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Applying Immanent Criticism to Online Media and Social Crises in Myanmar: A Discourse
Analysis of the Representation of the Rohingya Minority

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Aplicació de la crítica immanent als mitjans en línia i a les crisis socials a Myanmar: una anàlisi del discurs de la representació de la minoria Rohingya

Resum

Aquesta investigació té com a objectiu comprendre la representació del grup minoritari rohingya i les crisis de refugiats i desplaçament associades en els mitjans de comunicació en línia amb el Regne Unit.

La investigació utilitza una metodologia d'Anàlisi del Discurs Assistit per Corpus i l'interpreta des de la perspectiva de la crítica immanent. Es demostra que existeix una contradicció entre la representació de tals crisis i els objectius generals que la societat globalitzada moderna pretén aconseguir. Això presenta una possible contradicció en les estructures subjacents de la societat i l'espai públic, la qual cosa justifica una investigació continua per a comprendre completament tals processos socials.

El projecte d'investigació utilitza un corpus especialitzat, específicament dissenyat, i aplica un marc nou utilitzant tècniques quantitatives i qualitatives per a analitzar el text amb la finalitat de situar i comprendre les normes socials presents en el discurs, i comparar-les amb les normes aspiracionals de la societat globalitzada moderna. En resum, els resultats tenen àmplies implicacions per als estudis de refugiats, estudis de crisis humanitàries, sociologia, lingüística aplicada i estudis de mitjans de comunicació. La metodologia de combinar la crítica immanent amb els Estudis del Discurs Assistits per Corpus es mostra possible i ofereix un marc flexible per a interpretar el discurs i les normes socials a través de l'anàlisi textual en futurs projectes d'investigació.

Paraules clau

Discurs, Rohingya, Mitjans, Crítica Immanent, Estudis del Discurs Assistits per Corpus

Applying Immanent Criticism to Online Media and Social Crises in Myanmar: A Discourse Analysis of the Representation of the Rohingya Minority

Abstract

This investigation aims to understand the representation of the Rohingya minority group and associated refugee and displacement crises in UK online news media. The research undertakes a corpus-assisted discourse analysis methodology and interprets this from the perspective of immanent critique. The findings demonstrate that there is a contradiction between the representation of such crises, and the overarching goals that modern globalized society aims to achieve. This presents a possible contradiction in the underlying structures of society and the public arena, warranting continued investigation to fully understand such social processes. The research project uses a purpose-built specialised corpus and applies a novel framework using both quantitative and qualitative techniques to analyse text in order to locate and understand social norms present in the discourse, and measure these against the aspirational norms of modern globalized society. In summary, the findings have broad implications for refugee studies, studies of humanitarian crises, sociology, applied linguistics, and media studies. The methodology of combining immanent critique with corpus-assisted discourse studies is shown to be possible and offers a flexible framework for interpreting discourse and social norms through textual analysis in future research projects.

Keywords

Discourse, Rohingya, Media, Immanent Critique, Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies

Aplicación de la crítica inmanente a los medios en línea y las crisis sociales en Myanmar: un análisis discursivo de la representación de la minoría Rohingya

Resumen

Esta investigación tiene como objetivo comprender la representación del grupo minoritario rohingya y las crisis de refugiados y desplazamiento asociadas en los medios de comunicación online al Reino Unido.

La investigación emprende una metodología de Análisis del Discurso Asistido por Corpus y lo interpreta desde la perspectiva de la crítica inmanente. Los hallazgos demuestran que existe una contradicción entre la representación de tales crisis y los objetivos generales que la sociedad globalizada moderna pretende alcanzar. Esto presenta una posible contradicción en las estructuras subyacentes de la sociedad y la arena pública, lo que justifica una investigación continua para comprender completamente tales procesos sociales.

El proyecto de investigación utiliza un corpus especializado, específicamente diseñado, y aplica un marco novedoso utilizando técnicas cuantitativas y cualitativas para analizar el texto con el fin de ubicar y comprender las normas sociales presentes en el discurso, y compararlas con las normas aspiracionales de la sociedad globalizada moderna. En resumen, los hallazgos tienen amplias implicaciones para los estudios de refugiados, estudios de crisis humanitarias, sociología, lingüística aplicada y estudios de medios de comunicación. La metodología de combinar la crítica inmanente con los Estudios del Discurso Asistidos por Corpus se muestra posible y ofrece un marco flexible para interpretar el discurso y las normas sociales a través del análisis textual en futuros proyectos de investigación.

Palabras clave

Discurso, Rohingya, Medios, Crítica Inmanente, Estudios del Discurso Asistidos por Corpus

Justification

This research project was borne out of the need to contribute to the research base in three key areas. Firstly, to identify the complexities, issues, and potential inadequacies of the particularised discourse communities of online news media in the United Kingdom. Secondly, to understand the processes of depicting social suffering in society at large as visualised through specific crises, that of the ongoing and pressing Rohingya crises, which are causing great, and wholly avoidable, human suffering. Thirdly, to contribute to the literature in areas encompassing absence and silence in discourse and discourse analysis as immanent critique through the application of Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) methods. Together, these areas drive the motivation to bring light to important contemporary issues of social, individual, and global security, while attempting to uncover avenues for meaningful social change.

Society has experienced great change over the past few decades. The growth in internet technologies has led to the emergence of new social spaces which has in turn created particularised discourse communities (Scholz, 2019). One of these new social spaces is that in which online news media emerges and is consumed, recycled, and shared as part of a new public sphere. However, the news media is not impartial, unbiased, or objective. Adorno (1991) claimed that the culture industry could reduce the particular to more simplified, easy-to-interpret elements, which Venkataraman (2018) labels as necessary 'discursive simplification'. Taylor and Harris (2008, p165) state that this simplification may lead to 'Banality TV' which 'consumes reality and passes out the referent in an altered, deeply passive form', referring to Plato's allegory of the cave as a modern-day representation of the media, 'describing the philosophical difficulty of uncovering truth in a human world that is inevitably error-strewn' (2008, p2). Given the possibility of such social effects arising from media, the first justification of this research is the need in contemporary society to investigate and critically analyse the produced realities of the media, and the growth of discourses that emerge in new social spaces such as that of online news media. The media is a key area in contributing to the public space, and how the media choose to represent the 'other' is a fundamental issue for any kind of project seeking a more virtuous, more ethical, public space (Silverstone, 2007). Furthermore, ambitions for a genuine, meaningful and

ethical civil society must not be ignorant of the representations of social issues in the media (Silverstone, 2007).

This research project aims to use the public arena, and online media as one element of this, as a context to identify the necessary contradictions in society through to produce an immanent critique, in an effort to point towards directions for social change and contribute to an understanding of the areas in which media representations of the Rohingya crises demonstrate social pathologies.

Contribution to UN Sustainable Development Goals

This thesis relates to the 16th Sustainable Development Goal of the United Nations.

16. Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable institutions at all levels (United Nations, 2021).

Through sociological enquiry, it is hoped that this investigation will identify possible avenues for the contribution and development to global society, and at the same time provide insight into processes of change that may benefit the development of societal institutions, to lead to more equitable and inclusive practices, as 'any ambitions for a genuine, meaningful and ethical civil society' must not be ignorant of the representations of social issues in the media (Silverstone, 2007).

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Resum en valencià

Aplicació de la crítica immanent als mitjans en línia i a les crisis socials a Myanmar: una anàlisi del discurs de la representació de la minoria Rohingya

Introducció

Aquest projecte de recerca investiga com el grup minoritari rohingya de Myanmar està representat discursivament als mitjans de notícies en línia del Regne Unit i si aquests discursos presenten una contradicció necessària en l'ordre social que il·lumina una patologia social.

Preguntes d'investigació

Les preguntes d'investigació per a aquesta investigació són:

1) Com es representen discursivament els Rohingya als mitjans de comunicació en línia del Regne Unit?

2) Aquests discursos presenten una contradicció necessària que indica una patologia social? En relació amb la pregunta de recerca 1 i la pregunta de recerca 2, hi ha hipòtesis separades que són examinades en aquest projecte. La primera hipòtesi és que les representacions discursives de les crisis rohingya seran en gran part positives, la qual cosa s'oposa a les conclusions d'algunes investigacions anteriors que han demostrat que, de manera més general, els refugiats solen ser retratats negativament (Baker i McEnery 2005; Baker i Gabrielatos 2008), però és coherent amb altres investigacions (Afzal, 2016).

La segona hipòtesi es desprèn de la primera, que si és aquesta última correcta, pot significar una absència discursiva sobre el tema central que causa el patiment dels rohingya (alteració, discriminació i exclusió social). Aleshores, això representa una contradicció: el discurs mediàtic pot lamentar-se i simpatitzar alhora que demostra una absència de reconeixement de les causes socials d'aquest patiment.

Un focus important d'aquestes hipòtesis és el seu potencial per formar una crítica immanent. La crítica immanent és una noció que es troba en l'enfocament post-hegelià i postmarxista de l'Escola de Frankfurt, que s'utilitza per a orientar la direcció de la recerca a través de l'anàlisi del discurs. Els mètodes utilitzats en l'aplicació de la crítica immanent són principalment textuals, associats amb els estudis del discurs assistits per corpus (CADS), incloent l'anàlisi de freqüència, col·locació i concordança. En aquesta investigació es postula que el patiment és una norma universal i transcultural (Herzog, 2019). D'altra banda, la discriminació i l'exclusió no es consideren universals. Si la primera hipòtesi de la investigació és correcta, que hi ha discursos de simpatia, empatia i indignació moral davant el patiment innecessari dels rohingya, llavors això es podria considerar una evidència d'aquesta norma universal. Si hi ha una absència discursiva de les normes no universals de discriminació (que indica acceptació), alteració i exclusió social que donen lloc a un patiment social innecessari, això representa una contradicció necessària entre ambdues, però que es pot considerar necessària per als actors institucionals o individuals que estiguin disposats a assumir els costos de l'exclusió social per mantenir l' statu quo.

Es pot dir que els resultats d'aquesta crítica proporcionen un "mitjà únic per convèncer els individus d'una societat determinada de la irracionalitat de determinades normes i pràctiques culturals mitjançant l'ús dels estàndards i ideologies de la seva pròpia societat com a mitjà de crítica" (Wrenn, 2016, p2), aquest és, per tant, un mètode potent, ja que "emmarca arguments més convincents que les crítiques que sosté aquesta societat a un estàndard extern" (Wrenn, 2016, p2). En general, això condueix al resultat que una crítica immanent no dicta com "hauria" de ser una societat, sinó que identifica potencials de progrés i millora que estan "continguts dins de les nostres pràctiques" (Stahl, 2013, p20).

Recollida de dades dels mitjans de notícies en línia del Regne Unit

Hi ha diverses raons per a triar els mitjans de comunicació en línia del Regne Unit per respondre a les preguntes de recerca. Gusfield (1986) argumenta que per analitzar els problemes públics, cal trobar l'ordre conceptual del qual sorgeixen en l'àmbit públic, i Baker (2006) també assenyala que les dades dels diaris poden ser una àrea útil de producció i reproducció de discursos, mentre que Fairclough afirma que els discursos produïts pels mitjans de comunicació tenen un poder acumulatiu (Fairclough, 1992) i que els textos "constitueixen una font important d'evidència per a fonamentar afirmacions sobre estructures, relacions i processos socials" (1992, p211). Pel que fa a les teories de Honneth, Maia sosté que els mitjans de comunicació són un lloc crucial en la lluita pel reconeixement (Maia, 2014), i finalment, i parlant històricament, Fairclough (1992, p211) suggereix que els textos són "baròmetres sensibles" i bons indicadors del canvi social. En aquest sentit, aquests textos als mitjans de comunicació tenen un poder considerable a l'hora de definir temes públics i els discursos mediàtics dels rohingya al Regne Unit i a l'estranger. Tot i que en l'era de la "superdiversitat" (Angermuller, 2021) i la hiperconnexió es fa més difícil afirmar que aquest discurs existeix a nivell de totalitat social globalment, s'espera que aquesta anàlisi, com a part d'una crítica social, pugui identificar vies de canvi tant a la societat del Regne Unit com a les comunitats discursives que poden formar part de l'imaginari global.

Mètodes

Estudis del discurs assistits amb corpus

L'anàlisi del discurs es realitza mitjançant mètodes d'Estudis de Discurs Assistits amb Corpus (CADS). El CADS gira al voltant de l'ús de mètodes lingüístics de corpus, que té les seves arrels en l'anàlisi de dades empíriques, principalment en lexicografia i lingüística aplicada, i s'ha convertit en una disciplina autònoma que inclou

l'enfocament tant en l'anàlisi quantitativa com qualitativa. inclosa la de l'anàlisi del discurs (Koteyko, 2006). Una manera en què els discursos es poden crear i produir és a través del llenguatge; en aquest sentit, el llenguatge no és el mateix que el discurs, sinó que pot "portar un rastre" del discurs, i aquests rastres es poden descobrir mitjançant l'anàlisi del llenguatge (Baker, 2006, p5) com un component de l'univers social donat per Ruiz Ruiz (2009).

Un cop explicada la informació bàsica sobre el discurs en l'enfocament CADS, cal discutir l'aportació del corpus. Quan es parla de corpus en lingüística de corpus i en CADS, val la pena assenyalar que, tot i que no hi ha directrius establertes per a la mida dels corpus adequats, generalment es consideren grans cossos de textos que són "mostres representatives d'un tipus particular de llenguatge natural" i, per tant, es pot utilitzar per mesurar afirmacions sobre el llenguatge (Baker, 2006, p2). La creació d'un corpus requereix una col·lecció de principis de textos que comparteixin característiques úniques, per exemple, tractar un tema específic, complex de coneixement o concepte, període de temps, àrea, segment de la societat o tipus de text (Koteyko, 2006). Es va crear un corpus únic i especialitzat a partir de la col·lecció d'articles que apareixen en una secció transversal dels mitjans de comunicació en línia del Regne Unit. Els articles representen una sèrie de diferents organitzacions de mitjans britànics i tots estaven relacionats amb la descripció d'esdeveniments, qüestions i informes sobre qüestions relacionades amb les crisis dels rohingya. Una limitació d'això en la lingüística de corpus és que l'autoria, les opinions subjectives i les disposicions polítiques potencials dels autors no estan subjectes a investigació, tal com argumenta Baker (2006, p18) "un problema amb un corpus és que conté exemples descontextualitzats de llenguatge". És possible que desconexem les ideologies dels productors de textos en un corpus", tot i que Koester (2010) argumenta que és menys probable que es tracti d'un problema amb un corpus més petit. Dit això, com que hi ha una sèrie de diferents posicions i opinions subjectives que estaran presents dins del corpus, això ofereix la possibilitat de veure discursos a través de múltiples autors, productors de mitjans i ideologies. A partir de l'anterior, es

pot argumentar que per explorar un tema tan específic com les crisis que afecten el poble Rohingya, un corpus especialitzat dissenyat específicament és el millor situat per respondre les preguntes de recerca, sempre que sigui representatiu i recollit. a partir d'una "serie de situacions típiques" adequades al gènere (Koester, 2010, p69).

La determinació de la popularitat de les marques de notícies i dels seus lectors es va establir com el millor mètode per triar dades que fossin representatives del discurs dels mitjans de comunicació del Regne Unit i del discurs públic en general. La recopilació de dades representatives és essencial per a la creació d'un corpus petit i especialitzat (Koester, 2010), per la qual cosa es va seleccionar una mostra que extreu d'una secció transversal dels mitjans en línia més llegits i consumits com el mètode més eficaç per fer-ho. donant una secció representativa dels mitjans en línia i fora de línia que constitueixen l'àmbit públic. També és important tenir en compte que a l'hora de generalitzar els resultats a nivell del discurs social, els lectors no són passius, i el significat es pot produir mitjançant la interacció entre un text i el lector del text (McIlvenny, 1996). Com a resultat, és possible argumentar que els textos que tenen un públic més gran contribueixen a una escala més àmplia a l'ordre del discurs més ampli, o el que Gusfield anomena "l'ordre conceptual de l'àmbit públic" (Gusfield, 1986).

Les dades de lectors es van recopilar inicialment de dues fonts principals, incloses The Publishers Audience Measurement Company (PAMCo) i l'Oficina de Comunicacions (Ofcom). PAMCo és l'organisme responsable de mesurar la participació de l'audiència dels mitjans de comunicació publicats al Regne Unit i està finançat per una sèrie de societats i associacions que són parts interessades en la indústria, com ara l'Institute of Practitioners in Advertising, la News Media Association i els Professional Publishers. Associació, així com la representació de The Incorporated Society of British Advertisers (ISBA) (PAMCo, 2020). Mentrestant, Ofcom és l'organisme de regulació de telecomunicacions del Regne Unit (Ofcom, 2019). Aquestes dues fonts proporcionen informació precisa, realista i fiable sobre el nombre d'audiències, tot i que les seves

metodologies separades fan que les comparacions entre conjunts de dades siguin complicades.

L'examen de les dades d'Ofcom (2019) mostra la importància dels mitjans de comunicació en línia per contribuir al discurs públic i la visibilitat en l'esfera pública, establint que l'accés a les notícies a través d'Internet és el segon mètode més comú d'interacció amb els mitjans de comunicació després de la televisió, i que aquests Els mètodes estan creixent en popularitat mentre que els mitjans impresos tradicionals estan en declivi. A partir de l'informe d'Ofcom (2019), es va poder establir que BBC News és el mitjà de notícies en línia més popular i utilitzat amb el major nombre de lectors. A continuació, es va recopilar una llista de 9 punts de venda i es va creuar amb dades de PAMCo (2020) per arribar a una llista de les 15 publicacions de mitjans de comunicació amb el major abast de marca i lectors al Regne Unit.

Els criteris per a la inclusió com a article al corpus s'havien de trobar utilitzant el terme de cerca "rohingya", amb els rohingya i les crisis associades formant el corpus o el tema principal del text. Es van dirigir deu articles de cadascuna de les quinze principals marques de notícies del Regne Unit, basant-se novament en les xifres de PAMCo i Ofcom, i per tal de desenvolupar un corpus petit, especialitzat però molt robust i representatiu. Per garantir la rellevància i les dades actualitzades, els articles es van recollir en ordre cronològic invers a partir del 2020 fins que es va recollir una quota completa de deu articles o no hi havia més articles disponibles. Com a resultat de l'estudi pilot, va quedar clar que hi havia una tendència general a quehi hagués resultats més rellevants més propers a l'actualitat (és a dir, 2020 i 2019), i així per generar resultats rellevants per a un estudi sincrònic com ara Es va determinar que aquest, l'ordre cronològic invers, era el mètode més eficaç per recopilar dades. La recollida de dades va tenir lloc durant l'any 2020, i després es va processar i detallar el 2021.

Cada article recuperat s'emmagatzemava temporalment en un fitxer de text senzill en una base de dades centralitzada. Després d'això, els articles es van examinar manualment i les dades es van "netejar". En aquest cas, la neteja de dades implicava

eliminar els hiperenllaços incrustats a articles relacionats, anuncis i altres textos no rellevants típics d'un lloc web de mitjans de comunicació en línia. Aquests articles es van reformatejar i etiquetar abans de pujar-los com a lot a Sketch Engine, on es va iniciar el procés de compilació automàtica del corpus i es va realitzar automàticament l'etiquetatge de frases i paràgrafs. En finalitzar la compilació del corpus, es va determinar una mida total de 93.218 paraules de dades. Tot i que és petit en comparació amb alguns corpus de referència més grans, que poden comptar amb milions o fins i tot milers de milions de paraules, és altament especialitzat i adequat, de manera que la grandària del text és menys important (Koester, 2010). Per a un conjunt de dades petit i altament especialitzat, aquest corpus té diversos avantatges únics. En primer lloc, conté una àmplia representació de totes les principals marques de mitjans en línia del Regne Unit que publiquen en anglès, així com d'organitzacions del Regne Unit amb lectors a tot el món. En segon lloc, en general hi ha un bon rang d'equilibri en el corpus. Tot i que el fitxer de text més petit inclou només 580 paraules i el més gran 10.734 paraules, a part d'aquests dos valors atípics, la quantitat de dades recollides de cada font no varia molt. Per aquest motiu, mentre que l'interval és de 10.001 paraules, el conjunt de dades mitjà de cada canal de notícies és de 6.215 paraules, mentre que la mitjana és de 6.014 paraules.

Malgrat aquesta quantitat relativament menor de variacions (amb l'excepció de la BBC i el Daily Star) hi ha algunes diferències significatives en la disponibilitat d'articles sobre el tema dels Rohingya als mitjans de notícies britànics en línia. Com es pot veure a l'anterior, The Independent i The Guardian van tenir un recompte general de paraules més gran en 10 articles en comparació amb els més baixos, The Evening Standard i The Metro (excepte The Daily Star). Gairebé tots els mitjans de comunicació tenien almenys 4.000 paraules d'articles dedicats als rohingya durant el període 2017-2020 quan es va fer la recollida de dades, mentre que només tres en tenien més de 8.000 (The BBC, The Guardian i The Independent).

Anàlisi de freqüència

La primera eina utilitzada per analitzar les dades del corpus va ser l'anàlisi de freqüència, en la qual es van revelar els termes que apareixen amb més freqüència al corpus. L'anàlisi de freqüència sovint s'interpreta malament com un enfocament purament quantitatiu; aquest no és necessàriament així i l'anàlisi de freqüència es pot veure com un punt de partida per a una investigació més qualitativa (Baker, 2006). L'anàlisi de freqüència en aquest projecte va consistir a identificar les fitxes més habituals que apareixien dins del corpus compilat. A continuació, es va generar una llista que conté elements tant lèxics com gramaticals. Els ítems gramaticals, per exemple, determinants com 'a' o 'el' es van descartar, deixant elements lèxics que tenen un significat més gran. Es tracta d'una eina d'anàlisi bàsica que es pot considerar un simple exercici de recompte (McEnery i Hardie, 2012), tot i que és senzill, pot constituir un punt de partida útil que pot il·luminar fenòmens interessants (Baker, 2006, p47).

Anàlisi de col·locació

La col·locació fa referència a les relacions entre ítems de vocabulari que es produeixen junts, i es pot explicar en relació a les idees de Sinclair (1987, p320), que en descriure la idea de "coselecció" sosté que "l'usuari de la llengua té a la seva disposició una gran quantitat nombre de frases preconstruïdes o semipreconstruïdes que constitueixen eleccions individuals, tot i que semblen analitzables en segments. Això pot incloure col·locacions simples o frases més llargues, però el punt clau és que el procés de recol·lecció és important per produir i interpretar el discurs, ja que els productors de discurs utilitzen la col·lecció per a múltiples propòsits, i els oients interpreten aquestes col·leccions i col·locacions en la descodificació del que es diu. Partington, Duguid i Taylor, 2013). Les col·locacions també es poden veure com una manera d'entendre els significats, i les associacions entre diferents unitats de significat s'aconsegueixen d'una manera que no necessàriament seria visible mitjançant l'anàlisi d'un sol text

(Baker, 2006). En aquest projecte d'investigació, és possible examinar les col·locacions al voltant de la paraula node "Rohingya", i després avançar més en l'anàlisi dels punts forts de les relacions i la seva importància, abans d'interpretar els resultats a nivell macrosocial. Es poden fer anàlisis addicionals basant-se en els col·locats del node "Rohingya". Per exemple, es podria esperar que la paraula "refugiat" sigui una col·locació forta; explorar col·locacions relacionades de "refugiat" també pot ser il·luminador per crear una imatge més àmplia dels discursos en el treball. L'anàlisi de col·locació es va seleccionar com una eina per investigar el discurs ja que, en primer lloc, pot oferir un focus per a l'anàlisi inicial i, en segon lloc, ja que proporciona "els patrons lèxics més destacats i evidents que envolten un tema, dels quals es poden obtenir diversos discursos". (Baker, 2006, p114) i, a més, si hi ha col·locacions fortes entre conjunts de paraules, això suggereix que hi ha discursos potents en el treball, que vinculen dos conceptes en la ment de les persones i que s'han utilitzat de manera repetitiva, fins i tot creant una situació on quan un individu escolta una secció de la col·locació, pensarà en l'altra (Baker, 2006, p114), d'aquesta manera, "resumeix les relacions més significatives entre paraules d'un corpus" (Baker, 2006, p14), i això és semblant al que Paltridge (2011) descriu com a relacions d'esperança, en què les relacions predictibles entre verbs i substantius es produeixen conjuntament i lliguen accions amb els participants.

Anàlisi de concordança

L'anàlisi de concordança és una de les tècniques més efectives per dur a terme un examen detingut, que descriu la llista d'ocurrències d'un terme de cerca en un corpus situades dins del context en què es produeixen. En aquest cas, la identificació de concordançes es basarà principalment al voltant del node "Rohingya" i altres termes associats que es consideren rellevants per a les preguntes de recerca durant el transcurs de l'estudi pilot i la investigació principal. L'anàlisi de concordança és igualment un mètode més qualitatiu en comparació amb la investigació més quantitativa de la freqüència i la col·locació, i per tant proporciona un contrapès en termes de mètodes. A més d'això, llavors és possible triangular els resultats i crear una imatge més completa

de les traces del discurs presents en la llengua que envolta els rohingya als mitjans en línia del Regne Unit. Com una de les tècniques més qualitatives disponibles per als investigadors CADS, també és important assenyalar que és responsabilitat de l'investigador trobar patrons, i que els patrons de llenguatge que es podentrobar o passar per alt poden estar subjectes als biaixos i interessos de l'investigador (Baker, 2006), i aquesta és una limitació potencial de la metodologia.

Una limitació de l'anàlisi textual és que sovint descuida allò que no es diu al text, i allò que es fa visible és sovint el focus de la recerca, més que allò que no és visible. En qualsevol mitjà o producció textual, hi haurà elements que es posen en primer pla i elements que es deixen fora, ja que «no podem dirigir la nostra atenció a un aspecte o fenomen sense donar l'esquena als altres» (Herzog, 2019, p72). Això també és cert per als rohingya, ja que "els editors d'arreu del món han adoptat un enfocament fàcil a un tema complicat" (Leider, 2014, p249). Com a part del segon objectiu de la recerca, es posa a prova una hipòtesi d'absència discursiva sobre el paper de la discriminació, l'exclusió i l'altre. En investigar això, l'investigador s'ha de preguntar quins factors tenen prioritat i quins no.

L'anàlisi d'alternatives és un mètode per descobrir l'absència i el silenci en el discurs: plantejar hipòtesis de construccions oposicions o diferents pot ser útil quan hi ha una "alternativa pensable" disponible (Schroter i Taylor, 2018, p6). També val la pena assenyalar que les absències que s'identifiquen no són necessàriament fàcilment explicables; Les eleccions de "la majoria dels parlants no es fan amb l'objectiu de produir un cert ordre de discurs" (Schroter i Taylor, 2018, p6).

En aquest projecte de recerca, es va investigar l'absència discursiva mitjançant la comparació d'estructures alternatives hipotètiques i la interpretació i introspecció de l'investigador. Duguid i Partington (2018, p42) argumenten que es poden utilitzar fonts alternatives per a la comparació, incloses "dades del món real" i "investigació interna o introspectiva, on examinem les dades a la llum de quines poden ser les nostres expectatives". La investigació de l'absència en el corpus es basarà en això, utilitzant l'anàlisi de freqüència, col·locació i concordança per contrastar el que està

present amb el que no està present, així com l'anàlisi introspectiva del que podria estar, o s'espera que estigui present, però és no.

Resultats

Els resultats d'aquesta investigació proporcionen una visió de la comprensió de la identitat representada de la identitat Rohingya als mitjans en línia del Regne Unit, posant de manifest la manera en què el "nou espaisocial" (Scholz, 2019) dels mitjans en línia pot ser un lloc discursiu important per a la lluita per reconeixement (Maia, 2014). A partir de l'anàlisi de freqüència, la densitat de paraules no gramaticals del corpus va revelar patrons similars a altres estudis a gran escala com l'estudi RASIM (Baker i Gabrielatos, 2008), com a categories de termes relacionats amb la procedència, la destinació i el trànsit. nombre, residència, legalitat i situació molt destacada. D'altra banda, es van crear dues categories addicionals a partir dels conceptes d'"actors" i "justícia". És a dir, gran part dels termes d'alta freqüència del corpus relacionats amb actors col·lectius concrets com l'ONU o la CIJ, i actors individuals com Aung San Suu Kyi, Boris Johnson o Barack Obama. Com que les frases preconstruïdes o semi-preconstruïdes poden "suggerir associacions inconscients que són maneres de mantenir el discurs" (Baker i Gabrielatos, 2008, p22), llavors es pot interpretar a partir de l'anàlisi de freqüència que els discursos de la legalitat, un ampli ventall de i actors individuals, i la situació, el trànsit i la procedència formen una constel·lació discursiva important als mitjans de comunicació en línia del Regne Unit.

Pel que fa a destacar les absències, les categories revelades per l'anàlisi de freqüència ofereixen espai per a la reflexió. Pel que fa a la teoria del reconeixement (Honneth, 1995), més que simplement paraules per a "la situació" o l'expressió del sofriment, podria haver-hi paraules que demostrassin solidaritat o crides a l'acció, com ara "actuar" o "respondre". responsabilitat' o 'suport'. De la mateixa manera, quan s'esmenta "justícia", podria haver-hi hagut una densitat més gran de paraules relacionades amb les causes d'aquesta injustícia descrites, com ara "persecució",

"discriminació", "racisme", "injust" o "il·legal". Tot i que algunes d'aquestes paraules existeixen al corpus, no apareixien a la llista de freqüència més alta.

Després d'analitzar i inspeccionar els termes de més freqüència, l'anàlisi de col·locació va tenir com a objectiu identificar les relacions entre paraules que potencialment revelaven patrons discursius dins del corpus (Koester, 2010). En respondre a la primera pregunta d'investigació, l'anàlisi de freqüència només va poder donar indicacions de possibles patrons que podien revelar "traces del discurs" (Baker, 2006), ja que sense comprendre les relacions de com s'utilitzaven determinades paraules, no es podien extreure conclusions fermes. . D'altra banda, l'anàlisi col·locacional va prendre aquests termes, es va reduir als més propensos a donar resultats rellevants i després va demostrar els patrons que apareixien entre ells. En aquest sentit, els mètodes passen de mesures àmplies i no específiques com la freqüència, passant per mètodes més restringits, i finalment anàlisis de concordança qualitatives molt estretes, que representen un enfocament de dalt a baix.

Pel que fa a la investigació de les absències, es va tornar a teoritzar, a partir dels resultats, de troballes hipotètiques alternatives que podrien haver representat discursos diferents. Un exemple analitzat seria 'Myanmar', en lloc de correlacionar molt amb termes com ara 'autoritats' o 'militars', podria haver-hi una alta correlació amb 'discrimina' o 'persegueix'. Això crearia un sentit més clar d'agentivitat i identificaria les causes fonamentals del patiment social que estan experimentant els rohingya com a resultat de les accions de l'estat de Myanmar i les seves forces associades. Aquest és un cas de l'anàlisi de col·locació que demostra una absència potencial i, per tant, confirma la segona hipòtesi de l'estudi, i respon a la segona pregunta d'investigació com que sí, es pot dir que existeix una contradicció necessària entre els discursos de simpatia, indignació moral i sofriment social innecessari, i l'acceptació d'un ordre discursiu hegemònic que no identifica el paper de la discriminació i de l'"altre" com a creador d'aquest patiment.

Finalment, l'anàlisi de concordança també va revelar similituds amb altres estudis pel que fa a metàfores de l'aigua (Abid et al., 2017), descrivint els rohingya com a

"abocant" per sobre de les fronteres. Es van confirmar els patrons generals sospitosos de l'anàlisi de freqüència i col·locació, amb molts casos que descriuen el patiment dels rohingya i demanen protecció, descrivint els actes com a "odiosos", "horribles" i creant un discurs de patiment extrem i la necessitat d'intervenció i protecció, tal com va trobar Brooten (2015). Pel que fa a la resposta a les preguntes de recerca, això respon prou a la primera. Tanmateix, en analitzar l'absència de discussió sobre les causes del sofriment social (és a dir, la discriminació, l'exclusió i l'absència basada en aquestes com a normes acceptades derivades de la categorització social), hi ha algunes evidències limitades que no hi ha una absència total d'això tal com es descriu al discurs dels mitjans en línia del Regne Unit. Tot i que no hi ha cap menció explícita de les causes del sofriment social com la discriminació, l'exclusió i altres, de vegades hi ha mencions de persecució, i certament mencions de genocidi que potser suggereixen que el racisme i la discriminació són una causa del seu patiment social innecessari.

En resumir els fils d'aquesta investigació, es pot dir que als mitjans en línia del Regne Unit, hi ha un atenció a descriure les crisis rohingya com a immediates i moralment indignants. Hi ha repetides crides a la protecció dels rohingya i un "discurs de patiment extrem" que descriu els esdeveniments com a malson i de repugnants. Hi ha referències intertextuals coherents a les Nacions Unides com a únic àrbitre i font d'informació, i hi ha referències vagues i recurrents als "militars" i al "govern". Aquest és un resultat important, ja que la intertextualitat pot "formar un tipus de relació discursiva entre aspectes de formacions i pràctiques socials" (Farrelly, 2019, p2). En aquest cas, és possible interpretar el "noticiero" (Fairclough, 1992, p284) com a Nacions Unides o ACNUR, mentre que el mitjà és un reporter passiu i el lector és un receptor passiu. Això aporta la mateixa «veu» (Fairclough, 2003, p40) a diversos textos del corpus i a diversos articles. En analitzar la intertextualitat, Fairclough va argumentar que és útil preguntar-se quines veus s'inclouen, quines s'exclouen i quines absències significatives hi ha (Fairclough, 2003, p284). En aquest cas, la veu de les organitzacions intergovernamentals oficials és coherent; la veu dels membres de les

comunitats rohingya o fins i tot dels investigadors és notòriament absent. Això deixa entreveure un sistema de valors que es pot considerar pertanyent a un discurs determinat (Fairclough, 2003, p56), és a dir, que la veu de l'autoritat, la raó i el judici és la de l'ONU.

També hi ha una absència important d'identificació de les causes d'aquest patiment moralment indignant, que són la campanya de discriminació, exclusió i altres que s'han produït durant segles en un cicle de violència. Això satisfà la primera pregunta de recerca i el primer objectiu de la investigació. Pel que fa al segon objectiu de la investigació i a la pregunta d'investigació que pretén aportar una crítica immanent, hi ha prou evidència per suggerir una contradicció necessària que sorgeix d'aquestes estructures de la societat, tal com es troba en el discurs mediàtic. L'absència de reconeixement de les causes arrels dels processos socials com la discriminació, l'alteració i l'exclusió en la creació de patiment social innecessari és irreconciliable amb els discursos de reconeixement i de denúncia del patiment social innecessari com a indignant moralment i que cal reduir.

Per acabar, aquesta investigació va utilitzar el CADS i l'anàlisi de l'absència per entendre la representació discursiva del patiment del poble rohingya, alhora que utilitzava el marc de Honneth (2012) per revelar el "caràcter patològic de la societat a través de la provocació d'una nova manera". de veure la realitat social' (Flynn, 2008, p2).

Table of Contents

1. CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION, CONTEXT AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Contextual Background.....	4
1.2.1 An Overview of Myanmar	4
1.2.2 Names as a Determinant of Inclusion and Exclusion and Etymology of the Rohingya.....	7
1.3 Historical Overview	11
1.4 A Summarizing Perspective.....	30
1.5 An Alternative Interpretation - Cheesman’s Genealogical Method	32
2. CHAPTER TWO – LITERATURE REVIEW.....	40
2.1 Reviewing the Current Academic Research on the Rohingya crises.....	40
2.2 Research Pertaining to the Rohingya Outside Myanmar and Bangladesh	43
2.3 Research on Indigeneity and Identity	46
2.4 Research on the Media and the Rohingya	57
2.5 Research on Absence and Silence in Discourse	65
2.6 Conclusion to Chapter Two	69
3. CHAPTER THREE – AIMS AND OBJECTIVES	71
3.1 Aims and Objectives.....	71
3.2 Research Questions.....	72
3.3 Project Hypotheses	72
4. CHAPTER FOUR - METHODOLOGY	74
4.1 Combining Immanent Social Critique and Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS)	74
4.2 Defining Immanent Critique.....	75
4.3 The Purpose of Immanent Critique.....	77
4.3.1 Immanent Critique in the Context of the UK News Media Discourse on the Rohingya	79
4.3.2 The Role of Social Suffering and Recognition in Immanent Social Critique.....	80
4.3.3 Understanding Social Suffering as a Growing Phenomenon	83
4.3.4 Applying Immanent Critique to UK Media Discourses on the Rohingya Crises	84
4.3.5 Challenges in Researching the Discourse of Suffering	86
4.3.6 The Role of Exclusion, Discrimination, and Othering in Causing Suffering from Disrespect in the Rohingya crises.....	89
4.3.7 Summary of Immanent social Critique in Orienting the Research	94
4.3.8 Visualisation of the Research Process	96

.....	96
4.4 Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies Methods	97
4.4.1 Defining Discourse	97
4.4.2 UK Online News Media as a Data Source.....	100
4.4.3 Defining CADS	101
4.4.4 Sketch Engine as a Tool for CADS.....	103
4.4.5 Legal and Ethical Implications of Corpus Creation and CADS	104
4.4.6 Small Specialised Corpus Creation and Pilot Study.....	105
4.4.7 Frequency Analysis.....	108
4.4.8 Collocation Analysis	109
4.4.9 Concordance Analysis	110
4.5 Analysis of Absence in Discourse	111
4.6 Summary of the Methods	114
CHAPTER FIVE – DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS.....	117
5.1 Initial Corpus Creation and Pilot Study	117
5.2 Data Collection and Corpus Compilation	121
5.3 Frequency Analysis.....	129
5.4 Collocation Analysis	138
5.4.1 Collocation Forms	139
5.4.2 Statistics for Collocational Measures (Log Dice).....	143
5.5 Concordance Analysis	145
CHAPTER SIX – RESULTS AND DISCUSSION	150
6.1 Results of Frequency Analysis.....	150
6.2 Results of Collocation Analysis	155
6.3 Absences in the Collocation Analysis.....	185
6.4 Concordance Analysis	187
6.4.1 ‘Rohingya’ Concordance Analysis	187
6.4.2 ‘Myanmar’ Concordance Analysis.....	190
6.4.3 ‘Refugee’ Concordance Analysis	191
6.4.4 ‘International’ Concordance Analysis	193
6.4.5 ‘Genocide’ Concordance Analysis.....	196
6.4.6 ‘Rights’ Concordance Analysis	198
6.4.7 ‘Government’ Concordance Analysis.....	200

6.4.8 'State' Concordance Analysis	202
6.4.9 'Human' Concordance Analysis.....	203
6.4.10 'Violence' Concordance Analysis	205
6.4.11 'Flee' Concordance Analysis.....	207
6.4.12 'Justice' Concordance Analysis.....	209
6.4.13 'Crisis' Concordance Analysis.....	212
6.4.14 'Crime' Concordance Analysis.....	214
6.4.15 'Cleansing' Concordance Analysis.....	216
6.5 Concordance Analysis Summary	220
6.6 Results and Discussion Summary.....	222
CHAPTER SEVEN – LIMITATIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS	226
7.1 Limitations.....	226
7.2 Mutual Information and Log Dice Scores as Mental Priming	227
7.3 Synchronic versus Diachronic and Representativeness.....	227
7.4 Objectivity and Subjectivity	228
7.5 The Challenge of Researching Absence	229
7.6 Text and Visuals	230
7.7 Implications and directions for future research	231
7.8 Conclusion.....	231
References	235
Appendices	263
Appendix 2 - Concordance Line Samples	263
Refugee Concordance Line Samples	266
International Concordance Line Samples	268
Genocide Concordance Line Samples	269
Rights Concordance Line Samples	270
Government Concordance Line Samples.....	271
State Concordance Line Samples	273
Human Concordance Line Samples.....	274
Violence Concordance Line Samples	275
Flee Concordance Line Samples.....	276
Justice Concordance Line Samples.....	277
Crisis Concordance Line Samples.....	278

Crime Concordance Line Samples..... 280
Cleansing Concordance Line Samples 281

Table of Figures

Figure 1 - Image of Myanmar	5
Figure 2 - Visualization of the Research Process.	96
Figure 3 - Pilot Study Process.....	120
Figure 4 - Chronological Dispersion of Articles Collected.	124
Figure 5 - Datasets by Word Count for UK Online News Media Outlets.	125
Figure 6 - Data Collection and Corpus Compilation Process.....	127
Figure 7 - The Frequency Results Interface in Sketch Engine (2020)	130
Figure 8 -The Word Sketch interface in Sketch Engine (2020).....	140
Figure 9 - Results Interface of the Word Sketch Function in Sketch Engine (2020)	140
Figure 10 - Concordance Interface in Sketch Engine (2020).....	147
Figure 11 - Concordance Sample Feature in Sketch Engine (2020)	147
Figure 12 - Process for Concordance Analysis adapted from Baker (2006).....	148
Figure 13 -Word Sketch for 'Rohingya'	157
Figure 14 -Word Sketch for 'Myanmar'	160
Figure 15 - Word Sketch for 'International Community'	161
Figure 16 - Word Sketch for 'Refugee'	163
Figure 17 -Word Sketch of 'Genocide'	165
Figure 18 - Word Sketch of 'Right'	167
Figure 19 - Word Sketch of 'Government'	169
Figure 20 - Word Sketch of 'State'	171
Figure 21 - Word Sketch of 'Human'	173
Figure 22 – Word Sketch of 'Justice'	174
Figure 23 - Word Sketch of 'Violence'	177
Figure 24 - Word Sketch of 'Flee'	179
Figure 25 - Word Sketch of 'Crisis'	180
Figure 26 - Word Sketch of 'Crime'	182
Figure 27 -Word Sketch of 'Cleansing'	184

Tables

Table 1 Forms of Recognition and potential areas for hypothesis testing.....	93
Table 2 - News brands, readership, articles collected and total word count.....	128
Table 3 - Frequency Analysis of Lexical Words	132
Table 4 -Terms Selected for Collocation and Concordance Analysis.....	135
Table 5 - Example of discarded data	139
Table 6 - Categories of word classes and functions found in the collocation analysis	142
Table 7 - Comparisons of Collocate Groupings	154

List of Abbreviations

ARNO – Arakan Rohingya National Organisation
CADS – Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies
CBC – Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
EFEO - Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient
ICC – International Court Case
ICJ – International Court of Justice
IDP – Internally Displaced Person
INGO – International Non-Governmental Organisation
ISBA – Incorporated Society of British Advertisers
ISCI – International State Crime Initiative
KWIC – Key Word In Context
MI – Mutual Information
MSF – Médecins Sans Frontières (Doctors Without Borders)
NGO – Non Governmental Organisation
Ofcom – The Office of Communications (UK)
PAMCo – Publishers Audience Measurement Company Ltd.
RASIM – Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigrants (Research Project)
RSO – Rohingya Solidarity Organisation
UN – United Nations
UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNDHR – United Nations Declaration on Human Rights
USCIRF – United States Council on International Religious Freedom
WHO – World Health Organisation

1. CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION, CONTEXT AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

This research project investigates the discursive representation of the Rohingya crises in UK online media from the perspective of immanent critique, realized through Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) techniques. In exploring the construction of knowledge through discourse, it is hoped that this research can contribute to a better understanding of societies, their dynamics and structuration, leading to a higher dynamic and fluidity of established bodies of knowledge (Scholz, 2019) while also pointing towards directions for societal change.

The first section of the project aims to understand the social and geopolitical-historical basis and context of the research, in particular examining the speakers, narratives, and conflicts in the state of Myanmar and abroad from the perspectives of a varied range of source material. This is based in the notion that in the modern public space, there are manifold interpretations, recontextualisations and representations of historic and contemporary events (Scholz, 2019). Following this then, the section's aim is not necessarily to look to the past to find answers to present issues, but to review a number of voices and histories to provide context for the discursive representations in the corpus data. This section also includes an overview of modern-day Myanmar, and a discussion on the nomenclature employed in the research, including terms such as 'Myanmar' and 'Rohingya', as these words are themselves the subject of dispute and a determinant of social inclusion or exclusion.

This is followed by a geopolitical and historical outline of the region's history from antiquity to present, including associated crises, conflicts, and displacements. This section can also be described using the Foucauldian notion of genealogy or archaeology, using 'history' 'as a means of critical engagement with the present' or creating a 'history of now' (Garland, 2014, p367). Only through such extensive investigation of both historical, current scholarly, and current non-scholarly sources can an understanding and interpretation of the discursive representation of the

Rohingya be attempted. As part of this exploratory method, the initial chapters rely on material from a range of sources. This section effectively describes a history of the present and explores the key terms, disputes, and possible areas which may be foregrounded in the discursive representation of the Rohingya people in UK online media.

The second chapter reviews the current scholarly literature based on the Rohingya. In doing so, four categories of publication in peer-reviewed journals are realized and delineated under the headings of studies regarding the Rohingya in Bangladesh and Myanmar, studies in other contexts, studies in indigeneity and identity, and studies in media representation. This section is limited to scholarly and academic works and aims to place the study within the broader research field while also contributing to a coherent, standalone literature review which reinterprets and categorizes current studies according to their discipline. The categories identified and critical analysis of such sources provides direction in understanding the field, placing this research in its broader position, and highlighting potential areas for further study. One immediate result of the literature review is to confirm Farzana's (2017) assertion that the Rohingya have drawn little scholarly attention relative to the length and seriousness of the crises taking place throughout Myanmar and Bangladesh over the past century, while another point is that those investigations which have taken place share many similar characteristics, particularly in the area of media representation.

Following this, the next chapter provides a detailed breakdown of the aims of the research and the questions that the project intends to answer. Following this, a review of the process and methods used in Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) is given, with focus on techniques and tools for analyzing absence in discourse, a unique aspect of this investigation. Thereafter are details of the mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods used to answer the research questions, including frequency analysis (investigating the raw frequencies of terms within the corpus), collocation analysis (exploring the patterns of co-occurring terms, phrases, and structures) and concordance analysis (close, interpretive analysis of randomly sampled lines of text) as a basis from which broader inferences and discourse analysis can be undertaken at the level of social totality (Ruiz Ruiz, 2009).

On completion of this section, the succeeding chapter describes the collection and analysis of data, along with the formation of hypotheses. This is then followed by the interpretation of results and readdressing of the research questions. The project writeup concludes with a final discussion, elaboration of limitations, and identification of conclusions and avenues for further study. It is hoped that such a project will address both the specific crises facing the Rohingya people, and the possibility of overarching contradictions in the organization of society which are discoverable from such analysis, thus providing new possibilities and directions for societal change, while using a unique methodological mix and contributing to the current research base on absence in discourse and CADS approaches.

1.2 Contextual Background

1.2.1 An Overview of Myanmar

The Republic of the Union of Myanmar was formerly known as 'Burma', although its name was changed to 'Myanmar' in 1989 under the authority of the ruling military junta, and officially, the modern nation state has been known as 'The Republic of the Union of Myanmar' since 2008 until the present day (Mohajan, 2018).

The processes of naming in Myanmar are deeply entrenched in geopolitical history, and the example of 'Burma' versus 'Myanmar' can be considered a microcosm of some of the broader societal and internal issues affecting the nation, which is still the location of the world's longest ongoing civil war (Miliband, 2016). In order to fully understand the complexities of naming, further detail is required. From hereafter, the term referring to the Republic of the Union of Myanmar will simply be 'Myanmar', following the conventions of the United Nations, although it can be noted that some important global actors (such as the USA) have not adopted this nomenclature (CIA World Factbook, 2019). The demonym used, as is common convention, will still be 'Burmese'. 'Burmese' in this case refers to nationality rather than ethnic, linguistic, or cultural group.

Although once recognized as the 'rice bowl' of Asia for its economic and agricultural productivity, Myanmar is one of the least developed countries in Southeast Asia, with approximately 30% of the population living below the poverty line in 2018 (Mohajan, 2018). It is a populous country with an estimated 60,584,600 inhabitants (crucially, this figure includes the Rohingya as inhabitants) and spacious, occupying 676,578 square kilometres, divided into seven states, which share borders with several important neighbours, including China, Laos, Bangladesh, India, and Thailand; geographical features of relevance include the Bay of Bengal and the Andaman Sea (Mohajan, 2018). Ethnicity and religion play an important role in the society of Myanmar, a highly culturally diverse country. A key point in relation to this diversity, which is of clear relevance to the research project at hand, is that the government of Myanmar gives recognition to eight broad categories of ethnic races, although these are further subdivided into a total of 135, and of these

135, 53 are categorized as Chin, 33 as Shan, 12 as Kachen, 11 Karen, 9 Burman, 9 Karenni, 7 Rakhine, and 1 Mon (Than, 2007). Myanmar is majority Theravada Buddhist, with 89% of the population identifying as such, and religious minorities such as Christians accounting for 4%, Muslims accounting for 4%, 1% recorded as animist, with 1% identifying as 'other' (Mohajan, 2018) .

This research project investigates the representation of the issues affecting the Rohingya minority group in UK online media. The Rohingya are a group who historically have resided in the area now known as Rakhine State, formerly Arakan, to the west of the country and bordering Bangladesh. Rakhine state covers almost 37,000 square kilometres, with a reported population of 3,188,807, according to census figures from

2014 (MOIP, 2015). Historically the state was named Arakan, and many continue to use this name, with the demonym Arakanese still in common usage (Mohajan, 2018).



Figure 1 Image of Myanmar with Rakhine (Rakhaing) State pictured (Wikimedia Commons, 2019).

The current situation surrounding the Rohingya is not easy to summarize. Authors identify that conflict between religious groups marks a rivalry that goes back centuries (Lee, 2014) and this is part of the reason for the complex series of political, military, and diplomatic crises faced by the

country today. Although crises have befallen multiple ethnic groups in Myanmar, few have suffered as much as the Rohingya, having been conceptualized by powerful actors in society as the 'dangerous other', 'barbarians', 'terrorists' and 'fundamentalists', leading to statelessness and effectively becoming dehumanized (Horstmann, 2020). There is a consensus in the international political community among governmental and non-governmental organisations that the Rohingya have been persecuted and continue to experience extreme suffering on a day-to-day basis. The UN (2017) has stated that the 'long history of discrimination and persecution against the Rohingya community could amount to crimes against humanity', while according to the Council on Foreign Relations, 'rights groups and other UN leaders suspect acts of genocide have taken place' (Albert & Chatzky, 2019). The former US Ambassador to the UN, Nikki Haley, stated that the state of Myanmar has 'carried out a brutal, sustained campaign to cleanse the country of an ethnic minority' and in November 2018, Mike Pence (then Vice President of the United States) stated that the violence and persecution of the Rohingya was inexcusable (Albert & Chatzky, 2019). These acts are thought to be carried out by state actors such as the military (Tatmadaw) and have been characterized as genocide. The ISCI, a research group based in the University of London, state that the genocide against the Rohingya is in its 'final phase', with irrefutable evidence of 'mass annihilation' and physical and symbolic acts taking place to remove the group from the country's collective history (ISCI, 2018).

As of 2022, many nations around the world, including South Korea, the USA, Canada, Norway, and others have offered increased support in terms of aid and humanitarian assistance to the Rohingya, although little has, at the time of writing, been done in relation to the threat of the novel coronavirus pandemic, COVID-19. The involvement of international and non-governmental organizations continues to play a role in the Rohingya crises however, in both practical and symbolic measures. As one example, Amnesty International has revoked an 'Ambassador of Conscience Award' granted to Aung San Suu Kyi (the current State Counsellor of Myanmar and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize) previously (Albert & Chatzky, 2019). In summary, there are a complex range of actors involved directly and indirectly in the Rohingya crises, including nations, individuals, NGOs, and IGOs. All of these actors agree that the Rohingya are suffering greatly in

many different ways, in Bangladesh, Myanmar, and throughout the global diaspora. What is less clear, is the effects, contribution, and implicit understandings and assumptions that are produced in the describing and structuring of such suffering for public consumption in the media. Before proceeding further however, much like with the naming conventions of Burma and Myanmar, it is necessary to unpick the meanings behind the nomenclature employed in this study. As the names 'Myanmar' and 'Burmese' have been identified for use, it is equally important to address the etymology and usage of 'Rohingya' as it will be presented in the following, as this, much like the name of the country itself, is an area of conflict.

1.2.2 Names as a Determinant of Inclusion and Exclusion and Etymology of the Rohingya

Names can 'represent deeper kinds of identity, act as objects of attachment and dependence, and reflect community mores and social customs, while functioning as powerful determinants of inclusion and exclusion' (Puzey and Kostanski, 2016). At the heart of the debate on the Rohingya's rights, oppression, identity, and suffering, comes the use of the name 'Rohingya' and its origins. There are two competing schools of thought on this subject. The majority of NGOs, IGOs, and other state and non-state agencies use the term 'Rohingya' as an ethnonym to refer to Rohingya identity; this is the position taken in this research project. Some historians such as Leider (2015), a specialist on the region, contend that this ethnonym is representative of a constructed identity, although this take has attracted controversy and protest, particularly following the commissioning of works written by Leider from Oxford University Press, who were required to release a statement defending the appointment (OUP, 2018).

In giving further detail on this controversy, Leider (2015) claims that the name 'Rohingya' is found only in one source prior to the 1950s, and this is from one record from the late Eighteenth Century. The state of Myanmar has categorically rejected the use of the term Rohingya and does not allow for individual self-identification as Rohingya, using the ethnonym 'Bengali' among other substitutions (Leider, 2015). This is the first issue of controversy for Leider, who claims that such an approach is historically coherent, and to use 'Rohingya' in his view is incorrect while criticizing other scholars and groups who do so, claiming that 'naming is seen internationally as a

discriminatory statement...to not use the term Rohingya has become tantamount to a lack of political correctness denying them basic rights' (2015, p4), and that 'Rohingya historiographers have tried to construct a single account of history labelled 'Rohingya' of a much larger group (Leider, 2015, p13). Other recent research, such as that of Prasse-Freeman and Mausert (2020) has refuted this claim and identified inconsistencies in such approaches. This historical accuracy argument can also be claimed as failing to account for the exclusionary power of denying a person or group their right to their own name and identity, a point raised by the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF). Leider argues that the term has been taken up on a global scale as a result of the second 'mass exodus' of Rohingya, leading to the term's use in international media and NGO reporting (2015, p4). Essentially, this argument rests on disputed foundations of historical accuracy and judges the expanding use of the 'Rohingya' ethnonym as a consequence of greater public visibility and sympathy with the people's suffering.

Etymologically speaking, Leider's (2015) account argues that 'Rohingya' derives from the Indianized form of 'Rakhine'. The evidence he presents for this is the term 'Roshanga', which is present in the Chittagonian literature from the Seventeenth Century onwards (Leider, 2015). For that reason, the author concludes that 'the word Rohingya does not refer to, or mean anything else, but 'Rakhine' in the local language (Leider, 2015, p4). Ultimately, Leider (2015) argues that the naming of Rohingya is part of a distinctive narrative based on an 'eclectic record' of historical events; he argues that this means that there is no 'clearly identifiable Rohingya identity nor a streamlined discourse about themselves, but the contradictions and disjunctions have had no impact on international discourse on the Rohingyas' (Leider, 2015, p15). This, based on Leider's (2015) view is therefore a claim of a fragmented identity that has been adopted by international media discourse; needless to say, this has generated considerable controversy and accusations of bias. Having presented this interpretation, it is crucial to investigate what members of the community feel about their own self-identity. It is questionable whether Leider's (2015) argument is that the practice of what people, individuals, or groups are named must be predicated on debatable historical record. This establishment of criteria for use of a self-identifying term is complicated to justify, especially given that names act as powerful

determinants of inclusion and exclusion (Puzey and Kostanski, 2016). In turning to members of the Rohingya community, one important account is that of Tahir Ba Tha (2007). This is one of few accounts of Rohingya history written by a member of the Rohingya community in Burmese, and was published in 1963, and recently republished in an English translation, along with articles that first appeared in The Guardian newspaper in the 1960s (Leider, 2015). Tahir Ba Tha (2007) as the author, describes several other possibilities based in historical record that may account for the origin of the term Rohingya. This includes the possibility that Arab settlers during the 7th Century, laid the foundations for the term; the Arabic 'Raham' meaning 'blessing' or 'Raham Borri' meaning 'land of God's blessings, is related to 'Rohai' or 'Rohsangee', and this is a possible etymology (Ba Tha, 2007). Ba Tha (2007) equally considers other possibilities, that it may stem from the Magh word for 'brave as a tiger'. The initial assertion of Ba Tha (2007) is echoed by Kamal (2006, p1) who argues that 'Rohang' as the former name of Arakan, is 'probably the corruption of the Arabic term Raham/Raham Bori meaning 'God Blessed Land'. Other historical ideas regarding such etymology are that it is derived from the Arabic 'Rahm' meaning mercy, which transformed to Rhohang and then Rohingya, and that Rohingya was used to describe the Ruha people who migrated from Afghanistan, or that as 'Roh' means 'mountain' in Sanskrit, that it comes from the mountainous region in northwest India (Mohajan, 2018). Other still, such as Michael Charney, argue that the term is traceable to the word Rosanga in the 17th Century (Charney, 2005).

To summarize the debate on naming, Leider (2015, p24) claims that the term Rohingya is a constructed identity, which opposes the mainstream view of most international organisations. Such an approach could be seen as an attempt to discredit their right to a homeland and fragment their identity and origin. As such, it becomes clear that the term 'Rohingya' and its perceived validity has real ramifications for the suffering of this group as naming is a determinant of inclusion or exclusion. Leider (2015) points out that to understand Rohingya identity, time must be spent researching the national, historical, and cultural discourses of Rakhine State, and that the issue of Rohingya identity must be seen against the backdrop of Rakhine State's cultural practices. This is however more difficult to accept when faced with evidence that forced renaming has occurred, with Rohingya being forced at threat of violence to use the term 'Bengali'

against their self-perceived identity for hundreds of thousands of individuals (Ferrie, 2013). This brief description of the etymology of the Rohingya name highlights again that discursive representation and naming, specifically in the context of researching the Rohingya people, may be seen as creating inclusive or exclusive practice (Puzey and Kostanski, 2016). However, some might see that such lines of enquiry are, while perhaps important, distracting from the immediate suffering and humanitarian crises which are ongoing. The USCIRF for example, contend that debating nominals eschews 'the underlying challenges at the root of the humanitarian crisis facing this community', and that 'regardless of the terms it uses' actions must be taken to end not only poverty which affects all members of Rakhine state, but the actions some have called 'ethnic cleansing, apartheid-like, and genocide' against Rohingya (USCIRF, 2016, p3) or the 'final stages of genocide' based on 'irrefutable evidence' (ISCI, 2018).

The USCIRF (2016, p9) summarize these oppositional stances on etymology, arguing that 'the dispute over terminology has come to symbolize increasingly sharp divisions between tolerance and intolerance'. It is noted that the term 'Rohingya' is controversial in Myanmar, and that state organs have informed state media to avoid using the term but use other substitutions instead (USCIRF, 2016). In some cases, the ethnonym 'Bengali' is used. This is important as 'those who do not believe Rohingya are true inhabitants of Burma eligible for citizenship refer to them as Bengali, which is considered an inflammatory or derogatory term' whereas 'many, including USCIRF, strongly believe in the right of Rohingya to individually and collectively identify as they choose, even though doing so upsets those who believe the term infers indigeneity upon a community not legally recognized among Burma's ethnic groups' (USCIRF, 2016, p3).

