The representation of the Rohingya refugee crisis: A comparative analysis of newspapers in Bangladesh, Myanmar, the UK and the USA

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Abstract:

This PhD proposal aims to conduct a comparative qualitative content analysis of 100 news stories related to the Rohingya refugee crisis published in eight daily newspapers titled *The Daily Star, The Daily Naya Diganta, The Myanmar Times, The New Light of Myanmar, The New York Times, The Chicago Tribune, The Telegraph* and *The Guardian* respectively from Bangladesh, Myanmar, the UK and the USA. The objectives of this research are to identify numerous framing patterns of the representation of the Rohingya refugee crisis, to explore similarities as well as differences among various types of framing and to discover whether political ideologies of the selected newspapers somehow influenced the framing criteria of those selected stories. However, the expected outcome of this study is to create awareness about various media framing of the Rohingya refugee crisis and numerous factors responsible for those framing.

Keywords:
The Rohingya refugee crisis, Media framing, Media representation, Qualitative content analysis, News media.

Type of the project:

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1. **Introduction: (justification of its importance, novelty, and academic relevance)**

At present, Bangladeshi citizens are facing immense problems due to the 21st century’s worst Rohingya refugee crisis. While talking about the Rohingya refugees Shams argues, “predominantly living in the Rakhine State of Myanmar, the Rohingyas have been persecuted for years. Since the 1970s, several crackdowns driven by the Buddhist majority in Myanmar have forced hundreds of thousands of Rohingyas to flee to various neighbouring countries such as Bangladesh, India and Malaysia” (Shams 2017). However, in 2017, Rohingyas faced a military clampdown, termed ethnic cleansing and a crime against humanity, which forced more than 750,000 of them to flee to neighboring Bangladesh (Khaliq 2019), seeking safety and protection. Thus, the total number of refugees increased to 860,356 as of June 2020 (ReliefWeb 2020).

Although this is not the first time that Rohingya refugees are entering into Bangladesh as Rohingyas were flee to Bangladesh from Myanmar in 1978 and in between 1991-1992, but that time the situation was under control. Only a few thousands of Rohingyas were left in Bangladesh that time and the rest other Rohingyas were successfully repatriated to Myanmar with the aid of UNHCR. Unfortunately at present the situation is possibly worst and peoples from different parts of the world are considering the contemporary Rohingya crisis as the result of genocide. Now the question arises that why global leaders and peoples from several countries are seeing the present Rohingya refugee crisis as genocide? Lupel (2013) mentioned,

Article II of the 1948 Convention states that genocide includes acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious groups. And such acts could be one of the following: (a) killing members of the group (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group and (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group (Lupel 2013, 25).

Rohingyas started to flee from their own country to Bangladesh and some other countries because of ongoing torture, killing, rape, forcible eviction from their own land etc. Hence it would not be wrong to consider the Rohingya refugees as victims of genocide. As the recent Rohingya refugee crisis has become a noteworthy question of the violation of human rights as well, experts, scholars and global leaders from numerous parts of the world have already started expressing their concern regarding this issue but this is really indispensable to hear Rohingya refugee voices regarding their problems which are until now missing in several ways. As Olney
contended, “a glaring feature of the current Rohingya humanitarian crises is the international community’s failure to include the affected population in even the most cursory decision making processes. This exclusion is unfortunate, for those who bear the brunt of conflict often possess the most nuanced and practical ideas about solutions” (Olney 2018, 33).

Nonetheless, the media can play a pivotal role in creating awareness regarding the Rohingya refugee crisis by including the voices of the Rohingya refugees along with portraying various aspects of the existing Rohingya refugee crisis so that this crisis can be resolved as soon as possible. Unfortunately, despite the fact that the Rohingya refugee crisis drew the attention of peoples from different corners of the globe, the representation of the Rohingya refugee crisis in the media is relatively controversial like the representation of other refugees and asylum seekers in the media. As a result the Rohingya refugee crisis is worsening day by day and the prevailing Rohingya refugee crisis is creating numerous economic, social and political problems in Bangladesh.

In this backdrop it is crucial to understand the role of media in representing the Rohingya refugee crisis, various media framing of the Rohingya refugee crisis, differences and similarities among those framing patterns and possible reasons of particular media framing about this crisis. One of the best possible ways to recognize all the aforementioned factors is academic research about the Rohingya refugee crisis. Although in the meantime some researchers conducted research about the representation of the Rohingya refugee crisis in media, the data acquired from those researches are insufficient and comparative analysis among media coverage in different territories are until now unavailable.

Therefore I have chosen “The representation of the Rohingya refugee crisis: A comparative analysis of newspapers in Bangladesh, Myanmar, the UK and the USA” as my research topic. My study aims to examine numerous framing patterns of the representation of the Rohingya refugee crisis in Bangladeshi, Myanmar, the UK and the USA newspapers and intends to explore the similarities and differences among various framing patterns. In addition, my study will try to explore whether numerous framing patterns are somehow influenced by the political ideology of selected newspapers. All these needs would be addressed through the qualitative content analysis of 100 regular news stories published in eight newspapers from Bangladesh, Myanmar, the UK
and the USA. Hence it is expected that if this research is conducted, it will reveal several social, political, geographical, cultural, and religious factors that influence various framing patterns of the Rohingya refugee news in the media. Additionally, as there is a lack of academic research on media framing of refugees in Asian countries, from the knowledge perspective, I believe my study would contribute to further research related to the media framing of refugees by providing necessary information and literature.

Moreover, by presenting sufficient information regarding the framing patterns of left- and right-wing newspapers regarding the Rohingya refugee crisis and by revealing why or how any specific ideology influences the media framing of news stories, the findings of my research will aid the citizens and journalists to comprehend that whether the political ideology of media outlets and their origins influence media contents by manipulation, distortion and biasness. However, if this study can raise awareness among citizens, political parties, media outlets, governments, and journalists about the aforementioned issue, in that case media outlets, journalists and governments would take initiatives to represent the Rohingya refugee crisis authentically in the media. As a result, the world leaders would become more aware of the Rohingya refugee crisis, and they may encourage the Myanmar government to take back Rohingya refugees by ensuring their safety and citizenship, which will enhance the living standard of Rohingya refugees, and the world leaders may also come forward to assist the Bangladeshi government in all possible ways to solve this crisis. In this case, the government of Bangladesh, along with its citizens, would definitely be benefited as the prevailing Rohingya refugee crisis has become a serious burden for a small, developing and over-populated country like Bangladesh.

2. **State of the art of the topic**: (literature review & theoretical framework)

2.1 **Theoretical framework (Framing as theoretical framework)**:

My study will use ‘Framing theory’ as theoretical framework in order to answer the research questions. According to Goffman (1974), “framing is a part of our life experience that enables us to locate, perceive, identify, and label while processing information or events, and classifies the schemata of interpretation into natural and societal frames” (Goffman 1974, 20-21). Additionally, Edelman (1993) contends that framing can be considered as a way of exploring the
factor that how our observations are framed or categorized through the influence of dominant ideology and prejudice and how our perceptions helps to alter our social reality (Edelman 1993, 221).

