHCR

Although the 1951 UN Refugee Convention contains 145 signatories nationwide, Cambodia, Timor-Leste, Philippines and Afghanistan are the sole countries within Southern and Southeast Asia who ratify it. Bangladesh, like the rest of the countries from this part, is not a part of this convention or its protocol. Nevertheless, if a state is not a signatory to any convention, it must adhere to some internationally acknowledged and recognized standard, which is commonly referred to as customary international law. For example, although Bangladesh is not obligated to give security to those who are forcibly eliminated, it upholds the notion of non-refoulement by welcoming refugees except returning to the region where this group was mistreated and by respecting conventional international law.

Bangladesh has ratified a number of universal human rights frameworks, whose principles implicitly support the rights of the refugees, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948 and the Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989. The constitution of Bangladesh states in Article 25, the country will follow the guidelines of International law and UN charter.⁵ This is the sole reason for which Bangladesh bears responsibility for addressing the issue of refugees from other countries. Bangladesh treated the outsiders as foreigners under several previous legislations, particularly the Foreigner Act 1946, which distinguished between citizens and foreigners. Since there is a lack of national and regional law to establish refugee rights, it has no formal policies to respond to Bangladesh's refugee situation. Initially, numerous international agencies including the UNHCR, the Bangladesh Red Cross were welcomed by the Bangladesh government to assist the refugees by assessing their refugee status, providing documents, and registering them.

Bangladesh is the Executive Committee member of the UNHCR. Since 1993, the UNHCR has been addressing the Rohingya refugee crisis in Bangladesh, following the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU).⁹ This MOU empowered the UNHCR to carry out two critical components of its mandate: refugee camp protection and voluntary repatriation, which would be ensured through private, one-on-one interviews. The Memorandum of Understanding served as a formal recognition of the concepts of 'voluntariness' of return and the right not to be dragged back into a situation that can endanger one's life or liberty. Thus, the country respects to the non-refoulement principle and provides refugee security.⁶

1.6.4.2 Regional policy of Bangladesh

The regional policy of Bangladesh makes a distinction between the citizens and the foreigners. The Citizenship Act of 1951 outlines the requirements for being a citizen, whereas the Foreigner Act of 1946 acknowledges migrants who do not meet the criteria for becoming a citizen of the nation. Under Bangladeshi municipal law, the principles of the 1946 Foreigners Act recognized and regulated refugees as foreigners. The Foreigner Act in its section 2(a) defined a foreigner as a person who could fulfil the criteria for being a Bangladeshi citizen and so encompasses all the refugees under its range as well as the section 3 empowers the government to enact regulations that restrict or limit foreigner's arrival, stay, and exit (Mohammad, 2012). Since there is no formal definition of refugee and their rights, refugees are considered outsiders under national law of the country. Foreigners who are authorized are legal, whereas unauthorized foreigners are illegal, according to the Foreigner Act of 1946. Since Bangladesh is not a member to the 1951 Refugee Convention, there is no legal framework in place to allow persons who are characterized to as 'illegal' or 'undocumented' to seek asylum or a residence permission on humanitarian grounds. The

majority of Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh are undocumented migrants, which denies this forgotten people their human and basic rights (Hoque, 2016). The government is accustomed to refer to them as "Myanmar refugees," but as an executive committee member, they solely obey the UNHCR's refugee status. As a result, the Rohingya people in Bangladesh are denied refugee rights. Frequently, they attempt to transcend the Bangladesh border by boats and finished up being suspected of human trafficking and some die unexpectedly while transmigrating. The forcible migration of Rohingyas in 1978 and between 1991-1992 in Bangladesh led to fast agreements with the Myanmar government over the repatriation of Rohingyas. In 2012, Bangladesh was engaged in the arrest and deportation of Rohingyas as part of a push-back program to protest the refugee arrival owing to the outbreak of ethnic conflict in Rakhine. The ineffectiveness of such programs again made the Rohingya people to escape to Bangladesh.

1.6.5 Treatment of Bangladesh to Rohingya refugees

1.6.5.1 Repatriation

The UNHCR-led Rohingya refugee repatriation plan, which began in 1993 with a voluntary return procedure in different phases, has been condemned as a violation of international law. At the time refugees initially entered Bangladesh, they were awarded refugee status in respect of international law in order to grant them security and aid. Mainly, they were awarded refugee status on the basis of prima facie evidence (Mohammad, 2012). In April 1992, When Bangladesh and Myanmar adopted the MOU regarding the Rohingya refugee repatriation, the Bangladesh government engaged the UNHCR in order to assure voluntary and secure return, which was broken in 1978, resulting in forcible repatriation. According to human rights investigations and NGO status reports, the 1992 Rohingya

repatriation campaign, which began in September, ended in hundreds being assaulted and arrested, and camp police murdering at least 15 Rohingyas.⁷ In response to the government's actions, the UNHCR withdrew from the MOU in December 1992, bringing the total number of Rohingyas back up to 15,000.⁸ The government decided to accept the official agreement with the UNHCR in 1993, and this MOU provides UNHCR authority to provide safety to the refugees in the camp and maintaining private interviews to conduct mutual repatriation.⁹ When Myanmar assured the UNHCR of a secure settlement of refugees, in December 1993 the UNHCR initiated a big effort to rehabilitate 190000 Rohingya refugees by December 1995. The return began in 1996 together with those refugees who had previously repatriated but fled Rakhine with reports of abuse back home. Between mid-July 1997 and mid-June 1998, Bangladeshi security forces detained and deported a large number of refugees, including women and children.¹⁰ At the same time, Myanmar imposed a number of limitations and conditions on the repatriation process, which dissatisfied both UNHCR and the Bangladesh government. Since then, repatriation slowed down rapidly, with just 2,740 people sent home in 454 families between January 1999 and December 2001.

Table 1.2: Number of Repatriated Rohingya Refugees 1992 - 2004

Year	Individual	Cumulative total
1992	5,962	5,962
1993	46,129	52,091
1994	82,771	134,862
1995	61,504	196,366
1996	23,045	219,411
1997	10,074	229,485

1998	106	229,591
1999	1,128	230,719
2000	1,323	232,042
2001	283	232,325
2002	760	233,085
2003	3,231	233,085
2004	200	236,516
Total	236,516	236,516

Source: Joint Food Assessment Mission (JFAM) Powerpoint Presentation. UNHCR Sub Office: Cox's Bazaar. 11 October 2004.

1.6.5.2 Refoulement

The practice of removing or relocating refugees beyond the frontiers of countries to the place where their lives or sovereignty would be endangered in some manner, is referred as *refoulement*. Despite the fact that the Bangladesh government claimed there was no forced repatriation and that UNHCR was involved in all repatriation attempts so far commenced respecting the *non-refoulement* principle, that is the liability of all countries following the customary international law. In reality the government was scarcely capable of offering safety to the refugees during the past Rohingya repatriation processes, which resulted in forced repatriation and ensured refoulement. The repatriation treatment of refugees including arrest and deportation by law enforcers demonstrates their vulnerable situation.

1.7 Print media \ Newspaper

The definition of news refers to the reporting on current incidents that are of advantage to a relatively high group or having the potential to affect the lives of a relatively large number

of groups (Reah, 2002). To offer a description of news, one needs to look at its societal and internal functions and even in what aspects are deemed important when it comes to deciding whether news is prominent. Besides, every news circulated via the media has societal and personal purposes. Nonetheless, the news producer also has a right to determine which news is significant and to construct it according to their perspective. According to Fowler (1991) it signals the news does not reflect the truth without meaning since it imposes a system of beliefs and also it is social and economic in nature over its presentation by the way of the use of words to exemplify the universe. At this level of introduction, it is clear that the newspaper serves a number of social and interpersonal functions and therefore has a controlling role in spreading the values of the leading organizations and individuals. Many western countries reveal the historical evolution of the newspaper that anyone in hierarchical positions were mainly able to use the media merely to publish what's really in their interests and to avoid any dispute such as (politicians, government body and newspaper owners) although this concept had been shifted as the newspaper become a medium to guide modification at the period of internal conflict in America, Britain and Africa. The newspaper acts not just to distribute information to people, as well as to encourage its readers to carry modifications. Thus, the reader is open to approve or reject a specific view of humanity.

Currently, news can attain its recipients through several types of intermediate, such as Telephone, Television, Internet and so forth. Bangladesh's print media is private, with hundreds of weekly publications offering a wide range of opinions, while certain controversial newspapers have faced criticism in the past. The citizens of Bangladesh frequently read online newspapers since the country has a large online news portal. There are approximately 11.4 million internet users who can directly access online news portals ("Mass Media", n.d.). The newspapers published in the English language target qualified readership

in metropolitan regions. However, the Government of Bangladesh has not listed the complete news site. Recently, the government of Bangladesh is attempting to graph a memorandum regarding an online news site.¹¹

1.7.1 Media regulations in Bangladesh

Immediately, after Bangladesh's independence in 1973, the Printing Press and Publishing Act went into effect. This provided a district magistrate the power to authorize the publication of a newspaper. Media responsibilities are also spelled out in the Publishing Act. The right to freedom of talk and expression is guaranteed in Bangladesh's constitution, as is the right to freedom of the press. However, this liberty is not unrestricted, it is a matter of fair restrictions assigned by legislation on a variety of sectors. Both colonial and modern-day laws in Bangladesh, such as the Powers Act of 1974, the Contempt of Court Act of 1926, the Copyright Act of 2000, the Official Secrets Act of 1923 and the Code of Criminal Procedure (CrPC) are occasionally used to restrict media expression and harass journalists.¹² If the news impacts their interests, such legislations are abused to empower law officers and powerful persons to act against the media. Ministers and politicians also criticize the media when news contradicts the government or harms the ruling party's image. Pro-government activists' propensity to pursue journalists in so-called slander cases is concerning. Nowadays, Journalists are facing dangers more directly and indirectly than earlier. While the government may oppose this concept arguing that regulations and limits are designed to simplify the media, it appears to be advocating for further regulations to control the free flow of knowledge through explicit and implicit actions.

Following the rules and guidelines, the government developed a model Broadcast Act in 2016 that included limitations on the conditions of detention and penalties for violations of

rules and regulations, as well as existing broadcast committee decisions and instructions. They scheduled 27 unique tasks that a journalist cannot do in absence of prior authorization from the relevant government. The government accepted a proposal of National Online Mass Media Legislation in 2017, which maintained the same standards as the original Broadcasting Act. Due to the perceived threat to press freedom, Transparency International Bangladesh (TIB) later appealed to the government to stop implementation of this legislation.

1.8 Newspaper ownership

In this study, 223 news articles published in *The Daily Star* between November 2017 and November 2019 were used as data. *The Daily Star* is one of Bangladesh's most popular and widely distributed English language daily newspapers. Syed Mohammed Ali founded it on January 14, 1991. Mediaworld, a division of Latifur Rahman's transcom company, owns the newspaper. *The Daily Star's* editor and publisher, Mahfuz Anam, is also a member of its governors' committee, which is chaired by Rokia Afzal Rahman. The Committee is in charge of the company's financial concerns. On the other hand, *The Daily Star* is mostly a civic organization and non-governmental organization (NGO)-leaning approved government media and followers. *The Daily Star* defines itself as a self-governing, commercial and non-governmental news organization, professes its ideals of honesty, non-discrimination, and social responsibility, and respects the country's democratic ruling system.

Despite public expectations and press independence, originally every newspaper is governed by institutions that are much faraway from readers (Lee & Lin, 2006). There is an argument that media restriction and self-monitoring are the primary obstacles to the newspaper subject matter. Media proprietary is usually confined to a sole organization, such

as either a newspaper or television station leading in a decentralized industry that is a feature of progressive countries.

1.9 Press freedom

After the 1971 Independence War, Bangladesh formed as a democratic nation (Sarker, 2003). In just ten months, it was successful in presenting the Constitution to the nation which went into operation on December 16, 1972. Although having made rapid progress in enacting a Constitution, the tremendous political stresses have harmed the country's ability to govern democracy since its founding in 1971. Karim, (2013) states that the post-independence years of political transition did not completely support the nation's democratic progress. Nonetheless, Bangladesh has initiated the path to democracy and political uniqueness since 1991, and it has done it primarily through an elected regulative governmental system. It is also worth noting that building a political identity was a difficult task that involved other sectors such as democratic society, financial policy and the media, all of which construct, organize and communicate public identities (Khan & Govindasamy, 2011). In Bangladesh, press freedom is currently seen as the most powerful tool for directing the government's public policies (Karim, 2013). He has also identified other researchers who believe that it represents the opposing parties' positions in parliament and as a result people are becoming sensible and aware. Moreover, he also explained that since the time Bangladesh achieved independence has had several terrible experiences concerning freedom of speech, specifically in the print media. As a result, claiming that Bangladesh has fully guaranteed press freedom over limited cases or situations may not be appropriate. Thus, it is apparent that the discourse of local media is predominantly formed by lawmakers or media professionals as such, the discourse is led by individuals who seek to legitimate their own policy selections or construct

public opinion in their favor. Sometimes, media also reveals public opinion which presents a general view about any given subject or circumstance, specifically new legislative activities. It is also noted that public opinion performs a crucial role in affecting policy making since the government relies on public approval and opinion to validate its policy selections (Sadath & Krott, 2013).

The *Reporters sans frontiers* (RSF) publishes the World Press Freedom Index on their website every year. In 2020, Bangladesh was ranked 151 within 180 nations. The entire statistics in Table 1.3 was obtained from *Reporters sans frontiers*, www.rsf.org, that demonstrates the ranking of Bangladesh based on its press freedom of 19 years. Bangladesh scored at an all-time low in 2020, reflecting a little decline in the previous years of rankings. It scored similarly to the previous years in 2004 and 2005.

Table 1.3: Bangladesh's ranking on the World Press Freedom Index, 2002-2020

Year	Bangladesh's Ranking	Total no. of countries
2002	118	139
2003	143	166
2004	151	167
2005	151	167
2006	137	168
2007	134	169
2008	136	173
2009	121	175

2010	126	178
2011-2012	129	179
2013	144	179
2014	146	180
2015	146	180
2016	144	180
2017	146	180
2018	146	180
2019	150	180
2020	151	180

Source: *Reporters sans frontiers*, www.rsf.org,

1.10 Summary

This introductory chapter offered a synopsis of the research objective, research problem, significance as well as the plans of the study to address the problem and its limitations. This chapter also includes a brief summary of the sociopolitical context that served as the background for this study. Moreover, this chapter also presents the definition of print media\newspaper and discusses the media legislations, ownership of the newspaper and freedom of press in Bangladesh.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Chapter two presents the summary of some relevant past research that guides the study. It provides research works that are related to the discourse analysis of media texts that covered discourses surrounding Refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants (RASIM). It provides research that is important for understanding RASIM representation and identity. Some past literature presented here also showing the representation of the host nation from the coverage of the refugee or immigration crisis. So the chapter is split up into three key sections: research on the representation of RASIM, research on the representation of the Rohingya refugees and research on the representation of the refugee host nation. By asserting their will against the will or interests of others, media practices its power to influence or change discourses surrounding minorities (Croteau & Hoynes, 2002). In doing so language is one of the most significant tools which can be manipulated and also can manipulate the representation of the minorities (Van Dijk, 2001). In this regard, this chapter presents some past literature that focuses on how the language is manipulated to construct different representations of the same crisis (section 2.5).

The past studies described in this chapter were found through a methodical search of scholarly databases, including Google Scholar, JSTOR, Wiley as well as the databases of publication agencies, like Oxford University Press, Taylor & Francis and SAGE Journals. The search terms included, 'representation', 'refugee', 'immigrants', 'asylum seeker', 'media', 'discourse analysis', 'Rohingya', 'language', 'manipulation', 'government' and 'host nation'.

2.1.1 Discourse Analysis in General

Language is a crucial aspect of human life. In the communication process it is one of the primary modes and vital to our communicative society. Being a language user, one should be able to illustrate what other language users are trying to say. As a result, it is convenient for us to move on to the examination of discourse.

Discourse is understood as an expansion of language which is coherent, substantive and purposeful such as discussions, interviews and writings (Salkie, 1995). Foucault (1984) describes the term ‘discourse’, on his own way of understanding, he writes:

“I believe I have in fact added to its meanings: treating it sometimes as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements.”

(Foucault 1972, p. 80)

Discourse refers to social cognitions, a structured process of knowing social systems and it also reflects social systems in text (Van Leeuwen, 2008b). This study conceptualizes discourse according to Fairclough’s (2003) definition, he describes discourse more specifically, (a) meaning is produced as a component of social process (e.g. images, text, gestures, etc), (b) language related to specific social area or practices (e.g. media discourse, etc), (c) a way of manufacturing world perspectives connected to a specific social viewpoint.

Discourse can be constructed in both written and spoken form and the term discourse analysis mainly refers to the investigation in this area (Coulthard, 1985; Widdowson, 2007).

Therefore, discourse analysis (DA) examines how discussions of spoken or written language constitute on a broader scale that is substantive, coherent and purposeful in units. More precisely, discourse analysis is interested to (a) the effect of linguistics elements like tenses, verbs, determiners, and so on, on the discourse formation; (b) the interrelation between sentences and speeches in the discourse; (c) the speaker's attempts to add a latest subject, to modify the subject or to demonstrate a superior position to other contributors.

Yule (1985:104) asserts that, we are doing something called discourse analysis any time we go deeper and ask how we, "as language users," generate meaning of anything we read, comprehend what speakers intend, identify related or opposing speech, and successfully participate in that complicated activity called conversation.

The DA is recognized as a research attempt that analyzes the language used, its shared meaning and context of any genres (Xiong, 2012). Here, analysis is generally considered as a technique for defining and marking the formal characteristics of a text in terms of the descriptive structure categories which indicate a specific discursive event. Individual discursive event is composed of three scopes such; it reflects language text in both spoken or written form, a discourse practice which is employ in the creation, dissemination and utilization of a text, finally a component of social practice. DA is a process of analyzing language. Several experts and scholars from various fields including social science also used DA in order to analyze language.

For this study the nature of discourse that is investigated is a media discourse from a particular selected newspaper. The discursive event beneath this study is the 2017 Rohingya crisis in Bangladesh. This event was observed to be shaped by different quoted voices in the newspaper with a research aim to explore how The Daily Star used quoted voices to represent

the Rohingya crisis. In order to understand the functions of a language during the Rohingya crisis representation in a text the SFG has been selected as a method of analysis from Halliday and Matthiessen, (2014) in this study.

In general media discourse applies to talks that actually occur through a broadcast medium, either in spoken or printed form, within which the talks is directed towards non-present audiences, listeners or readers. Furthermore, media discourse, specifically the news discourse in newspapers, is a mode of discussion which is public means available for everyone, produced to publish, on-record rather than a casual spontaneous speaking and writing. Obviously these basic features make it attractive for discourse analysts, who find it quite essential for researching, explaining, and interpreting its meaning (O’Keeffe, 2011). The discourse analysis is useful for analyzing the structure of the discourse of a newspaper. To understand the ideology of the construction of news text and its given meaning in a social world the news text is frequently analyzed within discourse analysis.

2.2 Representation of RASIM in media

Based on a comprehensive review of the studies in this field, it was discovered that the majority of studies conducted in the West have focused on the media, mainly what is stated about RASIM in mainstream newspapers. Nolan et al. (2011) offer numerous media roles that might impact how minorities or migrants are represented as social actors having authority in intercultural communities. Firstly, the media may influence whether they are portrayed as social actors capable of responding to national identity debates and discourses or as ‘problems’. Secondly, media representation may have an ‘agenda shaping function,’ influencing how government policies are created (p. 659). Thirdly, it forms how minorities are treated in various aspects of society, whether they are valued or discriminated against. As

a result, it's not surprising that there have been several studies on how RASIM are represented in dominant or media discourse.

A significant number of studies have been done in the UK, Australia, Canada and Europe on discourses surrounding refugee and asylum in the media. Van Dijk (2000), urges 'new racism' is a common expression during the reproduction of 'racial and 'ethnic' inequality in the news of the elite (white) group which performed as the origin of ethnic beliefs. Augoustinos & Every (2007) claim this emerging modern racism has superseded apparent traditional structures of racism, and it has been affected by growing apprehension about breaking the social taboo of seeming overtly racist. According to Augoustinos and Every (2007) one can justify racist talk by five discursive repertoires, such as (a) the rejection of bias, (b) Interpreting one's thoughts as a reflection of the external world instead of one's own psychology, (c) representation of the positive insider and negative outsider, (d) the application of liberal logics to achieve "illiberal" goals (e) deracialization of discourse (p. 125).

