The Construction of Refugees in News Headlines

A Critical Discourse Analysis on Rohingya Refugees in Malaysia and Thailand

Author: Carina Bach
Supervisor: Heiko Fritz
Examiner: Christopher High
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Abstract

As news coverage regarding refugees have increased in the past decades, the media representation of refugees in the host countries tend to more or less portray them as national security risk. This study questions the differences between the news discourses in main recipient countries and the less recipient countries asking what factors determine the portrayal. This study seeks to fill the already existing field of research on media representation on Rohingya as available research is conducted on main recipient countries, Myanmar and Bangladesh. The countries chosen for this study are Malaysia and Thailand as they are considered third point of exit countries, they are in same region and as each country has same religious belief as either Myanmar or the Rohingya. Thus, the objective of the study is to understand how the news discourse in Malaysia and Thailand present their ideological perspectives on Rohingya in a subtle way to influence the opinion of the general public. Furthermore, it seeks to reveal how language is used in news reports to frame Rohingya and the underlying factors in which determines the approach of their news reporting. To answer the objective, this research analyses in total 40 news headlines by using the method of Critical Discourse Analysis. Moreover, the results indicate that the news discourse in Malaysia predominantly reports on the Rohingya emphatically and portrays them as active actors in the crisis doing anything to survive the Myanmar violence. The situation of Rohingya is also emphasized in the news discourse in Thailand, though not to same extent as in Malaysia. Thailand rather reports on the crisis itself and how the other actors involved urge and criticize one another. Furthermore, this study demonstrates that portrayal of Rohingya differs depending on who they are to the affected country as well as the international political relationship between the countries affected.

Key words: Rohingya, Refugees, Critical Discourse Analysis, Media Representation, Framing Theory
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<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ASEAN</td>
<td>Association of Southeast Asian Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDA</td>
<td>Critical Discourse Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td>Discourse Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OIC</td>
<td>Organization of Islamic Cooperation</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees</td>
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1 Introduction

1.1 Background
The media has an important role in information and idea spreading on matters of public interest (Council of Europe, 2019). It has the power to influence the public opinion, how people act, the agenda settings of policymakers and to also frame the debates (International Organization for Migration, 2017). Additionally, the media is an important tool for managing the diversity in society and promote inclusion (Council of Europe, 2019). The mainstream press (refers to the media which is corporate owned and targets the general public) has been the leading agent in shaping the general attitude towards refugees (Frendo, 2016). Thus, news coverage has the power to produce propaganda and misrepresentation of refugees. Integration then partly depends on their portrayal in the media.

Today the issues regarding refugees get more news coverage than two decades ago (Frendo, 2016). Yet, earlier research proves that the media portrayal of refugees in receiving countries tend to be negative and portraying refugees as a national security risk (Ulum, 2016; Bradimore & Bauder, 2011; Ferreira, et al., 2017).

The case of the ethnic group Rohingya who suffer from years of violence and ethnic cleansing in Myanmar (Human Rights Watch, 2013a) has resulted in mass migration and attracted press coverage globally (Shivakoti, 2017). Though the media expose of the crisis is also due to the other countries belonging to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN, a regional intergovernmental organization), as they too are affected by the conflict (Isti’anah, 2018). Bangladesh is the main recipient country of Rohingya refugees. While the Myanmar government being the perpetrator of the Rohingya and where more than 125,000 Rohingya are internally displaced (Human Rights Watch, 2013b). Compared to Bangladesh receiving more than 774,000 Rohingya, the numbers of 170,000 Rohingya arrived to both Malaysia and Thailand (Fortify Rights International, 2018) seem rather small in comparison and do not catch the same attention by global media.
The available research on media portrayal of Rohingya focuses on global media or national newspapers from the main recipient countries, Myanmar and Bangladesh (Isti’anah, 2018; Brooten, 2015; Azfal, 2016). Although the Rohingya crisis has rather become a regional issue (Shivakoti, 2017) and thus the affected neighboring countries play an important role in the crisis. Yet, their news discourses remain undetected. Conducting such study enables a mapping of different media behaviors determined by different factors, or maybe same behaviors but different factors. Hence, this study will do an attempt to understand how the news discourse in Malaysia and Thailand present their ideological perspectives on Rohingya in online newspaper headlines. Furthermore, this study will also investigate what factors matter in the construction of refugees in media.

In order to reveal the ideological perspectives in news discourse, I will investigate online newspaper headlines from both countries, as headlines play a huge role in reporting since they catch the reader’s attention first (Van Dijk, 1988:141-143). Furthermore, I will be using Critical Discourse Analysis as method (CDA) since this method seeks to reveal how ideologies and its phenomena are constructed (Bryman, 2012:33). To further reveal how Rohingya are framed, I will use the Framing Theory and also continue with CDA to analyze my findings.

1.2 Research Objective and its Relevance

The already existing field of research on the representation of Rohingya examines the news discourse in Myanmar and Bangladesh. This study seeks to understand the news discourse in other countries that are not main recipient ones. Therefore, the objective of this study is to understand how online newspapers in Malaysia and Thailand present their ideological perspectives on Rohingya in a subtle way to influence the opinion of the general public. I will be using the method Critical Discourse Analysis on the news headlines about Rohingya Refugees in an attempt to uncover their ideologies.

By focusing on the other countries rather than the main recipient countries enables a study of different media behaviors to further understand the underlying structures of the construction on refugees in media. Thus, there might be other factors more determining the
media behavior rather than only numbers of refugees. However, the knowledge regarding how the particular media channel is portraying refugees could also be used to encourage them to be more neutral in their reporting. This could ultimately make them appear more reliable to the readers.

This study will do an attempt in contributing to a greater awareness in general on the online newspapers’ usage of headlines in relation to representations of refugees, but also raise awareness and facilitate the reader’s reading ability.

Thus, to achieve the objective of the study, these research questions will be answered:

- How are Rohingya represented in online news in Malaysia and Thailand?
- What similarities and differences are there in how different media present same news item?
- What are the ideologies constructed in Malaysia and Thailand?
- What explains the differences in the media representation of refugees?

1.3 Structure

This thesis is divided into six chapters, as the first chapter is the introduction where background information about the topic, research objective, its relevance and the case study are presented. The case study the ethnic group Rohingya is presented at the end of the chapter, including the root causes of the conflict and the contemporary situation. The second chapter Literature Review presents existing research within the topic of media representations of refugees and discusses the research gap. In the third chapter Methodological Framework, the Critical Discourse Analysis will be explained how it will be used both as a theory and a method and thus the analytical framework will be presented here. The CDA and Framing Theory will form the analytical framework for this study. This chapter will also present and how the countries, newspapers and headlines are selected. The fourth chapter Findings presents the data collected from the newspapers. The chapter is thoroughly divided based upon topicalizations. The fifth chapter is the Analysis, where the process of analysis on the findings occur. The chapter is largely divided into two parts based
on the theories. The last chapter *Conclusion* answers the objective of the study and the research questions.
1.4 Rohingya

The history of the resentment of Rohingya began when the British came to colonize Myanmar by declaring independency from India in 1937 (Francios & Souris, 2017; Warzone Initiatives, 2015). During this era, the British relied on the Muslim Rohingya in order to impose their authority on the Burmese nationalities who objected the British rule. During World War Two, the Rohingya were loyal to the British, while the Burmese nationalists supported the Japanese. Their loyalty was based on the promise the British made to them, which was to have relative independence. However, this led to deep divisions between the Rohingya and the Buddhists in Rakhine (also known as Arakan) state.

In 1948 Myanmar declared independency and the ethnic and religious strife ended in 1961 when the Myanmar army together with the rebels signed a ceasefire agreement (Francios & Souris, 2017; Warzone Initiatives, 2015). Though the sentimentality of anti-Rohingya grew among Burmese nationalists, who were the ones forming the new government. The anti-Muslim sentiment was also propagated by extremist Buddhist movements which promoted discrimination and violence against Muslims.

The situation of Rohingya worsened by time as they were denied citizenship and were stripped off basic citizenship rights (Francios & Souris, 2017; Warzone Initiatives, 2015). Their denial of citizenship relied upon the fact that their residency in Myanmar before 19th century was not recognized by the government. Although it is claimed that the Rohingya were the first settlers of the Rakhine state. However, denial of citizenship resulted in suffering from political and economic discrimination. Additionally, being labelled as foreigner in the country meant that the Rohingya were the main target of the military campaign (Francios & Souris, 2017).

Ever since 1978 the Rohingya have constantly left Myanmar since they been subject to waves of mass violence (Equal Rights Trust, 2014; Warzone Initiatives, 2015; Francios & Souris, 2017). In 2012, several incidents occurred and caused both the Rakhine and the Rohingya to take up arms against one another (Warzone Initiatives, 2015). Both Buddhists and Muslims were affected, although the casualties were predominantly Muslims and Rohingya (Equal Rights Trust, 2014). The anti-Muslim violence, the ethnic cleansing
campaign, spread beyond the Rakhine state and into other parts of the country. This resulted in both death and displacements of Rohingya. The following outbreak started again in August 2017 causing at least 646,000 Rohingya to flee to Bangladesh (Francios & Souris, 2017).

1.4.1 Root Causes of the Conflict

There are several causes to the conflict in Myanmar besides the history from the colonialization era. Being denied citizenship rights are one of the main reasons (Francios & Souris, 2017; Waźzone Initiatives, 2015). The 1982 Citizenship law in Myanmar consists of different tiers of citizenship which depends on descent-based criteria. Ethnic groups not acknowledged to have established in Myanmar before the British colonialization in 1824 are not acquired citizenship rights.

Furthermore, the rising of extremist Buddhist movements in the country caused a crackdown of the Rohingya (Francios & Souris, 2017). An atmosphere that has been created causing the Muslims, the Rohingya in particular, to be viewed as ‘the other’. This perception encouraged discriminatory policies against Rohingya to be viewed as acceptable.

Additionally, there are also geopolitical root causes identified. Rakhine state itself is considered one of the poorest states in Myanmar in need of humanitarian assistance to address the food and health crises (Francios & Souris, 2017). There is a development crisis in the state since it suffers from chronic poverty, lack of livelihood opportunities and insecure land tenure. This factor contributes to grievances, strengthening the pressures of the relations within the state. Furthermore, the Rohingya are facing human rights violations such as lack of freedom of movements. It has resulted in Rohingya armed groups’ grievances and fuels the conflict.