Entman (1993) describes framing as “a process of selecting and giving salience to some part of reality while communicating to the audience, to serve the purpose of defining a problem, providing interpretation, moral evaluation, or recommendation” (Entman 1993, 52). On the other hand, Fischer and Johnson (1986) discusses, “framing offers a cognitive means of processing and storing information in a structured way that allows recipients to prioritize some part of information over others in their mental resources and helps them understand various events, and form opinions regarding those” (Fischer and Johnson 1986, 55–65).

Gitlin (1980) further argues, “media frames are tools that both news media professionals and audiences use to contextualize information” (Gitlin 1980, 6-7). However, Scheufele (1999) illuminated that numerous factors can influence the media frame building process of a country (Scheufele 1999, 115). Shoemaker and Reese further validated the aforementioned idea by discussing numerous factors in their book. They underscored several factors such as ethics and values of journalists, policy structures of different organizations, work schedule of journalists, competition in markets, media controlling power of the government and several pressures from various stakeholders in order to explain that how news framing can be influenced by multiple factors (Shoemaker and Reese 1996, 1-272). That is why, I have decided to use framing theory as theoretical framework for my study.

2.2 Literature review (Framing of refugees in media):

Van Gorp (2005) analyzed the contents of eight Belgian newspapers in order to expose the portrayal of refugees. His study revealed that most common or dominant frame of depicting refugees in those newspapers are ‘victim’ and ‘intruder’ (Van Gorp, 2005). Van Gorp mentioned in his study that while portraying refugees as ‘victims’ newspapers represented them as helpless, poor peoples or victims of any violence. On the other hand, while representing refugees as ‘intruders’ those newspapers focused on the issue that refugees would be involved in different
criminal activities and they might be threatening for the local peoples (Van Gorp 2005, 491). The study also revealed framing differences in various regions of Belgium (Van Gorp 2015, 503).

Dimitrova, Ozdora-Aksak, and Connolly-Ahern (2018) conducted comparative content analysis of Turkish and Bulgarian newspapers regarding the representation of Syrian refugees in those newspapers. Their study revealed that ‘victim frame’ was used more frequently in Turkish newspapers and ‘administrative frame’ was used more recurrently in Bulgarian newspapers while representing Syrian refugees. In their study the ‘victim frame’ emphasized on the poor living conditions, lack of treatment facilities, lack of food and educational opportunities of Syrian refugees or any crimes committed by refugees whereas the ‘administrative frame’ concentrated on local bureaucracy, management of expatriates or legal status of refugees (Dimitrova, Ozdora-Aksak, and Connolly-Ahern 2018, 538).

Besides, Nickels (2007) conducted another study in Luxembourg titled “Framing Asylum Discourse in Luxembourg”. That study suggested that four frames were mainly used for depicting asylum seekers in Luxemburg such as administrative frame, genuineness frame, human dignity frame, and return home frames (Nickels 2007, 37-59). Among these four frames the study emphasized more on the ‘return home’ frames highlighting the issue that asylum seekers should not be permitted to stay in Luxemburg for a long times as it would create further accommodation crisis in Luxemburg. Moreover, this study suggested that if the asylum seekers do not willingly go back to their own country, it won’t be wrong to deport them powerfully from Luxemburg (Nickels 2007, 52-53).

In addition, Hoewe (2018) conducted another content analysis of the US newspapers and international news media in order to disclose the various crisis of misrepresentation of refugees in the media. Her study suggested that in many cases US newspapers tends to obscure the terms ‘immigrants’ and ‘refugees’ (Hoewe, 2018). Hoewe’s study also included a test in order to show that whether American news consumers are somehow influenced by the coverage of refugees in the media while formulating various policies. Nonetheless, the study result showed that news consumers of different political ideologies in the US were not discriminating refugees and immigrants regarding any policy issue (Hoewe 2018, 478).
Tirosh (2018) analyzed several newspapers published in Israel in order to show that how media can play a controversial role while portraying refugees and how this debatable portrayal affects the real life situations of refugees. Tirosh disclosed the issue that the government of Israel repeatedly labeled refugees as illegitimate, pecuniary migrants or spies. Tirosh argued, “these clashing narratives related to refugees are mediated in a non-neutral environment in which newspapers estrange refugees through intrinsic professional capabilities” (Tirosh 2018, 417).

Moreover, Sunata and Yıldız (2018) scrutinized more than one thousand news articles in order to expose the representation of Syrian refugees in Turkish media. Their study discovered that Turkish media represented Syrian refugees as victims, criminals and charitable relief seekers (Sunata and Yıldız 2018, 129-151).

Parker (2015) examined 40 newspaper articles from the UK and Australia in order to explore that how newspapers in UK and Australia represented refugees or asylum seekers and whether those newspapers were successful in fulfilling their motive through certain type of framing of refugees or asylum seekers. The findings of his study revealed that there are some similarities in the framing criteria of the representation of refugees and asylum seekers between the UK and Australian newspapers. For example, all of the selected news articles portrayed refugees or asylum seekers as ‘criminal’, ‘unwanted invader’ or ‘tragic’ human beings by using several metaphors such as ‘water’, ‘flood’ or ‘over flowed’ (Parker 2015, 6-9). By doing so selected news articles from the UK and Australia depicted refugees as dreadful to the global peoples and local citizens of those countries. Despondently “A recurring theme in the forty articles was the unwanted invader repertoire. Here the asylum seeker or refugee is positioned as actively unwanted; as someone to be fearful of, in contrast to the passive majority of the country” (ibid. 6).

However, Parker found in his study that the ideological inventories varied in the UK and Australia newspapers regarding the aforementioned issue. For instance, whereas the Australian newspapers constructed the image of refugees in such a ways that their presence is unexpected in Australia, the UK newspapers emphasized on the fact that refugees and asylum seekers need to be evicted from the host country as soon as possible (Parker 10-12). As a result refugees and asylum seekers suffer from identity crisis. Parker discussed, “the use of such discursive
constructions also appears to be legitimizing the Australian Government’s offshore processing policies and contributes a strong message that these asylum seekers will never belong in Australia” (ibid. 14).

Moreover, the study results showed that while using the ‘tragic’ frame all newspaper articles highlighted numerous positive initiatives taken by their governments regarding refugee crisis instead of focusing on real sufferings and crisis of refugees and asylum seekers. “While an ideological dilemma was created through the use of the tragic person repertoire, this was more common in the UK articles. In most cases the primary focus was on those who were fleeing wars, rather than focusing on the experiences of those who have, or are, seeking asylum in the respective countries” (Parker 2015, 9).

Furthermore, some studies have examined the contents of Canadian newspapers where they identified some specific framing patterns of Syrian refugees such as clash, household, residency, and amenities. The study results revealed that the framing patterns of refugees changes time to time. For instance, the ‘clash frame’ was central before 2015. But ‘victim frame’ was dominant after 2015 (Wallace 2018, 227).