Having detailed now the multitude of views on both the terminology and the etymology of the Rohingya, it is now time to turn to the use of the term in this research. Much like with USCIRF, it is noted that individuals should collectively identify as they choose (USCIRF, 2016). As the current research project in essence is engaged with exploring UK online news media discourse, and from a basis of the freedom of self-identification, this serves as the basis for the use of the term 'Rohingya'. The freedom to self-identity is the necessary, determining factor, and recognizes that

contestable historical consistency is not a tenable method of identifying groups of individuals at the cost of all else.

1.3 Historical Overview

Having established the controversy surrounding the name 'Rohingya', it is now important to delve further into the historical conceptions of identity in understanding the conflicts and crises of today. In attempting to truly understand the social reproduction of issues related to the ongoing Rohingya crises it is necessary to describe the current situation as reported in the body of collective historical and academic texts. The idea of such a diversion into history is based in the work of Foucault, whose method pioneered the use of history 'as a means of critical engagement with the present' (Garland, 2014, p367). To some extent, this section draws inspiration from the idea of a genealogy, in that it is an attempt to use historical materials 'to bring about a revaluing of values in the present day' (Garland, 2014, p373) as 'historical research can be brought to bear on contemporary institutions in ways that are powerfully critical and revealing' (Garland, 2014, p379).

The area in which much of the historical and contemporary crises are unfolding is that of Rakhine state, formerly Arakan. Although it is relatively small in comparison to the rest of Myanmar, and dwarfed by neighboring nations, this area has played an important role in history, and has been described as 'at the crossroad of two worlds: South Asia and Southeast Asia' (MSF, 2002, p9). In Rakhine State, there are multiple origins stories for the Rohingya, although the World Health Organisation (WHO) (2019) suggest that they are thought to be descended from Arab traders, their history is 'shrouded in the mists of time'. However, one one important documented source which will recur throughout this section, is the notes of Francis Buchanan, a Scottish botanist,

geographer and physician, who in the year 1799 documents in Rangoon (Yangon) the existence of the 'Rooinga' ethnic group (Bahar, 2009).

Given the positions described thus far, it has been claimed by other authors that describing the situation of the Rohingya people and the factors leading to today defies easy summary (Fullbrook, 2019). On the other hand, there are certain events that most consider to be 'key' in determining the present. For most official publications, the turning point for the Rohingya, and their being rendered stateless, stripped of, or denied citizenship, took place in 1982 (Al Imran and Mian, 2014; Kiragu, Rosi, and Morris 2011). During this year, laws were passed which applied citizenship to the 135 distinct ethnic identity groups as described earlier, while not giving citizenship to the Rohingya (Suma and Al Marjuk, 2019), therefore rendering them stateless and excluded from mainstream and official society. Other sources claim that 1982 was less important than the 1974 Emergency Immigration Act which had the effect of 'stripping the Rohingyas of their nationality, rendering them foreigners in their own land' (MSF, 2016). On the other hand, Leider (2018) contends that 1982 legislation was loosely enforced until 1989, and that to this extent the use of legislation was secondary in importance to the application and enforcement of such laws. While these laws are often referred to in publications, they are presented as though a sudden shift had taken place, or that this was an instantaneous occurrence. This disregards the reality that the divisions between the Rohingya and the state of Myanmar, and the politics of regional and ethnoreligious identities vastly predate the enactment of legislation in the 20th Century. It is here that the concept of genealogy may be applied, as a tool for seeking the 'descent' and 'emergence' of processes which shape the present (Garland, 2014, p372), and exploring the 'erratic and discontinuous process' by which the past becomes the present' (Garland, 2014, p372), rather than a simple case of enactment of legislation leading to direct consequences.

The first half of this section regarding historical exploration is achieved through the review of source material from Rohingya writers, historians, non-governmental and aid organizations, scholarly works, reference articles, and primary source material. This follows a conventional, linear pattern. The second section is built primarily around Cheesman's (2017) 'discourses of truth' genealogy, which reinterprets the current situation. For the reader, caution should be used

in interpreting such historical evidence, as delving too deeply into claims of territory and sovereignty does not accurately reflect the story of a land in which such concepts were not present until far later (Farzana, 2017).

Early History of Arakan

Scholars suggest that in Arakan in the Early Modern Period and there was a 'patchwork' of identities, including cultural influences on the court of the Mrauk U Kingdom at this time, coming from the close-by port of Chittagong and the Sultanate of Bengal (Leider, 2018). Leider (2018) describes Arakan as becoming a 'regional backwater' for primarily economic reasons, until the Burmese conquest of Arakan in late 1784. Ba Tha (2007), a local scholar based in Yangon, and an ethnic Rohingya, published the first text on the history of the Rohingya by a member of the ethnic group themselves. The first edition of this text was published in 1963 in the Burmese language and translated to English in 2007. Ba Tha (2007) contends that there has long been a Rohingya presence in Rakhine State, tracing ancestry to a range of groups including Moors and Arabs (Islam, 2006), a point mentioned by the WHO (2019). Chan (2005) claims that the earliest settlers arrived following King Min Saw Mon's regaining the throne, with military assistance from the Sultan of Bengal, in the period from 1430 – 1784. Ba Tha (2007) goes on to describe the period from 1430 – 1531 as creating a kingdom that was eventually absorbed into Burma. This, for Ba Tha (2007) means that in essence, Arakan was an area composed of two distinct nations, with two peoples who co-existed in the region since as early as 788 AD.

Ba Tha (2007) argues that the work of Arab geographers in the 9th to 10th Centuries constitutes evidence for the arrival of traders in such early periods, and that Rakhine's reference by the names Raham, Rohang, Rahamia, and Raham are clearly in support of this, while the name 'Arakan' is derived from the Arabic 'Al-Rukun' (Ba Tha, 2007). Ba Tha points to articles from British newspapers in 1957 as evidence for this interpretation, which offer a date for Arab traders arriving in 788 AD. The author contends that those referenced in 1950's British newspapers were the descendants of the modern day Rohingya, while an influx of other groups and a growth in trade continued as time went on until the time of Burmese and British colonialism; this began with the invasion of Tibeto-Burmans in 957 AD, which 'cut Arakan away from India' (as for Ba Tha, prior to the 10th Century Arakan had a large proportion of Hindu inhabitants, though the

exact percentage is not specified), and led to the reign of several Tibeto-Burman kings, while simultaneously, the religion of such kings and kingdoms (Buddhism) underwent a shift from Mahayanist to Hinayanist. Under this history, Arab settlers in the later part of the 7th Century laid the historical roots for the modern day Rohingyas, and that the likely origin of the name is etymologically related to 'Rohai' or 'Roshangee' which themselves stem from Arabic 'Raham' to mean blessing'.

From a historical perspective, it is then argued that the beginnings of an ideological divide between ethnic and cultural-religious groups in Myanmar may stem from the dissolution of the Mrauk-U Empire and the patchwork of identities that constituted society at this time. Furthermore, this history states that British colonial rule played a divisive role in generating such tensions. Under Ba Tha's (2007) interpretation of Rohingya history, the policies of 'divide and conquer' stemming from British colonial rule are one of the key driving forces between ethno-religious conflict involving the Rohingya today. A similar point of the after-effects of colonialism is made by Pugh (2013). As a result, imperialism may be seen as creating or contributing to the 'history of the present' through the fostering of such division and social exclusions and inequalities. It is from this basis the research itself as an immanent critique is formed, as 'critique needs to be grounded in the experience of people suffering from social exclusion' (Angermuller, 2021, p4). Lee (2014) similarly argues that one of, if not the most, significant reason for the Rohingya's 'unpopularity' is due to hundreds of years of rivalries and sporadic conflicts between groups in Rakhine state. Thus, the roots of such conflict may be seen as traceable to the exertion of the power of the British Empire, or to socioeconomic factors in the fall of the Kingdoms of Arakan. The following period studied begins from the late 1700s up until the beginning of World War II (Hereafter: WWII).

The Period from 1784 – 1940

The second period of modern history which can be looked at is that from 1784 to the beginnings of World War II. An important event in this era is the Burmese conquest of Arakan in 1784. This can be considered, perhaps, the first documented case of exile in the region, as at this juncture the first deportations took place, with tens of thousands being forced into Bengal over the Naf River, into the area now known as Cox's Bazar. Leider (2018) states that this case of initial forced exile created a retaliation and an early conflict, and this account is similarly accepted by MSF (2002). It is during this time that the all-important source material of Francis Buchanan, a British doctor, is recorded. Buchanan recorded a unique group in Arakan with a separate language and place of origin known as 'Rooinga' (Leider, 2018), an observation on which claims of critical importance now hinge. Slightly over fifty years later, in the year 1824, the British Empire attempted to colonize the country, including Arakan (Ba Tha, 2007). Three Anglo-Burmese wars were fought in succession prior to the eventual incorporating of Burma into the British Empire in 1885 (MSF, 2002). The volatility of the region and instability of the state may still be seen as echoing into the present day in this case as a result of the Anglo-Burmese wars, which had a destabilizing influence, as argued by Pugh (2013).

In 1869, census material was recorded by the British occupiers, constituting the first systematically coordinated register of peoples in Arakan (Leider, 2018). From 1869 until the early 1930s, the population of Arakan expanded rapidly. Leider (2018) argues that the reason for this was economic migration of Chittagonians into Arakan. Leider states that even though Chittagonians may have been born in Arakan, they were still seen as outsiders, immigrants, or foreign on the basis of not having prior historical roots in the region. Turning to an alternate source and moving to the later decades in the period to 1940, Bowser (2019) describes Islamophobia as emerging in 1930s colonial Burma. Bowser (2019) argues that the British and Indian capitalist elite motivated this as justification for political and economic issues. Bowser's analysis of 1938, and the nationwide riots that ensued, suggests that historically this may have played a part in the 'racialization' of invasive outsiders, oppositional to that of the majority. Pugh makes a similar point, stating that the vestiges of colonial structures account for some of today's

violence, due to the British colonial administration instituting and establishing a social hierarchical structure which created ethno-occupational stratifications that led to increased violence (Pugh, 2013). Ultimately, these sources suggest that the imposition of imperialist power and the forced strategies of divisiveness and ethnic blame are vestigial structures which continue to support such conflicts today.

The Period from 1940 – 1970

From 1940 onwards, WWII played a defining role in shaping ethnoreligious tensions in Arakan. This was in part sparked by the invasion of Japanese military forces, and the subsequent mass exodus of all peoples from the region (Leider, 2018). It is here that there is a record of increased inter-communal violence. The figures in these two sources, for contrast, however, are different. Leider (2018) states that there was an exodus of 20,000 Arakanese locals out of the state, while Ba Tha (2007) states that 80,000 Rohingya fled to East Bengal as a result of violent persecution. Ba Tha (2007) marks this as the first case of such inter-group violence, claiming that until 1942, all groups in Rakhine lived harmoniously, including both Rohingya and Buddhists, and this is echoed by MSF, who state that ‘for centuries, the Buddhist Rakhine and Arakanese Muslims co-existed relatively quietly, until the Second World War’ (MSF, 2002, p9). So far, it has been identified that there is likely evidence corroborated from several opposing sources which trace the origins of ethnoreligious tensions in part to the policy of the British colonialists, who used strategies of exclusion, otherizing and discrimination to ‘divide and rule’ (Pugh 2013). There are then, many diversionary points at which the tensions of today may have begun, ranging from the 17th Century onwards. Despite whether tensions began, or merely grew, in the period of WWII, the conflict was no doubt a factor of great importance in creating allegiances (MSF, 2002). MSF describes the advance of the army of Japan as helping to cause divisions which then fueled conflict.

Following the conclusion of WWII in 1945, Arakan was segregated into Japanese and British controlled areas. The definition of ‘indigenous race’ is of importance when discussing the years of 1947-1948, as although traditionally sources quote the 1982 Citizenship Law as the major

beginning of statelessness and social exclusion for the Rohingya, Ba Tha (2007) argues that the groundwork was laid in the 1947 constitution of the Union of Burma, quoting Chapter 2, Section 10 and 11:

“10- There shall be but one citizenship throughout the Union; that is to say, there shall be no citizenship of the unit as distinct from the citizenship of the Union.

11-(i) Every person, both of whose parents be- long or belonged to any of the indigenous races of Burma;

ii) Every person born in any of the territories included within the Union, at least one of whose grandparents belonged to any of the indigenous races of Burma;

(iii) Every person both in any of the territories included with the Union of parents both of whom are, if they had been alive at the commencement of this constitution would have been, citizens of the Union;

(iv) Every person who was born in any of the territories which at the time of his birth was included within His Britannic Majesty's dominions and who has resided in any of the territories included within the Union for a period of not less than 8 years in the ten years immediately preceding the 1st January 1942 and who intends to reside permanently therein and who signifies his election of Citizenship of the Union in a manner and within the time prescribed by law, shall be Citizen of the Union.” (Ba Tha, 2007, p25)

Based on the preceding, the term ‘indigenous race’ is that in the constitution, which is taken to mean a distinct people, culture, or civilization residing in the geographical boundaries that constitute the Union in the years prior to 1824, the year in which the British Empire occupied Arakan. Ba Tha goes on further to identify that there was doubt as to the section which applied to the Rohingya, in terms of sub-clauses (i), (ii) or (iii). The 1947 act was then succeeded by the 1948 Union Citizenship Act of 1948, which applied further restrictions for citizenship. This said, it is important to note that according to Ba Tha (2007) Rohingya leaders from Arakan were made members of the constituent assembly in 1947 and continued in the democratic period until 1962.

War has, to this period, been a defining factor in driving and dividing groups and generating social exclusion, creating further conflict and crises. This conflict grew in 1949, when a civil war erupted in Burma, including an insurrection in North Arakan, as the result of a confluence of economic, social and political factors. Leider (2018) contends that the final surrender of groups in North Arakan came as late as 1961, and this is a timeframe corroborated by Ba Tha (2007) who states that during this time, a Rohingya-including police force (Mayu Ye) and the recognition of the Rohingya as an indigenous race helped ease tensions. It is during the 1960s that Leider (2018) and Chan (2005) consider that the term Rohingya came to be used as a widespread ethnonym, allowing a sense of unity that was previously unobtainable in the period prior to 1960, and also providing a sense of cohesiveness. Leider (2018) argues that alternate sources have written the name as Rowannhyas, Rawengya, Royankya, Rohinijas, and Ruhangya. For Leider, this suggests that the adoption of such a name was imbued with a political message (Leider, 2018), which contrasts to the historical account of Ba Tha (2007) which leans on the evidence of Buchanan as discussed previously. However, the evidence given by Leider (2018) rests on, among other factors, the concept of alternate spellings representing distinct identities. This is a weak form of evidence, as coherent group identity is not necessarily chained to a particular spelling of a term, nor is it arguable that debates in the use of nomenclature preclude such an identity from existing, and this poses a fundamental area for further analysis in Leider's (2018) supply of alternative spellings as evidence. An author with similar views to Leider, Chan (2005), also argues that the term Rohingya began to achieve widespread recognition and usage in the 1950s and claims that it cannot be found in any historical source in any language before then (Chan, 2005). Although this is disputed from a number of positions, including the previously cited 'Rooinga' used by the British colonialist Francis Buchanan (Leider, 2018). Dapice (2015) also references this point, although makes the addition that the name 'Rohingya' could have acquired new meaning after this time. Identity is, however, not so easily encapsulated in a singular linguistic designation. Furthermore, Prasse-Freeman and Mausert (2020, p13) make the coherent argument that "given that people today call themselves Rohingya, it seems strange to advance the claim that they were absorbed by "Chittagonians" simply because the term "Rohingya" did not gain wide purchase as an ethnonym during the colonial moment." From this point of view, Prasse-Freeman and Mausert

(2020) further the claim that merely because of cross-border ancestry, this should not preclude the right of belonging, social inclusion, recognition and citizenship with its associated benefits. Such policies are suggestive of a politics of discrimination and exclusion, achieved through the enactment of laws regarding citizenship, right of abode and nationality and the creation of a social category of the 'other'. In addition to this, several Rohingya causes and organisations were established in the period from the 1950s – 1960s. This coincided with the election of U Nu in 1948, another important event which had ramifications for the period to 1960. Ba Tha (2007) argues that following this period, the creation of the Mayu Frontier Administration, or MFA, was implemented, this being an administrative body which was responsible for the governance of many settlements in Arakan. This marks a rare period of relative stability, beginning at this point and stretching into the early 1960s, prior to the reabsorption of the MFA into the Burmese general administration (Leider, 2018). Leider (2018) concedes that the state of Myanmar, predicated on the 1948 Citizenship Act, served to 'feed the hegemon' of the majority ethnic group, the Bamar (Burman), and that although the 1982 act is highlighted in the literature as the concrete document in which the Rohingya were left 'stateless', the processes leading to, and succeeding this legislation have roots stretching far farther back to colonial and pre-colonial times, one key area being the bureaucratic exclusion that took place in the 1970s. Leider (2018) further identifies that within the public discourse of the Rohingya, as well as in Rohingya self-representation, the role of the state in harassing and persecuting has been pivotal, and that this is reflective of their experience of great suffering and exclusion at the hands of the government. In this sense, a pattern of continual exclusion can be seen through firstly, denial of self-identity through naming practices, and secondly, denial of inclusion in systems of nationality and citizenship which give access to basic human needs. Prasse-Freeman and Mausert's (2020) similarly conclude that possible hybridity of identity and the lack of widespread use of a specific ethnonym should not preclude citizenship and belonging.

The Period from the 1970s – 1990s

Moving onward from the 1960s, the Bangladesh civil war is said to have led to the movements of thousands of migrants across borders, leading to operations of capturing and recapturing migrants throughout the 1970s on behalf of the state of Myanmar, and causing the departure of

200,000 in North Arakan, while many of the refugees settled in diverse regional areas including Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and Bangladesh (Leider, 2018). Perhaps due to the above, MSF state that the Emergency Immigration Act of 1974 removed the nationality of the Rohingya, rendering them 'foreigners in their own land' (2002, p11) and that this is the root cause of an 'endless cycle' of forced migration (MSF, 2002, p11), thus defining social and political exclusion as driving factors in maintaining and creating the suffering of the Rohingya people.

In a further publication by MSF (2019) entitled 'Timeline: A visual history of the Rohingya refugee crisis' the authors identify a further important event as taking place in 1977. This was an operation launched by the government of Myanmar in Rakhine State, known as 'Operation Dragon King', which precipitated violence, mass arrests, and persecution (MSF, 2019). Operation Dragon King was followed five years later by the Citizenship Act of 1982 (MSF, 2019). As noted before, for many sources this act is pointed to as the beginning of today's crises. The reason that this act is relied upon as the historical foundation for the current issues the Rohingya experience is unclear, but perhaps it may be due to being a formalized or codified record of exclusion, or perhaps it is a simpler narrative than explaining the complex histories at work. The Citizenship Act of 1982 granted 135 ethnic groups throughout Myanmar citizenship, while excluding the Rohingyas from such a program, thus effectively rendering them stateless (Uddin, 2019). This, combined with the prior persecution experienced drove many of the Rohingyas to leave Myanmar and enter Bangladesh, where Uddin (2019) asserts that they are identified as forcibly displaced Myanmar nationals, contrasting with their current status as 'Bengalis' by the government of Myanmar, giving clear rise to an intractable issue of identity. The 1982 Citizenship Act has been said to 'make it almost impossible for the Rohingya to gain citizenship', which has in turn been argued to be against the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child and international norms prohibiting discrimination of racial and religious minorities (Al Imran and Mian, 2014, p236).

Returning to the timeline of events structured by MSF (2019), the period from 1982 to 1989 is not recorded. The next moment of importance in this version of events is the uprising and renaming of Burma as Myanmar, which coincided with an increased military presence in North Arakan, now Rakhine state, as well as a host of human rights abuses taking place, including

compulsory labor, forced relocation, rape, execution and torture (MSF, 2019). As the 1990s began, the government of Burma continued to operate an enlarged military presence in Rakhine State, principally in the borderlands of the region (Leider, 2018) while MSF state that at this time their organization began to provide services at 9 of the 20 Rohingya refugee camps in Bangladesh, although the provision of aid was inadequate (MSF, 2019). Amnesty (1997) reported that at this time the 1982 Citizenship Law was being used to deny Rohingya members' basic human rights. This time period is also claimed to have seen an influx of Burmese Bamar people into the region and followed with the expulsion and relocation of Rohingya throughout 1991 – 1992, said to number almost a quarter of a million people, leading to the UNHCR attempting to launch a repatriation operation to move the Rohingya back into Rakhine State (Amnesty, 1997). This program faced continued resistance from local Rohingya people, on the grounds of fear of continual enslavement, extortion, and rape (Leider, 2018, p14). A Memorandum of Understanding, or MoU, was signed between Bangladesh and Myanmar's governments in April 1992 (MSF, 2002), which began the repatriation program. This MoU established that while the UNHCR would only be drawn on 'as needed at an appropriate time' (MSF, 2002, p12) repatriation had to be safe and voluntary. The UNHCR identify in their timeline that the 1990s was the time in which the Rohingya were made officially stateless (UNHCR, 2019). MSF (2002) state that during this time in the early 1990s, when returnees moved back into Rakhine State, they were issued temporary residence cards as identification papers. These temporary residence cards were not without restriction, specifically highlighting their religious identity and denying any claims of citizenship. From this point in time, a wealth of material becomes available, with many publications, documents, and reports being issues by non-governmental and intergovernmental organisations. It seems that this period marks a growth in awareness and visibility of the Rohingya's situation.

Coming to 1992, the issue of naming was rekindled and formalized in a process of exclusion. As previously described, naming is central to the ethnoreligious violence and persecution of the Rohingya in Myanmar. Some aim to deny the identity of the Rohingya and offer etymological explanations which runs counter to the Rohingya's own claim about their ethnic identity and history. One instance of this is that of the State, who at this time, began to refer to those Rohingya

in camps in Bangladesh as illegal migrants, referred to by name as 'Bengali', this stripping of any unique identifiable name coincided with other dehumanizing tactics and techniques on behalf of multiple official bodies, including the police and customs (Leider, 2018). Such tactics included restricting free movement and placing complex restrictions on official documents such as birth certificates and marriage registration, as well as the banning of religious traditions and ceremonies (Leider, 2018). MSF argue that free access to all areas of Rakhine equally was not possible until 1994 (MSF, 2002).

The Period from 2002 – 2007

When examining the suffering experienced by the Rohingya people, a great deal can be attributed to their statelessness and social and physical exclusion, which has meant for much of the population, residing in camps in Bangladesh, in the area of Cox's Bazar, a city in the northeast of the country. Although camps are poor in hygiene, sanitation, and many basic services, the many thousands of Rohingya in Bangladesh were viewed accommodatingly by Bangladesh from the 1990s until 2002, at which point the Arakan Rohingya National Organisation (ARNO) was forced to leave Bangladesh, followed by the Rohingya Solidarity Organisation (RSO) in 2005, thus signaling a change in perceptions. MSF (2019)'s visual narrative highlights that in 2003 two of the twenty camps the organization built in the early 1990's remained, while malnourishment and illness continued to affect more than half of those living in the region (MSF, 2019). It is argued by MSF that at this time the Rohingya 'came into the consciousness of the international stage' (MSF, 2019, p16), and this was in part triggered by the waves of migration of Rohingya refugees to other Southeast Asian nations, and their subsequent ill treatment by other official forces, thus drawing the attention of NGOs and other state and non-state actors. One difficulty in these waves of migration to other Southeast Asian nations is that without official refugee status and documentation, it is difficult to adequately provide support as highlighted by Thom (2016). A lack of identity documentation contributes to and compounds this problem.

In 2002, MSF published a 10-year review report on the Rohingya situation, describing at the time issues with unregistered births and refusal to issue birth certificates to some, but not all children,

thus raising a risk of human trafficking. The MSF (2002) equally argued at this point that Rohingyas had little option other than remaining in Bangladesh, as returning may have led to heavy fines, punishments, or other penalties as a result of 'illegal exit' or unlawful residence (MSF, 2002, p28). This demonstrates that in 2002, the Rohingya began to experience not only statelessness and persecution, as had now been going on for many decades, but also a legal framework to deny returning to Myanmar. Again, one of the core concepts at the root of this problem is that of persecution and exclusion from society based on discrimination.

In 2006 the remaining camps in Bangladesh suffered heavy flooding as a result of monsoons, thus leading to a rise in prevalent communicable disease (MSF, 2019). It is worth noting that due to the small percentage of Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh being officially recognized as refugees, this presented an obstacle to sufficient care (MSF, 2019), highlighting that the denial of citizenship is not only symbolic, but distinctly linked to poorer access to basic human needs and leading to greater suffering; the symbolic in this sense shapes reality, and the discourses of exclusion may contribute to the creation of very real, and unnecessary social suffering. The following year in 2007, six UN Special Rapporteurs produced a joint statement, calling on the government of Myanmar to repeal or amend the 1982 Citizenship Law to comply with human rights obligations, including Article 7 on the Convention of the Rights of the Child and Article 9 on the Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, while also taking immediate measures to eliminate discrimination in Rakhine state (Lewa, 2007). In March 2010, a UN Reporter, Tomas Ojea Quintana, appealed the UN to establish a commission of enquiry into human rights in the region for the Rohingya, but stated that the 'official government line is that the Rohingya are mostly illegal Bengali migrants from Bangladesh' (Kipgen cited in Lee, 2014, p324).

The Period from 2011 – 2012

Turning to the United States Commission on Religious Freedom (USCIRF) and the US Department of State, both noted rising ethnoreligious tensions in 2011 and part of this included military abuses of minorities and furthering harmful policies that affected the Rohingya, with a wide range of restrictions from an economic, educational and social perspective (USCIRF, 2016). The

public visibility of Myanmar's growth and internationalization also drew further attention to the Rohingya, and with the spread of the Rohingya diaspora, it is worth noting that in both 2011 and 2012 organizations such as the European Rohingya Council and Arakan Rohingya Union were established in the Netherlands and Saudi Arabia, respectively (Leider, 2018), representing a growing number of Rohingya living around the world. Leider (2018) argues that although the 2014 census shows 1.1 million Rohingya living in Rakhine state, this accounts for approximately 50% of the Rohingya people worldwide, and half do not live in Myanmar at all, with 672,000 Rohingya estimated to live in Bangladesh as of January 2018, 230,000 in Thailand, 100,000 in Malaysia, and tens of thousands in Japan, New Zealand, Australia, India, and Indonesia (Leider, 2018).

The USCIRF (2016) marks 2012 as a point at which bubbling, long-running tensions described so far came to a head, with initial violent altercations rapidly becoming a communal crisis (WHO, 2019), leading to the displacement of 74,800 people, 89 deaths, and the destruction of 5,000 dwellings, until Thein Sein mobilized the military to take control, followed by declaring a state of emergency, and imposing curfews (USCIRF, 2016). Despite this, violence erupted once again in 2012, and the imposition of a curfew and military control was not sufficient to quell it. The USCIRF (2016) contend that looking at this issue, when taken together, three main consequences arose from the violence and communal crises of 2012 – firstly, hundreds died, with the majority of these being Rohingya, and secondly, up to 140,000 were displaced internally in Rakhine state, again, the majority of whom were Rohingya, and finally, an increase 'en masse' in the number of Rohingya attempting to leave Myanmar. The USCIRF (2016) also note here that during this time, President Barack Obama referred to the 'Rohingya' and called on President Thein Sein to improve human rights in the Union of Myanmar, which President Thein Sein agreed to do through a series of 11 commitments, although many of these went unfulfilled. Previous sources have stated that Bangladesh grew impatient with providing refuge for the Rohingya, however the WHO (2019) highlight Bangladesh as generous in permitting the displaced into sites for shelter, despite a 'very trying time of migration, displacement and conflict' (WHO, 2019, p10).

Lee (2019) contends that 2012 also saw fundamental societal changes in Myanmar, including the ending of pre-publication press censorship, and the proliferation of smartphones, thus, these events were the first to be so easily recordable and transmissible through social networks or other digital means. The use of smartphones is not without consequence for the society of Myanmar, and Lee (2019) highlights that prior to 2012, the number of mobile phones owned by Myanmar citizens per capita was higher than only one other state – North Korea. This proliferation of technology at a rapid rate enabled a platform which allowed extremism to take root, as a platform for extreme speech became available. One major example of such is the Buddhist Monk Wirathu, who posted inflammatory and discriminatory statements against the Rohingya (Kyaw, 2013). This could likewise be a contributing factor to the violence ‘coming to a head’ (USCIRF, 2016) during this time.

The Period from 2013 – 2014

Tensions continued not only in all-out violence in 2013, but through socioeconomic exclusion, while alongside this, sporadic episodes of violence occurred in several states across the Union of Myanmar, and in January 2014, violence again broke out between Rohingya and ethnic Rakhine villagers (USCIRF, 2016). However, 2014 also saw increased involvement of the United States, with President Barack Obama visiting Myanmar, and his administration designating one politician, Aung Thaung, as having undermined reforms and assisted with inflaming tensions (USCIRF, 2016). Later that year, the state of the Union of Myanmar launched a process known as the ‘Rakhine State Action Plan’ the plan allowed Rohingya to register for citizenship only if identifying under the ethnicity of ‘Bengali’ (USCIRF, 2016). This refers back to the exclusionary power of naming, and the denial of self-identification.

Events of 2015

Forced displacement of the Rohingya continued in 2015, with a mass movement of Rohingya leaving Myanmar by sea, following the route of the Andaman Sea and the Strait of Malacca in an attempt to reach other Southeast Asian countries (Reuters, 2015). At this time, the International State Crime Initiative (ISCI) (2018) at University of London (Queen Mary) began to warn that policies instigated by the state of the Union of Myanmar were reaching levels of persecution that were in essence genocide. International media outlets (for example, the Canadian Broadcast

Corporation) began to proclaim the Rohingya as ‘among the world’s most persecuted people (CBC, 2015), a label which has persisted. The discovery of mass graves abandoned by human traffickers at Myanmar’s borders in South East Asia brought greater visibility globally; the UNHCR identified 3,500 migrants stuck at sea on boats, with ‘no country willing to take them’ (CBC, 2015).

This coincided with the enactment of ‘race and religion’ legislation which placed additional restrictions on non-Buddhists; these laws regulated marriage, birth, and religious conversions, led by the Ma Ba Tha nationalist Buddhist movement (USCIRF, 2016). At this point, ‘white cards’, otherwise known as temporary identification cards, which were held by approximately 800,000 Rohingya, were deemed invalid for voting, and rights to vote for white card holders were revoked –such cards were then announced to expire at the end of the year, effectively removing one of the core, if not the only, pieces of official identification documentation that many Rohingya had (USCIRF, 2016).

Events of 2016 – 2017

In 2016, Thein Sein’s government was replaced by a new government, the NLD, and the UNHCR reported that 25,000 of the 140,000 Rohingya who fled in 2012 had returned to Rakhine state, thus marking a period of relative quiet with fewer Rohingya leaving Myanmar during the first half of the year, and the state of emergency lifted in March of that year (USCIRF, 2016). The USCIRF highlight however, an incident that happened one month after, in which a boat carrying 20 people (thought to be either Kaman, another minority group, or Rohingya) sank at sea, which was reported by the United States Embassy in Yangon as extending ‘condolences to the families of victims, who local reports state were from the Rohingya community’ (USCIRF, 2016, p8). This sparked protests from Buddhist monks and nationalist members of the group Ma Ba Tha outside the U.S. Embassy; in May, the Burmese Ministry of Foreign Affairs made clear their preference for the US Embassy to not use the term Rohingya, and in June 2016, the country’s Ministry of Information also informed state media not to use the term Rohingya (USCIRF, 2016, p7). Later that year, the State Counselor’s Office (with direction of Aung San Suu Kyi) created an advisory commission on Rakhine State led by Kofi Annan, the former Secretary General of the UN; Annan

has since stated that human rights was not to be included in the subject of the reports created by the advisory commission, leading some to criticize its effectiveness in addressing such issues (USCIRF, 2016). Further military action occurred in Rakhine state in 2017, again bringing the Rohingya and Myanmar to the surface in public English language media discourse globally.

Ahmed (2019) states that violence in 2017 has been investigated as a crime against humanity under UN resolution 34/22, and called for an investigation into genocide on behalf of the authorities of Myanmar. Specifically, Ahmed (2019) identifies that between 25 August 2017 and 15 June 2019, 910,991 Rohingya people have crossed from Rakhine state into Bangladesh. Ahmed goes on to say that an Independent UN Fact Finding mission demonstrates that Rohingya are leaving Bangladesh to avoid war crimes, genocide, and crimes against human rights. Similarly, Dapice (2015) summarizes the situation by stating that ‘there have been acts of violence by each side against the other, but these are not nearly equal.’ Suggesting a rate of 10 – 20 Rohingya suffering for each 1 non-Rohingya casualty (Dapice, 2015, p10).

In terms of the timeline mentioned above, the UNHCR identify three key time periods in 2017 (UNHCR, 2019) the first of these being August 25, 2017, when a military crackdown in the area of Rakhine State first began, including targeted attacks, murder, and arson; this led to what the UNHCR has called the ‘largest exodus’ of Rohingya to Bangladesh, which was then declared an emergency the following month. By October 2017, 600,000 Rohingya had arrived in Bangladesh, with the majority of them staying in current refugee settlements in Cox’s Bazar, specifically in the areas of Nayapara and Kutupalong (UNHCR, 2019), similarly, the World Health Organisation (WHO) states that during August 2017, the population of Rohingya in Cox’s Bazar grew from 300,000 to over one million in a period just short of four months. This summarizes the diverse sources which examine the timeline of events in Rakhine state and globally for the Rohingya in 2017.

Events of 2018 – 2019

In May 2018, the Myanmar government signed an Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the UNHCR, which was then extended for an additional year the following May (MSF, 2019); this MoU committed to establishing ‘safe and dignified’ conditions to facilitate the return of the

Rohingyas to Rakhine, and part of this included the possibility of citizenship, along with a guarantee of security and free movement. In 2019, MSF published an update on the Rohingya's situation, entitled 'Two years on: No solutions in sight for the Rohingya' (MSF, 2019). The authors identify that while two years prior, in 2017, news of Myanmar's government's campaign against the Rohingya were ubiquitous in international media, little has been done to propose or work on solutions for the Rohingya's lack of legal status and their exclusion in the state of Myanmar. Coming to July 2018, the UNHCR reported on monsoon storms and landslides in Rohingya refugee camps throughout Bangladesh, and in April 2019, the first registration of Rohingya refugees began – the UNHCR state that this 'gave them an identity for the first time' (UNHCR, 2019).

Current issues faced by the Rohingya in Bangladesh include over 912,000 still living in basic bamboo structures, and, unable to work or travel, are completely reliant on aid for survival, while schooling is not possible for children due to finances and travel restrictions (MSF, 2019). MSF (2019) say that this leaves the future generations of the Rohingya unable to improve their lives. The COVID-19 pandemic has reached camps in Cox's Bazar, and Jubaver et al. (2021) state that this has negatively impacted the already difficult provision of healthcare. MSF (2019) also highlights that in 2019, although the stripping of the Rohingya's citizenship is traceable in law to 1982, further stripping of their rights has occurred, including civic exclusion, education, marriage, family planning, and access to healthcare. While between 500,000 and 600,000 Rohingya remain across Rakhine state in Myanmar, continuing conflicts between the Myanmar military and the Arakan Army (an ethnic Rakhine armed group) have caused further obstacles for the Rohingya who remain in the country. That said, the UNHCR states that as of August 2019, over 500,000 Rohingya have been given verification documents which confirms their identity and will 'protect their right to voluntarily return to Myanmar when it is safe' (UNHCR, 2019). The exact nature of such documents and their rights is however unclear.

Despite this claim, in 2019 and to 2022, across Asia and the world, the Rohingya continue to be in a precarious position. MSF (2019) highlights that in Malaysia, the Rohingya are in 'limbo', and thus the situation of statelessness has far-reaching effects that are inescapable in other countries, not only in Myanmar and Bangladesh. MSF (2019) claim that although the Rohingya

have been fleeing to Malaysia for over thirty years, their lack of legal documentation and legal status often means turning to the black market for work. Meanwhile, the International State Crime Initiative (ISCI) at Queen Mary, University of London, reports that in Myanmar, ‘the Rohingya are now suffering the final stages of genocide’ and claim that ‘irrefutable evidence of the final stages of genocide; mass annihilation and symbolic enactment’ are taking place, and that these ‘remove the victim group from the country’s collective history’ (ISCI, 2018).

Events of 2019 – Present

In November 2019, the justice minister for Gambia (Abubacarr Tambado), a small, West African nation, took the state of Myanmar to the ICJ, the principal judicial organ of the United Nations, and filed proceedings against the Republic of the Union of Myanmar for alleged violations relating to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide’ (ICJ, 2020). Gambia pursued this case alleging that Myanmar is conducting a genocide against the Rohingya, who are a “distinct ethnic, racial and religious group that resides primarily in Myanmar’s Rakhine State.”

The findings of the court to date have been in favor of the Rohingya, thus taking an important step in correcting the actions taking place against them. The ICJ stated that that since October 2016 specifically, the Rohingya in Myanmar ‘have been subjected to acts which are capable of affecting their right of existence as a protected group under the Genocide Convention, such as mass killings, widespread rape and other forms of sexual violence, as well as beatings, the destruction of villages and homes, denial of access to food, shelter and other essentials of life’ (ICJ, 2020, p4). In addition, the ICJ states the judgement that ‘the Rohingya in Myanmar remain extremely vulnerable, observing in particular that the Fact-Finding Mission concluded in September 2019 that the Rohingya people remained at serious risk of genocide.’ (ICJ, 2020, p4). Finally, the ICJ at this point have ‘taken note’ of Myanmar’s statement that they are ‘currently engaged in repatriation initiatives to facilitate the return of Rohingya refugees present in Bangladesh and that it intends to promote ethnic reconciliation, peace and stability in Rakhine State, and to make its military accountable for violations of international humanitarian and human rights law’ (ICJ, 2020, p4), although the court recognizes that these are not sufficient in

themselves for preventing genocide, thus leading the ICJ to aim at instituting additional measures for preventing genocide from taking place (ICJ, 2020, p5).

1.4 A Summarizing Perspective

In coming to this point, it is important to note that creating a coherent account of an extremely complicated issue (Dussich, 2018) is not an easy task. For such reasons, one method of visualizing events is to examine it from a linear perspective as a timeline. Dussich (2018) attempts to do this, based on a great deal of research, although the author contends that there is an ‘overwhelming degree of complexity’ involved in researching the Rohingya, and that ‘the sources of information bias vary according to the authors’ organizational allegiance, political orientations, nationality, religion, culture and language’ (Dussich, 2018). Throughout Dussich’s (2018) historical comments section, there are many areas developed based on similar source material, and the majority of critical events are corroborated. On the other hand, such a model assumes a linear perspective and tends to be viewed as a ‘progression’ or slow increase in activity. In contrast, it may be possible to view this history as a series of interrelated, ongoing and contingent events which reverberate into the present and emerge in various ways. Dussich’s version of events on the other hand reads similarly to a conventional historical narrative.

Many other sources however also attribute historical tensions as not simply beginning with the Citizenship Act of 1982 but stretching back to British colonial times and tactics of divide and conquer, the allegiances of the British and Japanese during WWII, and a host of other interrelated and contingent factors which have led to the ongoing cycles of migration and humanitarian crises (Pugh, 2013). As an example, Prasse-Freeman and Mausert (2020) argue that there is, regardless of opinion, a ‘disheartening tendency in academic literature to assume that Rohingya claims of indigeneity are invalidated because migrant Chittagonians assimilated and adopted Rohingya patterns of life and speech. Or to go further and suggest, without evidence, that Chittagonians subsumed “Rohingya”, and/or that inter-ethnic mixing is so recent that ‘Rohingya’ is a mere cynical ideology’ (Prasse-Freeman and Mausert, 2020, p13). Despite the criticism of different accounts as detailed in the above sections, it is worth noting that such debates are not necessarily

fruitful in solving immediate issues, and that 'deep seated but often diffuse frustrations have been building up on both sides for such a long time that political remedies are not easily at hand' and that the events of 2012 onward in particular turned a 'bad situation infinitely worse' (Leider, 2014, p2).

It may be argued that historical claims, identity claims, and the discussion of terminologies and etymologies, although having their place in the wider debate on human society, are inconsequential when faced with inarguable conditions of human suffering as a result of social, political, economic and legal exclusion. This section has attempted to engage with these issues for posterity, to document and critique such positions, and derive a 'history of the present' while not seeking to find definitive answers, but to clarify the circumstances and context in which the present research takes place. Coming back to the WHO's report (2019), no matter what, the Rohingya 'cannot continue seesawing on this ledge of uncertainty, and neither can international support and financial aid continue indefinitely. The status quo is not a tenable option – politically, socially, and economically' (WHO, 2019). The WHO states that 'with the Rohingyas now visible to the world, it would take all involved to walk the extra complex miles to truly attain the spirit of 'no one left behind' in line with the United Nations goals for sustainable development' (WHO, 2019). This can be understood as an appeal directly towards social inclusion, rather than social exclusion.

In understanding the events happening at the moment, there are several key conclusions that can be drawn. Firstly, that there is international recognition that the Rohingya people are suffering greatly, are at risk of , or are undergoing genocide (ICJ, 2020) and that a great deal of their suffering arises from their persecution and exclusion from nationality, human rights, and ultimately recognition of their basic rights to exist. Efforts are being made to exclude the Rohingya based on historical records, ethnic and religious grounds, and legal grounds of nationality. On the international stage, attempts to remedy this situation are being undertaken by The Gambia, the International Court of Justice (ICJ, an organ of the United Nations), the WHO, the UN, and a number of NGOs, activists, individual actors, academics, researchers, and journalists. However, it seems clear that the overarching issue, that of such exclusionary practice

on behalf of the state of Myanmar, is absent from these sources. Having now explicated the historical background and contrasted a number of sources, it is appropriate to describe one further source which warrants its own section for description and analysis, given that it departs significantly from other extant sources; this is the genealogical approach based on Cheesman's (2017) method.

1.5 An Alternative Interpretation - Cheesman's Genealogical Method

The reasons for such actions that the ISCI (2018) have labelled the final stages of genocide and that the ICJ (2020) have noted are genocidal actions are important to examine. As seen above, many authors point to the complex confluence of factors leading to difficulty in interpretation and understanding of such causative events (Leider, 2018). Equally, describing case-by-case explanations for such activities, which have been termed variously as ethnic cleansing, genocide, and crimes against humanity, is beyond the scope of the present research, and despite the multiplicity of historical, sociopolitical and ethnoreligious narratives as described in the first section, further explanation and reinterpretation would not necessarily be fruitful in informing the present research, and would constitute a separate project in and of itself. On the other hand, one alternative genealogical investigation, conducted by Cheesman (2017) warrants separate discussion and detail for its ability to describe one of the key overarching causes of such genocidal actions as stemming from social exclusion through the creation of a race-truth regime. This section will analyze, summarize, and explore Cheesman's (2017) work in identifying its applicability to the present research as an alternative formulation to the overview presented in the initial section of this project.

Cheesman's (2017) interpretation of the current Rohingya crises rests not on legislation, nor on codified principles enshrined in law. Instead, it relies on the emergence of a discourse of '*taingyintha*' or 'national races'; the idea of national races is one of great importance within Myanmar, and Cheesman (2017) argues that this is the cornerstone of the complex crises affecting the Rohingya. In his view, the concept of *taingyintha* is one that establishes the rules of society, and that pre-structures discourse, including the guidelines by which truth and fact are

believed or rejected, and thus constitute the discourse of identity and belonging in Myanmar. The author argues that 'taingyintha', or 'national races' are a state-driven program which establishes an individual's eligibility to be included or excluded from society (Cheesman, 2017).

In this interpretation, the author identifies the term of taingyintha and reinterprets it as characterizing human relations in a fundamentally different method to how it is accepted as face value; the 'conventional reading' of taingyintha as synonymous with ethnic group, indigenous group, or racial classification is eschewed in favor of identifying and unpicking the historical and sociological construction of such terms, rather than 'uncritically adopting the usual categories of practices as categories for analysis' (Cheesman, 2017, p462). Fundamentally it is worth noting that this is not a case of identifying exceptionalism in Myanmar's sociopolitical tendencies, rather, it is seen by the author as one lens through which to make 'meaningful comparisons with other country cases' (Cheesman, 2017, p 463). This suggests that by understanding genealogical implications of archetypes such as taingyintha, we may be able to reveal underlying social structures, discourses, and ideologies which are otherwise ignored or uncritically accepted. This contrasts with the sources examined previously, which tend to deal with problems only at the level of singular historical events.

Cheesman (2017) argues that the concept of taingyintha may have emerged during the British colonial period or prior to national independence, and developed throughout the period of civil war in the 1950s and through the single party government of the 1960s to 1990s. Cheesman identifies that the term was not significant prior to this, and nationalist movements instead used more generic words for 'countrymen and women' or 'the people', while prior to this in the 1910-1920s periods, the term taingyintha was used only in reference to cultural groups to acknowledge cultural products such as medicines, crafts or occupations.

Nationalist movements in the late 1920s established further the idea of taingyintha, and excluded non-taingyintha from land ownership, although the categories for being non-taingyintha were only to be European, Indian, or Chinese; all other ethnic groups were considered taingyintha (Cheesman, 2017). This is extremely important as identifying the broadness of categories of taingyintha at the time. The term was also used politically among nationalist groups to

consolidate autonomous regions into state control and was mooted in the draft constitution in 1947 when discussing minority rights, although it only appears in the citizenship section of the constitution and is translated as 'indigenous races' in the English version. Taingyintha, according to Cheesman, has two interpretations here, one which is used to create a shared identity and pull various groups together, and one to separate some groups from others, which the author contends continues to play a role in today's politics of Myanmar. While taingyintha was called upon in times of civil war to promote unity, it remained peripheral until 1964, a period at which the term graduated from being little-known or used into what Cheesman (2017, p465) calls a 'new paradigm for military-dominated statehood', which led to the paradigm of 'national races' as it exists today, which has been compounded by continuous use in state-building activities such as the 'national races-working people of the union', and further developed into volumes of published history.

Cheesman further identifies that in 1967, seven volumes were published on seven national races (Kachin, Karenni, Karen, Chin, Shan, Arakanese, and Mon) which created a 'mythical past' for taingyintha to 'gaze back to' (Cheesman, 2017, p466). Such an undertaking was intended to reinforce the unity of such groups and created a vision of pre-colonial times where taingyintha lived together peacefully. Other sources also confirm times of relative peace and stability between indigenous ethnic groups (Ba Tha 2007; Leider 2018) at various points throughout the history of Myanmar, and echo the assertion that times of peacefulness were broken and disintegrated during the British colonial administration – in Cheesman's view, this developed into a 'national-race truth regime' by the 1980s, which created a domain for the organization and ordering of truth and fiction, which was firmly enforced through state approval prior to publication of any political texts (although this social order collapsed in 1988, Cheesman argues that the 'national-race truth regime re emerged stronger than before' (Cheesman, 2017, p466). In some sense, these constitute formal structures from which society is built, and the concepts of nationality and citizenship as part of the truth-regime highlight the underlying causes of the suffering of the Rohingya people as excluded.

At the time in which the military junta took control of the governance of Myanmar, Cheesman contends that there was no 'coherent ideology' but a political message of 'non-disintegration of

national taingyintha solidarity' was one of the three major causes used to consolidate power and justify governance. The concept of taingyintha became central to national politics following this in the 1990s, although it contained a 'multiplicity of inconsistent meanings' and likewise created a 'schema for identification, enumeration, and management of all national-race groups in the country' (Cheesman, 2017, p468), calling to mind the concept of a biopolitics of power. Following this, the author (Cheesman, 2017) calls into question the military government's identification in 1990 that 135 national race groups resided in the country, without explanation of formal announcement – this contrasts with the 1931 census which listed between 135 and 136 groups, and the 1953 census which suggested seven main indigenous race groups and four foreign race groups, while in 1960, a publication suggested 45 groups which when further subdivided would become approximately 160. Further to this, a comprehensive list in 1972 contained 144 groups, and the year after 143 groups, while the 1996 Myanmar yearbook suggests 'approximately' 135 groups (Cheesman, 2017). This 'taxonomy of populations' in the author's view creates two distinct fictions of politics – that they catalog, rather than produce differences, and secondly, that they document social groupings rather than create power and subject positions; Cheesman argues that such taxonomies are by nature implicitly built on hierarchy (Cheesman, 2017).

This interpretation suggests that Myanmar's taxonomy of races fails to realize the goals set out for a population taxonomy to be successful, i.e. that it must be in the background, and distinguish even minute differences among all aspects which come under the domain of the taxonomy (Foucault, 2002). This has not however, stopped the use of 'taingyintha' in the 2008 constitution of the Union of Myanmar, which Cheesman suggests are methods of creating a hegemonic concept of mythic unity through diversity; by doing so, taingyintha is central to the formation of the state and is placed above citizenship, in this sense, membership of the group of national races is membership more valuable than citizenship, with a different designation (Cheesman, 2017). Continuing with this line of reasoning, to be part of taingyintha is pivotal in the context of the Rohingya crises; Cheesman argues that researchers and commentators as described in the first section misinterpret the 1982 law, which has been said to strip the Rohingya of their citizenship, arguing that prior to 1982, taingyintha was not important for citizenship post 1948 in Myanmar;

identity documents (green cards) contained no reference to taingyintha and from 1964 – 1982 government agencies were not authorized to issue documents which contained information demarking a person's national race, which changed with 1982, wherein the national race became the basis for citizenship and those who were not part of a national race were not eligible for citizenship (Cheesman, 2017). In 1988, only after the 1982 citizenship law was implemented, were residents issued 'pink cards' which held entries describing membership to a national race, anyone who had a green card in 1989 was required to return it and obtain a pink card, which held 'taingyintha' details on it – Cheesman argues this should have been a straightforward process, but instead, people who submitted green cards with applications for pink cards but were denied (due to not belonging to a national race) were not reissued their green cards, but were issued 'white cards' or temporary registration cards, which are considered interim documentation (a point confirmed by MSF, 2002); it is this process which led to Rohingya as being rendered de facto stateless, as they were excluded from inclusion in the taingyintha discourse, unless they submitted to the national races project and identified as Bengali. These are therefore powerful forms of discursive, legal, and social exclusion, which as a result create the suffering of statelessness and the lack of rights which come with it. The concept of taingyintha constitutes a truth regime which is then reproduced – from inside the taingyintha truth regime, which is self-validating and therefore not based on coherent logic, the claim for Rohingya to be members of the taingyintha is impossible (Cheesman, 2017), and given that the truth regime 'does not invite questions about the reasons for inclusion or exclusion, and to ask after its reasons for the inclusion of some groups and exclusion of others would be to mistake happenstance for design' (Cheesman, 2017, p474). The truth regime of taingyintha is also enshrined in law, as section 4 of the citizenship law (1982) states that the cabinet has the sole authority to decide on which groups constitute national races.

In sum, this work is important as it identifies another potential area of discussion when discussing the Rohingya crisis in terms of the present situation. Cheesman's (2017) genealogy essentially identifies that it is not a case of unpicking historical claims for existence, nor is it a question of indigeneity or migration – rather, it is the reproduction of an arbitrary set of national race rules from which the Rohingya are excluded. The author closes this analysis by quoting Foucault,

identifying that while his analysis is not prescriptive in terms of offering solutions, it may be transformative in 'creating a new politics of truth', (Cheesman, 2017, p476), or to critically reevaluate contemporary 'bodies' with the power struggles that shaped them, exploring their value and meaning as a result (Garland, 2014, p373). Ultimately, the conclusion is that Myanmar's problem is not the oft-referred to 'Rohingya problem' but rather a national races problem, and Cheesman (2017) identifies that in envisioning an alternative society (and thus a new politics of truth) it is hoped by the author that Myanmar may become democratic, in the sense that members of political communities are judged by what they say, do, and think, rather than innate characteristics with which they were born, without denying the importance of group differences (Cheesman, 2017, p 477). Cheesman (2017)'s genealogy offers an alternative approach to interpreting the history of the Rohingya without delving into the verification of historical records. This analysis identifies the emergence of the biopolitical on behalf of the state, creating and cataloging citizenships and forming a discourse of truth within which the national race system operates; through exclusion from this discourse, suffering is created.

Certain aspects of Cheesman's (2017) analysis are shared by Pugh (2013), who conducted a similar genealogy of exclusion' in order to identify the status of the Rohingya is not only embedded in a 'product of lacking citizenship' but is also embedded in 'elaborate processes' regarding nation building, ethno-political identification, and religious intolerance' (Pugh, 2013, p1). Pugh (2013) argues that the ejection of the Rohingya from the 'trinity' of the state, nation, and territory has excluded them from a rightful belonging. The author identifies that the 'demonization and construction of the Rohingya as an enemy of the state... has created a dire human rights and humanitarian situation for Burma' (Pugh, 2013, p27). Equally, Pugh (2013) argues that citizenship as a legal status is unlikely to be an answer for the Rohingya, and that creative solutions are required in order to address such an issue. This view fits with that espoused by Cheesman (2017) in that citizenship solves little if not part of the truth-regime. In addition to Pugh (2013) Prasse-Freeman and Mausert (2020) equally state that "generalized hatred of Rohingya illuminates the entire system of belonging in the Myanmar polity, even as the conflict generates changes in that system. Not only does the eager participation of Rakhine nationalist

elites in Rohingya exclusion elevate the former's standing in the system, but nationalists of all ethnic orientations have capitalized on processes of formal democratization and a liberalization of the public sphere to generate a robust, if revanchist, national conversation over belonging in the polity, through exclusion of the Rohingya, which enhances each group's position within it." (Prasse-Freeman and Mausert, 2020, p14). However, it is worth noting that during the 2021 anti-junta protests following the February 2021 military coup, public shows of support including social media campaigns in support and in solidarity with the Rohingya group have taken place, suggesting a shift in attitudes among the current complicated political situation (Al Jazeera, 2021).

This suggests that based on Cheesman's (2017) ideas, the fact that the Rohingya exist outside of the national race truth regime, is an important factor in their rejection by other ethnic groups in Myanmar, and part of this is due to the fact that the Rohingya do not fit into the 'colonialist cartographic ontology in which 'races' belong to certain territorial domains (Prasse-Freeman and Mausert, 2020, p14). Consequently, the identity of the Rohingya is a threat to the incoherent logic of such a system. Prasse-Freeman and Mausert (2020) conclude by arguing that a broader sense of cultural citizenship and indigeneity must be adopted in order for the Rohingya crises to cease; again, based on Cheesman's (2017) analysis, such a change is unlikely.

Conclusion to Chapter One

This section has aimed to elucidate and provide a geopolitical and historical overview of the current situation affecting Rakhine State and Myanmar from different perspectives, the first through analysing a range of sources in order to investigate competing claims and narratives of identity and historical processes, and the second through an analysis of the creation of a regime of truth in the form of national races by the successive states of Myanmar. This is an alternate yet concurrent analysis of the 'creation of the present' (Garland, 2014) in a Foucauldian sense, through the genealogical method.

In bringing these two current strands of the first chapter together it seems that there are areas of overlap which confirm to some extent the value of the truth-race-regime analysis offered by Cheesman (2017) and the other varying analyses offered by academic and non-academic authors.

In many areas these two sections are coherent with one another, yet simultaneously incomplete with regards to the present. The first section is complex and diverse, with many claims being difficult to reconcile with one another. Cheesman's (2017) work on the other hand narrates a history which is compelling yet suggests that the fundamental problem is the discourse of the national races truth-regime only. In drawing a broader picture, it is contended here that the overriding feature causing the suffering of the Rohingya is that of social exclusion, and disrespect, through a process of othering.

Having engaged with historical accounts to contextualize the research and underline the key role that social exclusion has played in creating the ongoing series of crises today, the following step is to focus in further on the academic literature and research which has been undertaken with the Rohingya, both in collaboration with Rohingya communities, and from a distance. It is important not to slip into the idea of creating a singular 'Rohingya' mass noun or treating this group of people with a specific identity as merely a research subject, and this is a thread that is referred back to throughout.

The following section will detail a comprehensive review of current academic literature surrounding the topic at hand. While research with the Rohingya has increased in recent years, as a result, perhaps, of the increasing struggles and suffering the group are experiencing in Bangladesh, Myanmar, and worldwide, there is still a limited amount of scholarly published material available, and they have not received much attention (Farzana, 2015; 2017) in comparison to other groups. This means that in practice, reviewing such literature spans across many fields and disciplines.

2. CHAPTER TWO – LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Reviewing the Current Academic Research on the Rohingya crises

In defining the background and context of this research, it may seem at first glance to be a study of discursive representations of refugees or an investigation into conflict. However, while the Rohingya are in many cases considered refugees, this terminology is not altogether sufficient. The situation of the Rohingya people is somewhat unique on an international stage (although parallels can be drawn with other situations elsewhere in the world such as the Democratic Republic of Congo), comprising not only statelessness, but a state apparatus that has formed a deliberate exclusion not only from citizenship, but also in many cases from the possibility of official refugee status. The second point of differentiation is that while the Rohingya have entered the public consciousness recently through events such as those of 2012, 2017, and 2020-2021, this is a protracted, ongoing series of crises which stretches back decades, as detailed in Chapter One. It would consequently not be accurate to characterize the Rohingya people and the context of this research as a study into discourses of refugeeism, and such an approach would be based on a limited appreciation for the complexity of the Rohingya people's situation.

Taking this into account, it is still worth noting the contributions of refugee representation in the media in providing background knowledge and context for this project. Studies of refugee representation in the media have a long history, and major research has taken place exploring textual discourse (Rojo and van Dijk 2007; Gale 2004; Baker and McEnery 2005; Baker et al. 2008; Salashour 2016; Abid et al. 2017) and visual media and multimodal discourses (Wright 2004; 2010; Mortensen 2016; Tomsic 2017; Ehmer 2017; Ehmer and Kothari 2018). There is a substantial body of literature on such topics, and Abid et al. (2017) identify that speaking generally, the results found are that mass media tends to discriminate against refugee groups and regard them as a security, economic, and hygiene threat to dominant groups or peoples in the host nation, although some authors (Salashour 2016) have found that conversely, refugees

may be depicted positively. These studies have proliferated over the last few decades, with an increasing number of ongoing global refugee crises spurring broader social, political, economic, and moral and ethical discussions and subsequent academic study. It is clear from the above that there is a need for such research, as globalization continues and the world becomes smaller, it is of vital importance to identify the structures that lead to suffering for marginalized groups and examine the ways in which societal organization creates and sustains such problems, one component of which is discourse.

Having taken this into account, the following review summarizes scholarly works specifically involving the Rohingya crises in terms of present-day research, while not including historical volumes as discussed in the preceding sections. An initial search was undertaken in Google Scholar, EBSCO Library, and Scopus Search, searching primarily for the node 'Rohingya' and a secondary search around related keywords including 'Myanmar', 'Burma', 'Rakhine', and 'Arakan'. The criteria for such publications to be included in the literature review was based around having appeared in peer-reviewed journals or published scholarly works including academic books within the past twenty years. Publications from non-governmental organizations, humanitarian organizations, and other non-state actors and groups were not included for these purposes. Historical publications were (Habibullah 1995; Razzaq and Haque 1995; Yegar 1981; Yunus 1994) used to provide context and inform the current research, but are not included in this section as not directly relevant to contemporary scholarly study of the Rohingya crises at the present time, as with other publications detailing the 'emerging face of genocide' and 'Burmanization' of Myanmar's religious minorities (Bahar 2010; Berlie 2008).