This topic has been the subject of several studies in terms of depicting and discussing RASIM in the discourse of media and politics are such as Baker et al. (2008), Every & Augoustinos (2007), Ibrahim (2005), van den Berg et al. (2003), Masocha & Simpson (2011), Goodman & Speer (2007), Augoustinos et al. (2005), Gilbert (2013), Capdevila & Callaghan (2008). According to these studies, the identified most prevalent depictions or labeling of refugees and asylum seekers were illegal or unauthorized migrants, criminals, fake or fraudulent outsider, economic barrier and threats. Goodman & Speer (2007) examined the usage of categories in UK public media and political discussions to describe asylum seekers and refugees and found that categorizing asylum seekers and refugees was a deliberate step

to legitimize the speaker's viewpoint on this group. The asylum seekers are sometimes differentiated or grouped together as “refugees” or “(illegal) immigrants”. A study conducted by Jiwani (2006) also explains the practice of labeling migrants as well as other “people of colour” using pejorative terms including “alien,” “immigrant,” “refugee,” and “terrorist” in order to conceal or “whitewash” overt racism (p. 14). The Canadian press constructed dominant discourses using labeling such as ‘illegal, criminal and fraudulent’ for the Mexicans during the portrayal of ‘Mexican refugee crisis’ (Gilbert, 2013). The researcher claims such kinds of racist discourses “accuse multicultural Canada's self-proclaimed tolerance” (p. 829). The investigation on media of supposedly ‘tolerant’ Canada, reflects how anxious and uneasy climate encompassing behavior of refugees and immigrants is supposed to be used as a benefit by the media to build a 'state of continuous panic' in which refugees and immigrants are depicted as ‘enemies’ pose possible threats to the host population (Esses, Medianu & Lawson, 2013).

Other analyses in discourses on migration have found that even though there are no explicitly negative images, migrants and associated groups are usually portrayed as ‘objects of control’ and of ‘charitable’ regulation or as ‘victims’ (Hörsti, 2008). Efe (2018) investigated Turkish daily newspapers' coverage of Syrian asylum seekers, resulting in this group as ‘victims’, ‘our brothers’, ‘needy persons’, ‘threat’, ‘criminals’ and so on. Researchers also observed that Australian newspapers have been seen as marginalizing RAS on the basis of the threat to Australian culture, economy and security that they are alleged to pose (Teo, 2000; Cartner, 2009; Hanson-Easey and Augoustinos, 2010; Lueck, Due and Augoustinos, 2015). Thus, the Austrian news discourse proves neo-racist prejudice (Wodak & Matouschek, 1993; Brookes, 1995).

The second topic is associated with the first and focuses on how people in power use the discursive practices in order to justify the exclusion of RASIM. The portrayal of ASR with 'us' versus 'them' dichotomy is a prominent strategy utilized to achieve exclusion as documented in these research in the UK on media discourse (Van Dijk, 1997; Mehan, 1997; Lynn & Lea, 2003; van den Berg, et al., 2003; Lynn & Lea, 2005). Nolan et al. (2011) performed research in the Australian press coverage of Sudanese Australians during the 2007 Federal Election, which highlighted a persistent alienation of the Sudanese in order to build them as 'outsiders' rather than 'ingroups'. This practice directly opposed the national diversity and unification policies of multicultural Australia. Dijk (1991) observed that the voice of the minorities in European media is less reported and quite marginalized than the whites in spite of their voice in the phenomenon and actions and their achievement in Europe. Similarly, the investigation on representations of diverse groups of population participating in the Mediterranean migration crisis in Portuguese press revealed migrants and refugees are impersonalized, passivized and are not given voice during the construction of 'us' vs 'them' (Torkington & Ribeiro, 2018). Teo, (2000) proves the same assumptions the Dijk revealed in his study, showing that the Australian media marginalized the minority voices during the coverage of the gangs of Vietnam in Australia. A large corpus of more than 40 years of UK media discourse investigation regarding the reporting of immigration and related issues saw a potential avenue of changes although the overall patterning of lexical choices in news discourses that highlights persistent negativity and narrowness with the consistent marginalisation of minority voices (Smith & Deacon, 2018). In Asian media investigations like Malaysia Bolte & Keong, (2014) also claim that the lack of space of the minority voices creates a very strong positive Us vs. negative Them construction.

Another method used to justify the exclusion of ASR in media is production of the securitization discourse, noticeably found in the portrayal of this silent group as a threat (KhosraviNik, 2009; Charteris-Black, 2006; Bailey & Harindranath, 2005; Barclay et al., 2003). The RASIM were the main subject and political interest during their representation in British newspapers in two major events. The use of authentic discursive practices reveals supportive views towards them during the Balkan conflict in 1999, although some negative preconceptions were also reproduced through the texts (Khosravinik, 2009). Similarly, studies by O'Doherty & Lecouteur (2007), Gedalof (2007), Innes (2010), Rasinger (2010), Bradimore & Bauder (2011) found the reproduction of stereotypes, prejudices for these 'outgroups' and was also constructed as threat to the individual host countries by the media. Arcimaviciene & Baglama (2018) noted that the media in the United States and Europe focused on representing the migrants and refugees as 'criminals' and 'terrorists'. The construction of Migration as Crime and Terrorism is the reflection of the ideology of media with their attitudes in terms of portraying a social inequality between "us" as "morally right" or "insiders" and "them" as "morally wrong" or "outsiders," and such the sociocultural barrier between two groups was founded on the concept of moral authority practiced by "us" (p.11). In most of the newspapers 'Immigrant' and 'Illegality' are represented as the same term (KhosraviNik, 2010), (Taylor, 2014). The term "immigrant" appears to have a negative connotation and is frequently used negatively to represent RASIM in British Newspaper (KhosraviNik, 2010). The media used this term with co-text such as 'immigrants and illegality, 'immigrants and crime, and so on (p.11).

During the study on European media most of the countries were identified to portray immigrants using securitization issues, to which the media pays contemplation to only the mention of the control of the border (Caviedes, 2015). In different studies both in Italy and

France, scholars noted the adoption of the same growing common practice in ‘securitizing’ immigration by the European governments include Sciortino and Colombo (2004), Retis and Benavides (2005), Huysmans (2006), Chebel d’Appollonia and Reich (2008), Benson (2013). An investigation over the immigrants or immigration discourses in Norway's three rural regional local media reveals a hegemonic narrative about immigration's economic importance in Europe (Berg-Nordlie, 2018). The RAS and Muslim migrants were more likely to be figuratively represented as financial burdens, threats to national security and the media depicted a cultural gap among ‘us’ Europeans and ‘them’. Van Gorp (2005) investigated Belgian press which concluded that asylum seekers were more likely to be viewed as “intruders” than “helpless victims”. Similarly, such common frames among refugees, undocumented immigrants and asylum seekers also reflects them as criminal (Wang 2012; Ono and Sloop 2002;) and threats to the host countries (Chavez, 2012; Ulum, 2016). Van Dijk (1991a) investigated how the media portrayed Tamil migration in Western European nations in 1985. He noticed that governments initially depicted these groups of people as ‘economic migrants,’ but they were later connected to international crime and terrorism, as well as a threat to the ‘Self’ and ‘our region.’ He acknowledged that this erroneous representation was made possible by a monopoly-type circumstance in which government voices are the major informants of the media regarding asylum seekers.

There is also research investigating the representation of the refugees through metaphors, in addition to research into refugee representation through labels or categories. Studies in the UK newspapers by Baker and McEnery (2005), Baker et al. (2008), Gabrielatos and Baker (2008), resulted in using water metaphors like ‘flood’, ‘stream’ as well as ‘pour’ to refer to this silent group. During the UK election campaign in 2005, the metaphors of water and ‘container’ were employed to portray ASR as a threat and legitimize anti-immigration

discourses according to Charteris-Black's research (2006). The Australian media is identified with 'water' and 'home' metaphorical constructions for maritime asylum seekers (MASs) throughout the pre-election period in Australia in 2013 (Nguyen & McCallum, 2016). The reproduction of (MASs) with stereotypical 'uncontrollable danger' to self in the news makes a significant contribution to legitimizing prevailing government policies and establishing over and above probability for anti-immigration policies.

Arcimaviciene & Baglama (2018) investigate the metaphorical mechanism and myth formation employed to represent migrants and refugees in US and EU media from 2015 to 2016. The metaphors 'burden' 'flow' and 'influx' used in the media reflect the prevalent attitudes toward migrants and refugees, along with the intention to call attention to the requirement to reconsider the present migration policies of individual countries. The metaphors like 'Object' and 'Commodity' reveal the myth of dehumanization. During the analysis of Western and Arab online news coverage regarding Syrian refugees using Lakoff and Johnson's, (2003) conceptual metaphor theory results the similar metaphorical representation in both host and non-host countries except statistical differences between the metaphors when describing the arrival of refugees and the pressure they are establishing on the host countries. The analysis results varieties in metaphors 'flood', 'stream', 'outflow', 'burden', 'enter', 'swell', 'spill' and 'trickle', in order to narrate the same event and used certain terms like 'hailing' and 'flooding' in the situation of refugees affecting host nations. The host countries more significantly used metaphor 'influx', 'enter', and 'burden' in two individual contexts of Syrian refugee entry and inflicting in localities than the non-host countries (Abid, Manan, and Rahman, 2017).

Some studies also claim that the refugees still appear as an inherently uncertain entity hanging between two statuses one is victim and another threat. The refugees are survivors of war, violence and in need of security, but still a danger to belonging to 'our' group (Moore et al., 2012). Finney and Robinson's (2008) examination of local newspaper coverage on new arrivals of asylum seekers in York and Cardiff, two individual cities, resulted in slight differences, one more or less negatively and the other positively. However, some studies significantly revealed a positive representation of refugees as victims include, Steimel (2010), Bunyan (2015), Horsti (2013). Steimel's (2010) study on representing the refugees in the US newspapers resulted in positive representation of this silent group as a victim of the tough economic situation in America. Horsti's (2013) study over the mediatized advocacy campaign in Finland to investigate how three female asylum seekers were represented revealed the way it was able to bring favorable observation to the suffering of this minority group. The media campaign accomplished such action by 'de-muslimizing' and 'de-ethnicizing' this vulnerable group in order to draw attention to their undetected variation, as well as by portraying them as one of 'us' (p. 91). Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti (2016) focused on the press coverage in Europe about the refugee crisis mainly in three countries Greek, Germany, British and revealed that the media caught the hate speech of political leaders, the EU-Turkey agreement and also the sufferings of the refugee children were frequently covered by the press.

2.3 Rohingya refugee representation in media

According to a comprehensive assessment of research in this field, it was identified that some of the studies conducted in Asia have focused on the media practice of representing or framing the Rohingya crisis. Hertog and McLeod (2001) define frames as “myths, narratives

and metaphors that resonate within a culture” (p. 141), and the media's attention on choosing, exclusion, repetition and extension would bring out particular explanations, ethical assessments and treatment suggestions (Entman, 1993). Gitlin (1980) claims media frames are strategies that are being used by news media workers and readers to contextualize meaning. There is a connection within media, viewers and social order. None of these three components can achieve their objectives without the assistance of the other two (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1996).

Some studies have found that media framing can influence public opinion (Lecheler, 2010) and refugee policies (Somaini, 2019), however this is dependent on how the elites frame the events (Chong and Druckman, 2007). First, the media can determine if this group is a victim of the circumstance, who are in need of humanitarian assistance or as ‘problems’. Second, the excessive negative representation of this group reinforces the harsh government policies. Third, it figures the method minority groups are whether accepted or rejected in various aspects of social life or in the host country. As a result, it is comprehensible why there have been several studies on how Rohingya refugees are represented in the media.

A little comprehensive research is carried out on the Rohingya crisis and among them a very few other studies have done concentrated on the Rohingya and focusing on violation of their human rights, displacement, essential repatriation, statelessness and other associated border-connected issues (Thomas K Ragland, 1994; Mathieson & David Scott, 2009; Imtiaz Ahmed, 2010; Rahman, 2015; Brooten, 2015; Brooten et.al, 2015; Islam, 2018). A similar study results in the Rohingya as the world's most persecuted ethnic group with a denial of citizenship, security and other basic rights in Myanmar and they are subject to arrest or abuse when they are refugees in host countries (Rahman, 2015). Some studies have advocated for

solutions to the Rohingya Muslim minority's long-term plight and highlighted human rights violations and persecution against them (Crossman, 2014; Azad and Jasmine, 2013; Abdelkader, 2014; Southwick 2015). Crossman's (2014) study revealed the Rohingya crisis as the result of ethnic humanitarian abuses such as, ethnic genocide of Rohingya Muslims. Azad and Jasmine's (2013) study identified three long-term solutions to end the Rohingya refugee crisis: voluntary return, local integration and relocation in developed countries.

In one of the limited studies on the Rohingya refugees, Brooten (2015) carried out an investigation with savages-victims-saviors framework on a series of 2013 Reuters inspection publications regarding the Rohingya as well as on a range of internet blog posts and articles from Phuketwan the small Thailand based alternative news website, to challenge the hierarchy and power inherited representation in the processes of global journalism. In Reuters reporting, she identified that Rohingya Muslims were predominantly built as 'victims' of oppression, hostility and brutality in the extensive narratives of the massacres and human rights infraction against them in Myanmar. The Buddhist community of Burma were represented as 'savages' alongside their monks and government forces. Under this frame, regional governments such as India, Malaysia and Thailand have also been depicted as not accepting refugees rather they assault and exile them, or compel and smuggle them. The Reuters articles formed multiple 'saviors' such as the US, the UN and Reuters journalists. Although the construction of this savior frame for the Reuters itself has been challenged by the alternative media, for their questionable silence and inaction in the Phuketwan case when the Royal Thai Navy accused two bloggers based in Thailand for reporting Thai government and Thai Navy as savage forces for their attitude to the Rohingya, which they also excerpted from the Reuters articles. Similarly, the investigation of emotion in The New York Times (NYT), Inter Press Service (IPS) and the broadest and highly engaged Rohingya Facebook

site during the coverage of the Rohingya situation results the savage-victim-savior (SVF) framework in both two news discourse (Brooten et.al, 2015). The media of the US constructed an emotional edge to a vulnerable, traumatized group of Rohingya 'victims' where the structural problems in Burma are 'savage'. The US and foreign investment is the eventual 'savior' character in this coverage. On the other hand, the Facebook page focuses on brutalization of the Rohingyas to draw global attention with slogans to 'protect the Rohingya people before it is too late'.

A systematic and qualitative content analysis of Bangladeshi newspapers resulted in the human interest frame. This particular frame focused on "human rights violations" by the Myanmar army, including murder, rape, and burning down houses of Rohingya people who are seeking refuge in Bangladesh, and also highlighted the "emotional side" of the Rohingya crisis in Bangladesh (Islam, 2018, p. 28-29). Since the statements of the aid agencies are identified as the newspapers most common sources of reporting, Islam described that Bangladeshi reporters commonly rely on aid organizations and that Bangladeshi media reported news related to a significant number of Rohingya who sought refuge in Bangladesh, where they were in continual necessity of food and aid. On the other hand, Mian and Al Imran (2014) found an opposite frame when investigating the Rohingya refugee crisis in Bangladesh. The Rohingyas are identified with violence, such as a threat to Bangladesh's national security.

The observation of randomly chosen news stories from *The Daily Star* newspaper of Bangladesh regarding Rohingya refugees' migration in Bangladesh in 2011-2012 and on August-October 2017 to explore the framing of refugees in the most leading newspaper of the country claims that *The Daily Star's* press ideology has struggled to offer human rights-

based journalism rather reflected a nationalistic narrative of the crisis (Ubayasiri, 2019). The identified three framesets are Rohingyas as an obstacle to Bangladeshi economy, Rohingyas as victims in Myanmar, Rohingyas as violators of Bangladeshi sovereignty and prosperity. The Rohingya depiction as economic migrants arises from a meta-frame with higher order that sees economic migration via a pejorative framework that positions them against more worthy refugees (Samers & Collyer, 2017). Such theories of framing neglect an increasing body of literature which claims that migration goes beyond a simplistic dichotomy between real refugees and economic migrants (Barcus & Halfacree, 2018).

Afzal (2016), studied the emotions and pathos in media framing features during the coverage of the Rohingya crisis. The work centered on a media-led framing approach to compare the framing of the Rohingya crisis with different media from international levels. Three types of newspapers were involved including the editorial views of British, American and Pakistan. The three separate newspapers were found with similar framing; the Rohingya crisis has appealed with emotions from both Muslims and non-Muslims background. *The New York Times* declares that the Myanmar government committed abuse on Rohingya Muslims. The newspaper of Pakistan *The Nation*, claims that Myanmar displayed anti-Muslim sentiment through their silence attitude over the abuses of human rights on Rohingya. *The Guardian* newspaper has lexically described the Rohingya Muslims as unfortunate people who suffered abuses of Myanmar, in order to earn international concern and remind the world of its humanitarian duty.

2.4 Representation of the host nation in media

Diverse studies have identified the representation of the host nation in local media during the refugee or immigration crisis period (Idrus & Ismailb, 2013; Brooten, 2015; Tyyska et.al,

2018; Ubayasiri, 2019; Firtova, 2019; Aksak, 2019; Ehmer & Kothari, 2020; Mustafa & Pilus, 2020; Laban & Nath, 2020). Significantly, the representation of the refugee host government comes with the representation of the refugees. Both the Western and South-East Asian media coverage of the crisis frequently featured victim-savior narratives based on the media's political position. The examination of media frames serves as a link between diverse fields of research on representation or in other words, between processes and products since there is a dialectical relationship between the two (Gitlin, 1980). Most of the studies identified the construction of the host nation as either a 'savior' of the refugees or their own nation. Sometimes it is also represented as a 'victim' of the refugee crisis depending on the social context.

Brooten (2015) used savages-victims-saviors framework to investigate *Reuters'* reports that won the Pulitzer Prize. In these news stories, humanitarian and governmental organizations are constructed as saviors, however refugees, while frequently presented as victims, are also characterized as savage and illegal migrants (Siddiquee, 2019). A qualitative framing analysis of Malaysian English-language daily newspaper *The Star* results in narrative strategies in reporting and patterns of meaning during the coverage of the Rohingya crisis (Ehmer & Kothari, 2020). This study shows that Malaysian news texts follow past literature in constructing refugees as illegal outsiders, aggressive and criminal (Kaur, 2007; Brooten et al., 2015; Siddiquee, 2019), whereas the host country and its authorities are portrayed as benevolent social actors providing humanitarian assistance and refuge to the vulnerable refugees. It is identified that the increase of the number of the refugees in Malaysia shifted the refugee discourse in *The Star*, reporting the violent altercations between the Rohingya Muslims and the Buddhist Araknese under its territory with 'shot' or 'stabbed'. Malaysia refuses to be involved in the provincial refugee crisis, despite the fact that the

forcibly displaced Rohingya do not have their 'own country.' The government deals with refugee arrests and detention. The sovereignty/border narrative theme established the 'us' versus 'them' dichotomy where Malaysia is portrayed as an actor trying to protect its sovereignty and refugees as committing crimes (Don & Lee, 2014). Similarly, the discourse analysis of news headlines from six major Malaysian newspapers reveal that the Malaysian government is consistently constructed as the nation's savior who ensures safety from illegal immigrants using certain lexical items such as "implementing," and "door-to-door checks" to curb the emergence of illegal immigrants (Idrus & Ismailb, 2013).

In Canada the framing of the government as the savior of the refugees is found exclusively in Liberal media such as *Toronto Star* (Mustafa & Pilus, 2020). Additionally, they are not only portrayed as 'national heroes' but also 'global heroes' using linguistic strategies such as lexical items, predication, metaphors and hyperboles (p.42). In contrast, the Canadian Conservative media discursively introduced caution using argumentation strategies of establishing security and economic threat to the nation-building plan of Canada (Firtova, 2019). The positive self-image of Canada's multiculturalism depicts its cultural openness, diversity, and tolerance under the fundamental ideals of human rights, justice, equality and appeals for inclusion, which is now portrayed as under threat by illegitimate and risky immigrants, specifically asylum seekers. An examination on the refugee migration coverage in the Rohingya neighboring country Bangladeshi newspaper *The Daily Star* also revealed same nationalistic narrative, where framing the Rohingya refugee as intruders and threat to the Bangladeshi sovereignty, reflecting the host nation as sufferer or victim of the crisis (Ubayasiri, 2019).