2.3 Literature review (Framing of the Rohingya refugees in media):

There is no notable work or study until now regarding the comparative analysis of the representation of Rohingya refugee crisis in Bangladeshi, Myanmar and global newspapers. However, some researches worked on this issue in a dispersed way. For instance, Islam (2018) conducted a study regarding this issue where he selected six newspapers published in China, India and Bangladesh. Md Islam found in his study that Bangladeshi newspapers used the ‘human interest frame’ in several times whereas Indian newspapers emphasized on the ‘security frame’. On the other hand, Chinese newspapers were more prone to use ‘conflict frame’ while depicting Rohingya refugees. Islam argued, “news reports that represent the crisis using the conflict frame refer to the Rohingya crisis as a clash between Rohingya people and Myanmar law enforcement agencies including army or clash between Rohingya and Buddhists” (Islam 2018, 28). Islam further added, “news reports that represent the crisis using the human interest frame focuses on the human rights abuse of the Myanmar army such as murder, rape and burning
down houses of Rohingya and news reports that represent the crisis using the security frame portrays Rohingya refugees as a threat to national security, focusing on illegal border crossing and their links with extremist groups” (Islam 2018, 28-30).

Awan (2016) conducted another research on the editorial opinions of newspapers published in Pakistan, the UK and the USA. Naeem Afzal Awan discussed, “the editorial staff of the selected newspapers has adopted a similar stance in representing the crisis, i.e. pro-Rohingya Muslim monitory, anti-Buddhist majority anti-Myanmar ruling elite” (Awan 2016, 96).

Besides, Wadud conducted a study titled “How Narratives of Rohingya Refugees Shifted in Bangladesh Media” in 2020. Wadud contended in his study that “there are similarities in the coverage of all media outlets studied when they frame Rohingya as economic burden. The major narratives are: sky rocketing of necessity foods, impact on tourism and high cost on local natural resources” (Wadud 2020, 29). Mushfique Wadud further mentioned, “some news outlets build a narrative that Rohingya women are uneducated and does not use birth control, which runs the risk of baby booming in Bangladesh” (Wadud 2020, 29).

Moreover, Lisa Brooten conducted a study in 2013 where she examined some news reports of Reuters along with several blog posts of English media. Findings and results of her study exposed that journalists have a common tendency to represent Rohingya refugees as victims or criminals. “This analysis finds that the savage-victim-savior tropes emerge clearly in the Reuters reports, including the extension of the savior-as-white-foreigner frame to include not only politicians, aid workers and relief officials, but also journalists, a construction both reinforced and challenged by the existence of alternative perspectives online” (Brooten 2015, 132-133).

In addition, Rahman & Nova conducted a study on four Bangladeshi daily newspapers where they focused on the representation of Rohingya refugee women in four Bangladeshi newspapers. The findings and results of their study suggested that all of the selected newspapers depicted Rohingya women as helpless or victims of rape and other types of crimes. Unfortunately none of those newspapers emphasized on the fundamental rights of Rohingya refugee women in their news stories (Rahman, Md. Ragib and Janifar Kamal Nova 2020, 55-58).
Besides, Kanaker, Abughazli and Kasmani conducted another study in 2020 where they found that while portraying Rohingya refugee crisis, BBC and Aljazeera often used ‘powerless frame’ and ‘responsibility frame’. Their study revealed that “Aljazeera and BBC framed their news of the Rohingya minority by focusing on incidents, rather than drawing the bigger picture of the crisis. The news of the Rohingya minority crisis was framed to present struggle and agonies. It ignored the right of the Rohingya to peaceful life and recognized citizenship” (Kanaker, Abughazli, and Kasmani 2020, 11).

Siddharth Chadha, Ma Y, Pan Z, Yu F, Shi Y and Siu YY conducted a research in 2018 about the identity constructions of Rohingya refugees in the Western conventional media. They analyzed the content of 50 news articles published in Western mainstream media related to Rohingya refugees and three interviews of two experts and one Rohingya refugee family taken by them. In addition, they examined several secondary data such as images, literature and videos related to this issue. They found that Western media portrayed Rohingya refugees as stateless, helpless, desperate, vulnerable, regretful and victim of inhuman activities caused by Myanmar military and authorities. Findings of their study demonstrated that Western media depicted Rohingya refugees in such a way that they are too helpless or weak to protest against any torture or to change their fate. As a result they accepted all kinds of torture and misbehave against them and flee from Myanmar to Bangladesh and a few other countries. On the other hand, the three interview results revealed that this kind of representation of Rohingya refugees are in fact one sided. Because Rohingya refugees are neither desperate nor sad rather they failed to achieve/get the recognition of their identity because of the controversial policy of the Maynmar government and they were bound to leave their homeland because of several tortures. Although Rohingya refugees are confused about the real reason of their present situation and their identity crisis after living so many years in Maynmar, until now they are optimistic about their future and many of them believes that one day their problem would be solved and they would be able to go back to Maynmar. But mainstream Western media ignored this reality and represented Rohingya refugees in a stereotypical ways. The researchers explained, “the depictions and representations of Rohingyas should not only be one-sided. The mainstream media had shown part of the lives, beliefs, and attitudes of Rohingyas but still, some were not shown. The images and
representations of Rohingyas were heavily sloped by which the public did not gain the comprehensive image of Rohingyas” (Chadha et al. 2018, 10).

Isti’anah scrutinized the headlines of 20 news stories published in one Bangladeshi and another Burmese newspaper. They employed critical discourse analysis as their research method for analyzing 20 headlines of news stories about Rohingya refugees. The study exposed that Bangladesh and Myanmar emphasized on different topics in their headlines. Myanmar newspaper used the word ‘Refugee’ instead of ‘Rohingyas’ in news headlines and focused on positive initiatives taken by the Myanmar government regarding the Rohingya refugee crisis. “However, the term refugee instead of Rohingyas is chosen to hide the issue acknowledged by the world. The newspaper does not explicitly mention Rohingyas in order to avoid sympathy from the leaders. Moreover, Maynmar media shows neglect of Rhingya by not mentioning the term” (Isti’anah 2018, 21). Moreover, the Maynmar newspaper used ‘illegal’, ‘terrorism’, ‘threat’ these type of words in their news headlines in order to represent Rohingya refugees as global threat for peace and security. The researcher clarified the issue that this kind of focus in news headline is intentional as the Myanmar media in until now under the complete control of the Maynmar government. However, the study revealed that whereas the Burmese newspaper intentionally avoided the word ‘Rohingya’ in their news headlines, the Bangladeshi newspaper used the word ‘Rohingya’ again and again in news headlines in order to capture the attention of the global leaders so that they becomes more aware of this crisis and come forward to help the Bangladeshi government. Besides, the Bangladeshi newspaper tried to exhibit positive attitudes of Bangladeshi government regarding Rohingya refugees by emphasizing on the ‘actor’ frame in news headlines (ibid. 21).