In terms of scholarly works which are helpful in providing contextual information, yet are only indirectly related to the subject at hand, it is possible to turn to both medical and economic investigations, such as the study of daily stressors among stateless Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh (Riley et al., 2017), research which has explored gendered insecurity (Hutchinson, 2017), the education of Rohingya children (Letchamanan 2013), dimensions of parenting among Rohingya refugees in Malaysia (Shaw et al., 2021) and analysis of responsibility of repatriation (Robinson and Rahman 2012), as well as the relationship between Bangladesh and Myanmar in light of the Rohingya crisis (Parnini et al., 2013).

In understanding the interplay between social and physical landscape, Quader et al. (2021) found that among local communities, reduction in forest cover led to an increased risk of natural disaster, such as landslides and flooding, threatening local agriculture. More recently, Khan et al. (2021) have identified that Rohingya refugees in Malaysia show lower levels of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), depression, and anxiety when compared to those residing in Bangladesh, although those in Malaysia experienced more consistent trauma at lower levels, while Hossain et al. (2021) equally found that prolonged displacement among Rohingya refugees was strongly linked to severe mental health issues. Recent health research has focused primarily on the emergence of the COVID-19 pandemic, with Jubaver et al. (2021) cataloguing the first case of the virus in high-risk camps in Bangladesh. Lockdowns and social distancing have been implemented with various degrees of success, although Jubaver et al. (2021) contend that maintaining social distancing is an impossible task given the population density and limitations of sanitation and health facilities. The authors contend that COVID-19 will continue to contribute to the magnification of already existing health issues within the camps in Cox's Bazar. Jeffries et al. (2021) similarly identify that planned reduction in funding prior to the COVID-19 pandemic has also continued to impact health provision in these camps, while Mistry et al. (2021) identify that among high-risk groups age 60 and older, a lack of awareness, fear, and understanding of the severe negative consequences of COVID-19 are common.

Other relevant yet indirect research has also focused on religious dimensions of the aid process, and the identities of aid workers. Palmer's (2011) analysis focused on identifying the importance of religion in relationships in the aid process, examining whether the religious orientations of aid workers contributed to social solidarity, and subsequently argued sociocultural and political divides hindered such solidarity. Palmer (2011) identifies through fieldwork that staff who volunteer at camps are likely from different 'higher and more Westernised social classes' and so unity between camp volunteers and residents is not overcome by shared beliefs (2011, p105). Research on the Rohingya has also taken the form of investigating economic challenges and coping mechanisms in protracted displacement (Crabtree, 2015), which demonstrated that despite in Bangladesh most of the Rohingya have no legal right to work, nearly all of those surveyed, in terms of household, were engaged in forms of employment, and that this

constituted a 'coping mechanism' (Crabtree, 2015, p41). Crabtree (2015) also highlights that due to a lack of legal rights to work, livelihood strategies may be unsafe or unsustainable, with occupations such as illegal logging being commonplace, and that one potential method of improving such coping mechanisms is 'highlighting the productive capacity of refugees' (Crabtree, 2015, p54) that is to say, identifying to state governments that refugees are capable of generating economic benefits, thus, giving them added value and 'contributing to the host economy as well as to the dignity of refugees' (Crabtree, 2015, p54). Such an approach as a recommendation serves, however, to further the objectification of refugees and effectively visualise them as an economic tool which serves global production. This is one major criticism of an otherwise important work in the literature.

Other studies have investigated the role of the UN and bodies such as the ICJ in mediating responses to the Rohingya crises, contending that 'international human rights law is less legal in nature and more social and political' (Southwick, 2018, p136). This has also been analysed against the background of a nation undergoing significant economic and political reforms, and it has been argued that if guided by national and international law, then these reforms may go hand in hand with 'ensuring security, upholding rights, particularly equal rights to citizenship, and promoting broad-based economic development, all in a nondiscriminatory manner' (Southwick, 2014, p275). Indeed, Crouch (2021) argues that the primary way in which the Rohingya are persecuted by the state and have had their rights removed is through the act of denying legal rights, constitutionally, legislatively, and judicially.

2.2 Research Pertaining to the Rohingya Outside Myanmar and Bangladesh

Thom, whose (2016) article begins from the identification of mass graves on the border of Thailand and Malaysia in 2015, focuses on highlighting the 'crackdown' that this caused on human traffickers, and leading to the disembarkation of 1,800 people (including Rohingya and Bangladeshi migrants) in the province of Aceh in Indonesia. Thom (2016) begins by highlighting that there is little to no formal framework in much of Southeast Asia for protection and

cooperation on such matters and examines the treatment of the 1,800 arrivals in Aceh from a perspective of national and human rights-based approach, suggesting that Indonesia must adopt different practices in order to develop a regional protection framework. Thom (2016) highlights that approaches to migration in Southeast Asia and in Indonesia are generally 'ad hoc', noting that Indonesia is not a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention, although the state has committed to UNHCR policies of 'non-refoulement' as earlier discussed; Thom identifies that the Indonesian Immigration Directorate General has issued a directive preventing refoulement, but only if proper UNHCR documentation is held, and this highlights the documentary and taxonomic nature of processes that refugees must undertake.

Thom (2016) argues that Indonesia and Aceh's responses to the arrival of Rohingya refugees were one of 'solidarity with their plight' and that locals felt empathy and solidarity with the Rohingya refugees, but this said, the Indonesian government attempted to resettle such refugees in different countries, focusing on the Middle East. In summary, as one of the key works on the Rohingya in host communities in Southeast Asia, Thom highlights that there is a lack of clear frameworks for human rights protection in Southeast Asia and proposes that 'formal, consistent policies that are rights-based and legally binding' should be adopted throughout Indonesia. This research is important in focusing that Rohingya issues are not just confined to Myanmar and Bangladesh, and that the tendency to focus on these two areas could cloud important issues elsewhere.

In a similar area, Cheung (2011) adopted a comparative approach based on Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh and Malaysia, analysing economic parameters and trends that drive migration from Bangladesh to Malaysia for the Rohingya, identifying that a major driver is that in the informal labour market, Malaysia has far higher salaries, while the nature of work tends to be more urban and service oriented, compared to seasonal and agricultural work in Bangladesh (Cheung, 2011). The author contends that despite more stringent punishments for illegal immigration, Malaysia remains an attractive destination for Rohingya refugees, compounded by developing tensions and hostile attitudes towards Rohingya in Bangladesh. Cheung however, identifies that within Malaysia there is less integration among the local population; Rohingya are likely to live near one another and not to have friendships with locals, which contrasts with Bangladesh where

intermarriage between Rohingya and locals is relatively more common. The author highlights that this is evidence that a 'comprehensive approach towards solutions would need to incorporate holistic social, cultural as well as economic inclusion by advocating for measures which authorise refugees to engage with the host community in all dimensions of life' (Cheung, 2011, p67). Similarly, Muniandy (2021) conducted narrative analysis with Rohingya communities in Malaysia, particularly in the areas of Kuala Lumpur and Penang, finding that the subaltern life in these areas contains unique characteristics which allows for social practices of creating, or 'making' space for refugee communities.

Anwar (2013), drawing on 12 months of fieldwork, analysed the state of Pakistan's new citizenship legislation and its subsequent effects in terms of attempting to quantify and exercise control over Rohingya and Burmese immigrants. Anwar argues that 'in post-partition South Asia, questions of citizenship and national belonging have remained unsettled' and that religion and ethnicities that were artificially created through colonial rulers have been adopted by postcolonial states, which has led to peoples and governments renegotiating ideals of belonging and citizenship. Ultimately, Anwar contends that illegality constitutes a political identity in Pakistan.

Yesmin (2016) conducted a comparative analysis of policies towards Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh, Malaysia and Thailand in relation to the principle of 'non-refoulement', a 'customary international law in which states are obliged not to return or extradite any person to a country where the life or safety of that person would be seriously endangered' (Yesmin, 2016, p71). The author finds that a 'strategy of deportation and forceful repatriation of Rohingyas was adopted by all of these Asian nations' and that this suggests national interests rather than humanitarian needs were foregrounded. In relation to the research questions and an immanent critique, as to be discussed later, this suggests again that one of the core concepts at the root of the social suffering experienced by the Rohingya is that of exclusion, physically (through deportation and forceful repatriation) and socially (through refused recognition of identity), economically and legally. Other work surveying the Rohingya in 'host communities' includes that of Coddington

(2021) who has used a vignette approach to compare the Rohingya to fictional ideas of 'what a refugee must be' in Thailand.

2.3 Research on Indigeneity and Identity

One of the key authors in this field is Ullah (2011; 2016) who has written extensively on the exclusion of the Rohingya, arguing that generally Arakan minorities have historically been excluded from the mainstream also highlighting an important point that is not present in other literature, namely, that the desires of Rohingya refugees are not necessarily homogenous, and that 'the suitability and availability of solutions may vary for different groups of refugees or refugees in the same population' (Ullah, 2011, p157). Throughout the research and literature examined so far and in many sources, there is a tendency to homogenise as 'the Rohingya', which while might be effective and time-saving, should always be couched in the realisation that as with any group of individuals, there will be a diversity of viewpoints, beliefs, and preferences. Furthermore, Karim (2021) asserts that this tendency to reduce the Rohingya crises to questions of identity and religion has the effect of removing the key dimension that the world should be focusing on: human rights. This is a point which is underrepresented in the literature, as there is little empirical examination of the actual preferences of the Rohingya groups and whether there are diverging ideas on the options laid out in scholarly and media discourse. That said, Ullah (2016, p298) later highlights that the preferred course of action in preventing violence and effectively 'solving' the Rohingya crises is to offer 'concrete guarantees of security on return, restoration of identity documentation and citizenship status, and practical support to ensure future livelihoods'. Ullah also highlights that the issues facing the Rohingya constitute a regional security threat, and more must be done in host countries to offer equitable treatment to Rohingya refugees.

The work of Prasse-Freeman and Mausert (2020) is an important addition to the literature, which can be viewed as complementary to Cheesman's (2017) work. The authors posit several important and coherent arguments in describing current and historical discourses of indigeneity in Myanmar. This work also identifies several criticisms of Leider's (2014; 2018) writings on the Rohingya identity, as well as the more general point of view which claims that the Rohingya were 'subsumed' by immigration of Chittagonians, citing evidence of the Rohingya's linguistic dialectal differences from Chittagonians.

Other scholarly work has focused on the leadership of Aung San Suu Kyi and her perceived silence on Rohingya issues. Lee (2014, p326) conducts an analysis on Aung San Suu Kyi's 'near silence on matters related to the Rohingya' highlighting that Suu Kyi has avoided, for example during 2012 violence, making clear statements about the Rohingya and instead referring to 'the rule of law' in regard to Myanmar's citizenship. Lee highlights that there are myriad factors which affect such silence, including political factors and avoiding alienating the voter base, while also relating to historical factors described previously. Lee also argues that Suu Kyi's first speech upon entering parliament was to speak about discrimination against ethnic minorities, yet 'remained silent on the Rohingya issue' (Lee, 2014, p328). Lee characterises the failure to address violence in Rakhine as an omission, although this seems to be identified uncritically and the actual discursive practice of such silence remains unexplored; whether this is indeed omission, or another form of silence in discourse is unclear. Lee concludes that the consequences of such silence are 'potentially dire' for the Rohingya (2014, p331) while simultaneously, the failure to support the cause of the Rohingya has removed the 'gloss' from Suu Kyi's political image, damaging her former status as an icon of democracy, freedom, and human rights. Lee expresses a strong position on the responsibilities of Suu Kyi, stating that while her public image of an icon of democracy has been tarnished, the victims of such silence on her behalf are the Rohingya, whose situation 'surely warrants better politicians than democratic Myanmar has so far provided' (Lee, 2014, p331).

Lee's research highlights the importance of silence in the construction of discourse, although there is little critical examination of such silence; Lee asserts that this is a conscious choice on behalf of Suu Kyi as a political strategy in order to avoid alienating a voter base, and again this

fits well with Cheesman's (2017) genealogy of what can and cannot be talked about in reference to the discourse of national races. Furthermore, Lee (2014) ends strongly by stating that this inability to speak on the Rohingya, while speaking on behalf of other ethnic minority groups leaves human rights groups 'conflicted'. Lee also responds to Green (2013) asserting disagreement, but understanding, of Green's statement that such 'willful silence on racism in Burma suggests only a form of cynical politicking'. Again, such research is valuable although at a surface level, with little critical exploration of willfulness, silence, or its potential deeper effects, there is room for further study on this subject.

Al Imran and Mian (2014) conducted a qualitative and analytical study to examine the vulnerability of the Rohingya population in Bangladesh, identifying that although Bangladesh is not a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention, the country has quite often embraced refugees. However, the authors raise the issue of 2012, and the first time that Bangladesh refused to accept additional Rohingya refugees, with a senior official in the Foreign Ministry stating "we won't accept any more refugees in Bangladesh. There are already 400,000 and we cannot allow any more" (Al Imran and Mian, 2014, p237). Ansar and Khaled (2021) have also highlighted that there may be a shift in local Rohingya host communities in Bangladesh away from solidarity and towards more anti-refugee attitudes. Likewise, the authors identify that the inclusion of Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh has not been trouble free - problems including environmental damage through the illegal clearing of land for habitation have been noted, as have 'confirmed reports' of Rohingya seeking fraudulent documents of Bangladeshi citizenship in order to move on to other nations such as Saudi Arabia (Al Imran and Mian, 2014, p237). In sum, the authors' research highlights that while Bangladesh has been accommodating, there have been issues equally caused for the nation regarding the use of resources, land space, and obtaining illicit documents – given the scale, length, and extreme circumstances of the crisis however, this is hardly surprising and is not altogether unexpected – cramped restrictive camps, as highlighted earlier, are likely to push even the most tolerant to seek additional space or methods of escape from such a situation. Further to this, Chowdhury et al. (2021) found through interviews in Kutupalong camp in Bangladesh, that although feelings of anxiety at residing in the camp were commonplace, participants held out hope for finding a sense of community and belonging in Bangladesh.

Kipgen's (2014) article argues that a possible political solution to the issues of Myanmar and the Rohingya is one of diplomacy, spearheaded through the United Nations and implementation of consociational democracy. Kipgen notes that 'scores of writers in international media have focused on the subjectivity of the conflict' (Ibid., p234) but little research has focused on solutions for the longer term, again this may highlight the idea that often, media calls for attention yet ignores larger historic, political and ethnoreligious factors that cause such suffering. Kipgen begins by posing a question as to why the Rohingya's situation is unique, asking; 'is it because the Rohingya Muslims are a less fortunate community or is it because they're distinctive?' (Ibid., p234) (other authors, such as Passe-Freeman and Mausert (2020), argue that it is precisely because the Rohingya are the same as other ethnic groups that they are shunned. Kipgen (2014, p234) suggests that 'consociational democracy', a method by which elite groups cooperate within the same space in order to create a 'stable government by accommodating or integrating diverse views and interests of people belonging to different cultural groups' is a tenable solution. However, following Cheesman's (2017) analysis of a discourse that is fundamentally based on a national race truth regime, this would limit the plurality of actors, or in fact, effectively removes actors who are not present within the regime's boundaries. Furthermore, Chowdhury's (2021) assertion that 'uncooperative sociostructures' which comprise political and privileged elites including private corporations, landlords, and individuals, may limit the practicality of consociational democracy being effective.

Much like Lee (2014) Kipgen (2014) also identifies Aung San Suu Kyi as a key actor, and her silence in condemning 2012 violence as an issue in solving and drawing attention to the Rohingya crises. Kingston (2015)'s work applies the responsibility to protect from a human rights standpoint in analysis of the Rohingya crisis, stating that the responsibility to prevent is morally superior than the responsibility to protect, although the moral viewpoint and epistemology surrounding such a statement is then unexplored (for example, which moral system proclaims it as superior). Moving forward, the author identifies that the international community has relied on 'incremental improvements' to the human rights record of Myanmar as a way of verifying that the Rohingya's situation will eventually improve. Kingston concludes by stating that the norm of 'right to protect' for the international community is equal to military intervention, this ignores

the norm's potential for violence prevention, which is 'morally superior'; Kingston (2015) reiterates that while military intervention is not a suitable solution for the Rohingya crises, invoking the 'right to prevent' norm as a morally superior concept, in the form of sustained dialogue and preventative action, offers a better solution for minimising future suffering.

Farzana (2015) writes an analysis of the Rohingya from an identity standpoint, which argues that the group's truthful identity is one that exists in social memory, and the production of cultural artefacts is in essence a form of unconventional resistance. Farzana (2015) highlights that in terms of identity, research and conceptualizations of such a form must transcend the historical idea of national borders and state identity. Farzana's (2015) work is focused on borderlands and boundaries, that is to say, the physical political lines which separate territories belonging to nation-states; this plays a key role in the Rohingya crisis, as the 'central problem' is that the Rohingya pursue a claim to citizenship in Myanmar based on historical rights with all the privileges that such a status confers, while the state of Myanmar denies this and claims that Rohingya are illegal immigrants, or outsiders and thus not part of the national race system. Additionally, Farzana (2015) notes that Bangladesh maintain that Rohingya did not exist or were not identified in the country prior to 1978, also therefore classifying Rohingya as foreign, leading to a situation of statelessness in which they move back and forth between borders (Farzana, 2015). Farzana's (2015) work can be extended by referring to philosophy of citizenship. Farzana's assertion that it is not the physical lines of borders which form the main issue, but the overriding social structures of nationality can be used to draw parallels with Chartiers's (2013) position that citizenship is inherently based on inequality. Farzana's research claims that a large amount of study regarding ethnic minorities in Myanmar focuses on selected minority groups, including Karen, Karenni, Chin, Shan, Mon, and Kachin, thus leaving 'smaller groups largely invisible' (Farzana, 2015, p293). Consequently, the author identifies that 'scant attention' has been paid to this group who are suffering greatly, and that this 'reflects the group's lack of importance, even to scholars' (Farzana, 2015, p293). The central argument of Farzana is that the borderlands of Rakhine state constitute a separate geographic region whose construction is informal, and thus while it was included within the political boundaries of the Union of Myanmar, there was a failure to incorporate peoples into the scheme of national unity. From the perspective of

Cheesman's (2017) genealogy, this can be countered by stating that there could have been a willful attempt to not include people within the scheme of national races. Farzana's (2015) work is empirical, built on a methodology of interviews through 2009 – 2010 with sixty-two respondents who identified as Rohingya and were living in refugee settlements, including both official and unofficial camps and townships. Farzana (2015), through this approach, identified that each refugee had experienced varying forms of abuse, denials of education and citizenship, forced migration, insufficient medical treatment and more; the author contends however that a cultural life is maintained through music, including philosophical and folk songs which depict life, along with other forms of expression including sketches and drawings.

Farzana (2015) contends that these works identify identity and 'belongingness' to the territory of Arakan, despite the official refusal to grant the Rohingya citizenship or land rights. Most importantly, Farzana (2015, p306) argues that art, sketches, and songs are used as a form of resistance, which is 'embedded in their refusal to accept their statelessness and non-citizenship status'. The author ends by stating a claim that there 'should be an end to their stateless situation' and that such a solution would only be viable by Myanmar's government acknowledging claims of rights to ensure security. Ultimately, Farzana (2015) reimagines state boundaries and territory to include a third area, a borderland area, in which the Rohingya's rightful indigenous homeland exists, and citizenship and rights should be granted for such an area. However, while this lays out the geographical area for such citizenship, it does not address the crux of the issue which is inclusion in the national races discourse of truth (Cheesman, 2017), thus again, it may represent a solution at the physical, but not the societal level, and thus its chances of succeeding as an approach may be questioned.

Sharing similarities with Farzana (2015), Khan (2018) examined the formation, deformation and reformation of Rohingya ethnic and racial identity, including how groups are formed, and examined the global ramifications of the crisis which echoed in other contexts and environs, including the environment of academia; Khan cites the removal of a portrait of Aung San Suu Kyi at Oxford University in September 2017, thought to have been the result of a 'detachment order' due to the Suu Kyi's handling of the Rohingya crisis. Khan (2018) argues that this example demonstrates that such 'abrupt and seemingly local' acts emphasise that 'whatever happens with

the Rohingya in Rakhine seems to affect planning discourses, and imagination elsewhere' (Khan, 2018, p4). Importantly, Khan (2018) bridges the gap between the local (Rakhine) and the global sphere. The majority of research into the Rohingya accounts for very local parameters and the immediate reduction of suffering or addressing of injustices, yet there is often little extrapolation of how such events affect public discourse and ideologies on a global level; Khan (2018) identifies that 'the Rohingya's loss of ethnic and civil rights in Myanmar is contrasted with their apparent recovery in the global sphere where states, institutions, and individuals identify to the Rohingyas cause, in propagation of the collecting, bonding, ethos of 'humanitude' (Khan, 2018, p5).

Khan (2018) questions what Comaroffs (2009) describes as an ethno-episteme, and emphasises that although the Rohingya demonstrate among their communities a high amount of 'nomadcity', there is a clear sense of identity and ethnic persistence. Khan then quotes Barth (1969), who identifies that ethnicity creates and animates itself and is persistent, and in Khan's opinion, defies geographical boundaries, as the author goes on to identify the 'fallacy of the nation-state concept, state-induced laws, and disenchantment in the current international order' and that an ethnic brand in the 21st century will only be recognized if it has approval or blessings from the power circles it has the potential to serve' (Khan, 2018, p20) this again is reminiscent of the arguments posited by Cheesman (2017) and Passe-Freeman and Mausert (2020). Khan (2018) closes by identifying that when the Rohingya can no longer be represented as a sole body of oppressed people, they may subsequently become an embodiment and driver for the global imagination, thus defying tyrannical states. Khan's research, in short, identifies that the Rohingya crises generates attention beyond borders from both individual and collective perspectives, which can be viewed through religious, ethnic, or racial lenses. This may derive from criticisms of the 'fallacious' boundaries of nation-states, and ethnoreligious divides which generate exclusionary practice.

Leider (2018) argues that there is a tendency globally towards immediacy when faced with global humanitarian crises, which therefore removes the impetus to investigate more deeply the historical factors which drive conflict, and that this 'supports a description of Rohingya victimhood that today holds a hegemonic grip over Rohingya-related debates and conversations' (Leider, 2018), and that outside of Myanmar, 'the rationale behind the crisis has been loosely

structured as a narrative that sets the Myanmar state and more particularly its security apparatus, allegedly driven by racist motives, against a religious minority deprived of basic rights' which has constituted a 'relentless, repetitive news cycle of gloom and despair depicting the conditions of the Rohingya in Myanmar' (Leider, 2018, p101). Leider claims that it is 'stunning' that issues such as peace and reconciliation have been painfully absent from conversations of political conversations on promoting democracy in Myanmar's ethnopolitical eco-system for many decades' (Leider, 2018, p101). The author refutes claims of genocide or ethnic cleansing, and instead articulates that in 2017 in particular, the 'political rationale of army rule was to control the territory and rein in centrifugal ethnic groups', and that the silence of Suu Kyi and then president Thein Sein from 2011 to 2017 was also a failing, which 'hampered the process of open discussion', and 'multiple failures' on behalf of the Myanmar authorities to coordinate responses to such crises are the reason for the perception of such silence (Leider, 2018, p102). Leider also argues in the crises that affect Rakhine state, defenders of human rights focus on the 'normative high ground' of human rights, though 'human rights cannot escape politics of interest and power itself (Leider, 2018, p108). The author closes by arguing that victimhood discourse alone does not pose any real solution to the Rohingya people, and that 'Myanmar is a traumatised country that will need decades to heal' and that this will only be accomplished by 'painful dialogue' (Leider, 2018, p117).

From an identity, rather than historical perspective, Leider's (2018) account does not fit in with the narratives and descriptions of the Rohingya themselves, as well as two sittings of the people's Tribunal on State Crimes of Myanmar, the UN Special Rapporteur, the British Foreign Secretary, and a range of other INGOs and organisations (The Daily Star, 2018) and the ICJ (2020). The Daily Star (2018) also identify that following Leider's commissioning by Oxford University Press to write a reference series (which is referred to in Chapter 1) a group of eighty academics wrote to the Vice Chancellor of the University of Oxford to stop such a publication (although it was published) (The Daily Star, 2018), while recent scholarly works (Zakaria, 2019) argue that Leider's uncritical use of polemical authors undermines his arguments for the 'hybridization' of Rohingya identity, stating that 'Leider does seem to see Rohingya and Rakhine histories as competing narratives' (Zakaria, 2019, p103), and that the cause being supported selectively colours the history

presented, calling to question the capacity to break the stalemate without privileging one group' (Zakaria, 2019, p103).

As an oppositional account, one may turn to Farzana (2017) who identifies that what is missing in the literature is the perspective of the marginalised group in question, in order to develop a fuller picture of identity. Farzana (2017) argues that Rohingya identity has been politicised through colonial and precolonial constructs, including the formation of borders, as well as the 'politics of belonging' which has been an essential element in the development and nation-building activities of the Union of Myanmar. In addition, Farzana also recognizes the importance of historical factors, and the fact that the media portray an 'immediate crisis' which is rooted in a long history, and one in which the nation-state of Myanmar excludes populations who are seen as not belonging to a national race, including the Rohingya. Farzana's (2017) research identifies that the narratives of the Rohingya detail and develop their forced migration, which was precipitated by structural inequality, violence, and unimaginable physical insecurity and pressure, along with rape, arbitrary arrest, unpaid forced labor, disappearance, police harassment, family segregation, and family torture, among other acts. Farzana's (2017) empirical research identifies that social and collective memories among the Rohingya relate to particular spaces in Rakhine, where the Rohingya were physically present and maintain a strong belonging to the land, including memories of developing life within its confines. There is, she argues, a strong social and emotional feeling of belongingness to the land, characterised by kinship and feelings of community; memories are constructed and found in specific spaces in Rakhine State which, despite their forced migration and relocation, cannot be easily removed. Farzana argues fundamentally that the Rohingya have a 'virtual existence' in memory and shared identity, and that this confirms their 'real identity' (Farzana, 2017).

Farzana's (2017) research however, does not just provide a clear evidentiary basis for historical memory of place and right of abode. It also draws into question some of the larger debates surrounding societal customs and norms which provide for the condition of statelessness. The author highlights that state policies can render people as 'identity-less parasites' although identities can be maintained in memory. The feeling of being 'identity-less parasites' is based

upon the fact that life for the Rohingya in refugee camps is one of imposition, control, and restriction, in which their 'otherness' is reproduced which again serves to reinforce the importance of memory in maintaining group identity – in these camps, Farzana (2017) asserts that any attempt to undertake political activity, rights negotiation, or influence of authority or society are disallowed, equally, restrictions are placed on movement and medical care, living space, food, and economic productivity – this again reinforces the importance of memory in allowing an escape from such environments. This research extends beyond the narratives of external voices and allows for an internal assessment, offering stories and voices from the people, about themselves. This is one of the key areas of literature which allows for the Rohingya voices to be heard, and is developed based on such a methodology, rather than external narratives and critiques based on disputable and unclear historical records.

The most important aspect of this however is that the problem of statelessness is not unique to the Rohingya, nor is it unique to Bangladesh and Myanmar. However, Farzana (2017) argues that no theoretical, academic or political model can offer a solution to the problems posed by citizenship and multiculturalism with regards to those who are stateless; the author argues that ways to solve such issues should be explored, including possible solutions which would require the government of Myanmar to adopt a new policy towards Rohingyas, identifying the fluidity of movement that has taken place prior to the establishment of arbitrary boundaries of the nation-state, and that the Rohingyas historical patterns of migration contribute to part of the nation's 'ethnic mosaic' (2017, p275). Farzana (2017) identifies that the Rohingya are an oppressed group, and seek a peaceful life in Rakhine state, rather than a separate state, they require a recognition of their unique identity as they see it.

Moving towards the broader argument of Farzana's (2017) work, the author highlights that in terms of modern, demarcated nation-state systems, it is an anomaly for individuals to not have national identity, and that 'people cannot escape being connected to a state, even when a state has disowned them' (Farzana, 2017, p1). Ultimately, Farzana moves towards a critical position of the idea of liberal theories of citizenship and statehood, especially the French model of liberal nationalism, which identifies multiple identities under a unifying national identity, and identifies that such systems are traditionally Western-centric (although there are exceptions), and that

multicultural identities may struggle to fit Asian societies, despite the fact that Western liberal multiculturalism is increasingly codified into international law (Farzana 2017). This is evidenced by Myanmar, a highly ethnically diverse country with 135 ethnic nationalities which are further subdivided into different groups, yet national identity has been formed through a single assimilation policy under the 'Burmese way to socialism' which Farzana (2017) claims is unsuitable and unrealistic for Burmese people.

In relation to this, authors such as Horstmann, Rudolf, and Schmitz-Pranghe (2019) have studied the navigational strategies for the many people in situations of exclusion, discrimination, and displacement in Myanmar. The authors put forward several convincing arguments that clarify reasons behind these exclusionary tactics, conflicts, and violence, which rest on the control for resources in the borderlands and frontier areas of Myanmar, where many minorities live, and that the military has denied any claims for cultural autonomy and takes the view that these 'spaces of exception' must be integrated into the areas under military control. The authors, however, do not focus solely on Rakhine and the Rohingya, but the variety of other borderlands and ethnic minorities undergoing similar cycles of violence, war, conflict, and discrimination and exclusion. This is important, as minorities may receive different recognition or discrimination in other countries, depending on their status (Schetter and Korf, 2012). Horstmann (2020) argues that of these minorities, the Rohingya have experienced the worst treatment and exclusion from society, especially due to Islamophobic constructions of the Rohingya by powerful Buddhist leaders, such as that of the monk Ashin Wirathu. Further to this, Horstmann (2020) contends that within Myanmar, decisions such as those from the ICJ are seen as Western interventionism, and this is further reinforced by former leader Aung San Suu Kyi's defence of the military at The Hague.

Similarly, Kyaw (2017) also examined the case of statelessness for the Rohingya, and pointed out that 'well-intentioned human rights discourses have led to a hardening of the Government of Myanmar's attitude that the international community has been unfair toward the country and has attempted to interfere in Myanmar's sovereignty or internal affairs' (Kyaw, 2017. P271).

Kyaw also disputed that the 1982 Citizenship Law is the root cause of the suffering of the Rohingya, again providing a narrative analysis of such preceding events which effectively led the Rohingya to be rendered 'more de facto (stateless) than de jure' (Kyaw, 2017, p283). An account which equally details the divisiveness of well-intentioned discourses, that of Zakaria (2019) reaches a number of noteworthy conclusions, mainly that firstly, drawing on multiple authors, concluding that there is a failure of legal infrastructure in terms of dealing with mass violence, which cannot effectively deal with what Zakaria (2019) terms an illiberal state, and secondly, that the amplification of religious divides in public discourse is obfuscating and divisive, similar to the conclusions of Kyaw (2017). Zakaria (2019) concludes that from such a critical reading of the issue, international intervention from the perspective of 'labelling victims to save and perpetrators to sanction' would not be an effective solution to the Rakhine State crises (2019).

Zakaria (2019) also argues that although each author that is critically reviewed has different historical and political stances, their views are more similar than they are different. Ultimately, the conclusion Zakaria points toward is that there is no legal infrastructure, international or local, to deal with issues of violence in Rakhine, and that we do not, and cannot know 'the true level of popular support in Myanmar for such violence' (Zakaria, 2019, p109), although what is certain in the author's view is that 'global scrutiny cannot simply take the form of condemnations or sanctions against the violence that do not address the fears and anxieties of those who project them on a powerless minority seen as powerful' (Zakara, 2019, p109). Zakaria (2019) argues for an approach which does not sanction or punish the Myanmar nation state, and accepts that while it might sound 'unpalatable', in order to achieve justice for victims and a long-term solution, 'parallel paths' forward may be the only tenable idea, i.e. accepting that while there are points of differentiation in history, the acceptance of this and moving forward in dialogue is most likely to yield favourable results.

2.4 Research on the Media and the Rohingya

Few research studies on the Rohingya adopt a media analysis perspective. This is surprising, given that the literature in many cases makes assertions about the nature of reporting and the

characterization of the Rohingya and ethnic Rakhine populations. One of the few studies exploring this area is that of Brooten (2015) who provides a detailed case study analysing reporting on violence between Rakhine Buddhists and Rohingya in mainstream global media utilising a critical approach to human rights. Brooten (2015) identifies in a critical analysis of a concept of human rights, the definition of such rights, when they are employed and defended, and the 'cultural identity of the norms it is working to universalize' (Brooten, 2015, p133). Brooten, drawing on other scholars, identifies that human rights have been 'identified with liberal democracy and that this is the free, uncoerced choice of non-Western peoples,' and that this framing defines and strengthens an international hierarchy in which whites are the 'models and saviours of nonwhites', who are 'victims and savages' (Brooten, 2015, p133), an ideological viewpoint developed from Said's (1978) Orientalism.

Brooten (2015) is one of the few authors to posit that Western media, INGOs, and Western Academics create a 'human rights discourse' which is developed based on the savages-victims-saviours (SVS) construction, and that this is a construction which pits good versus evil, thereby creating dichotomous, and therefore 'unhelpful' narratives. From this perspective, the use of empathy on behalf of the media is unhelpful, as it draws empathic feelings on behalf of the reader while simultaneously casting themselves within the realm of 'savior' in the SVS framework. Brooten analysed media articles through purposive sampling, identifying five investigative reports and two other shorter companion pieces from a single publisher, Reuters. The author then investigated the omission and lack of emphasis or framing of certain topics and themes as opposed to others, in an effort to identify the 'mainstream constructions of the Rohingya situation and the processes of internal reporting' (Brooten, 2015, p134). This was then juxtaposed with blog articles selected again through a purposive sampling method. Brooten (2015) used textual analysis and the SVS framework to identify constructions of savages, victims, and saviours, revealing that in the Reuters texts, the Rohingya are portrayed as 'obvious victims' within the discourse, and often occupy such a position.

Brooten (2015) also identifies that victimhood is reinforced through the narrative of IDP or refugee status, and texts are rife with references to squalor, disease, death, loneliness, ghettos,

anger, and disease, as well as most tellingly, 'primitive' conditions. Brooten (2015, p138) contends that this contrasts with Rakhine Buddhists, who are viewed in the discourse as the 'primary savages, at times aided by government forces' and that there is a 'hidden truth' that Buddhist Monks have played an important role in igniting conflict, while the Burmese state and authorities are equally defined as 'savages', which leads the author to conclude that the saviours in this example are the journalists themselves, who are 'engaged in covert, often dangerous activities to benefit readers with revelations of what is happening on the ground' (Brooten, 2015, p140). This is contrasted with blogs which recast Reuters as savages, who use neocolonial and imperialist approaches to drain an area of its value, in this case, news reporting which acts as a product (the primary product in Brooten's view being a Pulitzer prize winning news report, which has been 'extracted' from the dangerous camp in which the report was created). Brooten (2015) argues that such texts construct images of the Rohingya as victims and the state and Burmese Buddhists as savages.

Brooten's (2015) study is limited in scope, given that there is little close analysis of the texts themselves, and it is possible that the SVS framework is but one interpretation of such textual representation. While there is limited evidence for Brooten's (2015) conclusions, the author also identifies that such articles are 'praiseworthy and important' thus leaving a lack of internal consistency. The SVS framework has been applied elsewhere, including by Nahar (2019) in the analysis of Bangladesh's most popular daily newspaper, The Daily Star, following a corpus-assisted discourse analysis methodology. Based on this analysis Nahar (2019) suggests the 'SVS' trope is heavily used in The Daily Star, which is influenced by 'the existing human rights corpus and Eurocentric ideals (Nahar, 2019, p123); Equally, Nahar (2019) states that 'absences are also important to identify because they can reveal significant information about social actors. The absence of Rohingya and Myanmar voices in the data imply that the coverage prioritises Bangladeshi representation' (Nahar, 2019, p 123).

Further to Brooten's (2015) study, Brooten and Verbuggen (2017) conducted research based on personal observations with local journalists and fixers working within Myanmar and analysed the news production processes involved with the conflict in Rakhine state. The authors contend that challenges in reporting tend to perpetuate a shared set of practices or routines in reporting the

news, which leads to a common narrative of 'us versus them' or a binary narrative which has ramifications in terms of de-escalating or perpetuating such conflict (Brooten and Verbruggen, 2017). The authors state that the 'processes of news production are influenced by the ways in which the traditional foreign correspondent model is changing' and the use of 'parachute journalists' and freelancers (Brooten and Verbruggen, 2017, p441). It's argued by the authors that such uses, an attempt often to control costs, result in the possibility of biased stories due to autonomous working practices, and the use of a 'bad local fixer can derail or at least heavily influence a story' meaning that 'certain forms of knowledge are favoured and certain discourses privileged' (Pedelty cited in Brooten and Verbruggen, 2017, p442). Subsequently, 'the demands of balance of fairness, the emphasis on elite sources, and the fetishization of fact lead to a simplistic and at times cryptic discourse', and that in the context of Rakhine state, an objective approach may set up a 'he said/she said' dichotomy which therefore does not offer adequate context (Brooten and Verbruggen, 2017, p444).

Brooten and Verbruggen (2017) also identify that the news production in Rakhine state is therefore influenced by a deliberate method of trying to identify misery and suffering, focusing on the plight of the Rohingya and thus distorting such a situation by only referring to Rohingya as victims, and the authors argue that the complex situation in Rakhine would be better reported in terms of accuracy and objectivity if there were more transparency about the process, so that local producers, fixers, and translators would not 'contaminate' such reporting. This work is an important clarification in terms of identifying the issues surrounding media reporting with the Rohingya crisis and the multiple dimensions to be considered.

Among other studies focusing on media representation we may look to Afzal (2016), who explored the representation of the Rohingya in editorial opinion in Pakistani, American, and British mainstream newspapers. Afzal argues that a 'news frame can be defined and understood as a storyline that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events' and based on this idea of media framing, when a certain component needs to be highlighted, this can have 'subtle but influential effects on the audience (Afzal, 2016, p90). One of Afzal's key assertions with relevance to the present study is that media framing can portray events in a way that highlights particular

aspects, while diminishing others. In the following analysis and discussion, Afzal argues that the editorial staff of newspapers in Pakistan, Britain, and the USA framed the Rohingya crisis in terms of pro-Rohingya and criticising the state of Myanmar, concluding that 'newspapers frequently framed emotional appeals to withhold the readers' attention and interest in crises' and that newspapers establish a largely sympathetic role for the Rohingya Muslims' suffering; the author concludes that further research is necessary in examining ideological portrayal of actors in the Rohingya crisis through different forms of print media.

Ma Y et al. (2018) equally investigate Rohingya media representation and contrast such an approach with Rohingya self-representation. The authors found that the media examined on their behalf, primarily 'Western' mainstream media, discourses of victimhood were exaggerated, portraying the Rohingya as desperate and hopeless, which contrasted with the self-representation of Rohingya activists and members of the Rohingya community. Ma Y et al. conclude that there is a one-sided approach in the media which may reinforce narratives of victimhood which are not necessarily helpful in drawing attention to the Rohingya cause. In contrast with studies on Western media, Siddiquee (2019) examines the use of media in Myanmar, one of the only studies to do so, offering a strong critique of Burmese media censorship in an era of 'post-truth politics', arguing that statements in state media oversimplify violence in Rakhine state, with statements willfully misleading and appealing to emotional and personal beliefs rather than established facts. Siddiquee goes on to say that social media has equally had an important place in representation of the Rohingya group in Myanmar, and that Burmese state media and social media together share responsibility for the spread of disinformation. Further research is warranted in this field to draw more detailed conclusions.

Research on the Rohingya has however not been limited to merely textual approaches. Constantine's (2016) publication on the project 'Exiled to Nowhere: Burma's Rohingya' (2006 – 2015) is one example of a non-textual analysis of Rohingya representation, focusing primarily on the depiction of the Rohingya and other stateless groups worldwide through the medium of film, books, exhibitions and lectures. The primary purpose of such examination is to highlight the 'arbitrary deprivation of citizenship as an accelerant in the susceptibility of the stateless to any

number of human rights abuses, and how it has led to the erosion of an entire community displaced across multiple international borders' (Constantine, 2016, p50). Constantine's work uses a variety of media to, in the author's words, cultivate a more ethical response and solidarity between the viewer and the suffering subject', as an alternative to the 'questionable impact stories' available in today's 'media landscape' (Constantine, 2016, p50). The author contends that features such as series of photographs combined with captions and text contextualise images which draw the viewer into the act, so that the viewer becomes 'the receiver of the object's enigmatic message and the carrier of its affective resonances' (Sliwinski cited in Constantine, 2016, p50). Constantine argues that these photographs call on the viewer to 'expand the borders of this photograph to acknowledge the presence of the perpetrator'.

The author contends that such a project generated significant awareness of how international norms have been futile in helping the Rohingya, and most importantly, states that such a project facilitated a visibility of the deprivation of citizenship. The concept of importance of visibility is raised by Constantine, who argues that 'the statelessness of the Rohingya and violence (is) perpetrated by invisible systems of oppression, such as the state' and constitutes structural violence (2016, p65), although invisibility here is not well-defined. Constantine argues that photographic works enhance the visibility of the Rohingya to audiences invested in cultivating change. The primary criticism of such a task is to define the change, as in what change should take place, and from where should we gather the norms and information with which to create such change. Few studies regarding the Rohingya question that change is needed, yet there is quite often limited analysis of what change would entail and within what discourse the notion of social change is situated.

Regarding the project *Nowhere People*, which covers the stateless in several different regions, Constantine identifies that his 'work cannot alleviate the suffering or sense of betrayal felt by the subjects photographed. Photography cannot draft laws, issue documents or confirm one's legal connection to the world.' (Constantine, 2016, p65). However, most importantly, his study demonstrates that 'photographs have robbed us of the alibi of ignorance'. Constantine's work is used to demonstrate the areas of failure in legal mechanisms and human rights discourses and their impacts on the stateless people, claiming that such an issue was 'invisible on the global

stage' and that 'stateless people and the complex condition in which they exist were invisible as well' (Constantine, 2016, p89).

Most recently, Bimbisar et al. (2021) conducted a content analysis of newspaper coverage from four countries in an aim to examine the news frames, sources, and characteristics assigned to Rohingya refugees. The authors highlight that politicians, IGOs, and NGOs were common sources of data for framing issues, while age, gender, and nationality were commonly ascribed when depicting refugees, among all four nations. Bimbisar et al. (2021) contend that these findings may help to understand framings and could lead to more nuanced portrayals of refugees. Finally and most recently, Irom et al., (2021) explored two media artefacts from Reuters based on the Rohingya crisis. The authors found that the use of hypermedia and technologically driven new media may have benefits over traditional forms in communicating about such issues, although these forms must be implemented with the understanding that although traditional media has been perceived as unable to invoke empathetic engagement (Irom et al., 2021) 'moral connections through technology are not a given', and that more advanced methods of news media communication may then not lead to an automatic stronger moral impact on the reader.

Coming to the close of this section, it seems that the literature and scholarly works surrounding the Rohingya can be divided into several different areas. This includes areas related to the practicalities of aid, emergency medical provision, and humanitarian relief, areas related to labour economics and demography, areas related to legal and historical rights of indigeneity, and a new and underrepresented field of media analysis. The one common thread throughout all these fields of work is that nearly all of such research focuses on proposing diverse and myriad 'solutions' to the Rohingya crises. Some fall into the realm of political and diplomatic solutions, while others call for dialogue and peacebuilding activities, and others still take issue with fundamental structures of society, citizenship, power, and the state. Some of these identify the role of long-running territorial, cultural, and historical tendencies, while others present a curtailed view of history with a focus on the immediate present. Furthermore, most of these positions and arguments are predicated on normative values of liberal democracy and multiculturalism, recognition and acceptance of identity, state governance, human rights (as described by predominantly Western human rights organisations) and the right to citizenship,

without critical analysis of such norms and their place within societal discourse, nor the underpinning ontological assumptions about such norms. In terms of media representation, on the other hand, there is a clear directive from other authors that further research on the Rohingya people in media representation is required (Afzal 2016) and through the analysis of other authors (Brooten 2015; Brooten and Verbruggen 2017; Constantine 2016) there is room to expand the field of such analysis.

In summary, from existing research there is significant evidence that the Rohingya people are excluded from numerous societies, including that of Myanmar and other nation-states and countries globally. The Rohingya have been effectively dehumanised and rendered stateless, as well as socially constructed as the 'dangerous other' (Horstmann, 2020). Furthermore, this suffering may be caused in part by the structures of social exclusion that do not reflect current human realities (Farzana 2017), as well as through 'othering' (Horstmann, 2020) and the creation of national-race truth regimes (Cheesman, 2017). In terms of how these discourses are reflected in the Western media, there is a tendency to offer sympathy, pathos, and equally portray the Rohingya people as helpless victims, which does not necessarily correspond with members of the community's self-identity (Afzal 2016; Constantine 2016; Ma Y 2018). These conclusions guide the method for the sociological discourse analysis and immanent critique described in the following section. One topic raised so far is that of visibility (Constantine 2016) and silence (Lee, 2014), and so before proceeding with methodology it is equally important to identify research that focuses on the phenomena of absence and silence in discourse, as a key part of this research.

2.5 Research on Absence and Silence in Discourse

Both absence and silence are important factors in the discussion of the Rohingya crises. As described above, authors have stated there is an absence of discussion of reconciliation, or a silence on behalf of Aung San Suu Kyi in speaking out. However, these terms are not well delineated when used in the general sense of the words. In this project, absence, particularly discursive absence, plays a key role in understanding whether there is indeed an absence of engaging with the core causes of the Rohingya crises. For this reason, it is important to also situate this investigation in the broader literature regarding research into discursive absence and silence. Absence and silence in discourse is a relatively new field of enquiry. In this research, the investigation of absence is combined with using Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies methods to uncover such phenomena, based on previous studies in which authors have shown success in pioneering this approach, for example Partington (2018). The following section of the literature review summarises some of the more recent enquiries into absence and silence in discourse using CADS methods, among others, and thus highlights considerations to be applied for this aspect of the research at hand. In this section, absence can be considered *unintentional* exclusion, while silence can be considered *intentional* exclusion.

The first research study of note comes from Alcantra-Pla and Ruiz-Sanchez (2018). These two authors attempt to analyse the use of digital social media text (in the form of Twitter statuses or 'tweets') in political campaigns, highlighting the absence in engagement on behalf of politicians in mentioning topics that were present in other discourses of press and election manifestos; the authors base this around the popular notion that 'if it's not on the internet, it doesn't exist' (2018, p28), highlighting the ubiquity of the internet in providing popular information for mass consumption. This idiom characterises the internet as a repository of all existing knowledge – if for example, a media outlet were to leave out certain topics of a discourse, then it stands to reason that it would be less visible, and thus to some extent, not necessarily to 'not exist' but possibly to have less of an existence in comparison to issues that do appear on the internet. This lends itself to the idea of absence as diminishing existence. The use of a corpus created from a

repository of small texts (tweets) contributes to the conception of a corpus-assisted discourse studies approach in detecting discursive absence.

Studies into absence and silence in discourse however, are not necessarily text-based. A further contemporary study of note is Durrani (2018)'s analysis of 'the story of Iran and Pakistan across Time'. The author contends that 'the way in which the story of a country is told in the elite Western news media significantly influences the manner it is perceived and treated by members of the international community' (2018, p65) which is of relevance to an analysis of events in Myanmar in British media discourses, as if a depiction of an event, community, or narrative is not present but is absent in Western media, then it may affect the treatment of the issue by the 'international community'. In Durrani's (2018) investigation, the author uses semiotic commutation to replace one image by another, substituting objects within the same paradigm to reveal discursive constellations. The author finds that absences, specifically formulated through the averted gaze of Iranian women in Time magazine can be 'gradually eroded', although they note that other effects may be important in mediating absence in news discourses, including genre and cycle requirement, geo-strategic political concerns, and technological concerns (although this final point applies more to visual than textual aspects) Durrani (2018).

One of the major research projects that uses a corpus-assisted discourse studies approach to investigating discursive absence and silence is that of Partington (2018), who undertook an analysis of absent messages and voices in the Middle Eastern and North African uprisings, beginning from the premise that often in Critical Discourse Analysis there is little tangible evidence for silence or absent messages or voice having intentionality. Strand (2018) on the other hand, argues that the '(news) media can be seen as a discursive battleground, where social actors present, advocate and propagate their position, often with the unspoken intention of domination' (2018, p125). It seems based on this that the media as a 'space of appearance' can be seen from two perspectives; that of intentionally silencing or in discourse, and that of unintentionally 'absenting' as a result of a confluence of other factors. This is an important consideration for the current research, as identifying causality and intentionality is fundamentally a different activity to identifying absence or silence.

One explanation for the reasoning behind absences and silences in certain media discourses again comes from Strand (2018), who also argues that media discourses are often reflective of dominant groups' opinions and values, rather than those of suppressed minorities, and may therefore influence public opinion on various topics, and that this leads to a struggle for visibility. The crux of Strand's (2018, p133) investigations into absence and silence is that 'absent voices can be identified by establishing the possibility of their presence' and this is an area to be considered. In other words, is there the opportunity for more voices to be heard, and if so, what conceivable reasons are there for their absences.

In relation to absence and silence in media discourse, research has been carried out in contexts in Europe and in Asia. Wang and Kadar (2018) investigated silence and absence in the discourses of Chinese smog, again following a corpus-assisted discourse analysis approach. The authors acknowledge that there are linguistic traces in their analysis of 'hiding individual agency' through the use of grammatical techniques, such as the zero-subject sentence structure (Wang and Kadar, 2018). The authors draw similarities between this and the absence of coverage of intimate partner homicide in US news media discourses, stating that it is possible to achieve 'reverse agenda setting' through absences in media discourses (Wang and Kadar, 2018). Finally, Wang and Kadar (2018) identify that analysing silence in discourse is difficult as it has no 'overt linguistic form' meaning, that sociopolitical, cultural, and rhetorical factors are of greater importance.

There are, aside from those mentioned above, other possibilities for the causes of absence (that is to say, unintentional exclusion) in media discourse specifically, which is of relevance to this research. One of these reasons can be described as 'discursive simplification'. Venkataraman (2018) argues that there must be 'discursive simplification' in media discourses, as discursive representation cannot contain all details from all events, and so by the necessity of simplifying and reducing content to only the most essential details, context shapes discourse in an 'unfair' fashion. The author takes the perspective that an absence of polyphonic voices in the description of climate change effectively creates an absence in the availability of different perspectives of climate-related phenomena, and this is representative of the fact that most media reporting pursues news stories for their 'newsworthiness' (Venkataraman, 2018).

Regardless of causes however, it is clear that what is presented in the media, and what is not presented, can have wide-ranging social effects. Ehinemi (2018) argues that the way topics or social actors are portrayed in news media is of importance, quoting van Dijk in that ‘the media primarily have the potential to control to some extent the minds of readers of viewers’ (van Dijk, 1995, p10), as representations always are made from an ideological position. This would mean that regardless of intentionality, the discursive simplification of topics, or the choice to silence a topic or subject, can have meaningful social consequences. With this in mind, Ehinemi (2018) highlights several ways in which absence and silence can be looked for in text, and specifically media text. These are key considerations when undertaking an in-depth analysis in the current research project. The author suggests that there are several conceptual areas that can be analysed when looking at absence in media discourses, including topicalization, omission, incomplete headlines, rhetorical questions, silent pronouns, and ambiguous acronyms and headless numbers (Ehinemi, 2018). These are all areas that may be utilised within the methodology when looking for absence or silence in the studied discourses, although these are primarily linguistic features, and thus analysis will not be limited to these categories. Nevertheless, these are useful in providing tangible linguistic structures that may give traces of visibility, omission, or absence.

In briefly describing some of the key research on absence and silence in discourse analysis, there are several themes and concepts which are shared. Firstly, it is clear that as there is no overt audible, textual or visual form, it can be challenging to explore absence and silence. Secondly, absence may be considered unintentional, while silence may be considered intentional exclusion. Thirdly, the most common way to explore absences and silences is to question the text and use an inductive reasoning process to identify ‘thinkable alternatives’ (Schroter and Taylor 2018) the presence of underrepresented voices or actors, and that these factors which are often not explored are in fact crucial in exploring hidden dimensions of discourses. As discourses pre-structure our perceptions, discursive inclusion is of course important, and thus discursive exclusion can be considered to hide or invisibilize, which is itself a cause of social suffering. In this sense, ‘invisibilization is a social and ethical problem: people suffer from invisibilization, and visibilization hinders the suffering from being perceived’ (Herzog, 2019, p119).

To bring this brief review of absence and silence in discourse to a close, the current literature is useful in guiding the development of this research study. There are several hypothesised reasons for absence and silence in media discourse, including omission, simplification, and intentional obscuring, among others. These can occur in all forms of discourse, including both textual and visual, and can have profound social effects, especially in news media. The above highlights the relevance of corpus approaches in analysing news media text, and also offers insight into understanding and remedying such absence and silence, regardless of the cause. It seems that, based on this, one possible aspect of redeeming discursive exclusion, absence, or silencing is that of discursive inclusion. Making the invisible visible may then be seen as a form of correction. That said, it is also clear that by participating or being included in such a discourse, this means implicitly 'buying into' the assumptions of such discourses – one here may draw a comparison between this and Cheesman's (2017) genealogy, in which participating in the national races truth regime means implicitly accepting such a system as valid. In summary, this section of the literature review highlights the difficulty in distinguishing being intentional and unintentional (silence and absence) but demonstrates methods of uncovering such patterns using textual and visual approaches. The investigation of silence and absence in discourse is not yet a mature field and thus further research in this area is useful in developing a set of methods and approaches for enquiry.

2.6 Conclusion to Chapter Two

The historical context and academic research reviewed to now paints a complex picture, yet one recurrent theme is that of social exclusion and great human suffering occurring. So far, this information has been visualised and described through a series of divergent accounts from a genealogical perspective, which illuminates the social, political, and historical contexts from which discourses arise, and consequently which helps contribute to understanding, interpreting, and explaining them (Wodak, 2002), as well as through a conventional literature review which critically analysed and described research and scholarly works that have taken place to date. Taken as a whole, these can be considered an examination of the present, as well as using the past as a method of critical engagement with the present (Garland, 2014, p367). Finally, a section

was briefly devoted to exploring the role of absence and silence in discourse, and the particular power it may wield over the 'minds of the readers or viewers' (van Dijk, 1995), leading to the recognition that ambitions for an ethical civil society cannot ignore how social issues are described in the media (Silverstone, 2007).

Having taken a broad focus on describing the current crises, engaging with the social histories, myriad viewpoints, and academic and non-academic research on the Rohingya, it is now possible to outline the aims and objectives for the research project. This is the focus of the following chapter.

3. CHAPTER THREE – AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

3.1 Aims and Objectives

The aim of the present research is to investigate the discursive representation of the Rohingya people in the UK online news media to generate an immanent critique, that is to say ‘exploring orthodoxy’s truth-claims from within’ (Harvey, 1990, p6). A pivotal role in this immanent critique is the fact that, as shown in the first and second chapters, one of the root causes of the current crises affecting the Rohingya is that of social exclusion, discrimination and othering.

That said, social exclusion does not necessarily cause actions of violence, resulting in the extremes in cases of genocide; rather, it may be the case that when such suffering from exclusion is permitted in global society without criticism or action, in the hands of certain types of actors, for example rogue states in which ethnoreligious discrimination is allowed to grow and develop through time, such outcomes may be the case. It is also possible that this occurs more often in post-colonial states, where the vestiges of colonialism (Pugh, 2015) through strategies such as ‘divide and conquer’ lead to the development of high levels of exclusion, othering, and consequently more extreme forms of suffering. However, institutional actors, and society at large, may see this as a necessary form of suffering in maintaining the world order. Regardless of this, as a root cause of extreme suffering in this instance, such social processes of exclusion are well-evidenced.

To break down the overall goal of the research, two distinct aims can be elaborated. Firstly, to understand the discursive representation of the Rohingya in UK online news media, an important area of research given that online media represents a developing and new social location (Scholz, 2019). The second aim is to engage in an immanent critique by establishing whether a contradiction exists between the discourses identified, and the overarching universal norms of modern international society.

3.2 Research Questions

When coming to the research questions, it should be noted that while elements of quantitative method are utilised to answer them, this investigation is fundamentally qualitative, and research questions must reflect this orientation. Good research questions for qualitative enquiry are developed through reflexive and interactive journeys of inquiry, and should be reflected on, formulated, and reformulated (Agee, 2008). This process was used to guide the iterative development of research questions, finally leading to two questions which both defined practice and process, whilst also being linked specifically to the field of study, and ‘moving the researcher toward discovering what is happening in a particular situation with a particular person or group’ (Agee, 2008). These questions can be formalised as follows:

1) How are the Rohingya discursively represented in UK online news media?

2) Do these discourses present a necessary contradiction which indicates a social pathology?

The research questions will be used to achieve the aims, through specific methods detailed below.

3.3 Project Hypotheses

In relation to Research Question 1 and Research Question 2, there are separate hypotheses to be examined. The first hypothesis is that the discursive representations of the Rohingya crises will largely be sympathetic, which is in opposition the findings of some previous research which has demonstrated that more generally speaking, refugees are often portrayed negatively (Baker and McEnery 2005; Baker and Gabrielatos 2008) but is consistent with investigations specifically into Rohingya representation in British, American, and Pakistani newspapers and written media, which identify strategies of emotional appeals in favour of the Rohingya people and harsh criticism of the state of Myanmar (Afzal, 2016). This hypothesis is also formulated on the findings of Ma Y et al. (2018), who contend that Western mainstream media exaggerates discourses of victimhood when representing the Rohingya, often with overtones of desperation and hopelessness, which is not representative of members of the Rohingya community and activists,

and that this constitutes a lone, single-sided approach to the discursive representation of the Rohingya.

The second hypothesis is that if the first hypothesis is correct, there may be a discursive absence regarding core issue causing the suffering of the Rohingya (othering, discrimination and social exclusion). This then represents a contradiction – media discourse may lament and sympathise while equally demonstrating an absence of recognition of the social causes of such suffering. The basis of this hypothesis is predicated on the abundant evidence in Chapter One that the suffering of the Rohingya stems from exclusion, othering, and discrimination, through the creation of ethnoreligious truth-regimes (Cheesman, 2017), the lack of recognition of historical fluidity of movement (Farzana, 2017) and the exclusion of the Rohingya from the ‘trinity’ of state, nation, and territory (Pugh, 2013) along with a campaign of ‘othering’ perpetrated by powerful actors (Horstmann, 2020). This attempt to form an immanent critique is addressed in depth later in the methodology. However, if discursive representations of the Rohingya people’s suffering do not include an identification of social exclusion as a root cause, then it can be said that such absence may constitute an acceptance of such processes as part of the social order and public life. In other words, the absence of recognition of social exclusion, discrimination and othering may be taken as implicit acceptance of these processes as a necessary part of the social order, or an unquestionable part of society, although the outcomes of such a norm are lamented. This would demonstrate an immanent critique, as to be discussed further in this section.

4. CHAPTER FOUR - METHODOLOGY

4.1 Combining Immanent Social Critique and Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS)

This research project aims to describe an immanent critique, based on the analysis of discourse found in UK online news media, as representative of a broader globalised public sphere. Immanent critique is not a method, but is a notion found in the post-Hegelian and post-Marxist approach of the Frankfurt School, which is used to orient the direction of the research through discourse analysis. The methods used in the application of immanent critique are primarily textual, associated with Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS), including frequency, collocation, and concordance analysis. In this case, such a critique can be considered a social critique, as when describing the changes and difficulties of change caused by social issues, immanent critique is by its nature social critique (Herzog, 2016), although immanent critique is the term used for clarity throughout this research.