2.5 The concept of representation and language manipulation

Representation is a fundamental idea within the framework of this study. Hall (1997), defines representation as the construction of thoughts via language as employed by social actors to sign conceptions, feelings and beliefs. It indicates that the meaning of a text is produced in the media by certain specific linguistic elements in order to reproduce definite meaning for a particular representation. In addressing Hall's structuralism view on representation, it is observed that meaning is always shifting rather than fixed as social actors consistently obtain meaning and reconstruct another meaning. Since social actors construct meaning, Hall contends that representation is inextricably linked to power, that is always striving to generate meaning which can promote its agenda. The conflict between groups on what should be acknowledged as the proper or right interpretation is alluded to the 'politics of representation' (Holquist, 1983; Shapiro, 1988).

The language in news discourse is constructed using certain linguistic characteristics and composition. Through media discourse, language generates, sustains, and alters social relations of power with the purpose of constructing stereotyped assumptions, legitimizing domination and introducing inequity (Fairclough 1989). The construction of language in representation is investigated by several scholars since it is a strong social practice in a particular discourse, specifically the media discourse (Fowler, 1991; Craig and Lee, 1992; Wang, 1993; Fang, 1994; Wenden, 2005; Taiwo, 2007; Barkho, 2008; Yaghoobi, 2009; Fang, 2011; Qawariq, 2014; Lazović, 2017; Haider 2018; Hassan, 2018). They reveal how media worker's linguistic choices construct different realities of the same event from a diverse ideological point. Fairclough (1992), argues that ideology exploits language on a variety of levels and in a variety of ways to serve certain stances and purposes. When we

discuss ideology, the immediate thought that springs to mind is power. Van Dijk (2000) specifies “if there is one concept that is frequently associated with ideology, it is that of power” (p.25). Fairclough (1995), describes media with "signifying power" that is primarily apparent in the way the media represents news stories and manipulates language. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is such an approach focused on the examining and analyzing written text to explore language and discourse of the press. The language structure of two ideologically different newspapers construct contrasting reporting of the same crisis, Israeli and Hizbullah conflict in 2006 (Yaghoobi, 2009). The agency of the Hizbullah as an active participant in conflict in the American magazine results as pro-Israel. The writers reinforce their allegation of Hizbullah fighters as immoral, criminal, and violent through their active structure. On the other hand, while Hizbullah is the Goal of actions in the *Kayhan International* results as anti-Israel. There are several linguistics devices which could manipulate the language of the headlines to serve different ideologies, including passivization, topicalization, evaluations and judgments, adjectives and figurative information (Mahmood & Javed, 2011). A critical discourse analysis of two Israeli online newspapers to investigate the representation of the Palestinians during the coverage of the 2014 Gaza War, reveals ideological differences between the newspapers (Qawariq, 2014). The *Jerusalem Post* is a significant platform for the Israeli government to legitimize the military actions and also criminalize the Palestinian fighters through over lexicalization, nominalization and over-generalization. In contrast, *Haaretz* represents the reluctant Israeli left, who questions the legitimacy of the war and also questions some parts of how the war is publicly depicted and how some military activities are carried out.

Haider (2018) claims in the five years from 2012 to 2016, there is a shift in the way Jordan News Agency (PETRA) portrays Refugees from Laji'een and Migrants from Muhajireen in

its headlines. The language of the media shifted over time as the analysis shows that the year 2012 begins with humanitarian assistance to the refugees. The language switched to asking for support to solve the problem in 2013 and 2014, then it shifted to making an alert about the scarcity of refugee funding in 2015. In order to facilitate the migration of refugees, the language of the media abruptly switched to Europe in 2016. The pattern of changing of representation of refugees depending on the course of time firstly grabbed the people's sympathy for them, secondly treated them as a burden with the terms include 'flow', 'storm', 'gather' for creating stress on the low resources of the host country, mainly Jordan. The *PETRA* primarily focuses on the cruel attitudes towards migrants while representing them such as 'barbed wires on borders', 'arrest the arriving refugees' by the European countries in order to highlight the European countries' disagreement on the refugee migration. This study argues that the media language has an impact on people's and governments' views on critical matters and events such as migration and asylum.

Hassan (2018), analyzed news bulletin headlines of three distinct Pakistani news channels and it was discovered that media agencies are increasingly relying on lexicon to influence their audiences. Their word choices are prejudiced to certain groups, governments and world events. The *ARY News* headlines constructed negativity against the government, GEO and India. Their word choices portrayed the government as "incapable," "brutal," and even "unwanted". The lexical items used by *GEO News* revealed its position towards the government and an anti-Imran Khan, anti-judiciary stance. The linguistic choices show that they alluded to Terrorists as "killed" whereas army troops to as "Shaheed", establishing a distinct line between good and bad. The headlines on *PTV News* structured the meaning in order to accomplish the government's agenda. The headlines highlighted the voices of government ministers to referred Imran Khan's political struggle to as "economic murder",

“economic terrorism” and “declaration of war against Pakistan” (p.6). The direct quoting of powerful voices (what they are saying) are also sufficient to manipulate people. Similarly, (Taiwo, 2007), Fang (2011) revealed differences in news coverage that comes through the lexical choices to suit the ideological interest of the newspaper editors. The investigations on headlines covered by the Nigerian newspapers revealed the rhetorical and linguistic devices that reconstructed and reformulated the headlines (Taiwo, 2007). The functions of the rhetorical and linguistics devices are to essentially hide and imply ideological meanings.

The analysis of British newspapers resulted in the shifting of refugee discussion through the use of lexical words and metaphors (Lazovi’c, 2017). The media emphasized on the terminology problem and explored the proper word to use to refer to these people, the terms *refugees* or *migrants* was the matter of discussion. The metaphors “MIGRANTS ARE INSECTS” and “MIGRANTS ARE INVADING HORDES”, dehumanizing the refugees in a negative way. Thus, they demonstrated how powerful words and metaphors can be in shaping these people's discursive image. The government linked Malaysian Media *The Star*, *The NST* portrays RASIM as exploited victims and Australia and Malaysia as the protectors, employing perspectivation by mitigating or refraining certain issues (Bolte & Keong, 2014). The non-government linked or alternative newspaper *Malaysiakini* provides a representation that is concerned with mistreatment of RASIM in Malaysia.

2.6 Summary

Chapter 2 presents the overview of most relevant research studies to this study. Section 2.2 presented research on the representation of RASIM, section 2.3 presented research on the representation of the Rohingya refugee and section 2.4 presented research on the representation of the host nation. The chapter ended with section 2.5 presenting research on

the language manipulation through using different direct and indirect voices and transitivity processes, during RASIM representation.

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CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Chapter Three presents the theoretical framework applied to analyse the media data sets for this study. A qualitative study using Discourse Analysis was performed to explore how *The Daily Star* used quoted voices to represent the Rohingya crisis. During the analysis of the corpus of 223 news articles to identify relevant voices a concordance program software AntConc (version 3.5.8) is used, which reduced my time.

The Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) has been selected as a method of this study from Halliday and Matthiessen, (2014). To identify the main objective of this study the “transitivity system” of analysis is used as an analytical tool in this study.

Section 3.2 will discuss the Theoretical concepts that frames the entire study and the analytical tools used for this study. Section 3.3 presents how the data was collected and prepared for further analysis. A detailed discussion regarding the use of concordance program software AntConc (version 3.5.8) will help the reader to understand how social actors were identified and voices were collected. The summary in section 3.4 will bring the chapter to a conclusion.

3.2 Theoretical concepts and analytical tools

3.2.1 Systemic Functional Grammar

Michael Halliday developed the Systemic functional grammar (SFG) or Systemic functional linguistics (SFL) grammar model in the 1960s. This is a component of the broader social semiotic approach to the language known as systemic linguistics. The term 'systemic' within these two phrases alludes to the perspective of language like a framework of systems, or interconnected groups of choices for generating meaning. On the other hand, the term 'functional' mentions language as it is due to what it has formed to perform. The fundamental focus of Systemic functional grammar is on the possible choices that grammar built accessible to writers and speakers. These options connect the intentions of speakers and writers into the substantive shapes of language. The SFG provides a view of the language in terms of two individual forms, including the (grammar) and words (lexis).

According to the SFG, the functional basis of a grammatical phenomenon is multi-functional which is divided into three large areas, including 'ideational', 'interpersonal' and 'textual' metafunction of a text. The 'ideational' portrayed the main idea, intention and situational context of the text while 'interpersonal' reflects a text as a manner of performing in a social event. The 'textual' metafunction connects a text's internal organization and conversational nature. Halliday states that the Ideational role of the clause suggests "representation" (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 30). The 'ideational' function of a text is recognized through the 'Transitivity pattern' in language. The Transitivity pattern deals with participants (nouns), processes (verbs) and circumstances (adverbial or prepositional phrases) in a clause.

The ideational meaning usually reflects our perception or experience of the world. In the transitivity system the ideational meaning examines the clause in terms of its experiential meaning, within which the clauses allude to the action that took place and the entity that the action was done to as well as the entity who carried it out.

Halliday (1994:108) asserts that “experiential meaning is an interpretation of the clause in its function as representation”. From this point of view, Gerot and Wignell (1994:12) indicate “ideational meanings are meanings about phenomena, about things (living and nonliving, abstract and concrete) about goings on (what the things are or do) and the circumstances surrounding these happenings and doings.” Predominantly, to obtain the ideational meaning of a clause, the processes should be understood by focusing on the participants and the circumstances including place, time, cause, manner, means etc, in these processes. To be specific, all of these come down to the clause as representation.

A Transitivity process is generally demonstrated through the verbal group in a particular clause, and from the ideational perspective it is the core element of the given message. Halliday (1994), clarifies there are six distinct types of processes these are: verbal, material, mental, relational, behavioral and existential.

3.2.2 Transitivity analysis

This is a tool of analysis, which distinguishes different types of verb processes from English clauses. This method also identifies different participants and circumstances from the individual process. Fairclough (1992), described transitivity as nothing more than a systemic linguistic expression for discovering the conceptual features of grammar mostly at the clause level. Halliday considered that reality consists of process, which is made up of going, happening, performing, feeling, thinking, being and becoming.

All of these things happened within the grammar of the clause in order to express action or thought. Moreover, this is the method which combines the realm of practice under a functional catalog of individual process types: verbal, relational, behavioral, material, mental and existential. Every process has three components which comes through the linguistic level process itself through the verbal group, participants via nominal group and occasions follow adverbial group.

“System of transitivity makes options available, and which process type is chosen to signify a real process may be of cultural, political or ideological significance” (Fairclough, 1992, p.180), this suggests that the application of various types of processes and the location of participants or situations are directly related to the personality, viewpoint and social and historical background of authors or speakers. The transitivity system pertains to the 'ideational' metafunction which investigates the experiential meaning by focusing on the implementation of processes, engaged participants in the process and the associated circumstances.

The participants can be identified from a nominal group in a process, which could be a person, place or an object (Thompson, 1996). Processes are central to transitivity and the processes can be realized by verbs including, as doing words and the words that express states of being or having (Gerot and Wignell 1994). According to this perspective, distinct processes can indicate variant orders of meaning.

The circumstances basically convey the background information under which the process was actually undertaken including when, where, why, how, how far, how long, about what, as what and with what. The circumstances of processes are recognized through prepositional phrases as well as adverbial groups in the grammar of the clause. In some cases,

circumstances work to enhance the process. In brief they generate the time and place of the process, inform how the process happens and suggest the cause of the process. Halliday, (1994) classified circumstances according to the kind of information they provide such as time, place, means, cause, manner, matter, extent, accompaniment and role.

Table 3.1: Summary of different Process Types (adopted from Halliday, 1994)

Process types	Examples
Material	
Action	The Cat caught the mouse
Event	The principle signed
Behavioral	He laughed at her
Mental	
Perception	He hasn't observed that
Emotive	John liked the present
Desideration	Tom want a car
Cognition	Nobody trusted her story
Verbal	Rose said she was lost
Relational	
Attribution	Jack is brave
Identification	Mary was the commander
Existential	There is a book

1. Material process:

A close identification of the material process will exhibit the confidential intention of its implementation in news reporting. According to Halliday, (1994) the material process is the process of doing which conveys the action of an Actor in a particular clause. Material process relates to bodily, physical, and material actions. The action is mainly extended to the other participant the Goal or it can be a Circumstance. The Actor's action process impacted the Goal. Focusing on the Goal, "beings" can play this role. The material process refers to two separate moods. In some clauses the material process describes the action of the Actor, on the other hand some verb process refers to an event.

According to, Butt et al. (1995), Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) the Material process constituted with an Actor basically comes with three components: goal, beneficiary and range. They have identified the roles of potential participants under this process as: the Actor (who does the process), the Goal (an affected object by the process), the Range (an unaffected object by the process), and the Beneficiary (who is benefited by the process). The Material process with a goal is shown below. For example:

The cat	Caught	the mouse
Actor	Material process	Goal

Butt et al., (1995) suggests the material process accompanied by a goal can be constructed in either active or passive form as demonstrated below.

The mouse	was caught	by the cat
Goal	Material process	Actor

The scholars Butt et al., (1995), Halliday and Matthiessen, (2014) also mention that the Goal of the Material process is occasionally also referred to as the Beneficiary which is also

classified as either the Client or the Recipient. The former is the one for whom something is done (the client) and the latter is to whom something is given (the recipient) by the Actor.

The material processes with a Beneficiary. For example:

Kate	Wrote	a letter	to Max
Actor	Material process	Goal	Beneficiary: Recipient

Material processes with a range. For example:

Jake	Did	some mathematics
Actor	Material process	Range

2. Verbal Process:

As like Material process types the Verbal process also contains a participant who conveys the Verbal action. Here the participant or the doer of the verbal process is known as Sayer and who receives the process is a Receiver, other factors of Verbal process are known as Verbiage and Target. It is a process of saying under any allusive exchange of meaning. This process type of clause can be a direct or indirect quoted one. The Receiver is the one to whom the statement is indirectly addressed to in a Verbal process. It could be a subject in a clause in a form of nominal, collective group or an institution. The Verbiage refers to a content or topic that is functioned by being said. The Target is the participant to whom the statement is directly addressed by the Verbal process in a clause, may be a human, an object or an abstract thought.

For example:

Rose	said	to me	she was lost	in front of other people
Sayer	Verbal process	target	Verbiage	Receiver

Halliday (1994, p. 140) asserts that “verbal processes are processes of ‘saying’”. These processes can project both direct and indirect in all contexts.

She	Said	“I am sick”
Sayer	Process: Verbal	Quoted
Quoting		

She	Said	she was sick
Sayer	Process: Verbal	Reported
Reporting		

Very often these are released through two separate clauses one is the projecting clause which incorporates a signal provider (Sayer) and a signaling (Verbal process), the other one is the projected clause expresses what was said. Each of the projected and projecting clauses is analyzed separately. Thompson (1994:98) states that the message may be reported in a separate projected clause or it may be summarized within the same clause.

She	Replied	interviewer	‘don't waste time, just ask question’’ that he have no problem
He	answered	-	
Sayer	Process: Verbal	Receiver	Projected clause
Projecting clause			

3. Mental Process:

The Mental process is the representation of our experiences, emotions and conceptions perceiving in the world of our consciousness or sensing. It is more like a psychological action rather than a physical one. The clause of sensing or Mental clause is a series of events that is formed in our consciousness. The subject of the clause is a nominal group and a conscious being who expresses the sensing to the phenomenon. Moreover, as like other clauses, Mental clauses are also construed with the **Senser**: a conscious participant who functions to process his own consciousness in the clause. On the other hand, the **Phenomenon** is such an entity that is experienced or sensed by the **Senser**. This type of clause is very common in casual conversation. Through this process the **senser** experimented with four individual types of sensing shades. The different subtypes of sensing represent the **senser's** 'perception', 'cognition', 'desideration' and 'emotion' about an object or phenomenon. For example:

John	liked	the present
Senser	Mental process (emotive)	Object

4. Behavioral Process:

The Behavioral process is unique among all other processes because they don't carry any specific definition like other processes. The only distinctive criteria to identify this kind of process is that Behavioral process is related to physiological and psychological expression of an entity who took part in the clause. This process is a combination of both Material and Mental processes. The participant in the clause is identified as partly sensing and grammatically more like as doing. The participant is labelled as **Behaver**, typically a living being. The Behavioral process is mostly in the middle of the clause. If the Behavioral process indicates another participant, it can be labelled as a **Phenomenon** or **Behavior** that is

infrequently happened. Sometimes the Behavior is an added information of the process which is unaffected or a Range that typically functions as Complement. For example:

He	laughed	at her
Behaver	Behavioral process	Phenomenon

5. Existential process

The existential process is a presentational clause which describes the existence or happens of something. The word ‘there’ usually used in a clause is neither a participant nor a circumstance. It just works as a function to permit the recipient to be ready for something which is about to be launched and that something is treated as new information. It has no transitivity structure to represent the existence but it serves as a theme-indicator or theme-identifier in a clause. The only participant is called the Existent. The existence of a book is expressed in the following example:

There	is	a book
	Existential Process	Existent: entity

6. Relational process

A Relational process is described as a ‘being’/ ‘having’ process, that aims to establish a connection between two participants, except indicating that one participant has any effect on the other. This process realized the existence of an entity or “something is” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014). Halliday introduced two different modes of the process: attribution and identification. Attributive mode is when a participant belongs to a quality and that quality is an Attribute in a sentence, so the participant who holds that quality is known as a Carrier. The mode of identification is an identical feature of two entities or participants; the person who is recognized and the recognition belongs to the same participant. The main two

participants are known as Token and Value. The participant that is being identified is called Token, whereas the participant that is an identifier of the Token is called Value. For example:

Jack	is	brave
Carrier	Relational process (attributive)	Quality (attribute)

Mary	Was	the commander
Token (identified)	Relational process (identifying)	Value (identifier)

These two individual patterns or modes of ‘Relational process’ also meet at a point which is described under six principal categories of ‘Relational’ clauses, as shown in Table 3.2. The ‘identifying’ mode is reversible but the ‘attributive’ mode is not reversible. For example:

Table 3.2: The principal categories of ‘relational’ clauses (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p.265).

	(i) attributive ‘a is an attribute of x’	(ii) identifying ‘a is the identity of x’
(1) intensive ‘x is a’	Sarah is wise	Sarah is the leader; the leader is Sarah
(2) possessive ‘x has a’	Peter has a piano	The piano is Peter’s; Peter’s is the piano
(3) circumstantial ‘x is at a’	The fair is on a Tuesday	Tomorrow is the 10th; The 10th is tomorrow

3.3 Data collection and analysis

3.3.1 Data collection

The data for this study has been collected from *The Daily Star* Newspaper which is the English language print newspaper with the highest circulation in Bangladesh. This newspaper is also available in both print and online format. For this study the online websites *The Daily Star* online thedailystar.net had been used for its availability and easy access. This study had gone through news articles from 24 November 2017 the date immediately after the repatriation deal between Myanmar and Bangladesh to 24 November 2019. *The Daily Star* usually archives its news with a tag so it is easy to collect news by using the key term search. News articles were obtained by keyword search of 'Rohingya'. Once the 'Rohingya' keyword was placed in the search tab, a new page came out and showed all the articles with the selected term. From the list of several articles only relevant articles, those headlines consisting the word 'Rohingya' or plural 'Rohingyas' have been collected because Rohingya crisis related articles were the main point of focus for data collection. The number of articles was 223 with a total of 123473 words. The collected articles have been downloaded in plain text file format so hyperlinks, images were automatically deleted in the new text document as the analysis focused on text only. The text files were named according to the headlines and date of the publication to recognize them easily and for later analysis. These well-organized text files of the selected articles were used as a media data set for analysis in AntConc 3.5.8 program software.

3.3.2 Data analysis

A simple concordance program software AntConc (version 3.5.8) has been used for computational analysis of corpus data in this study. At first a wordlist analysis was done by loading corpus into AntConc 3.5.8. The results ‘Rohingya’ ‘Myanmar’ and ‘Bangladesh’ are the most frequent nouns from the corpus data. In order to identify voices speaking about the crisis, these most frequently used nouns are considered as the main social actors and have been taken for further analysis.

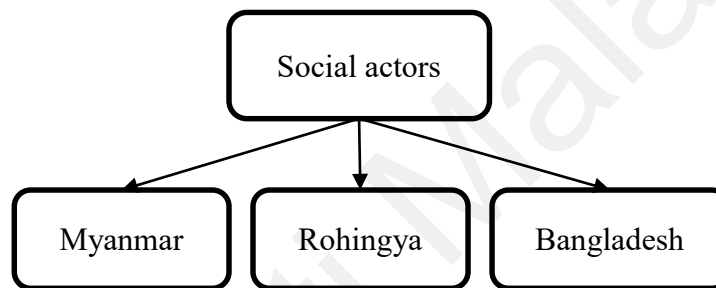


Figure 3.1: Main social actors

The next step of analysis has been done in collocation and concordance tools. The collocated analysis of each of the identified social actors was run by looking at the five words occurring to the left and right of the selected word and the result in the collocate list was noted for further analysis. The voices involved in speaking about the crisis were identified from the file view tab of concordance line of selected most frequent collocates and by the identifying who were mentioned in the subject position.