Moreover, China’s political and economic interest in Myanmar is additionally considered to be one of the root causes as China has numerous of projects in Myanmar and also in Rakhine state (Hilton, 2013). The project to import energy by building oil and gas pipelines connected from Rakhine state off the coast, across the country and into China, is one of the infrastructures which has resulted in displaced of local people and damage of farming and
fishing livelihoods. Additionally, China relies on the government of Myanmar to protect its interests and thus has resulted in continuances of ethnic conflicts in Myanmar. Much of the unexploited natural resources and numerous of Chinese-invested projects are located in ethnic areas. At the same time, the ethnic groups feel they must protect their culture, land and resources (Warzone Initiatives, 2015). Thus, some of these projects have been a trigger or a focus of a conflict (Hilton, 2013). Furthermore, several ethnic groups in Myanmar also live at the bordering Yunnan province in China and thus the border security and external threats to China is related to Myanmar’s ethnic politics (Hilton, 2013; Yhome, 2019).

1.4.2 Contemporary Situation and Countries Affected in the Region
As Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia are other destinations (i.e. after the main one, Bangladesh and being internally displaced) for Rohingya refugees, the crisis is then sensitive to ASEAN (Shivakoti, 2017; Francios & Souris, 2017; Warzone Initiatives, 2015). It has due to the large influx of refugees become one of the most important regional crises. However, within ASEAN, the commitment of protecting human rights are limited since they have a principle, which is ‘non-interference’ in other state’s internal affairs (Francios & Souris, 2017). The purpose is to respect sovereignty and good relations of collaboration between the nations and to maintain privacy of domestic affairs. Therefore, ASEAN has done little to put pressure on Myanmar to make changes (Shivakoti, 2017; Warzone Initiatives, 2015). Nevertheless, the chairman of ASEAN has though referred the Rohingya as ‘illegal migrants’ (Francios & Souris, 2017).

Beside land migration, Rohingya have also taken the sea route to Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia (Francios & Souris, 2017; Warzone Initiatives, 2015). During the past decade the Thai government has dealt with the migration by a ‘push back policy’, which includes preventing Rohingya refugees to land on Thai territory (Francios & Souris, 2017; Amnesty International, 2017; Asia Pacific Refugee Rights Network, 2017). Even Malaysia and Indonesia have repeatedly turned away boats of Rohingya refugees (Shivakoti, 2017). Refugees in these three countries are considered as illegal immigrants and therefore are at risk of being deported, detained or arrested (Francios & Souris, 2017).
The international public condemned the actions of these countries, which led to an emergency summit between these countries (Francios & Souris, 2017). Thailand changed its policy and started providing humanitarian assistance to Rohingya before transmitting them to Malaysia. Though the government of Thailand has been refusing to set up temporary shelters, but Malaysia and Indonesia stated an offering of a temporary shelter to 7,000 refugees. Additionally, Malaysia began rescuing stranded boats of migrants (Warzone Initiatives, 2015).

There are no exact numbers of Rohingya refugees resided in these countries, although estimations. In Indonesia around 2,000 Rohingya have been accommodated since 2015 (Francios & Souris, 2017). The numbers of Rohingya in Malaysia is estimated 84,030 (UNHCR, 2019). The numbers of Rohingya in Thailand are difficult to estimate since Thailand serves as both a final destination and a transit country for the Rohingya, whereas the latter one is the dominating choice (Equal Rights Trust, 2014; Sullivan, 2016). Furthermore, the Rohingya in Thailand are dispersed within the country and most identify themselves as Muslims from Myanmar since Thailand discourages open identification as Rohingya (Sullivan, 2016). Though there is an estimation of 102,998 refugees from Myanmar living at the refugee camps along the borders between Myanmar and Thailand (Asia Pacific Refugee Rights Network, 2017). However, the estimated numbers of Rohingya living there are between 3,000 to 15,000 (Sullivan, 2016). Furthermore, India does as well receive Rohingya refugees from Bangladesh with an estimation of 40,000 refugees. Although since 2017 India has threatened to deport all of them as they are considered illegal immigrants, a burden on resources and security threat (Francios & Souris, 2017).

Due to the increase of violence since 2015 in Myanmar against the Rohingya, the Muslim-majority countries such as Malaysia and Indonesia have taken a stronger stance for the protection of Rohingya (Francios & Souris, 2017; Shivakoti, 2017). Malaysia has additionally condemned the violence against Rohingya vocally (Francios & Souris, 2017; Swedish Embassy Kuala Lumpur, 2016). Thailand on the other hand has for instance agreed with Myanmar in referring Rohingya to as ‘Bengalis’, meaning foreigners (Francios &
Souris, 2017). Along with Myanmar, Thailand also claims that Rohingya is not an indigenous ethnic group of Myanmar.
2 Literature Review

This chapter presents previous research focused on media’s portrayal of selected refugee groups. It is divided into three sub-chapters, wherein the studies presented in first sub-chapter *Previous Studies on Representation of Selected Groups of Refugees in Media*, studies different selected refugees in different countries and newspapers. This part demonstrates the general portrayal of refugees in media discourse. It also focuses more on the role of media. The studies presented in the second sub-chapter *Previous Studies on Representations of Rohingya in Media*, focuses on Rohingya refugees and how they are portrayed in different newspapers. The last sub-chapter *Research Gap*, discusses the existing gap in this research field.

2.1 Previous Studies on Representation of Selected Groups of Refugees in Media

Available research investigating how refugees are portrayed in different news channels also demonstrate how ideologies are constructed and functioning in newspapers. It demonstrates the media’s role and the politics around the refugees in the affected country rather than the causes of migration itself.

After studying the media coverage of the resettlement effort of refugees and their representation in media, Tyyskä, et al. (2018) claim that the media upholds the dominant values and ideologies and that the acceptance and integration of the refugees mostly depend on how the media outlets the resettlement plan to the public.

Furthermore, it seems like the media’s behavior in reporting have influence in other actors’ actions. Tyyskä, et al. (2018) claim that positive media portrayal encourages private sponsors in the host country to support the refugees. Whereas negative rhetoric in other countries resulted in lower support for the refugees.

In line with Tyyskä, et al. (2018), Ulum (2016), Bradimore and Bauder (2011) have also conducted similar research. Likewise, Ferreira, et al. (2017) have investigated how the news discourse portrays the refugees and migration metaphorically.
Khosravnik (2010) investigates the discursive strategies and studies how newspapers represent not only refugees but also immigrants and asylum seekers. The author stresses that these three groups and other various ethnic groups are constructed as ‘out-groups’ in a ‘liberal’ contemporary society. Additionally, these groups are technically and inherently different groups and therefore need to be accounted for separately. Although, they tend to be evaluated identically in a macro-structure.

In all studies presented above, the authors explain that the media in the host countries tend to portray refugees as different types of risk or threat which need to be managed. Likewise, in the research of Tyyskä, et al. (2018), it was observed that the media highlighted the openness of the country, and yet continued to depict refugees as being needy and a possible security threat. Ferreira, et al. (2017) also add that both refugees and immigrants are constructed as natural phenomena, a negative image possible to damage the environment such as wave and flood, as natural disasters. Khosravnik (2010) additionally finds out a pattern in the newspapers that, ‘in-group’ members of the society (that is those who does not belong to any of these groups: refugee, immigrant, asylum seeker or other ethnic groups) are given more space and direct quotations than those belonging to the ‘out-group’ members. ‘Out-group’ members were only given citations when they were considered inarticulate, extremist, illogical or threatening. Otherwise, they are or can be represented as such.

The importance of the use of language in news discourse is stressed in the research by Ulum (2016), Bradimore and Bauder (2011) and Ferreira, et al. (2017). Ulum argues that in the area of journalism where the art of data circulates, journalists strategically choose vocabulary that would transfer certain meanings to their intended readers. The author highlights that the hidden ideologies behind the texts also can be found in news headlines.

According to Bradimore and Bauder (2011), media are inseparable from the political processes. If the media and the political debates mostly rely on each other for information as well as knowledge, they then will create a closed discursive circle which will silence opposition and stifle oppositional intervention. The authors further stress that it is problematic when these discourses that are based on information and knowledge are biased.
The available research on this topic in this section has demonstrated that despite different types of refugee groups and media channel, the portrayal of the refugees tends to be negative as they are portrayed as a risk or threat for the recipient country. It has also shown that the media plays a vital role in the integration and acceptance of refugees in society and news reporting regarding refugees cannot be considered impartial.

2.2 Previous Studies on Representations of Rohingya in Media

There are not a lot of studies in portrayal of the Rohingya refugees. The available research focuses either on global mainstream newspapers, newspapers from non-recipient countries or the national newspapers in Myanmar and Bangladesh. Although, there are different perspectives of how the media has framed the Rohingya crisis, for instance, a citizenship war, refugee crisis, xenophobia and anti-Muslim racism (Afzal, 2016).

In Afzal’s (2016) research, the author explores how two media perspectives, Western and non-Western, frames the Rohingya crisis to influence the audience. The mainstream newspapers in Afzal’s study frame the Rohingya and the Myanmar government similarly. The newspapers editorials are positioned as “pro-Rohingya Muslims” as they emphasize the situation of the Rohingya being homeless, displaced and social persecuted at national level. This result is similarly to the results in Brooten’s (2015) research where the author investigates how the global mainstream news Reuters, portrays the key actors in the Rohingya crisis. Brooten’s intention is to construct the role of media in portraying refugees and their intentions behind their journalism. However, in Reuters, Rohingya are portrayed as victims through their status as refugees or internally displaced persons. They are victims of ethnic cleansing, Muslim extermination and physical violence. The living conditions of Rohingya also highlights.

The editorials in the newspapers which Afzal (2016) studies are “anti-Buddhist majority” and they criticize the Myanmar ruling elite for treating the Rohingya harshly and depriving them their basic rights to live as human beings. Even in Brooten’s (2015) research the framing of the Buddhist culture and the Myanmar Government are in line, where they are portrayed as savages because of how they treat Rohingya.
Isti’anah (2018) have same objective in her research as Brooten (2015), although their approaches differ in terms of case focus, method and theoretical framework. Brooten analyzes Reuters reports from 2013 and focuses on how key players are constructed. Isti’anah on the other hand analyzes the headlines in the media in Bangladesh and Myanmar’s newspapers.