Prior to describing the methods in further detail, it is firstly important to address the role of immanent (social) critique in detail, as well as explain the normative basis of the research. One important aspect to be foregrounded is the notion that the reduction of unnecessary social suffering is a universal and transcultural norm (Herzog, 2019). On the other hand, discrimination and exclusion may not be considered universal. If the first hypothesis of the research is correct, that discourses of sympathy, empathy, and moral outrage at the unnecessary suffering of the Rohingya are present, then this could be considered evidence of this universal norm. If there is a discursive absence of the non-universal norms of discrimination, othering and social exclusion which give rise to unnecessary social suffering, then this represents a necessary contradiction between the two, but one which may be seen as necessary by institutional or individual actors who are willing to bear the costs of social exclusion to maintain the status quo.

4.2 Defining Immanent Critique

Immanent critique is associated with the Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School and is traceable to Marx and Hegel in lineage (O'Regan, 2014). It is also a complex and variable procedure depending on the source consulted, but it is rooted in the proposition that any theoretical position that can be the subject of critique must be critiqued based on the pre-established assumptions by the position which is the object of scrutiny (O'Regan, 2014). Buchwalter (1994) writes that by appealing to historically existing norms, it 'avoids the caprice and moral fault-finding typical of transcendent or utopian forms of criticism'. In other words, forms of criticism which 'invoke criteria lacking intrinsic connection to the real' (Buchwalter, 1994). In Adorno's formulation, current reality is based on normative ideals, which equally serve as a rational basis for assessment of reality (Buchwalter, 1994). From this, it can be said that immanent critique holds an intrinsic connection to the 'real' which is not found in utopian forms of criticism (wherein society is held up to an external ideal or 'utopia'). In short, under immanent critique, the basis for criticism is drawn from existing norms of society.

Other founding members of the Frankfurt School developed and valued immanent critique, including Horkheimer, who contended that immanent critique 'describes the dialectic in history which is driven by the contradictions between ideology and reality (Antonio, 1981, p338). Again, this is a definition which highlights that immanent critique is grounded firmly in the 'real' and not in the juxtaposition of existing society to external ideals. A similar, perhaps simpler description is elucidated by Stahl (2013), who defines immanent critique as deriving standards that it employs from the object which is itself the subject of criticism. Stahl (2013)'s definition is succinct in that it highlights that the standards for such critique are not drawn from an external source. Put simply, immanent critique in this scenario is best described as a process in which the social structure is criticised from the norms of society, rather than through an external approach (Herzog, 2016, p60), or alternatively phrased as a method of pointing out directions for social change by 'boring from within' (Harvey, 1990, p5). The fundamental premise of internality rather

than externality can be understood as a philosophical interrogation of an object, discourse, individual text, argument, or a combination of these factors (O'Regan, 2014).

In this research, it is hypothesised that the normative standards of society found in news media discourse on the Rohingya fundamentally aim to recognize the Rohingya people as persons with the right not to experience the suffering of disrespect through social exclusion, and equally protest the disrespect that they suffer, which is likely to be evidenced by expressions of sympathy and calls for the necessity of removing the causes of social suffering, or imposing a normative claim that the Rohingya people 'should not' be experiencing the crises befalling them. At the same time, critique, mention, or attribution of the conditions of society which give rise to the ongoing crises described in Chapter One will be absent from such discourses. This includes criticism of practices that form exclusion, discrimination, and othering, for example, the State of Myanmar refusing to acknowledge the naming preferences of the Rohingya people, and designating them as Bengali (MSF, 2002), thus leading to a lack of recognition and social exclusion. Evidence of this suggests that there is a necessary contradiction between these claims not to experience the suffering of social exclusion, while refusing acknowledgement of the systems that causes it, such as the exclusion of groups from certain orders such as the state, which are seen as required for the functioning of global society.

As an approach to identifying avenues for social change, immanent critique is not without its criticisms, and it is necessary to explore these before proceeding in a justification for its use. One proposed criticism of immanent critique is its lack of specificity. Sabia (2010) highlights particularly that as a result of its complex lineage, immanent critique can be attributed as referring to a wide range of philosophical-hermeneutical practices, meaning that a clear definition and description of exactly what this practice will mean to the research is essential. The same author also identifies that for some critics, immanent critique may be considered as conventional and thus relativistic, or in other words, that the norms on which it is based are variable and thus the basis of critique is also variable and relative, although this is refuted by arguing that conversely, the strength of immanent critique is that its practice ensures that any and all norms may be the subject of critique, thus offering a solution to conventionalism (Sabia, 2010). This is clearly a strength but does not, it seems, accurately respond to the criticism of

conventionalism. A solution here is to understand that immanent critique must avoid relativism by being grounded in a universal or transcendent norm, such as the reduction of unnecessary social suffering (Herzog, 2016).

To go into further detail with this criticism of conventionalism, Sabia (2010) writes that a common criticism of immanent critique is that it is not 'compatible with and open to the possibility of transcultural and cosmopolitan norms, though it rightly assumes all such norms require cultural translation' (Sabia, 2010, p685). In this research, it is argued that the transcultural norm of reducing social suffering is the one universal norm against which others may be measured (Herzog 2016), thus, immanent critique is effectively reconciled with transcultural and cosmopolitan norms, again dealing effectively with such a criticism.

4.3 The Purpose of Immanent Critique

Having now described several definitions of immanent critique and dealt with the main criticisms that it faces, detailing the advantages and reasons for adopting an immanent critique is the next point that requires attention. There are several convincing points which suggest that immanent critique is the most effective grounding for this research project, and more generally for the study and interrogation of society in delivering and pointing to social change. Fundamentally, the uniqueness of immanent critique is that it can be used to provide a more useful and transformative investigation than other forms of critique, while also avoiding, as according to Marx, 'the caprice and moral fault-finding typical of transcendent or utopian forms of criticism' (Buchwalter 1994). The purpose of immanent critique is then, to measure 'a given society' (realised through the study of discourse) against the 'aspirational ideals internal to that society', thus 'cutting deeper than criticism' (Wrenn, 2016, p2). In this case, the aspirational ideals of society evidenced in media discourse are to eliminate unnecessary social suffering (which is a universal norm) while the realisation of this norm is hypothesized to be present in the discourses of the Rohingya people, it cannot be achieved based on current societal norms which enable discrimination and exclusion.

The results of such a critique can be said to provide a 'unique means of convincing individuals within a given society of the irrationality of certain norms and cultural practice by using their own

society's standards and ideologies as the means of critique' (Wrenn, 2016, p2), this is therefore a powerful method as it 'frames more convincing arguments than criticism which holds that society to an external standard' (Wrenn, 2016, p2). Overall, this leads to the result that an immanent critique does not dictate what a society 'should' be like but identifies potentials for progress and improvement which are 'contained within our practices' (Stahl, 2013, p20).

Using immanent critique as a basis, it is the goal of this research to trace norms of society through analysis of discourse, identifying traces of meaning and pre-structuring of discursive representations. These can then be critiqued in relation to the norms of current society and offer a direction for societal change based on society's standards and ideologies as the means of critique (Wrenn, 2016). There are practical examples of the effectiveness of such an approach, for example that of Gotham (2007), who, in analysis of Hurricane Katrina as spectacle employs an immanent critique framework and shows that as a strategy of 'debunking and demystification' immanent critique can be a 'suggestive and flexible method of criticism for interpreting the mode of mediation between societal ideals and reality' (Gotham, 2007, p86). Put simply, immanent critique is adopted for this research as it lends itself to coherent, effective, and logical social critique which has the potential to affect change and expand rather than confine social possibilities (Herzog, 2016), while cutting deeper than other forms of external criticism (Wrenn, 2016, p2).

4.3.1 Immanent Critique in the Context of the UK News Media Discourse on the Rohingya

Having detailed the unique attributes and effectiveness of immanent critique as a pathway for criticism and a potential method of pointing to transformative societal change, it must be explained and applied in relation to the present investigation. Returning to the literature, it is clear that there is an abundance of studies, documents, magazine articles, research projects, and other publications which call for various forms of intervention and assistance on behalf of the Rohingya. This, along with the findings of Afzal's (2016) research, formed the basis for the initial hypothesis of similar discourses in UK online media through researcher observation and inductive reasoning. The exact actions that authors call for in these documents, many of which are referenced in the first chapter, range from merely documenting and reporting to awareness-raising exercises, all the way to the formal instigation of legal proceedings in international courts, brought by state governments (such as that of the Gambia). Other actors call for reducing immediate physiological suffering through the provision of physical resources for immediate assistance (shelter, money, food, health products and medicines) or the supply of political and citizenship documents, and appealing to other various government, intergovernmental, and non-government actors to take action. Such calls for support and change are enacted by individuals, journalists, academics, rights groups, think tanks, non-governmental organisations and governments themselves. These positions have a single, overriding claim, in that they recognize the severity of the emotional and physical pain and suffering that Rohingya people are experiencing unnecessarily.

All, with no exceptions, of these actors mentioned above call for change which is primarily directed towards alleviating the socially-caused suffering of the Rohingya, be it through change in attitudes, understanding, or intention to act, and all are fundamentally based on normative claims often in the form of 'should' statements. To demonstrate, various claims may be that relief should be provided, that assistance should be given, that intervention or other action should take place, or that the Rohingya should stop suffering in some way. These can all be described as condemning the current situation which is taking place within global society. Such claims can be identified as external critique, in that they focus wholly on the criteria for such criticism from

external sources, which may be legislative documents, international law, treaties, human rights conventions, contemporary societal norms and principles, religious doctrines, or the established goals of intergovernmental organisations (for example, the UN Sustainable Development Goals). The normative basis for such 'should' statements are produced by other bodies and from 'specific persons or groups of persons, not from the social situation that we want to criticise itself' (Herzog, 2016, p24). The norms from which these external positions operate are similarly often drawn from utopian or aspirational ideals such as liberal equality, autonomy of self, and liberty, which are not immanent in themselves, but are relativistic. Employing such an external critique only measures the current society against the external criteria of ideals, which cannot produce real social change.

4.3.2 The Role of Social Suffering and Recognition in Immanent Social Critique

In developing a basis for immanent critique, one strand of reasoning is to search for a universal social norm which is transcultural and universal, against which other societal norms can be measured. The argument that diverse societies share universal norms is described in the work of Habermas, who argues that 'universality is embedded in the most basic capacities that we possess as persons capable of speaking, hearing, giving and accepting reasons for our actions, and conducting our lives correspondingly (Habermas, 2001, xi). In applying this universality to political projects, or the 'political turn', Habermas argues that a universal basis must be established 'for the great political innovations of popular sovereignty, legally enforceable human rights, democratic procedures, and the inconspicuous but vital solidarity that binds humans together, and makes them accountable to one another' (Habermas, 2001, xi). Similarly, Honneth (2012, p102) contends that moral universalism is an empirical given in 'our' societies, quoting Boltanski and Thevenot, who state that 'all familiar models of a legitimate social order must be committed to the principle according to which the members of a polity share a common humanity and therefore must forbid extreme forms of discrimination or exclusion' (Honneth, 2012, p74).

One of these basic universals can be considered that of reducing unnecessary social suffering (Herzog, 2019). By the reduction of unnecessary social suffering, the definition is that of the non-

fulfilment of normative claims - this is based on the identification that emotional reactions to what Honneth (1995) terms 'disrespect' are at their core pre-scientific moral experiences. For Honneth, there are three 'spheres of recognition' including Family, State, and Society, and Herzog (2016) provides a framework of grounding immanent social critique in a manner as seen through Honneth's (1995) theory of disrespect. If humans' capability of experiencing the capacity of suffering disrespect is accepted as a moral, pre-scientific experience, then it is both democratic (as it is not limited to those who are able to articulate it) and only possible through individuals' unconscious claims of recognition (Herzog, 2016). This then gives a basis where emotional reactions to disrespect are immanent and transcendent, and thus can form a universal basis for societal change as argued for by Habermas (2001).

Beginning with the definition of social suffering, this can be considered first and foremost, the non-fulfilment of a normative claim which is equally a form of second-order suffering. A distinction can be made between this form of suffering and first-order suffering. First-order suffering is that which does not have implicit evaluation of suffering – as an example, first-order suffering may be exemplified by physical pain whereas second order suffering is based on an evaluation, for instance the intentionality and moral indignation of being hit for a specific reason (e.g. racial discrimination). Social suffering is a form of second-order suffering, or 'suffering from disrespect' (Herzog, 2016) and it is only this form of suffering which can be the object of social critique. Naturally occurring phenomena which cannot be controlled or anticipated cannot be considered second-order or socially mediated suffering, and so can be bemoaned yet not criticised – for example, the occurrence of a natural disaster. The failure to provide adequate shelter or refuge to those who live in the disaster's proximity however, can be considered socially produced suffering and thus open to critique (Herzog, 2016). In relation to the forms of suffering as described previously, for example famine, if this were to be caused by a drought, it could not be the subject for social criticism; if it were caused by poor planning or a societal emphasis on providing only for the wealthy, then it would be an area for social critique.

Social suffering in this form is empirically demonstrable as having grown in volume in modernity, and the continued growth of such social suffering is exemplified through that of the Rohingya people. As with the external critiques of the current Rohingya crises, many different actors are

taking part in trying to reduce suffering globally, with a familiar list of participants, including governments, inter-governmental organisations, states, and individuals, all aiming to contribute to the alleviation of both general and social suffering. The UN is one example, with an agenda to effectively alleviate a broad range of human suffering (of which social suffering is a part) set by global leaders and representatives of 193 member states (UN, 2019).

This agenda includes Sustainable Development Goals developed by the UN, which list among them 'no poverty' and 'zero hunger' (UN, 2019). These are clear cases of aiming to reduce and ultimately eliminate both kinds of suffering, including first and second-order suffering. These are also unnecessary forms of social suffering as it is implicitly recognized that there are enough resources, or in theory the capacity to produce enough resources, to ensure that suffering from issues such as hunger and poverty are eradicated. Regardless of this, the number of those suffering from hunger has slowly increased over the past several years, with one in every nine human beings suffering from such a state which is caused not by natural circumstances, but by social actions (UN, 2018).

Therefore, in describing a general picture of social suffering, it can be argued that based on the present at least, the reduction of social suffering is a norm of global society which is of great importance, and furthermore, that this may be related to a transcultural and universal norm of reducing the burden of unnecessary social suffering, if not removing it altogether. On the other hand, while equality and respect is an implicit goal in many global media discourses, including that of the Rohingya (Afzal, 2016), empirical evidence demonstrates that inequality has continued to rise year-on-year (Oxfam, 2018).

In summary, the topic of social suffering receives widespread attention throughout all facets of society. Intergovernmental organisations and state governments work to create and implement plans to reduce not only first-order but also second-order social suffering, and the reporting of social suffering in media is often presented from a position of sympathy and lamentation, which is to say, recognition of the forms of disrespect that the Rohingya suffer. Under Honneth's (1995) framework of recognition, there is evidence of the Rohingya people suffering all forms of

disrespect, including under the emotional support mode, mode of cognitive respect, and mode of social esteem, as discussed in the earlier chapters of this work.

4.3.3 Understanding Social Suffering as a Growing Phenomenon

One question that may be asked is why in concrete terms, measurable, or visible social suffering (as characterised by features of inequality, famine, and increase in mental health issues) has increased and continues to increase in modernity. Rosa (2013, p316) has posited that the ‘uncontrollable trend of acceleration’ affecting modernity contains within it the potential to produce ‘pathologies of acceleration’ or ‘suffering-inducing social pathologies’. Social acceleration in this sense could equally relate to the expanding number of living individuals, in a sense of pure number, given that the population of the world has rapidly increased by orders of magnitude, it stands to reason that such suffering will likewise have increased by such orders of magnitude. It is possible that one reason for the widespread efforts to reduce human suffering, and equally the large amount of attention devoted to suffering in forms of media, conversation, art, and other forms of societal practice is precisely because it is so widespread. Social suffering is argued to be a universal experience, leading to the idea of a ‘democracy of suffering’, as it is not exclusive to one particular social category, and secondly, it is self-justified and is a lived experience, to experience suffering requires no additional evidence or external basis (Herzog, 2019).

A secondary answer to the increase of suffering, which complements the argument of social acceleration and population expansion, as mentioned before, may be the current adherence to liberal socioeconomic philosophy and its emphasis on individualism and autonomy; under such a premise, the idea of enduring social suffering, or sacrifice, in pursuit of collective goals is diminished, therefore enabling greater social suffering without justification (Renault, 2017, p56). This is however not the only possible explanation. Technological change, increasing pressures and access to information may all be seen as explanations for the growth in psychological suffering, although these could equally be seen as symptoms of a society which emphasises the

individual rather than the collective. If collective goals are subsumed in serving the individual, then it is possible that the capacity to bear sacrifice in pursuit of the collective is diminished, making suffering more 'painful' for singular individuals (Herzog, 2019). Such evidence of growing suffering, and the concept of accelerating development of social pathologies helps to justify the use of immanent social critique and its importance in understanding and ultimately contributing to the understanding of such issues and convincing others to recognise that such social pathologies are of critical concern.

4.3.4 Applying Immanent Critique to UK Media Discourses on the Rohingya Crises

While there is no current attempt to provide an immanent critique on Rohingya issues or media representation of the Rohingya, much, if not all, of the literature surveyed in the above is praiseworthy in relation to an intention of alleviating the both first and second order suffering of the Rohingya. From a first-order perspective, studies have aimed to identify essential basic healthcare needs thus addressing predominantly first order suffering such as hunger or illness (alleviating the root causes of first-order suffering in this sense), while other studies have addressed primarily second-order suffering in the form of political, social, and economic exclusion, although the two are interrelated. There is no question that the Rohingya's suffering is extreme and efforts should be mobilised in academic, humanitarian, and political spheres to reduce such suffering. This said, it is equally important that such work is grounded clearly in a framework that is coherent from a normative standpoint. The majority of these studies which examine and attempt to alleviate suffering, as previously mentioned, do so from that perspective of an external critique, with the external criteria and norms often being derived from such documents as the UNHCR or human rights legislation, themselves based on aspirational or utopian ideals. This means that most research studies adopt a framework of external ideals from which empirical research is conducted, and then the results analysed from a normative position in order to 'denounce the encountered situation as unjust' (Herzog, 2016, VIII). One of the fundamental difficulties with such an external critique is that the normative bases for critique are

grounded in non-universal norms, thus, it may result in the imposition of norms by a particular social group leading to inconsistencies. Furthermore, normative claims are said to change with time and in that vein, as norms change through critique, following the change of norms our 'normative coordinate system' must also change (Herzog, 2016, p60). In relation to this, at present, no existing Rohingya research on media representation has used immanent critique. This presents a methodological challenge and opportunity in pioneering this research. By adopting a universal normative basis, the same principles can be applied to future similar cases from a point of consistency and coherence.

The process of external as opposed to immanent critique which is often found when discussing the crises facing the Rohingya people is exemplified through normative claims, often utilising modal constructions which inherently impose a normative judgement on such situations. One of the more common constructions are 'should' statements, which imply deontic modality; something about the way that the world would be if it was in accordance with an external principle, such as the ideal of individual equality or liberty. Other examples are that citizenship 'should' or 'must' be granted and there 'should' be changes in the way that the Rohingya are treated by the domestic government of Myanmar and the international community; these are often grounded in international law or the UN Declaration of Human Rights, particularly Article 15, which states the right to nationality, or the principles of *jus soli* (Gorris, Harrington and Kohn, 2009). This is a further point which highlights the need for an immanent critique, as external critique by its nature may involve the imposition of the norms of other groups, or at worst, fall into the moral fault-finding of utopian criticism (Buchwalter, 1994). In relation to forms of Critical Discourse Analysis, the 'explicit sociopolitical stance of discourse analysts' and the focus on dominance relations (van Dijk, 1993, p1) can be seen as a limitation in comparison to immanent critique, which may be seen as external critique based on the normative values or political stance of whomever is conducting the research.

In addition to these criticisms of external critique, it may also be argued that critique should work at two levels to be effective: at the level of perceived social problems and at the level of society or social totality (Herzog, 2016, p10). It is here that a further issue can be identified with much of

the current scholarly work surrounding the Rohingya crises. While it is laudable to use critical approaches in researching representation of the Rohingya crises, and also to explore historical representations to try and find the 'essence' of what is happening (as may be applied with Cheesman's (2017) genealogy), many of such studies do not explore and relate this to the larger picture of global society. In other words, while the problem is identified and attempted to be solved, solving this problem, or proposing solutions, only takes place within a context of a society which by necessity gives rise to such phenomena – therefore, by not addressing this aspect, the solving of the issues facing the Rohingya are a temporary solution which may ameliorate present suffering but do not preclude the possibility of it recurring in future for the same or for other groups. In simpler terms, by attempting to find tenable solutions to the ongoing, extended series of crises that are affecting the Rohingya, this process largely turns away from the apparent inconsistencies and insufficiencies of society as a whole and its pathologies. It is this necessary contradiction which is hypothesised to be evidenced through the discourse analysis.

Social research from the perspective of immanent critique requires that the researcher deconstruct and rebuild the normative basis for society, and immanent critique is always social critique for this reason in that it points to systemic, societal inequalities (Herzog, 2019). This means that the anchor for such an immanent critique is the position that unnecessary social suffering should be reduced and that suffering is the superlative norm by which all others can be measured; if any societal norm is irreconcilable with the avoiding of human-created suffering, it can on that grounds be dismissed, while alternatively, if norms of liberty, equality, solidarity and autonomy are coherent with this superlative norm, they can be accepted (Herzog, 2019). In summary, on the process of immanent critique which is empirically grounded in the universal norm of reducing suffering, the analysis in this research will investigate the creation of discourse, asking what norms are institutionalised and to what extent these are comparable, coherent with, or compatible with the universal norm of reducing unnecessary social suffering (Herzog, 2019).

4.3.5 Challenges in Researching the Discourse of Suffering

This research project begins from the perspective of identifying suffering from social exclusion, as critique needs to be, and as a clue for an underlying problem in the social-moral arena (Angermuller, 2021). However, researching suffering and discourses of suffering is complex, and

there are limitations to the use of reducing unnecessary social suffering as a universal norm to anchor such research. The first of these is the fact that suffering is ultimately a subjective experience and as such, trying to achieve a grasp of suffering experienced by another will always be inadequate, as argued by Wilkinson, who states that 'no category captures the particular and therefore will always be insufficient to fully clarify the real-life experience of suffering' (Wilkinson, 2005, p28), this suggests that we can only understand such suffering relationally, and many, if not all, will attempt to experience such suffering through empathy. Empathy is not a critique-free concept, and the idea of whether empathy is always beneficial is troublesome (Bloom, 2016). If using Bloom's (2016) understanding of empathy, it can be defined as experiencing the world as the interpreter thinks someone else does. The operative word here is 'thinks', as while we may interpret suffering as we think it exists, it will always be insufficient and not the same as the individual's experience. Equally, it is important to be aware that empathy is not necessarily an outright good, and uncritical use of empathy should be avoided, as issues with taking an empathetic approach ignore the fact that moral judgements can be made without being grounded in empathy, and that empathy is something of a spotlight, in that it focuses well on specific individuals and narratives yet is unlikely to care for statistical abstractions of suffering (Bloom, 2016).

A further consideration with the grounding of immanent critique in the universal norm of reducing unnecessary social suffering can be drawn from Frank (2001), who, in researching suffering in the healthcare context, highlights that at times, suffering is what cannot be said, rather than what can be said, and not all can be spoken, and 'suffering threatens discourse because discourse cannot assimilate it to extralocal demands'. By this, Frank argues that suffering is easily censored and threatens discourse. To some extent, in the field of caring for the unwell, 'censoring suffering itself' can take place by 'telling the patient that she or he has no further cause to suffer' (Ibid., 2001, p360). Such an idea can be applied to suffering in a great many situations aside from that of treating the sick; this could equally be applied to any form of suffering; if discourse prevents or censors such suffering, it may be even harder to unpick, analyse, and understand such suffering. One way in which this challenge is addressed in the methodology is

to explicitly investigate patterns of absence and silence and their possible places within the discourse.

This issue of self-censoring suffering, and the possibility of what can 'not be said' (Frank, 2001, p360) is related to the concept of discursive exclusion, and equally, another issue which is that of silenced voices in discourses of suffering, as 'voice is what gets silenced' (Morris, 1996, p29). One method of addressing such challenges is to conduct research which focuses on suffering which finds new ways, new language, and new expressions and representations of suffering while at the same time recognizing the impossibility of achieving a final solution to such social suffering and a complete understanding of it as a phenomenon (Herzog, 2019). In this research this perspective is taken into account, and a brief survey of the literature on absence and silence in discourse is utilised in order to adapt such principles into the current methodology. On the other hand, as the methodology remains fundamentally involved in texts as productions of discourse, followed by a hermeneutic sociological interpretation, it does not account for the possibility of examination through alternate means, for example art, ritual, music, and other forms of expression. Researchers such as Farzana (2015) however, have begun researching forms of artwork, music, and creativity which express narratives and describe such experienced social suffering among the Rohingya, and this presents a worthy avenue for further investigation.

Finally, in assuming the reduction of unnecessary social suffering as a universal norm, it is important to identify that there are those who would argue this is a socially constituted and not cosmopolitan or transcultural norm, as in it only applies to the current episteme and is therefore relative. This general criticism of immanent critique as relativist has been highlighted by Sabia (2010). Theoretically, as evidence of such a criticism, one examples could be to highlight societies which have actively aimed to increase suffering – however, while there are certainly societies that have increased suffering greatly under their existence, it is more complex to argue that this has ever been an intentional undertaking for an entire society, or a goal that has been aimed towards. It is possible that a misguided attempt to alleviate suffering can result in an increase,

again leading to a critique between the immanent norm of society and the reality of 'what is'. It is also possible that at times suffering is mandated or required by a society, for example in initiation rituals or in the benefit of a collective (Herzog 2019). This however, is not the same as the unnecessary suffering of disrespect, in which a normative claim goes unfulfilled. These arguments therefore do not successfully repudiate the argument that the reduction of such suffering is a transcultural and immanent norm, and that the intrinsic wrongness of suffering constitutes a universal moral fact (Procyshyn, 2019).

Having now thoroughly outlined the cause for immanent critique as well as the arguments for and against the universal norm utilised, the next stage is to detail the concept of discourse as it will be used in the methods of this research to undertake discourse analysis. At this point, it is argued that an immanent critique is the most suitable method for investigating the research questions, and to explore the hypotheses, and that this should be grounded in a proposed universal norm, that of reducing unnecessary social suffering. It is hypothesised that there is a contradiction between the discursive representations of the Rohingya people in the UK online media, which is broadly aligned with the universal norm of reducing unnecessary social suffering, and the absence of engagement with or lack of recognition of social norms which give rise to such suffering. These social norms are that of discrimination, exclusion, and othering.

4.3.6 The Role of Exclusion, Discrimination, and Othering in Causing Suffering from Disrespect in the Rohingya crises

Legitimate social order must forbid extreme forms of discrimination or exclusion (Honneth, 2012, p74), and these, along with 'othering', may be seen as acts of disrespect which violate the universal norm of reducing unnecessary social suffering, yet are current social norms in the period of modernity. As mentioned throughout the prior sections, one of the root causes of the unnecessary social suffering of the Rohingya people is that of exclusion, discrimination, and othering, as they have been victims of a campaign of 'othering' perpetrated by powerful actors (Horstmann, 2020). Indeed, Ahmed et al. (2021) contends that the Rohingya are the 'ultimate other' for the Burmese majority. This 'othering' has taken myriad forms, including denying the

identification of 'Rohingya' and instead using the term 'Bengali', which is considered an inflammatory or derogatory term (USCIRF, 2016), and names can be a determinant of exclusion (Puzey and Kostanski, 2016). Other authors have identified the creation of truth-regimes to exclude the Rohingya (Cheesman, 2017), while the UN (2017) state that 'the long history of discrimination and persecution against the Rohingya community could amount to crimes against humanity', leading to 'mass annihilation' taking place to remove the group from the country's collective history (ISCI, 2018). Other evidence comes from Southwick (2014) who states that for decades the Rohingya have suffered discrimination as campaigns of violence and displacement, as well as a 'broader oppressive context' with 'exclusionary policies' and 'plans for destruction' (Southwick, 2018, p119). In a local context, it has been argued that in post-colonial South East Asian states, indigeneity is used to distinguish local inhabitants from outsiders or 'others' who are considered a threat, and as part of this, citizenship regimes are one method of managing and producing exclusion (Fee, 2013). In this sense, the processes of exclusion, othering and discrimination and the subsequent suffering may be seen as a necessary price to pay for maintaining the state order. Alam and Parashar (2018) argue that similarly, the legal and social status of the Rohingya has been gradually changed, thus identifying the role of legislation in 'disempowering' the Rohingya and leading to their ultimate exclusion.

As a result, it is possible to see the persecution of the Rohingya people as at its most basic form, a case of social categorization, leading to social exclusion, discrimination and othering, which are fundamentally forms of disrespect and misrecognition. Why these processes of exclusion and discrimination are current social norms in the period of modernity may relate at its core to a distortion of early human nature. Social categorization has been called a basic element of human nature which allows the simplification of the social world in a rapid manner and is a natural cognitive process which is hypothesised to stem from the need for simple-self enhancement (Strangor, Jhangiani and Tarry, 2014). Being part of an in-group increases positive self-esteem, and this is thought to arise from the small social groups of today's ancestors, who were frequently in conflict with other groups, and thus viewed the in-group as preferable and the outgroup as a danger, this was evolutionarily purposeful and may have even served to keep humans safe from

illness (Jhangiani and Tarry, 2014). In the period of modernity and social acceleration, such previously acceptable norms may produce social pathologies.

This preference for in-groups rather than out-groups is then possibly a driving force between the preference for 'us' versus 'them' and the associated roles of social norms such as exclusion and discrimination. These processes, which have evolutionary roots that could have been beneficial at one time, can lead to prejudice and discrimination intentionally or unintentionally; this is something that due to its potential to cause serious harm and suffering, societies should work towards to remove (Jhangiani and Tarry, 2014). Put simply, categorizations of ingroups and outgroups are non-universal social norms which can potentially cause great amounts of unnecessary social suffering through misrecognition. This has over time been built into apparatus such as citizenship, ethno religious identity grouping, and the social order. In order to reduce the negative effects of social categorization, the only viable strategy for producing long-lasting changes in beliefs in the preferable status of in-groups is to ensure that these changes are supported by social norms, as prejudice and discrimination 'thrive in environments in which they are perceived to be the norm, but they die when the existing social norms do not allow it' (Jhangiani and Tarry, 2014, p1). This 'death of categorization' may be seen as evidence that it is not a transcultural, universal, or immanent norm, although it is thought to have a distant shared evolutionary basis.

While the preference for in-groups may have an evolutionarily beneficial beginning, it has also resulted in the fear of outgroups, which can be referred to as 'the other' or 'othering'. The 'other' and 'othering' can be defined as "a set of dynamics, processes, and structures that engender marginality and persistent inequality across any of the full range of human differences based on group identities" which includes religion, sex, race, ethnicity, socioeconomic class, disability, sexual orientation, and skin tone (Powell and Menendian, 2020). Alternatively, Dervin (2015, p1) defines 'othering' as 'turning the other into 'an other', thus creating a boundary between different and similar, insiders and outsiders' while d'Appollonia (2011, p11) labels 'othering' as similar to the 'taxidermy of identity'. Both Powell and Menendian (2020) and Dervin (2015)'s definitions incorporate the idea that identity markers are part of the process of othering and creation of the other, which in the case of the Rohingya may be broadly ethnoreligious. Powell

and Menendian (2020) argue that 'othering is the problem of the twenty-first century', undergirding territorial disputes, sectarian violence, military conflict, the spread of disease, hunger and food insecurity, and even climate change', while according to Dervin (2015, p1) it can lead to hatred, killing, slavery, and genocides.

When analysing the history of the Rohingya, it is clear to see that 'othering' and the exclusion from social participation in society, community, and nation, has taken place on a vast scale, and this is in itself unnecessary social suffering. It is hypothesized in this investigation that the discourses examined in UK online news media will largely promote recognition of the social suffering of the Rohingya people, as expressed through forms of compassion, sympathy, and lamentation for the Rohingya people's suffering, while there will be absence of discussion, mention, or discourses of the causes of such suffering (the processes of exclusion, discrimination and othering). This hypothesis being found to be true would suggest at least a superficial or 'surface' recognition of the varying forms of suffering from disrespect of the Rohingya people under Honneth's (1995) framework of recognition. This is then consistent with the universal norm of reducing unnecessary social suffering (Herzog, 2016). However, this is only one facet of the investigation which addresses the second research question, while the first question will more generally explore and investigate discursive representation.

In detail, the analysis will seek to understand whether UK online news media discourses demonstrate a discursive representation of the Rohingya people which is one of sympathy and recognition, that is to say an understanding and appreciation of the right not to suffer from disrespect (Honneth, 1995). Honneth (1995, p130) argues that 'inherent in our everyday use of language is a sense that human integrity owes its existence, at a deep level, to patterns of approval and recognition', and so evidence of recognition in the language used may be that which recognizes the Rohingya people's rights to emotional support, cognitive respect, and social esteem, or inversely, by demonstrating moral outrage in the discussion and depiction of events and actions which are forms of disrespect and threaten such normative claims. A modified version of Honneth's (1995) modes of recognition is produced below to demonstrate the applicability of the theory of disrespect.

Table 1 Forms of Recognition and potential areas for hypothesis testing (Adapted from Honneth, 1995).

Mode of recognition	Emotional support	Cognitive respect	Social Esteem	Applicability to Current Investigation
Dimension of personality	Needs and emotions	Moral responsibility	Traits and abilities	
Forms of recognition	Primary relationships (love, friendship)	Legal relations (rights)	Community of value (solidarity)	UK online media may demonstrate discourses which emphasise the rights to these forms of recognition.
Developmental potential	-	Generalisation, de-formalization	Individualization, equalisation	-
Practical relation-to-self	Basic self-confidence	Self-respect	Self-esteem	-
Forms of disrespect	Abuse and rape	Denial of rights, exclusion	Denigration, insult	UK online media may create discursive representations which denounce and criticise these forms of disrespect.
Threatened component of personality	Physical integrity	Social integrity	Honour, dignity	-

This hypothesis stands in contrast to other investigations into similar disadvantaged groups who experience unnecessary social suffering such as refugees, who have been negatively depicted in the media (Baker, Gabrielatos, and McEnery, 2013). If this hypothesis is shown to be supported

by evidence, then there is potential for critique – in this sense there is an inconsistency in the attempt to recognize the right not to experience unnecessary social suffering expressed which is caused by the norms of exclusion, discrimination and othering, and the absence of discourse describing, critiquing, or engaging with these root causes. This shows therefore that there is an axiomatic inconsistency between the universal norm of reducing unnecessary social suffering and the absence of recognition, discourse, or examination of the contemporary social norms, such as ‘othering’ and exclusion, that give rise to this form of suffering. This demonstrates necessary contradiction by using society’s standards and ideologies as the means of critique (Wrenn, 2016, p2).

4.3.7 Summary of Immanent social Critique in Orienting the Research

Part of the research methodology in this study is social critique as a form of immanent critique, which addresses the overarching research aim and the second research question. Immanent critique can be summarised as an approach which ‘describes the dialectic in history which is driven by the contradictions between ideology and reality’ (Antonio, 1981, p338). In this research, the philosophical basis is that while societal norms are socially constituted, these must be measured against a single, overriding, universal social norm, which is that of reducing unnecessary human suffering (Herzog, 2019). This can broadly be explained based on a range of source material including that of Horkheimer, for whom ‘all reflections about human life must start with suffering, and for whom ‘critical activity is an interest in a specific knowledge that points towards the end of suffering’ (Horkheimer cited in Herzog, 2019, p35) and Angermuller (2021) who states that following Herzog’s (2020; 2021) approach to critique, it must be grounded in the suffering experienced from social exclusion. The conception of suffering, as described, refers to the non-fulfilment of a normative claim, or ‘experiencing the current social order as different from normative claims of what it should be’ (Herzog, 2019, p35).

In other words, if discourse in UK online news media is empathetic without the recognition of the role of social exclusion, discrimination, or othering, and there is an absence of contextualisation of the social conditions which give rise to suffering, then this may be seen as broadly representative of a social norm. That social norm may be that while the outcome of such processes is lamentable, it is part of the invisible 'hegemonic discourse order' (Baker, 2006) which exists at an underlying level without questioning. Initial research that generated evidence for this hypothesis comes from Afzal (2016) who identifies pathos, sympathetic and emotional language in media describing the Rohingya crises in British, American, and Pakistani newspapers. A visualisation of the research process is given on the following page.

4.3.8 Visualisation of the Research Process

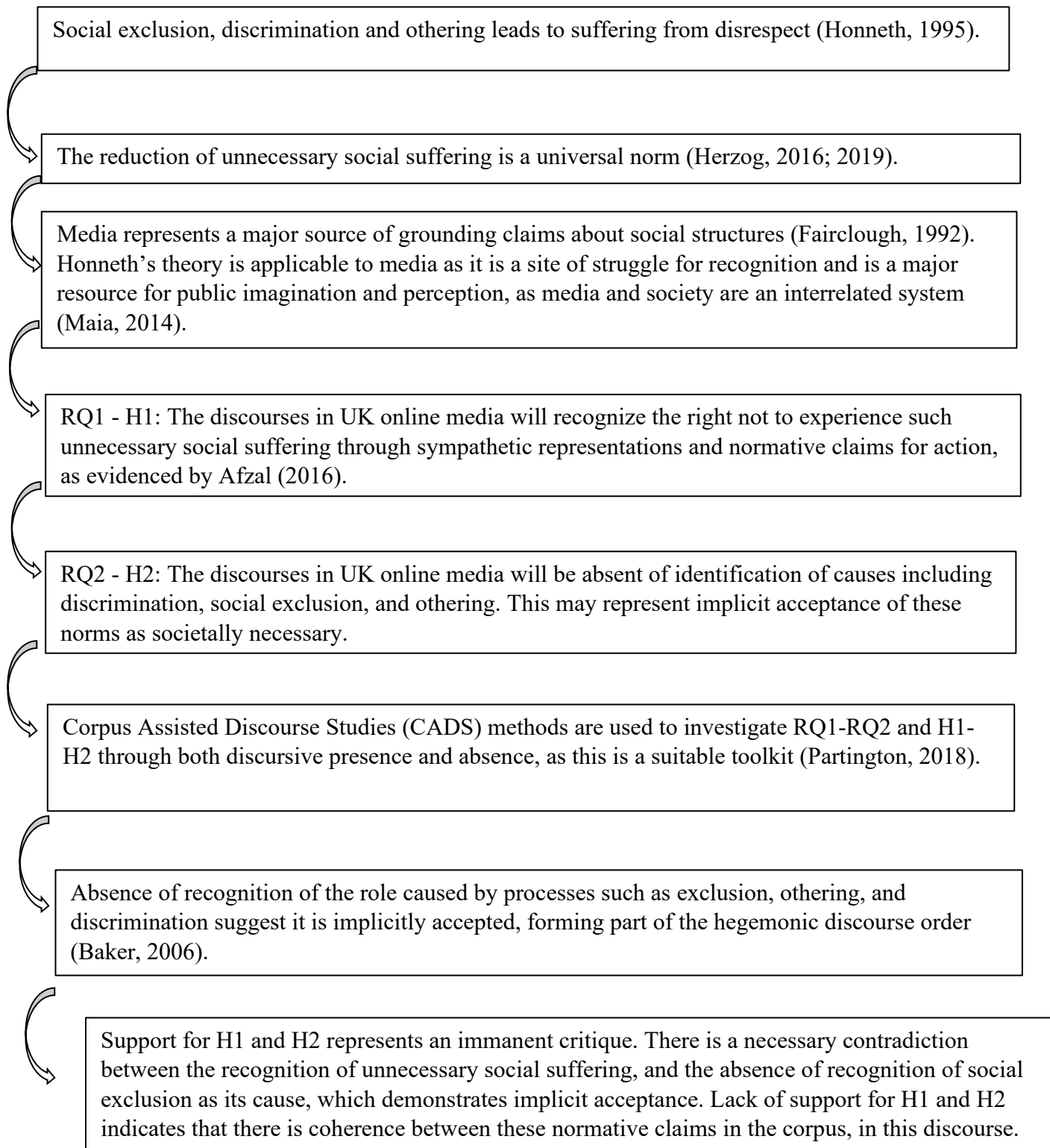


Figure 2 - Visualization of the Research Process.

4.4 Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies Methods

4.4.1 Defining Discourse

Following the above process, it is important to define the tools used, including those of Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS). This section will begin by investigating and locating the definition of discourse used in this study, as like immanent critique, discourse is a broad concept with multiple meanings depending on the source consulted.

Discourse as a notion spreads across several fields and disciplines, including cultural studies, linguistics, and anthropology, and in each of these fields there may be a unique definition (Koteyko, 2006). In linguistic disciplines, discourse analysis may investigate the creation of meaning in lexico-grammatical forms, examining microstructures of texts and discrete features of language, while discourse in the Foucauldian sense does not aim to interpret texts or to see text as an embodiment of thought or unconscious, but as “the rules (practices, technologies) which make a certain statement possible to occur and others not at particular times, places and institutional locations” (Foucault, 1989, p21). Other authors such as Stubbs (2001) view discourse as constellations of repeated meanings which can produce conventional ways of communicating about subjects, thereby influencing attitude and opinion. Discourse can be considered, based on these definitions, to be inextricable from socio-historical context. This has led in some fields to the joining of two conceptualizations of discourse, leading to approaches such as that of Critical Discourse Analysis, which ‘fuse linguistic and critical theory definitions of the term’ in order to look at “not just describing discursive practices, but also showing how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideologies, and the constructive effects discourse has upon social identities, neither of which is normally apparent to discourse participants” (Fairclough, 1992, p12). It has also led to the establishment of the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA), which identifies the ‘broader sociopolitical context within which discursive practices are embedded’ (Richardson and Wodak, 2009, p255).

Jorgensen and Phillips (2002, p1) equally highlight the range of different approaches to discourse and discourse analysis, stating that in scientific texts and debates the term is often used indiscriminately, but refers to the 'general idea that language is structured according to different patterns that people's utterances follow when they take part in different domains of social life'. Other authors such as van Dijk (1995, p17) argue that 'discourse analysis is ideology analysis', and consequently, 'ideologies can be produced, maintained, and changed in discourse in communication'.

That said, many approaches to discourse analysis choose language as the sole focus or unit for investigation, while forms of sociological discourse analysis move beyond the idea of the utterance, although it remains one of the primary areas of interest to sociologists (Ruiz Ruiz 2009). Keller (2013) points out that similarly, the 'methodological richness of sociology' allows sociological research to have a 'broader empirical underpinning' than purely linguistic approaches, as a result of the ability to 'disengage' from the text and use 'additional meaning-oriented methods of reconstruction' (Keller, 2013). Consequently, analysis in this methodology will proceed based on textual productions of discourse in the broader sense, that is to say, that discourses are considered as regimes of knowledge which determine the truth of statements and are rule-bound sets of statements which apply restrictions to 'what gives meaning' (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002, p13) or structured and institutionalised ways of speaking (Foucault, 2002), although this can be realised through linguistic means. In other words, Foucault's conceptualization of a statement is something that 'subscribes to certain concepts' and is concerned with the 'rules' that make some statements possible to occur, and others impossible to occur at different periods and in different locations (Koteyko, 2014, p16). Consequently, this is different to the previously mentioned approach of Fairclough's (1992) Critical Discourse Analysis, although it is similar in the approach of attempting to marry linguistic, macro and micro sociological approaches in analysis (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002, p66), and the fact that the research is based on the ideal that 'every text is embedded in an instance of discursive practice of text production, dissemination, and consumption, which is in turn embedded in a social practice, a relationship, or situational, institutional, and social context' (Keller, 2013).

From this perspective, discourse is created by power, which is spread across different social practices, and is not necessarily oppressive but is productive, in the sense that power creates and comprises discourse, knowledge and subjectivities (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002). Consequently, power both creates the social and defines the ways in which the world is created and can be discussed. In terms of this, power and knowledge following Foucault's definition also has ramifications for the idea of truth, which is 'a system of procedures for the production, regulation, and diffusion of statements', and thus, 'truth effects' are created within discourses (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002, p14), this is a position which is similar in terms of defining power to stronger positions of the role of discourse in the social world, for example, Laclau and Mouffe's position that 'all is discourse' is likewise related to the Foucault's concept of power (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002, p37). From this viewpoint it is possible to identify diverging realities, coming under an approach that is fundamentally distant from that of objectivism and positivism, in which a single underlying reality exists which can be explored and discovered. This is an idea that was equally foregrounded in the initial sections of the research, which explore the 'creation of a present' through a genealogical approach, recognizing the existence of both histories and anti-histories, thus incorporating a degree of subjectivity. To further explicate and locate the position of discourse as a sociological rather than linguistic form in this research, it must be acknowledged that while discourse can be said not to accurately summarise the 'social universe', it does form one aspect of it, which it is possible to investigate. This can be explained further by referring to the definition of sociological discourse analysis provided by Ruiz Ruiz (2009) who in a method paper defines discourse as 'any practice by which individuals imbue reality with meaning'. This conception of discourse is fundamentally sociological rather than linguistic yet clarifies that while text and talk may be one form of discourse, they are a singular but related component of the broader social universe (Ruiz Ruiz 2009).

This clarification is important, so that linguistic analysis can be distinguished from sociological discourse analysis, as although aspects of sociological discourse may seem to be linguistic practice, they are 'at their core, social' (Herzog, 2016, p74). In this investigation, sociological discourse analysis will be undertaken through Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies methods

(CADS). In explaining why the CADS toolkit of methods is the most suitable to answer the research questions, there are some distinct advantages which make for a convincing case. Firstly, Baker (2005, p16) highlights that corpus techniques can be useful for tracing the ‘incremental effect of discourse’ and contends that without considering difference and frequency, conceptualization of discourse is difficult; these two concepts are ‘well-suited to quantitative approaches’ (Baker, 2005, p16) which can be found in CADS techniques. Koteyko (2014) also points out that ‘modern, corpus-assisted analyses of discourse have demonstrated significant insights into the cumulative ideological effect of repeated language use’ (Koteyko, 2014, p21). CADS is similar in some ways to the DHA, in that it ‘allows research to be conducted from an explicit position if researchers so desire, along with advocating examination of corpus texts within their social and historical context’ (Baker, 2014, p214). In undertaking this investigation from a perspective of immanent critique then, CADS is a suitable approach.

4.4.2 UK Online News Media as a Data Source

There are several reasons for choosing UK online news media in answering the research questions. Gusfield (1986) argues that in order to analyse public problems, it is necessary to find the conceptual orderliness from which they emerge in the public arena, and Baker (2006) likewise notes that newspaper data can be a useful area of production and reproduction of discourses, while Fairclough asserts that the discourses produced by the media have a cumulative power (Fairclough, 1992) and that texts ‘constitute a major source of evidence for grounding claims about social structures, relations, and processes’ (1992, p211). Regarding the theories of Honneth, Maia contends that the media is a crucial site in the struggle for recognition (Maia, 2014), and finally, and speaking historically, Fairclough (1992, p211) suggests that texts are ‘sensitive barometers’ and good indicators of social change. In this respect, such texts in media hold considerable power in defining public issues, and the media discourses of the Rohingya in the United Kingdom and abroad. Although in the era of ‘superdiversity’ (Angermuller, 2021) and hyper-connectedness it becomes more challenging to claim that such a discourse exists at the level of social totality globally, it is hoped that this analysis, as part of a social critique, can identify

avenues for change in both UK society and in the discourse communities that may form part of the global imaginary.

In terms of using online rather than printed media, recent data from the Office of Communications (Ofcom) (2019) demonstrates that while television is still the most common format for news consumption in the UK, accessing news via the Internet is the second most common method, with 66% of surveyed respondents using this mode, while traditional newspapers are declining. Therefore, online media lends itself well to CADS investigations. This perspective is summarised by Scholz (2019, p6) who points out that smartphones and tablets have led to a popularisation of information production, causing the internet to function as a 'new social location' which has enhanced a particularization of discourse communities. This presents a new frontier for the analysis of news media.

4.4.3 Defining CADS

CADS revolves around the use of corpora and corpus linguistics methods, which has its roots in the analysis of empirical data, primarily in lexicography and applied linguistics, and has grown to become a self-contained discipline which encompasses focus on both quantitative and qualitative analysis, including that of discourse analysis (Koteyko, 2006). Discourses, as Baker (2006) highlights, are not 'valid descriptions of people's beliefs or opinions' and they equally cannot be seen as representing attitude, personality, or broader features of identity; instead, discourses are 'lived out in society from day to day', and are 'constantly changing, interacting with each other, breaking off, and merging' (Baker, 2006, p4). Consequently, it is likely almost impossible to be able to analyse discourses from an external vantage point, as the labelling of discourses takes place from an internal starting point. Baker (2006) highlights however, that as one way in which discourses can be created and produced is through language – in this sense, language is not the same as discourse, but can 'carry a trace' of discourse, and such traces can be uncovered through the analysis of language (Baker, 2006, p5), similar to the definition as one component of the social universe given by Ruiz Ruiz (2014).

Having explicated the basic information regarding discourse in the CADS approach, it is necessary to discuss the contribution of the corpus. When discussing corpora in corpus linguistics and in CADS, it is worth noting that while there are no established guidelines for sizes of suitable corpora, they are generally considered to be large bodies of texts which are 'representative samples of a particular type of naturally occurring language' and thus can be used for measuring claims about language (Baker, 2006, p2). The creation of a corpus requires a principled collection of texts which share unique characteristics, for example, dealing with a specific theme, knowledge complex or concept, time period, area, segment of society, or text type (Koteyko, 2006).

Corpus linguistics is a useful approach, as it allows researchers to uncover macro discursive patterns through a number of measures, including quantitative techniques such as frequency and statistics, while discourse analysis counterbalances this by providing 'in-depth' analysis of concordances, clusters, and entire texts (Freaker et al., 2010). There are two, broadly speaking, approaches to Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies, including both corpus-driven and corpus-based approaches. Corpus-driven approaches do not cover distinctions based on lexis, syntactics, or semantics, while corpus-based approaches look to analyse pre-selected or specific features of the corpus to test existing hypotheses. This project aims to do the latter, so it can be broadly defined as corpus-based, although McEnery, Xiao, and Tono (2006, p11) contend that 'the sharp distinction between the corpus-based vs. corpus-driven approaches to language studies is in reality fuzzy'.

4.4.4 Sketch Engine as a Tool for CADS

In this research, Sketch Engine is used to both build and investigate the data within the corpus. Sketch Engine was originally launched in 2004 (Kilgariff et al., 2014), and has gained a place in corpus linguistics and lexicography as a unique piece of software for language analysis over the past fifteen years.

One of the key advantages of this use of software is the production of a 'Word Sketch', which is in essence a one-page summary of how a word behaves in both grammar and collocation (Kilgariff et al., 2014), thus giving a range of information with which to proceed for discourse analysis in order to address the research questions and hypotheses. A further advantage of Sketch Engine in comparison to alternative data analysis tools is the ease and simplicity with which searches can be carried out and return all required information, as searches are case-insensitive and find entire word forms or tokens (as an example, a search for catch finds catch catching, catches, caught' (Kilgariff et al., 2014). Additionally, by default Sketch Engine automatically marks up text, identifying sentence and paragraph structures, thus avoiding the need for manual mark-up while ensuring that each text is treated differently and the corpus does not just consist of one long line of text (Sketch Engine, 2020).

Sketch Engine is also uniquely suited to discourse analysis and CADS approaches and can be used 'for analysis of a particular kind of language and what it tells us about the attitudes, power relations, and perspectives of the participants', including studies analysing the UK newspaper discourse on migrants and migration, portrayal of science in the news, and knowledge dissemination through personal blogs (Kilgariff et al., 2014). While Sketch Engine lends itself well to diachronic study across time, it is also useful for synchronic study, isolating and examining language use at a specific point in time. In terms of the present research, this can be considered a synchronic use; although data is collected over a period of three years, language change over this time period is not considered. Rather the three years of data is seen as part of a common and shared era in which discourses are created.

4.4.5 Legal and Ethical Implications of Corpus Creation and CADS

Creation of a corpus for research can have both legal and ethical implications. Primarily, these are a concern when corpora are constructed using spoken language or copyrighted material. McEnery and Hardie (2012) highlight that although data may be freely available, and obtained through the internet, this does not necessarily mean that it is free to be used and distributed by the researcher, and so highlight four possible methods to ensure that copyright on behalf of text composers and organisations is maintained. These include obtaining explicit copyright, collecting public domain data only, using a fourth-generation corpus analysis application, or redistributing addresses from which texts were collected, rather than the texts themselves (McEnery and Hardie, 2012). The first method is the most traditional, and most reliable, but equally the most time consuming; for large corpora, the process of obtaining written permission would constitute a major task akin to a project itself. The second method is a suitable one but limits the availability of data and thus circumscribes the investigation. The third approach, that of using a fourth-generation analysis tool may limit the opportunities available to work with the data, although it has the benefit of saving time and effectively ensuring copyright compliance (McEnery and Hardie, 2012). The fourth method equally is effective but time consuming and administratively complex. In this project, the third approach is used. As Sketch Engine is the preferred tool of choice for analysis regardless of copyright considerations, it is a clear solution to copyright issues in collecting data. Fourth generation concordancers, of which Sketch Engine is an example, run on a web server, and were created with the express goals of combating storage space and processing speed issues with desktop computers, disparities and incompatibilities in operating systems, and legal restrictions on corpus creation and distribution (McEnery and Hardie, 2012). From a legal and practical standpoint then, Sketch Engine lends itself well to this project.

While there are no spoken respondents, interviewees, or participants in this research, this does not suggest that there are no ethical considerations for such research. The most important consideration is that of how such results may be interpreted. When dealing with a subject as sensitive as that of the Rohingya crises, it is important to note that false results, misinterpreted results, or the reporting of such results in the mass media can have important ethical implications

(McEnery and Hardie, 2012). For this reason, it is necessary to ensure that there is absolute clarity on the scope, limitations, and meaning of any results and conclusions drawn which may find their way into the public sphere.

4.4.6 Small Specialised Corpus Creation and Pilot Study

For this project, a smaller corpus was chosen to ensure specialisation. Baker (2006, p25) suggests that familiarisation of the researcher with the corpus is an important step in the methodology when using corpus assisted discourse analysis, and one method of doing this can be to build a corpus from scratch, which is more effective with a smaller corpus (Koester, 2010). Developing a corpus is also an effective method of familiarisation as the process of selection and identification of texts, gaining permissions where appropriate, transferring and cleaning the data, and checking files helps the researcher to generate a 'feeling' for the data, while the process of constituting a corpus can provide insight into potential hypotheses and initial avenues for research (Baker, 2006, p25).

There are both advantages and disadvantages to this method as opposed to using an existing corpus. In terms of benefits, this allows for the creation of specialised, detailed, and precise corpora with texts that are selected for their usefulness by the researcher. On the other hand, this means that there is possibly an element of selection bias in the process of finding such texts to constitute a corpus, as it is similar to purposive sampling, in which subjective decisions are made about the objects selected by the application of knowledge of the subject, this limits objectivity (Lavrakas, 2008).

In this methodology, a unique, specialised corpus was created based on the collection of articles that appear in a cross-section of the UK online news media. The articles represent a range of different British media organisations and were all related to the description of events, issues, and reports on issues relating to the Rohingya crises. One limitation of this in corpus linguistics is that the authorship, subjective views and potential political dispositions of authors are not subject to investigation, as Baker (2006, p18) argues 'one problem with a corpus is that it contains decontextualized examples of language. We may not know the ideologies of the text producers in a corpus', although Koester (2010) argues that this is less likely to be an issue with a smaller

corpus. That said, as there are a range of different subjective positions and opinions which will be present within the corpus, this provides the possibility of viewing discourses across multiple authors, media producers and ideologies. From the above, it can be argued that in order to explore an issue as specific as the crises affecting the Rohingya people, a specialised purpose-built corpus is best placed to answer the research questions, as long as it is representative of, and collected from, a 'range of typical situations' suited to the genre (Koester, 2010, p69).

The second issue to be addressed is that of the size of the corpus, a question which Baker (2006) identifies has no clear answer. Stubbs (1996) analysis of two letters, totaling just 880 words, may be seen as one example of a 'less is more' philosophy, as the author was still able to locate unique features of the texts for effective analysis. Baker (2006) also argues that when building a specialised corpus to examine discursive construction of a subject, it is most important to examine not the size of the corpus, but how often the subject in question is mentioned in it, while Koester (2010) asserts that it is the suitability of the corpus for the research which matters, rather than size. This provides further evidence that a small, specialised corpus is more suitable than a reference corpus in a discursive analysis of the representation of Rohingya issues. There are also other advantages to a smaller dataset, as Koester (2010) highlights that smaller corpora help build a closer relationship between the corpus and the context in which the texts were produced and are less decontextualized than larger corpora (although some degree of decontextualization occurs).

One method of determining the possible size of a corpus is to undertake a pilot study, which can be useful to determine the availability, ease of collection, and challenges in processing of texts (Baker, 2006, p29). In this research, a pilot study was undertaken using internet archives, in order to locate an initial five potential texts for inclusion in a corpus. The criteria for inclusion was that firstly, the article had to be from a British media publication or newspaper, dating over a period of five years from 2015 – 2020. This period was selected based on the high density of important events and public visibility of the Rohingya crises during this time and had to make explicit mention to the discursive construction of the subject in question, that is, the humanitarian crises that occurred during this time. The results of the pilot study then informed the creation of a larger corpus. The process of corpus creation and compilation then followed a series of steps, including

storing, coding, and cleaning data, including stripping unwanted data and saving useful data as discrete texts, before being uploaded to Sketch Engine. In addition to this, initial searches of lexical items and tokens during the pilot study were used to help finalise a provisional list of terms for the main research project as familiarisation was gained through the pilot study process.

Once the corpus had been assembled and data collection was complete, then analysis began. Often, corpus approaches are perceived as being quantitative in nature, and this gives rise to objections based on the tools used for data analysis, such as the reductive nature of frequency counting and the oversimplification of complex nuances and shades of meaning, thus obscuring more interesting analytical approaches (Baker, 2006). This is not necessarily the case, although corpus linguistics lends itself well to quantitative and statistical methods, a CADS approach combines elements of both quantitative and qualitative analysis. Baker (2006) argues that the distinction of quantitative and qualitative can be placed in parallel with that of structuralism and post structuralism, the former favouring a less eclectic approach to methodology than the latter. In this sense, elements of both quantitative and qualitative analysis can be incorporated, and this is a unique strength of corpus assisted discourse analysis.

Data was explored in the pilot study and different tools were used to fine-tune the methods. The corpus data was analysed through the use of Sketch Engine, a tool for analysing corpus data which is designed for text mining, text analysis, and corpus approaches in a variety of different disciplines (Sketch Engine, 2020). Sketch Engine was selected as a tool based on several factors. Firstly, Sketch Engine uses powerful algorithms to provide quick analysis of data in a web-based, user-friendly environment. Sketch Engine also is able to produce interesting visualisations which provide an appealing way of engaging with corpus data, and is equally customizable, allowing for the upload and analysis of unique self-created corpora, and has been used to great effect in similar studies, including that of the representation of Muslims in the British press (Baker, Gabrielatos and McEnery, 2013). Data analysis through Sketch Engine in this research project was based on three distinct tools available through a CADS approach, that is, frequency analysis, collocation analysis, and concordance analysis. These worked well in the pilot study for generating an understanding of the initial data, and so were chosen to form the analysis stage of

the research project. The following passages will expand on these tools and their reasons for use in answering the research project's fundamental questions and exploring the potential for an immanent critique.