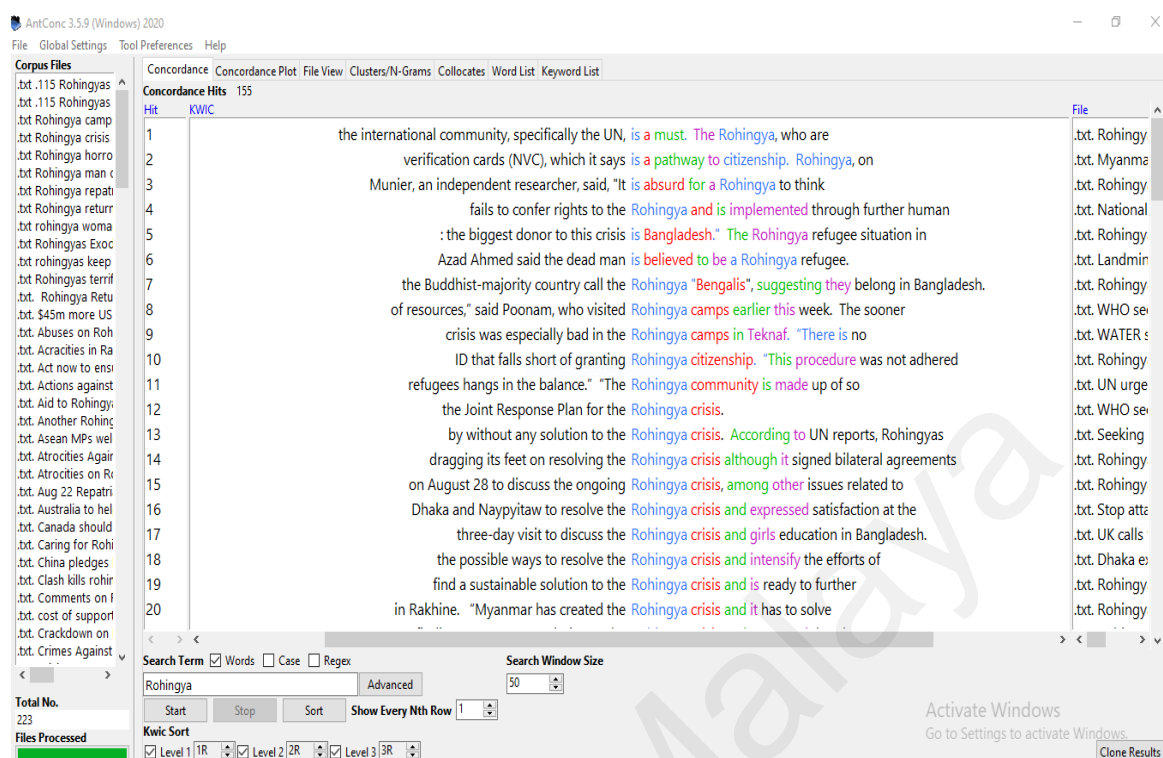


Figure 3.2: AntConc Concordance line of most frequent collocates

Figure 3.2, is an example of the concordance line of most frequent collocate 'is' when the search term is 'Rohingya'. The selection of each of the concordance lines moved to the new tab named 'File view', from where each of the voices and its speakers are clearly identified. From this process, four voices were identified, which are shown below:

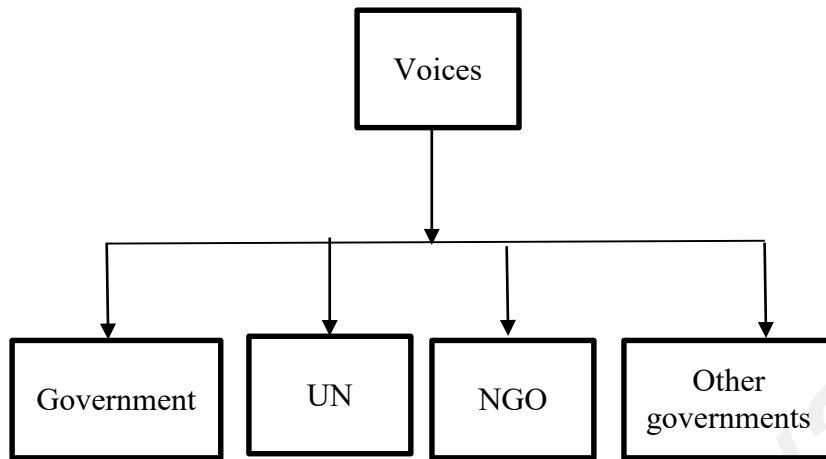


Figure 3.3: Identified voices

- Government: (all the government officials of Bangladesh)
- United Nation (UN): (the UN official diplomats)
- Non-Government Organizations (NGO): (different NGO officials)
- Other governments: (the diplomatic government officials from other countries)

The identified voices were analyzed using transitivity analysis since it has the ability to analyze discourse from clause level. At first it looks over the verbs as doing words and the words that express states of being or having of individual clauses that result in different processes. The identification of the Participants from the nominal group as well as the circumstances from the prepositional phrases or adverbial groups in the processes results in the social actor representation which also reflects the representation of the Rohingya crisis. This transitivity analysis of the clauses was shown in Chapter 4, and the detailed description of this analytical tool is in section 3.3 of this chapter. A chronological flow from data collection to identified results through different analytical processes is shown below.

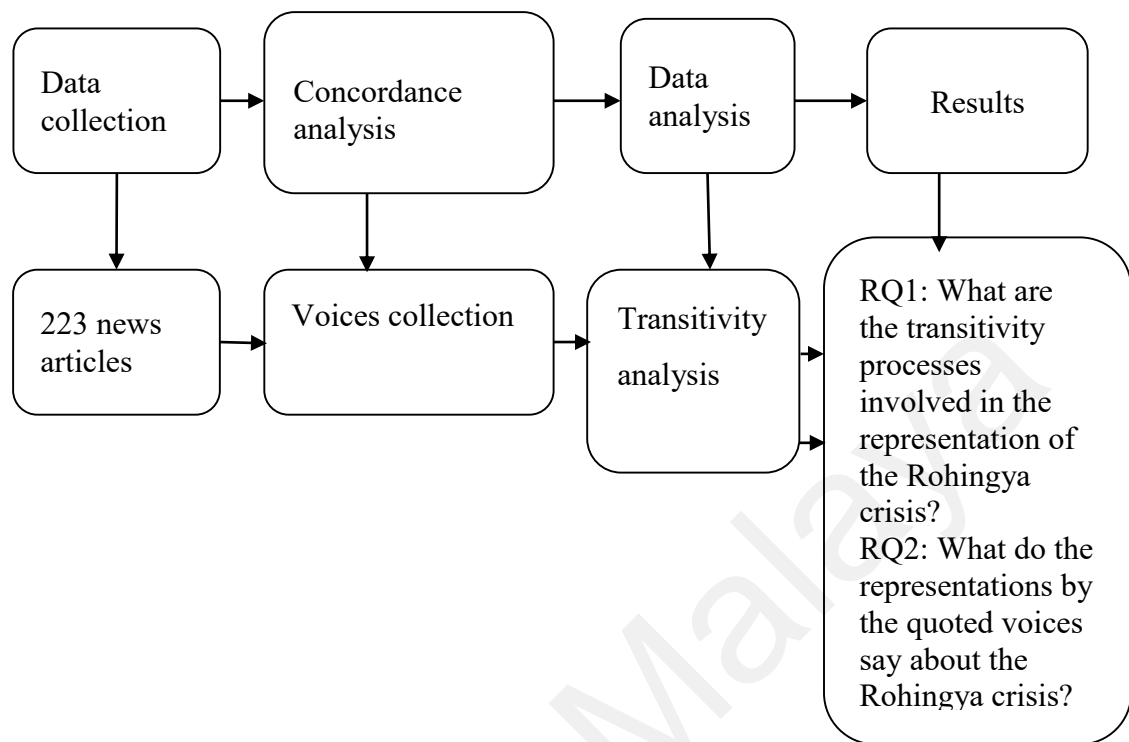


Figure 3.4: A systematic review of the whole study.

3.4 Summary

Chapter Three has discussed in detail the theoretical framework and analytical tools used in this study. It has also presented a detailed description of how the data was collected and how data sets were prepared for further analysis. A detailed discussion on use of a concordance program software AntConc (version 3.5.8) in order to identify different voices from the media data set has also been given. Moreover, Chapter 4 presents the transitivity analysis of identified voices and the relevant findings.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of findings from the corpus data. The corpus data consists of news coverage surrounding the Rohingya refugee crisis after the Rohingya repatriation deal between Bangladesh and Myanmar. The corpus data are over a two years' period between 2017-2019. The data was collected from *The Daily Star* newspaper of Bangladesh. A wordlist analysis of the corpus data under computational analysis using software AntConc (version 3.5.8) resulted in 'Rohingya,' 'Myanmar,' 'Bangladesh,' the most frequent nouns from the corpus. These frequent nouns helped to identify voices reported in *The Daily Star*.

In this chapter the identified voices are analyzed using transitivity analysis as an analytical tool of this study. The transitivity analysis of the identified voices helped to answer two research questions of this study:

RQ 1- What are the transitivity processes involved in the representation of the Rohingya crisis?

RQ 2- What do the representations by the quoted voices say about the Rohingya crisis?

4.2 Types of processes found in voices

The analysis of voices found five types of processes. These are verbal processes, material processes, mental processes, relational processes and behavioral processes. It is significant that all the voices fall under the Verbal process type. A Verbal process usually consists of projecting and projected clauses, the analysis of the former can help to identify the Sayer and

its used Process and the analysis of the latter can help to identify the “ideational meaning” of the clause (Thompson, 1994). Gerot and Wignell (1994:12) point out that, to achieve the ideational meaning, we have to recognize the processes being referred to, the participants in these processes and the circumstances -time, cause, etc. In other words, the Ideational role of the clause suggests "representation" (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 30). The processes, participants and the circumstances in the projected clauses (what was said) were analyzed separately in this study, whether the message of the Sayer reported in a separate clause or summarized within the same clause. The analysis of the identified processes from the projected clauses helped to explore the representation.

In the following table the identified processes are mentioned with the percentage of using individual processes by different voices along with the percentage of individual processes in total. At first the processes are shown in a percentage to understand the voices that used certain processes more than others. The percentage is identified by dividing the number of processes used by an individual voice with the total number of that particular process and the result is multiplied by 100. Secondly, the number of identified processes is also shown which is 101 in total. In order to identify the percentage of individual processes used in The Daily Star the identified specific number of individual processes is divided by the total number of processes, then the result is multiplied by 100. Thus, the Material process is the highest number of processes among other processes which is 67.32% and used by all four types of voices.

Table 4.1: Identified processes

Processes	Percentage				Total	Percentage of processes
	Government voices	UN voices	NGO Voices	Other government voices		
Material process	67.65%	11.76%	11.76%	8.82%	68	67.32%
Mental process	60%	10%	10%	20%	10	9.90%
Relational process	50%	33.33%		16.67%	18	17.82%
Behavioral process	50%			50%	4	3.96%
Verbal process	100%				1	0.99%
= 101						

In the following sections each of the voices were presented under the name of the identified process type from the projected clause. The same types of clauses were grouped together and the selected clauses under analysis were underlined.

4.2.1 Material processes

4.2.1.1 NGO voices

Myanmar as negative and Rohingya as victim

Extract 1

1. *At least 6,700 Rohingyas were killed by Myanmar security forces in one month following a government-led crackdown in the country's Rakhine State in late August, said Doctors Without Borders (MSF).*

(A.19)

Source: 'Rohingya Deportation: War crimes prosecutor seeks to open probe', 11 April 2018.

2. *"Where I come from, women and girls have been gang-raped, tortured and killed by the Myanmar army, for no other reason than for being a Rohingya," said Sultana Razia.*

Source: 'Raped, killed because they are Rohingya', 18 April 2018.

3. *The National Verification Card (NVC) scheme is part of a systematic campaign by Myanmar authorities to erase Rohingya Muslims identity, said a report of Fortify Rights yesterday.*

Source: 'National Verification Card: It's a scheme to erase Rohingya identity', 4 Sep 2019.

In the selected clause (1) the action is "killed" and the Actor "Myanmar security forces" is expressed in the form of a prepositional phrase, written in the passive form. The Goal of the action is "Rohingyas" which is being affected by the process. Moreover, two individual prepositional phrases provide the information about the Circumstance to place "Rakhine State" and Circumstance to time "late August" of the Material process.

The selected clause (2) is the statement of Sultana Razia, a Rohingya lawyer of the NGO Working Group. In this clause the action "gang-raped, tortured and killed" is also in the passive form as the Actor "Myanmar army" is expressed in the form of a prepositional phrase.

The affected participant or Goal of the process is “women and girls”. The prepositional phrase offers information about the Circumstance to cause “being a Rohingya” of the process.

At least 6,700 <u>Rohingyas</u>	were killed	by <u>Myanmar security forces</u> in one month following a government-led crackdown	-	in the country's Rakhine State	in late August
women and girls	have been gang-raped, tortured and killed	by the <u>Myanmar army</u>	for no other reason than <u>for being a Rohingya</u>	-	-
Goal	Process: Material	Actor	Circ: cause	Circ: place	Circ: time

Extract 2

1. *Myanmar continued to destroy Rohingya villages even days after signing the refugee resettlement deal with Bangladesh, says Human Rights Watch.* (A.3)

Source: ‘Persecution Against Rohingyas: UN official warns of genocide trial’. 19 Dec 2017.

2. *She said her research showed that Myanmar troops raped well over 300 women and girls in 17 villages in Rakhine State since August last year.* (A.20)

Source: ‘Raped, killed because they are Rohingya’, 18 April 2018.

3. *“The Myanmar government is trying to destroy the Rohingya people through an administrative process that effectively strips them of basic rights,” said Matthew Smith, chief executive officer of the rights body in a statement.* (A.49)

Source: ‘National Verification Card: It’s a scheme to erase Rohingya identity’, 4 Sep 2019.

In the selected clause (1) the participant who does the action or an Actor is “Myanmar” and the action is “continued to destroy”. The Goal of the action is “Rohingya villages” which is affected by the process. The adverbial group “even” offers the manner of the process, where the prepositional phrase offers information about the Circumstance to time of the process.

The selected clause (2) is the statement of Sultana Razia, a Rohingya lawyer of the NGO Working Group. In this clause the Material process is “troops raped” and the doer of the process or the Actor is “Myanmar”. The Goal of the action of the Actor is “women and girls”. The two individual prepositional phrases at the end of the clause offer information about the Circumstance to place and Circumstance to time of the Material process.

The selected clause (3) reflects the Material action “is trying to destroy” of the Actor “Myanmar government”. This particular Material action affected the participant “Rohingya people” which is known as the Goal of the action. The prepositional Phrase at the end of the clause offers information about the Circumstance to means of the Material process.

Myanmar	continued to destroy	Rohingya villages	-	<u>even</u> days	-	after signing the refugee resettlement deal with Bangladesh
Myanmar	<u>troops</u> <u>raped</u> well over	300 <u>women</u> <u>and girls</u>	-	-	in 17 villages in Rakhine State	since August last year
The <u>Myanmar government</u>	is trying to destroy	the <u>Rohingya people</u>	<u>through an administrative process</u> that effectively strips them of basic rights	-	-	-
Actor	Process: Material	Goal	Circ: means	Circ: Manner	Circ: place	Circ: time

Extract 3

1. ***Doctors Without Borders said at least 6700 Rohingya were killed in a month since the crackdown began on August 25 last year.*** (A.27)

Source: Myanmar willing to take back all 700,000 Rohingya (3 June 2018).

2. ***Doctors without Borders said more than 6,700 Rohingya, including at least 730 children under five, were killed in the first month of the crackdown.*** (A.5)

Source: Rohingya Refugees: Clouds still hang heavy over repatriation deal (17 Jan 2018).

The selected clause (1) is an example of Material process of event, when the first participant is the Goal “Rohingya” as it is affected by the process “killed”. The prepositional phrase at the end of the clause offers information about the Circumstance to time of the process.

at least 6700 <u>Rohingya</u>	were killed	in a month since the crackdown began on August 25 last year
Goal	Process: Material (event)	Circ: time

Summary: The activation of Myanmar in Material actions through the NGO voices state that the present crisis is the result of their actions. The NGO voices passivate the Rohingya as they are Goal of the negative action of Myanmar. The victim status of the ‘Rohingya’ is also reflected when they are Goal of the Material process of event.

4.2.1.2 UN voices

Extract 4

A UN investigation has said Myanmar's operation mass killing, gang rape and arson was executed with 'genocidal intent'. (A.42)

Source: Myanmar to consider Rohingyas as foreigner (29 July 2019).

The selected clause reflecting the Material event, while “Myanmar’s operation mass killing, gang rape and arson” is the Goal of the action “executed”. The prepositional phrase provides the information about the Circumstance to means “‘genocidal intent’” of the process.

Myanmar's operation mass killing, gang rape and arson	was executed	with 'genocidal intent'
Goal	Process: Material (event)	Circ: means

Extract 5

1. *UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Myanmar Yanghee Lee on Monday said the Myanmar government's failure to redress discriminatory laws against the Rohingyas made it impossible for hundreds of thousands of refugees to return home anytime soon. (A.28)*

Source: Rohingya Return Bangladesh FM to visit Rakhine to see progress (11 July 2018).

2. *Myanmar's civilian leader Aung San Suu Kyi has washed her hands of the Rohingya crisis, UN rights investigator Yanghee Lee said in Seoul yesterday. (A.49)*

Source: National Verification Card: It's a scheme to erase Rohingya identity (4 Sep 2019).

In the selected clause (1) the Actor is “Myanmar government's failure to redress discriminatory laws against the Rohingyas” who did the action “made” and the participant or Goal which is affected by the process is “it”. The adjective “impossible” is expressing the condition of the process. The Beneficiary or Client for whom the action is done is “hundreds of thousands of refugees”. The prepositional phrase provides information about the Circumstance to purpose “return home anytime soon” of action.

the <u>Myanmar government's failure to redress discriminatory laws against the Rohingyas</u>	made	it impossible	for hundreds of thousands of refugees	to return home anytime soon
Actor	Process: Material	Goal	Beneficiary: Client	Circ: purpose

Extract 6

1. *He said all the information he received indicates that the intent of the perpetrators was to cleanse northern Rakhine of their existence, possibly even to destroy the Rohingya as such, which, if proven, would constitute the crime of genocide. (A.19)*
2. *Adama Dieng, UN special adviser on the prevention of genocide, during a visit to Bangladesh early last month said, “International crimes were committed in Myanmar. Rohingya Muslims have been killed, tortured, burnt alive and humiliated, solely because of who they are.” (A19)*

Source: Rohingya Deportation: War crimes prosecutor seeks to open probe (11 April 2018).

3. *On top of the refugees' accounts, UN Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict Pramila Patten said rape was used as a*

"calculated tool of terror" to force the Rohingya out of Myanmar.

(A.26)

Source: Rohingya Refugee Camps: Some 60 babies born a day: UN (18 May 2018).

The selected clause (1) is the statement of Adama Dieng, UN special adviser on the prevention of genocide. In this clause the Actor is “intent of the perpetrators”. When the process is “cleanse” the affected participant or the Goal is “northern Rakhine of their existence” and when the process is “destroy” the affected participant or the Goal is “Rohingya”. The adverbial phrase “possibly even” offers information about the Circumstance to manner of the second process.

the <u>intent</u> of <u>the</u> <u>perpetrat</u> <u>ors</u>	was to cleanse	northern Rakhine of their existence,	possibly even	to destroy	the <u>Rohingya</u> as such
Actor	Process: Material	Goal	Circ: manner	Process: Material	Goal

The selected clause (2) is an example of Material process of events when the first participant is the Goal “Rohingya Muslims” which are affected by the process “killed, tortured, burnt alive and humiliated”. The adverb “solely” reflecting the Circumstance to manner and the prepositional phrase offers information about the Circumstance to cause of the process “who they are”.