The news discourse in Myanmar and Bangladesh have different ideologies which bases on different issues they face with the crisis (Isti’anah, 2018). The ideological perspective of the media in Myanmar was to show the government’s deed to Rohingya, to cover the conflict. The media in Bangladesh highlights the actions taken by the Rohingya to save themselves. It uses this strategy to uncover that the Rohingya have to fight for their own freedom themselves. Compared to the studies in previous section, Rohingya are not portrayed as a risk or threat, but rather victims or heroes.

Available research has shown that mainstream newspapers, both globally but also from non-recipient countries of Rohingya refugees, do portray the key actors similarly. The news discourse in these newspapers rather focuses on the religious aspect, emphasizing what the Buddhists do to the (Rohingya) Muslims and portray them as victims and the Buddhists as perpetrators. But in national newspapers, the news discourse is different and tends to surround more on the country’s own position to the Rohingya crisis.

2.3 Research Gap

There is quite a lot of research on media’s role in portraying different refugee groups in news discourse. There is even some research on media’s representation of the Rohingya, even though it is not a lot. However, the existing research on Rohingya’s representation in media focuses on either the national media in Myanmar and Bangladesh, the global mainstream media or the media in countries not affected by the crisis. It has shown that refugees generally tend to be portrayed negatively and as a homogenous group. Though the news discourses of national media’s portrayal of same refugee group differs. Since available research only focus on the main recipient countries, Myanmar and Bangladesh, other affected neighboring countries are put in the shadow. Both Malaysia and Thailand are
receiving Rohingya Refugees but get little attention in research on this topic. There is no research on how Rohingya are portrayed in these countries though these countries too, play an important role in this crisis. Thus, the ideological perspectives in the different news discourses on Rohingya remain hidden.
3 Methodological Framework

The suited methodology for this thesis is identified is a qualitative abductive desk study. Qualitative research is a form of interpretative inquiry where the researcher interprets what they see, hear and understands (Creswell, 2009:176). With an abductive reasoning, the researcher views the studied phenomena through a lens, in order to understand the studied material (Bryman, 2012:401).

This study takes on a textual analysis or more precisely, a Critical Discourse Analysis. Critical Discourse Analysis is a form of Discourse Analysis (DA) which is an approach to language in different forms of communication other than talks (Bryman, 2012:528). DA views the world as constituted in one way or another as people talk it, write it and argue it (ibid:33). When using Discourse Analysis to analyze the mass media communication, the approach deals with the process which concerns the production and the uses of the news (Van Dijk, 1988:2). Though in CDA, the language’s role is of a power resource and links to ideology as well as socio-cultural image (Bryman, 2012:33). Furthermore, CDA seeks to reveal how discourses are constructed, maintained but also the meaning of that particular phenomena (Ibid:537).

Furthermore, the notion Discourse have different meanings for different researcher, although the common factor is that discourse is a form of social practice (Bloor & Bloor, 2007:8). A social practice is a human behavior which includes certain conventions that is considered socially established. Though the social actor does have some degree of individual freedom and opportunities for unique behavior. Religious services, birthday parties and business meetings are a few examples of social practices.

Moreover, Van Dijk (1987:22) argues that discourse also is a cognitive and social accomplishment within a communicative text. The structures of the discourse and its interpersonal and social functions are claimed to be “cognitively interpreted, planned, programmed, monitored and executed” (Van Dijk, 1987:22).
CDA as an interdisciplinary approach has no specific methodology that is characteristic, which therefore is also one of its incredible characteristics (Martínez, 2007). It is considered theoretically and methodologically heterogenetic. Although from a methodological perspective, CDA allows the researcher certain freedom to formulate new perspectives which can help to facilitate the translation of the theoretical assumptions into tool used for analysis. Furthermore, within Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) there are various theoretical and methodological approaches, and thus CDA is used both as theory and method (Wodak & Meyer, 2008). Despite the wide range of approaches from different researchers with their different disciplinary backgrounds, there are several principles that is constitutive to all approaches. Firstly, they are all interested in the usage of language and the properties of language use which are considered naturally occurring. Secondly, they focus on larger entities such as text and conversations rather than only isolated words and sentences. Moreover, they study the functions of the context of language use, but also the phenomena of text grammar and language use such as topics, macro-structures, argumentation and signs. Additionally, they all extent to the non-verbal aspect of interaction and communication.

3.1 Analytical Framework

The main influential researchers in this field are Fairclough, Van Dijk and Wodak (Sheyholislami, 2001). They have all developed an approach each differentiating from each other. This study will be using the approach by Van Dijk, as the Socio-Cognitive model is frequently used in research on social inclusion and exclusion and discourse reproduction of racism (Wodak & Meyer, 2008). It has also been used in research on the representation of immigrants, asylum-seekers and refugees. Furthermore, Van Dijk focuses on the news discourse and the representations of ethnic groups and racism.

Fairclough’s approach the Three-Dimensional Critical Discourse Analysis consists of analysis of communicative text; [1] the linguistics of the text, [2] the discursive practice and [3] social practice (Bergström & Boréus, 2013:374-375). Furthermore, this approach focuses and is suitable for linguistic analysis of the language use in terms of capitalism,
contemporary social and cultural change such as globalization (Wodak & Meyer, 2008). Thus, the approach is structure-based.

Wodak’s *Discourse-Historical Approach* (DHA) is also three-dimensional, including [1] genre, [2] discourses and [3] text (Wodak & Meyer, 2008). Wodak’s approach is combining linguistic analysis with historical, sociological, theoretical and methodological approaches. This approach is suitable on the field of politics, developing conceptual frameworks for the political discourse. Additionally, the approach takes a historical perspective in the analysis and thus the context is mainly understood historical.

The approach of Fairclough is similarly to Van Dijk’s approach, though the differences between the approaches is the second dimension (Sheyholismali, 2001). Fairclough claims that the mediation between the discourse and the social is the text production and consumption, whereas for Van Dijk, it is the social cognitive.

Van Dijk argues that the social structures and discourse structures cannot be directly related and thus a mediation of an interface is necessary (Wodak & Meyer, 2008). The interface has to be cognitive, as social situations are not ‘objective’ but rather subjective interpretations of relevant properties of communicative situation that influence text and talk. Therefore, discourse study triangulates between society, culture and situation.

Van Dijk relies on socio-cognitive theory and claims that CDA should base on theory of context, and thus the social representations play an important role for Van Dijk (Wodak & Meyer, 2008). For Van Dijk, the social actors involved in discourse also rely on social shared frames of perceptions, the social representation, and not merely on the experiences of the individual. The collectively shared perceptions are created as a link between the social system and the individual cognitive system. Additionally, the link works as the “translation, homogenization and coordination” between the requirements which are external and the subjective experience.

1.1.1 Van Dijk’s Socio-Cognitive Approach as Method

Van Dijk’s (2007) Socio-Cognitive Approach operates both as a theory as well as a method. The approach enables the researcher to study the material on both a micro and a macro level. The micro level operates on a detail level and the macro level includes analyzing of topical structures of the texts. This study will analyze structures on micro and macro levels in order to enable categorizing different types of topics and structures based on the researching news discourses.

1.1.2.1 Micro Level of Analysis

The micro level of social order includes analyzing usage of language, discourse, unwritten interaction and communication (Van Dijk, 2007). The grammatical structures are on focus (Van Dijk, 1987:34-35). Discourse reveals the possibility of usage of language variation, it shows alternatives of formulation of “same” meaning. Characteristically through syntax by analyzing how sentences are arranged, and lexicon by choices of vocabulary, but also through practices of quotations (Khazraji, 2018). Additionally, the factors in the communicative context, for instance evaluation of status, gender and age (Van Dijk, 2007).

1.1.2.2 Macro Level of Analysis

To be able to characterize the overall forms of discourse, analyzing on a micro level is not enough (Van Dijk, 1988:26-27). There is also a need for a more global level of description of a part of discourse or the entire discourses. Micro level cannot be relied upon its ability to identify discourse topic or theme as its analysis of words and sentences are more isolated. The macro-syntax is able to reveal the overall organizational patterns in one sentence syntax, such as headlines in news discourse. Though the micro and macro levels are related to each other, just as meaning and action are systematically related. The meanings of whole text parts or entire text originates from local meanings of words and sentences. Furthermore, semantic macro-positions are also called topics (Van Dijk, 2004). In a discourse, the topics define the information which the speaker finds most relevant or important.
Van Dijk (1988:34) explains that as soon as we have heard the first sentence, we often guess what the topic of the text or the talk may be about. The importance of this knowledge is that the topic acts as a major control instance on further interpretation of the rest of the text. News headlines express a macro-position as headlines acts as a summary of the news text.

1.1.2 Van Dijk’s Socio-Cognitive Approach as Theory

Van Dijk (2004) perceives Discourse Analysis as ideology analysis and has thus developed a theoretical approach to ideologies. Ideologies are considered the basic frameworks for organizing social cognitions that are shared among members of social groups, organizations or institutions. Social cognitions according to Van Dijk is the shared representation of knowledge, ideologies, values, attitudes and norms of a specific group, society or culture.

The three levels of analysis mentioned above, [1] social analysis, [2] cognitive analysis and [3] discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 2004), will be used in this study as theory. The social analysis consists of an analyze on overall societal and institutional structures but also group relations and group structures such as discrimination, racism and norms. The cognitive analysis focuses on sociocultural values such as equality and solidarity, attitudes and ideologies such as racist, feminist and sexist. The discourse analysis itself is primarily text based, including semantics, syntax, topics, schematic structures and so forth.

This approach together with the Framing Theory by Robert Entman, will form the analytical framework for this study to investigate how the Rohingya are portrayed in news headlines. Both theories are linguistic analysis and thus they are operating similarly, which deepens and complements each other.

1.1.3 Framing Theory

The media framing or its impacts can be explained scientifically by observing factors that can categorize as predictors for response on both individual and group cognitive behavior (Azfal, 2016). The Rohingya crisis is an example where the incident would lead to some sort of social phobia that could worsen by media framing, through different factors such as negative evaluation of the incidents and lack of information.
The basis of Framing Theory by Robert Entman is that an issue can be viewed from different perspectives and interpreted as having implications for numerous values or considerations (Chong & Druckman, 2007). The Framing Theory proposes a description of the power of a communicating text (Entman, 1993). The process of framing involves selection and salience, where to frame is to consciously select certain aspects of a perceived reality and then construct them to be more salient in the communicating text. Making a text salient means making a piece of information more meaningful, noticeable or memorable. An example of how to make a text more salient is by using certain words and images repeatedly together. Thus, news frames are constructed by usage of keywords, metaphors, concepts and symbols which are emphasized in news narratives (Entman, 1991).