4.4.7 Frequency Analysis

The first tool used to analyse the corpus data is frequency analysis, in which the terms most frequently appearing in the corpus were revealed. Frequency analysis is often misinterpreted as a purely quantitative approach; this is not necessarily the case and frequency analysis can be seen as a beginning point for more qualitative investigation (Baker, 2006). Frequency analysis in this project consisted of identifying the most common tokens that appeared within the compiled corpus. Following this, a list was generated containing both lexical and grammatical items. Grammatical items, for example determiners such as 'a' or 'the' were discarded, leaving lexical items which carry greater meaning left over. This is a basic analysis tool which can be considered a simple tallying exercise (McEneaney and Hardie, 2012), although while simple, can constitute a useful starting point which can illuminate interesting phenomena (Baker, 2006, p47).

To illustrate, terms with high frequencies may potentially reveal discursive patterns within the corpus or topicalization. If texts taken from a range of typical situations (Koester, 2010) all feature similar lexical words, for instance 'genocide', then it can be argued that genocide is one of the typical topics when reporting on the Rohingya. The fact that a genocide typically has both perpetrators and victims therefore sets the potential for a subject position, providing further questions to be asked by the researcher in terms of how the subject is presented, which can be answered with qualitative analysis. The undertaking of frequency analysis made it possible to take these resultant terms as a basis for further investigation and interrogation, therefore leading the researcher to be able to see their relationships with other tokens within the corpus, otherwise known as collocation analysis, before a final, more interpretive-qualitative stage of concordance analysis.

4.4.8 Collocation Analysis

Collocation refers to the relationships between vocabulary items which occur together, and can be explained in relation to the ideas of Sinclair (1987, p320), who in describing the idea of 'coselection' contends that 'the language user has available to him a large number of preconstructed or semi-preconstructed phrases that constitute single choices, even though they appear to be analysable into segments'. This can include simple collocations or longer phrases, but the key point is that the process of coselection is important in producing and interpreting discourse, as discourse producers employ coselection for multiple purposes, and listeners interpret such coselections and collocations in decoding what is being said (Partington, Duguid and Taylor, 2013). Collocations can also be seen as a way in which meanings are understood, and associations between different units of meaning are ascertained in a way that would not necessarily be visible through analysis of a single text (Baker, 2006). In this research project, it is possible to examine the collocations around the node word 'Rohingya', and then progress further into analysing the strengths of relationships and their significance, before interpreting the results at the macro-social level. Further analysis can be undertaken based on the collocates of the node 'Rohingya'. For example, one might expect the word 'refugee' to be a strong collocate – exploring related collocates of 'refugee' may also be illuminating in creating a bigger picture of the discourses at work.

Through collocation analysis, there is also the possibility of including statistical measures in identifying the associative strength of relationships. The most suitable method of measure is that of Log Dice, a quantitative measure which is similar to Mutual Information (MI), and integrated into the Sketch Engine user interface, thus allowing for simple access and interpretation. Log Dice was used in this research project as a method of calculating the places in which collocates occurred, and then predicting the likelihood of their co-occurrence, which was compared to the observed frequency in the corpus; this produces a number which when higher, suggests a stronger collocation (Baker, 2006). One example where this process (using MI) has been used successfully in a similar project is that of Baker, Gabrielatos and McEnery (2013) who, among other analyses, carried out a collocation analysis for the node 'Islam' and its associated forms,

suggesting that the strong relationship between 'Islam' and 'Terrorism' may reflect a particular discourse on Islam in the British Press.

The generation of initial search terms for collocation analysis was gained through provisional searches which took place in the pilot study. At this point the collocation span was also set. When looking at the range in which collocations can occur, it is possible to explore as many as ten words either side of the node, or as few as one word either side of the node. Both of these scenarios may not be optimal for answering the research question and generating useful information in characterising the discourses of the Rohingya people in UK news media. Based on similar studies, for example, that of Baker's (2006) collocational analysis of terms 'bachelor' and 'spinster', a collocation span of -3 to +3 was selected as most likely to include pertinent noun phrases and yield the best results; it is important to note that adjusting the span can affect research results, and so justifying the choice of span in identifying collocations is essential.

Collocation analysis was selected as a tool for investigating discourse as firstly, it can offer a focus for initial analysis, and secondly, as it provides the 'most salient and obvious lexical patterns surrounding a subject, from which a number of discourses can be obtained' (Baker, 2006, p114), and furthermore, if there are strong collocations between sets of words then it suggest that there are powerful discourses at work, which link two concepts in the minds of people and have been repetitively used, even creating a situation where when an individual hears one section of the collocation, they will think of the other (Baker, 2006, p114), in this way, collocates 'summarise the most significant relationships between words in a corpus' (Baker, 2006, p14), and this is similar to what Paltridge (2011) describes as expectancy relations, in which predictable relationships between verbs and nouns co-occur and link actions with participants.

4.4.9 Concordance Analysis

Thus far, two the methods to be used in generating an answer to the research question have been described: frequency analysis and collocation analysis. These broadly quantitative measures are judged to be effective in interpreting discourse, and in order to identify pertinent themes and strong collocates which could hint at traces of possible discursive patterns describing

the Rohingya. However, it is important to use multiple methods to ‘triangulate’ the findings. Baker and Egbert (2016) state that using multiple methods helps to validity-check hypotheses, anchor findings, and may lead to deeper interpretations and explanations. For this reason, the third step in this section of the research project will be that of concordance analysis.

Concordance analysis is one of the most effective techniques for carrying out close examination, which describes the list of occurrences of a search term in a corpus placed within the context in which they occur. In this case, the identification of concordances will be based primarily around the node ‘Rohingya’ and other associated terms which are judged to be relevant to the research questions during the course of the pilot study and main investigation. Concordance analysis is equally a more qualitative method in comparison to the more quantitative investigation of frequency and collocation, and so provides a counterbalance in terms of methods. Further to this, it is then possible to triangulate results and create a fuller picture of the traces of discourse present in the language surrounding the Rohingya in the British Press. As one of the more qualitative techniques available to CADS researchers, it is also important to note that it is the responsibility of the researcher to find patterns, and that patterns of language which may be found or overlooked can be subject to the biases and interests of the researcher (Baker, 2006), and this is one potential limitation of the methodology.

4.5 Analysis of Absence in Discourse

One limitation of textual analysis is that it often neglects what is not said in the text, and what is made visible is often the focus of research, rather than what is not visible. In any media or textual production, there will be elements which are foregrounded and elements which are left out, as ‘we cannot turn our attention to one aspect or phenomenon without turning our back on others’ (Herzog, 2019, p72). This is true for the Rohingya too, as ‘editorialists around the world have taken an easy approach to a complicated issue’ (Leider, 2014, p249). As part of the second aim of the research, a hypothesis of discursive absence on the role of discrimination, exclusion, and othering is tested. In investigating this, the researcher must ask which factors are given precedence and which are not.

Schroter and Taylor (2018) argue that in Critical Discourse Analysis (a form of discourse analysis based on hegemonic theory, as made popular by Fairclough), the phenomenon of absence has a long history of research, including through linguistic tactics such as the obfuscation of agency through the use of the passive as an example. On the other hand, analysing absence and silence on a broader stage at the social level is underrepresented in comparison. In adapting a principle from Critical Discourse Analysis, it can be said that ‘hegemonic discourse can be at its most powerful when it does not have to be invoked, because it is just taken for granted’ (Baker 2006, p19). This gives justification for examining the given assumptions that are present within texts, as opposed to their invisible or absent alternatives.

Analysing alternatives is one method of uncovering absence and silence in discourse – hypothesising oppositional or different constructions can be useful when a ‘thinkable alternative’ is available (Schroter and Taylor, 2018, p6). It is also worth noting that absences which are identified are not necessarily easily explainable; ‘most speakers’ choices are not made with a view to producing a certain order of discourse’ (Schroter and Taylor, 2018, p6). By this logic, it is possible that even if through the analysis of discourse we find certain patterns or discursive realities, there is not necessarily a driving intentionality behind the producers of such discourse, but rather the social reproduction of such patterns and ideologies is conceived through an ‘invisible hand process’ (Keller, 1994). This is considered absence in discourse. Silence, on the other hand, is considered as having intentionality in the concealment and omission of a subject or subjects. Both of these concepts consider a specific object, in this case ‘X’ and then the focus of removal of ‘X’ in the case of omission, whereas concealment refers to ‘hiding X from the start or putting forward something else instead’ (Schroter and Taylor, 2018, p7). In regards to Rohingya issues, investigations such as Lee (2014) have explored the role of Aung San Suu Kyi’s ‘silence’ when discussing the Rohingya, although few others have attempted to do so – perhaps this is the reason that Schroter and Taylor (2018) argue that research on such subjects is ‘eclectic’, as ‘there is no way in which we can linguistically investigate discourses that are absent’ (Blommaert 2005, p35) which complicates the creation and carrying out of such an investigation.

Von Munchow (2018) similarly says that identifying ‘meaningful absences’ in discourse presents a number of challenges, and again identifies that intentionality need not always be present in

such absence or silencing, claiming that the contribution to the 'order of discourse' in a Foucauldian sense need not be intentional. Von Munchow (2018) highlights several tools for looking for an observation protocol for absences, including searching for actors and actions, making premises in argumentations explicit, and identifying instabilities within a data set. These methods can be contrasted with another technique, frame analysis, in which certain elements of topics are highlighted or emphasised in comparison to others (Venkataraman, 2018). Frame analysis, although distinct, shares some similarities with thematic analysis, as what is or is not present in a frame may equally be expressed through the presence or absence of themes.

In terms of using CADS methods for investigating absence, it has been claimed that corpus tools and techniques are vital for finding out what was and was not said, and that this can be a more effective procedure than researcher-led interpretation alone (Partington, 2018, p21). This is demonstrated through Partington's (2018) search for absence on 'what did and did not get said' during the Arab Spring in several different media outlets. Partington highlights the advantages of corpus methods in researching absence, resulting from the marriage of comparative statistical techniques with researcher inferencing from data (achieved in this study through the combination of frequency, collocation, and concordance analysis), which is likely a more valid basis for interpretation than conjecture by itself (Partington, 2018, p121). Partington (2018) also proposes a practical model for exploring discursive absence from the corpus linguist's viewpoint, which is summarised below.

- i) 'known'—or suspected, or 'searchable'—'absence'. You already know which linguistic feature you are searching for and simply want to know whether or not it is in the corpus.
- (ii) 'unknown absence', an absence stumbled upon serendipitously in the course of piece of research.
- (iii) relative absence and absolute absence.
- (iv) absence from a sizeable corpus, which may raise questions about the representativeness of the corpus.
- (v) absence from a limited set of texts, including from a specific portion of a corpus.

(vi) absence from a position in a single text, including from a location in a phrase.

(vii) absence defined as 'hidden from open view', that is, hidden meaning.

(Partington, 2018, p96)

The approach to investigating absence in this current investigation can be considered that of i), in that it is a suspected, hypothesised absence which is to be investigated, and it is known to the researcher which features are being searched for and whether or not it is in the corpus. Partington (2018, p96) also highlights the need for deciding whether absences are likely relevant or salient, or meaningful absences; this means that if suspected, are worth searching for and if stumbled upon, are worthy of further investigation. In this case, searching for absence is premeditated and thus meaningful if found. The final consideration Partington (2018) highlights when investigating discursive absence through CADS methods is whether to explain the absence, including whether it is silenced, deliberately suppressed, or intentionality (2018 p96). In this research project, it is hypothesized that such absence will be present as it is the necessary result of the uncritical acceptance of exclusion, discrimination, and othering are part of the hegemonic discourse order which is both powerful and at its most powerful when 'just taken for granted' (Baker, 2006, p19). The identification of absence will take place through the comparison of hypothetical alternative structures and researcher interpretation and introspection. Duguid and Partington (2018, p42) argue that alternative sources can be used for comparison, including 'real world data' and 'internal or introspective enquiry, where we examine the data in the light of what may be our expectations'. The investigation of absence in the corpus will be based on this, using frequency, collocation, and concordance analysis to contrast what is present with what is not present, as well as introspective analysis of what could be, or is expected to be present but is not.

4.6 Summary of the Methods

The analysis described relates to the broader picture of how, as social critique, discourse analysis can allow human intervention in such processes to transform social change (Herzog, 2016). It is also here that it is important to mention that while the immanent social critique contained within

the social discourse analysis aims to hold society to the universal societal norm, that is, reducing unnecessary human suffering, the practice itself of suggestion directions for social change is not norm free, and is rather, as Herzog (2016) states, based on a minimum consensus of structuralists and critical theorists, in that such work needs to broaden rather than confine social possibilities. This said, social research needs to make a practical difference, again this is based on the normative position of broadening rather than restricting social possibilities, and so the results of research should be relayed to and shared with society, and accordingly, the final step in the methodology is to explain how suffering is socially produced and demonstrate how such suffering of disrespect which is realised can be met with indignation, which represents the seeds of social change (Herzog, 2016).

In closing this section, it is clear that the methodology and specific methods hold both advantages and limitations. Overall, such advantages outweigh the downsides of the tools presented for use. Immanent critique has been shown to be an effective method of pointing towards societal change, especially when formulated from a standpoint in which societal norms are measured against the norm of reducing unnecessary social suffering. It is the aim of this investigation to provide an immanent critique, while recognizing that should unexpected or unforeseeable results occur, they will be used to refine and reshape the hypothesised theory through abductive logic, rather than refute the findings entirely (Ruiz Ruiz 2009).

The use of a unique set of tools based on CADS methods is a strength, as it can be synergistic, combining both in-depth interpretive analysis with quantitative and generalised elements (Baker, Gabrielatos and Khosravini, 2008). Equally, the ability to investigate large amounts of decontextualized data in a specialised corpus ensures that a broad 'sketch' of discourse can be obtained, although this comes at the cost of losing the ability to analyse vantage points, ideologies, or views of specific authors and discourse producers (Baker, 2006). A further point to consider is one of time – although a window is set as a period of five years for the pilot study, this assumes that discourses uncovered will not have dramatically altered through such a period of time, and takes a synchronic, rather than diachronic view of the data. This is one limitation which must be balanced against the feasibilities of data collection and the creation of a

specialised corpus; diachronic studies are more suited to reference corpora due to their size and organised linear structure.

In readdressing the research questions and aim of the investigation, it is hoped that this methodology will firstly, lead to a clear understanding the discursive representation of the Rohingya people in UK online news media. In doing so, it is hypothesised that such discourses will reveal a necessary contradiction, that is, that while appealing to the universal norm of reducing social suffering (Herzog, 2016) through sympathetic framing, implicit, uncritical acceptance of current social norms like that of othering and exclusion which give rise to such social suffering will be present. In essence, the hypothesis is that the norms of reducing social suffering alluded to in British media discourses are irreconcilable with social systems that by their nature exclude.

CHAPTER FIVE – DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Initial Corpus Creation and Pilot Study

In order to determine a possible size of the proposed specialised corpus, as well as to undertake initial research into the effectiveness of data collection methods, a pilot study was undertaken as recommended by Baker (2006). Through this process, initial archives of three major online media brands (The BBC, Sky News, and The Guardian) were chosen through convenience sampling and investigated, searching for archived and current articles which were related to the subject of the research and appeared within a time span of five years, from 2015 to 2020. This was conducted using the search tools available on each of the websites' home pages and was undertaken with the node search term of 'Rohingya'. Results that contained 'Rohingya' in the main headline were selected. Five texts were sampled, cleaned, and processed for upload to Sketch Engine for an initial analysis, having been automatically tagged at the sentence and paragraph level by the software. From this brief pilot study, several lessons were learned which informed the following corpus creation. This included narrowing the timespan for article collection, using multiple searches and search terms, and expanding the number of articles collected.

Firstly, the timespan of 2015 – 2020 was shown to be too broad. Initial searches yielded many hundreds of articles, not all of them relevant. The reason for this was links to relevant articles embedded within unrelated articles, and thus it was clear that narrowing the search parameters would improve the quality of data collected. Use of a single search term on news websites' internal portals also led to the return of irrelevant results with embedded links to relevant articles, which took considerable time to sift through. In addition, major events as outlined in the initial sections of the research occurred in both 2017, and more recently in late 2019 and early 2020, resulting in a high density of articles clustered around these points in time, with articles prior to this more likely to be short and descriptive rather than longer-form and in-depth. For this reason, the timespan for the collection of corpus data was determined to be most effective as from the years 2017 to 2020.

The second area of development that the pilot study revealed is the importance of using multiple search terms. Although all the news media websites have search tools within their interface, the use of these tools and their algorithms may be different. Initial searches were undertaken with both capitalization and lower case, and some results were case sensitive whereas others were not. Further to this, there was a lack of chronological organisation in the appearance of articles, requiring the researcher to search through all results in order to find their chronological appearance. This led to the need to search for both capitalised and non-capitalized terms searches and sorting all search results by chronological order in locating information.

The pilot study also revealed that due to the important events related to the subject of the Rohingya people in both 2017 and again in late 2019 (due to the ICJ case brought to Myanmar by the Gambia), there was the possibility to collect more than five articles from each news media provider. This led to the establishment of a goal to collect ten articles for each publication, which is a manageable amount of data while providing sufficient detail focused on the subject, giving an adequate quantity for broad scale quantitative analysis and in-depth qualitative analysis. These articles were downloaded and stored in plain text files and then 'cleaned', engaged with, read and re-read, to help generate a 'feeling' for the data while processing and constituting an initial corpus (Baker, 2006). Cleaning the data involved manually removing advertisement data, backlinks, and other irrelevant information which appeared on the same page. After this was completed, the data were uploaded to create a pilot corpus in Sketch Engine.

At this point, it was possible to further familiarise with the interface of Sketch Engine. Although planning for analysis of Frequency, Collocation, and Concordances, it became clear that Sketch Engine's advanced interface could also distinguish between parts-of-speech, tokens, and produce visual representations of meaningful discursive and linguistic relationships. From this, in terms of collocation, it became clear that more advanced analysis than simple word collocations was possible, and research could be conducted looking at noun modifiers and modification of nouns, verb modifiers and modification of verbs, and conjunctions and multiple-word phrases. Several searches were carried out, initially to generate a list of words which were most frequent in the

corpus. It was noted that both grammatical and lexical words appeared in frequency lists and thus this distinction needs to be addressed when investigating corpus frequency. Other searches were then conducted including using terms which appeared in the corpus such as 'Rohingya' and 'Genocide', and those which did not, such as 'Justice' and 'Rights'. This small-scale and informal pilot study therefore greatly informed the constitution of a larger corpus.

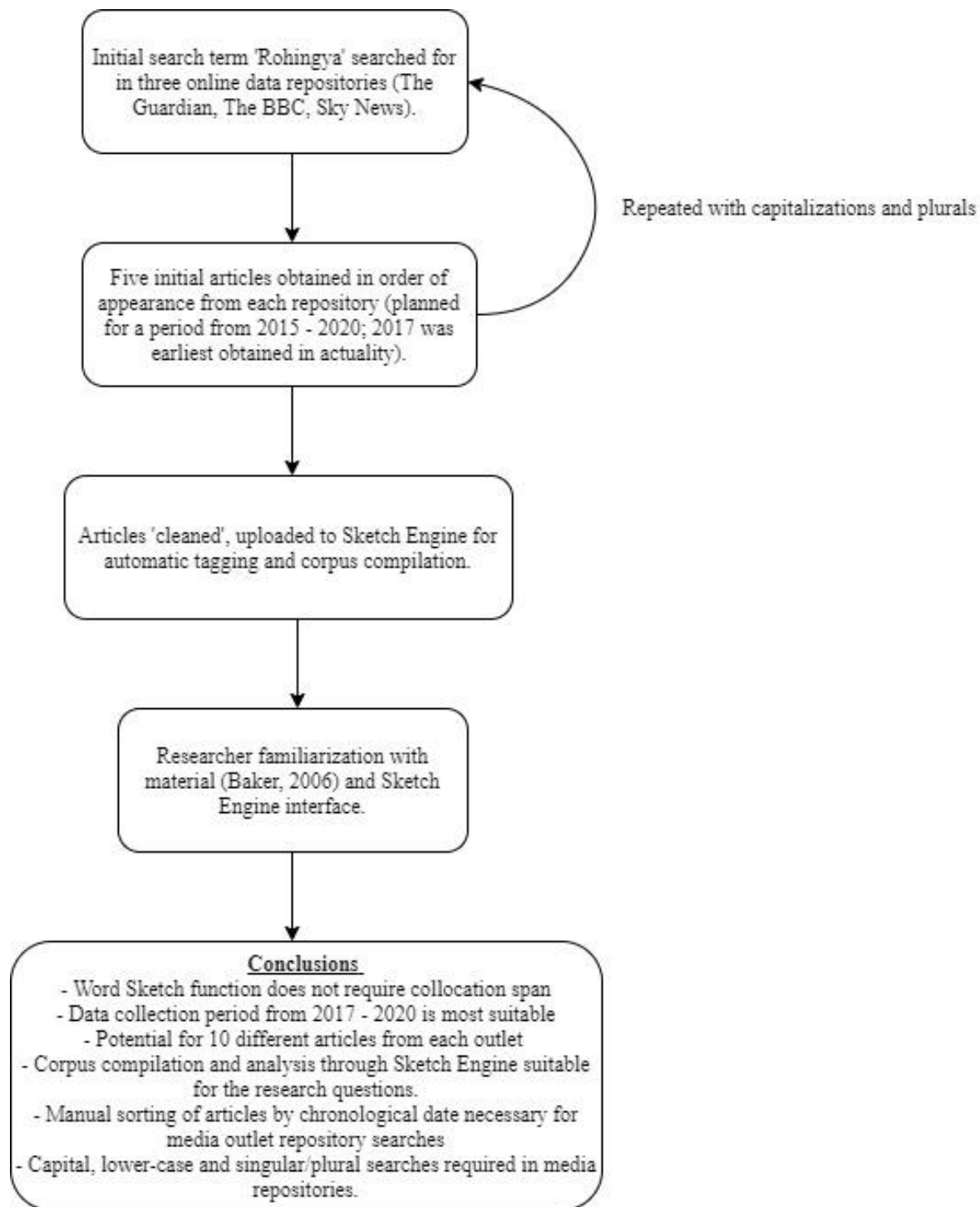


Figure 3 - Pilot Study Process

5.2 Data Collection and Corpus Compilation

Following the Pilot Study, it became clear that it was necessary to investigate which news brands to collect data from. Determining the popularity of news brands and their readership was established as the best method of choosing data which was representative of British news media discourse, and public discourse as a whole. Gathering representative data is essential in creating a small, specialised corpus (Koester, 2010), and so a sample which draws from a cross-section of the most commonly read and consumed online media was selected as the most effective method of doing so, thus giving a representative cross-section of the online and offline media that constitutes the public arena. It is also important to consider that when generalising results at the social discourse level, readers are not passive, and meaning can be produced through interaction between a text and the reader of the text (McIlvenny, 1996). As a result, it is possible to argue that texts which have a larger readership contribute on a broader scale to the larger discourse order, or what Gusfield terms the 'conceptual orderliness of the public arena' (Gusfield, 1986).

Readership data was initially collected from two major sources, including The Publishers Audience Measurement Company (PAMCo), and the Office of Communications (Ofcom). PAMCo is the body responsible for measuring audience engagement for published media in the United Kingdom and is funded by a number of societies and associations which are stakeholders in the industry, including the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising, the News Media Association, and the Professional Publishers Association, as well as representation from The Incorporated Society of British Advertisers (ISBA) (PAMCo, 2020). Ofcom meanwhile, is the UK's telecommunications regulations body (Ofcom, 2019). These two sources provide accurate, realistic and reliable information on audience numbers, although their separate methodologies do make comparisons between datasets complicated.

Examining data from Ofcom (2019) shows the importance of online news media in contributing to public discourse and visibility in the public sphere, establishing that accessing news via the internet is the second most common method of engagement with news media after television, and that these methods are growing in popularity whereas traditional printed media are in decline. From Ofcom's (2019) report, it was possible to establish that BBC News is the most

popular and widely used online news media outlet with the largest readership. A list of 9 other outlets was then collected and cross-referenced with PAMCo (2020) data to arrive at a list of the 15 news media publications with the largest brand reach and readership in the United Kingdom.

One challenge identified was that data released by PAMCo refers to monthly brand reach of the publication over many formats, rather than access to online news media specifically, although this data is specific to the United Kingdom. On the other hand, BBC and Sky News were not featured in PAMCo's report on news brands, and so alternative readership figures had to be sought out from the news brands themselves; these figures are in some cases, such as the BBC, also not explicitly linked to viewership or readership in the United Kingdom. While it is not possible therefore to draw direct comparisons, it is likely that in terms of popularity, combining data from these two sources is the most reliable and robust way of establishing those media outlets which produce the greatest amount of material which constitutes 'the conceptual orderliness of the public arena' (Gusfield, 1986), even if specific figures for access breakdowns are unavailable.

In terms of analysing the readership and reach of the data collected, BBC News (2019) highlight that their audience engagement comprises a global figure of 347 million readers per week internationally. This is unsurprising given the BBC's role as a global news provider present in many places around the world, and not a domestic provider of news only. Sky News on the other hand, self-report a readership and viewership of 8 million per month inside the United Kingdom, as a domestic provider of news media. While these data show that both organisations are likely highly popular and important to public news discourse in the UK, there is no offered methodology which discusses how these figures are arrived at, and this is a limitation when taking into consideration the clear methodology that PAMCo offers.

To illustrate, PAMCo's (2019) data is based on a 'total brand reach' figure or TBR, which is a measure of all related content for the publisher brands and includes brands and related sub-brands, as well as both in-print and online access through apps, desktop, and phones, based on a proprietary methodology. PAMCo's (2019) data shows that the news brand with the largest

monthly reach is the Sun, reaching almost 34 million individuals, with smaller outlets such as 'I' having a monthly brand reach of close to 7.4 million. After inspecting the data from Ofcom and subsequently PAMCo, Sky News, and the BBC, these readership and audience engagement figures were tabulated and ranked from high to low. One limitation of this method is that it is not comparing exact like-for-like, due to the unavailability of data. This said, it provides as robust a method of organising and ranking the data sources as possible given these external constraints.

As established from the Pilot Study a target of ten articles on the subject of the Rohingya was selected. The criteria for inclusion as an article in the corpus was to be found using the search term 'Rohingya', with the Rohingya and associated crises forming the main body or topic of the text. Ten articles were targeted from each of the top fifteen news brands in the United Kingdom, based again on the figures from PAMCo and Ofcom, and in order to develop a small, specialised but highly robust and representative corpus. The news brands chosen included BBC News, Sky News, The Sun, The Mirror, The Mail, The Metro, The Guardian, The Independent, The Express, The Telegraph, The Evening Standard, The Times, The Daily Star, The Daily Record, and The I. For each of these, the target of ten articles was achieved except for The Daily Star, which did not provide enough coverage to meet this quota. To ensure relevance and up-to-date data, articles were collected in reverse-chronological order from 2020 backwards until a full quota of ten articles were collected or no further articles were available. As a result of the pilot study, it became clear that there was a general tendency for there to be more relevant results closer to the present day (i.e. 2020 and 2019), and so in order to generate relevant results for a synchronic study such as this one, reverse chronological order was determined to be the most effective method of collecting data. Data collection took place over 2020, and then processed and detailed in 2021.

On completion of data collection, it became clear that the suspected pattern that emerged from the pilot study, that of a greater number of articles in 2019 and 2020, was accurate. Of the 142 articles which were collected for corpus compilation, 24 articles were collected in 2017, 30 were collected in 2018, 59 were collected in 2019, and 29 were collected in the period to September 2020. It is likely that the pattern of availability of articles coincided with major events which were considered 'newsworthy' such as the ICC court case or mass-migration movements, 'clearance

operations' or significant rises in violence and tensions. A point of interest that emerged as a possibility for future study from this is that of investigating the general trends over a longer period of time in the appearance of such articles.

Given the overall pattern exhibited, it appears likely therefore that there is a small linear increase in the production of online news in the British media on the subject of the Rohingya over time. From 2017 to 2018 represents a 25% increase in article availability, while from 2018 to 2019 represents an almost 100% increase. Data collection ceased in mid-2020, suggesting that again an increase over 2019 is likely towards the end of the year. There are several feasible explanations for this, including greater visibility of Rohingya issues, a knock-on effect from the ICC's high-profile case, or other events of 'newsworthiness'. The dispersion of articles collected for compilation of the corpus is demonstrated in the chart below.

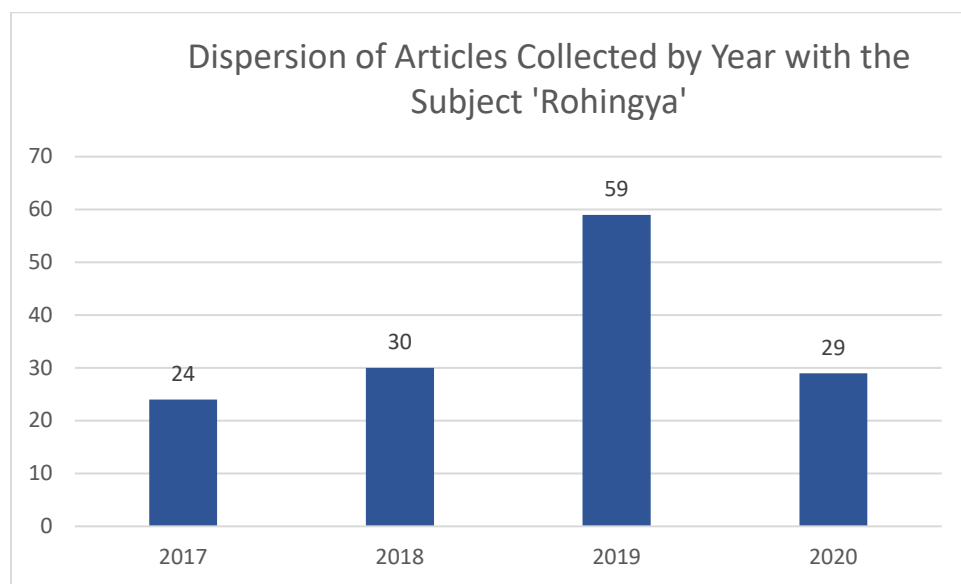


Figure 4 - Chronological Dispersion of Articles Collected.

Each article retrieved was stored temporarily in a plain text file in a centralised database. Following this, articles were manually examined, and data was 'cleaned'. In this case, data-cleaning involved removing embedded hyperlinks to related articles, advertisements, and other non-relevant text typical of an online news media website. These articles were then reformatted and labelled before being uploaded as a batch to Sketch Engine, where the automatic corpus compilation process was initiated and tagging of sentences and paragraphs was automatically

performed. On completion of the compilation of the corpus, a total size of 93,218 words of data was ascertained. While this is small in comparison to some larger reference corpora, which may number in the millions or even billions of words, it is highly specialised and suitable, meaning the sheer size of the text is less important (Koester, 2010). For a small, highly specialised set of data, this corpus holds several unique advantages. Firstly, it contains a broad representation of all the major online media brands within the United Kingdom which publish in the English language, as well as UK-based organisations with worldwide readership. Secondly, there is generally a good range of balance in the corpus. Although the smallest text file comprises only 580 words, and the largest 10,734 words, aside from these two outliers the amount of data collected from each source does not vary greatly. For this reason, while the range is 10,001 words, the mean dataset for each news outlet is 6,215 words, while the median is 6,014 words.

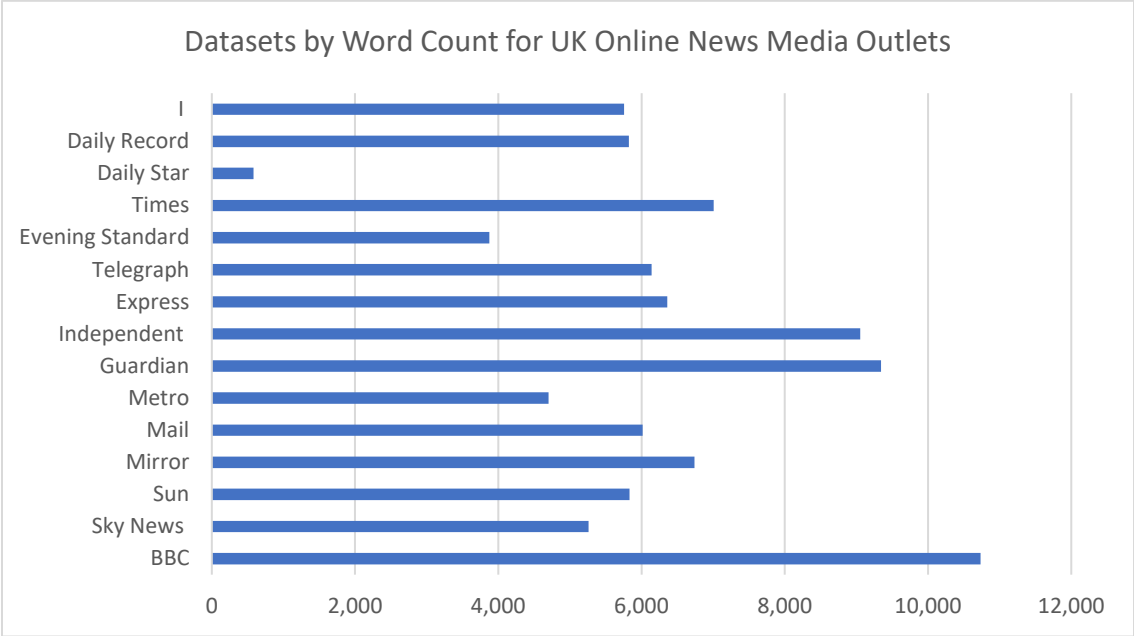


Figure 5 - Datasets by Word Count for UK Online News Media Outlets.

Despite this relatively minor amount of variation (with the exception of the BBC and the Daily Star) there remain some significant differences in the availability of articles with the subject of the Rohingya in British online news media. As visible in the above, The Independent and The Guardian had an overall larger word count across 10 articles in comparison to those with the

lowest, The Evening Standard and The Metro (excluding The Daily Star). Nearly all of the media outlets had at least 4,000 words of articles dedicated to the Rohingya in the period from 2017 – 2020 when data collection took place, while only three had in excess of 8,000 (The BBC, The Guardian, and The Independent).

When understanding why these variations occur, it could be speculated as a result of a generally shorter form genre of articles, reflecting the nature of reporting on events that they follow, or could hint at the importance and weighting to which they give discussing international and humanitarian issues as opposed to domestic or other topics. Readership or popularity, from this dataset, appears to be a poor predictor of article length, given that those with some of the highest readership (The Sun and the Metro) equally had some of the shortest length of articles. It is unsurprising that the BBC, as an international news outlet and the UK's foremost domestic and international news agency, had the longest articles and contributed the largest amount to the corpus. It is likely that this is a reflection of the nature of BBC reporting and the provision of in-depth articles which provide background and context to international events worldwide. In regard to The Daily Star, only two articles were ascertainable which featured the term 'Rohingya' in their subject line, meaning a small amount of data was collected. Figure 7 summarises the process of data collection and corpus compilation as described above, while Table 2 provides a detailed breakdown of the data collected.

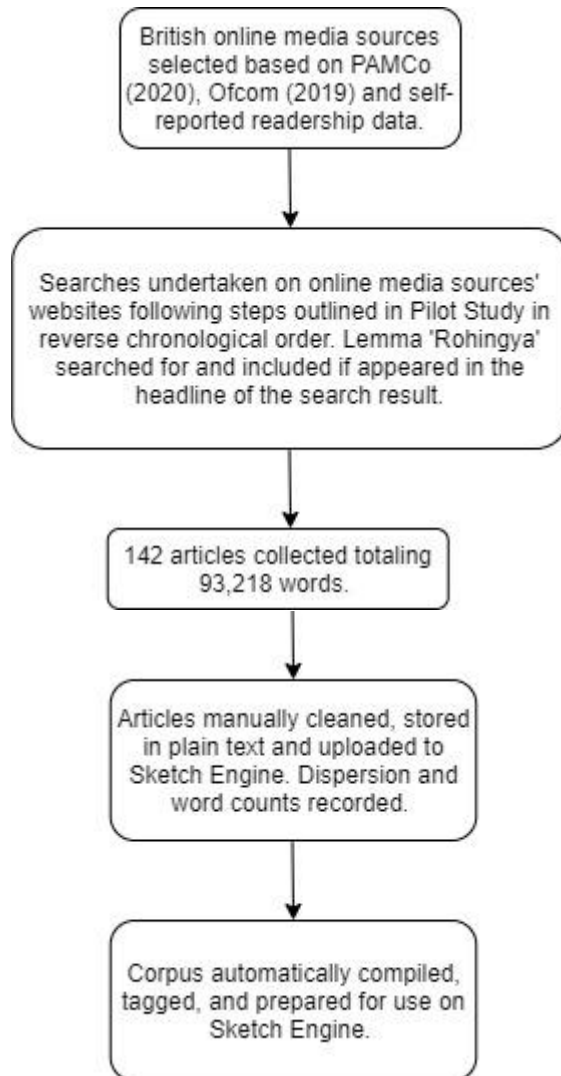


Figure 6 - Data Collection and Corpus Compilation Process.

Newsbrand (inc. Sunday titles)	Self-Reported Readership	Articles identified and collected	Words
BBC News	347 million / weekly (BBC, 2019)	10	10,734
Sky News	8 million / month (Sky Media, 2019)	10	5,260
	Monthly brand reach (millions) (PAMCo, 2019)		
Sun	33,918	10	5,830
Mirror	27,760	10	6,741
Mail	26,530	10	6,014
Metro	25,188	10	4,701
Guardian	24,042	10	9,344
Independent	21,903	10	9,055
Express	21,689	10	6,361
Telegraph	20,873	10	6,141
Evening Standard	14,962	10	3,876
Times	9,197	10	7,005
Daily Star	6,864	2	580
Daily Record	5,857	10	5,821
I	7,348	10	5,755
Total		142	93,218

Table 2 - News brands, readership, articles collected and total word count

5.3 Frequency Analysis

After creating the corpus and undertaking a brief pilot study, the initial step in the discourse study was to investigate frequency throughout the corpus. Examining frequency is a basic tool and has been called simple (McEnery and Hardie, 2012), but it has equally been identified as a useful starting point (Baker, 2006, p47) and can produce initial areas from which to begin investigation. An initial search was undertaken for all tokens in the corpus and their frequencies.

A list was generated and grammatical words or 'stop words' were discarded, while lexical words were included. This procedure is based on the recognition of a 'wide consensus' that the lexicon consists of both symbolic items (lexical words) and grammar which consists of items, procedures, rules, and templates for combining units (Boye and Bastiaanse, 2020). This is to say, grammatical words which do not convey semantic meaning were not included in the analysis, despite being the most frequent in the corpus. At this basic level, it is possible to see what words are most common in the corpus, and to what types of discourses these may typify or demonstrate traces of. One method of working with frequencies considered is to compare a specialised corpus or specific corpus to a reference corpus (Baker, 2006). However, given the highly specialised nature of this corpus, this is unlikely to yield results as predictably, the frequency of certain tokens will be significantly higher than reference corpora. On removing stop words, fifty lexical words which appeared most frequently in the corpus were generated, with both their raw frequencies and percentage of the corpus as a whole. The process and results are depicted in the below tables and images.

Word	↓ Frequency ?	Word	↓ Frequency ?	Word	↓ Frequency ?
1 the	5,506 ...	14 by	571 ...	27 from	417 ...
2 to	2,753 ...	15 said	560 ...	28 been	414 ...
3 of	2,627 ...	16 was	556 ...	29 she	404 ...
4 and	2,287 ...	17 it	554 ...	30 hyperlink	394 ...
5 in	2,102 ...	18 as	550 ...	31 bangladesh	386 ...
6 a	1,713 ...	19 has	537 ...	32 be	370 ...
7 rohingya	1,092 ...	20 they	525 ...	33 at	360 ...
8 for	837 ...	21 are	513 ...	34 but	356 ...
9 myanmar	799 ...	22 with	484 ...	35 people	355 ...
10 that	690 ...	23 their	468 ...	36 he	354 ...
11 on	678 ...	24 her	461 ...	37 who	350 ...
12 is	645 ...	25 i	427 ...	38 we	348 ...
13 have	645 ...	26 were	424 ...	39 not	335 ...

Rows per page: 1-50 of 2,083

Figure 7 - The Frequency Results Interface in Sketch Engine (2020) Prior to Removal of Grammatical Words

Number of terms	Token	Raw Frequency	Percentage of Corpus
1	Rohingya	1,092	1.2%
2	Myanmar	799	0.9%
3	Bangladesh	386	0.4%
4	People	355	0.4%
5	Military	305	0.3%
6	Refugees	277	0.3%
7	Suu	270	0.3%
8	International	255	0.3%
b	Genocide	255	0.3%
10	Kyi	234	0.3%
11	Rights	218	0.2%
12	Rakhine	213	0.2%
13	Court	210	0.2%
14	Government	206	0.2%
15	State	205	0.2%
16	Children	202	0.2%
17	Aung	200	0.2%
18	Un	196	0.2%
19	Myanmar's	188	0.2%
20	Country	175	0.2%
21	San	172	0.2%
22	Human	171	0.2%
23	Refugee	162	0.2%
24	Violence	153	0.2%
25	Ethnic	151	0.2%
26	Camps	150	0.2%

27	Flee / Fled	139	0.2%
28	Muslims	125	0.1%
29	Justice	122	0.1%
30	World	121	0.1%
31	Many	121	0.1%
32	Crisis	120	0.1%
33	Muslim	114	0.1%
34	Women	110	0.1%
35	Years	110	0.1%
36	Camp	110	0.1%
37	Community	107	0.1%
38	Security	107	0.1%
39	Crimes	100	0.1%
40	Army	99	0.1%
41	Return	95	0.1%
42	Thousands	94	0.1%
43	Case	91	0.1%
44	Villages	91	0.1%
45	Leader	90	0.1%
46	Just	90	0.1%
47	Home	88	0.1%
48	Rape	87	0.1%
49	Cleansing	87	0.1%
50	Burma	86	0.1%

Table 3 - Frequency Analysis of Lexical Words, Raw Frequency and Percentage of the Corpus

Following an initial search, inspection and categorization of frequent lexical items, it was necessary to determine a range of terms for further inspection in the form of more fine-grained corpus techniques (Baker and Gabrielatos, 2008), in this case collocation analysis. This mixture of methods allows is used to triangulate the findings, or in other words, 'neutralise the flaws of one method and strengthen the benefits of the other' to give better research results (Hussein, 2009, p1). Collocation analysis, or the tendency for words to co-occur (Paltridge, 2011) can enable the creation of discourses, through preconstructed or semi-preconstructed phrases (Sinclair, 1991) which can exploit a topos 'without the need for any explicit argumentation' and therefore can suggest unconscious associations which are ways that discourse can be maintained (Baker and Gabrielatos, 2008, p22).

At this point terms which were considered most likely to be revealing in answering the first research question were selected through a brief exploratory study. Those terms finally chosen for further inspection had to fulfil criteria and were those deemed to be most important to answering the research questions of the study, and most likely to be revealing of underlying discourses which could refute or support the hypothesis as part of an attempt to develop an immanent social critique. In this brief exploratory study, all 50 terms were inspected in the corpus for all of their occurrences, meaning each occurrence was manually examined by the researcher. Following this, a decision was made to select 15 of the 50 identified tokens. 15 was set as a cutoff point for data saturation to occur, and other tokens were then discarded. In the findings, some terms which initially seemed that they would reveal important dimensions of discourse, such as 'rape', or gendered terms such as 'women', on closer inspection, appeared mainly as repeated headlines or repetition of the same quote across multiple media outlets. This meant that while they had a seemingly high frequency, little of the data was original or provided deep insight into discourses that would help in answering the research questions. Other terms, such as 'children' referred to the repetition of specific agencies or documents, such as the UN Rights of the Child, as Sketch Engine produces results for all lemmas (Child, Children). As a result of this, the decision was made to include terms which met the criteria of i) having an ample amount of original data to analyse which was not repeated in the form of direct quotes throughout many occurrences, or the result of the repeated use of a proper noun and ii) could be seen as part of a broader

category which represented an overarching theme of discourse, and was materially related to the research questions and to other terms in the corpus. The results of this exploratory study are presented below, along with the categorization of the term based on shared patterns which fulfilled criteria ii). These categories were formed through inductive reasoning, based on recurring themes and patterns which naturally emerged from the data throughout the frequency analysis and subsequent exploratory analysis. These were firstly, that of 'actors', meaning individual or collective actors appearing in the subject position and exercising agency, 'provenance' taken to mean a place or location of origin, 'plight' taken to mean suffering or negatively connoted terms that imply suffering, and 'justice' which relates to ethical concepts and right versus wrong. These categories provided a broad overview of some of the key discursive themes that emerge from the data compiled in the corpus.

Token	Frequency	Percentage of Corpus	Category
Rohingya	1,092	1.2%	Actors
Myanmar	987	1.1%	Provenance
Refugees	439	0.5%	Plight
International	255	0.3%	Provenance
Genocide	255	0.3%	Plight
Rights	218	0.2%	Justice
Government	206	0.2%	Actors
State	205	0.2%	Actors
Human	171	0.2%	Actors
Violence	153	0.2%	Plight
Flee	139	0.2%	Plight
Just/Justice	90	0.1%	Justice
Crisis	120	0.1%	Plight
Crime	100	0.1%	Plight
Cleansing	87	0.1%	Plight

Table 4 -Terms Selected for Collocation and Concordance Analysis Based on Exploratory Study

Aside from fulfilling criteria i) and ii), further justification of the choices made is presented below. 'Rohingya' was the most frequently occurring term and provided the richest and most extensive source of data. 'Myanmar' also represents one of the two most central terms for a study into the discursive representation of the Rohingya in British media. This is a complex term to include as it has several meanings, which refers to Myanmar as not only a geographical area but also as a metonymical term for the state of Myanmar. This term was therefore included as it is likely used in both a noun and adjectival form, likely to occur with many different terms that could give meaningful traces of discursive representation. 'Refugees' was included primarily as a term which indicates plight (i.e. seeking refuge) and so is likely to offer collocational patterns which could help to confirm or refute the second hypothesis of the investigation.

'International' was selected as primarily an adjective which is likely to appeal to global decision making, opinion, or information. It is also likely that 'international' may co-occur with telling other terms such as 'rights' thus hinting at universal conceptions of the Rohingya crises or characterising the current issues as globally relevant or important. This is an area which provides rich ground for further investigation, and the same logic can be applied to terms such as 'rights' and 'justice' which are likely to appeal to universals or common cultural conceptions of normative claims. In addition to this, terms which are grouped under the heading of 'plight' are also of importance. In confirming or denying the possibility of an immanent critique, it is necessary to investigate whether expressions of plight are common or not, and if they occur in the presence or absence of critique of social circumstances which give rise to the cause for such plight (i.e. suffering). For this reason, these terms were deemed as being central to the investigation.

Although the idea of 'rights' and 'justice' is a complex philosophical argument, in this case it may be closely linked to the idea of universal human rights and specifically the UNDHR, which appears in many of the publications discussed in the first section. Specifically, as some authors have argued that the Rohingya crises are tantamount to violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child and international norms prohibiting discrimination of racial and religious minorities (Al Imran and Mian, 2014, p236). This ideology is also linked to Habermas' claim that for legally enforceable human rights, a universal basis must

be established (Habermas, 2001, xi). It is considered likely in selecting these terms that notions of justice and rights will correspond to those of universal human rights and commonly held norms of universal justice. This will then offer evidence for an immanent critique, as if such terms do express plight, lamentation, and a wish for the reduction in unnecessary social suffering (as unfulfilled normative claims) for the Rohingya, this may be in contradiction with absence of discourse on social conditions which give rise to such phenomena.

As this study aims to identify whether there is a contradiction between recognition of suffering, the wish for reduction of suffering, and the absence of critique or recognition (and thus implicit acceptance) of systems which give rise to such suffering, it is important to focus on the perceived actors in such crises (government, state, refugees) as well as the actions taking place to understand the discursive representations and social commentaries on these events (crimes, genocide, cleansing, violence, fleeing). Following this reasoning, in developing tools for a collocation analysis, which will then give way to a closer concordance analysis, the list of initial frequencies was reduced from 50 to 15, based on the likelihood of such terms either confirming or denying the hypothesis for an immanent social critique of discursive representation of the Rohingya people and an absence of critique of nationality at the level of social totality. The following section will describe the collocation analysis in more detail.

5.4 Collocation Analysis

The collocation analysis was undertaken through first generating a 'Word Sketch' through the use of Sketch Engine, a fourth-generation web-based corpus analysis application (Sketch Engine, 2020). Word sketches are different from a traditional collocational analysis that might be found in earlier corpus software. Fundamentally, the word sketch 'processes the word's collocates and other words in its surroundings' (Sketch Engine, 2020) to produce a generalised summary of grammatical and collocational spaces in which the word appears, which are then stratified into different components, including as verb object, a verb subject, a modifier, or a modified noun as defined by the engine's 'sketch grammar'.

Sketch Engine states that in order for a word sketch to be effective, then a minimum of 'a few hundred occurrences' is required to develop a comprehensive and usable picture of collocates, while a range closer to thousands will produce stronger and richer data, although it is also important to note that the size of the corpus itself does not affect the richness of the data, the frequencies do (Sketch Engine, 2020). For this reason, it is likely that some word sketches produced through the collocation analysis will be more robust and reliable than others, although all terms with the exception of 'cleansing' (87) are over 100 in raw frequency, with the mean of the 15 terms being 301 with a standard deviation of $\sigma = 220$. For this reason, the small, specialised corpus on the Rohingya in British online media meets the minimum requirements to produce data for analysis in Sketch Engine.

Given however, that some of the tokens chosen for analysis had fewer frequencies in the corpus, this led to a situation where at times the limited data collected was not of interest or was of such low occurrence that it was not possible to draw any meaningful interpretation from the patterns of collocation found. As an example, while many collocates which were potentially revealing of important discourses were found with the token 'human' with a frequency of 171, several other results were not of interest. These tended to be grammatical words which were not revealing of larger discursive patterns. An example of that data which was discarded is given below.

be	<u>1</u>	6.41
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Table 5 - Example of discarded data

This example of discarded data is that of verbs which collocate with ‘human’ in the corpus. In this case, there is a frequency of 1, meaning that there is 1 occurrence in the corpus of these words collocating. There is little possible relationship to be interpreted here, and for this reason this case and other cases were discarded. This led to the creation of a list which recorded the different collocation forms for each token (i.e. the term being inspected), including whether the word sketch included verbs with token as object, verbs with token as subject, modifiers of the token, nouns modified by the token, or the token with ‘and/or’.

5.4.1 Collocation Forms

The below table lists the grammatical forms and positions of the token in creating the Word Sketch in Sketch Engine (2020). This includes the categories ‘verbs with token as object or object of token’, ‘verbs with token as subject or subject of token’, ‘modifiers of token’, ‘nouns modified by token’, and ‘and/or’ which as a coordinating conjunctions links two collocates together. Below is an image of the Word Sketch function using the Advanced settings, set to automatically locate part-of-speech with no minimum score.

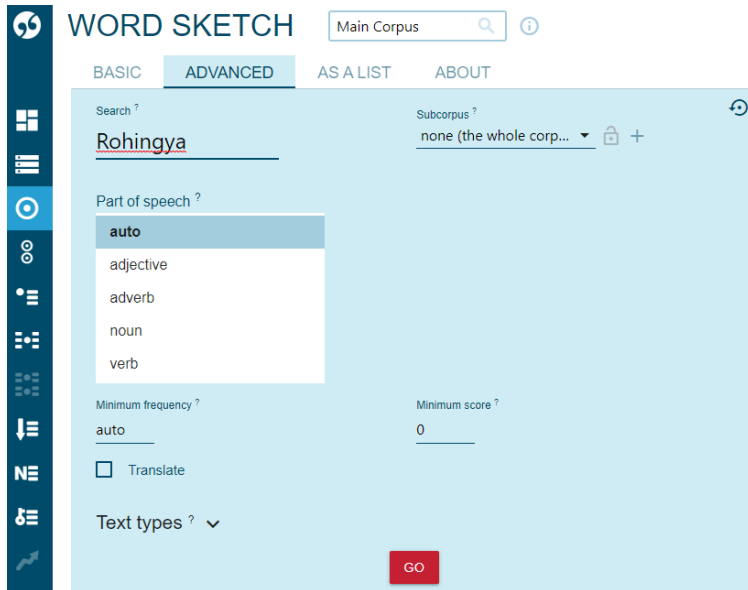


Figure 8 -The Word Sketch interface in Sketch Engine (2020)

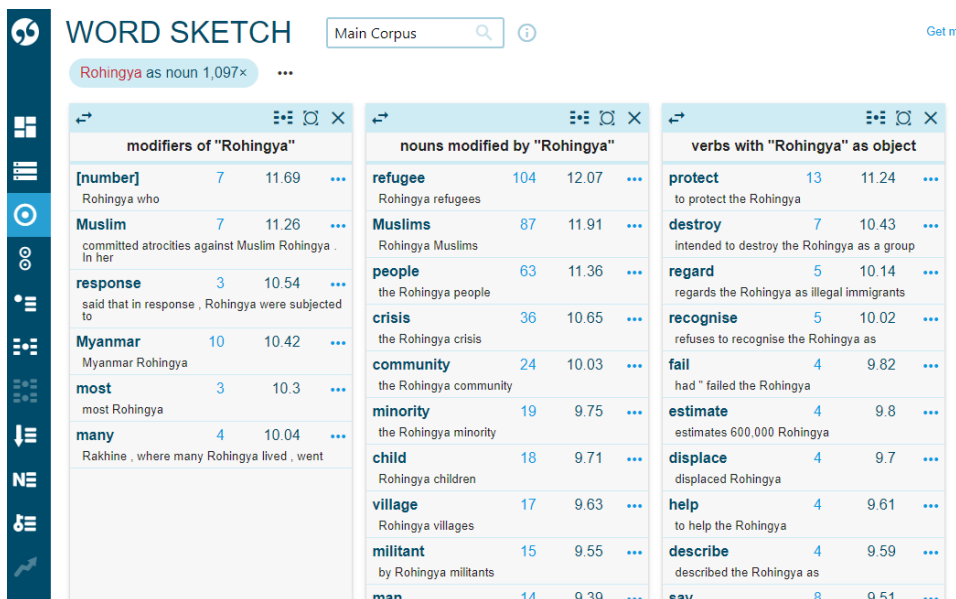


Figure 9 - Results Interface of the Word Sketch Function in Sketch Engine (2020)

The search often returned results for some categories and not others. In many cases, all of the categories are well represented by each of the selected tokens with the exception of 'And/Or' as with each token, relatively few cases were returned, and those which were returned were often not suggestive of any noteworthy discursive relationship or representation. Four cases of tokens which did return sufficient data to include this category are 'Rights', 'State', 'Human' and 'Violence', suggesting that these terms were often used with the coordinating conjunctions

'and/or' and another term. For the majority of cases, all other categories returned sufficient data for analysis, which is demonstrated in the table on the following page.

Token	Verbs with token as object or object of token result returned?	Verbs with token as subject or subject of token result returned?	Modifiers of token result returned?	Nouns modified by Token result returned?	And/Or result returned?
Rohingya	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Myanmar	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
International	No	No	No	Yes	No
Refugees	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Genocide	No	No	Yes	No	No
Rights	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Government	No	No	Yes	Yes	No
State	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Human	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Violence	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Flee	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
Justice	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Crisis	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Crime	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Cleansing	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Total	11	12	12	12	4
	Yes 4 No	Yes 3 No	Yes 3 No	Yes 3 No	Yes 11 No

Table 6 - Categories of word classes and functions found in the collocation analysis

In total, for the category of ‘verbs with token as object or object of token’ 11 of the 15 search terms returned results, while 4 terms returned no collocates for the Word Sketch in this category.

The following category, 'Verbs with token as subject or subject of token' 12 search terms returned results while 3 did not. For the remaining categories, 'Modifiers of token' and 'Nouns modified by token' returned results for 12 categories, while 3 did not. The final category only returned Word Sketch results for 4 of the terms, with 11 terms not delivering results.

5.4.2 Statistics for Collocational Measures (Log Dice)

Finding collocations has been described as one of the most important and widely used features of corpus linguistics tools (Rychlý, 2008) and a range of statistical measures exist for doing so. Although statistical analysis and interpretation is only one part of the research at hand, it is potentially revealing in answering the first research question by demonstrating discursive patterns within the corpus.

The most widely used association measures including the T-Score, MI-score, and Mi3-Score. A mutual information (MI) score asks 'how strongly are words attracted to each other?' (Evert, 2009, p1228) by assigning a numerical score to pairs of words, thus indicating the strength of the relationship between the two terms (Baker, 2014). In other words, the MI score demonstrates observed frequency of co-occurrence against a normal expectation, giving the strength of association based on the number of times the pair are observed together versus the number of times they appear separately (Collins, 2018).

Research by Hunston (2010) suggests that anything above a MI score of 3 can be considered a collocation, while enquiries undertaken by Durrant and Doherty (2010) give evidence that for 'mental priming' to take place an MI score of 6 is required, priming being 'where we are triggered to think of one word where we encounter another' (Baker, 2014, p136). In understanding and analysing the formation and creation of discourse and discursive constellations, lexical priming cannot be underestimated, as it may contribute to the creation and sustaining of representations. Mental priming develops unconscious associative relationships which contribute to the formation of discursive patterns and representations.

There are limitations however to the Mutual Information score. Although it is effective in demonstrating relationships through strength of association, it does not produce effective and reliable results when used with terms that occur in low frequencies, and thus may not be suitable for smaller specialised corpora as in the present study (Collins, 2008). For this reason, a different option was selected. This option is Log Dice, a statistical measure which is based on the dice score which was shown to give good results but gives values of very small numbers (Rychly, 2008). Log Dice has a number of features which make it an attractive statistical measure of collocation, including that the score does not depend on the total size of the corpus, meaning that it has a 'reasonable interpretation, scales well on different corpus sizes, is stable on subcorpora, and values are in a reasonable range' (Rychly, 2008, p9).

Log Dice is similar to MI in terms of interpretation and is based on 'taking the harmonic mean of two different proportions that express the tendency of two words to co-occur relative to the frequency of these words in the corpus' (Gablasova, Brezina, and McEney, 2017) and has a maximum value of 14, indicating a very strong association. Gablasova, Brezina, and McEney (2017) highlight terms with a Log Dice of over 13 as including 'femme fatale', 'zig zag' and 'coca cola'. While there is no significant research determining at what stage lexical priming can be considered to take place when looking at the numerical score of Log Dice, it can be asserted that a score closer to the maximum (14) is more likely to contribute to lexical priming than a weaker score. Empirical research which investigates the possible threshold of Log Dice scores in triggering or contributing to priming are then highlighted as an important area for future study.

On completing Word Sketches for each term selected, a visualisation was created using the in-built functionality of the Sketch Engine tool. Visualisations are important in corpus-based studies due to the complexity of researching a large number of texts, making visual tools a 'crucial step' in making sense of the data (Anthony, 2018). The Word Sketch visualisation is produced automatically by Sketch Engine, making it a suitable choice for visually representing the data and allowing for a broader understanding of the patterns that are emerging from the analysis. Following this section of collocation analysis, concordance analysis then proceeds as the final step in the method.