The selected clause (3) indicates a Material process of event, where the affected participant or the Goal of the process is “rape” and the Material process is “used”. There are two individual prepositional phrases. The first prepositional phrase gives information about the Circumstance to manner “"calculated tool of terror"” and the second prepositional phrase

provides information about the Circumstance to purpose “force the Rohingya out of Myanmar” of the process.

Rohingya Muslims	have been killed, tortured, burnt alive and humiliated	solely	because of who they are	-
Rape	was used	as a "calculated tool of terror"	-	to force the Rohingya out of Myanmar
Goal	Process: Material Event	Circ: manner	Circ: cause	Circ: purpose

Summary: Similar to the NGO voices the Rohingya are also given a victim status through UN voices when the Rohingya are Goal of the Material events and Material actions. The means “with ‘genocidal intent ’” and the purpose “to force the Rohingya out of Myanmar” of the Material event also provide Myanmar a negative status.

Bangladesh as positive

Extract 7

1. ***“Global principle about refugees is burden-sharing, Bangladesh did the right thing by keeping its border open and providing asylum [to the Rohingyas], and the international community needs to do the right thing in terms of sharing the burden,*” Mia Seppo said. (A.10)**

Source: ROHINGYA REFUGEES: \$950m needed in next 10 months (10 March 2018).

2. ***Lauding the government's move on the Rohingya issue, Poonam said the Bangladesh government was doing a great job. (A.13)***

Source: Rohingya Return: PM calls for keeping up pressure on Myanmar (29 March 2018).

The selected clause (1) is the statement of Mia Seppo, the resident representative of UNDP Bangladesh. The clause states the Material action “did” of the Actor “Bangladesh”. The Goal of this Material action is “right things” and the Beneficiary or Recipient of the action is “Rohingyas”. The prepositional phrase offers information about the Circumstance to means “keeping its border open and providing asylum” of the process.

Bangladesh	did	the <u>right thing</u>	by keeping its border open and providing asylum	[to the Rohingyas],
Actor	Process: Material	Goal	Circ: means	Beneficiary: Recipient

Summary: The UN voice provides Bangladesh a positive status by activating them in Material actions, and the beneficiary of the action of the Actor “Bangladesh” is the Rohingya.

4.2.1.3 Other government voice

Myanmar as negative

Extract 8

In a report published yesterday, the Commons International Development Committee of the UK Parliament said it was clear that the Myanmar army used rape and sexual violence as the weapons of war. (A.5)

Source: ‘Rohingya Refugees: Clouds still hang heavy over repatriation deal’, 17 Jan 2018.

In the selected clause the Actor is “Myanmar army” who does the action “used”. The Goal which is affected by the Material action is “rape and sexual violence”. The prepositional phrase at the end of the clause offers information about the Circumstance to means “weapons of war” of process.

the <u>Myanmar army</u>	used	rape and sexual violence	as the weapons of war
Actor	Process: Material	Goal	Circ: means

Summary: The Goal and the means “as the weapons of war” of the Material action also provide Myanmar a negative status.

4.2.1.4 Government voices

Extract 9

Recalling Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina's emphasis on finding a solution in Myanmar where the root of the crisis lies, the State Minister said the present crisis is indeed the result of systematic persecution, discrimination and exclusionary policies pursued by the Myanmar authorities for over decades. (A.12)

Source: Rohingya Repatriation: Bangladesh working with Myanmar in good faith (18 March 2018).

In this selected clause the participant “present crisis is indeed the result of systematic persecution, discrimination and exclusionary policies” is the Goal which is affected by the action “pursued” of the Actor “Myanmar authorities” which is expressed by the prepositional phrase, written in the passive form. The prepositional phrase informed about the Circumstance to time “over decades” of the process.

the <u>present crisis is indeed the result of systematic persecution, discrimination and exclusionary policies</u>	Pursued	by the <u>Myanmar authorities</u>	for over decades
Goal	Process: Material	Actor	Cir: time

Extract 10

1. ***Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina has said Myanmar is dragging its feet on resolving the Rohingya crisis although it signed bilateral agreements with Bangladesh following pressure from the international community, including the United Nations. (A.52)***

Source: Rohingya Repatriation Failure: PM blames Myanmar (12 Sep 2019).

2. ***The foreign ministry said the remarks by the Myanmar minister would negatively impact Rohingya repatriation and bilateral relationship. (A.33)***

Source: Comments on Rohingya Repatriation: Bangladesh demands Myanmar apologise (6 Dec 2018).

3. ***“Myanmar has created the Rohingya crisis and it has to solve it. Bangladesh earned respect from the global community for sheltering Rohingyas in the last two years,” Momen said. (A.53)***

Source: Rohingya Return: Dhaka to push for stronger role of global community (19 Sep 2019).

4. ***Momen said the process is still on, but maintained that Myanmar could not create confidence among the Rohingyas. (A.45)***

Source: Rohingya Repatriation: Global leaders must act swiftly (24 August 2019).

In the selected clause (1) the Actor is “Myanmar” who does the action “is dragging its feet”. The participant or the Goal which is affected by the action is “resolving the Rohingya crisis”.

In the selected clause (2) the action “impact” of the Actor “remarks by the Myanmar minister” affected the participant or Goal “Rohingya repatriation and bilateral relationship”.

Myanmar	is dragging its feet	on <u>resolving the Rohingya crisis</u>
the <u>remarks by the Myanmar minister</u>	would negatively impact	Rohingya repatriation and bilateral relationship
Actor	Process: Material	Goal

Summary: The activation of Myanmar in Material actions with different Goals through the government voices state the social actor negatively.

Myanmar as obliged to make a successful and voluntary return of the Rohingya

In contrast, the government voices also activate Myanmar in actions when the Goal or purpose of the actions is safe and voluntary Rohingya repatriation, a deal signed between Bangladesh and Myanmar. Some of the actions are mostly related to the Rohingya rights that Myanmar previously denied or deprived the Rohingyas from. The following extracts are all about the Material actions of Myanmar. The Material processes of the Actor Myanmar were identified as an infinitive phrase where the base verb is modified by modal verbs which indicates the obligation on Myanmar. As if the signing of the Rohingya repatriation deal with Bangladesh obliged Myanmar to make a successful and voluntary return of the Rohingya in Rakhine.

Extract 11

1. ***She said Myanmar should have ensured a sustainable Rohingya repatriation by guaranteeing their security, freedom of movement and work opportunities in Rakhine.*** (A.52)

Source: 'Rohingya Repatriation Failure: PM blames Myanmar', 12 Sep 2019.

2. ***Describing Rohingyas as a big burden for Bangladesh, Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina yesterday said Myanmar should take back its citizens.*** (A.54)

Source: Rohingya Refugees: Myanmar should take them back (20 Sep 2019).

- 3. *Kalam said he believed Myanmar needed to propose a "clearer path" to citizenship for the Rohingya if any returns were to take place, adding he would raise the matter at the next bilateral meeting on repatriation, likely to take place next month.* (A.32)**

Source: Rohingya Repatriation: Plans pushed back to 2019 (19 Nov 2018).

The Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina's statement in the selected clause (1) is reflecting the action "ensured" of the actor "Myanmar" when the Goal is "sustainable Rohingya repatriation". The action is expressed in the form of an infinitive phrase where the base verb 'ensured' is modified with modal 'should have'. The first prepositional phrase offers information about the Circumstance to means of the process. Therefore, the second prepositional phrase reflects the Circumstance to place of the process.

The selected clause (2) is about the Material action "take back" of the Actor "Myanmar". The Goal or the participant which is affected by the Material action is "citizens". The action is expressed in the form of an infinitive phrase where the base verb 'take back' is modified with modal 'should'.

Abul Kalam, Bangladesh's refugee relief and repatriation commissioner's statement in the selected clause (3) is regarding the Material action "propose", which is expressed in the form of an infinitive phrase where the base verb 'propose' is modified with modal 'needed to'. The Actor of this action is "Myanmar" and the Goal of the action is "'clearer path" to citizenship". This Material action also has a client for whom the process will take place.

Myanmar	should have ensured	a sustainable <u>Rohingya repatriation</u>	-	by guaranteeing their security, freedom of movement and work opportunities	in Rakhine
Myanmar	should take back	its <u>citizens</u>	-	-	-
Myanmar	needed to propose	a " <u>clearer path</u> " to <u>citizenship</u>	for the Rohingya if any returns were to take place		
Actor	Process: Material	Goal	Beneficiary: Client	Circ: means	Circ: place

Extract 12

1. *Bangladesh's Kalam said there was no timeline for repatriations, that anyone going back must do so voluntarily and that Myanmar must provide a safe environment for their return. (A.9)*

Source: 6,5000 Rohingyas trapped at border (20 Feb 2018).

2. *"The conditions in Myanmar must improve for Rohingya repatriation," he said. (A.38)*

Source: Outcry over leaked Rohingya report (8 June 2019).

Bangladesh's refugee relief and repatriation commissioner, Abul Kalam in the selected clause (1) states Material action "provide" of the Actor "Myanmar" to the affected "safe environment" which is the Goal of this action. The action is expressed in the form of an infinitive phrase where the base verb 'provide' is modified with modal 'must'. The prepositional phrase offers information about the Circumstance to purpose "their return" of the process.

Myanmar	must provide	a safe environment	for their return
Actor	Process: Material	Goal	Circ: purpose

Bangladesh's refugee relief and repatriation commissioner, Abul Kalam in the selected clause (2) states the Material process of event “improve” when the Goal of the process is “conditions”. The action is expressed in the form of an infinitive phrase where the base verb ‘improve’ is modified with modal ‘must’. The prepositional phrases offer information about the Circumstance to place “Myanmar” and purpose “Rohingya repatriation” of the process.

The <u>conditions</u>	in Myanmar	must improve	for Rohingya repatriation
Goal	Circ: place	Process: Material	Circ: purpose

Extract 13

(1) He said Myanmar “must be accommodative” and it must “convince” their nationals to go back to their place of origin in Rakhine State. (A.45) (2) “Myanmar should prove that development is there and peace is prevailing,” he said, adding that Myanmar could also take journalists there to observe the situation on the ground. (A.45) (3) Momen said Myanmar should come forward if they are honest and should give access to Rakhine to see the situation there. (A.45)

Source: Rohingya Repatriation: Global leaders must act swiftly (24 August 2019).

Foreign Minister AK Abdul Momen makes the whole statement in this extract while talking to reporters. The selected clause (1) is about the Material action of the actor “Myanmar”. In this clause the action of the Actor is “convince” and the Goal of this action is “nationals”. The action is expressed in the form of an infinitive phrase where the base verb ‘convince’ is modified with modal ‘must’. The prepositional phrase offers information about the Circumstance to cause “go back” of the process.

The selected clause (2) states the Material action “prove” of the Actor “Myanmar”. The other participant “development is there and peace is prevailing” is the Goal of the Material action. The action is also expressed in the form of an infinitive phrase where the base verb ‘prove’ is modified with modal ‘should’.

it (Myanmar)	must “convince”	their <u>nationals</u>	to <u>go back</u> to their place of origin
Myanmar	should prove	that <u>development is there</u> <u>and peace is prevailing</u>	-
Actor	Process: Material	Goal	Circ: cause

The selected clause (3) is regarding the actions of the Actor “Myanmar”. The first process is “come forward”. The second process is “give” that affects the Goal “access”. The actions are also expressed in the form of an infinitive phrase where the base verbs “come forward” and “give” are modified with modal ‘should’. The prepositional phrases provide information about the Circumstance to place “Rakhine” and purpose “see the situation there” of the second action.

Myanmar	should come forward	if they are honest and	should give	access	to Rakhine	to see the situation there
Actor	Process: Material		Process: Material	Goal	Circ: place	Circ: purpose

Summary: The government voices were talking about the actions that Myanmar is bound to do, and the Goals are mostly related to the Rohingya repatriation. The use of modal auxiliary verbs including should, should have, must, needed to with the base form of verbs reflect the

obligation on Myanmar. Here, Myanmar is an actor, since they are given agency to the actions and the Goal is Rohingya or Rohingya return or the purpose of their action is ‘*for their return*’ and also the Beneficiary of their action is the Rohingya.

Rohingya as threat and burden

Extract 14

(1) Rahim Ullah, 25, was stabbed to death by another Rohingya over an internal feud in Kutupalong camp, said Abul Munsur, officer-in-charge of Ukhia police station. (A.48)

(2) Two days earlier, Jubo league leader Omar Faruk, 30, was shot dead by a group of Rohingya miscreants. Three Rohingyas involved in the murder were killed in a gunfight with police, said SP Masud. (A.48)

Source: Curbing Rohingya Crimes: New police unit on cards (27 August 2019)

The selected clause (1) is about the action which is constructed in the passive form, while the participant “Rahim Ullah” in a subject position is the Goal of the action “stabbed to death”. The second participant “Rohingya” who did the action is activated as an Actor in the form of a prepositional phrase. The prepositional phrase at the end of the clause offers information about the Circumstance to place “Kutupalong camp” of the process.

<u>Rahim Ullah,</u> 25	was stabbed to death	by another Rohingya over an internal feud	in Kutupalong camp
Goal	Process: Material	Actor	Circ: place

Extract 15

ABM Masud Hossain, superintendent of police in Cox's Bazar, told The Daily Star that Faruk had an altercation with the leader of a Rohingya gang at the camp. At one point, the gang members shot him in the head, leaving him dead. (A.47)

Source: Tension soars between locals and Rohingyas (25 August 2019).

The selected clause states the actions of the Actor “gang members” in a Material process, when the actions are, “shot” and “leaving”. The Goal or the affected participant of these actions is the same “him”, this pronoun refers to the noun Faruk in the previous clause. The prepositional phrase at the beginning of the clause indicates the Circumstance to time “at one point” of the process. The Sayer basically described the crime incident of the Rohingya gang to the reporters.

At one point	the <u>gang members</u>	shot	him	in the head	leaving	<u>him</u> dead
Circ: time	Actor	Process: Material	Goal	-	Process: Material	Goal

Extract 16

(1) Some Rohingya refugees are making Bangladeshi passports with the help of local and Rohingya brokers, who manage all the required documents in exchange of large amounts of money, police and passport officials said. (A.51) (2) Police and passport officials say the Rohingya people are using fake names and addresses while applying for passports. (A.51)

Source: Syndicate helps Rohingyas get NID, passports (7 Sep 2019).

The selected clause (1) is regarding the actions of the Rohingya in Bangladesh. The first participant “Rohingya refugees” is an Actor of the Material action “making” when the goal of the action is “Bangladeshi passports”. The prepositional phrase at the end of the clause offers information regarding the Circumstance to means “help of local and Rohingya brokers” of the process.

The selected clause (2) activates the participant “Rohingya people” as an Actor of the Material action “using”. The participant who is affected by the Material action is “false names and address”, which is the goal. The adverbial group “while applying” indicates a circumstance to time of the process and the prepositional phrase at the end of the clause providing information about the Circumstance to purpose “passports” of the action. Both of the actions of the Rohingya in the selected clause (1) and (2) mentioned by the sayer in this extract is an illegal act according to the law of the country as they are not a citizen of Bangladesh and the country only provide them shelter as a foreign national who will return to their country of origin soon.

Some <u>Rohingya</u> <u>refugees</u>	are making	Bangladeshi passports	with the help of local and Rohingya brokers,	-	-
the <u>Rohingya</u> <u>people</u>	are using	fake names and addresses	-	while applying	for passports
Actor	Process: Material	Goal	Circ: means	Circ: time	Circ: purpose

Extract 17

1. *In the first 10 days of February, about 1,500 Rohingya fled to Bangladesh, Momen told the Security Council meet, the fourth on the crisis since violence began in late August. (A.8)*

Source: Dhaka urges UNSC to visit Rohingyas (15 Feb 2018).

2. *In Cox's Bazar, a border district where some 720,000 Rohingya have sought refuge from a Myanmar army crackdown in August 2017, local officials said. (A.34)*

Source: Dozens of Rohingyas flee India for Bangladesh (9 Jan 2019).

3. *Rohingya are still fleeing into Bangladesh even after an agreement was signed with Myanmar to repatriate hundreds of thousands of the Muslim minority displaced along the border, officials said yesterday. (A.1)*

Source: Rohingyas still feeling troubled Myanmar (28 Nov 2017).

Foreign Minister AK Abdul Momen makes the statement in the selected clause (1). In this clause the Actor is “Rohingya” who does the action “fled” and the participant which is affected by the process is, “Bangladesh” also known as Goal of the action. The prepositional phrase at the beginning of the clause offers information about the Circumstance to time “first 10 days of February,” of the process.

In the selected clause (2) the Actor is “Rohingya” who does the action “sought” and the participant which is affected by the process is “refuge” also known as Goal. The prepositional phrase at the beginning of the clause offers information about the Circumstance to place “Cox's Bazar, a border district” of the process.

In the first 10 days of February,	-	about 1,500 <u>Rohingya</u>	fled to	Bangladesh	-
-	In Cox's Bazar, a border district where	some 720,000 <u>Rohingya</u>	have sought	<u>refuge</u> from a Myanmar army crackdown	in August 2017
Circ: time	Circ: place	Actor	Process: Material	Goal	Circ: time

Extract 18

Police arrested two Rohingya refugees -- Abdur Rahman, 32, and Mohammad Hossain, 34 -- in connection with the murder, he said, (A.46)

Source: Jubo league leader killed by Rohingyas (24 August 2019).

In the selected clause ABM Masud Hossain, superintendent of police in Cox's Bazar, states the Material action of the Actor "police". Here, the action is "arrested" and the affected participant or the Goal of the process is "Rohingya refugees".

Police	arrested	two <u>Rohingya refugees</u> -- Abdur Rahman, 32, and Mohammad Hossain, 34 -- in connection with the murder
Actor	Process: Material	Goal

Extract 19

He told AFP that 17 Rohingya were detained last Thursday after crossing into Bangladesh, followed by 31 at a different border point. Most had been living in India for up to six years, Kabir added. (A.34)

Source: Dozens of Rohingyas flee India for Bangladesh (9 Jan 2019).

Shahjahan Kabir, a police chief, makes this statement. The selected clause is an example of a Material process of event where the Goal or the affected participant of the Material

process is “Rohingya”, and the process is “detained”. The adverbial phrase “last Thursday” offers information about the Circumstance to time of the process.

17 <u>Rohingya</u>	were detained	<u>last Thursday</u> after crossing into Bangladesh
Goal	process: Material (event)	Circ: time

Summary: The government voices activated Rohingya in negative actions and also constructed them as the Goal of other’s action which is ‘arrest’ and a Goal of Material event “detained” to securitize them as threats, which explains their criminalization and reflects them as a security threat for the host community. Some other actions “fled to” with Goal “Bangladesh” and “have sought” with Goal “refuge” as well as with Circumstance to place “In Cox's Bazar, a border district” reflects the Rohingya as a burden.

Bangladesh as savior

Extract 20

Brig Gen (retd) M Sakhawat Hussain said Bangladesh has kindly sheltered the Rohingyas when they were facing genocide but it cannot throw them out of the country now. (A.55)

Source: Cost of supporting Rohingyas: Dhaka now saddled with 1.2b a year (25 Sep 2019).

In this clause the Material action of the Actor “Bangladesh” is “sheltered”. The Goal of the Material action is “Rohingyas”. The adverb “kindly” expresses the Circumstance to manner of the Material process. Similarly, the adverbial phrase “when they were facing genocide” expressed the Circumstance to time of the process.

Bangladesh	Has	Kindly	sheltered	the <u>Rohingyas</u>	when they were facing genocide
Actor	-	Circ: manner	process: Material	Goal	Circ: time

Extract 21

1. *The prime minister then reiterated that Bangladesh gave shelter to the forcibly displaced Myanmar citizens on humanitarian grounds.* (A.51)

Source: *Rohingya Repatriation Failure: PM blames Myanmar (12 Sep 2019).*

2. *Hasina said Bangladesh has extended all kinds of humanitarian assistance, including shelter, food, health, water, and sanitation, to the Rohingyas.* (A.55)

Source: *Seeking Rohingya Solution: PM to place four proposals at UN (26 Sep 2019).*

3. *"Some 1.1 million Rohingyas are now in Bangladesh. We've given them shelter on humanitarian grounds. Many world leaders visited Rohingya camps to see their plight," She said.* (A.20)

Source: *Rohingya crisis: Dhaka wants sustainable solution: PM (18 April 2018).*

4. *The PM said Bangladesh sheltered the Rohingyas on humanitarian grounds as it had a similar experience during the Liberation War in 1971, when an estimated 10 million Bangladeshis took shelter in India as refugees.* (A.53)

Source: *Rohingya Refugees: Myanmar should take them back (20 Sep 2019).*

5. *Hasina said Bangladesh gave shelter to Rohingyas on humanitarian grounds, PM's Press Secretary Ihsanul Karim told reporters after the meeting. (A.13)*

Source: Rohingya Return: PM calls for keeping up pressure on Myanmar (29 March 2018).