On the other hand, Awny studied 253 news articles related to Rohingya refugees published in two Bangladeshi and two Indian newspapers from August 2017 to December 2017. The objectives of her study were to determine various news framing, expose widely used news frames in both countries regarding the issue and whether the framing of the Rohingya refugee news is somehow related to different news sources. The study revealed some similarities as well as some differences in framing criteria of Bangladeshi and Indian newspapers. For instance, although news articles published in Bangladeshi and Indian newspapers used ‘return home’
frame and ‘administrative’ frame while representing Rohingya refugees, ‘victim’ frame was more common in Bangladeshi newspapers, and ‘invader’ frame and ‘criminal’ frames were dominant news frames in Indian newspapers. Besides, this study suggested that religion, diplomatic relationship with Myanmar, foreign policy, cultural proximity all of these factors somehow affected the news coverage of the Rohingya refugees. As Awny argued in her study,

The large number of refugees in Bangladeshi camps, the presence of many aid groups, and the miserable living conditions of the Rohingya peoples in the refugee camps were reflected in the coverage of Bangladeshi newspapers. On the other hand, the heated political debate regarding the legal status of the Rohingya refugees in India and the concern among government officials regarding the nation’s internal security were more reflected in the coverage of the issue in the India newspapers (Awny 2019, 36).

Nonetheless, the study results also disclosed that Bangladesh and India used different news sources to cover the Rohingya refugee news. Whereas Bangladeshi newspapers used NGO officials, workers, international politicians, and journalists as news sources, Indian newspapers used government officials and local politicians as sources. The study further uncovered that different news sources influenced the news framing pattern in several ways. As Awny stated in her study, “On the other hand, official sources seem to have a positive association with the intruder frame. Furthermore, the results demonstrate that international politicians and spokespersons for NGO sources are positively associated with the responsibility frame” (Awny 2019, 41).

3. **Research problem, research questions, and/or hypotheses, objectives:**

3.1 **Purpose Statement:**

This study aims to examine the framing patterns of the representation of the Rohingya refugee crisis in the newspapers of Bangladesh, Myanmar, the UK and the USA and identify the differences and similarities among various framing patterns. Besides, this study will also explore whether there is any framing difference between the left-wing and right-wing newspapers in Bangladesh, Myanmar, the UK and the USA regarding the representation of the Rohingya refugee crisis.
3.2 Research Questions:

Although, social media is becoming popular day by day, until now mainstream media play a substantial role in portraying refugee crisis in any country. However, ‘framing criteria’ of any news story in media is really significant as media emphasize a particular event through specific framing criteria and by doing so media can regulate or alter the perception of an audience regarding any issue. The framing criteria of refugee news in media are also crucial for the following reasons: (a) the framing criteria of refugees in media assists the audience, political leaders and policy makers to gain knowledge about the history, reason and present situation of a refugee crisis (b) how public and policy makers will accept, reject or take actions about a refugee crisis is largely determined by the framing criteria of refugees in media. That is why, my study has included the following research question:

- R.Q: 1 What are the framing criteria of the newspapers in Bangladesh, Myanmar, the UK and the USA for covering the Rohingya refugee crisis?

However, there are similarities as well as differences among media framing in different countries regarding the representation of refugees. There are several reasons behind this fact as well. For example, sometimes geography plays a vital role in determining framing criteria of refugee news. Conversely, media framing of refugee crisis can be different in host and receiving countries of the refugees. Usually, receiving countries of refugees emphasize more on their economic, social and environmental problems caused by the arrival of refugees so that the international community and global leaders can be encouraged to come forward to solve the refugee crisis. Conversely, in many cases the host countries of the refugees try to justify their actions against refugees by portraying them negatively through particular media framing of refugees. Nonetheless, sometimes the media framing criteria of refugee crisis changes over time because of numerous social, political, cultural and economic reasons. Therefore, identifying the differences and similarities among the framing criteria of refugees in media of various countries is indispensable in order to understand, interpret and analysis various complex dynamics related to the media framing criteria of refugees. Because of the aforementioned reasons, I have chosen the following research question:
• R.Q: 2 What are the differences and similarities among the framing criteria of the newspapers in Bangladesh, Myanmar, the UK and the USA regarding the representation of the Rohingya refugee crisis?

On the other hand, Political ideology of media is a significant factor that influences the framing pattern of the media representation of refugees as political ideology of the media define that whether a particular media would have pro-refugee stance or anti-refugee stance. For this reason we observe some differences in the coverage of refugee stories in right-wing and left-wing media across the globe. Whereas pro-refugee media depict refugees in a positive way, anti-refugee media portray them as dangerous, evil or problematic characters. As the perception of readers about refugees is highly influenced by the types of media framing, adverse represent of refugees in media may help to increase hate speech and decrease freedom of expression in the society which may further leave negative impacts on the policy making about refugees. Hence, this is imperative to recognize the framing differences between the left-wing and right-wing media regarding the representation of refugees in order to comprehend the reason behind the particular media coverage of refugees. That is why, I have included the following research question in my study:

* R.Q: 3 Is there any framing difference between the left-wing and right-wing newspapers of Bangladesh, Myanmar, the UK and the USA regarding the representation of the Rohingya refugee crisis?

4. Methodology, specifying the particular tools to be used as research techniques

4.1 The universe of this study:

4.2 The unit of analysis of this study:

According to Serkan Dolma, “the term unit of analysis can be simply defined as the entity that is being analyzed in a scientific research” (Dolma 2010, 169). The unit of analysis for this study is the individual news story. Images, captions, editorials, features and interviews would be excluded. In order to select relevant news stories, the word ‘Rohingya’ and ‘Refugee’ would be used to search for published news stories. If any of these keywords appear in the news story, that story would be selected.

4.3 Sample of this study:

The sample of this study would be 100 regular news stories or reports related to the Rohingya refugee crisis that were published in eight daily newspapers of Bangladesh, Myanmar, the UK, and the USA. This study will comprise 25 regular news stories from each of the aforementioned countries. The names of the selected newspapers from where the samples would be collected are as follows: *The Daily Star* and *The Daily Naya Diganta* (from Bangladesh), *The Myanmar Times* and *The New Light of Myanmar* (from Myanmar), *The Guardian* and *The Telegraph* from (the UK), and *The New York Times* and *The Chicago Tribune* from (the USA).