Framing plays a major role in the exercise of political power (Entman, 1993). In particular political news, the frame is the imprint of power. It registers the identity of actors or interests competed to dominate the text. Frames emphasizes some aspects of reality while obscuring other elements, which could result in the different reactions among the audience.

Entman (1993) explains four framing functions:

1. Define problems – Determines what the particular agent’s actions are and the costs and benefits of it
2. Diagnose causes – Identifies the forces causing the problem
3. Make moral judgements – Evaluates the agents and their effects
4. Suggests remedies – Suggests and justify treatments for the problems but it also predicts their potential results

Furthermore, a single sentence may perform several functions but can also not perform any of them (Entman, 1993). A text can make bits of information more salient by placing them in a certain way or by repetition. Another strategy for salience is to associate the bits of information with culturally familiar symbols. Though most frames are defined by what they exclude and include, frames draw attention to some aspects of reality while keeping other elements obscured.
Frames affect the attitudes and behaviors of their audiences (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Entman (1991) claims that if a single frame is thoroughly dominating a narrative, then the politically inspiring majorities will achieve mutual understandings. It is not necessary that everyone interpret a story alike, though it is necessary only that the significant majority does.

3.2 Usage in Research

I will mainly rely on the Framing theory to identify the frame functions whereas I will be using the Socio-Cognitive Approach to understand the underlying structures of the ideologies behind the framing.

Firstly, I will study how Rohingya are portrayed as an actor of the crisis and to what extent they get media attention in each country. I will also analyze how other actors are portrayed in relation to Rohingya and to what extent they get media attention, to further understand the depth of the portrayal of Rohingya. By investigating how actors are portrayed and who dominates the media, I believe will facilitate the mapping of ideology revealing.

Then, to understand what news frames are used and which narrative is dominating, I will be identifying which frame function(s) are frequently used. I will also continue the analysis of words and keywords, symbols and metaphors in the headlines. This analyzing process will investigate how the newspapers select what themes and topics are important. In other words, how they select their frames.

After I have identified the frame functions, I will continue with the Socio-Cognitive Approach and study if factors such as number of refugees, religion, societal and institutional structures and culture matters in reporting. Analyzing using this theory will explain why certain framing is used by the country.

3.3 Headlines

Headlines have an important cognitive function since they are most often read first (Van Dijk, 1991:50). The main function of a headline is to summarize the article, the main ‘topic’. Moreover, the information on the headline is strategically used by the reader when processing the information to understand the overall meaning or the main topic of the rest of
the article. Furthermore, readers do often not read more than the headline of a news report. The information in the headline is also used to activate the “relevant knowledge” in the reader’s memory which is necessary in order to understand the report. It is additionally used to signal to the audience how the situation or event that is reported on should be defined (Ibid:51).

However, since news headlines express the most essential information, they could distort the understanding process (Van Dijk, 1991:51). This can happen by summarizing what, according to the journalist, is the most essential. Such summary means that the reporting of the events is opinionated.

3.4 Case Selection

Some criteria were created before selecting which countries to investigate in this study. The selection is based on the following; [1] third point of exit, [2] regional and [3] religion.

The first criterion requires that selected countries are not the main recipient countries but often third point of exit for the Rohingya. The second criterion aims at targeting those countries within the region. The third criterion refers to the dominating religion in the country, where one country has the same dominating religion as Myanmar (Buddhism) and the other one as Rohingya (Muslim).

Based on criteria created, the countries selected are Malaysia and Thailand. Furthermore, Malaysia is a Muslim-majority country and Thailand a Buddhist-majority. With these factors makes it possible to analyze not only how they are portraying the Rohingya and other actors, but also how they relate to each other.

3.5 Choice of Newspapers

Two online newspaper sites from each country are to be focused on. The criteria for the newspaper comprise of; [1] societal and [2] popularity.

The first criterion refers to newspapers which reports on a wide range of societal topics rather than any specific dominating topic, such as economic or sports. The second criterion requires
the newspaper to have a big audience as it then represents its influence and the general societal perspective. Therefore, based on the criteria, the newspapers for this study are *The Nation* and *Bangkok Post* from Thailand and *The Star* and *News Straits Times* from Malaysia.

### 3.5.1 Newspapers from Thailand

*The Nation* and *Bangkok Post* are the two biggest English-language newspapers in Thailand. What is worth mentioning about the media in Thailand is that the latest report of ‘Freedom of the Press’ in 2017 by the Freedom House (2018a), does not consider the Press Freedom status in Thailand as free.

However, *The Nation* was founded in 1971 and is owned by the Nation Multimedia Group, but also a member of Asia News Network. The Nation has a far-right opinion page but the media coverage in The Nation is considered to be center-right.

The *Bangkok Post* was first founded in 1946 and is Thailand’s second oldest newspaper. The major shareholders of Bangkok Post are Chirathivat Family, South China Morning Post of Hong Kong and GMM Grammy Pcl. When it comes to political stand, Bangkok Post considers themselves as comparatively free.

### 3.5.2 Newspapers from Malaysia

Both *The Star* and *News Strait Times* are the two most popular English-language daily newspapers in Malaysia. Though *The Star* is the largest paid English newspaper circulating in Malaysia whereas News Strait Times comes second. The status of the ‘Freedom of the Press’ according to the latest report of Malaysia in 2017 by Freedom House (2018b), claims that Malaysia does not have free Press Freedom.

*The Star* was founded in 1971 and is today owned by the Star Media Group. Its major shareholder is the political party Malaysian Chinese Association, who seeks to represent the Malaysian Chinese.
The *New Straits Times* was first founded in 1845 as *The Straits Times*, but reestablished in 1974 as *New Straits Times*. The newspaper company is owned by Media Prima which is a mass media company.

### 3.6 Choice of Headlines

The choice of headlines for this study are also based on some criteria. The headlines have to include the first criterion, and least one criterion of the others; [1] date, [2] statement, [3] opinion, [4] Rohingya and [5] other actors.

The first criterion targets headlines from the latest ethnic cleansing, 25 August 2017 throughout 2018. The second and third criteria refer to a headline which expresses a certain statement or opinion regarding the Rohingya or the crisis. The fourth criterion aims at targeting headlines where Rohingya are described or opinionated as doing or saying something. The last criterion requires that the headline focuses on other actors involved in the crisis.

As the criterion was established, the next step was to collect the data. The archive of each newspaper was supposed to be used to search for the articles. Though all newspaper’s website except *New Straits Times* had an archive, it was not in usage since the articles stored were either too old or too fresh. Hence, the search function in the newspaper’s website was used. To find the articles, the searched words ‘Rohingya*’, ‘Rohingya* Myanmar’, ‘Rohingya* refugees’ and ‘Rohingya crisis’ was used. By using the symbol * after ‘Rohingya’ indicates that some letters might have been left out such as ‘Rohingyas’. The search engines located all articles consisting of these words, whether they were in the headline or in the article.

All headlines selected are coded in a certain way in order to facilitate the referencing of the headlines and the flow in the text. For instance, the code for the newspaper *The Nation* is as following: TH.TN.H1. The two first letters, TH, represent Thailand. After that, TN, represents the first letters of each word of the newspaper’s name, which in this case is The Nation. Headline is coded as H with a number attached. The headlines are structured by dates before given the code, therefore which number the headline has depends on the timeline.
3.7 Limitation and Delimitation

A limitation to this study is the need for the newspapers to be written in English since I speak neither languages (Malaysian and Thai). Since English is not the main language in both countries, I am aware that the most popular newspapers in each country are reporting in their national language, which targets and reaches a bigger audience. Furthermore, targeting English speaking audience could be considered targeting international public rather than the national.

Another limitation is that me as the researcher, I am also the reader of the headlines and interpret the headlines based on my knowledge and understandings. Therefore, I might not read the headlines in same way as the targeted audience. Though how the audience interpret the headlines is neither a research focus of the study, but what enables them to interpret certain things are.

One of the delimitations to this study is the limited countries chosen. There are several countries in affected by the refugee flow, and additionally not only within the region. There are Rohingya refugees in other countries such as Australia and United States also, though the numbers are very small.

An additional delimitation is the number of articles and newspaper channels. The data for this study is not representative of all news discourse within the country, but it is a part. However, the chosen newspapers are one of the most common read and popular ones in the countries. Furthermore, as the press freedom is not considered free in these countries, a study on who’s opinion expressed is harder to detect as the government has the right to censor. Yet, due to this restriction, it can also be considered that it facilitates the detection of the government’s agenda.
4 Findings

This chapter presents the data compiled from the newspapers from Malaysia and Thailand. Micro analysis has been carried out in order to perform macro analysis to reveal the topics in the news reports. The results in this chapter are categorized by topics and sub-topics. The first topic concerns the portrayal of Rohingyas and their situation. The second topic presents how the Rohingya are presented if not as actors. The last topic presents the portrayal of other actors.

4.1 Topicalization of the Rohingya and Their Situation

The Rohingya and their situation being topicalized was observed to be more common in Malaysian newspapers than in Thailand newspapers. Moreover, the situation which Rohingya are facing and their actions are the dominating topics in Malaysian newspapers headlines. However, topicalization of the Rohingya are carried out in different ways.

4.1.1 What They Do and Need for Survival

In those headlines where the actions of Rohingya are emphasized, it reports on what they do in order to survive the violence in Myanmar. The consequences could be to flee the country or related to their lack of basic needs such as food.

MA.TS.H4: Bodies wash up on Bangladesh shore as Rohingya flee Myanmar

MA.TS.H6: About 146,000 Rohingya have fled Myanmar violence to Bangladesh

MA.TS.H7: By land, river and sea, Rohingya make their escape from Myanmar

MA.TS.H9: Exclusive - U.N. expects up to 300,000 Rohingya could flee Myanmar violence to Bangladesh

TH.TN.H2: 600,000 Rohingya children may flee to Bangladesh, aid group warns

As the headlines report about Rohingya fleeing, they also report the Rohingya in numbers, emphasizing a mass exodus from Myanmar where Rohingya face violence. At the same time an influx to another place which in this case is to Bangladesh. Additionally, fleeing is a verb
which is attached to the group Rohingya in the headlines. By reporting what Rohingya do, the newspapers not only acknowledge the ethnic group, but also acknowledge them as active actors. Furthermore, the news discourse in Malaysia reports on the actions of Rohingya to greater extent than the news discourse in Thailand, and also emphasizes the risks they take.