6. *Hasina said Bangladesh continues to shelter more than one million Rohingyas. Of them, some seven lakh have recently taken shelter in Bangladesh fleeing persecution in Myanmar's Rakhine State. (A.11)*

Source: Rohingya Crisis: Hasina seeks Singapore's assistance (13 March 2018).

This extract is full of Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina's statements reported in different news reports. The selected clause (1) reflects "Bangladesh" as the Actor who processes the action "gave" while the affected participant or Goal of the action is "shelter". The prepositional phrase reflects the Recipient of the action "forcibly displaced Myanmar citizens". Another prepositional phrase provides information about the Circumstance to manner "humanitarian grounds" of the Material process.

The selected clause (2) also reflects the Material action "extended" of the Actor "Bangladesh". The Goal of the action is "shelter, food, health, water, and sanitation" and the Beneficiary or Recipient of the action is "Rohingyas" who received the Material action.

In the selected clause (3) the Actor of the Material process is "we" who did the process "given" to the Recipient "them". The second participant or the Goal which is affected by the process is, "shelter". The auxiliary verb 'have' is used in a short form with the noun (e.g.

we've) which is (called contractions) in spoken English, where the missing letter is replaced with (') which is (called an apostrophe). The prepositional phrase offers information about the Circumstance to manner “humanitarian grounds” of the process.

Bangladesh	gave	shelter	to <u>the forcibly displaced Myanmar citizens</u>	-	on humanitarian grounds
Bangladesh	has extended	all kinds of humanitarian assistance, including <u>shelter, food, health, water, and sanitation</u>	to <u>the Rohingyas</u>		
We've	given	-	them	shelter	on humanitarian grounds
Actor	Process: Material	Goal	Beneficiary: Recipient	Goal	Circ: manner

Extract 22

1. *She said Bangladesh has been hosting 1.1 million forcibly displaced Myanmar nationals. “We opened our borders for these people in the spirit of humanitarianism, which is a pervading moral fiber of Islam.”*
(A.56)
2. *“We will continue to do everything possible to ensure the basic needs of the Rohingyas pending their return to their homeland. We have allocated over 6,800 acres of forest land for sheltering them incurring huge ecological hazard and environmental destruction,” the PM said.*
(A.56)

Source: Seeking Rohingya Solution: PM place four proposals at UN (26 Sep 2019).

3. *Hasina said Bangladesh was hosting 1.1 million Rohingyas, who were forced to leave Myanmar due to atrocities committed against them. (A.57)*

Source: Rohingya crisis: It is becoming a regional threat PM (29 Sep 2019).

4. *“The world knows Bangladesh hosts 1.1 million forcibly displaced Myanmar nationals. You must be aware of the evidence of genocide and gross violation of human rights, which has been termed a ‘textbook example of ethnic cleansing’ and humanitarian catastrophe of unmanageable magnitude,” said the president. (A.40)*

Source: Rohingya crisis: If not solved, it may harm stability in the region (16 June 2019).

In this extract, number 1-3 is Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina’s statements reported in different news reports. The number 4 is the statement of the President of Bangladesh. In the selected clause (1) “Bangladesh” is an Actor of the Material action “hosting” and the Goal of this action is “Myanmar nationals”. In the next selected clause of (1) the Actor of the Material action “opened” is “we” and the affected participant or Goal of this action is “borders”. The beneficiary or the client for whom the action was performed is “for these people”. The prepositional phrase provides information about the Circumstance to manner “the spirit of humanitarianism” of the process.

Bangladesh	has been hosting	1.1 million forcibly displaced Myanmar nationals	-	-
We	Opened	our borders	for these people	in the spirit of humanitarianism
Actor	Process: Material	Goal	Beneficiary: Client	Circ: manner

Extract 23

1. *The prime minister briefly apprised the UAE minister of the present state of the Rohingya issue and said that the Bangladesh government with many international agencies were helping the Rohingyas.*

(A.37)

Source: Rohingyas must return home (20 April 2019).

2. *She said Bangladesh was bearing the burden of a crisis which was of Myanmar's own creation.* (A.57)

Source: Rohingya crisis: It's becoming a regional threat PM (29 Sep 2019).

3. *To identify them quickly and effectively, Hasina said, Bangladesh has done the biometric registration of over one million Rohingyas, including some 700,000, who fled atrocities in Myanmar's Rakhine State since August 25 last year.* (A.17)

Source: Rohingya Repatriation: PM sees virtually no progress (6 April 2018).

This extract is full of Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina's statements reported in different news reports. The selected clause (1) states the Material action "helping" of the Actor "Bangladesh government". The affected participant or the Goal of the Material action is "Rohingyas".

the <u>Bangladesh government</u> with many international agencies	were helping	the <u>Rohingyas</u>
Actor	Process: Material	Goal

1. ***"The Rohingya issue will be discussed prominently in this assembly. Bangladesh will attend a number of events on the issue and raise the concern related to the Rohingya," he told a press briefing at the ministry on the UNGA, which began on September 17. (A.53)***
2. ***"Myanmar has created the Rohingya crisis and it has to solve it. Bangladesh earned respect from the global community for sheltering Rohingyas in the last two years," Momen said. (A.53)***

Source: Rohingya Return: Dhaka to push for stronger role of global community (19 Sep 2019).

3. ***During the meeting, Foreign Minister Momen said Bangladesh at its own expense developed the island, "Bhashanchar", into a livable place in which one lakh Rohingyas are planned to be relocated in coordination with UN agencies and different aid groups. (A.36)***

Source: Rohingya Crisis: US to be with Bangladesh in finding solution (10 April 2019).

4. ***Given the scarcity of land and other socio-cultural and environmental impacts, Hasina said the Bangladesh government was going to relocate Rohingyas to a newly developed island, Bhashan Char, where they would have better living conditions and livelihood opportunities. (A.30)***

Source: Ending Rohingya Crisis: PM Places 3 proposals at UN meet (25 Sep 2018).

5. ***Bangladesh will begin relocating around 100,000 Rohingya refugees to a desolate island off its southern coast in June, a senior official said yesterday, despite warnings the site is prone to violent weather. (A.16)***

Source: Relocation of Rohingyas to start in June (5 April 2018).

The selected clauses under the analysis is Foreign Minister AK Abdul Momen's statements from the same report. The selected clause (1) states Material actions of the Actor "Bangladesh". When the action is "attend" the Goal of the action is "events on the issue" and when the action is "raise" the Goal of the action is "concern related to the Rohingya".

Bangladesh	will attend	a number of <u>events on the issue</u>	and	raise	the <u>concern related to the Rohingya</u>
Actor	process: Material	Goal		Process: Material	Goal

The selected clause (2) also reflects the Material action "earned" of the Actor "Bangladesh". The Goal of the action which is affected by the process is "respect from the global community". The two individual prepositional phrases provide information regarding the Circumstance to cause and time of the Material process.

Bangladesh	earned	respect from the global community	for sheltering Rohingyas	in the last two years,
Actor	Process: Material	Goal	Circ: cause	Circ: time

Extract 25

Bangladesh's Refugee Relief and Repatriation Commissioner (RRRC) Mohammad Abul Kalam said Bangladesh was prepared to start the repatriation anytime. (A.43)

Source: Aug 22 Repatriation of Rohingyas: Doubts linger over voluntary return. 20 Aug 2019.

In the selected clause “Bangladesh” is the Goal of the Material process of event “prepared”. The prepositional phrase offers information on the Circumstance to cause “start the repatriation anytime” of the process.

Bangladesh	was prepared	to start the repatriation anytime
Goal	Process: Material	Circ: cause

Extract 26

1. **Bangladesh is sincerely trying to find a sustainable solution to the Rohingya crisis bilaterally, as they had fled from waves of violence which put serious pressure on Bangladesh, he said. (A.39)**

Source: Lobby to make Myanmar safe for Rohingyas (12 June 2019).

2. **Bangladesh government is likely to sign a deal with the UNHCR next week to facilitate the repatriation of Rohingyas as well as to ensure “safe and voluntary” return of the Myanmar nationals to their home, they told The Daily Star. (A.14)**

Source: Rohingya Repatriation: Dhaka to send second list of up to 10000 (29 March 2018)

The selected clause (1) is a Foreign Minister AK Abdul Momen’s statement. In the clause the Actor of the Material action “trying to find” is “Bangladesh”. The next participant is “a sustainable solution” also known as the Goal of the process. The prepositional phrase informed about the Circumstance to cause “Rohingya crisis” of the process. The adverbial phrase “sincerely” and “bilaterally” reflects the Circumstance to manner of the process.

This statement is quoted in news reports from the officials present at a meeting at the foreign ministry. The selected clause (2) reflects the Material action “is likely to sign” of the Actor “Bangladesh government”. Another participant “deal with the UNHCR” is the Goal which is affected by the action. The adverbial phrase “next week” informs about the

Circumstance to time of the process. The prepositional phrase at the end of the clause provides information about the Circumstance to cause of the process.

Bangladesh	is	sincerely	trying to find	a sustainable solution		to the Rohingya crisis	bilaterally
Bangladesh government		-	is likely to sign	a deal with the UNHCR	next week	to facilitate the repatriation of Rohingyas as well as to ensure “safe and voluntary” return of the Myanmar nationals to their home	-
Actor		Circ: manner	Process: Material	Goal	Circ: time	Circ: cause	Circ: manner

Extract 27

1. *As a responsible and responsive nation, Bangladesh remains engaged with Myanmar in good faith to ensure the safe and sustainable return of Rohingyas, in addition to providing humanitarian assistance to them, said State Minister for Foreign Affairs Shahriar Alam. (A.12)*

Source: Rohingya Repatriation: Bangladesh working with Myanmar in good faith (18 March 2018).

2. *Hasina said Bangladesh has continued its diplomatic efforts with the international community, including the UN, for the repatriation. Besides, European Union, Australia and the United Kingdom have imposed sanctions on Myanmar military officials. (A.52)*

Source: Rohingya Repatriation: Failure: PM blames Myanmar (12 Sep 2019).

In the selected clause (1) the Actor of the Material action “engaged” is “Bangladesh”. The prepositional phrase offers information on Circumstance to means “Myanmar in good faith” of the process and another prepositional phrase indicates Circumstance to cause “ensure the safe and sustainable return of Rohingyas” of the process.

Bangladesh	remains engaged	with Myanmar in good faith	to ensure the safe and sustainable return of Rohingyas
Actor	Process: Material	Circ: means	Circ: cause

Extract 28

Hamid said Bangladesh seeks a peaceful solution to the crisis and has signed instruments on repatriation with Myanmar. (A.40)

Source: Rohingya crisis: If not solved, it may harm stability in the region (16 June 2019).

This is President Abdul Hamid’s statement. The selected clause states the Material actions of the Actor “Bangladesh”. The first Material action is “seek” and the affected participant or Goal of this action is “peaceful solution”. The prepositional phrase offers information about the Circumstance to cause “the crisis” of the process. The second Material action is “signed” and the affected participant or Goal of this action is “instruments”. The prepositional phrase provides information regarding the Circumstance to matter “repatriation” of the process and another prepositional phrase indicates the Circumstance to means “Myanmar” of the process.

Bangladesh	seek	a peaceful solution	to the crisis	and	has signed	instruments	on repatriation	with Myanmar
Actor	Process: Material	Goal	Circ: cause	-	Process: Material	Goal	Circ: matter	Circ: means

Summary: The ‘Bangladesh’ is given agency to the positive actions through government voices and the Rohingya were the Goal or Beneficiary of some of these actions. The government voices also provide the Circumstances to manners, which are ‘kindly’. ‘*on humanitarian grounds*’, ‘*in the spirit of humanitarianism*’, to the actions of Bangladesh, including ‘sheltered’, ‘give’, ‘given’ and ‘opened’. This situation suggests that providing shelter to the Rohingya is a humanitarian matter rather than a permanent settlement in Bangladesh. As a result, some of Bangladesh’s actions also caused the Rohingya repatriation.

4.2.2 Relational processes

Myanmar as negative

4.2.2.1 Government voices

Extract 29

Describing the latest episode of violence in Rakhine as a sharp escalation of long-running, state-led persecution and attacks on the Rohingya population, the president said what has been happening in Myanmar not only represents a clear violation of core International Human Rights treaties, but also shows a burning example of ethnic cleansing. (A.23)

Source: Act now to ensure peace for Rohingyas (6 May 2018).

In the selected clause the first participant “what has been happening in Myanmar” is a Carrier of two Attributes in an Attributive Relational clause. The two individual Attributes of the Carrier are expressed through two adjective phrases and the two Attributive processes “represents” and “shows” links the Carrier and Attributes.

what has been happening in Myanmar	not only	represents	a clear violation of core International Human Rights treaties	but also	Shows	a burning example of ethnic cleansing
Carrier		Process: Attributive	Attribute		Process: Attributive	Attribute

Summary: The Government voice Attribute Myanmar's actions undoubtedly negatively by using negative adjective phrases, which reflects the negative status of Myanmar.

Rohingya as threat

Extract 30

1. **"Around 1.1 million Rohingya people became a burden for Bangladesh. It is one of the big challenges for Bangladesh in achieving the SDGs on time," said Md Abul Kalam Azad, principal coordinator for SDG affairs at the PMO. (A.35)**

Source: Rohingyas a bar to SDGs (6 March 2019).

2. **The number of Rohingya refugees in the area is more than double the number of local citizens. The local residents are increasingly complaining of criminal activities, he said. (A.50)**

Source: Rohingya Relocation: Support our plan or leave the country (6 Sep 2019).

In the selected clause (1) the first participant "Rohingya people" is a Carrier of the Attribute "burden for Bangladesh", which reflects an Attributive Relational clause. The process "become" links the Carrier and Attribute. In the next clause of (1) the Carrier is "it" and this pronoun 'it' also refers to the Carrier in the previous clause, while the attribute is

“big challenges”, which is typically expressed by an adjective phrase. In this Attributive Relational clause, the Attributive process “is” links the Carrier and Attribute. The prepositional phrase provides information about the Circumstance to cause “achieving the SDGs on time” of the process.

The second one is Foreign Minister AK Abdul Momen’s statement. In the selected clause (2) the first participant “Rohingya refugees” is the Carrier. The second participant is called Attribute which is typically expressed by comparative phrases “more than double the number of local citizens”. The relational process “is” which is called Attributive links the Carrier and Attribute.

Around 1.1 million <u>Rohingya people</u>	became		a <u>burden for Bangladesh</u>	-
It	is	one of the	big challenges for Bangladesh	in achieving the SDGs on time
The number of <u>Rohingya refugees</u> in the area	is		more than double the number of local citizens	-
Carrier	Process: Attributive		Attribute	Circ: cause

Extract 31

1. *She said the huge number of Rohingya refugees, which is more than the total population of Bhutan, was the main problem to manage.*
(A.13)

*Source: Rohingya Return: PM calls for keeping up pressure on
Myanmar (29 March 2018).*

2. *Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina yesterday said the environmental balance of Cox’s Bazar was under threat as hills and forests were being cleared to establish settlements for the Rohingya.* (A.41)

3. ***“For this [presence of Rohingya], the natural equilibrium is being destabilised in that area... settlements are being established clearing forests and hills. As a result, those areas are becoming insecure and risky too,” she said.*** (A.41)

Source: Rohingyas in Cox's Bazar: Environment under threat (11 July 2019).

This extract is all about Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina's statements from two separate reports. In the selected clause (1) the participant “Rohingya refugees” is a Carrier of two Attributes. The first Attribute “more than the total population of Bhutan” is typically expressed by a comparative phrase and the second Attribute “main problem” is an adjective phrase in an Attributive Relational clause. The two individual Attributive “is” and “was” linked the carrier and the Attributes. The prepositional phrase offers information about the Circumstance to cause “manage” of the Relational process “was”.

In the selected clause (2) the participant “environmental balance of Cox's Bazar” is a Carrier of the Attribute “under threat” in an Attributive Relational clause. The process or Attributive “was” linked the Carrier and the Attribute. The prepositional phrase reflects the information about the Circumstance to cause “hills and forests were being cleared to establish settlements for Rohingya” of the Relational process.

the huge number of <u>Rohingya</u> refugees	which	is	more than the total population of Bhutan	was	the <u>main</u> <u>problem</u>	to manage
the <u>environm</u> <u>ental</u> <u>balance of</u>	-	was	under threat	-	-	as hills and forests were being cleared to establish

Cox's Bazar						settlements for Rohingya.
Carrier	-	Process: Attributive	Attribute	Process: Attributive	Attribute	Circ: cause

Summary: By using negative Attributes for the Rohingya with the information about the cause of Attribution to them '*in achieving the SDGs on time*', '*to manage*' and also by reflecting them as Circumstance to cause during the negative attribution to '*the environmental balance of Cox's Bazar*' the government voices problematize them, which reflect them as an economic and environmental threat for the host country Bangladesh. The number of the Rohingya in Bangladesh refugee camps were also attributed which is typically expressed through comparative phrases.

Bangladesh as positive

Extract 32

1. *Also yesterday, Hasina said, "Bangladesh government is very much careful about the safety and security of the Myanmar Rohingya refugees." (A.17)*

Source: Rohingya Repatriation: PM sees virtually no progress (6 April 2018).

2. *The minister said Bangladesh is always ready to facilitate the return of Rohingyas and mentioned that they are still hopeful. (A.45)*

Source: Rohingya Repatriation: Global leaders must act swiftly (24 August 2019).

3. *Former ambassador Humayun Kabir said Bangladesh has been reasonably successful in highlighting the Rohingya crisis globally after the 2017 influx but has yet to make a breakthrough in terms of repatriation. (A.55)*

Source: Cost of supporting Rohingyas: Dhaka now saddled with 1.2b a year (25 Sep 2019).

The selected clause (1) reflects that there are two participants in this Attributive Relational clause, one is Carrier and the another is Attribute. So, the Carrier is “Bangladesh government” and the Attribute is “very much careful”. In this clause the Attributive “is” links the Carrier and Attribute. The prepositional phrase at the end of the clause offers information about the Circumstance to matter of the Attributive Relational process.

In the selected clause (2) the participant “Bangladesh” is the Carrier and the Attribute is “ready”. The Attributive “is” linked the Carrier and the Attribute. The adverb “always” indicates the manner of the process. The prepositional phrase offers information about the Circumstance to cause “facilitate the return of Rohingyas” of the Attributive Relational process.

Bangladesh government	Is	-	very much careful	about the safety and security of the Myanmar Rohingya refugees	-
Bangladesh	Is	Always	ready	-	to facilitate the return of Rohingyas
Carrier	Process: Attributive	Circ: manner	Attribute	Circ: matter	Circ: cause

Summary: The government voice provides ‘Bangladesh’ a positive role through Attribution “very much careful” with Circumstance to the matter of process “about the safety and security of the Myanmar Rohingya refugees”. Their voice also positively attributes Bangladesh e.g. *ready*, while the Circumstance to cause of the Attributive process is “to facilitate the return of Rohingyas”, which reflects the Rohingya repatriation.

4.2.2.2 Other government voices

Myanmar as negative

Extract 33

1. *On September 7, Turkish First Lady Emine Erdogan visited Rohingya camps and said what was happening in Myanmar's Rakhine State was "tantamount to genocide" and solution to the Rohingya crisis lies with Myanmar only. (A.4)*

Source: Ensure safe return of Rohingyas (21 Dec 2017).

2. *"To all who have met with Rohingya refugees, who have heard these accounts, it is clear that these crimes amount to genocide," he said, adding, "Confronting genocide of the Rohingya is a moral issue and a national security issue. No one is more secure when fanaticism and unchecked violence are growing in this part of the world." (A.31)*

Source: Actions against Rohingya meets genocide standard (27 Sep 2018).

In the selected clause (1) the participant "what was happening in Myanmar's Rakhine State" is the Carrier and the Attribute of the Carrier is expressed through an adjective phrase "tantamount to genocide" and the Attributive process "was" links the Carrier and Attribute.

what was happening in Myanmar's Rakhine State	Was	"tantamount to genocide"
Carrier	Process: Attributive	Attribute

Summary: The Other government voice Attributes Myanmar's actions undoubtedly negatively by using negative adjective phrases, which provide them a negative status.