However, this study will include left-wing and right-wing newspapers in order to reveal whether news framing varies because of socio-political, ideological and religious reasons. However, this study will employ purposive sampling techniques in order to select the newspapers and news related to Rohingya refugees. Brief overviews of the selected newspapers are as follows:

*The Daily Star:*

*The Daily Star* is the leading and highest circulated English daily of Bangladesh. The newspaper started its journey on January 14, 1991. Mr Syed Mohammad Ali was the founder and the first editor of this newspaper, and Mr Mahfuz Anam is the present editor of *The Daily Star*. *The Daily Star* is comparatively a progressive and left-leaning newspaper of Bangladesh. From the very beginning, this newspaper raised its voice against numerous corruptions committed by the government and by different organizations. By doing so, *The Daily Star* is serving the nation as a truly independent newspaper.
The website address of *The Daily Star* is: https://www.thedailystar.net/

*The Daily Naya Diganta:*

The *Daily Naya Diganta* is one of the most popular Bengali dailies of Bangladesh. This newspaper started its journey in 2004 by Diganta Media Corporation. Journalist and columnist Mr Salah Uddin Babor is the present editor of *The Daily Naya Diganta*. The political ideology of this newspaper is highly Islamist. Although this newspaper regularly publishes various significant political, social and economic news articles, *The Daily Naya Diganta* is often criticized by progressive readers for its fundamentalist attitude and biased news coverage.

The website address of *The Daily Naya Diganta* is: https://www.dailynayadiganta.com

*The Myanmar Times:*

*The Myanmar Times* is one of the most popular dailies in Myanmar. This newspaper initiated its journey in 2000 by Myanmar Consolidated Media Co. Ltd. (MCM), and this newspaper is published in both English and Burmese languages. Ross Dunkley and Sonny Swe were the founders of *The Myanmar Times*. Many people perceived that *The Myanmar Times* has a close connection with the government of Myanmar because Sonny Swe's father had a strong connection with the military intelligence department of Myanmar. Although *The Myanmar Times* publishes significant local news stories, the international community often criticizes this newspaper for its role in running ‘sophisticated propaganda’ as a public relation tool of the Myanmar government.

The website address of *The Myanmar Times* is: https://www.mmtimes.com

*The New Light of Myanmar:*

*The New Light of Myanmar* is a government-owned daily. Myanmar’s Ministry of Information is the publisher of this newspaper. The newspaper started its journey in 1914 as a magazine, and later the magazine was converted to *The New Light of Myanmar*. *The New Light of Myanmar* has both the English and Burmese versions. Nonetheless, *The New Light of Myanmar* is often criticized as the Myanmar government’s propagandistic device as it publishes many news stories about military officials. Moreover, the newspaper collects most domestic news from the state-run
Myanmar News Agency (MNA), and MNA scrutinizes and censors many international news stories from other news services.

Website address of *The New Light of Myanmar* is:


*The New York Times:*

*The New York Times* is a daily newspaper in the USA, and this newspaper was founded in 1851 by Henry Jarvis Raymond and George Jones. *The New York Times* is one of the highest circulated dailies in the USA. The newspaper has achieved numerous prizes, including the Pulitzer Prize. *The New York Times* publishes news stories, features, editorials and columns on various subjects such as politics, sports, business, culture, and travels. Most importantly, *The New York Times* tries to cover news items as objective as possible.

The website address of The New York Times is: [https://www.nytimes.com](https://www.nytimes.com)

*The Chicago Tribune:*

*The Chicago Tribune* is one of the most popular English dailies in the USA, and James Kelly, John E. Wheeler and Joseph K. C. Forrest was the founder of this newspaper. However, the ownership and editorship of *The Chicago Tribune* have changed several times after it started its journey in 1847, and now Colin McMahon is the Editor-in-chief of the newspaper. *The Chicago Tribune* was not politically much more affiliated when it started its journey, but it began to express specific political affiliation over time. Therefore, readers from different parts of the world started criticizing *The Chicago Tribune* for its conservative point of view regarding several issues.

The website address of *The Chicago Tribune* is: [https://www.chicagotribune.com](https://www.chicagotribune.com)

*The Guardian:*

*The Guardian* is one of the oldest dailies in the UK. It was first published in 1821 by the Guardian Media Group. The Scott Trust, the owner of the Guardian Media Group, was created in order to ensure the independence and freedom of journalists. Later this newspaper changed its
name in 1959. *The Guardian* has an online edition and two international websites titled ‘Guardian Australia’ (founded in 2013) and ‘Guardian US’ (founded in 2011). *The Guardian* has declared in its website that the political ideology of this newspaper is Centre-left.

The website address of *The Guardian* is: https://www.theguardian.com

**The Telegraph:**

*The Telegraph* is a popular British daily newspaper published in London by the Telegraph Media Group. This newspaper was created in 1855 by Arthur B. Sleigh. *The Telegraph* is renowned for high-quality journalistic practices over the world. Moreover, this newspaper is significant for publishing various remarkable news scoops and investigative reporting. Although, *The Telegraph* has a good reputation, it is often criticized for its straight right-wing political stance and affiliation with the leaders of the Conservative Party. *The Telegraph* was fined £30,000 in 2015 for urging thousands of subscribers to vote for the Conservative Party through unwanted emails.

The website address of *The Telegraph* is: https://www.telegraph.co.uk

**4.4 Sampling strategy:**

One of the most significant factors that assist a researcher to produce accurate results is sample. If the sample size is inadequate or the sampling method is wrongly chosen all efforts of a social researcher may go in vein. In that case the results and outcomes of the study would be misleading. Whereas qualitative research methods are mainly intended to achieve depth of understanding, quantitative methods are envisioned to achieve breadth of understanding. Anthony J. Onwuegbuzie and Nancy L. Leech (2007) highlighted the importance of sampling technique in qualitative research by saying: “therefore, sampling is an essential step in the qualitative research process. As such, choice of sampling scheme is an important consideration that all qualitative researchers should make” (Onwuegbuzie and Nancy L. Leech 2007, 242).

However, ‘Purposive sampling’ is the strategy that I will employ in my study for sample selection. Patton discusses that purposive sampling helps a researcher to identify and select in-depth information specially when resources are limited. “The logic and power of purposeful
sampling derive from the emphasis on in-depth understanding. This leads to selecting information-rich cases for study in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research, thus the term purposeful sampling” (Patton 1991, 46).

Besides, while talking about purposive sampling Etikan, Musa, and Alkassim (2015) contended,

“The purposive sampling technique, also called judgment sampling, is the deliberate choice of a participant due to the qualities the participant possesses. It is a nonrandom technique that does not need underlying theories or a set number of participants. Simply put, the researcher decides what needs to be known and sets out to find people who can and are willing to provide the information by virtue of knowledge or experience” (Etikan, Musa, and Alkassim 2015, 2).

As purposive sampling is relatively economical, less time consuming and specially more convenient when it is impossible to include all available sources in the research because of the large size of the samples, I have chosen purposive sampling technique for my research.