5.5 Concordance Analysis

A concordance is a list of the occurrences of a term being searched for, presented in the space that they appear (Baker, 2006). Concordances are often presented as a Key Word in Context (KWIC), in which the node word or token is presented in the centre of its context of words or characters (Tribble, 2010), and the concordance can be thought of as a text by itself, which can be used to analyse word forms (Sinclair, 1991) and can as a result serve as language which may represent traces of discourse (Baker, 2006). Concordance analysis is then the process of obtaining these texts from within the corpus for the purpose of processing and interpretation. As seen through the collocation analysis above, while general data patterns and relationships may be discernible, the decontextualized nature of the language makes it difficult to draw reliable conclusions about what exactly is happening within such discourse and the relationships of the collocates (i.e., why are some patterns occurring and what might this indicate). On the other hand, when combining frequency analysis and collocation analysis, which are quantitative, decontextualized, and birds-eye views of the data with a concordance analysis, there is a well-balanced approach of quantitative and qualitative analysis, which is 'more productive than simply relying on quantitative methods alone' (Baker, 2006, p71). A concordance analysis has been called one of the most effective ways to carry out such forms of close examination (Baker, 2006).

In using concordances, the aim is to identify patterns of language use based on repetition, which can be helpful in allowing the researcher to identify discourses or traces of discourses (Baker, 2006, p77). While concordance analysis, as a qualitative form of analysis associated with CADS methods has its benefits, there are also limitations associated with this tool for investigation. One of these is the size of data, as concordance analysis is time and detail intensive, in a corpus spanning over 100,000 words it is not possible to analyse each concordance, thus sampling is the only suitable solution, although it potentially ignores revealing concordances that go unsampled. Secondly, as a qualitative form of analysis, 'a concordance analysis is only as good as its analyst'

(Baker, 2006, p86), meaning that there is an element of subjectivity which the researcher must reflect upon when undertaking this analysis. Finally, there are significant ambiguities that occur with language use, which include anaphora and substitutions of pronouns and determiners (Baker, 2006), for example in relation to this research, 'they' may be used rather than 'Rohingya'.

In addressing these limitations, Baker and McEnery (2016, p9) highlight that such analyses can be subjective, and that 'much corpus-based discourse analysis is actually qualitative in nature. Two researchers may draw very different conclusions from looking at the same set of concordance lines'. The authors highlight that it is 'more helpful to accept that there is no such thing as unbiased human research, but instead aim for wider transparency about methodological decisions' (Baker and McEnery, 2016, p9). Thus, with this in mind, the transparency of the procedures by which all data is collected and analysed is given paramount importance in this investigation.

However, the process of obtaining concordances, even from a small corpus, is not straightforward. Tribble (2010, p176) identifies that one method of condensing the data in order to make it manageable for an analyst is that of sampling, recommending that a strategy for doing so 'is to make a randomised selection from the data', and that if software allows it, 'to randomise your selection by a set number'. Baker (2018, p282) also suggests using randomised samples of concordance lines and leaving in cases which do not support the hypotheses to avoid confirmation bias. As a fourth-generation corpus compiler and concordancer, Sketch Engine allows the creation of randomised samples of concordances at the touch of a button. For the concordance analysis, in order to generate workable amount of data, a sample of 10 concordances were obtained for each of the 15 key terms which were the subject of the collocation analysis. These were then stored in separate text files for analysis, giving a total of 150 concordance lines, comprising 6,154 words. The concordance interface of Sketch Engine and the sampling function are displayed below.

CONCORDANCE Main Corpus

lemma Rohingya 1,104 (10,747.98 per million)

Details Left context KWIC Right context

1	doc#0	<s> Rohingya	crisis: Villages destroyed for government facilities Entire Muslim Rohi
2	doc#0 gya crisis: Villages destroyed for government facilities Entire Muslim	Rohingya	villages in Myanmar have been demolished and replaced by police b
3	doc#0 e facilities have been built on what satellite images show were once	Rohingya	settlements. </s><s> Officials denied building on top of the villages ir
4	doc#0 of the villages in Rakhine state. </s><s> In 2017 more than 700,000	Rohingya	fled Myanmar during a military operation. </s><s> The UN has descr
5	doc#0 back. </s><s> But last month, a second attempt to start repatriating	Rohingya	refugees failed [HYPERLINK: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia
6	doc#0 it we were able to see clear evidence of the deliberate eradication of	Rohingya	communities. </s><s> The Australian Strategic Policy Institute [HYPE
7	doc#0 has been analysing satellite images, estimates that at least 40% of	Rohingya	villages damaged by the 2017 violence have since been completely c
8	doc#0 munal toilets have fallen apart. </s><s> It was built on the site of two	Rohingya	villages, Haw Ri Tu Lar and Thar Zay Kone, demolished after the 201
9	doc#0 y as long-term accommodation for returning refugees. </s><s> But a	Rohingya	village called Myar Zin was bulldozed to clear land for this camp, whi
10	doc#0 , was Myo Thu Gyi, which once had a population of more than 8,000	Rohingyas	. </s><s> In September 2017, I filmed Myo Thu Gyi while driving pas
11	doc#0 uarter is quiet and peaceful. </s><s> But when you reach where the	Rohingya	houses used to be, the trees have gone, replaced by barbed-wire fer
12	doc#0 r the refugees? </s><s> The extensive and continuing destruction of	Rohingya	communities long after the violent military campaign of 2017 had end
13	doc#0 nt to take them back. </s><s> I was able to meet a young displaced	Rohingya	on my way back to Yangon. </s><s> We had to be discreet; foreigner
14	doc#0 n years, after being driven out of his home in Sittwe, one of 130,000	Rohingyas	displaced in a previous outbreak of violence in 2012. </s><s> He is u
15	doc#0 nmar that they do not belong. </s><s> The government has refused	Rohingya	requests for citizenship and guaranteed freedom of movement. </s><

Figure 10 - Concordance Interface in Sketch Engine (2020)

CONCORDANCE Main Corpus

lemma Rohingya 1,104 (10,747.98 per million)

Details Left context KWIC Right context

GET A RANDOM SAMPLE

When working with a large concordance, random sample is used to reduce the number of concordance lines while preserving the representativeness of the sample. The number of lines defined by the user will be randomly selected from all parts of the corpus. The lines will stay in the same order as they appear in the corpus. A random sample with the same number of lines generated from the same concordance will always produce **exactly the same** concordance lines. This behaviour is intentional so that different users (e.g. students) can follow the same steps and arrive at the same result. To generate a different sample, a different number should be used. Setting the value to 201 instead of 200 will generate a completely different sample.

10

1	doc#0	<s> Rohingya	crisis: Villages destroyed for government facilities Entire Muslim Rohi
2	doc#0 gya crisis: Villages destroyed for government facilities Entire Muslim	Rohingya	villages in Myanmar have been demolished and replaced by police b
3	doc#0 e facilities have been built on what satellite images show were once	Rohingya	settlements. </s><s> Officials denied building on top of the villages ir
4	doc#0 of the villages in Rakhine state. </s><s> In 2017 more than 700,000	Rohingya	fled Myanmar during a military operation. </s><s> The UN has descr
5	doc#0 back. </s><s> But last month, a second attempt to start repatriating	Rohingya	refugees failed [HYPERLINK: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia
6	doc#0 it we were able to see clear evidence of the deliberate eradication of	Rohingya	communities. </s><s> The Australian Strategic Policy Institute [HYPE

Figure 11 - Concordance Sample Feature in Sketch Engine (2020)

In terms of the process of analysing the concordances, guidance was taken from Baker's (2006) outline on conducting concordance analysis when looking for patterns of language use (which themselves may be considered to hold traces of discourse at the micro level). The first step is to scan the concordance lines in search of similarities in language use, especially by looking at patterns which occur on both the left- and right-hand side of the token being analysed, and asking ourselves 'what, if anything, is interesting about this concord?' (Baker, 2006, p77). Once the concordance has 'yielded everything it has to offer' then the analyst can move onto the next (Baker, 2006, p77). This is pictured in the process diagram below.

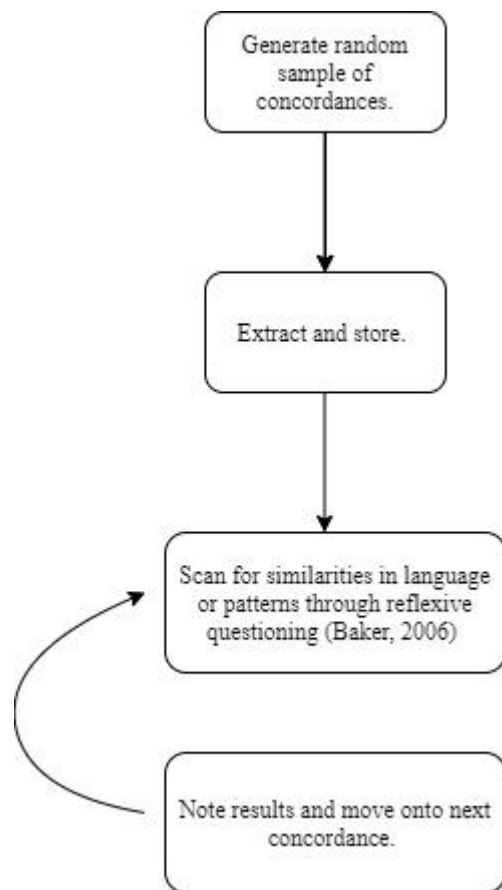


Figure 12 - Process for Concordance Analysis adapted from Baker (2006)

In summarising this section, the data collection and analysis for this research project aims to assist in answering the research questions. Firstly, to understand the discursive representation of the Rohingya in UK online media, and secondly, to understand whether a necessary contradiction exists between the lack of critical examination of societal structures that lead to unnecessary social suffering, and the recognition of the right not to suffer from disrespect. The data collection process began with a pilot study, which led to useful conclusions on the data analysis tools, process of text collection, processing, and storage of data, as well as helping to set the time span for data collection over a period of three years from 2017 – 2020. Following this was the process of familiarisation with the data, collection, processing, and storage, leading to a corpus comprising 142 articles totaling 93,218 words, with a range of 10,001 words, a mean of 6,215 words and a median of 6,014 words. Only two of the news brands contributed less than 4,000 words to the corpus, and only three contributed in excess of 8,000, leading to a good level of balance and internal consistency. This dataset was used to compile a small, specialised corpus in Sketch Engine.

This corpus can be seen as fulfilling the ‘essential’ quality (Koester, 2010) of being representative, drawing on the 15 most popular and most widely read news brands in the United Kingdom, based on empirical data from the Incorporated Society of British Advertisers (PamCo, 2020) and the UK regulatory body, the Office of Communication (Ofcom, 2019). Popularity, defined as readership and total brand views was chosen as the best method to represent the ‘orderliness of the public arena’ (Gusfield, 1986) and achieve broad understandings of the discursive representation of the Rohingya, without accounting for political biases, individual writers, or other extraneous factors which affect single text production.

Following corpus creation and compilation, frequency searches were undertaken and grammatical or ‘stop’ words were removed. A list of the most frequent words in the corpus was obtained and underwent preliminary analysis and interpretation. These were then sorted again and 15 terms were chosen for more ‘fine-grained’ collocation and concordance analysis, using a mixture of both quantitative methods (Log Dice scores) and qualitative interpretation (concordance analysis). In answering the research questions, the following chapter will detail the results of such analysis and their relation to the broader picture of the investigation.

CHAPTER SIX – RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

6.1 Results of Frequency Analysis

The results of the frequency analysis offer telling insights into the discursive representation of the Rohingya people in UK online news media. Given that the initial search term used in locating the texts was 'Rohingya', this would be a logical highly occurring term, and is proven to be so, with a total of slightly over one percent of the entire corpus, and a count of 1,092 occurrences within the corpus. The following two results, Myanmar and Bangladesh, are equally concrete nouns describing sovereign nation states, as well as physical locations for the majority of the Rohingya people. These tokens numbered 799 and 386 respectively, accounting for 0.9% and 0.4% of the corpus in total.

The first three terms then include the subject of the research, and the two states in which the majority of humanitarian crises occur. Other words relevant to geography or place (although Myanmar and Bangladesh can be used metonymically to refer to the state) include 'Rakhine', 'country', 'world', and 'international'. At the macro-level, these terms refer to broader conceptualizations of place, ranging from the 'highest' level of 'international' to the country level, and the state level for Rakhine. These terms give a sense of the different 'zones' in which such crises play out – within Rakhine in Myanmar, in Bangladesh, and on a global scale. 'Burma', as the former name of Myanmar, is also mentioned 86 times, adding to this interpretation. It may be possible to ascertain from the high level of mentions of 'international' that such usages highlight that these crises are not domestic issues but are severe enough that they warrant international investigation or scrutiny. It is also worth noting that these broader conceptions of place are more frequent than those mentions of place at the micro-level, for example, camps, villages, and even 'home' appear less frequently in the corpus.

Another important point that emerges when inspecting the frequency list is that of varying individual and collective actors. Within the corpus, actors include the Rohingya, Aung San Suu Kyi (with various elements of her name making up different frequencies), Governments, Military, Refugees, People, States, Muslim, Women, Army, Community, and Children. It is not possible from the frequency list, as an imprecise tool, to ascertain where terms are used as nouns,

adjectives, or other parts of speech – as an example, ‘Government’ or ‘State’ could refer to ‘a state who...’ or an adjectival form such as ‘state-sponsored’. On the other hand, regardless of the exact grammatical form the word takes, there is the possibility of exploring possible meanings as part of a larger discourse. Looking into this list of actors there are therefore a number of those who are important in framing and shaping Rohingya issues. It is in this sense a combination of governments, militaries, peoples, communities, and members of communities (e.g. women and children). These tend to be groups which are seen as most vulnerable in society.

A further category which emerges when inspecting this frequency list is a semantic field of suffering. In this case, the semantic field is a metaphor which is measured through the ‘kinds of object’ it denotes or contains (Morley and Partington, 2009, p6). Morley and Partington (2009, p6) gives the example of a semantic field of ‘law’ containing terms such as ‘prison’, ‘investigation’, and ‘trial’. This includes terms such as ‘refugees’, ‘genocide’, ‘violence’, ‘crimes’, ‘rape’, and ‘cleansing’ (which refers to ethnic cleansing), all of which account for a high proportion of the corpus. In visualising the narratives and subjects which form part of the discourse surrounding Rohingya representation therefore, there is a clear discourse of suffering. In terms of Honneth’s (1995) framework, many of these come under the category of disrespect in the emotional support dimension (of which abuse and rape are examples). ‘Cleansing’ may at first sight appear to be a benign term yet is always part of a fixed expression with ‘ethnic’, which also appears in the list of most frequent lexical words. Again, this may be seen as coming under the emotional support mode of recognition in terms of the disrespect it entails.

The third pattern that emerges in analysing this frequency list is that of a group of words or semantic field related to the concept of ‘rights’ and ‘justice’. Partially, this may be expressed through ‘international’, relating to an ‘international’ concept of rights and justice, or more likely, in at least some cases related to the ICJ (International Court of Justice) case held in late 2019 and early 2020. Other examples of lexical items which contribute to this field are that of ‘Court’, ‘Justice’, ‘Just’, and ‘Case’. In describing the frequency list so far, patterns emerge which suggest some general themes, including place and location, a range of actors, suffering and violence, and justice and rights. These, at first glance may be simplistic measures, but serve to illustrate interesting phenomena found in the corpus (Baker, 2006) and provide potential areas for further

investigation. In addition to these broad sets of words which appear related to one another, there are several other items which are more loosely related but also relevant to the themes that emerge from frequency analysis.

This other more loosely defined set encompasses items such as 'flee' and 'return' (two of the few verbs in the list), and terms of measurement such as 'many' and 'thousands'. From these, it is clear that the general discursive pattern is one of describing movement outward and returning to the locations mentioned. 'Flee' is a noteworthy term. Baker and Gabrielatos (2008) in their analysis of the discursive representation of refugees in the UK from 1996 – 2005 identify that 'flee' is commonly associated with 'plight', and is a word 'used to refer to refugees' which demonstrates this concept. 'Plight' generally refers to a sad or sympathetic description, and again this is important as it may be seen as evidence for the first hypothesis of this investigation. There are important differences between Baker and Gabrielatos (2008) study of refugees in the domestic area of the United Kingdom, compared to the representation of the Rohingya who are often discussed outside of the United Kingdom, in Myanmar, Bangladesh, or elsewhere in the world. This finding suggests however that these categories recur in different representations of refugee issues, highlighting the possibility for further confirmatory research to understand these tendencies.

In all, several categories emerge from the initial task of analysing frequencies in the corpus. These include semantic fields of actors, place, suffering, justice, quantity, and on a smaller scale movement (fleeing/returning), which may be related to 'plight'. In relation to Baker and Gabrielatos (2008) research, there are similarities that can be drawn between these authors' CDA-informed categories selected for grouping collocates of RASIM (Refugees, Asylum Seekers, Immigrants, and Migrants). These and the overlap are displayed in the table below. Many of the categories identified by Baker and Gabrielatos (2008) are shared by mentions in the current corpus, although the categories of entry and economic problems are not represented, and an additional two categories of 'actors' and 'justice' are used. It is possible that these categories are conspicuously absent because representations of the Rohingya are based not on refugees entering into the United Kingdom (i.e. not domestic refugees), thus economic problems and

'entry' are not noted. In addition, the categories of 'plight' and 'justice' seem to offer preliminary support for the hypothesis that forms an immanent critique of discourse surrounding the Rohingya people.

Categories of terms in Baker and Gabrielatos (2008) compared to raw frequencies in the Rohingya corpus collected for this investigation are demonstrated in the table below, the first column and second column referring to that research, and the third column highlighting shared categories in this investigation and corpus.

CDA-informed categories used in grouping collocates of RASIM in the United Kingdom media, focused on domestic RASIM representations (Baker and Gabrielatos 2008)	Definition and examples in Baker and Gabrielatos (2008)	Definition and examples in the British online Media – Rohingya (BMR) corpus (internationally rather than domestically focused)
Provenance/Destination/Transit	Iran, Lebanon, Pakistan, Turkey, China, UK, France	Myanmar (Burma), Bangladesh
Number	Flooding, pouring, streaming	Thousands, many
Entry	Arrive, come, enter	/
Economic Problem	Benefits, claiming, receive	/
Residence	Camp, shelter, temporary	Camp, camps
Return/Repatriation	Back, refused, return, sent	Return
Legality	Bogus, genuine, illegal	Rights, court
Plight	Fear, forced, escape	Flee, violence, rape, genocide, cleansing
	Additional Categories in the current corpus	
	Actors	State, government, children, refugees
	Justice	Rights, court, justice, just

Table 7 - Comparisons of Collocate Groupings in Baker and Gabrielatos (2008) work and in the Rohingya UK News Media corpus

In summarising this section, the frequency analysis leads to the identification of several related discourses, including semantic fields (Morley and Partington, 2009) related to provenance, number, residence, repatriation, legality, actors, plight, and justice. Several of these categories which can be defined as belonging to a specific semantic field demonstrate overlap with the original categories developed from the RASIM study (Baker and Gabrielatos, 2008) with the

addition of 'actors' and 'justice'. These can be considered specificities related to the representation of the Rohingya crises, while equally lacking the potential categories that would be used when describing domestic refugee crises (such as entry and economic problems). This said, the limitations of the frequency analysis are that it cannot provide any immediate context of the terms used, and thus it is impossible to interpret exactly what discourses are at work here; only broad macro-level feelings for the data can be obtained. The following section details the collocation analysis results, contributing to a clearer picture in answering the research questions.

6.2 Results of Collocation Analysis

The results of the collocation analysis (Word Sketch) are reported in order of appearance in the table above and in order of results returned on the Sketch Engine interface.

Word Sketch Results for 'Rohingya'

In searching for the results of 'Rohingya' for the collocation analysis, several patterns are clear in the discourse. Beginning with verbs with 'Rohingya' as object, the strongest collocate is 'protect', and inspection of concordances reveals that this corresponds to the construction of 'to protect' or 'protecting' the Rohingya people, which identifies the Rohingya firstly as a vulnerable group, and secondly as needing external assistance. The verb 'protect' occurs thirteen times (a low frequency) although with the Log Dice score of 11.24, it is a strong relationship. The second verb that appears to collocate strongly with 'Rohingya' as object is 'destroy', with a Log Dice score of 10.43, again the frequencies here are low, but the association is high. In this case, it can be assumed that as the subject position, Rohingya people, culture, lives, or possessions are being destroyed. In drawing out a general depiction from these results, we can see from the verb 'protect' that there is an element of vulnerability, and from 'destroy' an element of violence and destruction. This could be interpreted in relation to Brooten's (2015) contention of a Savage-Victim-Savior reporting structure. Other verbs that appear in the collocational analysis when inspecting 'Rohingya' as verb-object include those which tend to objectify and equally signify the need for protection, help, and assistance, for example 'displace', 'subject' (as in, to be subjected

to), 'fail' and 'help'. More rarely, words such as 'kill' appear, again indicating violence and establishing a bipolar pattern that is indicative of verbs of protection and recognition contrasted with verbs of various forms of disrespect, i.e. displacement, destroying, and killing. While these are relatively low in frequency, the Log Dice relationship expressed demonstrates that they are strong collocates.

In moving onto the second category, modifiers of 'Rohingya', fewer results are returned, with six collocates being displayed on the Word Sketch interface. Three of these six are measurements of number, including the broad category 'number', 'most', and 'many'. The data here is limited, but the relationship between 'number' and 'Rohingya' as a modifying relationship is strong, indicating that there is a tendency for numerical measurements. This provides limited information in terms of interpreting the data at the level of discourse but does indicate that when Rohingya are referred to in the corpus, it may often be with the addition of a quantifying modifier; this may be to demonstrate the extent and scale of the crises being reported on, or it may simply be to appear more legitimate and objective in reporting, among other explanations. Another point noteworthy finding is that the frequency of 'Myanmar' as in 'the Rohingya of Myanmar' or 'Myanmar's Rohingya' has a frequency of 10, with a Log Dice of 10.42. While initially this may not appear telling, the discursive construction of the Rohingya as belonging to Myanmar through the possessive form can imply a normative position on the crises, namely, that the Rohingya people are native residents or belonging to the nation-state of Myanmar, which implicitly suggests that the actions Myanmar are taking are in conflict. This is an area highlighted by the collocation analysis which is deserving of further investigation in the concordance analysis as potentially providing data that supports the hypothesis.

The following category is that of Rohingya as subject. When Rohingya as object collocates are examined, they broadly reflect terms of protection, recognition, and violence. Conversely, when examining Rohingya as the grammatical subject, the most common collocate is that of 'flee' with a high level of frequency (40) and an equally high Log Dice of 11.9. Although it is not clear at what level of Log Dice mental priming would occur, it is highly probable that a score of 11.9 out of a maximum 14 would create this effect. In relation to other categories, there is again a similarity that can be drawn between those identified by Baker and Gabrielatos (2008) identification of

Word Sketch Results for the term 'Myanmar'

The second term to be analysed for collocations using Sketch Engine was 'Myanmar'. Initial searches returned results of frequent collocates with strong Log Dice scores for each category with the exception of 'and/or'. The first of these when arranged by strength of association is 'deny' with a Log Dice score of 10.73, indicating a strong relationship. In relation to the hypothesis of this research, it is revealing that 'deny' is most commonly associated with 'Myanmar'. It is clear in this regard that 'Myanmar' is functioning metonymically in these ten cases, serving to mean the 'state of Myanmar' which is playing the role of denier, and thus could serve as a data source to inform the research in the later concordance analysis section. Further evidence that 'Myanmar' is frequently featured in the corpus as referring to the state of Myanmar comes in the form of the term functioning as a subject and being collocated with terms such as 'have', 'say', 'do', 'be', 'insist', and 'reject'. These last two terms, along with 'deny' are suggestive of power, as they indicate the ability to decide something, by being able to deny or reject a proposition. These are strong relationships which suggest that in describing situations relevant to the Rohingya, Myanmar is often depicted as a singular actor which wields significant power to allow or deny the Rohingya's fate. Further analysis of this is therefore warranted at the individual concordance level.

When looking to the second category in the analysis of Myanmar, which is modifiers, a distinct pattern emerges with the first two collocates, which are 'Buddhist-majority' and 'Buddhist'. It is clear that there are few strong collocates in the modifier position with 'Myanmar', however those which there are demonstrate strong scores, although they are low in frequency. In the corpus 'Myanmar' is often described with the pre-modifying 'Buddhist-majority' and this suggests that there is an important religious element in characterizing the actors in the corpus. This is a point of discussion, as in initial contextual and historical background of the Rohingya people, ethno-religious and historical factors, along with the creation of taingyintha truth-regimes (Cheesman, 2017) and the vestiges of colonialism (Pugh, 2013) have been clearly demonstrated as creating divisions through exclusion and discrimination.

The third category of analysis with the term 'Myanmar' is that of nouns modified. In examining the collocates for this term there are two areas of note. Firstly, the majority of collocates which appear describe military structures, persons, or actors. Myanmar co-occurs with 'military' 28 times, and soldier 13 times, giving Log Dice scores of 12.03 and 11 respectively. Between these two terms is 'government', and this suggests a clear link between the categories of 'military' and 'government' when characterizing Myanmar discursively throughout the corpus. From this it could be asserted that the image of Myanmar as a nation state and government is described as a military operation, and equally a violent actor – if mental priming is to occur with these terms, then 'Myanmar' may be automatically associated with a vision of soldiers, militaries, armies, and actions undertaken by such actors – 'force' is another collocate with a high frequency in this area, as is 'authority' and 'official'.

The fourth category, verbs with 'Myanmar' as object, is also revealing and again shows some similarities with the categories that have appeared with 'Rohingya', including those of provenance, destination, and transit. Looking to the most common collocate, 'flee', there is a total of 34 mentions and a score of 12.19, indicating that 'flee Myanmar' is a common phrase. From a mental priming perspective this is important, as it indicates as a place, Myanmar is somewhere from which people must flee – this may, in combination with military terms as above and the use of verbs with 'Rohingya' such as 'kill' or 'destroy' contribute to a discursive representation of Myanmar as a single, violent, immoral actor. This therefore supports the notion that British online media is supportive and recognizes the right to not suffer under brutal government regimes. Other terms which are potentially revealing in this section include 'accuse', with a frequency of 8, and 'defend' with a frequency of 6, both with Log Dice scores of above 10.

In summarising the collocation analysis so far, it is clear that the term 'Rohingya' and its collocates suggest a narrative of the Rohingya people as victims who require protection and must flee from Myanmar, which is represented as a highly militarized, powerful, and singular actor, strongly described in militaristic terms, which wields power to reject, deny, and destroy.

Word Sketch of 'Myanmar'

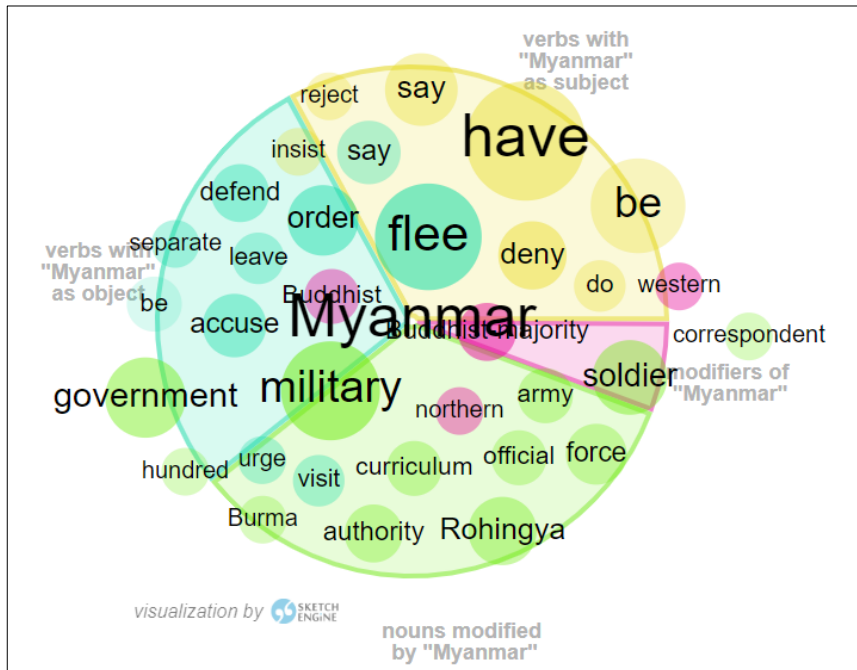


Figure 14 - Word Sketch for 'Myanmar'

Word Sketch Results for the term 'International'

The third term selected for investigation of the collocation analysis is 'international'. 'International' is a term which may well be revealing as it could be said in some way to appeal to universalities, or at the very least, shared conceptions of rights across national borders. The results of the analysis support this view, when inspecting the collocates in the Rohingya corpus. The most common noun modified by 'international' is 'community', with a frequency of 37 and a strong Log Dice score of 12.17, followed by 'law' with a frequency of 25 and a Log Dice score of 12.04. Therefore, there are many references to international law and the international community – it is possible that the majority of these references are sympathetic or in support of international law and then a universal basis for rights and justice, or equally, these mentions could be critical of such concepts – it is this that drives the necessity of a detailed concordance analysis in order to draw out such details and contribute to triangulating the findings. That said, it is apparent from these results that the concepts of international community and law are

important subjects within the corpus, as is 'justice' (9.72), 'pressure' (9.66), and 'fury' (8.76). The idea of 'international fury' is highly suggestive of expressing recognition of the suffering of the Rohingya and could be interpreted as a sense of moral outrage. This is possible evidence of the norm of reducing unnecessary social suffering. 'International' as a token received only one set of results in the corpus analysis through Sketch Engine, that of 'nouns modified by token'. While there are limited results however, there is a clear justification for exploring concordances of the terms listed above which are potentially revealing of traces of discourses.

Word Sketch of 'International'



Figure 15 - Word Sketch for 'International Community'

Word Sketch results for the term 'Refugee'

The following term that was investigated through the Word Sketch collocation feature was 'refugee', which returned results for each category of collocation except 'and/or'. The first category, modifiers of 'refugee' revealed a strong relationship with 'Rohingya', giving the phrase 'Rohingya refugee'. From a mental priming perspective, it is likely that with a Log Dice score such priming would occur, thus characterizing us to consider the term 'refugee' when we consider 'Rohingya'. Another collocate as a modifier of refugee is 'desperate' (9.53). This is a weaker score with a lower frequency but is a revealing term, in that it may suggest extreme suffering or need. It may be said from this that the Rohingya people are characterized as 'desperate refugees'. Other modifiers of refugee include 'Syrian', 'many', 'other', 'Christian', 'single', and 'Bangladesh', although these all have scores of 9.2 or below, and frequencies of 3 or less, making it harder to draw conclusions from such data.

Coming to nouns modified by 'refugee' there are several collocates which demonstrate noteworthy traces of discourse. This includes 'camp', which has a frequency of 71 and an extremely high Log Dice score of 12.84 out of a maximum of 14, and 'crisis' which has a frequency of 21 and a Log Dice of 11.48. This suggests that there may be a tendency for media discourse to represent refugees and camps as a single semantic unit, while also priming individuals and creating discourses that inextricably link 'refugee' with 'crisis'. This could be suggestive of an attempt to bring attention to refugees, and also to highlight the seriousness of such suffering experienced by refugees, which provides limited support for this research's hypothesis. Other terms include 'agency' (Frequency 11, Log Dice 10.85), 'status' (5, 10.02), 'settlement' (4, 9.59), 'population' (4, 9.38), and 'child' (4, 9.26).

Verbs with 'refugee' as object produced fewer results, with fewer frequencies and overall weaker Log Dice scores in comparison to nouns modified and modifiers. The highest frequency in this category is 'meet' (5, 10.33), followed by 'help' (4, 10.16). Many of the collocates in this section echo the category of 'provenance' as outlined by Baker and Gabrielatos (2008), including 'relocate', 'await', and 'repatriate'. From this section, the verbs which warrant further inspection of concordances include 'help' and 'warn'. The reason for this is that these instances may provide

evidence either in support of the first hypothesis (that of recognition of the Rohingya people’s right not to experience unnecessary social suffering caused by exclusion, discrimination and othering). If there is evidence of an inclination, drive, or force to ‘help’ or ‘warn’ refugees then it could be seen as sympathetic, or recognition of the right not to suffer unnecessarily.

On the other hand, the category of verbs with refugee as subject is more revealing of strong collocational patterns. The most common occurrence here is ‘flee’ with a frequency of 26 and a Log Dice of 11.56, followed by ‘live’ (9, 10.43), ‘have’ (40, 10.38), ‘arrive’ (6, 9.93) and ‘return’ (5, 9.81). Among terms with a lower frequency and score there are several which are potentially areas for further investigation, including ‘cross’, ‘shout’, ‘attempt’ and ‘force’. Again, there is evidence that discourses of movement are important in constructing an image of the Rohingya people as refugees, with many mentions of provenance, destination, and transit.

Word Sketch of ‘Refugee’

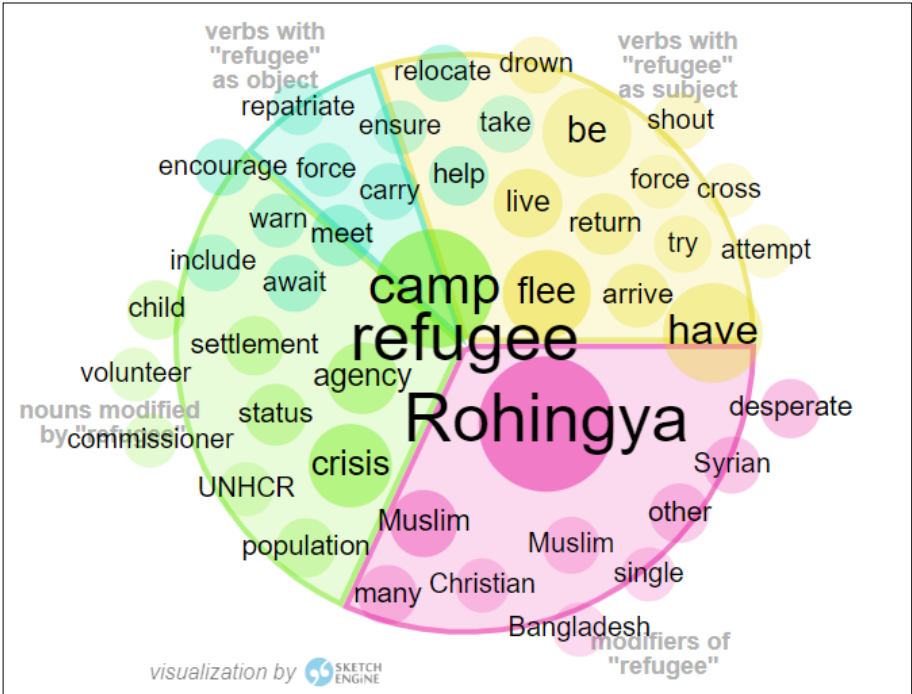


Figure 16 - Word Sketch for ‘Refugee’

Word Sketch results for the term 'Genocide'

Genocide as a token offered few results with strong collocations, although as visible in the Word Sketch diagram below, there were many single instances, often verbs, such as 'prevent' which were visible. with the most common collocates having a frequency of just 3, although Log Dice scores of 10.44 – 11.63. The most common terms included 'Rwanda', 'possible', 'ongoing', 'alleged' and 'full blown'. One advantage of such low frequencies in the results is that it is possible to examine each of the concordances in detail for interpretive analysis. There are equally single mentions such as 'horrific' and 'bad' which express strong value judgements and thus contribute to confirming the hypothesis that the approaches towards current situations in Myanmar against the Rohingya are depicted sympathetically and recognize the right not to experience such socially-caused suffering. While it is therefore unsurprising that such media in the corpus takes a stand against genocide, clearly marking it as a moral failing, heinous and horrific, there is equally limited evidence of identifying or mentioning the root causes of social, ethnic, and racial exclusion and discrimination.

general tendency towards recognition of unnecessary social suffering on behalf of the Rohingya. In conjunction with an absence of discourse critical on social constructs of society (i.e. exclusion, discrimination and othering) there is then the possibility for immanent critique. Further evidence that this may be the case comes from the secondary collocates of modifiers of 'right' within the corpus. These include 'basic' (8, 11.52), 'civil' (4, 10.81), and 'citizenship' (3, 10.43). It could be argued that from this, some correlation can be identified between the idea that rights are 'human' and 'basic', and equally that citizenship may be discursively represented as a basic human right. This provides support for the hypothesis that British online media's discursive representation of the Rohingya is fundamentally one of recognition, sympathy and understanding. Other collocates could support this, such as 'justice' and 'universal' although they are low in frequency.

In exploring verbs that co-occur with 'right' as the object in the corpus, the frequencies are much fewer in general. The verbs that do show high Log Dice scores include 'deny' as in, to 'deny rights' (7, 11.58) and 'guarantee' (3, 11.23). Rarer occurrences include 'affirm', 'erode', 'protect', 'fortify', 'champion', 'respect' and 'access'. All of these occur only one time in the corpus, but as a whole paint a picture of rights generally being either given, taken away, or defended. This suggests that exploring the pattern around verbs which describe events happening with respect to 'rights' could be fruitful. In exploring verbs that co-occur with 'right' as the subject of the verb, there are fewer frequencies still, but the strongest correlate is 'abuse' (1, 12.41). 'Right' is one of the few words which is well represented, relatively speaking, by the category 'and/or', meaning that the token occurs with conjunctions 'and' or 'or' and another term. In this case, 'right' occurs with 'movement' (4, 11.95), 'citizenship' (3, 11.72), 'safety' (2, 11.19), 'democracy' (2, 11.04), and 'freedom' (2, 11.04). There are a number of single item cases which are also noteworthy, including 'unity', and 'justice'. This is suggestive of a relationship between the representation of rights and citizenship.

Word Sketch of 'Right'

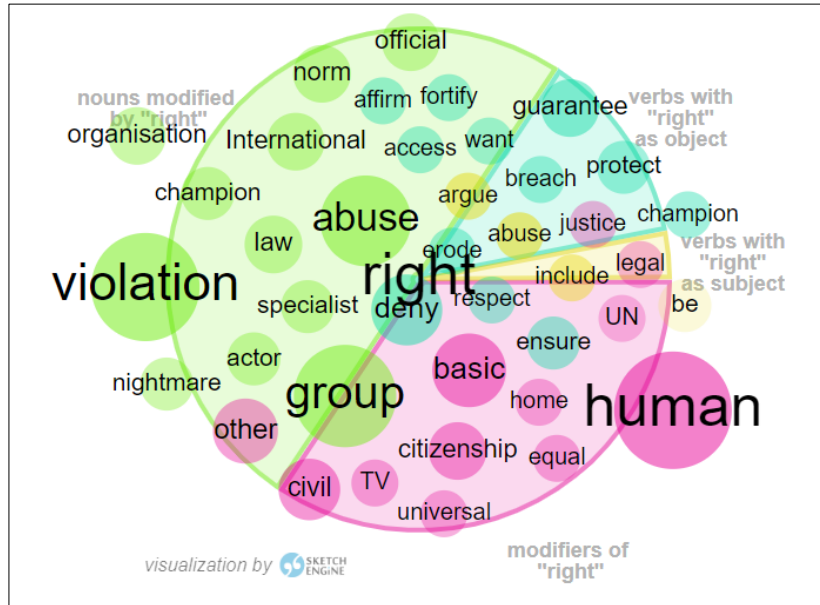


Figure 18 - Word Sketch of 'Right'

Word Sketch Results for the term 'Government'

'Government' appears 206 times in the corpus, constituting 0.2% of the total volume, and was selected as potentially providing information that could lead to a productive analysis. 'Government' is important as a term as representative of actors such as international states, Myanmar, and Bangladesh, both terms which occur frequently throughout the corpus, as well as other involved states around the world. When looking into the results further, it seems that collocates are generally modifiers which provide additional information for specific governments. As an example, the most common are 'civilian', 'Myanmar', 'Bangladeshi', and 'Burmese'. In examining nouns modified by 'Government', there are perhaps more telling results of collocations which represent a discourse of military action. This is evidenced by 'facility' (6, 11.52), 'troop' (5, 11.3), 'convoy' (2, 10.11), 'force' (3, 9.27) and 'crackdown' (2, 9.17).

In summarizing 'government' as a term in the corpus, it is worth noting that while the majority of collocates are generally those which denote nationality or the type of government (for example Myanmar Government as pre-modifiers), there is also a semantic field related to military operations. This suggests that in this specific discourse, there is a tendency to associate governments with military force and in the case of 'crackdown', which is related to the instigation of violence. Whether this is relevant to the Bangladeshi or Myanmar government however remains to be seen and requires further investigation.

Word Sketch of 'Government'

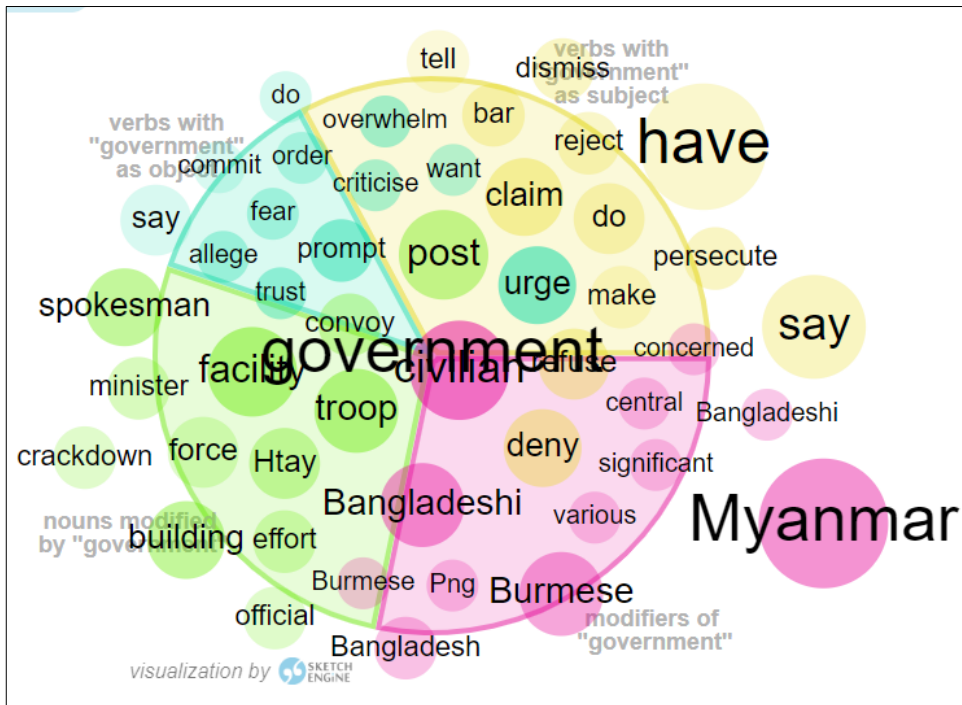


Figure 19 - Word Sketch of 'Government'

Word Sketch Results for the term 'State'

'State' is a related term to government yet returns slightly different results in the collocation analysis. Modifiers of 'state' are generally specific geographical terms, such as 'Rakhine' (98, 13.29) 'Northern' (14, 11.15), or 'Shan' (3, 9.06). This is in stark contrast to the nouns modified by 'state'. When looking at this category, the highest collocate is 'secret' (5, 12.15), followed by 'persecution' (6, 11.97). 'Medium', 'education', and 'violence' all have a frequency of 2. This demonstrates that when 'state' is modifying a noun, it usually refers to negative terms such as 'state secrets', 'state persecution' or 'state violence'. This potentially suggests that states in this discourse are depicted in a negative light; this could suggest criticism of systems or social conditions which give rise to state-sponsored instigation of suffering, although implicitly. Greater context may help in illuminating whether or not this is the case in this category of the collocation analysis. When coming to verbs with 'state' as object, only one result occurs, 'flee' (4, 9.55). As

mentioned before, 'flee' is a common term associated with migrants and refugees in the RASIM study (Baker and Gabrielatos, 2008), and returns throughout this corpus, in this case as to flee the state. 'Flee' is also examined as a token in itself, thus demonstrating the prominence of the term.

In summary, 'state' is represented in the corpus regularly as a geographical term, which is by itself is not indicative of any ideological or discursive pattern of representation. However, when looking at specific categories of nouns modified by state, a different picture emerges; this is a representation of secrets and violence, possibly hinting at a suspicion of state actors, or at the very least a suspicion of the state of Myanmar. It is possible that this could be interpreted as criticism of a state itself, although not a criticism of the overall concept of states and statehood, a part of which is citizenship and nationality. Further analysis of the term 'state' will help to shed more light on such an interpretation.

to human rights abuses, i.e. not to suffer from disrespect, although these appeals to normative values of human rights are limited as they are external critique (Herzog, 2016).

'Human' is not a well-represented category in the corpus, giving results of only nouns modified by the token, and the rarer 'and/or' category. The 'and/or' category only occurs with one other of the terms examined. On the whole, those results with 'and/or' are low in frequency, the highest being 5 and the lowest being 1. When looking individually at such patterns, then it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions. On the other hand, when looking at the results as a whole, certain broader areas become apparent. The top collocates of 'human' with 'and/or' and a second term are 'serious' (5, 12.07) and 'gross' (4, 12.04). Other terms include 'detestable' (1, 10.19), 'humanitarian' (2, 10.54), 'basic' (1, 10.09), and 'universal' (1, 10.14) among others. When looking at this as a whole, it is likely that such phrases pass judgement on actions taken against the Rohingya as serious human rights abuses, which are themselves against universal rights and are 'detestable'. However, given these low frequencies, it is also possible that this interpretation is not representative of all sources, but could be drawn from just one source. This demonstrates the importance of triangulating such corpus analysis approaches with different data analytical tools, such as concordance analysis. Only when doing this can firmer interpretations of the evidence be put forward.

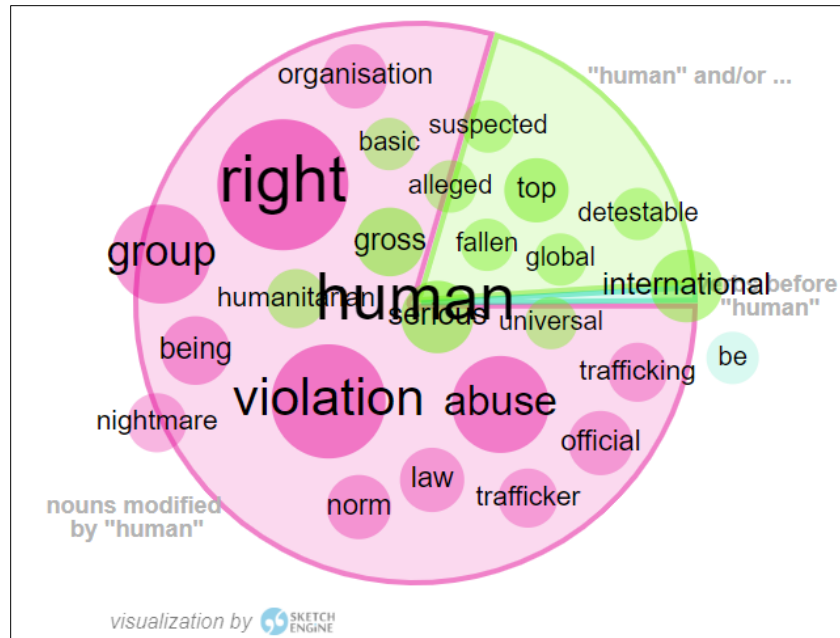


Figure 21 - Word Sketch of 'Human'

Word Sketch Results for the term 'Justice'

'Justice' as a search term returned relatively few results with frequencies above one or two, and Log Dice scores above 9. When looking at modifiers of 'justice' there are three collocates which show themselves in the results – 'domestic' (1, 10.68), 'international' (4, 9.72), and 'Rohingya' (2, 6.67). One confounding issue is that with such low frequency, it is not possible to draw sound conclusions about what this pattern may suggest. This said, in discussing traces of discourse, it is clear that justice is an important concept, characterized both domestically and internationally, and that justice co-occurs with Rohingya. If it can be demonstrated that these mentions argue in favour of justice for the Rohingya, then it can be seen as recognition of the Rohingya people's right to justice, which itself can be likened to Honneth's (1995) framework of the struggle for recognition. This in turn, would support the hypothesis of a generally sympathetic and recognition-based approach of British online media. Nouns modified by 'justice' return few revealing results and tend to be more often descriptive of existing institutions or concrete noun phrases, such as 'system' (6, 12.49). Coming to verbs which collocate with justice, however, the results are different. This includes 'get' as in, to 'get justice' (9, 12.06) and 'want' (4, 11.57). Other terms include 'ensure' (3, 11.03) and 'deliver' (2, 10.68), while verbs with 'justice' as subject

result in only one relevant result, 'level' (1, 13). Overall, when inspecting the term 'justice', although low frequencies limit the interpretation of data, it is possible that these instances call on an actor to 'ensure' or 'deliver' justice, likely (though not necessarily) for the Rohingya people. Again, this could relate to recognition of the right not to suffer from disrespect.

Word Sketch of 'Justice'

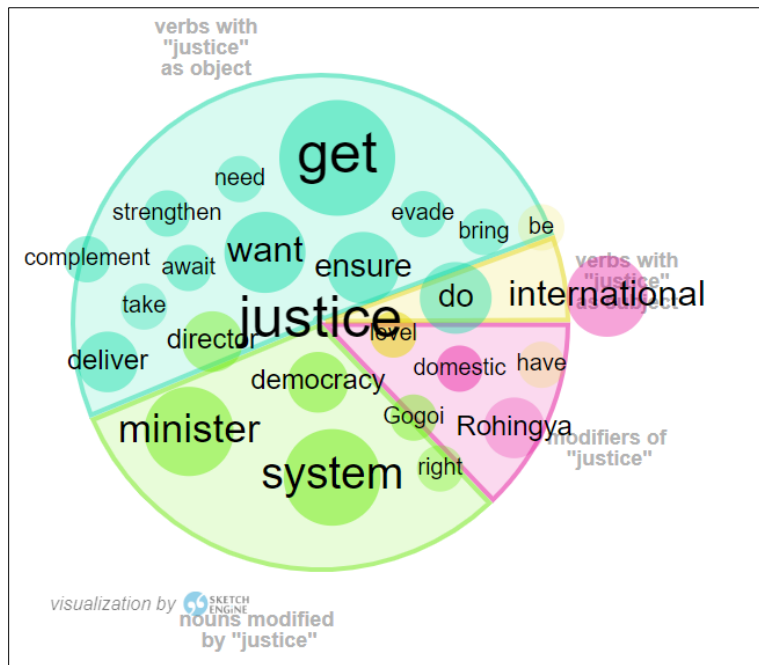


Figure 22 – Word Sketch of 'Justice'

Word Sketch results for the term 'Violence'

When coming to the results for 'violence', the collocation analysis reveals patterns of description and thus discourses and representations of varying types of physical harm. The highest result is 'sexual' (14, 12.83), followed by 'horrific' (4, 11.22), and 'communal' (2, 10.51), then 'domestic' (2, 10.24), 'state' (2, 9.85), 'genocide-like' (1, 9.61), 'gender-based' (1, 9.61), 'mount' (1, 9.61), 'unspeakable' (1, 9.57), and 'continued' (1, 9.57). Towards the ends of the results, the frequencies are singular, but when taking all of these terms together, a grim reality is depicted, with many potential instigators (domestic, communal, state) and varying levels of intensity and type (sexual, horrific, unspeakable, gender-based, genocide-like). It is highly likely that these terms can be seen as recognition of the Rohingya's right not to suffer from such events, given that these terms by their nature form a normative judgement; they are not simply descriptive, but to characterize an action or actions as 'horrific' or 'unspeakable' can be considered a strong sign of condemnation and moral outrage. The next category, 'nouns modified by violence' revealed only one result, 'mother' (1, 11.83), although the category after that, verbs with 'violence' as object, returned many results. These include 'escape' (5, 11.17), 'describe' (5, 11), 'stop' (3, 10.43), 'increase' (2, 10.21) and 'flee' (6, 10.21), among others. These again may reinforce a narrative of movement, transit, and provenance, as well as escape, given that most of the terms relate to the movement away from violence or the cessation of violence. Overall, it can be interpreted that this will represent a general tendency to describe violence instigated by the state against the Rohingya people as needing to be ceased. Other, lower frequency terms in this category similarly reflect this idea, so again, looking holistically at the results, 'stop' (3, 10.43) can also be seen as a near-synonym for 'prevent' (3, 10.19), and 'halt' (1, 9.3). Lower frequency terms also demonstrate normative judgements on violence as the object of the verb, for example 'condemn' (3, 9.91) although again in its decontextualized form it is difficult to ascertain who is condemning whom.

When inspecting the results for verbs with 'violence' as subject, a different pattern emerges. In these constructions, the most common collocates are 'erupt' (3, 11.45), 'break' (3, 11.26) and 'take' (2, 10.04). 'Eruption' in itself is a term worth noting, as it may be likened to a natural event thus obscuring agents or actors at the root cause of violence. When inspecting the following category, 'violence' and/or, the majority of results contribute to an overall picture of discursive

representation of events and crises befalling the Rohingya. The most common collocate with and/or and 'violence' is 'persecution' (8, 12.21) which has an exceptionally high Log Dice score. This suggests that the two ideas are likely to be subject to mental priming (Durrant and Doherty, 2010), which is telling as 'violence' is a general term and does not necessarily refer to a power relationship, although persecution does (i.e. the persecutor and the persecuted). This could be read as linking the two, when discussing Rohingya issues, there is a tendency to focus on victim and abuser, which may identify recognition for the rights of the Rohingya not to experience unnecessary social suffering. Other related entries with lower frequencies and Log Dice scores include 'threat' (4, 11.75), 'destruction' (3, 11.12), 'exploitation' (2, 10.82), 'terror' (2, 10.75), 'corruption' (1, 9.91), 'hostility' (1, 9.91), 'killing' (2, 9.89), 'oppression' (1, 9.83) and 'tragedy' (1, 9.79). Many of these imply a power-subjugated or oppressor-oppressed relationship. Further investigation of these collocational patterns may be revealing in uncovering discourses surrounding the representation of Rohingya issues. In the final category, possessors of 'violence', there are three collocates which are shown in the results: 'August' (1, 13), 'country' (1, 9.41), and 'Myanmar' (1, 7.56). August's violence, country's violence' and Myanmar's violence are then three ways in which violence is attributed to an owner, instigator, or possessor.

Word Sketch of 'Violence'

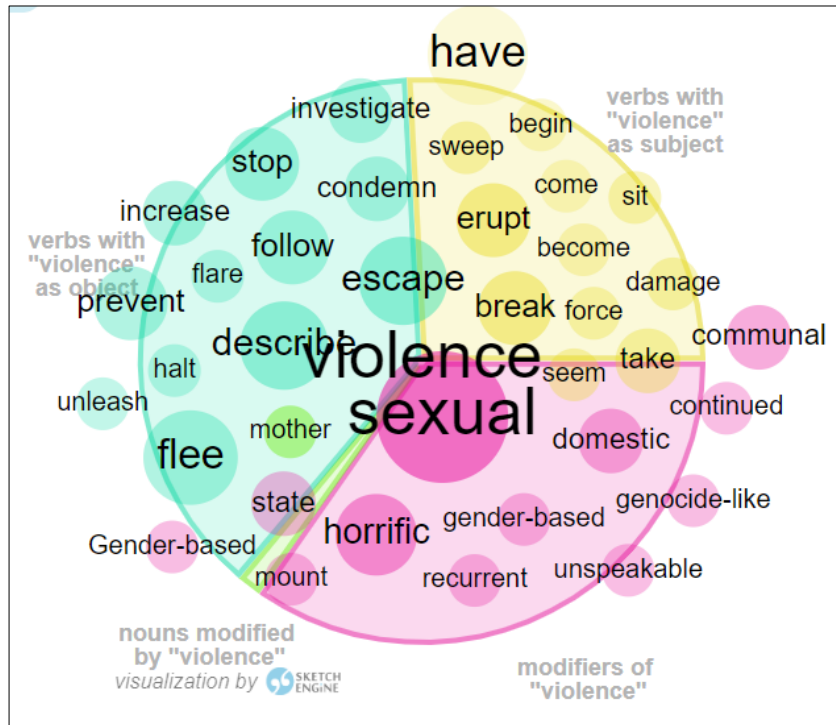


Figure 23 - Word Sketch of 'Violence'

Word Sketch Results for the term 'Flee'

'Flee' returns results for modifiers of the token, objects of the token, subjects of the token, and '-ing' objects. Modifiers of 'flee' are low in frequency, with results such as 'abroad' (1, 11.41), 'mostly' (1, 11), 'before' (1, 11), 'finally' (1, 10.41) and 'recently' (1, 10.09) demonstrating tenuous relationships. The patterns between objects of 'flee' and collocates are radically different in frequency and relationship to one another. The most common collocates of this category in the Rohingya corpus are 'Myanmar' (34, 12.19), 'home' (15, 11.45), 'country' (12, 11.12), 'crackdown' (7, 10.65), 'persecution' (6, 10.44), 'violence' (6, 10.21), 'state' (4, 9.95), 'Burma' (3, 9.58), 'village' (4, 9.53), 'slaughter' (2, 9.12), 'cleansing' (2, 9.03), and 'horror' (2, 9.02). In interpreting these results, it is clear that with high frequencies these terms are likely to be from multiple online news media sources, and express a general trend of recognizing that the Rohingya people are being persecuted and forced to flee Myanmar. There is limited evidence that the state (4, 9.95) may be involved, although this is at a frequency and Log Dice level insufficient to necessarily

indicate it is adequate to produce mental priming. What can be drawn out from these results is that there is a tendency for common terms such as 'flee' in the corpus to be associated with suffering, and there are terms which are used in conjunction with this reporting to express strong normative judgments such as 'horror' at what is occurring. Mentions of state, and the dimensions and powers of the state (or absence of such discussion) is necessary to examine in detail through concordance analysis to find support for the hypothesis.

In regards to the next category of collocates for 'flee', Sketch Engine returns results for subjects of the token. In this case the most common result is 'Rohingya' (40, 11.9), followed by 'refugee' (26, 11.56), 'Muslims' (12, 11.1), 'people' (17, 10.79), 'child' (5, 9.79) and 'thousand' (2, 9), among other low-frequency and low scoring items. Similar This indicates that commonly, when discussing 'fleeing', those actors who are associated with fleeing are the Rohingya people, and likely when interpreting these results it is possible to say that they are equally characterized at times as refugees, and then less often by religious orientation. Interestingly, while the frequency is higher for 'Rohingya', the strength of Log Dice between 'refugee' and 'Rohingya' only varies by 0.34, suggesting that these terms are treated very similarly; it is possible to argue that the Rohingya are presented mainly as refugees based on this. The final category, '-ing' objects of 'flee' returns one result, 'harrowing' (1, 12.41). This is a single mention but contributes to a broader picture of terms which provide normative judgements on situations being reported on, which are largely appearing as expressing moral outrage, pathos, or extreme judgement of the severity and reprehensibility of the situations described.

therefore may cause mental priming (Durrant and Doherty, 2010). Although 'war crimes' is debatable as to whether it implies a normative judgement, 'grave' (8, 11.66) is more clearly casting a judgement on crime as it appears in the corpus. It is possible, if not likely, that this suggests a measure of sympathy and recognition for crimes which take place by the state of Myanmar against the Rohingya people. The following collocates include 'alleged' (6, 11.09), 'genocide' (3, 9.81), 'atrocities' (2, 9.79), among other lower frequency collocates such as 'invisible' (1, 8.85), and 'heinous' (1, 8.85), while the category 'nouns modified by crime' gave the result 'violation' (2, 9.79).