4.2.2.3 UN voices

Rohingya as vulnerable

Extract 34

“The Rohingya population is settled in an area that is prone to cyclones, and a terrain that would be flooded as soon as rains begin. The risk of outbreak of life threatening water and vector-borne diseases under such conditions is huge,” she added. (A.15)

Source: WHO seeks int’l support for Rohingya refugees (30 March 2018).

This is Regional director of WHO-SEARO Poonam Khetrpal Singh’s statement. In the first selected clause the participant “Rohingya population” is the Carrier of the attribute “settled in an area that is prone to cyclones” and the process or attributive “is” linked the Carrier and Attribute. The next selected clause of (1) reflects the first participant as the Carrier of the Attribute “huge” and the Attributive “is” linked the Carrier and the Attribute.

The <u>Rohingya population</u>	Is	settled in an area that is prone to cyclones
The <u>risk of outbreak of life threatening water and vector-borne diseases under such conditions</u>	is	Huge
Carrier	Process: attributive	Attribute

Extract 35

1. *Filippo Grandi, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, said the conditions were not yet conducive for the voluntary repatriation of Rohingya refugees.* (A.8)

Source: Dhaka urges UNSC to visit Rohingyas (15 Feb 2018).

2. *The UN too says the conditions in Rakhine are not conducive for their return.* (A.58)

Source: Rohingya Crisis: 'Dhaka to convey strong message to Delhi' (02 Oct 2019).

The selected clause (1) is reflecting a negative attribute “not yet conducive” to the Carrier “conditions” by using an adverb ‘not yet’ with the adjective ‘conductive’. In the Attributive Relational clause, the process or Attributive “were” linked the Carrier and the Attribute. The rest of the clause reflects a prepositional phrase which provides information about the Circumstance to purpose of the process.

the <u>conditions</u>	Were	not yet conductive	for the voluntary repatriation of Rohingya refugees
Carrier	process: attributive	Attribute	Circ: purpose

Bangladesh as positive

Extract 36

UN Resident Coordinator in Bangladesh Mia Seppo said, "Obviously, there's great appreciation for the generosity with which the response has been funded. But let's not forget one thing: the biggest donor to this crisis is Bangladesh." (A.12)

Source: Rohingya Repatriation: Bangladesh working with Myanmar in good faith (18 March 2018).

In the selected clause the participants are Token and value. The Token is “Bangladesh” and the Value is “biggest doner”. In this Identifying Relational clause, the Identifying or process “is” links the Token and Value. The prepositional phrase provides information about the Circumstance to matter “this crisis’ of the Identifying Relational process.

the biggest donor	to this crisis	is	Bangladesh
Value	Circ: matter	Process: Identifying	Token

Summary: By using the negative Attributes for the Rohingya refugee’s living condition in a coastal area Cox’s Bazar Bangladesh and for the conditions in Rakhine state of Myanmar along with Circumstance to purpose of Attribution, which is “for the voluntary repatriation of Rohingya refugees”, the UN voices represents the Rohingya, as a vulnerable group in both the Bangladesh refugee camps and in Myanmar. The UN voice also provides ‘Bangladesh’ a positive value ‘*biggest doner*’ with additional information of Circumstance to the matter of the process “to this crisis”.

4.2.3 Mental processes

4.2.3.1 Government voices

Rohingya as threat

Extract 37

(1) *About the impact of such a huge Rohingya influx on Bangladesh, the PM said local people in Cox's Bazar are suffering as they cannot cultivate their land. More importantly, she added, the environment is being affected due to the stay of the refugees. (A.7)*

Source: Hasina wants quick repatriation of Rohingyas (24 Jan 2018).

(2) *“Local people are facing economic and environmental pressures due to the Rohingya crisis. There is also tension among the locals. These aspects need to be mitigated urgently,” he added. (A.10)*

Source: ROHINGYA REFUGEES: \$950m needed in next 10 months (10 March 2018).

The first statement is Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina's and the second statement is the Refugee Relief and Repatriation Commissioner Mohammad Abul Kalam's. These statements are reported in two separate news reports.

In the selected clause (1) the participant "local people" is a Senser of the perceptive Mental action "suffering". The prepositional phrase offers information about the Circumstance to cause "they cannot cultivate their land" of the Mental action.

The selected clause (2) states a perceptive Mental action "facing" of the participant "local people" which is known as Senser. In this clause the second participant is a Phenomenon "economic and environmental pressures". The rest of the clause is a prepositional phrase which provides information about the Circumstance to cause "Rohingya crisis" of the Mental process.

<u>local people</u> in Cox's Bazar	are <i>suffering</i>	-	as they cannot cultivate their land
Local people	are facing	economic and environmental pressures	due to the Rohingya crisis
Senser	Mental: perceptive	Phenomenon	Circ: cause

Summary: The government voices are mentioning the Mental actions of local people in Cox's Bazar, when the Circumstances to cause of the processes are, "as they cannot cultivate their land", "due to the Rohingya crisis" which problematize the Rohingya and reflect them as an economic and environmental threat for the host community.

Bangladesh as positive

Extract 38

Speaking at the programme as chief guest, State Minister for Foreign Affairs Md Shahriar Alam said the Bangladesh government has recognised the special needs of women and children and has provided customized humanitarian support for them. (A.29)

Source: Rohingya Refugees: Woman face risk of abuse, health issues (12 Sep 2018)

In the selected clause the participant "Bangladesh government" is the Senser of the Mental action "recognised". The Phenomenon of Mental action is "special needs of women and children".

Bangladesh government	has recognised	the special needs of women and children
Senser	Process: Mental (Cognitive)	Phenomenon

Extract 39

1. *Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina yesterday said Bangladesh wanted a peaceful, sustainable and an early solution to the Rohingya crisis as the country was now bearing the entire brunt of the recent exodus of persecuted Myanmar nationals.* (A.21)

Source: Rohingya crisis: Dhaka wants sustainable solution PM (18 April 2018).

2. *Hasina said Bangladesh wants the Rohingyas to return to their homeland as soon as possible.* (A.41)

Source: Rohingyas in Cox's Bazar: Environment under threat (11 July 2019).

In the selected clause (1), “Bangladesh” is the Senser of the cognitive Mental action “wanted” and the Phenomenon of this Mental action is “peaceful, sustainable and an early solution to the Rohingya crisis”. The prepositional phrase at the end of the clause offers information about the Circumstance to cause of the Mental process.

The selected clause (2) reflects the Mental action “wants” of the Senser “Bangladesh”. The next participant “Rohingyas to return to their homeland” is the Phenomenon of the Mental action. The adverb “as soon as possible” expresses the Circumstance to time of the process.

Bangladesh	wanted	a peaceful, sustainable and an early solution to the Rohingya crisis	as the country was now bearing the entire brunt of the recent exodus of persecuted Myanmar nationals	-
Bangladesh	wants	the Rohingyas to return to their homeland	-	as soon as possible
Senser	Process: Mental (cognitive)	Phenomenon	Circ: cause	Circ: time

Extract 40

He said the UN chief highly appreciated Bangladesh for its steps over the Rohingya issue.

(A.18)

Source: Help Repatriate Rohingyas (7 April 2018).

PM's Press Secretary Ihsanul Karim makes the statement to the reporters. The selected clause states the Mental action of the Senser "UN chief". The Senser does the Mental action "appreciated" when the Phenomenon of this Mental action is "Bangladesh for its steps over the Rohingya issue". The adverbial group "highly" provides the information about the Circumstance to manner of the Mental process.

UN chief	highly	appreciated	Bangladesh for its steps over the Rohingya issue
Senser	Circ: manner	Process: Mental (cognitive)	Phenomenon

Summary: The government voices reflect Bangladesh positively when this social actor is activated in Mental actions and when it is a phenomenon of "UN chief's" Mental action

“appreciated” with the Circumstance to manner “highly”. Some other Mental actions including, “wanted” and “wants” of ‘Bangladesh’ legitimized its positive status through the different Phenomenon and Circumstance to the cause of the process.

4.2.3.2 Other government voices

Extract 41

(1) Lauding Bangladesh's role, he said (...). "The Chinese side highly appreciates the good gesture from Bangladesh". (A.2) (2) He further said China fully understands the pressure faced by Bangladesh in economic, social and environmental aspects. (A.2)

Source: Stop attacks on Rohingya. (8 Dec 2017)

Wang Yajun, assistant minister for the International Department of Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CPC) states both the statements above.

The selected clause (1) states the Mental action of the Senser “Chinese side”. The Senser does the Mental action “appreciates” when the Phenomenon of this Mental action is “the good gesture from Bangladesh”. The adverbial group “highly” provides information about the Circumstance to manner of the Mental process.

The selected clause (2) reflects the cognitive Mental action “understand” of the Senser “China”. The Phenomenon of the Mental action is “pressures faced by Bangladesh in economic, social and environmental aspects”. The adverbial group “fully” offers information regarding the Circumstance to manner of the Mental process.

The Chinese side	highly	appreciates	the good gesture from Bangladesh
China	fully	understands	the pressures faced by Bangladesh in economic, social and environmental aspects
Senser	Circ: manner	Process: Mental (cognitive)	Phenomenon

Summary: The Other government voices mentioned the Mental actions of “The Chinese side”, including “appreciates” on Bangladesh's good gesture on the Rohingya issue with the Circumstance to manner “highly”. Similarly, The Mental process “understands” of Senser “China” as mentioned by the Other government voice comes with the Circumstance to manner “fully” to the phenomenon “the pressures faced by Bangladesh in economic, social and environmental aspects”. Thus, Bangladesh achieved a positive status.

4.2.3.3 UN and NGO voices

Rohingya as vulnerable

Face and *Fear* are two Mental processes used to describe the Mental action of the Rohingya, for the former one the phenomenon is, (*'life threatening' hazards*) in Bangladesh Rohingya refugee camps and for the later the phenomenon is, (*if they return*) in Myanmar. The instances are shown in the Extracts below.

Extract 42

Late last month, the United Nations said that the lives of hundreds of thousands of Rohingya refugees hang in the balance as they face 'life threatening' hazards due to the monsoon and cyclone seasons which threaten to destroy their makeshift camps in Bangladesh. (A.25)

Source: World Refugee Day 2018: UNHCR to mark it in Rohingya camps (14 May 2018).

The selected clause states the prospective Mental action “face” of the participant “they” which is the Senser of Mental action and the second participant “‘life threatening’ hazards” is the Phenomenon. In this clause two individual prepositional phrases provide information about the Circumstance to cause “monsoon and cyclone seasons which threaten to destroy their makeshift camp” and the Circumstance to place “Bangladesh” of the Mental process.

They	face	'life threatening' hazards	due to the monsoon and cyclone seasons which threaten to destroy their makeshift camps	in Bangladesh
Senser	Process: Mental (perspective)	Phenomenon	Circ: cause	Circ: place

Extract 43

“Myanmar has yet to address the systematic persecution and violence against the Rohingya, so refugees have every reason to fear for their safety if they return.” said Meenakshi Ganguly, South Asia director of Human Rights Watch. (A.44)

Source: Rohingya Repatriation Attempt: Doomed to fail again? (22 August 2019).

The selected clause reflects the cognitive Mental action “fear” of the Senser “refugees” when the phenomenon is, “if they return”. The prepositional phrase offers information about the Circumstance to cause “their safety” of the Mental process.

<u>refugees</u> have every reason	to fear	for their safety	if they return
Senser	Process: Mental (Cognitive)	Circ: cause	Phenomenon

Summary: The UN and NGO voices reflect the plight of the ‘Rohingya’ through their Mental actions, regarding their living in Bangladesh Rohingya refugee camps and their return to Myanmar. During their Mental processes the Circumstances to cause are, “due to the

monsoon and cyclone seasons which threaten to destroy their makeshift camps”, and “for their safety”, which reflect them as a vulnerable group.

4.2.4 Verbal process

This is the only Verbal action that is identified from the projected clause or from the content of the saying of the government security official.

Rohingya as threat

Extract 44

(1) AIG Akteruzzaman said they had proposed forming two specialised battalions for Rohingya camps last year; the ministry approved one. (A.48)

Source: Cubing Rohingya crimes: New police unit on cards (27 Aug 2019).

The selected clause is also a Verbal process of the Sayer “they” when the Verbal process is “proposed”. Another participant of the clause “forming two specialised battalions” is Verbiage and the prepositional phrase informs about the purpose “Rohingya camps” of the Verbal process. The adverbial phrase “last year” indicates the Circumstance to time of the process.

they	had proposed	forming two specialised battalions	for Rohingya camps	last year
Sayer	Process: Verbal	Verbiage	Circ: purpose	Circ: time

Summary: The Verbal agency of the government security officials reflects their power over the Rohingya and explains them as a threat who should be under control.

4.2.5 Behavioral processes

4.2.5.1 Other government voices

Bangladesh as positive

Extract 45

1. ***Lauding Bangladesh's role, he said the country has made tremendous efforts in giving shelter to the Rohingyas.*** (A.2)

Source: Stop attacks on Rohingyas. (8 Dec 2017).

2. ***"Bangladesh government and its people have shown enormous generosity in providing shelter to the displaced Rohingya population," said Rajashree Paralkar, WB's operations manager for Bangladesh.*** (A.24)

Source: Caring for Rohingyas: WB agrees to a grant for Bangladesh (14 May 2018).

Wang Yajun, assistant minister for the International Department of Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CPC) makes the first statement. The selected clause (1) states the Behavioral process "made" of the Behavior "country". The participant that typically functions as Complement "tremendous efforts" is the Behavior. The prepositional phrase provides information about the Circumstance to matter "giving shelter to the Rohingyas" of the Behavioral process.

the country	has made	tremendous efforts	in giving shelter to the Rohingyas
Behaver	process: Behavioral	Behavior	Circ: matter

4.2.5.2 Government Voices

Extract 46

1. *She said Bangladesh would like to see the Rohingyas returning to their homes with safety, security and dignity. (A.30)*

Source: Ending Rohingya Crisis: PM Places 3 proposals at UN meet (25 Sep 2018).

2. *Mahmud said Bangladesh also favours voluntary return and this was mentioned in the three documents so far signed with Myanmar over Rohingya repatriation. (A.6)*

Source: Rohingya Refugees: Repatriation faces a hitch (22 Jan 2018).

The first statement is Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina's and the second statement is Foreign Minister AH Mahmud Ali, reported in two different news reports. The selected clause (1) reflects the Behavioral process of the Behavior "Bangladesh". In this case the Behavioral process is "see" and the Behavior is "the Rohingyas returning to their homes with safety, security and dignity".

Bangladesh	would like to see	the Rohingyas returning to their homes with safety, security and dignity.
Behaver	process: Behavioral	Behavior

Summary: The Other government voice states the positive Behavior of Bangladesh with the Circumstance to matter of the Behavioral process, "in giving asylum to the Rohingyas". The Government voice also presents Bangladesh's positive Behavioral with the Behavior, which reflects the safe Rohingya repatriation.

4.3 Summary of overall findings:

The negative status of Myanmar through UN, NGO, Government and Other government voices state that the Rohingya crisis is the result of a human rights violation by Myanmar. The humanitarian UN and NGO voices reflect the Rohingya as a victim of the crisis whose rights were violated by Myanmar and a vulnerable group in Bangladesh refugee camps, the place they are displaced to and in Myanmar where they are supposed to return. On the other hand, the Government voices state the Rohingya as a security, economy and environmental threat for the host country, which reflects the crisis as a problem. Similarly, only Government voices reflect Myanmar as obliged to make a successful and voluntary return of the Rohingya from Bangladesh. Thus, the crisis becomes a repatriation issue in Bangladesh. The crisis is also reflected as a humanitarian issue while Bangladesh is given a positive role to the Rohingya through Government, UN and Other government voices.

The discourse study related to RAS identified Western media portraying a social difference between “us” as “morally right” or “insiders” and “them” as “morally wrong” or “outsiders,” in order to constructs Migration as Crime and Terrorism (Arcimaviciene & Baglama, 2018). In this study, this Western media practice is also identified since both Myanmar and Rohingya are constructed as the negative out-groups through voices while Bangladesh is constructed as positive in-group.

The Government was given mostly to the agency in Verbal actions which dominated the representation of Myanmar as obliged to make a successful and voluntary Rohingya repatriation and Rohingya as threat. These representations suggest that as the Rohingya crisis started to create problems in Bangladesh the voluntary return of the Rohingya to Myanmar is the only solution to the crisis. In representing the Rohingya crisis the media only reported what Rohingya do rather than what they say. This process also reflects the imbalance of

power relations between ‘us’ and ‘them’ as claimed by Torkington & Ribeiro, (2018) in their study on ‘Mediterranean migrant crisis’. In brief it can be said that *The Daily Star* fulfilled the national interest during the representation of the Rohingya crisis.

Universiti Malaya

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

The findings of the analysis from chapter four is discussed in this Chapter. The important findings are discussed with reference to some relevant previous studies and background of the study. The objective of this study is to explore how *The Daily Star* used quoted voices to represent the Rohingya crisis. The 'System of Transitivity', one of several SFL tools for linguistic analysis was used in this study to expose how language is utilized to construct the representation in a clause, which demonstrates agency and power of individual participants. The main two research questions of this study are:

RQ 1. What are the transitivity processes involved in the representation of the Rohingya crisis?

RQ 2. What do the representations by the quoted voices say about the Rohingya crisis?

The findings of the study were also compared with previous literature. During the discussion on representation the individual 'Rohingya', will be referred to rather than the collective Rohingyas although they are also referred collectively within the corpus but the most frequent type of referring is 'Rohingya'.

5.2 The use of different voices

In order to foreground different ideological views, the news reports were textured with different voices through direct and indirect reporting. This study reveals the position of the newspaper itself through grammatical and lexical prospects of language used to present significant aspects of reality in relation to the problems raised and proposals made. The most frequent voices of the Bangladesh political leaders dominate the news text with respect to the representation of the Rohingya crisis. The government voice is represented as acting more, saying more or thinking more through the 5 processes in speaking about the crisis. The primary purpose was to demonstrate the ideological viewpoint to the public that the Bangladesh Government advocated at the time, which strengthens the portrayal of the Rohingya as a threat and interprets the reason for what the government is said to have taken a firm stance on Myanmar with regards to the Rohingya repatriation. The government has their own reasons which reinforce their perception of the Rohingya as a threat for Bangladesh and illustrate why they are trying to get exemptions too. Although the voices of the Rohingya are significantly absent, the identified humanitarian UN and NGO voices were speaking on behalf of them, reflecting that they are doing their duty by showing their concern towards the Rohingya. Most significantly their voices represent the crisis as a result of human rights violations by Myanmar, using the material processes. The humanitarian act of Bangladesh towards the Rohingya through voices reflecting the crisis as a humanitarian issue in Bangladesh. Van Dijk (1983) argues news reporting represents the opinion of government organizations, political elites, law enforcement officers and the judiciary by excluding the voice of minority communities.

5.3 The representation of the Rohingyas

The Rohingya is represented under two contrasting representations by the quoted voices: i) a major problem Bangladesh has been dealing with, and ii) a victim of Myanmar persecution and a vulnerable group that needs assistance – each representation expressing distinct interests and accomplishing distinct agendas. The Rohingya were dispossessed of a direct voice and the political elites were given more space to speak, which results in the shifting of the plight of the Rohingya to focus on how their arrival creates problem and threatens the host country (Philo, Briant, & Donald, 2013; Kaleda, 2014; Esses, Medianu & Lawson, 2013; Benson & Wood, 2015; Thorbjørnsrud & Figenschou, 2016; Sumuvuori et al, 2016; Chouliaraki & Zaborowski, 2017; De Cock et al., 2018; Lams, 2018).

A contrasting representation of Rohingya and Myanmar is identified with regards to imbalance in power relations. Myanmar is given negative agency as a violent actor abusing power being a majority group and the Rohingya is given passive agency or victim position of Myanmar's violence being a minority group. The representation of the Rohingya as a victim by activating Myanmar in unlawful acts is mainly identified through the UN and NGO voices. Both the UN and NGO voices used the same percentage of material process during the above representation. The criminalization of Myanmar mostly through gender based violence to the Rohingya girls and women reflects the minority group as helpless, which provides the reason for Bangladesh government's imposition of obligation on Myanmar to make a safe environment in Rakhine to resolve the Rohingya issue. According to Mutua (2001) the highlighting of the weaker members of the crisis, unlike the men, intensifies the vulnerable condition of the victims. Thus, the Rohingya crisis is reflected as a result of human rights violation by Myanmar (Azad and Jasmine, 2013; Crossman, 2014; Abdelkader, 2014; Rahman, 2015; Southwick 2015; Au-on, Trakulkasemsuk & Vungthong, 2017). Except this

the humanitarian UN and NGO voices construct the Rohingya as a passive agent of negative event, which is also reflecting them as a victim of the crisis (Brooten, 2015; Brooten et.al, 2015; Milton et al., 2017), which is also a common framing of refugees in media (Moore et.al, 2012; Brooten 2017; Hein, 2018; Torkington & Ribeiro, 2018; Ubayashiri, 2019).