4.5 Data collection methods:

The method of data collection would be qualitative content analysis. However, “qualitative content analysis, compared against quantitative content analysis, is often referred to as “latent level analysis, because it concerns a second-level, interpretative analysis of the underlying deeper meaning of the data” (Dörnyei 2007, 246). On the other hand, Philipp Mayring defines qualitative content analysis as a mixed method approach. “Qualitative content analysis is a mixed method approach in that “assignment of categories to text [is a] qualitative step, [and] working through many text passages and analysis of frequencies of categories [is a] quantitative step” (Marrying 2014, 10). In this study, there will be a subjective interpretation and analysis of all the selected news stories, and then there would be systematic coding of news stories into categories using a coding protocol. That means first, an initial reading, analyzing and interpreting of all the selected news stories, and then there would be systematic coding of news stories into categories using a coding protocol. That means first, an initial reading, analyzing and interpreting of all the selected news stories would be completed in order to recognize how framing pattern works and shapes the selected news stories through news contents, images, captions, headlines, and the use of words in those news stories. In this case, all news stories will have to fit into the category as defined by the unit of analysis. Second, the selected news would be analyzed again and pre-coded in line with the protocol. This procedure will allow the researcher to test, adjust, and, if
necessary, refine those categories. Lastly, once the categories are finalized, the coding process will begin through NVivo software for this study.

4.6 Data analysis procedures:

This study will follow an inductive process with a coding protocol guiding this process. To codify is to arrange things in a systematic order, to make something part of a system or classification, to categorize. Carol Grbich discussed, “to codify is to arrange things in a systematic order, to make something part of a system or classification, to categorize. When codes are applied and reapplied to qualitative data you are codifying – a process that permits data to be segregated, grouped, regrouped and relinked in order to consolidate meaning and explanation” (Grbich 2007, 21).

H. Russell Bernard concisely stated that analysis “is the search for patterns in data and for ideas that help explain why those patterns are there in the first place” (Bernard 2006, 452). Thus, protocol coding can be understood as coding data according to a pre-established, recommended, standardized or prescribed system. Nonetheless, in this study, the researcher will analyze, categorize and compare collected data and variables through NVivo software following the pre-formulated coding protocol with the aim of writing preliminary statements about category findings. If necessary, fresh categories and sub-categories would be developed in order to fortify the analysis of data and to enhance the quality of the research. Finally, collected data would be interpreted and integrated on the basis of selected concepts, theories and related literature of this research.

Protocol that would be used for my study:

Protocol that would be used for my study has been attached as an appendix at the last part of my PhD proposal. Please see the appendix section.

5. Anticipated ethical issues:

As this study would be the qualitative content analysis, there won’t be any ethical issues related to the identity disclosure of participants or exposing sensitive information about interviewees. However, the research topic ‘Rohingya refugees’ itself is a sensitive issue from numerous
perspectives. Therefore, this study needs to take into account the issue that the data or information assembled from the study would have to be presented in an authentic way in order to provide the readers with a clear scenario of the Rohingya refugee crisis and avoid further socio-political or geopolitical chaotic situations. Moreover, the data and findings gathered from this study would have to be presented in a humanitarian way so that this study refrains from marginalizing Rohingya refugees in any way. In addition, the researcher would have to consider one more issue, which is his or her own opinion about the Rohingya refugee crisis should not be incorporated in any part of the study as it may bias the study results and possible outcomes.

6. Structure and contents of the research to be carried out, definition of the main concepts around which the research is to be constructed:

6.1 Representation:

‘Representation’ is one of the most discussed topics in media studies. Several media scholars have claimed that the concept of ‘representation’ helps to understand, interpret and analyze media messages in many ways. Now the question is what is representation? According to John Stuart Hall, “representation means using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent, the world meaningfully, to other people” (Hall 1997, 15). So why is the idea of ‘representation’ significant? While answering this question John Stuart Hall argued, “representation is an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture. It does involve the use of language, of signs and images which stand for or represent things” (ibid. 15). That means the concept of ‘representation’ is closely associated with the concepts of ‘meaning’ and ‘language’.

Hence it can be said that a particular type of representation of any object, subject or incident is capable of creating meaning about that specific object, subject or incident. While answering the questions how meaning can be produced through different ways or forms John Stuart Hall contended, “meaning is also produced in a variety of different media; specially, these days, in the modern mass media, the means of global communication, by complex technologies, which circulate meanings between different cultures on a scale and with a speed hitherto unknown in history” (ibid. 3).
That means mass media is one of the significant medium through which the meaning of a specific subject, object or incident is constructed. Now the question comes to how the mass media do this? Here it can be mentioned that ‘language’ can be considered as an important strategy through which mass media produce or create explicit meaning of anything or about peoples. “Representation is the production of meaning through language. In representation, constructionists argue, we use signs, organized into languages of different kinds, to communicate meaningfully with others. Languages can use signs to symbolize, stand for or reference objects, people and events in the so-called real world” (ibid. 28).

Here the problem is language does not always represent the objective reality rather sometimes constructs imaginary or manipulative reality. In that case true meaning would be altered as well. As Hall discussed,

But they can also reference imaginary things and fantasy worlds or abstract ideas which are not in any obvious sense part of our material world. Language does not work like a mirror. Meaning is produced within language, in and through various representational systems which, for convenience, we call languages. Meaning is produced by the practice, the work, of representation. It is constructed through signifying – i.e. meaning - producing - practices (ibid. 28).

However, according to Fursich: “the representations are constitutive of culture, meaning and knowledge about ourselves and the world around us. Beyond just mirroring reality, representations in the media such as in film, television, photography and print journalism create reality and normalise specific world-views or ideologies” (Fursich 2019, 115).

Along with Fursich and Hall numerous scholars shared their views about the misrepresentation of reality through deliberate use of languages in media that negatively influences the policy formulation and social decision making of decision makers and creates social and political inequalities in different groups within the society. For instance, Edward W. Said (1978) in his book “Orientalism” described the ‘othering’ of Asia, North Africa, and the Middle East by Western countries through stereotypical and undesirable representation of Asia, North America and Middle East (Said 1978, 9-34). Later Shohat and Stam (1994) provided an extended approach in this regard through examining numerous Eurocentric media representations (Shohat and Stam 1994, 178-215).
That is why, it can be argued from the aforementioned discussion that media representation is really crucial as our perception of the reality and different groups within a society is largely influenced and shaped by their constructions and representation in the media. Unfortunately, media representation of minorities, refugees and other vulnerable groups in society is biased, one-sided, inadequate, negative and stereotypical in many cases. For example, Wodak (2003) found that minorities and foreigners are represented in the media either as a security threat for the local economy and local culture or as portrayed as criminals.

In addition, Cottle also discussed that media play a vital role in practicing unequal power structure in a society specially through representation. Media created several binaries between general citizens and minorities through emphasizing numerous controversial concepts such as who we are or who we are not, us versus them, insider versus outsider, citizen versus foreigners etc. By doing so media basically creates more discrimination towards minorities and vulnerable groups within a society (Cottle 2000, 2). However, my study will use ‘representation’ and or ‘media representation’ as one of the key concepts on which my research would be conducted.