When looking at verbs with 'crime' as object, one common collocation occurs regularly 'commit' (12, 11.99) which is perhaps unsurprising and could be considered a fixed phrase that would appear in other general English reference corpora. Other verbs include 'document' (2, 10.47), 'investigate' (2, 10.16) and lower frequency terms such as 'define' (1, 9.67), 'probe' (1, 9.67), 'sponsor' (1, 9.67), 'perpetrate' (1, 9.67), 'state' (1, 9.67), 'punish' (1, 9.53), 'refer' (1, 9.53), 'uncover' (1, 9.5) and 'acknowledge' (1, 9.44). Verbs with crime as the subject are similarly low in occurrence, with 'reverberate' (1, 11.67), 'occur' (1, 11.3), 'include' (2, 11.19) and 'remain' (1, 10.04) as the most commonly occurring. The following category, 'crime' and/or results in several mentions of 'genocide' (8, 12.32), and 'violation' (4, 11.47), as well as 'need' (2, 10.95), 'humanity' (2, 10.82), 'intention' (1, 10.09), 'cleansing' (1, 9.91), and 'abuse' (1, 9.67). When viewed separately, these low frequencies and relationships are not compelling; viewed as a whole however, there is a clear pattern of recognition in reporting events surrounded by the term 'crime'. Although 'alleged' is a collocate, which serves to cast doubt on the veracity of claims of crimes or imply uncertainty, phrases which imply normative judgement such as 'grave' are more commonly collocated with 'crime', suggesting that such condemning terms outnumber any attempt at hedging or implying uncertainty. Coming to the final category which returned results in this analysis, adjective predicates of 'crime', the only collocates are 'despicable,' (1, 13), 'awful' (1, 13) and 'horrific' (1, 13). Interpreting these, the high scores suggest that these terms rarely occur with other terms in the corpus, and the single frequencies are then not suggestive of strong traces of discourse. It is worth noting that these terms imply strong condemnation and normative judgements on what is occurring. Likely, this refers to characterizations of state-inflicted crimes,

Word Sketch Results for the term 'Cleansing'

The final term for analysis of collocates is 'cleansing', selected as likely to yield relevant results which could provide support or refute the hypothesis of this investigation and contribute to answering the research questions. In the results for the first category, modifiers of 'cleansing', the most common collocate is 'ethnic' (74, 13.33) with an extremely high Log Dice score and relatively high frequency, suggesting that these two words almost entirely occur together. The second collocate is 'textbook' (7, 11.05), followed by 'alleged' (2, 9.24), 'widespread' (2, 9.24), 'mass' (2, 8.73) and 'appalling' (1, 8.44). When looking at single frequencies, it is not surprising that some anomalies occur, when taking a relatively uncommon term in the corpus which is modified by another uncommon term, hence in the following category, nouns modified by 'cleansing', the first instance 'campaign' (10, 12.25) is relevant, while the second, 'Ronaldo' (1, 10.54) is not. However, these anomalies can be discarded in order to investigate the patterns as a whole, and those following 'Ronaldo', which are 'crime' (1, 8.62) and 'rape' (1, 8.57) are closely related to other semantic fields within the corpus and other similar patterns found when creating Word Sketches for other tokens. This demonstrates that when examining collocates across the corpus, there are tendencies for these terms to occur with one another, and this may contribute to a discursive imagery, scene, or general conception of truth about the situations being analysed.

Word Sketch of 'Cleansing'

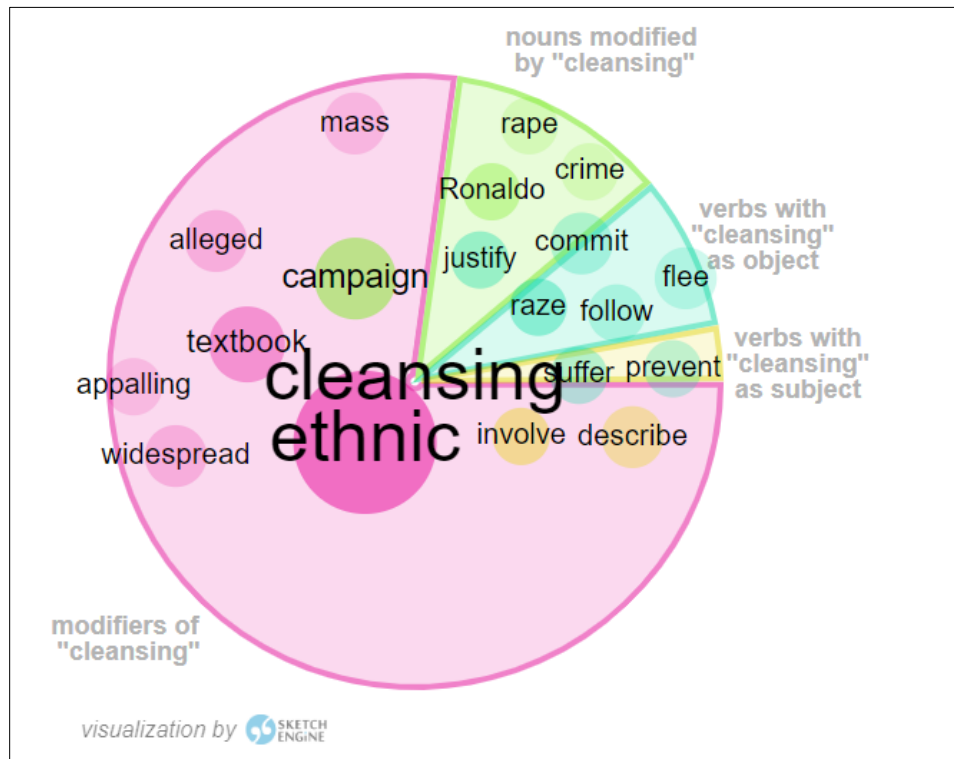


Figure 27 -Word Sketch of 'Cleansing'

6.3 Absences in the Collocation Analysis

In looking at the collocational patterns for the terms identified, and the frequency analysis, it is important to consider not only the terms which are present, but those which are not present and could possibly have been present in different circumstances, something that Schroter and Taylor label 'thinkable alternatives' (Schroter and Taylor, 2018), and something that Partington (2018, p96) highlights as achievable through 'introspective enquiry' based on examination of the data in light of our expectations. In this case, absence is searched for in a premeditated manner - it is hypothesized that such absence will be present as it is the uncritical acceptance of exclusion, discrimination, and othering are part of the hegemonic discourse order which is 'just taken for granted' (Baker, 2006, p19). Taking an overall picture of the collocational analyses and Word Sketches, it is clear that there is on the surface, a relationship between discourses of suffering and recognition of the unnecessary nature of suffering affecting the Rohingya. Given the decontextualized nature in which the results appear, it cannot easily be explained whether words correlate to their easiest or most obvious interpretation. For example, 'desperate' and 'Rohingya' may correlate highly and co-occur, but the context in which these two words appear may not be as simple as saying 'the Rohingya are desperate'. This is where concordance analysis is needed to confirm such inferences. That said, these can be seen as important 'traces' of discourse which when triangulated, give an effective and representative description of UK online media discourses as a whole.

In terms of discourses of suffering and semantic fields of suffering, there is a high density of terms such as 'crisis' correlating with terms such as 'prolonged', 'humanitarian', 'horror', 'slaughter', and 'horrific', while 'Rohingya' is highly correlated with 'destroy', 'protect', and 'kill'. Additionally, 'crime' is correlated with 'atrocious', 'genocide', and 'heinous' and 'right' is correlated with 'protect', 'violation', and 'citizenship'. This suggests that broadly, from this section of the analysis, there is evidence of discursive representations (at a surface level) which recognize the right not to experience such unnecessary social suffering, with strongly emotive terms like 'horror', 'slaughter' and 'nightmare' commonly occurring. This could be said, coming back to

Honneth's (1995) theory of recognition, to be demonstrating that UK online media discourses tend towards recognizing the right of the Rohingya not to experience the suffering of disrespect, and apply normative judgements that such suffering is 'horrific' or 'heinous' and therefore should not be allowed to take place. However, without an adequate appreciation and pointing out of the causes of such suffering, it could equally be argued that this is only a surface, or superficial mode of recognition of the right not to suffer. This discursive absence could be explained by such an interpretation, or equally, it could be explained by a lack of knowledge.

On the other hand, there are certain instances in the collocation analysis that could hint at recognition of the causes of the Rohingya's suffering. To give an example, the collocates of the term 'Myanmar' are broadly related to 'military', 'government', 'army', and 'authorities'. A possible alternative set of collocates which directly attribute the Rohingya crises to the government of Myanmar could include verbs, such as 'discriminates', 'attacks', 'excludes', 'locks out', 'bans', 'mistreats', 'causes', or 'violates'. Other cases include the term 'ethnic' which has collocates such as 'cleansing', 'justify', 'textbook', and 'appalling', but no mention of 'discrimination', 'segregation', 'exclusion', 'judgement' or 'racism', despite occasional references to 'ethnic' and 'Muslim' which are dimensions along which the Rohingya have been historically excluded from Myanmar's society, as explained in Chapter 1. These thinkable alternatives which might set out a discursive representation which is inclusive of causes of social suffering demonstrate that it could be argued an absence exists here.

This said, there is some evidence of recognition of the state of Myanmar's role as an agent or actor in generating social suffering and the processes by which it is achieved. Taking as an example 'government' as a search term, the primary collocates are 'persecute', 'reject', 'claim', and 'dismiss'. This suggests a role of agency, and persecution can be considered linked to themes of exclusion and discrimination, although not explicitly. From this conclusion of the collocation analysis, it seems that firstly, a discourse of suffering exists, which often places the term 'Rohingya' in the subject position as fleeing, suffering, or desperate, while in the object position they are killed, destroyed, or protected. There is a tendency towards emotive, extreme language such as 'horror', 'nightmare' and 'heinous', and themes of 'rights' and 'justice' co-occur with

‘protect’, ‘strengthen’, ‘deliver’, ‘ensure’, and ‘need’.

In answering the research questions, from this section of the analysis it seems that there is to some extent, an absence of possible collocates which could hint at an appreciation of the root causes of the suffering of the Rohingya, i.e. exclusion, discrimination, and othering, although there is some evidence of terms such as ‘persecute’ occurring with ‘government’. Further analysis at the level of individual concordances is crucial in understanding this further.

6.4 Concordance Analysis

The results from the concordance analysis are based on interpretation following the principles of discourse analysis as immanent critique, asking whether the discourses located in these concordances can be reconciled with the posited universal norm of reducing unnecessary social suffering (Herzog, 2016), drawing on the concepts of semantic field (Morley and Partington, 2009) as indicators of discourse. Random samples are generated from the corpus for analysis and used to triangulate findings with those of the frequency and collocation analysis, thus completing the ‘marriage of comparative statistical techniques with researcher inferencing from data’ which is effective when investigating absence and discourse through CADS methods (Partington, 2018, p121). The results are presented sequentially following the same pattern as the frequency and collocation analysis above.

6.4.1 ‘Rohingya’ Concordance Analysis

Inspecting the first set of concordances, several themes can be identified when interpreting the sampled lines. The first pattern that seems clear is that of ‘protection’, as identified by the collocation analysis, these instances are commonly calling for the ‘protection’ of the Rohingya. Looking to the first and second concordances in the sample below gives further evidence of this interpretation:

1. *‘to protect the Rohingya against further atrocities’*

2. *‘PROTECT THE ROHINGYA NOW’*

Both of these imply a call to action, highlighting that the Rohingya people are in need of help and shelter from another force. However, the first of these lines indicates that the ICJ orders Myanmar to carry out protection. This corresponds directly with the collocation analysis, demonstrating that 'protect' and 'Rohingya' as a highly correlated phrase does indeed refer to protecting the Rohingya, and this has implications in terms of the concept of recognition. The phrase 'protect the Rohingya' as it appears often places the Rohingya in the object, rather than the subject position, which could be seen as excluding agency. This also occurs with other verbs, such as 'international efforts to guarantee the Rohingya safe return have been ineffectual'. There is also clearly a semantic field of suffering which appears throughout the concordance lines, and a pattern of depicting violence and desperation is built up, which was also suggested by the collocation analysis. Examples of this include 'many Rohingya are desperate to return to their homes', 'violence against the Rohingya', 'depths of suffering', and 'brutal military crackdown'.

Several of these concordances refer to concepts of nationality and leaders of states, as well as intergovernmental bodies such as the ICJ and the United Nations, Boris Johnson, and Aung San Suu Kyi. There is however, a contradiction in the reporting of events here. Although there is discussion of the ICJ asking Myanmar to protect the Rohingya and the use of language of recognition and extreme emotive language such as 'depths of suffering', there is equally little direct criticism of the state of Myanmar, and there is significant hedging used in terms of phrases such as 'alleged crimes'. This suggests that it is possible that media, in these examples at least, is aiming to both highlight and recognize the suffering of the Rohingya people but is unwilling to directly apportion blame. A further interesting element in these concordances occurs in the following line:

3. "Refugee Agency. She spoke of the "depths of suffering" she saw at the Bangladesh camps and said the world had "failed the Rohingya ". A year ago the Sunday Mirror visited Cox's Bazaar, 70 miles south of Bangladesh's financial capital Chittagong, and"

In the above, there is mention of the world 'failing' the Rohingya people, although it is from the context a quotation. This demonstrates the importance of internationality, and references to

other actors on a global scale. However, there is an absence in terms of explaining what failures precisely have taken place. There is also an absence of identification of the root cause of suffering, i.e. lack of access to the basic rights offered by citizenship. This could be seen as evidence of a necessary contradiction; there is recognition of the 'depths of suffering' and an apparent pathos or wish to 'protect' the Rohingya from such suffering, while there is an inability to criticize or engage with criticism of the social constructions which give rise to such situations, that is, exclusion and discrimination. When considering absences, an alternative construction could state 'depths of suffering caused by the persecution/exclusion/discrimination of the Rohingya by the military of Myanmar'. This would not lengthen the text unnecessarily, nor would it hamper meaning, thus, there is no clear reason that such causes of this unnecessary social suffering should go unmentioned.

Broadly speaking, the concordance analysis of the term 'Rohingya', provides strong support for the conclusions of the collocation analysis. That is to say, that often there are calls of recognition for the Rohingya people, including calling for protection and offering a narrative which details great suffering and violence which they have to endure. There is appeal to international actors and to universal 'failings' to protect, and there is some evidence of understanding of the role of states in contributing or failing to prevent such suffering, but little engagement or mention of statelessness as the cause of such unnecessary social suffering. Equally, there is no evidence of agency or voice of members of the Rohingya community themselves, thus leading to a 'reported from afar' stance that could be likened to an emotional appeal, designed to 'withhold the readers' attention and interest in crises' (Afzal, 2016). If this is the case, then such attempts to recognize the unnecessary suffering of the Rohingya people could be seen as based on false pretences, and actually be considered misrecognition.

6.4.2 'Myanmar' Concordance Analysis

The second category is that of 'Myanmar'. In the sampled concordances, several of the occurrences are mundane, for example 'Myanmar correspondent' or 'Myanmar Children's Day'. Other examples confirm that on several occasions, if not the majority of occasions, the term is used metonymically to refer to the state, a point which was interpreted during the collocation analysis. These instances tend to reveal more telling traces of discourse. One example of this is the following:

4. *"Will Omar get justice for his murdered family? Myanmar has long denied carrying out genocide and says it is carrying out its own investigations into the events of 2017"*

In this concordance, 'Myanmar' is used metonymically and is linked to the denial of 'genocide'. On the one hand, this appears to provide some hedging and balance, without attributing acts or responsibility to 'Myanmar'. On the other hand, there is a rhetorical question which appears to recognize the requirement of justice for the murdered family of a Rohingya man. This seems to demonstrate a cautiousness and lack of clarity in the description of the situation, although further detail and context would be needed to draw significant conclusions about a single concordance. This said, there are further concordances which are more overtly critical and take a stronger position, as in the following:

5. *"often their very communities, even families ... we need to ensure this issue is brought on at the highest world stage. " Myanmar jails reporters for exposing massacre THERESA May has demanded the immediate release of two journalists jailed in"*

This demonstrates quite a clear judgement on the exposition of a massacre, and associated quotations which discuss 'the highest world stage'. Such a concordance can clearly be seen to express support, recognition, and a judgement on the nature of events in Myanmar, namely that a 'massacre' has taken place. The term 'massacre' can be seen as part of the broader emergent semantic field of suffering, referring to brutal and mass killing rather than a possible less

impactful thinkable alternative (Schroter and Taylor, 2018), which could be ‘conflict’ or ‘violence’. Other concordances use quotations to hedge further, demonstrating a measure of either objectivity or uncertainty in reporting, as in the below:

6. “that there was “ample evidence” that the army committed the killings without giving specific details. It accused Myanmar's forces of “deliberate, false and misleading lies” aimed at discrediting the group. Reuters was unable to”

Speaking generally, although there are concordances which offer measures of attempted objectivity and use techniques such as quotations, hedging, and modal verbs, there are recurring lexical patterns throughout the samples. These include ‘army’, ‘killings’, ‘massacre’, ‘murder’, ‘genocide’, ‘deaths’, and ‘collective suffering’. In comparing this to a possible, hypothetical scenario, it could be argued that in addressing the root causes of such suffering, further discussion of ‘racism’, ‘exclusion’, ‘discrimination’, ‘persecution’ and ‘rights’ could be present, demonstrating that there is an absence in media discourse in reporting possible solutions to such violence, but there is a tendency to abhor, and recognize the necessity not to suffer on the behalf of the Rohingya.

6.4.3 ‘Refugee’ Concordance Analysis

In the concordance samples for ‘refugee’ again, a clear pattern of recognition of the Rohingya people’s rights not to suffer unnecessarily is present. Terms used include ‘terrible conditions’, ‘deep concern’, ‘terrified’, and ‘refusal...to offer freedom of movement or a clear path to citizenship’, all of which seem to contribute to a general depiction of the Rohingya people as victims who are suffering greatly and unnecessarily, and being denied basic rights. On the other hand, there is some evidence of an implicit acceptance of a discourse of citizenship as a solution, although scholarly work (Farzana, 2017) has refuted this as a viable option. This is visible in the below concordance:

7. "refusal to allow a credible investigation, to offer freedom of movement or a clear path to citizenship, will deter most refugees from returning. That would leave the balance between Muslims and non-Muslims as it is; perhaps the "unfinished"

In the above, it is implicitly assumed that 'a clear path to citizenship' is among one of the determining factors in making returning to Myanmar a viable option for the Rohingya people. This highlights the importance of statelessness as a potential cause of loss of rights and vulnerability to abuses by others (i.e. social suffering). This then demonstrates implicit acceptance and participation in the regime of citizenship as a 'given', but remains silent on the possibility of other forms of existence, and this may reflect the immediate, problem-solving focus of news media, which attempts to identify quick solutions rather than engage with large-scale societal problems. In understanding this absence, it is possible to consider a 'thinkable alternative' (Schroter and Taylor, 2018), which in this case, could state 'without a clear path to citizenship and safeguards against further victimization and discrimination'. This would not be an extreme sentence, nor out of sync with the genre of online news media, but it is instead presented that citizenship is the desirable outcome for alleviating suffering, presenting a simple solution to an extremely complex issue,

In this sample, there is a notable absence of members of the Rohingya communities' voices, although one direct quotation is present as in the below:

8. "appeared in the list without their consent. "They did not ask me whether I wanted to return to Myanmar," Siam Mia said. Refugees have held many protests in recent months against the repatriation process. Among their demands is the guarantee of"

This concordance is a rarity, in that it allows for the voice of a Rohingya person to speak, albeit briefly, on their desires and their wishes. It is telling that in this direct quotation, the speaker identified that they have had little say in where they will live or whether they will return to Myanmar. Other concordances in this sample refer indirectly to the voice of the Rohingya people, as in the below:

9. *“Bangladesh since troops launched a security crackdown in response to militant attacks. Stop ignoring us: Rohingya refugees demand role in running camps. Refugees in Cox's Bazar complain the international aid community does not utilise their”*

10. *“largest refugee camp “terrified”, according to aid groups. Despite previous commitments that the return of Rohingya refugees would be on a safe, dignified and voluntary basis, the governments of Myanmar and Bangladesh announced a deal to begin”*

The above demonstrate the verb ‘demand’ and the adjective ‘terrified’, and together these constitute a picture of desperation, a recurrent theme in the investigation. On the other hand, despite this, there is a recognition that the ‘international aid community’ in the first line, and the ‘governments of Myanmar and Bangladesh’ are both failing in their responsibilities (as evidenced by the discourse marker ‘despite’). There is an implication here that it is the role of the governments to reduce unnecessary social suffering (at least in the case of the Rohingya), and despite terror and desperation, they are not achieving this goal. Criticism in this manner is based on the norm of intervention in solving such issues, rather than criticizing the societal causes of such issues which have been described in this research, in part at least, as stemming from social categorization, exclusion, discrimination, and othering.

6.4.4 ‘International’ Concordance Analysis

The collocation analysis for ‘international’ suggested strong relationships between the term and highly emotive terms such as ‘international fury’, as well as ‘international law’, and ‘international pressure’. Several of these terms have recurred throughout the sampled concordances, suggesting a high degree of intertextuality. In many cases, these are often referring to an either real, or imagined, international community. There is however a vagueness related to this description, as there is no clear description of who or what the international community contains. The below line demonstrates the vague framing of an international response:

11. *'Suu Kyi's long struggle for democracy in Burma. But since her election as the country's de facto leader there has been an international outcry over her lack of action to prevent alleged ethnic cleansing of her country's Rohingya Muslims by security.'*

The term 'outcry' denotes moral outrage or resistance against a perceived lack of action on behalf of Aung San Suu Kyi. There is a relationship here to an external group, an international community or group of actors responsible for the outcry, but this is not detailed further. Within this concordance there is equally an implicit criticism of the state of Myanmar. Use of qualifiers such as 'de facto' demonstrate that although Suu Kyi is in essence the leader of the country, she has been unable to prevent atrocities which are framed as coming from 'her country'. This seems to subtly critique the leadership and government of Myanmar. Equally 'security' is used to denote persecutors of the Rohingya people, again this could be considered an exophoric or intertextual reference, although no further detail is given.

Further concordances in the sample may also be seen to be subtly critical of states, governments, and countries, or at least, their effectiveness in tackling complex situations. The two concordances below are an example of this:

12. *"While the initial public-health response to the Rohingya's plight, from both the Bangladeshi government and the international community, was rapid and effective, the longer-term political response has been lacking. The government is now"*

13. *"be held to account. "Failure to act now in light of overwhelming evidence begs the question: what will it take for the international community to take justice seriously? " How you can help victims The Disasters Emergency Committee brings together"*

The first line demonstrates again a reference to an international community without further description, while acknowledging the suffering of the Rohingya people through terms such as 'plight' which indicate strong moral judgement and the right for the Rohingya not to suffer. The second demonstrates that again, an international community functions which does not take justice seriously. This can be considered a clear example of recognition of the injustice

experienced by the Rohingya, or the suffering of disrespect (Honneth, 1995). On the other hand, there is a call for action on behalf of the international community to act, presumably in an effort to reduce the experienced suffering of the Rohingya. This calls for reduction of unnecessary suffering but at the same time lays the blame on the undefined international community, while there is clear absence of detail regarding the persecutors of the Rohingya responsible for the suffering, and the underlying processes and actions such as exclusion which are taking place.

Further evidence of this comes from the following two concordances:

14. "Burma as it was previously known. You would be forgiven for assuming such stories would have brought swift and decisive international action. They did not. Visible progress towards any kind of justice for the minority Muslim group has been painfully"

15. "place them at severe risk of torture and abuse". Amnesty International said their deportation "violates customary international law". And after the ruling Mr Bhushan, the defence lawyer, said the seven men "may be tortured and even may be killed"

In the first, there is a clear recognition of the suffering of the Rohingya, and their right not to suffer, engaging in a form of dialogue with the reader through rhetorical questioning, in order to highlight the failings of 'international action' although there is no mention of voices from the Rohingya community themselves or of the state of Myanmar. Furthermore, the use of emotive terms such as 'painfully' indicates an empathetic stance, while the use of rhetorical framing 'you would be forgiven' assumes that the author and reader share the same normative claim, i.e. that such unnecessary suffering should be immediately acted upon and reduced by those who are able to do so. This implicitly grants the 'international community' power over such matters.

In summarizing the concordance line samples for 'international' it seems that there is some underlying criticism of an imagined, or unspecific, 'international community', as well as an implicit acceptance that it is this community that is responsible for reducing the suffering of the Rohingya, demonstrating a discourse of power dynamics which does not ascribe agency or voice to the Rohingya, but relates power to intergovernmental, governmental, and non-governmental

organisations. This is coupled with highly emotive language which suggests moral outrage and normative judgements indicating that such suffering is unacceptable; this evidences the universal norm of reducing unnecessary social suffering while also not explicitly describing what is happening to cause it; that is to say, the need for intervention is expressed, but the clarity of 'why' it must happen is obscured.

6.4.5 'Genocide' Concordance Analysis

The results of the sampling of 'genocide' as a token in the corpus reveals that most mentions, or a high proportion of mentions, are clustered around a specific event. This is that of the case at the International Court of Justice (ICJ) that the Gambia brought against Myanmar in early 2020. These samples often contain intertextual references to highly emotional quotations which appeal to historical acts of genocide, such as the following:

16. "It is indeed sad for our generation that 75 years after humankind committed itself to the words "never again", another genocide is unfolding right before our eyes,' Gambian Justice Minister Aboubacarr Tambadou told the court"

17. "rejects genocide claims at UN court Myanmar's leader Aung San Suu Kyi has defended her country against allegations of genocide at the UN International Court of Justice (ICJ). The Nobel Peace Prize laureate responded to widespread claims that"

Concordance 15 characterizes Myanmar as belonging to Aung San Suu Kyi, describe her as the defender of the country against allegations of genocide. This is related in a standard reporting style, with little judgement to be passed and few traces of revealing discursive patterns. This can be contrasted with other concordances from the sample such as 18, below:

18. *“mainly Buddhist country, regards the Rohingya as illegal immigrants and denies them citizenship. Blow by blow: How a ' genocide ' was investigated. Will Omar get justice for his murdered”*

The implication here is that Myanmar’s regarding the Rohingya people as illegal immigrants and denying them citizenship is an incorrect interpretation of events; this interpretation is further evidenced by the idea of a specific actor getting ‘justice’ as a victim of the genocide. On the other hand, the use of quotation marks in ‘apostrophe’ could also be seen as a hedging tactic to avoid an overt position or perspective. While it is more marginal, and more elusive, it seems that such instances still do provide support for the hypothesis that online British media in general move towards a position of recognizing the Rohingya people’s right not to endure unnecessary social suffering, and even recognizing the right to justice and citizenship. There is equally a case to be made for such a concordance subtly identifying the role of discrimination and exclusion, through the ‘denial’ of citizenship.

In the sample, ‘genocide’ also correlates highly with ‘flee’ and ‘fled’, and to ‘flee genocide’ contributes to an overall pattern of desperation, escape, and terror, which can be otherwise characterized as a discourse of extreme suffering. As an example, looking to the below concordance:

19. *“because the surveys don't account for the families who never made it out of Burma'. Myanmar refugee children who fled genocide now risk kidnap gangs forcing them into prostitution EXCLUSIVE: The plight of the Rohingya Muslims was spelled out in a”*

‘Fleeing’ is used in addition to ‘genocide’ and ‘plight’. This is clear evidence in support of the idea that generally, the tendency of online British media is one of recognizing and drawing attention to the cause of the Rohingya and the suffering experienced, portraying a broadly sympathetic view of events. Interestingly, there is an absence of agency in this construction when discussing the perpetrators of the genocide. There is no mention of who exactly is creating the social suffering, and this may be considered an element of intentional omission (silence) or a possible unintentional elision (absence). Other concordances are more explicit, as in the following:

20. *"solving some issues - such as the (order) that the government must ensure its military or armed insurgents do not commit genocide or attempt to commit genocide against Rohingya or Bengali," he said. More than 730,000 Rohingya fled western Rakhine"*

Relating the concordance analysis of the sampled lines for 'genocide' to the frequency and collocation analysis, it is possible to suggest that the closer inspection of such constructions highlights a general approach of recognition and sympathy to the Rohingya's suffering, as evidenced by agreement with accusations of genocide, terms such as 'plight' and calls for justice. On the other hand, there is some evidence of absence of agency when discussing genocide, with emphasis on the victims rather than the perpetrators (although there are exceptions as stated above). Equally, there is mention of 'fleeing' in conjunction with 'genocide' suggesting that this is a common construction – in relating this to the concordance analysis, it may be possible to argue that there is a level of priming that could occur with the terms 'Rohingya', 'flee' and 'genocide' thus contributing to how current crises are depicted in British online media discourse.

6.4.6 'Rights' Concordance Analysis

The following token for which concordance line samples were obtained through Sketch Engine was "Rights". As revealed in the collocation analysis, 'violations' is a common co-occurrence in the sampled concordances. Looking into detail, the below are typical of the selection of samples:

21. *"accusations". "Our stance is clear and I want to say sharply that we don't accept any resolutions conducted by the Human Rights Council," he said. Zaw Htay said the country has "zero tolerance to any human rights violation" and had set up a"*

22. *"state have been and continue to be subjected to the excessive use of forces and violations of international human rights law, international humanitarian law by the military and security and armed forces". And it called for Myanmar's"*

It is worth noting from these samples that mentions of human rights violations are not made outright in any of these samples. Rather, these are hedged with terms such as ‘accused’, ‘alleged’, or exophoric reference to other actors, such as the UN or non-specific ‘human rights campaigners’. It seems that in some cases, appeals to ‘human rights campaigners’ opinions is one method used to circumvent giving a strong, clear statement of the cause of crises affecting the Rohingya people, while equally demonstrating recognition for the right not to endure social suffering. This is exemplified by the below:

23. “Myanmar’s government spokesman, Zaw Htay, for comment and is awaiting a response. Last month, the main UN human rights agency expressed concern about the upsurge in fighting, especially attacks on civilians by both sides. Ravina”

In this sample, the ‘main UN human rights agency’ is described as ‘expressing concern’, thus negating the need for an indication of validity or opinion on behalf of the text’s author. Looking to a similar sample:

24. “driven from their homes. Rohingya have been classed as illegal immigrants in the country and have been denied civil rights. Their treatment has been described by the UN as “a textbook example of ethnic cleansing”. The latest mass exodus was”

Again an appeal to the UN is used in detailing the suffering of the Rohingya or discussing human rights. The reasons for this higher density of quotations and appeals to external actors when discussing human rights is unclear. It is feasible that this is due to the legal and highly formalized nature of human rights legislation, or it is to avoid making opinionated statements. These can however be considered methods of appealing to an external critique. Only one sample of these concordances appeals to the external actors of the UN and ‘rights groups’ and also expresses a critical stance, as in the below:

25. “For example, the UN Security Council still hasn’t referred Myanmar to the ICC for alleged country-wide abuses. Human rights campaigners believe this is necessary to make it clear to the world that future violations won’t be ignored. Fortify”

In this sample, the term 'still' expresses a lack of patience or critical approach to the UN Security Council for not yet achieving an action which they should have, thus highlighting an expected norm that this step should have been taken to reduce social suffering of the Rohingya. This is one of the few examples in this set of concordances which takes a strong normative position, while other samples tend to appeal to external actors, agencies, and organisations in reporting terms associated with 'human rights'. Although the sample is limited, there is ample evidence here that 'rights' is often associated with 'human', and when 'human rights' is discussed in the corpus, this is often in the presence of a quotation or intertextual reference to a 'group' or official intergovernmental agency, suggesting an appeal to a higher authority which is responsible for solving the situations of social suffering described.

6.4.7 'Government' Concordance Analysis

In relation to samples obtained for 'government', there are references to two separate governments in each of the lines, that of Bangladesh and Myanmar. When discussing Myanmar's government, two sampled lines refer specifically to the processes of social exclusion as in the below:

26. "The Myanmar government regards the Rohingya as illegal immigrants from the Indian subcontinent and refuses to grant them citizenship status"

27. "where Facebook posts whipped up hate. But the government of Myanmar, a predominantly Buddhist country, denies the Rohingya citizenship and even excluded them from the 2014"

These can be considered clear evidence that, in these cases at least, there is acknowledgement that the Rohingya should be given citizenship, and the government of Myanmar's refusal to do so is clearly depicted as exclusionary and discriminatory. This demonstrates that there is an underlying appreciation that citizenship would potentially solve some social suffering. On the other hand, while there is clear reference to citizenship and nationality as causative factors, a clear 'thinkable alternative' which took into account the basis of such denial of citizenship

(discrimination and othering) under such circumstances of a state which seeks to persecute is possible. For example, *'denies the Rohingya citizenship, although this would not guarantee a solution to discrimination'* could be considered a thinkable alternative which accounts for the inflexibility and uncertain efficacy of citizenship as a system to guarantee the end of this social suffering.

Across the sample of concordance lines for the term 'government', a number of different actors are referred to, including 'local football authorities', 'government's spokesman', and 'government of Bangladesh', as well as 'Myanmar government' or 'government of Myanmar'. It is worth noting that although this is a very small sample size, the connotations of the 'government of Myanmar' are generally critical, namely that they 'deny', 'refuse', 'decline to comment' and are 'urged' to take action. On the other hand, the single mention of the Bangladesh government states that they are taking 'positive steps.' A further avenue for research may be comparing the discourses surrounding Bangladesh and Myanmar as actors in the Rohingya crisis, as it seems that in this case, the samples from British online media take a generally favourable view of Bangladesh and a less-favourable view of Myanmar.

In summary, analysis of the concordances for the term 'government' reveals discourses of officialdom, including 'spokesmen' and 'authorities' who are urged to take action, or refuse to take action. In both cases, the underlying implication is that action is needed; it is possible to argue that this demonstrates a recognition that the Rohingya crises must be ended and social suffering reduced. There is however, no meaningful discussion of the principles underlying statelessness which cause such situations, nor the powers of tyrannical governments. Generally, these samples tend to portray citizenship as an answer through highlighting that it is a lack of citizenship which causes the Rohingya's social suffering, not the underlying social processes of discriminating, victimizing, and excluding which are expressed through the denial of participation in the national races truth regime (Cheesman, 2017).

6.4.8 'State' Concordance Analysis

The next term in the corpus which was identified for concordance analysis is 'state'. It was initially predicted that 'state' may be a revealing term in terms of discourses and representations, as a similar term to 'country' or 'government'. However, 'state' appears most frequently in the corpus to denote Rakhine state. This can be seen in the example below:

28. "pressure on Myanmar". He said the resolution did not attempt to find a solution to the complex situation in Rakhine state and refused to recognise government efforts to address the challenges. The resolution, the ambassador said, "will"

This said, there are other concordances which, although not revealing in relation to the term 'state', are revealing of positions of support, recognition, and sympathy. This can be seen in the below:

29. "crackdown as a "textbook example of ethnic cleansing". A year ago, government troops led a brutal crackdown in Rakhine state in response to attacks by the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army on 30 Myanmar police posts and a military base. Some"

In the above, it is clear that an opinion is expressed which is rarely seen in other areas of the concordance analysis. Although the collocation analysis revealed broad patterns and relationships between terms in the corpus, it struggled to identify such opinions, and other concordances analysed often used strategies such as direct quotations, obscuring agency through passive constructions, or qualifiers such as 'allegedly' in order to avoid indicating clear opinions on the responsibility for the suffering of the Rohingya people, although all have tended to recognize the existence of such suffering. This example however, clearly attributes such suffering to 'government troops' and labels their actions a 'brutal crackdown'.

Other concordances sampled also recognize the fact that statelessness through discrimination is a cause of social suffering, as in the below:

30. *“was taken. The Rohingyans have been a stateless community for decades as they are not considered legal citizens of any state. The title of this book, 136, refers to the Myanmar government officially declaring only 135 ethnic groups in Myanmar”*

Other instances, as mentioned previously in the corpus and discussed in similar research (Baker and Gabrielatos, 2008) refer to ‘fleeing’. Again, a common depiction of the event in Myanmar is one of a military crackdown, which is ‘brutal’ in nature. The use of ‘brutal’ serves to both generate a sympathetic approach to the Rohingya, and also to highlight the extreme violence perpetrated by the military, as in the below:

31. *“on 15 November. The UN has said conditions in Rakhine state , from which some 700,000 Rohingya fled in a mass exodus starting last year, "are not yet conducive for returns". And”*

32. *“arrested some five years before the brutal August 2017 military crackdown that led 700,000 Rohingya to flee Rakhine state in northern Myanmar, the men said the persecution dated to much earlier and they had fled "genocide" like the rest. But”*

In summary, although at first glance ‘state’ seems to be a straightforward geographical attribute, the broader context of these concordances there is evidence of support across the sample for reducing the unnecessary social suffering of the Rohingya, and there are mentions of statelessness, thus implicitly recognizing that statelessness is the cause of some, if not all, of the suffering experienced. There is also evidence of judgement of the military, particularly through use of attributive adjectives such as ‘brutal’ and nominalizations such as ‘crackdown’.

6.4.9 ‘Human’ Concordance Analysis

When analysing the concordance samples for ‘human’ there are several interesting findings. Generally, the term in the collocation analysis is highly correlated with ‘rights’, giving the phrase ‘human rights’ as a common occurrence within the corpus. However, the collocation analysis

could not give detailed information on exactly how ‘human rights’ as a phrase is employed in discourse surrounding the Rohingya people. Coming to the sampled concordance lines, use of ‘human rights’ is almost always an exophoric reference, or appears in quotation marks, such as a quote from the US Treasury:

33. "The US treasury department said military forces under his direct command had committed "serious human rights abuses"

Or this indirect report on activities of UK Prime Minister Boris Johnson:

34. "Boris Johnson pushes Aung San Suu Kyi to create safe space for Rohingya refugees and hold investigation into human rights violations in Burma Foreign Secretary held top level talks with the country's de facto leader after more than"

Aside from these, other mentions of ‘human’ occur with ‘rights’ in relation to named organizations such as the Human Rights Council, Human Rights Watch, the Asean Parliamentarians for Human Rights, and the UN Special Envoy on Human Rights. When these organizations are referred to, they are often evoking causes for the reprimand, punishment, or justice that the government of Myanmar should face. This is visible in the below:

35. "by the International Criminal Court on the anniversary of the crisis. The group, Asean Parliamentarians for Human Right, released a statement on August 24, 2018, saying Myanmar officials and military should be "brought to justice"

Although quotation marks are used, it can be argued that by including this, there is implicit support for such a statement. In considering a ‘thinkable alternative’ (Schroter and Taylor, 2018) it could be argued that leaving out such exophoric references, and especially quotes which call for imperative ideological action such as ‘bringing to justice’ would demonstrate a lack of support

or recognition for the Rohingya people. In other concordances, support and recognition of suffering is more explicit, although this is not quite as clear as with other terms searched for. Take the following concordance samples as an example:

36. "exist for all states, big or small. The desperate journey of Rohingya refugees forced to leave their homeland amid 'human rights nightmare' More than half a million Muslims have crossed the border to Bangladesh by foot, or sailed in on small"

37. "and much persecuted Muslim community deliberately used acid to burn off the faces of the dead. UN special envoy on human rights in Myanmar Yanghee Lee said: "These are part of the hallmarks of a genocide. You can see it's a pattern."

In the former it is difficult to see from the sample where the quotation source is for the 'human rights nightmare' referenced. However, there are other telling expressions which demonstrate recognition of suffering, such as 'desperate journey', or 'forced'. These can be seen as evidence in support of the hypothesis of recognition. In the latter, examples such as 'much persecuted' are apparent, along with the quotation from the UN special envoy on human rights, which points out the 'hallmarks of a genocide'.

6.4.10 'Violence' Concordance Analysis

Coming to the analysis of 'violence' within the corpus, the sampled lines demonstrate the main findings in the collocation analysis, that 'sexual' is often highly correlated and appears with 'violence'. In the collocation analysis, this had a high Log dice score of 12.83, suggesting that the two terms almost always coincide with one another. The following concordance provides an example:

38. *“Kyi looked impassive as Gambia's legal team detailed accounts of killings, including of women and children, sexual violence, and the destruction of tens of thousands of homes. Gambia's court has accused Myanmar of genocidal acts "intended to destroy”*

In the above, ‘sexual violence’ describes the acts perpetrated and described during the ICJ court case between The Gambia and Myanmar. The description juxtaposes the ‘impassive’ face of Aung San Suu Kyi, implying an absence of emotion or reaction, with terms of extreme suffering, of which sexual violence is one form. A further example can be seen below:

39. *“Bangladesh during the crackdown in Buddhist-majority Myanmar. There were widespread allegations of sexual violence and rape”*

Again, there is a degree of hedging which takes place in this description of events, through the use of ‘allegations of’ which is explainable by the reporting nature of online news media. However, it can be argued that use of ‘widespread’ implies that these are not singular allegations, and are therefore more likely, in a sense, to be true. Other concordances sampled offer stronger convictions in characterizing the situation, although this remains tied to the ‘discourse of suffering’ highlighted throughout the analysis so far. Take, for example:

40. *“Violence in Myanmar is WORSE than ISIS as infants are killed, filmmaker reveals THE VIOLENCE of ISIS does not come close to that”*

This concordance strongly implies a discourse of extreme suffering, including through the use of capitalizations of terms such as ‘violence’. On the other hand, there is no active recognition of the perpetrators of such violence, as the passive construction ‘are killed’ demonstrates. From this, it appears that while there is recognition of the suffering of the Rohingya, there is a hesitancy in creating constructions which directly attribute blame. There are possible explanations for this which do not necessarily mean it is a case of deliberately obscuring the agent; other explanations may be to highlight the importance of the victims of suffering rather than the agent who is inflicting suffering. This said, it is clear that there is a direct recognition of the social suffering

endured by the Rohingya in Rakhine State, although there is less description of its cause. In many cases, it is extremely overt, as in the below:

41. *"I have heard first-hand the harrowing stories of Rohingya families who have escaped persistent persecution, violence and tragedy. 'In the face of this new horror it is absolutely right that we step up to end their relentless suffering and'"*

Although again, this section is a quotation, there are clear references to 'horror' and calls to action for 'ending relentless suffering', as well as 'violence' and 'tragedy'. This suggests that when 'horrific' occurs with 'violence' in the corpus, as seen in the collocation analysis, it is often in reference to the suffering of the Rohingya people, rather than any other description of violence, and this supports the hypothesis that British online media discourses generally represent the Rohingya as a people who are experiencing great amounts of social suffering and require external help, giving rise to a normative claim that such suffering 'should' be ended.

6.4.11 'Flee' Concordance Analysis

The samples obtained for 'flee' feature the 'Rohingya' in the subject position, confirming suspicions from the collocation analysis. There are some cases in which these constructions do not clearly indicate who, or what the Rohingya are 'fleeing' from, as in the below:

42. *"Rohingya refugee crisis. British medical staff have flown to Bangladesh to help Rohingya refugees who were forced to flee Burma, marking 'another proud moment for the NHS' the Government said. More than 40 doctors, nurses and firefighters"*

40. *"During this time, members of ethnic minority groups were killed or injured by gunshot, often while fleeing, or by soldiers using large-bladed weapons; others were burned to death in their own houses. " Min Aung Hlaing has"*

43. *"He saw the menfolk murdered, tortured, mutilated. "He saw women dragged by their hair*

and gang raped. And children were fleeing for their lives, were grabbed and thrown into burning fires. This included babies”

44. “first hand the desperate plight of more than half-a-million Rohingya Muslims persecuted for their beliefs and fleeing for their lives amid accusations of horrific atrocities. Since August this year, around 620,000 refugees have”

Although these are limited samples, a pattern that emerges in these concordances is that of an extreme discourse of suffering, identifying ‘fleeing’ from extreme violence. In the above concordances, there are numerous passive constructions which do not highlight the agent producing the violence. On the other hand, while there is generally little evidence of explaining why fleeing is happening, or why murder, torture and mutilation is happening (a campaign of discrimination, exclusion and othering based on sociohistorical and ethnoreligious factors), there is some evidence that persecution is taking place. In the final concordance line, ‘persecuted for their beliefs’ appears. This seems to identify the role of exclusion in driving the acts of violence taking place against the Rohingya as they’re reported on, but does not clarify the role of beliefs; this seems to imply a religious dimension to the persecution being reported, which has been shown to be of less importance than factors relating to history, ethnicity, and practices stemming from colonialism. This could however, be seen as at least limited evidence for an acknowledgement of exclusion and discrimination playing a role in the cause of such violence.

In terms of attribution or agents creating circumstances to flee from, the passive construction above can be contrasted with other concordances such as the below:

45. “rights abuses”. “During this time, members of ethnic minority groups were killed or injured by gunshot, often while fleeing, or by soldiers using large-bladed weapons; others were burned to death in their own houses. ” Min Aung Hlaing has”

46. “gang rapes of Rohingyas and recommended six generals face genocide charges. More than 700,000 Rohingya Muslims have fled into Bangladesh since troops launched a security crackdown

in response to militant attacks. Stop ignoring us”

47. “in Rakhine and affected Myanmar's bilateral relations with several countries”, it added. More than 730,000 Rohingya fled Myanmar after a military-led crackdown in 2017, and were forced into squalid camps across the border in Bangladesh”

Of these four examples, all identify an agent who the Rohingya people are ‘fleeing from’. These are identified collectively as ‘troops’, ‘soldiers’, and ‘military-led’. In terms of generating thinkable alternatives (Schroter and Taylor, 2018) to identify potential absences, individual military terms such as ‘troops’ could be replaced with ‘Government forces’ or ‘Government and military-led’. Furthermore, ‘military-led crackdown’ could easily be replaced with ‘military-led campaign of persecution/discrimination/targeting/racism’ or another term which acknowledges the underlying structures which give rise to such suffering. It seems possible that while identifying military troops or soldiers as committing the actions, this is an interpretation of individual actions, rather than the collective actions of a government aiming to persecute and discriminate. This then, provides in some ways support for the hypothesis of absence of representation of discrimination and exclusion to an extent, while also hinting at some limited evidence of presenting persecution based on belief as a cause of such crises.

6.4.12 ‘Justice’ Concordance Analysis

When analysing the concordances for ‘justice’, many references are made to the ICJ (International Court of Justice), highlighting the importance of the court case brought against Myanmar by The Gambia in early 2020, and seen as the arbiter or enforcer of justice. This includes the below concordances which demonstrate such use:

48. “by trying - and failing - to justify their actions. So far, Myanmar has played by the rules of the International Court of Justice . But will it abide by these emergency measures? What has been the reaction? Rohingya groups have welcomed the decision”

49. *"of genocide at the UN International Court of Justice (ICJ). The democracy icon who fell from grace"*

50. *"of international public opinion, Aung San Suu Kyi was now trying to win over the 17 judges at the International Court of Justice (ICJ) - as she defended the same Myanmar military"*

There are, as a result, several mentions of Aung San Suu Kyi, who represented Myanmar at the ICJ. The way in which Suu Kyi is described is as trying to 'win over' the judges, and also is referenced as a 'democracy icon who fell from grace'. This can be contrasted with other concordances, also relevant to the ICJ case, which discuss the minister for Justice from The Gambia:

51. *"Gambia's Justice Minister Aboubacarr Tambadou told the court. "Yet we do nothing to stop it. This is a stain on our collective conscience"*

52. *"in hopes for temporary measures to protect the Rohingya. Abubacarr Marie Tambadou, the Gambia's attorney general and justice minister, opened the case against Myanmar. He declared the world had done "nothing" to stop the genocide as it unfolded"*

The third use of 'justice' is to imply a normative judgement, i.e. that the Rohingya are deserving of justice and have been treated unjustly. This can be understood as recognition of the Rohingya being denied a normative claim for existence free from disrespect. As with 'international' there are references to communities, law, and justice. Most commonly, this takes the form of a quote from an external actor within the text, as in the below:

53. *"said he was "very, very pleased". "I think this represents a triumph of international law and international justice and it is the international community - as represented by the ICJ - saying in the strongest of terms that genocide will"*

54. *"investigation. "So we will be talking to our friends and partners on the Security Council and elsewhere about how to do justice to the very grave crimes and the need for accountability that*

the FFM report so graphically outlines. " The UN's"

55. "assistance, including in an emergency, may be restricted or delayed in these areas. " Myanmar Rohingya: Will Omar get justice for his murdered family? Sitting on the floor of his makeshift school in the sprawling refugee camp of Cox's Bazar in"

These above identify that the judgement from the ICJ is one of justice and a discourse of legal terminology and social-political organisations emerges. There are many references to external agencies and actors such as the Security Council, the UN, and the ICJ. The term 'justice' appears not only as a title of employment, but also as a concept employed in discussing the Rohingya, and this is again associated with the discourse of suffering highlighted, with terms such as 'very grave crimes, 'murdered family', and 'graphically'. Together, these form a representation of extreme unnecessary suffering which does not only require correction (i.e. the cessation of such suffering) but also the need for corrective action against the perpetrators, who are not directly named as persons, but are identified as Myanmar and Myanmar's Military. It is possible, when inspecting this sample, to identify that there is an absence of discussion of what justice would entail, or what actions caused the suffering which justice needs to be delivered based on. In considering thinkable alternatives, a possible theoretical sample, or repeated samples, could include statements such as 'justice for the crimes committed against the Rohingya', 'justice for the discrimination experienced', 'justice for the ongoing campaign of racism'. All of these would more succinctly report the root causes identified in creating the Rohingya crises which have led to genocide, and results in the ICJ. These are seemingly absent from this concordance sample at least.

6.4.13 'Crisis' Concordance Analysis

'Crisis' is a revealing term in the concordance analysis, with several findings worthy of discussion. 'Crisis' collocates with 'refugee' highly, as revealed in the collocation analysis, and thus occurs in the concordance line samples too. One phrase that recurs is 'world's fastest growing refugee crisis', or the 'world's most urgent crisis' as in the below examples:

56. *"Mr Johnson said the subject, described as the world's fastest growing refugee crisis"*

57. *"Around 600,000 have fled to neighbouring Bangladesh since August. It is the world's fastest growing refugee crisis, according to the UN. How did the crisis start? Rohingya militants launched attacks on an army base and police posts in"*

58. *"Bazar region are fast becoming the world's biggest refugee camp. Leaders globally dubbed it the "world's most urgent crisis " with thousands facing - starvation and disease. Edouard Beigbede for Unicef said: "We need to give them hope for the"*

There are common intertextual references here which relate to global crises, and equally refer to organisations such as the UN and UNICEF. Stubbs (2005) argues that strong discourses are repeated in language, and that this can demonstrate that they are not idiomatic occurrences on behalf of the writer. From this, it can be interpreted that extremes and superlatives 'the world's biggest', or 'the world's most urgent' and 'fastest growing' are common occurrences when describing crises related to the Rohingya. Other important terms to consider here are the strong collocation between 'refugee' and 'crisis'. It is possible that such common interpretations reinforce the idea that the suffering of the Rohingya and the situations affecting them are similar to other refugee crisis, or appeals to a general conception of 'refugeeism'. This disregards the fact that the Rohingya crises are not necessarily a 'refugee' crisis, but rather a campaign of genocide, discrimination and exclusion, based on a racial truth-regime (Cheesman, 2017) and

applied to historical borderlands which do not accurately reflect modern day conceptions of the borders of nation states (Farzana, 2015).

Other terms that occur with 'crisis' in both the collocation and concordance analysis are 'prolonged protection' and 'Rohingya crisis'. On a broader level, there are many mentions of speed, intensity, risk, and suffering. This can be seen in the above 'world's fastest' and the below:

59. "including sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) and trafficking. For women and girls particularly, the refugee crisis in Bangladesh is fast evolving into a prolonged protection crisis. We need to look more closely at the risks people are"

60. "Bazar region are fast becoming the world's biggest refugee camp. Leaders globally dubbed it the "world's most urgent crisis " with thousands facing - starvation and disease. Edouard Beigbede for Unicef said: "We need to give them hope for the"

These repeated terms indicating superlatives, speed, and urgency could be said to constitute 'strong' discourses under Stubbs' (2005) definition. This also contributes to the interpretation of events as a contemporary and 'immediate' crisis (Leider, 2018), disregarding the historical context of the situation which extends back many hundreds of years.

In terms of the second hypothesis of this research, there is one instance of a concordance which refers implicitly to concepts of discrimination and exclusion, as in the below:

61. "build community resilience. This is what we do best. This is the role that we can play. But we must all be the voice of this crisis and provide the platform to address the needs and challenges. The international community needs to step up its efforts"

This concordance specifically makes a general plea for solidarity and community in addressing the Rohingya crisis, through use of inclusive pronouns 'we' and reference to a shared international community, as well as 'voice' being recognized. This is one example of clear support for the hypothesis of expecting recognition of the right not to suffer from disrespect, indicated through clear calls for action in mediating and helping to alleviate such unnecessary social

suffering. Looking at the sampled concordances of 'crisis' as a whole, there are many mentions of suffering, speed, urgency, risk, and components of 'murder', 'turmoil', 'communal violence', 'alleged abuses', and 'starvation and disease'. There are few mentions of the actors responsible, or perpetrators in these samples with the exception of one concordance as below:

62. "Around 600,000 have fled to neighbouring Bangladesh since August. It is the world's fastest growing refugee crisis, according to the UN. How did the crisis start? Rohingya militants launched attacks on an army base and police posts in"

The violence 'starting' in this way again hints at an immediate crisis (Leider, 2018) and therefore denies the importance of historical factors, including the role of a campaign of exclusion and discrimination. For this reason, it is also possible to interpret such concordances as superficial versions of events. In relation to the other concordances samples, there is a shared 'discourse of suffering' which highlights the extreme suffering of the Rohingya and is comparable to Brooten's (2015) SVS framework. There is also evidence of absence in regards to highlighting the role of discrimination and exclusion as historical and contemporary factors in creating such crises.

6.4.14 'Crime' Concordance Analysis

The sampled concordances for 'crime' reveal evidence of normative positions expressing moral outrage at the reported suffering. This includes strongly expression of moral outrage, relating to a semantic field of extreme suffering, with examples such as 'horrifying', 'slaughtered' and 'crimes so awful they are difficult to comprehend'. This can be seen especially in the following example:

63. "beginning of her horrifying story. She then reveals how babies and children were slaughtered in state- - sponsored war crimes so awful they are difficult to comprehend. In hushed tones, wary Fatima, 25, tells me: "They threw babies in the air and"

This example specifically identifies the nature of the crimes as being so morally outrageous that they are unspeakable and beyond understanding. The crimes are described as 'state-sponsored', offering some judgement on the main parties responsible. State-sponsored however, is a relatively opaque term; there is little evidence of acknowledgement that it is not the state endorsing such acts, but the state itself through military organs. Additionally, there is no reference to why such acts are taking place under the guidance of the state. There is an absence here in that the causes of these inhuman acts are decried as 'awful' and 'difficult to comprehend' but not described as caused by racism and discrimination. The nature of such acts being 'criminal' that is to say, violating either natural or human-made law, continue throughout the samples, and are exemplified in the following:

64. "other abuse amounting to what the US Holocaust Memorial Museum describes as compelling evidence of ethnic cleansing, crimes against humanity and genocide. Abdul Jabbar Amanullah, who fled in 2012, works as a senior case manager at the Rohingya"

65. "of what occurred are just horrific," he said. "What we know occurred in Rakhine state has a number of characteristics of crimes against humanity"

Simply, there is a general tendency in these samples to identify that crimes against humanity and war crimes are taking place and these are taken against the Rohingya people. There also appears to be recognition that these are 'heinous', 'horrifying', 'atrocities', and 'horrific'. Again, this demonstrates at least implicit recognition of the right not to suffer and strong normative judgements on what 'should' happen and what should not be allowed to happen. Acts of disrespect are strongly condemned and should not be allowed to happen; this can be related implicitly to the norm of reducing unnecessary social suffering. On the other hand, there is little description of the causes of this social suffering.

In describing this absence of discursive representation of the root causes of such suffering (discrimination, exclusion, and othering), there is however limited evidence that there is such an understanding reported in the corpus. This is information gained from the samples which

conflicts with the hypotheses of the investigation, and can be evidenced by the below concordances:

66. *“you are not welcome here. Certainly not as an honorary Canadian citizen. ” UN investigators uncovered heinous crimes against the civilians in northern Myanmar - claimed by the military leadership to be immigrants, terrorists and drug”*

67. *“to the commission of atrocity crimes” by failing to protect minorities from crimes against humanity and war crimes by the army in Rakhine, Kachin and Shan states. A year ago, government troops led a brutal crackdown in Rakhine state in”*

These highlight discrimination as a major cause of ‘heinous crimes against the civilians in northern Myanmar’, although they are not referred to explicitly as ‘Rohingya’ in this concordance, the use of qualifier ‘claimed’ implies the military are carrying out a discriminatory campaign in committing ‘heinous crimes’. In the second, there is mention of failure to protect minorities from the army in Rakhine (and Kachin and Shan states), which can be read similarly as discrimination, if not exclusion and othering. This may be limited evidence that there is some reporting of these social norms as causing the unnecessary social suffering of the Rohingya, although it is not explicit. In terms of generating alternatives, it is possible that more explicit recognition could be written as ‘failing to protect minorities from exclusionary practices which result in victimization, including crimes against humanity or war crimes’. This is a revealing section of the analysis.

6.4.15 ‘Cleansing’ Concordance Analysis

Looking deeper into the concordances sampled for the term ‘cleansing’, there is corroboration that as a fixed phrase, ‘ethnic’ tends to co-occur with ‘cleansing’ when discussing of reporting the actions of Myanmar’s state government and military apparatus against the Rohingya.

The first general trend that arises when inspecting the sample is that of a range of claims

demonstrating support for the rights of the Rohingya. In one example, there is a specific call to action for other interested parties to become involved in preventing such suffering:

68. "Australia should never give the impression that it's business-as-usual with no repercussions for Myanmar's ethnic cleansing campaign against the Rohingya. " Pearson has written to Australia's foreign minister, Marise Payne, arguing Min Aung"

A second example demonstrates recognition of the indigeneity, or right to citizenship and belonging of the Rohingya through the below example, which highlights that the Rohingya have lived in Myanmar for 'centuries', thus choosing a clear side in the historical debates described earlier.

69. "In the last four years, Rohingya, a centuries-old Muslim minority group in Myanmar, have been subjected to ethnic cleansing by the country's army and extreme nationalist Buddhist monks. More than half a million Rohingya have since poured into"

In these concordances however, as found by Brooten (2015) there is also a tendency towards describing the Rohingya as in need of 'saving' or 'protection', and equally discursive representations of 'pouring' which are reminiscent of the water-based metaphors used in describing refugees (Abid et al., 2017). It could be argued that 'centuries-old Muslim minority group in Myanmar' implicitly recognizes the claims of the Rohingya and thus agrees that their suffering, caused by the discrimination of the State of Myanmar, is unwarranted. The mention of 'ethnic cleansing' is directly attributable to 'the country's army' and 'extreme nationalist Buddhist monks', which identifies that the problem isn't only one of the military, but also of ethnoreligious discrimination by the majority group (thus contributing to expressing a discourse of 'othering').

In relation to the discourse of extreme suffering that recurs throughout the text, there is more evidence of this occurring around the node of 'ethnic cleansing'. Taking the below example, there is rich physical description with a high density of descriptive adjectives demonstrating the abhorrence of the suffering experienced by the Rohingya.