The headline MA.TS.H4 does not only report that the Rohingya are fleeing from Myanmar, but also the risk that they take in order to survive. The headline does not literally write the Rohingya die during the exodus by the sea since they write “bodies wash up”. A body that washes up can have different meanings, it can mean a body literally gets washed as in cleaned up. It can also mean that somebody is no longer successful or needed, or it can mean corpses are brought up to the shore by the waves of the sea. Though in this context, the author of the headline means the latter one. This knowledge of the meaning of bodies being washed up is considered relevant in order to understand the meaning of the headline.

Furthermore, in the headline MA.TS.H7 Rohingya are explained to be going through anything to escape the violence, by mentioning different kinds of environmental routes they take; land, river and sea. This activates the reader’s imagination during the process of understanding.

Headlines about Rohingya fleeing Myanmar also reports their lack of food in Myanmar and the Rakhine state.

**MA.NST.H2:** Rakhine's remaining Rohingya villagers eating leaves to survive

**MA.NST.H5:** Thousands of new Rohingya refugees flee violence, hunger in Myanmar to Bangladesh

**MA.NST.H10:** Quarter of Rohingya refugee children acutely malnourished

**TH.TN.H3:** Myanmar's Rohingya: cornered by poverty, stalked by violence

The headlines report the conditions of the Rohingya escaping hunger, are malnourished and that they eat leaves to survive. The Rohingya are not mentioned in numbers but still described in volumes, which gives the reader enough knowledge to know that there are a lot of Rohingya suffering from hunger and lack of food. Additionally, the reporting of hunger
in headline MA.NST.H2 and MA.NST.H5 is attached to Rohingya who are still in the Rakhine state or fleeing Myanmar indicating that Myanmar and the Rakhine state does not provide food security for the Rohingya. Moreover, headline TH.TN.H3 from Thailand claims that the Rohingya in Myanmar are suffering from poverty. Lack of food and living in poverty is connected to their economic situation in Myanmar.

Furthermore, food is a basic need in order to survive. The headlines indicate that the Rohingya are in a difficult and critical situation. Moreover, Malaysia focuses more on reporting the living condition of the Rohingya than Thailand. Though the headline (TH.TN.H3) from Thailand does not refer to lack of food, malnutrition or what the Rohingya have to do to survive in relation to food. The headline uses the term ‘poverty’ whereas there are different types of poverty such as relative poverty or secondary poverty that does not include lack of the basic need food. Though with the knowledge of the Rohingya in the back of the reader’s mind, this term is related to the primary poverty or absolute poverty, where lack of food is included.

4.1.2 Women and Children

The situation of Rohingya are emphasized also by the newspapers reporting on women and children, though mainly children. Women and children are generally considered as the most vulnerable group in the society.

MA.TS.H5: Rohingya women, children die in desperate boat escape from Myanmar

MA.TS.H8: Five children drown as Rohingya boats sink

MA.NST.H10: Quarter of Rohingya refugee children acutely malnourished

TH.TN.H2: 600,000 Rohingya children may flee to Bangladesh, aid group warns

TH.TN.H6: Rohingya children must be protected

TH.BP.H6: Half 'lost' Rohingya children orphaned by violence: study

As Rohingya women and children are highlighted as a sub-group(s) within Rohingya, they get additional attention in the newspapers. Women and children are worldwide considered
to be the most vulnerable and exposed group, especially children. Reporting their situation and what they are exposed to, the newspapers take a stand and demonstrate that Rohingya children need protection.

The reporting of women and children in the newspapers in Malaysia report on fatality and in relation to the escape from the violence they face in Myanmar. It highlights the risk that they take and who the refugees are. Newspaper from Thailand also reports on Rohingya emphasizing the situation of children. Though they report differently than the newspapers from Malaysia, by taking a stand as an actor showing there is a need for action and preparation to protect the children.

Furthermore, the headline TH.BP.H6 from Thailand indicates that the Rohingya children are orphaned by the action of the violence. Much like the violence itself is an actor rather than an action of an actor.

4.1.3 Rohingya as Passive Actor

The Rohingya are portrayed as active actors when topicalized. Though the newspaper from Thailand also portray Rohingya as passive actors, which differs from the news discourse in Malaysia.

TH.TN.H8: Boat carrying Rohingya arrives in Malaysia: official

TH.TN.H10: Road crash saves Rohingya teenager from forced marriage

TH.BP.H9: Rohingya migrant boat lands in Indonesia

In the headline TH.TN.H8, the boat which is a substantive, is described as doing something with a verb. In this headline, it indicates that the boat is carrying Rohingya to Malaysia. Since Rohingya are presented as passive actors, it is interpreted as they did not take action in the migration themselves but instead the boat is doing it for them. Similarly, for the headline TH.TN.H10, the road crash itself saved the Rohingya teenager from a forced marriage that would otherwise have happened. Furthermore, the headline TH.BP.H9 from Thailand uses the term ‘migrant’ and not refugee, which has two different meanings. A migrant is not a refugee as the migrant moves from one place to another, often in order to
improve the living condition. While the refugee has been forced to leave the country to escape conflict, persecution or natural disaster.

4.2 When Rohingya are not Described as Actors

The Rohingya are mostly described as active actors but have also been described as passive actors by the news in Thailand. But when they are not described as actors at all, the Rohingya situation is portrayed as security risk.

MA.NST.H8: Rohingya refugee crisis a ‘grave security risk’ ICG warns

TH.TN.H7: Malaysia warns Rohingya crisis could pose security risk

Both countries report the Rohingya crisis itself as a security risk, and yet it is rarely that they do that. But when it happens, the newspapers use other actors’ voice to report. In the newspaper from Thailand the headline TH.TN.H7 claims that the warning comes from Malaysia. The headline MA.NST.H8 from Malaysia uses the International Crisis Group to report about the topic. Both countries do this kind of reporting, and by using same approach.

4.3 Topicalization of Other Actors

Other actors affected and involved in the crisis were also topicalized. Though it was observed that the newspapers from Thailand focused more on other actors than in Malaysia, who focuses predominantly on the Rohingya.

4.3.1 Malaysia

The Malaysian newspapers have additionally reported on its own country regarding the Rohingya situation. Though the position of Malaysia as an actor is not much reported on and emphasized. Besides, in headlines where Malaysia or the newspaper expresses opinion, it comes in form of concern.

MA.NST.H1: Malaysia urges Myanmar to take action over acts of genocide

MA.NST.H3: Fear of Rohinyga’s ending-up as human trafficking victims
MA.TS.H10: Reezal: Malaysia will continue to use international platforms to resolve Rohingya issue

The country is described as it is putting efforts in resolving the issue. Malaysia is communicating with Myanmar urging them to act on the genocide that is happening in the country. In the headline MA.NST.H1, Malaysia does not refer to any actor of the genocide, though they communicate with Myanmar as an actor that has the power to stop the violence. Furthermore, the headline MA.TS.H10 indicates that Malaysia is already active in the process of trying to resolve the issue, though the country will be continuing using its power and its resources in order to resolve it. However, the statement which is quoted, comes from Reezal Merican, who is a politician, a member of the state parliament in Malaysia.

4.3.2 Thailand

Thailand does not report on its own country the way Malaysia does, in a way which makes it seem like the country is actively doing something. However, the statements on the headlines seem to represent concerns.

TH.BP.H3: Myanmar sees rise in tourism despite Rohingya crisis

TH.BP.H4: Fear and isolation for Myanmar’s remaining Rohingya

TH.TN.H6: Rohingya children must be protected

In headline TH.BP.H3 and TH.TN.H6 the newspapers are making a statement using without any specific actor responsible for the statement. It indicates that the statement itself belongs to the newspaper or the journalist. In the headline TH.BP.H3, it problematizes that the Rohingya crisis is not a priority enough to the global world, since tourism in Myanmar rises. The headline TH.TN.H6 indicates that there is a need for protection of Rohingya children.

4.3.3 ASEAN

ASEAN are topicalized only in the Newspaper in Thailand. Furthermore, it is described as an important actor who has the power to resolve the issue but does not.

TH.TN.H4: Asean Way means no respect for human rights of the Rohingya
TH.TN.H9: Asean bloc must step up to solve Rohingya crisis: US official

TH.BP.H5: Asean 'must not ignore' Rohingya

The news discourse in Thailand regarding ASEAN seem to be critical to the actions of ASEAN and urges them to take action about the crisis. The headline TH.TN.H4 is a statement claiming that the approach of ASEAN violates the human rights of the Rohingya. It accuses ASEAN of not caring about the basic rights that all humans are entitled of, in this situation regards the Rohingya. Additionally, the headline TH.TN.H9 and TH.BP.H5 have same topic, urging ASEAN to solve the crisis, though the headline TH.TN.H9 is reported by quoting a US official.

4.3.4 United Nations

The United Nations (UN) seems to have an important role in solving the crisis. Though they are mainly topicalized in the newspaper in Thailand and does not receive same attention in Malaysian news discourse.

MA.TS.H9: Exclusive - U.N. expects up to 300,000 Rohingya could flee Myanmar violence to Bangladesh

TH.BP.H1: UN: Global community must step up Rohingya aid

TH.TN.H1: UN urged to punish Myanmar army over Rohingya 'atrocities'

TH.TN.H5: UN turns up pressure on Myanmar over Rohingya crisis

The headlines which topicalize UN indicates that UN plays a significant role. Furthermore, the first word in the headline MA.TS.H9 is ‘Exclusive’, indicating that the article is special and does only appear in this channel.

Both Malaysia and Thailand are acknowledging Rohingya as an ethnic group and also as actors. Though Malaysia reports predominantly on the situation of the Rohingya living conditions and their actions. Thailand focuses more on reporting other actors involved in the crisis. It gives attention to actors such as UN and ASEAN who seem to play an important role in solving the Rohingya crisis. Furthermore, when reporting on the actions of the
Rohingya, only Thailand report on the Rohingya as passive actors, which indicates that the Rohingya themselves actually do not save themselves but other things or incidents do.
5 Analysis

In this chapter, the findings from previous chapter will be analyzed and discussed using the Framing Theory by Robert Entman and the Socio-Cognitive Approach by Teun Van Dijk. The structure of this chapter is largely divided into two sections, whereas in the first section Framing Theory the analysis is drawn by the theory of Entman. This section is furthermore divided into four headings, which is based on the frame functions defined by Entman. Although the first and second frame function are under same heading. The reason is because these frame functions have been largely used together in the news discourse in these countries. The fourth one discusses the headlines which are not performing any frame function.