6.2 Media Framing:

Several communication scholars and social researchers have agreed on the point that mass media contents are immensely capable of influencing audiences in different levels through its contents. “The mass media potentially have two potential levels of effects: 1) micro effects, or those effects related to an individual, or 2) macro-effects, or those effects related to society at large” (Johnson-Cartee 2005, 8). Johnson-Cartee (2005) further discussed, “knowledge is socially constructed, and the news media, in particular, play an increasingly powerful role in the process of constructing political reality” (ibid. 147).

On the other hand, McCombs, Shaw, and Weaver (1997) suggested that media framing and agenda setting is not only closely related but also media framing can be considered as an comprehensive version of agenda setting of the media considering the numerous effects of media framing of news stories on the thought process of audience. As an audience how we will interpret or analyze a news story is significantly dependent on the framing patterns of that news story in the media. Gitlin (1980), described news frames as, “largely unspoken and
unacknowledged, organizing the world both for journalists who report it and, to some important degree, for us who rely on their reports” (Gitlin 1980, 7).

In addition, while defining ‘media framing’ Gamson and Modigliani (1987) mentioned, “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events . . . The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue” (Gamson and Modigliani 1987, 143). Tuchman (1978) also offered a definition of media framing which is quite similar to the definition of Gamson and Modigliani. “the news frame organizes everyday reality and the news frame is part and parcel of everyday reality . . . [it] is an essential feature of news” (Tuchman 1978, 193).

However, Entman (1993) elaborated the idea that mass media can suggest audiences with particular framing to interpret news or media contents in a specific way. To Entman, selection and salience- these two factors are highly significant in this regard. As Entman pointed out, “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (Entman 1993, 52). Besides, Price, Tewksbury, and Powers (1995) clarified the fact that media framing and representation of news items or media contents have important effects on audiences regarding the interpretation and understanding of media contents (Price, Tewksbury, & Powers 1995, 4).

Therefore, my study will utilize ‘media framing’ as an important concept in order to recognize numerous media framings, identify similarities and differences among those framing patterns regarding the representation of the Rohingya refugee crisis in newspapers of four countries.

6.3 Newspaper:

Although there are several mass media to disseminate or publish news in the era of social media, until now newspapers are highly popular to readers across the globe. For centuries, newspapers have contributed as a significant agent of agenda setting and social change along with delivering news to the readers about numerous issues.

“Newspapers printed products created on a regular (weekly or daily) basis and released in multiple copies” (Turow 2009, 300). It can be argued from this definition that the journey of
newspapers was initiated following the invention of the printing press in the mid-1400s by Johannes Gutenberg. However, Turow discussed that the newspaper industry didn’t see rapid explosion; rather the newspaper industry has come to its present position through many phases of development. “By the 1830s, developments in society and in technology came together to encourage a new approach to the newspaper. Together, the steam-powered cylinder press created by Hoe and Company and the development of low-cost paper made it possible to create huge numbers of newspapers for about a penny a copy, a price low enough that even working people could afford” (ibid. 302).

### 6.4 The Rohingya Refugee Crisis:

The term ‘Rohingya’ itself is complicated in Myanmar to both the Muslims and the Buddhist community for several reasons. Whereas Muslims in the Rakhine state feel comfortable identifying themselves as ‘Rohingyas’, the Myanmar government and most Burmese peoples feel uncomfortable with the term ‘Rohingya’ as they consider this term a threat to their national integrity. Moreover, they use derogatory terms to identify or address Rohingya Muslims. Ware and Laoutide mentioned, “inside Myanmar, the people are often called ‘Bengali’- or worse, Kala. The latter literally means ‘foreigner’ or ‘stranger’, particularly of South Asian origin. And obviously, the name ‘Bengali’ is used to imply they are recent, if not illegal, immigrants from Bangladesh, and thus should have only very limited claims to Myanmar citizenship” (Ware and Laoutides 2018, xviii).

Nonetheless, Rohingyas are an ethnic minority living mainly in the Western coastal state of Rakhine in Myanmar. Their religion is Islam, and they have their own language. “Rohingyas are both religious and ethnic minorities in Myanmar. Rohingya are Muslims, while the majority of the population in Myanmar is Buddhist. The Rohingya’s skin colour is also different from the majority Burmese. Often the senior Myanmar officials describe the Rohingyas as being as ugly as ogres and as not sharing the fair and soft skin of other Burmese groups” (Ibrahim 2018, 4).

Rohingyas have been struggling for their citizenship in Myanmar for a long time. The Myanmar government denied their citizenship request in 1982 for the first time. Since then, they have been living in Myanmar as stateless citizens and tolerating discrimination and violence. Additionally,
Rohingyas are fleeing to different neighbouring countries for a long time because of survival, but their crisis has deepened in the last few years because of multiple reasons.

Ever since Burma became independent in 1948, they (Rohingyas) have been targeted whenever ambitious (or desperate) politicians need to deflect attention from other matters. Both government officials and party leaders have called for their expulsion from their homeland, and the main opposition ignores their plight. The build up to the elections in late 2015 witnessed the final destruction of their civic rights in Myanmar (completing a process that began with the 1947 Constitutions) and increasingly they are detained in what are now permanent internal refugee camps, where they are denied food, word and medicare (ibid. 1).

The aforementioned vulnerable circumstances of Rohingyas have constructed their identity as ‘Rohingya refugees’ to the world because as per the 1980 Refugee Act: “refugees leave their homeland due to imminent fear for their lives or those of their family members. Often, they have inadequate warning of the danger, so they are unable to plan their departure. Sometimes these decisions are made so quickly that there is no opportunity to collect important papers, such as birth certificates or nationality papers” (McBrien 2017, 116-117).

However, although the Rohingyas are facing numerous difficulties for some decades, the recent Rohingya refugee crisis was initiated in August 2017 whenever a group of Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) killed more than 12 people by attacking 30 police posts in Myanmar. In response to their attack, the Myanmar government and military started persecuting Rohingyas which made them stateless refugees and established their identity as ‘terrorists’ and ‘criminals’ to many people of the world. As a result of the persecution, many Rohingyas started fleeing to Bangladesh and are now living as ‘Rohingya refugees’ in Kutupalong refugee camp, Ukhia, and Cox’s Bazar. The Kutupalong Rohingya refugee camp has more than 25 subcamps, where approximately 8,80,000 Rohingya refugees live (UN News 23 March, 2021).

Unfortunately, various external dynamics of politics and power have made the Rohingya refugee crisis even more complicated to solve. As Tapan Bose argued,

While the West has criticized Myanmar, China has praised Myanmar’s army for its tough and prompt actions in maintaining stability in Rakhine state. It is interesting to note that while the US Secretary of State labeled the military actions against Rohingyas as ‘ethnic cleansing’, India, Washington’s strategic partner in South Asia, was on the same page with China, when it defended Myanmar military’s crackdown against the Rohingya as a war against terrorism (Bose 2019, 172).