The Rohingya is also positioned as a passive agent of the actions of Bangladesh through Government voices when Bangladesh is activated in positive actions with the manner of those actions, including '*on humanitarian grounds*', '*in the spirit of humanitarianism*'. Two things are noticed here. Firstly, Bangladesh is activated as a benevolent social actor who respects the ethical responsibility by sheltering the Rohingya. Secondly, the Rohingya are constructed as beneficiaries of the positive actions of Bangladesh, who were once passivated as victims of Myanmar's actions when Myanmar was given negative status. These two contrastive orientations of the Rohingya reflect the contrast between Bangladesh and Myanmar. The latter caused the Rohingya to become vulnerable stateless refugees and the former provided shelter to the Rohingya. And the circumstances of the manner of the actions also suggests that providing shelter to the Rohingya does not mean they are permanently resettled in Bangladesh. Rather they are given shelter on humanitarian grounds as Bangladesh had a similar experience during the Liberation War in 1971. This situation reflects two important aspects. Firstly, it explains the Bangladesh government's positive attitude towards the Rohingya when they first arrive although not equipped to do so (Brooten, 2017). Secondly, it strengthens the position of Bangladesh who did not ratify 1951 UN convention to provide asylum to the refugees. These Circumstances to manners legitimize some of Bangladesh's actions while the Circumstance to cause for those actions is the Rohingya repatriation. The UN and Government itself provide Bangladesh a positive attribute for their positive attitude to the Rohingya and for their contribution in the Rohingya refugee response plan. The

appreciation to the humanitarian actions of Bangladesh and the understanding of the problems Bangladesh is currently suffering due to showing humanity to the Rohingya mainly reflects through Other government voices, which reinforce the positive representation of Bangladesh. Thus, the Rohingya crisis is reflected as a humanitarian issue in Bangladesh. The overall discussions justifying why government voices used material and relational processes in highest percentage of number than rest of the voices.

The humanitarian UN and NGO voices also describe the plight of the Rohingya by giving them agency in Mental actions, whose life is under threat from natural disaster in Bangladesh's Rohingya refugee camps and also in Rakhine state of Myanmar if they return. Their voices also negatively attribute the Rohingya refugee's living condition in a coastal area Cox's Bazar Bangladesh and the conditions in Rakhine state of Myanmar for the voluntary return of the Rohingya where they could make their future. Thus, the Rohingya reflected as a vulnerable group. Two things are observed from this representation. Firstly, the UN expects more international funding for the Rohingya who are suffering in the Bangladesh refugee camps due to their uncertain repatriation to Myanmar. Secondly, both the UN and NGO view the early repatriation process as a security threat for the Rohingya due to Myanmar's inactiveness in providing a safe environment in Rakhine state of Myanmar. Therefore, the UN and NGO voices used the same percentage of mental process and the UN used the highest percentage of relational process than other processes, during the above representation of Rohingya.

Meanwhile, the government voices construct the Rohingya as a threat (Al Imran, 2014) by contributing them to the negative Material agency and being a cause for the country's economic and environmental degradation, which gives the cause for 'keeping them out'.

Criminalization is also expressed while the Rohingya are given agency to their actions through the choice of words including ‘stab’, ‘shot’ and ‘make’, ‘use’ with Goals related to the violation of Bangladesh’s Foreigner act. Here, the Rohingya are given a negative role and Bangladesh is now the victim. Criminalization is also reflected through the agency of government security forces who become involved in the processes related to the punishment or protection for unlawful acts of the Rohingya, including ‘arrest’, ‘propose’ and through the Material event ‘detain’. Two aspects are reflected here. Firstly, the identification of the Rohingya in illegal activities conflated them as dangerous refugees, which explains the need to defend ourselves. Secondly, the securitization of refugees as threats is used as a tool to legitimize the act of expelling them from the country or to return them home (Pickering, 2004; Ibrahim, 2005), which illustrates the lack of a comprehensive refugee policy in Bangladesh and the government’s hostile treatment towards them, particularly the Rohingya repatriation deal. This elimination practice to the Rohingya is not surprising as Bangladesh has not uphold the UN Refugee Convention as well as has firmly held its positions over the repatriation since 1992. The above discussion justifying the effect of the highest percentage of material process of the government voices.

In the current study the government voices were also identified as attributing the Rohingya with negative attributes mostly related to their numbers as a refugee in Bangladesh. The common attributes are including ‘burden’, ‘problem’, and ‘challenge’ in the context of Rohingya refugees affecting the host country Bangladesh. This kind of problematic representation of refugees is a very common strategy used by the media (O’Doherty & Lecouteur, 2007; Gedalof, 2007; Innes, 2010; Rasinger, 2010; Bradimore & Bauder, 2011; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001; Van Dijk 2005; Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008; KhosraviNik, 2009, 2010; Arcimaviciene & Baglama, 2018), most critically by the media of host countries rather

than the non-host countries (Abid, Manan, & Rahman, 2017). The construction of a huge number of Rohingya as a problem and threat for the host country reflected the crisis as a 'Problem'. The most significant aspect is reflecting here. The reproduction of refugees or asylum seekers (RAS) with stereotypical 'uncontrollable danger' to self in the news contributes to legitimizing restrictive government policies (Nguyen & McCallum, 2016), which explains Bangladesh's Rohingya repatriation deal on 23 November 2017 with Myanmar. Thus, government voices used the highest percentage of relational process than other voices in order to justify their position towards Rohingya repatriation process.

In brief, the Rohingya are impersonalized, passivized and are not given voice during their social representation involved in the Rohingya crisis (2017-2019). These processes also reflect the imbalance of power relations between 'us' and 'them' and therefore reflects the findings of other studies which points to the imbalance power relations between 'us' Europeans, and 'them', as claimed by Torkington & Ribeiro, (2018) in their study on 'Mediterranean migrant crisis'.

Myanmar is a human rights violator, who performed violence to the Rohingya as discussed before with the discussion on Rohingya representation. Myanmar is given agency over the Rohingya, which reflects their power over a minority group. Thus, the Rohingya crisis is a result of human rights violations by Myanmar. Myanmar has another type of representation based on obligation to 'take back' or 'return' the Rohingya under the Rohingya repatriation deal with Bangladesh. This particular representation is mainly constructed through government voices, where different political leaders talked about the obligation on Myanmar by using modal auxiliary verbs with the base form of verbs, which foreground their ideological positions regarding the Rohingya repatriation. In order to make a successful and voluntary 2017 Rohingya repatriation, Myanmar is obliged to positive actions while the

beneficiaries of their actions are the Rohingya. Two things are observed here. Firstly, the government is given verbal agency which reflects their power over the guilty country Myanmar to make a safe environment in Myanmar's Rakhine state in respect of voluntary repatriation of the Rohingya. That is also explaining the inability of the Bangladesh government as the host countries are not allowed to repatriate refugees forcefully or involuntarily since doing so is considered as equal to 'acquiescing to ethnic cleansing' (Bradley, 2014, p. 122). Secondly, we can observe here how the context as well as the political interests can be responsible for the shift in refugee representation, which also could give the government a positive image (Don & Lee, 2014). Thus the crisis became a repatriation issue in Bangladesh.

5.4 Comparison of findings with past studies

The negative representation of Myanmar in the context of the Rohingya crisis is not surprising in the media of the host country of the refugees, namely Bangladesh. The negative representation of the countries of origin of the refugee crisis reflecting their violation of human rights of the minority group is identified with several scholars (Elsamni, 2016; Melvin, 2016; Shah and Hume 2016; Labott 2016). The using of the words, including *ethnic cleansing*, *genocide*, *violence* by the media of host country is also a common strategy to describe the violence on the RAS and to represent their country of origin negatively (Dussich, 2018). The identified representation of the Rohingya as a vulnerable group who faced brutal persecution in their own country of origin and were in need of humanitarian help and aid to survive in the host country is also one of the common representations of host country media (Bunyan, 2015; Horsti, 2013; Steimel, 2010). These kinds of orientation of the country of origin of the refugee crisis and for the RAS were also identified in this study.

In this study the construction of the Rohingya with the use of lexical choice of terms like ‘burden’ and ‘challenge’ also reflects the presence of the Rohingya as the country's security, environmental and economic development threat, similar findings with regards to refugees (e.g. Klocker and Dunn 2003; Baker & McEnery, 2005; McKay et al. 2011; Elsamni, 2016; Ubayasiri, 2019; Cartner, 2009; Hanson-Easey and Augoustinos, 2010). These negative representations of the Rohingya through government voices reinforce the Rohingya crisis as a problem in Bangladesh. Similarly, the portrayal of RAS as a security and cultural threat for the host country is undoubtedly a common strategy used by most of the Western media to prevent their entry or to develop different policy (O’Doherty & Lecouteur, 2007; Gedalof, 2007; Bradimore & Bauder, 2011; Teo, 2000; Cartner, 2009; Hanson-Easey and Augoustinos, 2010; Lueck, Due and Augoustinos, 2015; Malkki, 1996; Van Gorp, 2005; Rasinger 2010; Innes 2010; Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017). In the West the media constructs the RAS as a threat from the time they arrive rather than administrative aspects of coping with the arrivals. Similar practice is identified in this study during the Rohingya refugee representation in the media of the host country.

The Western media were identified to portray RASIM using securitisation issues, to which the press grants attention to only the mention of the control of the border (e.g. Caviades, 2015; KhosraviNik, 2009; Charteris-Black, 2006; Bailey & Harindranath, 2005; Barclay et al., 2003). In this study the securitisation of Rohingya refugees as threats is also identified mostly through the government voices. In Western media the RAS is stripped of a direct voice, the political elites were given as much of forum space, turning the suffering and personal experiences of the RAS into a concern on how their arrival causes an ‘European crisis’ (Teo, 2000; Philo, Briant, & Donald, 2013; Kaleda, 2014; Benson & Wood, 2015; Thorbjørnsrud & Figenschou, 2016; Sumuvuori et al, 2016; Greussing & Boomgaarden,

2017; Chouliaraki & Zaborowski, 2017; Torkington & Ribeiro, 2018; Lams, 2018; De Cock et al., 2018).

According to previous literature, the discourse study related to RAS identified Western media portraying a societal difference between “us” as “morally right” or “insiders” and “them” as “morally wrong” or “outsiders,” in order to constructs Migration as Crime and Terrorism (Arcimaviciene & Baglama, 2018; Van Dijk, 1997; Mehan, 1997; Lynn & Lea, 2003; van den Berg, et al., 2003; Lynn & Lea, 2005). It is interesting that the Asian media have similar practices as Western media. In this study, both Myanmar and Rohingya are constructed as the negative out-groups through voices while Bangladesh is constructed as positive in-group.

Both the Western and South-East Asian media were identified to represent the refugee host nation as either a ‘savior’ of the refugees (Brooten, 2015; Mustafa & Pilus, 2020; Ehmer & Kothari, 2020) or their own nation (Idrus & Ismailb, 2013). Depending on the social context sometimes it is also represented as a ‘victim’ of the refugee crisis (Firtova, 2019; Ubayasiri, 2019). In this study the Rohingya refugee host nation Bangladesh is identified as the savior of this vulnerable group.

5.5 Concluding remarks

In conclusion, this study reveals how *The Daily Star* represents the Rohingya crisis to the public of Bangladesh after the Rohingya repatriation deal between Bangladesh and Myanmar. This study mainly deals with quoted voices in *The Daily Star* since the media reported different voices during the coverage of the Rohingya crisis. One of the mechanisms employed in news coverage to distinguish itself from the facts assertions of the report. The transitivity analysis of different voices shows what the representations say about the Rohingya crisis using the discourse strategies. The Sayer under the Verbal processes are

sometimes expressed in a nominal group (namely *Prime Minister, State Minister, UN Resident Coordinator, US Secretary of State*), which is helping to express their views from the individual institution they belong to.

Here, quoted voices perform a vital role in sustaining the stereotypical representations of the Rohingya crisis, that it is the result of a human rights violation by Myanmar, a humanitarian issue in Bangladesh. Most interestingly the representations of the Rohingya with a moral panic and Myanmar as obliged to make a successful and voluntary Rohingya repatriation comes through government voices. Thus, the crisis is represented as a problem in Bangladesh and becomes a repatriation issue in order to solve the problem. This concurrently matches the demands of the text producers and being relevant to current political interest. Thus, *The Daily Star* reflects the ideology of the government regarding the Rohingya crisis.

The media favor the government by providing them an agency in verbal actions to represent the Rohingya negatively and Myanmar as obliged to make a successful and voluntary Rohingya repatriation, throughout *The Daily Star* corpus. Myanmar is represented as the perpetrator for their actions to the victim Rohingya through UN and NGO voices. The humanitarian UN and NGO voices also identified the Rohingya as a vulnerable group. In brief, the media represents the ideology of individual institutions in need of the societal situation with a common positive representation of Bangladesh through all four types of voices. This suits the Western media practice of portraying a societal difference between “us” as “morally right” or “insiders” and “them” as “morally wrong” or “outsiders,” (Arcimaviciene & Baglama, 2018).

When the Rohingya crisis is represented as a repatriation issue in Bangladesh the Rohingya are given passive roles through the government voices and they are deprived of Material and

verbal agency to do or to say anything, which makes them powerless. Moreover, in representing the Rohingya crisis the media only reported what Rohingya do rather than what they say. This process also reflects the imbalance of power relations between ‘us’ and ‘them’ (Torkington & Ribeiro, 2018). The agentive power is only given to the Bangladesh government officials, security forces, UN, NGO and Other government officials by providing them agency in verbal actions in the context of the Rohingya crisis. This process only happens when the social context demands their voices most significantly.

5.6 Summary

In this chapter the key findings from the analysis in Chapter 4 were discussed with reference to the previous studies in relation to refugee or discourse investigation. The findings were also discussed to compare with the studies so far done on refugees in the West. The personal interpretation and understanding regarding the findings were also presented in this chapter.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

This concluding chapter will demonstrate the conclusion concerning this study. At first the synopsis of the research objective and questions as well as how the study attempted to address them will be provided in section 6.2. Then, section 6.3 will present the summary of the important findings as discussed in Chapter 4-5. Gradually, section 6.4, 6.5 and 6.6 will present limitations of the study due to the research scope adopted for this study, implication for policy regarding refugees in Bangladesh depending on the findings of the study and implications for future research in refugee or discourse studies.

6.2 Research aim and design

The objective of this study is to explore how *The Daily Star* used quoted voices to represent the Rohingya crisis. In relation to achieving the above mentioned study aim, the following two research questions will be addressed in this study.

RQ 1. What are the transitivity processes involved in the representation of the Rohingya crisis?

RQ 2. What do the representations by the quoted voices say about the Rohingya crisis?

The Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) formed the research plan or design. The media texts were collected and analyzed to accomplish the research aim, from the highly circulated English language newspaper of Bangladesh, namely *The Daily Star*. Firstly, the media texts were analyzed using a simple concordance program software AntConc (version 3.5.8) in order to identify voices: Government, UN, NGO and Other government. The identified voices were then selected to analyze using the ‘transitivity system’ of analysis. The

‘transitivity system’ is a tool of analysis, which distinguishes different types of verb processes from English clauses. Fairclough (1992), described transitivity as nothing more than a systemic linguistic expression for discovering the conceptual features of grammar mostly at the clause level. Fairclough (2003) states verb functions to foreground agency which contributes to the representation of power.

6.3 Main findings

Chapter 4 demonstrated the findings from the discourse analysis of media text. The findings were discussed in chapter 5. Thematically, the representations were identified within certain key frames: (i) Myanmar as negative (ii) Myanmar as obliged to make a successful and voluntary return of the Rohingya (iii) Rohingya as problem (iv) Rohingya as victim (v) Bangladesh as positive. When Rohingya were represented as a problem, the discourse identified them as a threat, economic and environmental burden for Bangladesh. Conversely, the representation of Rohingya as victims highlighted their vulnerability and helplessness, requiring safeguards from a good Other.

6.4 Closing remarks

Throughout, *The Daily Star* corpus Myanmar is constructed under Material and relational processes. However, sometimes it activated Myanmar using passive forms. Myanmar as negative and as obliged to make a successful and voluntary return of the Rohingya both two types of representation for Myanmar reflect the anti-Myanmar perspective of the media. This type of representation says that since the Rohingya crisis was created by Myanmar it is bound to solve it. During the negative representation of Myanmar, the voices only mentioned their actions have not explained why Myanmar performed these actions. Thus, the readers only get one side of the reality. According to Philo and Berry (2010) this kind of incomplete representation or interpretation is used to make an impact on the reader's opinion and beliefs.

Following Fairclough (1989) and Van Leeuwen (1999) in this kind of representation Myanmar became a causal agent of the conflict who initiated the Rohingya crisis. In this way *The Daily Star* attempts to put all condemnation on Myanmar.

The Rohingya are also constructed under Material, Relational and Mental processes. The contrasting representation of the Rohingya as a problem and victim fulfilling *The Daily Star's* intention of reflecting 'negative others'. The crisis is represented as a problem in Bangladesh whereas Bangladesh is also constructed with humanitarian actions, reflecting the positive representation. The Rohingya were activated as an active actor who is creating violence in their host country Bangladesh. The attributes used for them also reflect them as economic, security and environmental threats in Bangladesh. Such kind of representation comes out through government voices, reflecting the Rohingya crisis as a major problem requiring a quick solution. The most frequent government voices and its representation for the Rohingya crisis as a problem in Bangladesh and the voluntary return of the Rohingya to Myanmar as the only solution to the crisis satisfying the national perspective.

However, the Rohingya representation as a victim also constructed through the humanitarian UN and NGO voices, those are the less frequent voices among others. Their voices constructed the death of the Rohingya with a passive process instead of a direct Myanmar military attack. For example, *6,700 Rohingyas were killed, women and girls have been killed, Rohingya Muslims have been killed*. Amer (2009) alludes that this type of representation may reduce the intensity of seriousness with regards to destruction and killing.

6.5 Limitations of the study

This study addresses a literature gap on Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh, by exploring how the Rohingya crisis is represented in one of the prominent newspapers of Bangladesh

The Daily Star. The conflicting representation of the Rohingya crisis is identified through different voices reported in *The Daily Star*. The positive representation for the in group Bangladesh and shifted representation of Myanmar and Rohingya through voices reflects the ideological position of the media.

The narrow focus on just one selective broadsheet newspaper, namely the country's largest circulating English language newspaper, which is published for the English-educated elite limits the study objective. In doing so, two other most significant news media of Bangladesh were omitted from this study including the vernacular press and a small number of Cox's Bazar and Rohingya-focused alternative media such as *Coxsazar vision* and *Rohingya Vision*. This study is confined by the number of newspapers due to the constraints of time and availability of sources, which reduces the generalizability regarding the representation of the Rohingya crisis in Bangladesh. Although, it provides an opportunity for an in-depth discussion of the narrowly defined media data set at the core of this investigation.

6.6 Implications for Policy

Following the outcomes of this study, I recognize certain main sectors for reforms in policy regarding refugees in Bangladesh:

- Bangladesh requires ratification of the UN Convention regarding the Status of Refugees and its Protocol if it desires to be sincere about respecting its promises to sustain the rights of every people under its border.
- The ratification can provide the displaced community an identity and can govern what rights they can have. As a preliminary step, it would assist in the beginning of the procedure of rectifying prejudiced discourses and representations of refugees already existing in public discourse.

- An organized refugee management Government policy can ensure the needs of the refugee community, apart from the UNHCR. This can also solve the problem faced by the local or host community due to the Rohingya crisis.

6.7 Implications for future research

Grounded on the limitations of the study as stated in section 6.5, future studies could incorporate various types of newspaper to investigate their ideological differences, including tabloids vs. broadsheets or liberal vs. conservative on the other both tabloids, broadsheets, liberal and alternative newspapers together to explore their ideological stands, during the representation of the Rohingya crisis in Bangladesh. This particular research exemplifies how unequal power relations are eternalized in a particular broadsheet media, these findings may help to elaborate future research on similar areas to explore the contrast or comparison in representations among other types of newspapers. The future research is also encouraged to investigate how the conflicting representation of the Rohingya crisis through quoted voices in the media influence the public discourse in Bangladesh.

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