The second section of this chapter consists of an analysis based on the Socio-Cognitive Approach. It means that the first step in this analysis chapter is to identify the frame functions and the second step is to analyze the underlying structure behind the framings. However, Malaysia and Thailand are being analyzed separately.

5.1 Framing Theory

5.1.1 Defining a Problem and Diagnose a Cause of the Problem

The majority of news headlines in Malaysia consist of the two first functions of frames. As Entman (1993) states, a sentence can perform several functions. For Malaysia, the two first functions are frequently used for one single headline. As for Thailand, it was noticed that the headlines do not perform more than one frame function as often as in Malaysia. Though the two first frame functions could also be performing in one headline.

The majority of the news headlines in Malaysia indicate that Myanmar itself is a problem or an actor that causes problems. From the findings, Malaysia reports predominantly on Rohingya as actors and emphases their situation. Furthermore, it was noticed that the word ‘violence’ is often and repeatedly used in relation to Myanmar to frame the country. By repeatedly using the word ‘Myanmar’ together with ‘violence’ makes the text more salient and memorable for the reader, since the reader then perceives Myanmar as problematic and
violent. Furthermore, the consequences of the problem or cause of the problem are predominantly identified when ‘Myanmar’ and ‘violence’ are used together or just ‘Myanmar’. Moreover, when diagnosing the cause of the problem, it reports mainly on the costs of the actions, which is related to Rohingya, such as they are fleeing, suffering but also in fatality. Reports on Rohingya fleeing the violence in Myanmar, consist of who is fleeing, to where, why and sometimes how. The keywords in these articles selected are ‘Rohingyas’, ‘flee’, ‘violence’ and ‘Myanmar’. Though when reporting that Rohingya are fleeing ‘Myanmar violence’, it points out that the Myanmar violence is the problem, causing Rohingya to flee. Their portrayal is similarly to the news discourse in Bangladesh in Isti’anah’s study (2018), as they are acknowledged active actors who is taking actions in order to survive and save themselves.

Although in comparison to the study of Isti’anah (2018), Malaysia does emphasize the situation of the Rohingya more than Bangladesh, often by using other words or details. In Bangladesh, when reporting the exodus from Myanmar to Bangladesh, they use the word ‘enter’ to describe the influx. In Malaysia and Thailand when describing the same situation, they use the word ‘flee’.

Likewise, in Thailand this framing of Rohingya fleeing occurs. Though in the headlines, the reader does not get information of why or what/who they are fleeing from. Additionally, when the first frame function is performing in a headline, Myanmar is most often not directly defined as the problem by the voice of the newspapers. They are defined as the problem through another external actor who is topicalized in the headline. Otherwise, the problem defined is the violence itself or an actor’s action. When violence is the problem, there are no actors described as performing the act of violence, a situation is occurring ‘by violence’. Though reporting violence as a cause is not frequently used as frame function. Still, the act of violence does not have a responsible owner.

The newspapers in Thailand does not focus on reporting the exodus of the Rohingya. Comparing how Bangladesh, Myanmar and Malaysia report on the crisis, Thailand stands out. Like Myanmar, Thailand does not focus on the Rohingya, although the news discourse in Myanmar focuses on the government’s deeds. The news discourse in Thailand focuses on
other actors’ actions and non-actions emphasizing that the Rohingya crisis have to be resolved.

Furthermore, both Malaysia and Thailand use terms such as ‘women’ and ‘children’ when reporting the situation of Rohingya, which differs from in Bangladesh and Myanmar. By using these words, it can be argued that they report more emphatically or emotionally than Bangladesh and Myanmar.

As the news discourse in Malaysia predominantly reports about Myanmar as problematic and its consequences, it additionally reports mainly in a certain way which aims to trigger reactions emotionally for the reader. Thailand also uses this frame, though not to same extent. The results from the findings section showed that Malaysia rather reports on news focusing on the Rohingya and emphasizing their situation in different ways.

To emphasize the situation of the Rohingya, the news headlines are framed by reporting the physical state such as hunger, starvation and malnutrition but also the mental health effects. This framing is only used in Malaysia. Furthermore, frequently occurring words that are used and have possibility to trigger the reader emotionally is ‘children’, ‘women’, ‘die’, ‘malnourish’, ‘hunger’, ‘violence’, ‘flee’, ‘survive’ and ‘drown’. The words by themselves might not trigger any emotional reaction. However, it is the selection of words and the combination of them together which creates an emotional framing. These words are regularly selected and combined in the headlines which according to Entman (1993) makes the information more salient for the reader. Such news reporting is similarly to as in Brooten’s (2015) and Azfal’s (2016) study where the living conditions of the Rohingya are highlighted. Furthermore, as shown in the findings, there could be environmental descriptions in combination with this topic, for instance the headline MA.TS.H7: By land, river and sea Rohingya make their escape from Myanmar. According to Van Dijk (1991:51), such portrayal facilitates the understanding of the situation that the Rohingya are facing, since the meaning of these words and phrases alone are considered general and relevant knowledge.

Furthermore, some headlines focus on a reaction or response from an actor. In the case of Malaysia, it describes the reaction of the Rohingya when facing certain situations. The
reactions that are described relates to their mental health such as anxiety or suicidal thoughts Rohingya have when knowing they have to return to Myanmar. This framing puts the Rohingyas’ emotions on display which humanizes them and facilitates the understanding of their situation for the reader.

Based on what is shown in the findings, Rohingya themselves are not defined as a security risk, though the Rohingya crisis itself is considered a security risk for the nation. This contradicts previous research which have shown that refugees in general are a security risk (Tyskää, et al., 2018; Ulum, 2016; Bradimore & Bauder, 2011; Ferreira, et al., 2017; Khosravnik, 2010).

5.1.2 Make Moral Judgements
The third frame function is barely practiced in Malaysia. Yet, when it is used, it uses its own voice and expresses concerns about the Rohingya. This frame function is more practiced in Thailand as they too, express concerns about the Rohingya, Rohingya children or opinions on other actors’ actions which is not considered morally acceptable, as for instance TH.TN.HH6: Rohingya children must be protected.

Those headlines with this frame function do express any perspective in relation to ethics or social responsibility. In those headlines where concerns are expressed emotionally, the word ‘fear’ has been used as the concern and topicalized. Two examples of such headlines are MA.NST.H3: Fear of Rohinyga’s ending-up as human trafficking victims and TH.BP.H4: Fear and isolation for Myanmar’s remaining Rohingya. These headlines indicate that the newspaper or the journalist is taking a stand and shows concern about what could possibly happen to the Rohingya.

Additionally, the morally concern that is also expressed in the headlines of Thailand is about the approach of ASEAN which Thailand is opposing to, claiming their approach is not correct. Furthermore, there are several headlines in this topic, framing ASEAN as not being effective and not acting accordingly. Word phrasings such as ‘ASEAN must’, ‘ASEAN must not’ and ‘Asean Way means’ are used to frame the actor.
The headline MA.NST.H7: *Hospitals fills as Rohingya refugees shiver through winter* from Malaysia is of morally judgement, though from a perspective of capacity and resource. Yet, it expresses concerns about the Rohingya. The headline indicates that there is a current situation where hospitals are in need, but at the same time there is a lack of hospitals as they are getting filled up.

### 5.1.3 Suggesting Remedies

The fourth frame function is rarely used within the news discourse in Malaysia. Yet, when Malaysia is using this frame function, the topic of the headline is political and includes political considerations. When Malaysia reports political considerations or issue political actions, it emphasizes the actions of Malaysia to resolve the crisis, such as MA.NST.H1: *Malaysia urges Myanmar to take action over acts of genocide*. In this headline, Malaysia as an actor is topicalized, and is explained as doing something. Malaysia is not advising Myanmar to take action, but is pushing Myanmar to take action. Using the word ‘urge’ highlights and puts additionally weights on the action.

Thailand on the other hand, uses the frame function more frequently and reports on political considerations or issue political actions. This framing function in the news discourse in Thailand refers to the relationship between nations or groups and includes agreements, outcomes or desired ones. This framing is used more in the news headlines in Thailand as Thailand focuses more on other actors (not Rohingya). Additionally, this framing exists often when an actor is expressing a desired outcome of another actor. For instance, TH.BP.10: *Myanmar asks Bangladesh to stop aid to stranded Rohingya*.

Although Thailand rather reports on other actors’ suggestions such as UN and US official. Furthermore, when the actors are suggesting remedies, they are either being quoted, or being described as doing something, such as ‘urged’, ‘turns up pressure’ and ‘asks’. What the actors actually do is not directly suggesting a remedy, but rather they are “telling” another actor to act or to stop act, which could be to indirectly suggesting. As the other actors than Rohingya or Myanmar are more reported on, they are framed as actors who are influential, possessing power but also, they are crucial for resolving the crisis. Compared to the attention
Rohingya get in the news discourse in Malaysia, when Thailand is using this frame, they put the Rohingya in the shadow by mainly reporting on external actors.

Additionally, the problem to the suggested remedy is not related to Rohingya as actors but to the Rohingya crisis since the words ‘Rohingya’ and ’crisis’ is commonly used within this framing together as ‘Rohingya crisis’.

Several headlines from Thailand consists of this frame function and the first frame function Defining a specific problem together. Those headlines report response, reaction or actions that comes from another actor than Rohingya. Furthermore, the response refers to the Rohingya crisis. An example of such headline is TH.TN.H5: UN turns up pressure on Myanmar over Rohingya crisis. UN is responding to the crisis by putting additional pressure on Myanmar. However, as in Brooten’s (2015) research, UN is portrayed as a savior of the situation, taking actions against Myanmar and urges others to assist in aid.

5.1.4 Not Performing any Frame Function

All headlines in Malaysia and the majority of headlines in Thailand was identified as performing at least one frame function. Although in the headlines in Thailand where the Rohingya are portrayed as passive actors, the headlines did not perform any frame function which Entman purposes (1993), as these headlines are short and concise and only informal. There are no problems or causes defined, not either any suggestions or opinions. Entman also stated that it is not required that text has to be framed.