Therefore, a comprehensive and multi-dimensional approach is required to solve this crisis. If people from different parts of the world, including the citizens of Myanmar, start to raise their
voice regarding the Rohingya refugee crisis, this crisis would be solved as soon as possible, and Rohingya refugees would be able to go back to their own motherland. That is why I have used ‘Rohingya refugee crisis’ as a significant concept around which my research would be conducted so that my research can create awareness among global leaders and citizens and encourage them to take initiatives to solve the prevailing Rohingya refugee crisis.

7. Sources/documents/materials that would be used for this research:

Materials or documents that would be used in order to collect relevant data and literature for this study are as follows:

- Books
- Journal Articles
- Newspaper stories related to the Rohingya refugee crisis
- Thesis paper
- Conference paper
- Newspaper articles

Although most of the materials would be collected from online sources because of this pandemic situation, printed books, newspaper articles, thesis papers and journal articles would also be used for this study.

8. Limitations of this study:

One major limitation of this study is the sample size. Although this study is a comparison among the representation of the Rohingya refugee crisis in Bangladeshi, Burmese and global (The USA and the UK) newspapers, the findings cannot be generalized on the basis of only 100 news stories published in Bangladesh, Myanmar, the UK and the USA. As the timing of conducting the research is limited, it would be difficult to include more than 100 regular news stories related to Rohingya refugees.
Another impediment of this study is that this study does not comprise features, opinions, electronic media news or social media contents associated with the crisis. That is why the generalization that would be made on the basis of merely 100 regular newspaper reports may not provide an authentic scenario of the selected study topic. Because the content analysis of electronic media, online media and print media together is capable of producing the image of the Rohingya refugee crisis in a more elaborative way.

Moreover, this study does not include any focus group discussion or interviews of any journalists, experts in this field, politicians or Rohingya refugees because of time limitation and financial constraints. Therefore, there may be a lack of variety in collected information, and simply inferring data from 100 newspaper reports may produce bias and incomplete generalizations. As a result, the conclusions driven from this study will be inadequate to interpret the real crisis of Rohingya refugees and the reasons for various media framing of this crisis.

Furthermore, the current literature on the representation of refugees or asylum-seekers is highly concentrated on Western media. Hence, although this study aims at understating and revealing the representation criteria of the Rohingya refugee crisis and differences or similarities in representations of the crisis in the media of different countries, the insufficiency of academic resources may create further obstacles to the findings and results of the study.

9. **Timeline of execution of the project:**

The proposed time plan for my research is as follows: (Total duration 3 years from September 2021 to September 2024.)
1st year (September 2021 to August 2022):

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tasks</th>
<th>September 2021 to December 2021</th>
<th>January 2022 to April 2022</th>
<th>May 2022 to August 2022</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preparing the final copy of the PhD proposal on the basis of supervisor’s feedback and other professor’s feedback from the defense session, Meeting supervisor, Attending PhD Seminars/workshops.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sending the final version of the PhD proposal for the final approval of the supervisor and trying to manage possible funding options for the project, Meeting supervisor, Attending PhD Seminars/workshops.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elaborately reviewing related literature and previous related research for addition or correction in the final research paper, Selecting essential reading materials for the study, Meeting supervisor, Attending PhD Seminars/workshops.</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Red" /></td>
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<tr>
<td>Finalizing the research method, Meeting supervisor.</td>
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**2nd year (September 2022 to August 2023):**

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<th>Tasks</th>
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<th>January 2022 to April 2022</th>
<th>May 2022 to August 2022</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sampling, Data Collection, Writing notes about gathered data, Meeting supervisor, Attending PhD seminars.</td>
<td>Orange</td>
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<tr>
<td>Using the protocol for data analysis, Analyzing gathered data through NVivo software, Writing the results and findings, Meeting supervisor, Attending PhD seminars/workshops.</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Organizing data, Meeting supervisor, Attending PhD seminars/workshops.</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
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3rd year (September 2023 to August 2024):

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<th>January 2024 to April 2024</th>
<th>May 2024 to August 2024</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preparing the first draft of the research and submitting that to the supervisor for feedback, Meeting supervisor, Attending PhD seminars/workshops.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Correcting the draft according to the feedback of the supervisor, Preparing the final draft of the thesis, Meeting the supervisor, Attending PhD seminars.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Composing and binding the thesis, Defending the thesis.</td>
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10. References


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https://doi:10.1017/S0008423917001482


11. Appendix:

Protocol that would be used for my study is as follows:

As discussed earlier, regular news stories related to the Rohingya refugee crisis would be the unit analysis of this study and purposive sampling would be used for the selection of news stories. This protocol will guide the researcher to categorize, analyze, interpret relevant information and disclose the findings of the study.

Some basic information for categorizing and coding selected news stories:

• Coder name/initials: Type the name of the researcher as the researcher will code all data.

• Title of the news story: Type the whole title of the news story.

• Name of the newspaper: Type the name of the newspaper where the news story was published.

• Year of publishing: Mention the year when the news story was published.

• Date of publication: Particular date of publishing the news story.

• Page no: Type the page no of the newspaper where the story was published.

1. Country of origin of that newspaper: Type the name of the country from where the newspaper and news story were published:

(a) Myanmar
(b) Bangladesh
(c) The UK
(d) The USA

2. Type of that newspaper outlet: Mention what type of media outlet it is.

(a) Left -Wing  (b) Right –Wing
3. Length of the news story: Mention the length of the news story.
   a) Less than 500
   b) 501 to 1,500
   c) 1,501-3,000
   d) More than 3,000

4. Number of paragraphs: Mention how many paragraphs are there in that news story.
   a) 1/3
   b) 4/6
   c) More than 6

5. How many times the word ‘Rohingya’ and ‘Refugees’ were used in that news story?
   (a) Only once
   (b) 2/3 times
   (c) More than 3 times

6. Location of the word ‘Rohingya’ and ‘Refugee’ in the news story:
   a) Text
   b) Heading/sub-heading/opening text
   c) Other

7. Various frames used in that news story: Discuss what type of framing was used to depict the representation of Rohingya refugee crisis in that particular news story.
   a) Crime frame:
   b) Victim frame
c) Disease frame

d) Responsibility frame

e) Return home frame

f) Administrative frame

g) Other

8. How does the news story try to establish particular framing in order to represent the Rohingya refugee crisis? (Include relevant headlines, key phrases/words, images, captions or relevant one to three sentences that would help to identify particular framing.

9. Is there any framing similarity among the newspapers in Bangladesh, Myanmar, the UK and the USA regarding the representation of the Rohingya refugee crisis? If yes, then discuss what the similarities are.

Yes / No

10. Is there any framing difference among the newspapers in Bangladesh, Myanmar, the UK and the USA regarding the representation of the Rohingya refugee crisis? If yes, then discuss what the differences are.

Yes / No

11. Does the framing pattern of the representation of the Rohingya refugee crisis is different or similar in left-wing and right-wing newspapers in selected countries? If yes then mention what are the basic differences or similarities.

Yes / No

12. Does the news story provide any information about the personalized struggle and experience of any Rohingya refugees? (If yes, then mention how the news story provides that information).

Yes / No