5.2 Socio-Cognitive Analysis

5.2.1 Analysis of Malaysia

The dominating narrative in the news discourse in Malaysia is to portray Rohingya as active actors who are in a horrible situation, whereas Myanmar is the problem. Additionally, majority of the news are emotionally framed and aim to provoke some emotional reactions from the reader. It aims to gain the reader’s sympathy and empathy for the Rohingya and the situation by using same keywords and phrases, as mentioned before. An example of such is MA.TS.H5: Rohingya women, children die in desperate boat escape from Myanmar. A
factor which have an influence is that both Rohingya and the majority of Malaysian population are (Sunni) Muslims. Most people in need for protection fleeing to Malaysia are likewise Muslims (Hoffstaedter, 2017). Malaysia has a long history of being a host country for Muslim refugees in the region. Its history shows that religion as the shared bond is an important factor to qualify for protection in Malaysia. The Rohingya have been fleeing to and resided in Malaysia for decades. The strong tradition in solidarity for its Muslim communion has resulted in Malaysia hardening its tone to Myanmar, urging them to end the killings and violence. Furthermore, some Malaysian groups demands Malaysia to put sanctions and end the bilateral relations with Myanmar (Swedish Embassy Kuala Lumpur, 2016). The news discourse is somewhat reflecting the society as there is a big community and government supporting Rohingya in Malaysia.

Additionally, the findings show that when Malaysia itself is being topicalized, it is portrayed as an actor who is taking actions to resolve the Rohingya crisis, as in the headline MA.TS.H10: Reezal: Malaysia will continue to use international platforms to resolve Rohingya issue. It shows that Malaysia is feeling empathy and sympathy for the them. Although Malaysia has been active in the process of resolving the crisis as they are member of both Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) and in ASEAN, where they are active in lifting the Rohingya crisis (Swedish Embassy Kuala Lumpur, 2016). OIC has been expressing concerns about Rohingya and the violence in Rakhine state and urged Myanmar to take action and to follow the international humanitarian law to reestablish citizenship for the Rohingya and to create a reconciliation process. As for ASEAN, Malaysia is the country in ASEAN which is most active in trying to resolve the crisis. Malaysia supports ASEAN’s principle of non-interference of another country’s national politics. They also argue that if the other country’s national affairs affects other countries, then they cannot be expecting others to be silence. Although the headlines do not have any focus on ASEAN or OIC.

Furthermore, Malaysia and Myanmar have a strong relationship to each other as Malaysia fought for Myanmar to be accepted to be a member of ASEAN (Swedish Embassy Kuala Lumpur, 2016). Malaysia is therefore urging Myanmar as an old friend to stop the violence,
which is reflecting in the headlines collected, as ‘Myanmar violence’ and ‘violence in Myanmar’ is frequently used.

Despite the fact that it is the Muslim communion which contributes to the humanitarian actions of Malaysia, the government has also expressed concerns regarding security risk, including terrorism and the large number of refugees in the country (Swedish Embassy Kuala Lumpur, 2016). It is expressed that if the situation with Rohingya in Rakhine state is not handled, then there is a risk of terrorist groups such as Daesh infiltrates and radicalize the Rohingya group. An example is the headline MA.NST.H8: *Rohingya refugee crisis a ‘grave security risk’ ICG warns*. Another headline which expresses concerns regarding the number of refugees is the headline MA.NST.H7: *Hospitals fills as Rohingya refugees shiver through winter*.

But the fact that Malaysia is not a signatory of the 1951 UN Convention relating to the Status of Refugees nor its 1967 protocol, puts the refugees, asylum-seekers and stateless people in unpredictable and fragile situation (Asia Pacific Refugee Rights Network, 2018). There are no domestic legislation or policy framework to identify and protect refugees within the nation. The contemporary framework makes no differentiation between asylum seekers and refugees, and undocumented migrants. This consequently places them at risk of detention, prosecution, arrest and deportation. As refugees and asylum seekers lack legal status in Malaysia, the legal labor market and basic services such as healthcare and education are inaccessible for many (Asia Pacific Refugee Rights Network, 2018). Furthermore, there are no refugee camps in Malaysia and the refugees live in low-cost housing amongst Malaysian citizens. Although the government is taking financial and social responsibility to protect its ‘Muslim brothers and sisters’ (Swedish Embassy Kuala Lumpur, 2016).

Malaysia accepts Rohingya mostly for the common factor, same religious belief. Though without a domestic legislative and policy framework for such matter, the state government remains sovereign in this issue and controls who gets protection. However, history and the case with Rohingya has shown that it is the religion which grants the refugees protection. While two factors explain the actions of Malaysia in this crisis, namely the solidarity to Muslims and therefore the Rohingya but also the large number of refugees in Malaysia.
5.2.2 Analysis of Thailand

The headlines use different frame functions where no particular frame function is dominating, still the topicalization of actors is same. Based on the findings and framings, the dominating narrative in the news discourse in Thailand is that other actors are important to resolve the crisis as the Rohingya are vulnerable. This is framed through using the voice of other actors, urging one another to resolve the crisis, but also through criticizing other actors by expressing concerns and opinions as in the headline TH.TN.H9: Asean bloc must step up to solve Rohingya crisis: US official. Although it is other actors than Myanmar, Rohingya or Thailand themselves who is often being topicalized, the news discourse in Thailand still show that they want the crisis to be resolved. Reporting other actors’ opinions and actions on the crisis is an indirect statement since the reports focus on problematizing the situation. Besides, it appears as less opinionated, which makes the newspaper seem as impartial and only informational. Furthermore, it puts the Rohingya and their situation out of attention to the public. As mentioned in the introduction, Thailand does not encourage the Rohingya to identify themselves as such either.

Thailand is neither signatory of the 1951 UN Convention relating to the Status of Refugees or its 1967 protocol or have any domestic legislation or policy framework to govern refugee and asylum affairs (Human Rights Watch, 2012). The law in Thailand does not provide legal status to refugees and asylum seekers. Therefore, persons entering Thailand without authorization are considered to be breaking the law and are at risk of being arrested, in detention or reported. Consequently, their need of protection is not assured. Though Thailand does exceptions for refugees from Myanmar who are identified as ‘persons fleeing fighting’. Those acquired this status are required to live in one of the nine refugee camps which are placed near the borders of Thailand and Myanmar. Refugees and asylum seekers are not allowed to move freely in Thailand, and those living in the camps are not allowed to leave them. If caught, they are then being deported. Not allowed to leave the camp also includes not being able to earn income and obtain good quality education for their children. They are only permitted to work if they present themselves as migrant workers to the authorities.
Besides, the refugees and asylum seekers outside of the camps are subject to detention, arrest, prosecution and deportation for being in Thailand illegally.

The situation of Rohingya living in Thailand is restricted and not being reported about, not Rohingya in general much either. Thailand focus on reporting with a problem-solving approach because of the influx of refugees to its own country, which they want to put an end to and prefers refugees to return to their homeland. Furthermore, Thailand views itself as a transit country for the Rohingya, expecting them to continue their travel to somewhere else (Sullivan, 2016). Hence, in those headlines where Rohingya are described as fleeing or arriving to a safer place, they are described to be arriving to another country and sometimes also as passive actors in the situation. An example is the headline TH.TN.H8: Boat carrying Rohingya arrives in Malaysia: official. Since the boat is being topicalized and saving the Rohingya, the reader focuses on the boat itself rather than the Rohingya. As they can be portrayed as passive can be argued is the reality of their situation in Thailand, as they are not allowed outside the camps, work and so forth. Additionally, as Thailand does not either focus on Rohingya or on reporting the mass exodus in August 2017, it can be argued that the audience in Thailand does not have same understanding and sympathy of the Rohingyas’ situation as those in Malaysia.

Even though Thailand and Malaysia have same approach regarding the domestic policy towards refugees and asylum seekers, Thailand additionally have a history of deporting refugees to the borders and leave them there or oblige them to cross (UNHCR, 2006). The report from 2006 conducted by United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) states that these deportations often are informal and can reach up to 10,000 a month. The government has repeatedly violated the rights of refugees and occasionally returned refugees to the situation where they face variations of human rights violations (Amnesty International, 2017). Moreover, not implementing domestic legislation and policy framework gives Thailand control to handle the refugees, which has facilitated the deportations and their ‘push-back policy’ in 2017 to come through.

How Thailand handles the situation with refugees reflects on the focus media has on other actors and the crisis itself. As shown in the findings, ASEAN is interpreted as an important
actor. ASEAN receives criticisms, for instance in the headline TH.TN.H4: *Asean way means no respect for human rights of the Rohingya* and TH.BP.H5: *Asean ‘must not ignore’ Rohingya*. Thailand urges ASEAN to act upon the crisis. Similar to Malaysia, Thailand also wants ASEAN to take action as the Rohingya crisis has become a regional crisis affecting other countries. The media is therefore criticizing the ASEAN principle of non-interference.

Furthermore, as refugees are restricted from different kinds of freedoms hinders them from being able to settle down and integrate into the society. Then again, Thailand seem not to have plans on having refugees resettled. Although in Thailand, if an applicant is considered to be fleeing from persecution, they receive the status of ‘displaced person’ and is entitled for third country resettlement (UNHCR, 2006). However, receiving status ‘fleeing from fighting’ or ‘displaced person’ may require them to return to Myanmar once the circumstances permit. If the applicant is not granted any status, the applicant is put on the waiting area pending return to Myanmar.

Furthermore, as discussed before, Thailand does not report Myanmar as causing the problem of the Rohingya situation. For instance, the headline TH.TN.H3: *Myanmar’s Rohingya: cornered by poverty, stalked by violence* claims it is poverty and violence as actors, rather than an injustice and discriminatory system created by the group of elites in Myanmar. The reason behind such reportage might rely upon the relation between Thailand and Myanmar. Except for sharing borders and hosting refugees from Myanmar, the diplomatic relationship between Thailand and Myanmar has mainly been peaceful (Kipgen, 2017). Both countries are additionally predominantly Buddhist societies having similar food and social activities in common. Besides, the military has a vital influence in politics in both countries. Additionally, as mentioned in the introduction, Thailand has a record of agreeing with Myanmar to not recognize Rohingya as an ethnic group in Myanmar, but as foreigners (Francois & Souris, 2017). Although in the news headlines they are recognized as Rohingya. Thus, considering their relation, the headlines in Thailand does not directly point out Myanmar as the actor causing the situation as they do not directly frame Myanmar as such.

It seems like the main factors which explain the news discourse is that Thailand does not welcome the Rohingya refugees and does not have intentions of having them resettled in the
country and thus need the crisis and refugee flow to be resolved so that the Rohingya can return to Myanmar. Another factor is the diplomatic and social relation and commonalities between Thailand and Myanmar.

As both Malaysia and Thailand have history of hosting refugees, neither country has yet implemented a domestic legislative and policy framework to grant refugees legal status. It seems like it is an approach to being able to maintain full authority on this area, where the government can control who gets protection and who does not. Furthermore, if they implement this framework, there might be an increase of attraction to the countries as refugees flee. Besides, the news discourse in Malaysia reports on Rohingya emphatically, with the main reason of Rohingya belonging to the Muslim communion and therefore, Malaysian is being humanitarian. In contrast to Thailand, where the focus lays in pushing to resolve the crisis as Thailand does not intend to have the Rohingya refugees to be resettled in the country.
6 Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to understand how online newspapers in Malaysia and Thailand present their ideological perspectives on Rohingya in a subtle way to influence the opinion of the general public, as Malaysia and Thailand are not main recipient countries for Rohingya refugees. The material studied for this purpose was 40 news headlines gathered from two newspapers from each country. However, the research questions for this study is:

- How are Rohingya represented in online news in Malaysia and Thailand?
- What similarities and differences are there in how different media present same news item?
- What are the ideologies constructed in Malaysia and Thailand?
- What explains the differences in the media representation of refugees?

The answer to the first question is, in Malaysia the Rohingya are portrayed as active actors in the crisis as they flee Myanmar violence, take risks and do anything to survive. Furthermore, they are presented as being in a horrifying situation. In Thailand the Rohingya are also presented as active actors, but as passive actors too. As they tend to be portrayed as passive actors, they are considered a vulnerable group in need of external help. Furthermore, both countries do acknowledge Rohingya as an ethnic group in the news.

The answer to the second question is that both countries do emphasize the situation of the Rohingya to provoke emotional reactions from the reader by continuously highlighting what they are facing, their needs and what group (children and/or women) is being exposed. However, what differences in this area is that Malaysian news discourse predominantly report on the Rohingya and their situation, empathically and to greater extent than Thailand, who rather reports on the actors involved and the crisis itself. Nevertheless, both countries acknowledge that Rohingya are facing violence in Myanmar. Though in Malaysia the violence is caused by Myanmar, whereas in Thailand violence is an actor itself. Furthermore, another similarity in news reporting is when reporting on security risk. Both countries use same approach, namely by referring to the crisis and by quoting.
The answer to the third question is that the ideological perspective in Malaysia is to show empathy, concern to the Rohingya and their situation, and to demonstrate their humanitarian perspective and moral support. Whereas in Thailand, because they focus on other actors and their actions, Thailand show they are politically and morally concerned about the situation and want the crisis to be resolved.

The answer to the last question is that the main reason in Malaysia is the shared religious belief between the country and the refugee group, as Malaysia shows solidarity to Muslims. The other reason is the large number of Rohingya refugees in Malaysia which the government fear is a national security risk. With the case of Thailand and the fact that they do not welcome Rohingya and let refugees in the country resettle and also have history of deportations and recently, the ‘push-back policy’ reflects in the news discourse. Another factor is the relation between Thailand and Myanmar as they have both diplomatic relations but also share social and cultural commonalities.

What is demonstrated in this study is that selected group of refugees might be treated differently depending on who they are and how they might affect the international political relationships. Therefore, whether the news discourse belong to the main recipient country or not, does not have a huge impact as they largely base their news discourse on other factors. It was shown that the discourses differed depending on how the state government intend to or handle refugees and what relationship they have to either the other country or the affected refugee group. Furthermore, it has demonstrated that news headlines are not considered impartial as they consist of different framings and certain keywords and phrases which makes the text interpretable in a specific way.

During this research, it was assumed that there could be more underlying factors than those founded in this study. The Rohingya as an ethnic group and coming from Myanmar seem to be a factor in Thailand. Although, it was not possible to prove it in this research due to lack of data. Furthermore, since both Malaysia and Thailand do not have any domestic policy towards refugees, documentations from the governments of how they handle the situation are mostly unavailable. Thus, for further research in this topic, I believe there is a need to
investigate all factors and thus use another method which enables gathering data that are not merely online based in order to explain all factors.
Bibliography


## Appendix 1: Lists of Coded Headlines

### New Straits Times

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Headline</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MA.NST.H1</td>
<td>Malaysia urges Myanmar to take action over acts of genocide</td>
<td>29/8 2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA.NST.H2</td>
<td>Rakhine's remaining Rohingya villagers eating leaves to survive</td>
<td>28/9 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA.NST.H3</td>
<td>Fear of Rohingya's ending-up as human trafficking victims</td>
<td>28/9 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA.NST.H4</td>
<td>15 dead in Rohingya boat sinking as UN chief tells Myanmar to end nightmare</td>
<td>29/9 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA.NST.H5</td>
<td>Thousands of new Rohingya refugees flee violence, hunger in Myanmar to Bangladesh</td>
<td>16/10 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA.NST.H6</td>
<td>'Can't eat, can't sleep': Rohingya on Myanmar repatriation list</td>
<td>10/11 2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA.NST.H7</td>
<td>Hospitals fill as Rohingya refugees shiver through winter</td>
<td>5/12 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA.NST.H8</td>
<td>Rohingya refugee crisis a 'grave security risk' ICG warns</td>
<td>7/12 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA.NST.H9</td>
<td>Rohingya 'rather die' than return to oppression in Myanmar</td>
<td>16/12 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA.NST.H10</td>
<td>Quarter of Rohingya refugee children acutely malnourished</td>
<td>22/12 2017</td>
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<tr>
<td>MA.TS.H1</td>
<td>Hundreds of Buddhists protest against aid agencies in Myanmar's Rakhine</td>
<td>13/8 2017</td>
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<tr>
<td>MA.TS.H2</td>
<td>Malaysia should pile pressure on Myanmar over ongoing Rohingya massacre, says Mapim</td>
<td>26/8 2017</td>
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<tr>
<td>MA.TS.H3</td>
<td>Suu Kyi accuses Rohingya fighters of using child soldiers</td>
<td>29/8 2017</td>
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<tr>
<td>MA.TS.H4</td>
<td>Bodies wash up on Bangladesh shore as Rohingya flee Myanmar</td>
<td>31/8 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA.TS.H5</td>
<td>Rohingya women, children die in desperate boat escape from Myanmar</td>
<td>1/9 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA.TS.H6</td>
<td>About 146,000 Rohingya have fled Myanmar violence to Bangladesh</td>
<td>6/9 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA.TS.H7</td>
<td>By land, river and sea, Rohingya make their escape from Myanmar</td>
<td>6/9 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA.TS.H8</td>
<td>Five children drown as Rohingya boats sink</td>
<td>7/9 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA.TS.H9</td>
<td>Exclusive - U.N. expects up to 300,000 Rohingya could flee Myanmar violence to Bangladesh</td>
<td>7/9 2017</td>
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<tr>
<td>MA.TS.H10</td>
<td>Reezal: Malaysia will continue to use international platforms to resolve Rohingya issue</td>
<td>3/8 2018</td>
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**Bangkok Post**

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<thead>
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<tr>
<td>TH.BP.H1</td>
<td>UN: Global community must step up Rohingya aid</td>
<td>24/9 2017</td>
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<td>TH.BP.H2</td>
<td>US threatens to punish Myanmar over Rohingya</td>
<td>24/10 2017</td>
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<td>TH.BP.H3</td>
<td>Myanmar sees rise in tourism despite Rohingya crisis</td>
<td>22/2 2018</td>
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<td>TH.BP.H4</td>
<td>Fear and isolation for Myanmar's remaining Rohingya</td>
<td>5/4 2018</td>
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<td>TH.BP.H5</td>
<td>Asean 'must not ignore' Rohingya</td>
<td>1/5 2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TH.BP.H6</td>
<td>Half 'lost' Rohingya children orphaned by violence: study</td>
<td>23/8 2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TH.BP.H7</td>
<td>Rohingya's protest for 'justice' on crackdown anniversary</td>
<td>25/8 2018</td>
</tr>
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<td>TH.BP.H8</td>
<td>Religion minister: Rohingya 'brainwashed to march' on Myanmar</td>
<td>4/12 2018</td>
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<tr>
<td>TH.BP.H9</td>
<td>Rohingya migrant boat lands in Indonesia</td>
<td>4/12 2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TH.BP.H10</td>
<td>Myanmar asks Bangladesh to stop aid to stranded Rohingya</td>
<td>12/8 2018</td>
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## The Nation

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<tr>
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<td>TH.TN.H1</td>
<td>UN urged to punish Myanmar army over Rohingya 'atrocities'</td>
<td>18/9 2017</td>
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<tr>
<td>TH.TN.H2</td>
<td>600,000 Rohingya children may flee to Bangladesh, aid group warns</td>
<td>17/9 2017</td>
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<tr>
<td>TH.TN.H3</td>
<td>Myanmar's Rohingya: cornered by poverty, stalked by violence</td>
<td>18/7 2017</td>
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<td>TH.TN.H4</td>
<td>Asean Way means no respect for human rights of the Rohingya</td>
<td>29/9 2017</td>
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<td>TH.TN.H5</td>
<td>UN turns up pressure on Myanmar over Rohingya crisis</td>
<td>7/11 2017</td>
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<td>TH.TN.H6</td>
<td>Rohingya children must be protected</td>
<td>16/1 2018</td>
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<td>TH.TN.H7</td>
<td>Malaysia warns Rohingya crisis could pose security risk</td>
<td>17/3 2018</td>
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<td>TH.TN.H8</td>
<td>Boat carrying Rohingya arrives in Malaysia: official</td>
<td>3/4 2018</td>
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<td>TH.TN.H9</td>
<td>Asean bloc must step up to solve Rohingya crisis: US official</td>
<td>6/4 2018</td>
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<td>TH.TN.H10</td>
<td>Road crash saves Rohingya teenager from forced marriage</td>
<td>11/6 2018</td>
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Appendix 2: Links to Empirical Material

News Straits Times


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