70. "in the air and slashed them with machetes'. Refugee women of Myanmar reveal the terrifying and bloody campaign of ethnic cleansing suffered by their people Whispered testimony from a traumatised Rohingya mother has revealed a gruesome new level of"

There is a theme of fear, desperation and extremity, depicted through terms such as 'terrifying', 'whispered', and 'traumatised', along with evaluative adjectives such as 'gruesome'. These can be taken to demonstrate strong evidence of the recognition of the right not to experience unnecessary social suffering. On the other hand, in both of the above examples there is little explanation of why such ethnic cleansing is taking place, or no attributable reason. As a small sample, it is possible that such evidence would appear later, but in terms of 'thinkable alternatives' (Schroter and Taylor, 2018), direct explanation of the 'traumatising' and 'gruesome' activities should equally be attributed not only to those undertaking them, but also the reason for why it is being justified. This would lead to a clearer understanding or 'deeper' recognition of the Rohingya's right not to suffer unnecessarily. As media 'constitutes and constructs' the world while 'bringing the world to us' (Silverstone, 2007 cited in Strand, 2018) it is necessary that the causes of such social suffering are not absent from discourse. These patterns are equally visible in other concordances extracted for this sample:

71. "and murdered a Buddhist woman. The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights has called it a "textbook example of ethnic cleansing " More than 1,600 children who are - separated from their families are among the wave of - exhausted, sick, hungry and"

72. "of August and indeed continues to go on until this day. "We are talking about whole villages being burnt, razed, ethnic cleansing in effect. "This is violence that is perpetrated against a people who, in any case, have few the human rights that human"

In the above, there are external appeals, again to the UN, which is an example of intertextual reference that continues to occur throughout the corpus, which highlight the 'textbook examples' of ethnic cleansing and relaying information on children in extreme states of suffering (exhausted, sick, hungry). The second concordance discusses the burning of villages and violence

against the Rohingya, recognizing their (lack of) human rights; this is entirely passively constructed which obfuscates the agents, and equally does not take aim at the reasons (discrimination) which drive the agents (Myanmar's government and security forces) to inflict such suffering and rights violations.

Finally, two of the sampled concordance lines in this analysis discuss Aung San Suu Kyi directly. The first of these is a quotation regarding an event of 'handing back the key to the city' due to Suu Kyi's simultaneous holding of the privilege:

73. "be a hypocrite now were I to share honours with one who has become at best an accomplice to murder, complicit in ethnic cleansing and a handmaiden to genocide. " has said he will hand back his Freedom of the City of Dublin because Aung San Suu Kyi holds"

The selection of this quote may be attributable to a third-party, but has still been chosen for inclusion and highlights Suu Kyi as a 'handmaiden to genocide' and 'complicit in ethnic cleansing'. The second concordance equally highlights Suu Kyi as 'complicit' in ethnic cleansing, while the third mentions a less committal 'accusations hanging over the head' of Suu Kyi.

74. "to prioritise her tenure in office over anything else has come at too significant a cost - her complicity in the ethnic cleansing of the Rohingya people. "LSESU has a long history of embracing political progress and speaking out against corruption"

75. "Political unrest has dogged the country in recent years, with accusations of genocide and ethnic cleansing hanging over premier Aung San Suu Kyi LEEDS are planning a post-season tour to Burma - going against Government"

'Ethnic cleansing' appears regularly as a fixed term in the corpus, and the sampled concordances show several patterns and traces of discourses. As seen before, regular references to external standards and bodies such as the UN appear alongside descriptions of horrific levels of suffering and descriptions of crimes and acts of violence. There are often no clear identifications of the actors responsible, although there is clear description of the Rohingya as the victims. Likewise, in

terms of considering the research questions, there are several instances of implicit recognition of the Rohingya people's claims to indigeneity, but without this in close context to explanations of the processes giving rise to their suffering and the crises being described.

6.5 Concordance Analysis Summary

The collocation analysis confirmed a discourse of extreme suffering, with common terms appearing together which hinted at a possible general pattern based on the call to 'protect' the Rohingya from 'horror', 'atrocities', 'violations' and 'citizenship'. A conspicuous absence was noted from the collocation analysis (based on high frequency keywords in the corpus) regarding the causes of such suffering being described. This was revealed through contrast with a theoretical set of alternative collocates based on introspective enquiry (Partington, 2018) or 'thinkable alternatives' (Schroter and Taylor, 2018) which could have appeared alongside terms being investigated, such as an example of 'discriminatory' and 'military' or 'racist' and 'government', or 'exclusion' and 'international'. To provide further insight and triangulate the findings through multiple methods, the concordance analysis was essential in answering the research questions.

Broadly speaking, evidence was found in support of the hypothesis that British online media would take a stance of at least superficial recognition of the right not to experience unnecessary social suffering. This was also hinted at from the collocation analysis, given the Rohingya as subject often collocated with 'protect' and the recurring use of descriptive adjectives such as 'heinous', or 'horrific' to describe the moral outrage at the suffering described. In the concordance analysis, such support for recognition of the right not to experience such unnecessary socially caused suffering was confirmed. Examples included describing the world as 'failing' the Rohingya, the response as being 'lacking' from the 'international community', and the description of 'plight', 'collective suffering', and persecution. Each of the concordances sampled demonstrated a tendency to refer to a discourse of extreme suffering, often identifying the Rohingya as the recipients of such suffering and in need of protection, as found by Brooten (2015), and less often highlighting military or state organs of Myanmar as causing it. Generally, actions undertaken such as burning, raping, killing, murdering, or other forms of violence were

depicted as morally outrageous and preventable. This provides strong support for the first hypothesis of the research. On the other hand, the second hypothesis was not as strongly supported by the concordance analysis. While there was absence of explicit mention of discrimination and exclusion as driving forces behind the creation of a national race truth-regime (Cheesman, 2017) or a campaign of genocide caused by 'othering', there was limited mention of persecution and equally limited description of plausible solutions. One example of solutions that did recur in the concordance analysis is that of providing citizenship. Although the denial of citizenship implicitly highlights that exclusion from the state is one solution, this has been shown to be the formal consequences of a larger campaign of discrimination through the creation of national races truth regimes (Cheesman, 2017) and so is not necessarily a legitimate solution.

Moving away from evidence for and against the two hypotheses of the research, the first research question aimed to understand the discursive representation of Rohingya identity in British online media. As a result, several incidental findings were noted during the concordance analysis, which could only be viewed when looking at each category holistically and from a birds' eye view. The first of these is an unexpected absence of voice. A recurrent theme throughout many, if not all, of the concordances sampled is that of shared intertextual references to external bodies, including quotations from the UN, the ICJ, the UNHCR, and the 'international community'. Other intertextual references include those to individual actors such as Boris Johnson and Aung San Suu Kyi. However, there are comparatively few quotations from members of the Rohingya community themselves, the people who experienced such actions themselves. Moreover, when these instances do occur, they are generally not directly quoted but paraphrased or reported in the third person. Consequently, there is little evidence of the 'voice' of the sufferers forming part of the discursive representation of the Rohingya crises and identity.

A second point that became clear from the concordance analysis was a consistent vagueness of depictions of events and justifications for such events. Examples of this included a varied array of references to actors inflicting violence including 'the military', 'the army', 'state-sponsored troops'. 'Myanmar', 'military-led' and 'military crackdown'; no distinction is drawn between these groups, and it is thus unclear of exactly what and who is instigating the acts of violence

being described; this is compounded by reference to specific actors such as Aung San Suu Kyi, and reference to groups such as 'extreme Buddhists' without further explication. This leads to an overall vagueness in the concordances analyzed. Although it is possible that this will always be the case when investigating samples of texts which appear isolated from their greater context, it appears that there are at times self-contained items of vagueness or confusion. One example is the recurring idea of 'persecution for their beliefs' which raises questions as the historical background of this research has identified that belief systems in and of themselves play a small part in the overall campaign of discrimination and exclusion taking place against the Rohingya.

Finally, the concordance analysis also revealed similarities to other studies in terms of water metaphors (Abid et al., 2017), describing the Rohingya as 'pouring' over borders. Other semantic fields related to size and number, often superlative in nature, were apparent throughout the sample, such as 'the world's biggest refugee crisis', 'the world's fastest growing', or 'the world's most urgent'. These contribute, along with the discourse of extreme suffering, to a picture of vital urgency and desperation. Following this section of the analysis, it is possible to inspect the results of the CADS techniques employed as a whole, in order to ascertain the answers to the research questions. This will be completed in the following section.

6.6 Results and Discussion Summary

The results of this research provide insight into understanding the depicted identity of Rohingya identity in UK online media, thus highlighting the way in which the 'new social space' (Scholz, 2019) of online media can be an important discursive location for the struggle for recognition (Maia, 2014). Beginning with the frequency analysis, the density of non-grammatical words in the corpus revealed similar patterns to the RASIM study (Baker and Gabrielatos, 2008), in that categories of terms relating to provenance, destination, and transit, number, residence, legality, and plight featured heavily. On the other hand, two additional categories were created based on the concepts of 'actors' and 'justice'. That is to say, a great deal of the high-frequency terms in the corpus related to specific collective actors such as the UN or the ICJ, and individual actors such as Aung San Suu Kyi, Boris Johnson, or Barack Obama. As preconstructed or semi-preconstructed phrases can 'suggest unconscious associations which are ways that discourse can

be maintained' (Baker and Gabrielatos, 2008, p22), then it can be interpreted from the frequency analysis that discourses of legality, a broad range of collective and individual actors, and plight, transit, and provenance form a major discursive constellation in the UK online news media.

In terms of highlighting absences, the categories revealed by the frequency analysis offer space for reflection. In regard to the theory of recognition (Honneth, 1995), rather than simply words for 'plight' or expression of suffering, there could have been words which demonstrate solidarity or calls for action, such as 'act' or 'respond', 'responsibility' or 'support'. Equally, where 'justice' is mentioned, there could have been a higher density of words relating to the causes of such injustice being described, as in 'persecution', 'discrimination', 'racism', 'unfair', or 'illegal'. Although some of these words exist in the corpus, they did not appear in the highest-frequency list.

After analysing and inspecting the highest frequency terms, the collocation analysis aimed to identify the relationships between words which potentially revealed discursive patterns within the corpus (Koester, 2010). In answering the first research question, the frequency analysis was only able to give indications of possible patterns which could reveal 'traces of discourse' (Baker, 2006), as without understanding relationships of how certain words were used, no firm conclusions could be drawn. On the other hand, the collocational analysis took these terms, narrowed down to those most likely to yield relevant results, and then demonstrated the patterns that appeared between them. In this sense, the methods move from broad, non-specific measures such as frequency, through to narrower methods, then finally very narrow, qualitative concordance analyses, representing a top-down approach.

The collocation analysis demonstrates a clear pattern which contributed effectively to answering the research question, 'How are the Rohingya people discursively represented in UK online media?' Simply, there is evidence that 'Rohingya' is highly correlated with terms indicating both the need for protection (i.e. protect) and the high level of suffering, persecution, and disrespect (Honneth, 1995) they are experiencing (i.e. destroy, kill). In addition, the collocation analysis reveals that in coherence with Afzal's (2016) findings that there seems to be a high degree of

sympathy and moral outrage at the suffering the Rohingya are experiencing. This is evidenced by the collocation of words such as 'Rohingya' and 'atrocities', or 'heinous' and 'genocide', and terms such as 'justice' and 'rights' being correlated highly with pre-modifying 'violation'. Other evidence for this comes from the strongly emotive terms such as 'horror', and 'nightmare'. This suggests that there is fundamentally, recognition of the Rohingya's right not to experience such unnecessary social suffering. This said, the collocation results again, imply traces of discourse but must be triangulated interpretation of the text at a granular level. If this was not undertaken, there would not be sufficient evidence that the collocational patterns corresponded to the researcher's interpreted meaning. For example, while 'horror' and 'genocide' may highly collocate, there is an interpretive element to assuming that these terms are consistently being used to describe the Rohingya crises as a 'horrific genocide'; concordance analysis helps to confirm this interpretation.

In regard to the investigation of absences, again it was theorized, based on the results, of alternative hypothetical findings which could have represented varying discourses. An example analysed would be 'Myanmar', instead of highly correlating with terms such as 'authorities' or 'military', it could have correlated highly with 'discriminates' or 'persecutes'. This would create a clearer sense of agency and identify the root causes of the social suffering that the Rohingya are experiencing as a result of the actions of the state of Myanmar and its associated forces. This is one case from the collocation analysis which demonstrates a potential absence and thus confirms the second hypothesis of the study, and answers the second research question as yes, a necessary contradiction may be said to exist between the discourses of sympathy, moral outrage, and unnecessary social suffering, and the acceptance of a hegemonic discourse order which does not identify the role of discrimination and 'othering' as creating such suffering.

Finally, the concordance analysis also revealed similarities to other studies in terms of water metaphors (Abid et al., 2017), describing the Rohingya as 'pouring' over borders. The overall patterns suspected from the frequency and collocation analysis were confirmed, with many instances describing the suffering of the Rohingya and calling for protection, describing acts as 'heinous', 'horrific', and creating a discourse of extreme suffering and the need for intervention

and protection, as found by Brooten (2015). In terms of answering the research questions, this sufficiently answers the first. However, in analysing the absence of discussion of the causes of social suffering (i.e. discrimination, exclusion, and absence based on these as accepted norms stemming from social categorization), there is some limited evidence that there is not an entire absence of this as depicted in British online media discourse. Although there is no explicit mention of the causes of social suffering as discrimination, exclusion, and othering, there are at times mentions of persecution, and certainly mentions of genocide which do perhaps suggest that racism and discrimination is a cause of their unnecessary social suffering.

In summarizing the threads of this investigation, it can be said that in British online media, there is a tendency to depict the Rohingya crises as immediate and morally outrageous. There are repeated calls for protection of the Rohingya, and a 'discourse of extreme suffering' which describes events as nightmarish and disgusting. There are consistent intertextual references to the United Nations as the sole arbiter and source of information, and there are recurrent vague references to the 'military', and the 'government'. This is an important result as intertextuality can 'form a type of discursive relation between aspects of social formations and practices' (Farrelly, 2019, p2). In this case, it is possible to interpret the 'newsgiver' (Fairclough, 1992, p284) as the United Nations or UNHCR, while the media outlet is a passive reporter, and the reader is a passive recipient. This brings the same 'voice' (Fairclough, 2003, p40) into multiple texts in the corpus and multiple articles. In analysing intertextuality, Fairclough argued that it is useful to ask which voices are included, which are excluded, and what significant absences exist (Fairclough, 2003, p284). In this case, the voice of official intergovernmental organisations is consistent; the voice of members of Rohingya communities or even researchers is conspicuously absent. This hints at a value system which can be considered as belonging to a particular discourse (Fairclough, 2003, p56), namely, that the voice of authority, reason, and judgement is that of the UN.

There is equally a significant absence of identification of the causes of such morally outrageous suffering, which are the campaign of discrimination, exclusion, and othering that have taken place for centuries in a cycle of violence. This satisfies the first research question and the first

aim of the investigation. Regarding the second aim of the investigation and the research question which is aimed at providing an immanent critique, there is enough evidence to suggest a necessary contradiction that emerges from these structures of society, as found in media discourse. The absence of recognition of root causes of social processes such as discrimination, othering, and exclusion in creating unnecessary social suffering is irreconcilable with discourses of recognition and denouncing unnecessary social suffering as morally outrageous and to be reduced.

CHAPTER SEVEN – LIMITATIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Limitations

This investigation has answered effectively the first research question and research aim, and has been able to achieve the second aim, although there are potential avenues for further exploration and analysis of traces of discourse which go against the second hypothesis and immanent critique. This said, broadly, it appears that discursive absence hints at an uncritical acceptance of practices of social exclusion and discrimination, which is in necessary contradiction with expressions of sympathy and recognition of the right not to experience such suffering. The limitations of the investigation include the inability for statistical measures used to determine mental priming, synchronic study as opposed to diachronic study, subjectivity, researching absence as a new approach, and a lack of analysis of visual material as opposed to text. The discussion of such limitations and considerations for addressing these in further study is outlined in the below passages. One important limitation to note is that this research only investigates one discourse. It is possible that there are multiple discourses which do not tend to follow the findings in this research. Consequently, further study in other areas or discursive spaces may help to illuminate the subject further. Aside from this larger limitation, there are several other structural limitations that can be considered in detail.

7.2 Mutual Information and Log Dice Scores as Mental Priming

In researching the collocations within the corpus, one limitation based on current available statistical measures is that of establishing the threshold needed for mental priming. Durrant and Doherty (2010) identify that relating to Mutual Information (MI), a score of 6 is required for mental priming to take place. Mental priming is important as it results in thinking of, or interpreting one word as resulting in the triggering of thinking of another (Baker, 2014, p136). MI is less effective a measure when compared to Log Dice, especially with low frequency terms (Collins, 2008) while Log Dice 'scales well on different corpus sizes' (Rychly, 2008, p9). There is currently no consensus or empirical information as to what score is required in Log Dice to trigger mental priming, as there is with MI. While it can then be considered that a higher score is more likely to result in lexical priming, thus giving information about the discourses examined, it cannot be said at what level specifically priming may occur. This is one limitation of the statistical analysis of collocations through the Word Sketch feature. One method (MI or Log Dice) was required to be chosen, and in this case, due to the low frequency nature of the small, specialized corpus, Log Dice was preferable.

7.3 Synchronic versus Diachronic and Representativeness

Firstly, it is important to consider that as a synchronic study, it can demonstrate 'insights into the cumulative ideological effects of repeated language use' (Koteyko, 2014, p21) and thus give insight into the discourses prevalent in modern society. It cannot do the same thing that a diachronic study can, which is to reveal 'how ideology is developed and maintained through mutually supporting statements' which are connected in time and space (Koteyko, 2014, p21). In other words, this research can be considered a 'static snapshot' of discourse represented by the three years of data collection from 2017 – 2020. Further research could aim to expand the period to create a diachronic study. However, the pilot study of this research revealed that there was little available online media data prior to 2017, indicating that such a project would not provide enough depth to produce reliable research results.

In addition to this, a question to consider is the representativeness of the corpus and size of the corpus. The study here is a small corpus (coming to almost 90,000 words) but is representative

of a range of online British media outlets which it is argued represent a new social space (Scholz, 2019) in which discourse emerges. Farzana (2017) argues that the Rohingya have received little attention in public discussion and in scholarly work, and this is one reason for the limits of the size of the corpus. Without expanding to include further contexts, genres, and mediums, the collection of further data was not possible.

7.4 Objectivity and Subjectivity

A further issue is identified by Mautner (2009), who argues that the rise of the internet may contribute to a confirmation bias, as researchers could in theory choose data which supports their hypotheses. This has been addressed through using a range of sampling techniques, including random sampling and collection of data in a systematic, non-bias way, although 'strict objectivity can never be achieved in corpus assisted- analysis as in any other form of enquiry' (Koteyko, 2014, p30).

Partington, Duguid and Taylor (2013) contend that there is a risk in corpus studies generally of neglecting the context of the corpus. This research attempted to situationally and contextually place the research within a broader historical paradigm through genealogical method, thereby creating a 'history of now' (Garland, 2013) which analyzes historical events through multiple lenses and through the investigation of multiple voices. This approach is hoped to have made the context of the research, and the corpus, clear. Some evidence may be found in favour of Leider's (2018) view that the Rohingya crises are portrayed as immediate in online media, thereby ignoring the broad historical and social factors which contribute to it. It is also stated that one method of reducing this risk is when corpora are created by the analyst themselves in CADS (Partington, Duguid and Taylor, 2013), and this is a reason for the creation of a small specialized corpus in this study. While this is a positive point, it's also the case that 'the use of a corpus does not in itself guarantee reliability or validity' as 'a cherry-picked example from a corpus is still a cherry-picked example' (Partington, Duguid and Taylor, 2013, p241). This limitation of the CADS approach was one reason for using random sampling in the concordance analysis, although even in this case, it is possible that some concordances were focused on more than others. Overall, however, corpus-assisted discourse analysis allows us to reduce researcher bias, and allows

triangulation through use of multiple techniques, which facilitates validity checks (Baker, 2006, p15). In this case, multiple techniques (frequency, collocation, and concordance) were used to achieve such triangulation.

7.5 The Challenge of Researching Absence

One limitation encountered is the difficulty of investigating absence in discourse. Despite corpus approaches containing an 'armoury' for locating and verifying absence (Partington and Duguid, 2018), absence is a wide-ranging endeavour which is best explored through comparison and contrast (Partington and Duguid, 2018). Ruiz Ruiz (2014) states that implicit elements are present in all social discourse, and that equal balance should be given to both implicit and explicit features, although the lack of development in methods to research implicit discursive strategies often leads to them being ignored. Although effort was made to distribute the analysis evenly between implicit and explicit analysis, the lack of tools for analysing absence makes it a more challenging endeavour.

In this research the choice was made not to use comparative corpora, but to use a single, specialized corpus in order to best answer the research question. This perhaps limits the reliability of the identification of absence in this media discourse. If a further corpus of physical texts taken from print newspaper, as well as a corpus of radio or television transcripts was used for comparison, perhaps absence would be more reliably researched. To do this however would come at the expense of the first research question and aim of the study, so it is best noted for other projects. A further point is that typically 'the corpus-based analysis tends to focus on what has been explicitly written, rather than what could have been written but was not or what is implied, inferred, insinuated or latently hinted at' (Baker et al., 2008, p296). Switching from this traditional method of corpus-based analysis to search for absences required a shift in perspective from the researcher.

Ruiz Ruiz (2009) argues that hidden discourse, which is similar to absence, can be used to conceal items or result in ideological manipulation. On the other hand, having identified and argued for such an absence in the corpus, explaining the meaning and cause of the absence is a more difficult

task, as 'not all absences are necessarily meaningful, or at least not in the way we might first think' (Partington and Duguid, 2018, p42). One limitation is that while it was found in the corpus that there is a noticeable and common absence throughout in terms of describing the root causes of social suffering that are lamented and given sympathy (or in terms of recognizing the right not to suffer from disrespect), the meaning of this absence is not so easily diagnosable. The reason for such absence may be that this is part of the hegemonic discourse order, which is at its most powerful when uncritically accepted (Baker, 2006). On the other hand, it may be due to genre-specific requirements or other unknown reasons. However, the fact that the corpus as a whole does not show evidence (through the analysis) suggests that it cannot be due to personal writing style of the authors who composed the texts. For this reason, while it is a limitation in terms of the certainty with which it may be argued that the absence is evidence of a social norm which is uncritically accepted, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that this is likely the case.

7.6 Text and Visuals

Richardson and Wodak (2009) assert that academic study has turned towards visual media, moving from linguistic discourse to include pictorial and visual studies. Likewise, Hamman et al. (2018, p52) contend that 'discourse analysis would produce a partial picture of social meaning-making practices if it ignored aspects of reality that are not shown in texts.' At first glance, this project has mainly involved analysing text, although it has done so by recognizing that 'the formal rules that make linguistic forms' (Hamman et al., 2018, p52) may give rise to language which demonstrates discourses in social contexts. Small utterances as well as large textual corpora are required for such analysis (Hamman et al., 2018, p52). Furthermore, this analysis does not stay at the textual or linguistic level, but instead moves towards the social context, and ultimately theoretical interpretation through the perspective of immanent critique. This said, it is possible to expand the research base, as some authors have already done (Constantine, 2016) by exploring visual and pictorial evidence of discourse as well. This is a limitation of the present research, and further investigation in this direction would be complementary and important in advancing the research agenda to give rise to social change.

7.7 Implications and directions for future research

The results of this research have highlighted several areas for further investigation in future, in order to contribute to the lack of scholarly attention given to the subject of the Rohingya (Farzana, 2017). Areas that should be expanded include health research and efforts to control and prevent the COVID-19 pandemic which has occurred from late 2019 onwards. At the time of writing, large-scale preparations are being carried out for the event of the pandemic reaching densely populated camps (Ahmud, 2020). These practical efforts are of paramount importance, along with study of effectiveness and practicalities in implementation.

From a media analysis perspective, areas relevant to the research project at hand include expanding the corpus to include texts of different genres, different mediums, and comparisons of both English media and media in other languages. Comparative analysis is a method for investigating absence (Partington, 2018) which can be effective. In this study, only theoretical comparisons were made; this could be contrasted with different corpora to help ‘triangulate’ findings and provide a greater depth of investigation. Furthermore, inclusion of visual discourse analysis may complement the broadly textual analysis undertaken here. Authors have had success in applying techniques to investigate absence through visual media, such as Durrani’s (2018) investigation of averted gazes of Iranian women. This is important to consider as Hamm et al., (2018) contend that by using textual studies, only a partial picture of discourse can be obtained.

7.8 Conclusion

This research study has aimed to firstly, understand the discursive representation of the Rohingya people in UK online news media, and identify contradictions in such depictions to form an immanent critique. Overall, the investigation demonstrated that there are a number of discourses which commonly recur in British online media regarding the Rohingya. A discourse of extreme suffering is ever present, and there is clear recognition of the Rohingya’s right not to experience unnecessarily social suffering. There is evidence of outrage, repulsion, and fury, along with calls for intervention throughout the corpus. This demonstrates a difference between the

common representation of 'refugees' found in other studies, as KhosraviNik (2014) points out, his investigation found 'exclusionary rhetoric' which has been found in many other European studies. On the other hand, these results are similar to Afzal (2016) who found that in Pakistan, Britain, and the USA, representations were largely sympathetic to the Rohingya. Incidental findings included that similarities were found in terms of the 'water metaphors' noted by Abid et al. (2017) and Gabrielatos and Baker (2008), and from an intertextual standpoint, most concordances sampled made intertextual reference to the UN and UNHCR as arbiters and truth-givers, or producers of facts. Likewise, the voice of members of the Rohingya community was also almost completely absent, evidencing Strand's (2018) point that such media discourses may reflect only dominant groups' opinions and values, rather than those of suppressed minorities. This again leads to a struggle for visibility (Strand, 2018).

These findings could broadly be stated as evidence that in UK online news media, there is recognition of the right not to experience unnecessary social suffering from various forms of disrespect which are referenced throughout the corpus. One issue that needs to be considered in terms of the framework of recognition is whether that this is truly identifying the rights of the Rohingya people, or whether it is, as Afzal (2016) suggests, an emotional appeal to keep the readers interest and portray an 'immediate crisis'. In this case, if true, it could be the case that such depictions are ultimately of false recognition, in an aim to gain readers' attention. As Baker (2018, p254) points out, 'bad news sells, and newspapers identify typical audiences and often pander to their prejudice'.

Although Leider's (2018, p101) views have been controversial, his contentions that there is a 'relentless, repetitive news cycle of gloom and despair' surrounding the Rohingya can be considered at least partially accurate based on this research. Leider (2018, p101) contends that issues such as peace and reconciliation have been 'painfully absent' from political conversations, and likewise, there is little reference to peace and reconciliation throughout the corpus investigated here. What is more, however, is that there is limited recognition of the root causes that are creating such 'gloom and despair' and driving the security forces of Myanmar to commit

atrocities against the Rohingya. It has been well established in the literature that the issue is one of exclusion, discrimination, and creation of an 'other' outside an established truth-regime of national races (Cheesman, 2017). This is likely a result of social categorization and 'othering' based on a complex history of conflict and politics, made worse in cases by vestiges of colonial structures which created ethno-occupational stratifications (Pugh, 2013). If there is a 'painful absence' of discussions of peace in political discourse, there is an even more painful absence of such social processes driving extreme human suffering. There are hints of this, with reference at times to persecution, and even religious beliefs, but these are few and far between and not evidenced strongly throughout the frequency, collocation, and concordance analysis. As media 'constitutes and constructs' the world (Silverstone, 2007 cited in Strand, 2018) then in order to change society, it is of vital importance that such discourses identifying the effects of such social norms are present, and not uncritically accepted or left unmentioned.

If the reduction of unnecessary social suffering is a transcendent, universal norm (Herzog, 2019) and there is a legitimate social order, it must forbid extreme forms of discrimination or exclusion (Honneth, 2012, p74). The recognition of the unnecessary social suffering of the Rohingya people as a result of such processes in online British media discourse demonstrates that this is the aspirational norm of the society in which the discourse takes place. This is in necessary contradiction with the absence of recognition of social norms which create such suffering. In other words, both cannot coherently exist together. At the level of social totality (Herzog, 2019) this demonstrates that there requires a change in society and discourse to identify causes of suffering immanent in society and bring them into visible space. This may lead to societal change and greater coherence, having identified this pathology.

Methodologically speaking, investigating absence through CADS is a new and not yet well-developed protocol. There have been challenges and limitations to address, but it is hoped that this can form a part of the research literature in this area too in order to develop a robust basis for further study. It was found that the synergistic benefits of combining in-depth interpretive analysis with generalized elements of quantitative analysis (Baker, Gabrielatos, and Khosravini, 2008). The decontextualized nature of corpus analysis was a benefit in this sense, to allow inspection of broad discourses as a whole, although it came at the loss of vantage points of

ideologies or views of specific authors and discourse producers (Baker, 2006). The investigation of absence is not straightforward, being 'as multi-layered as discourses themselves' (Schroter and Taylor, 2018, p11), but investigating known absences (Partington, 2018) was possible through the use of CADS techniques here, offering revealing evidence of absences. It is necessary to note that the reasons for such absences cannot be easily explained, but it is possible that these are the result of a hegemonic discourse order, at its most powerful when it is uncritically accepted or taken for granted (Baker, 2006).

In closing, this investigation has attempted to use CADS and the analysis of absence in order to understand the discursive representation of suffering of the Rohingya people, while at the same time using Honneth's (2012) framework to reveal the 'pathological character of society through provoking a new way of seeing social reality' (Flynn, 2008, p2). This research is therefore a 'part of a struggle for recognition, against disrespect, misrecognition and social suffering (Herzog, 2019), driven by a similar impetus to Baker (2018, p284) who states that his own research has 'been inspired by dismay at the capacity to treat others badly'. This is a beginning point, and while corpus analysis has been used to answer the research questions and aims in this project, it is also necessary for future research to 'step outside the corpus as a way of making better interpretations and explanations' (Baker, 2018, p288).

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Frequency and Collocation Analysis Dataset

Dataset is Available on Request For Frequency and Collocation Analysis Data.

Appendix 2 - Concordance Line Samples

Rohingya Concordance Line Samples

put a noose around our necks. " The Hague-based International Court of Justice ordered Myanmar on Jan. 23 to protect the Rohingya against further atrocities and preserve evidence of alleged crimes, after west African nation the Gambia launched a

team will ask the 16-member panel of United Nations judges at the ICJ to impose "provisional measures" to protect the Rohingya before the case can be heard in full. PROTECT THE ROHINGYA Boris Johnson pushes Aung San Suu Kyi to create safe space for

disaster is an impressive achievement, the status quo is not sustainable. International efforts to guarantee the Rohingya safe return to Myanmar have been ineffectual. Continued financing by Bangladesh and the donor community is

Myanmar's leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, arrived at The Hague to defend the country over claims of genocide against its Rohingya Muslim minority. Scores of Rohingya supporters gathered outside the International Court of Justice, some clutching

desperate. As tensions inside Cox's Bazar mount, violence has become a daily occurrence and we know that there are many Rohingya refugees desperate to return to their homes," Manish Agrawal, Bangladesh director for the International Rescue

for seven years. The court found them guilty of violating a state secrets act while investigating violence against the Rohingya minority. Wa Lone and Kyaw Soe Oo, both Myanmar citizens, were arrested while carrying official documents they had

outcome of this case? For now, The Gambia is just asking the court to impose "provisional measures" to protect the Rohingya in Myanmar and elsewhere from further threats or violence. These will be legally binding. To rule that Myanmar has

in Rakhine and affected Myanmar's bilateral relations with several countries", it added. More than 730,000 Rohingya fled Myanmar after a military-led crackdown in 2017, and were forced into squalid camps across the border in

Refugee Agency. She spoke of the "depths of suffering" she saw at the Bangladesh camps and said the world had "failed the Rohingya ". A year ago the Sunday Mirror visited Cox's Bazaar, 70 miles south of Bangladesh's financial capital Chittagong, and

of genocide for their brutal security crackdown in Rakhine state the previous year, which drove more than 700,000 Rohingya into Bangladesh. The easiest way for this to happen would be for the UN Security Council to refer the case to the

Myanmar Concordance Line Samples

that there was "ample evidence" that the army committed the killings without giving specific details. It accused Myanmar's forces of "deliberate, false and misleading lies" aimed at discrediting the group. Reuters was unable to

should report back within four months on how it was implementing the ruling. What now for Aung San Suu Kyi? By Nick Beake, Myanmar correspondent, BBC News This judgment has surely obliterated any remnants of Aung San Suu Kyi's international

often their very communities, even families ... we need to ensure this issue is brought on at the highest world stage. " Myanmar jails reporters for exposing massacre THERESA May has demanded the immediate release of two journalists jailed in

Will Omar get justice for his murdered family? Myanmar has long denied carrying out genocide and says it is carrying out its own investigations into the events of 2017. The

Union and Canada have sanctioned Myanmar military and police officers over the crackdown. Reuters called the Myanmar military spokesman but an assistant said the spokesman was busy and unable to speak Deaths of 16 Rohingya at sea raises

fair the findings will be, noting that some of the members of the commission are considered to be biased in favour of the Myanmar military. A formal agreement between Bangladesh and Myanmar to repatriate the Rohingya people does exist, however as

commission are considered to be biased in favour of the Myanmar military. A formal agreement between Bangladesh and Myanmar to repatriate the Rohingya people does exist, however as yet, no refugees have officially returned

it's meant to be accurate, not set people against each other. " DIVISIVE LEADER Who is Aung San Suu Kyi, when was Myanmar's leader born in Burma and what has she said about the Rohingya crisis? She was once admired around the world, but now the

of the people living there," said Dan Chugg, British ambassador to Myanmar. "Today's reported shelling of a school on Myanmar's Children's Day, following recent deaths of women and children, highlights the impact this is having on innocent

I hope they're proven right Aung San Suu Kyi to defend Myanmar against charges of Rohingya genocide at top UN court Myanmar's civilian leader and Nobel peace laureate Aung San Suu Kyi will head up a delegation to the UN's top court to defend a case

action has to stop. We also want to see humanitarian support being able to get through to provide support to the Rohingya people . " She added: "Boris Johnson has been here at the United Nations doing important work yesterday in a meeting on Burma. "

due to send back the first 130 of 2,260 Rohingya scheduled to return in November. Officials compiled a list of names of people that had been picked to return but conceded that so far everyone has refused. "We won't force them back," Bangladesh's

The fuller Rohingya story is about much more than our collective suffering at the hands of Myanmar's military. We are a people with agency, strength and resourcefulness, who seek dignity and meaning in our daily lives, just as others do. The

Zia added: "We need proper shelters, with high-quality plastic and bamboo. And we need to get a more balanced diet, most people are just getting rice and they can't survive on that. " With so many vulnerable people crammed into a tiny space, Zia

of bullets flew at their backs. The air was thick with smoke and Shamsark screamed at her children to hold hands as people fell around them. Four bullets pierced Khalad and he dropped to the ground, bleeding and unconscious. As the gunmen

through piles of rubbish, goats and cows chew on plastic, rice farmers wade through their paddy fields. These are the people who opened their hearts and homes to the thousands of Rohingya, about 80,000 of whom are not in the camp but living with

of her rule has given way to widespread criticism for her failure to act and prevent the persecution of the Rohingya people in the eastern state of Rakhine. What has Aung San Suu Kyi said about the Rohingya crisis? The treatment of the Rohingya

live. Violence has broken out in the Rakhine state as a result of conflict between the Myanmar military and the Rohingya people . Over the past few months, members of the Minhaj-ul-Quran on Greenhill Road have collected thousands of pounds worth

but that masks the pain of a new, living hell. Rashada said: "In Myanmar I went out to play all the time, but here people tell us not to go outside alone because we might be kidnapped. " She remains haunted by the murder of her parents and added

Refugee Concordance Line Samples

refusal to allow a credible investigation, to offer freedom of movement or a clear path to citizenship, will deter most refugees from returning. That would leave the balance between Muslims and non-Muslims as it is; perhaps the "unfinished

same. It made me realise I had to do something. " Uzma spent two weeks on the Greek island of Lesbos cooking for hundreds of refugees who have fled there from war-torn areas including Syria, Afghanistan and Somalia. She said: "It has been said that once

Bangladesh since troops launched a security crackdown in response to militant attacks. Stop ignoring us: Rohingya refugees demand role in running camps Refugees in Cox's Bazar complain the international aid community does not utilise their

Scots aid worker meets the women Rohingya refugees who escaped death but struggle in camp ill-equipped for females ActionAid is delivering 'dignity kits' to women who

have been subjected to ethnic cleansing by the country's army and extreme nationalist Buddhist monks. Many of the refugees who have poured into Bangladesh accused the army in Myanmar of carrying out mass killings, arsons and rapes. The first

bare hillside. Here, she had to try to construct a new life for her surviving family. Here, in a "town" of nearly 1 million refugees , where only temporary shelters were allowed. Here, where the rain washed the topsoil off deforested hillsides into

Mr Johnson said: 'I spoke to her about my own experience witnessing the terrible conditions of the Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh, and my deep concern about their future. 'I underlined the importance of the Burmese authorities

largest refugee camp "terrified", according to aid groups. Despite previous commitments that the return of Rohingya refugees would be on a safe, dignified and voluntary basis, the governments of Myanmar and Bangladesh announced a deal to begin

Bangladesh. The Hollywood star and humanitarian arrived on Monday and is to spend three days assessing the needs of the refugees and the "critical challenges" the country faces as it hosts them, according to the United Nations refugee agency UNHCR

appeared in the list without their consent. "They did not ask me whether I wanted to return to Myanmar," Siam Mia said. Refugees have held many protests in recent months against the repatriation process. Among their demands is the guarantee of

International Concordance Line Samples

Suu Kyi's long struggle for democracy in Burma. But since her election as the country's de facto leader there has been an international outcry over her lack of action to prevent alleged ethnic cleansing of her country's Rohingya Muslims by security

on narratives and not hard evidence". "We are convinced that armed conflicts can only be ended with political means. " International has been focused on the outflow" of refugees from Bangladesh, he said. "We call on Bangladesh to fulfil it's

presenting serious immediate and long-term challenges for the government of Bangladesh, aid organisations, and the international community. We were among a group of researchers from the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies and the

While the initial public-health response to the Rohingya's plight, from both the Bangladeshi government and the international community, was rapid and effective, the longer-term political response has been lacking. The government is now

be held to account. "Failure to act now in light of overwhelming evidence begs the question: what will it take for the international community to take justice seriously? " How you can help victims The Disasters Emergency Committee brings together 13

very grave crimes and the need for accountability that the FFM report so graphically outlines. " The UN's Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on Myanmar was set up in March 2017 to investigate allegations of human rights abuses in Myanmar (

he said. "The government here and the people of Bangladesh have been amazingly generous in their response. But the international community has provided a lot of support. "So far, the UK, through DFID, has committed Pound59 million to respond to the

during their period Menstruating women are not allowed to read the Quran 16 per cent of girls aged 15-19 surveyed by Plan International had been or were pregnant Monu Mia, a Rohingya camp leader who is married with six children, said he was told by a

Burma as it was previously known. You would be forgiven for assuming such stories would have brought swift and decisive international action. They did not. Visible progress towards any kind of justice for the minority Muslim group has been painfully

place them at severe risk of torture and abuse". Amnesty International said their deportation "violates customary international law". And after the ruling Mr Bhushan, the defence lawyer, said the seven men "may be tortured and even may be killed"

Genocide Concordance Line Samples

They should [concentrate on] the perpetrators. " Than Htoo said she had flown in from Myanmar. "I don't believe the genocide claims," she said. "We want to tell the world the truth. " Aung San Suu Kyi conceded that her country had made some

torched and burnt alive. Hundreds of women were raped. It called for top generals to be investigated and prosecuted for genocide . The Senate voted unanimously on Tuesday to strip Ms Suu Kyi of the symbolic honour bestowed on her in 2007, following a

the US Holocaust Memorial Museum describes as compelling evidence of ethnic cleansing, crimes against humanity and genocide . Abdul Jabbar Amanullah, who fled in 2012, works as a senior case manager at the Rohingya center, helping new arrivals

'It is indeed sad for our generation that 75 years after humankind committed itself to the words "never again", another genocide is unfolding right before our eyes,' Gambian Justice Minister Aboubacarr Tambadou told the court. 'Yet we do nothing

mainly Buddhist country, regards the Rohingya as illegal immigrants and denies them citizenship.

Blow by blow: How a ' genocide ' was investigated Will Omar get justice for his murdered

solving some issues - such as the (order) that the government must ensure its military or armed insurgents do not commit genocide or attempt to commit genocide against Rohingya or Bengali," he said. More than 730,000 Rohingya fled western Rakhine

rejects genocide claims at UN court Myanmar's leader Aung San Suu Kyi has defended her country against allegations of genocide at the UN International Court of Justice (ICJ). The Nobel Peace Prize laureate responded to widespread claims that

a full Indian feast. " Myanmar became an international pariah during Dan's travels because of the persecution and genocide of thousands of Rohingya Muslims. He says he was unaware of the situation when visiting there but his personal

because the surveys don't account for the families who never made it out of Burma'. Myanmar refugee children who fled genocide now risk kidnap gangs forcing them into prostitution EXCLUSIVE: The plight of the Rohingya Muslims was spelled out in a

Robertson, deputy Asia director for Human Rights Watch. "Having faced crimes against humanity and quite possible genocide at the hands of Myanmar's military generals, no wonder that the Rohingya are worried. They are being told it's alright

Rights Concordance Line Samples

accusations". "Our stance is clear and I want to say sharply that we don't accept any resolutions conducted by the Human Rights Council," he said. Zaw Htay said the country has "zero tolerance to any human rights violation" and had set up a

Win Myint. Although famous for its sweet treats and tea shops, the country's military has long been accused of human rights abuse against one group of people Who are the Rohingya? The Rohingya people are an Indo-Aryan ethnic group who practise

incorrect". And in an article for the Financial Times published shortly before the court's judgement she said human rights groups had condemned Myanmar based on "unproven statements without the due process of criminal investigation". "The

state have been and continue to be subjected to the excessive use of forces and violations of international human rights law, international humanitarian law by the military and security and armed forces". And it called for Myanmar's

armed forces. " And it called for Myanmar's forces to protect all people, and for urgent steps to ensure justice for all rights violations The resolution also urged the government "to expedite efforts to eliminate statelessness and the

in Rakhine State, but also in Kachin and Shan States," the EU members said. "Accountability of perpetrators of human rights and humanitarian law violations is a necessary part of this process. " More than 700,000 Rohingya fled to Bangladesh

Myanmar's government spokesman, Zaw Htay, for comment and is awaiting a response. Last month, the main UN human rights agency expressed concern about the upsurge in fighting, especially attacks on civilians by both sides. Ravina

And you would have to go a long way until you find a football club with no skeletons in their owners' closets. Human rights But these two assertions miss the point. No matter how many pictures appear of Leeds players interacting with

For example, the UN Security Council still hasn't referred Myanmar to the ICC for alleged country-wide abuses. Human rights campaigners believe this is necessary to make it clear to the world that future violations won't be ignored. Fortify

driven from their homes. Rohingya have been classed as illegal immigrants in the country and have been denied civil rights . Their treatment has been described by the UN as "a textbook example of ethnic cleansing". The latest mass exodus was

Government Concordance Line Samples

in Bangladesh was not to risk coming back, and finding themselves similarly confined to guarded camps. What does the government say? We approached the Myanmar government's spokesman for a response to our findings in Rakhine, but have not received

bank and of course the local football authorities, which under FIFA regulations must operate independently from the government . "We see this as an opportunity for Leeds United to be pioneers and break down barriers and build relationships with

There are about 1.33 million Rohingya, according to the Immigration Ministry. What are their lives like? The Myanmar government regards the Rohingya as illegal immigrants from the Indian subcontinent and refuses to grant them citizenship status

where Facebook posts whipped up hate. But the government of Myanmar, a predominantly Buddhist country, denies the Rohingya citizenship and even excluded them from the 2014

the verdict saying it was "an open secret" that anyone exposing "atrocities of the Myanmar army" would be persecuted. Government spokesman Zaw Htay didn't respond to requests for comment about the verdict. He has mostly declined to comment

my parents before Australia and PNG authorities make me a fool mentally, or killed physically. " The Australian and PNG governments have vowed the Manus detention centre will be completely shut down by 31 October. Officials have been withdrawing

don't make a right. Making Myanmar look good In visiting Myanmar, Leeds are not explicitly agreeing with the ruling government or its actions. But they are legitimising it. Sporting occasions are excellent opportunities for countries to

humanitarian agency Save the Children dubbed the tragic accident on Tuesday a "wake up call. " It urged the Myanmar government to take all necessary steps to ensure the Rohingya can return to their homes in a safe and dignified manner. In November,

story they were investigating when they were imprisoned, wait in overcrowded camps until it's safe to return home. The government claims that time is now, but clear guarantees of rights and freedom of movement are still missing. Regardless of

community" praised the decision. "We believe this is a positive step and a clear indication of the commitment by the government of Bangladesh to ensure access to learning for Rohingya children and adolescents, as well as to equip them with the

State Concordance Line Samples

a west African state that belongs to the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation. It alleges there has been "extrajudicial killings ...

the foundation for sustainable development in Rakhine," it added in a statement. Myanmar, a predominantly Buddhist state, has always insisted that its military campaign was waged to tackle an extremist threat in Rakhine state. During her

crisis. A Burmese judge yesterday found Wa Lone, 32, and Kyaw Soe Oo, 28, guilty of breaching a colonial-era law on state secrets and sentenced them both to seven years in prison. The Reuters reporters were prosecuted after exposing a

pressure on Myanmar". He said the resolution did not attempt to find a solution to the complex situation in Rakhine state and refused to recognise government efforts to address the challenges. The resolution, the ambassador said, "will

was taken. The Rohingyas have been a stateless community for decades as they are not considered legal citizens of any state. The title of this book, 136, refers to the Myanmar government officially declaring only 135 ethnic groups in Myanmar,

crackdown as a "textbook example of ethnic cleansing". A year ago, government troops led a brutal crackdown in Rakhine state in response to attacks by the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army on 30 Myanmar police posts and a military base. Some

of ethnic cleansing we continue to determine ourselves. " On Monday night Mrs May was more outspoken than Mr Tillerson, stating that the situation was "a major humanitarian crisis which looks like ethnic cleansing. " Her words echoed those of the

on 15 November. The UN has said conditions in Rakhine state, from which some 700,000 Rohingya fled in a mass exodus starting last year, "are not yet conducive for returns". And

arrested some five years before the brutal August 2017 military crackdown that led 700,000 Rohingya to flee Rakhine state in northern Myanmar, the men said the persecution dated to much earlier and they had fled "genocide" like the rest. But

to the Rohingya by name while in Myanmar, but local Church authorities asked him not to - he called during a meeting with State Counsellor Aung San Suu Kyi for the human rights of all ethnicities and religions in Myanmar to be respected. In

Human Concordance Line Samples

any resolutions conducted by the Human Rights Council," he said. Zaw Htay said the country has "zero tolerance to any human rights violation" and had set up a Commission of Enquiry to respond to claims regarding the Rohingya made by the UN and "

ROHINGYA Boris Johnson pushes Aung San Suu Kyi to create safe space for Rohingya refugees and hold investigation into human rights violations in Burma Foreign Secretary held top level talks with the country's de facto leader after more than

in the US are frozen. The US treasury department said military forces under his direct command had committed "serious human rights abuses". "During this time, members of ethnic minority groups were killed or injured by gunshot, often while

abducted pastor, named only as Taher, were abducted from their shelter in the camp on January 27. His wife Roshida told Human Rights Watch that she fears her husband has been killed. She added: 'No one can give me any clear information, but my

by the International Criminal Court on the anniversary of the crisis. The group, Asean Parliamentarians for Human Right, released a statement on August 24, 2018, saying Myanmar officials and military should be "brought to justice".

exist for all states, big or small. The desperate journey of Rohingya refugees forced to leave their homeland amid ' human rights nightmare' More than half a million Muslims have crossed the border to Bangladesh by foot, or sailed in on small

and much persecuted Muslim community deliberately used acid to burn off the faces of the dead. UN special envoy on human rights in Myanmar Yanghee Lee said: "These are part of the hallmarks of a genocide. You can see it's a pattern. Mohammad

And you would have to go a long way until you find a football club with no skeletons in their owners' closets. Human rights But these two assertions miss the point. No matter how many pictures appear of Leeds players interacting with

razed, ethnic cleansing in effect. "This is violence that is perpetrated against a people who, in any case, have few the human rights that human beings would expect. " Authorities in Myanmar have been accused of seizing on attacks carried out by

trip to date, Pope Francis is visiting the two countries at the centre of the crisis. Under conflicting pressures - human rights organisations wanted him to refer to the Rohingya by name while in Myanmar, but local Church authorities asked

Violence Concordance Line Samples

'I have heard first-hand the harrowing stories of Rohingya families who have escaped persistent persecution, violence and tragedy. 'In the face of this new horror it is absolutely right that we step up to end their relentless suffering and

between Aung San Suu Kyi winning the 1991 Nobel peace prize and her present position as chief denier that any ethnic violence has been perpetrated against the Rohingya has astonished international human rights organisations. Last year, the

state. During her defence statement at the court in The Hague, Myanmar's de-facto leader Aung San Suu Kyi described the violence as an "internal armed conflict" triggered by Rohingya militant attacks on government security posts. What did the

Kyi looked impassive as Gambia's legal team detailed accounts of killings, including of women and children, sexual violence , and the destruction of tens of thousands of homes. Gambia's court has Myanmar of genocidal acts "intended to destroy

At least 6,700 Rohingya, including at least 730 children under the age of five, were killed in the month after the violence broke out, according to medical charity Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF). Amnesty International says the Myanmar

rape and burning", which has been described by some as widespread ethnic cleansing. More than 600,000 people fled the violence , bringing the total number of Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh to around 900,000. UN Secretary-General Antonio

Bangladesh during the crackdown in Buddhist-majority Myanmar. There were widespread allegations of sexual violence and rape. Aung San Suu Kyi: The democracy icon who fell from grace report telling of "high levels of gender-based and domestic violence " in 12 camps in Cox's Bazaar, Bangladesh. UNICEF said girls on the outskirts of the slums were "at risk of sexual

You can see Hannah McKay's body of work in the above gallery. Violence in Myanmar is WORSE than ISIS as infants are killed, filmmaker reveals THE VIOLENCE of ISIS does not come close to that

condemnation and criticism ever be converted into the prosecution and conviction of the perpetrators of unspeakable violence ? How many years will the victims have to wait? But many refugees still have faith in the international community to

Flee Concordance Line Samples

Rohingya refugee crisis. British medical staff have flown to Bangladesh to help Rohingya refugees who were forced to flee Burma, marking 'another proud moment for the NHS' the Government said. More than 40 doctors, nurses and firefighters

rights abuses". "During this time, members of ethnic minority groups were killed or injured by gunshot, often while fleeing , or by soldiers using large-bladed weapons; others were burned to death in their own houses. " Min Aung Hlaing has

gang rapes of Rohingyas and recommended six generals face genocide charges. More than 700,000 Rohingya Muslims have fled into Bangladesh since troops launched a security crackdown in response to militant attacks. Stop ignoring us:

Refugee camps can be dangerous for women, who make up more than half of the 624,000 Rohingya people who have fled since August. ActionAid work to make refugee [HYPERLINK:

He saw the menfolk murdered, tortured, mutilated. "He saw women dragged by their hair and gang raped. And children were fleeing for their lives, were grabbed and thrown into burning fires. This included babies. " She also met mothers who had "lost

could be brought against Myanmar after campaign against Rohingya people Around 630,000 Rohingya Muslims have fled Myanmar into Bangladesh Genocide charges could be brought against Myanmar following the country's campaign against

first hand the desperate plight of more than half-a-million Rohingya Muslims persecuted for their beliefs and fleeing for their lives amid accusations of horrific atrocities. Since August this year, around 620,000 refugees have

in Rakhine and affected Myanmar's bilateral relations with several countries", it added. More than 730,000 Rohingya fled Myanmar after a military-led crackdown in 2017, and were forced into squalid camps across the border in Bangladesh.

of watching their homes burn down Pope Francis is visiting Bangladesh, where he has met Rohingya refugees forced to flee Myanmar. Below, Zoe Corden, a charity worker for CAFOD's Emergency Response Team, details her experiences meeting

and exhausting journey to safety in Bangladesh. They were just the latest of 620,000 Rohingya refugees who have had to flee Myanmar since 25 August, arriving with virtually nothing. This week, in his most sensitive overseas trip to date, Pope

Justice Concordance Line Samples

it did say that war crimes had occurred, and were being investigated and prosecuted by Myanmar's national criminal justice system. It also blamed condemnation by "human rights actors" for affecting Myanmar's bilateral relations with some

by trying - and failing - to justify their actions. So far, Myanmar has played by the rules of the International Court of Justice . But will it abide by these emergency measures? What has been the reaction? Rohingya groups have welcomed the decision

in hopes for temporary measures to protect the Rohingya. Abubacarr Marie Tambadou, the Gambia's attorney general and justice minister, opened the case against Myanmar. He declared the world had done "nothing" to stop the genocide as it unfolded

human kind committed itself to the words never again, another genocide is unfolding right before our eyes," Gambia's Justice Minister Aboubacarr Tambadou the court. "Yet we do nothing to stop it. This is a stain on our collective conscience. "

of genocide at the UN International Court of Justice (ICJ). The democracy icon who fell from grace the ICC ruled it had jurisdiction in the case because Bangladesh, where victims fled to, is a member. Will Omar get justice for his murdered family? Myanmar has long denied

said he was "very, very pleased". "I think this represents a triumph of international law and international justice . And it is the international community - as represented by the ICJ - saying in the strongest of terms that genocide will

investigation. "So we will be talking to our friends and partners on the Security Council and elsewhere about how to do justice to the very grave crimes and the need for accountability that the FFM report so graphically outlines. " The UN's

of international public opinion, Aung San Suu Kyi was now trying to win over the 17 judges at the International Court of Justice (ICJ) - as she defended the same Myanmar military

assistance, including in an emergency, may be restricted or delayed in these areas. " Myanmar Rohingya: Will Omar get justice for his murdered family? Sitting on the floor of his makeshift school in the sprawling refugee camp of Cox's Bazar in

Crisis Concordance Line Samples

Mr Johnson said the subject, described as the world's fastest growing refugee crisis

This week, the United Nations said the speed and scale of the influx made it the world's fastest growing refugee crisis and a major humanitarian emergency. A comparison can be drawn with the murder and turmoil which followed partition

Around 600,000 have fled to neighbouring Bangladesh since August. It is the world's fastest growing refugee crisis, according to the UN. How did the crisis start? Rohingya militants launched attacks on an army base and police posts in

British experts have visited Bangladesh and the UK recently pledged an extra Pound12 million to deal with the crisis. A report is being drawn up at the Foreign Office on supporting victims; it may include training more workers how to

Estimates of their numbers are often much higher than official figures. In the last few years, before the latest crisis, thousands of Rohingya made perilous journeys out of Myanmar to escape communal violence or alleged abuses by the

Cross and Oxfam. To make a donation, head here or call 0370 60 60 610. Rohingya crisis : UN chief warns refugees must be repatriated to Myanmar safely Hundreds of thousands of Rohingya Muslims fled Myanmar

including sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) and trafficking. For women and girls particularly, the refugee crisis in Bangladesh is fast evolving into a prolonged protection crisis. We need to look more closely at the risks people are

build community resilience. This is what we do best. This is the role that we can play. But we must all be the voice of this crisis and provide the platform to address the needs and challenges. The international community needs to step up its efforts

This week, in his most sensitive overseas trip to date, Pope Francis is visiting the two countries at the centre of the crisis. Under conflicting pressures - human rights organisations wanted him to refer to the Rohingya by name while in Myanmar

Bazar region are fast becoming the world's biggest refugee camp. Leaders globally dubbed it the "world's most urgent crisis " with thousands facing - starvation and disease. Edouard Beigbede of Unicef said: "We need to give them hope for the

Crime Concordance Line Samples

regime has been branded genocidal by a UN fact finding mission, which published a report last month on the extent of crimes against the country's Rohingya Muslim population. Army and police personnel "systematically" killed thousands of

you are not welcome here. Certainly not as an honorary Canadian citizen. " UN investigators uncovered heinous crimes against the civilians in northern Myanmar - claimed by the military leadership to be immigrants, terrorists and drug

other abuse amounting to what the US Holocaust Memorial Museum describes as compelling evidence of ethnic cleansing, crimes against humanity and genocide. Abdul Jabbar Amanullah, who fled in 2012, works as a senior case manager at the Rohingya

beginning of her horrifying story. She then reveals how babies and children were slaughtered in state- - sponsored war crimes so awful they are difficult to comprehend. In hushed tones, wary Fatima, 25, tells me: "They threw babies in the air and

he added. A UN team previously conducted its own investigation and found grounds for charges of genocide, war crime and crimes against humanity. The team were not allowed into Myanmar and mainly interviewed Rohingya refugees in crowded camps in

report was considered an extraordinary accomplishment as it contained dozens of testimonies and confessions of crimes against the Rohingya Muslims, with accounts from paramilitary police directly implicating the military. The

of former Rohingya villages in Myanmar. Scots firm sold Pound70k of tech to Myanmar army accused of genocide and war crimes Aberdeen-based Veripos is named in a UN report along with 59 other international firms. A Scots firm sold more than

to the commission of atrocity crimes" by failing to protect minorities from crimes against humanity and war crimes by the army in Rakhine, Kachin and Shan states. A year ago, government troops led a brutal crackdown in Rakhine state in

of what occurred are just horrific," he said. "What we know occurred in Rakhine state has a number of characteristics of crimes against humanity.

Kachin and Shan states, as well as the immediate release of the Reuters journalists. "Impunity for mass atrocity crimes reverberates internationally and is a detriment to the world," said CEO, Matthew Smith. "Journalism is not a crime but

Cleansing Concordance Line Samples

In the last four years, Rohingya, a centuries-old Muslim minority group in Myanmar, have been subjected to ethnic cleansing by the country's army and extreme nationalist Buddhist monks. More than half a million Rohingya have since poured into

west coast. According to Amnesty International, the Rohingya people are on the receiving end of a brutal "ethnic cleansing campaign" perpetrated by Myanmar's security forces. The organisation estimates 600,000 Rohingya have been forced

Australia should never give the impression that it's business-as-usual with no repercussions for Myanmar's ethnic cleansing campaign against the Rohingya. " Pearson has written to Australia's foreign minister, Marise Payne, arguing Min Aung

be a hypocrite now were I to share honours with one who has become at best an accomplice to murder, complicit in ethnic cleansing and a handmaiden to genocide. " has said he will hand back his Freedom of the City of Dublin because Aung San Suu Kyi holds

in the air and slashed them with machetes' Refugee women of Myanmar reveal the terrifying and bloody campaign of ethnic cleansing suffered by their people Whispered testimony from a traumatised Rohingya mother has revealed a gruesome new level of

and murdered a Buddhist woman. The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights has called it a "textbook example of ethnic cleansing." More than 1,600 children who are - separated from their families are among the wave of - exhausted, sick, hungry and

In the last four years, Rohingya, a centuries-old Muslim minority group in Myanmar, have been subjected to ethnic cleansing by the country's army and extreme nationalist Buddhist monks. Many of the refugees who have poured into Bangladesh

to prioritise her tenure in office over anything else has come at too significant a cost - her complicity in the ethnic cleansing of the Rohingya people. "LSESU has a long history of embracing political progress and speaking out against corruption

political unrest Political unrest has dogged the country in recent years, with accusations of genocide and ethnic cleansing hanging over premier Aung San Suu Kyi LEEDS are planning a post-season tour to Burma - going against Government

of August and indeed continues to go on until this day. "We are talking about whole villages being burnt, razed, ethnic cleansing in effect. "This is violence that is perpetrated against a people who, in any case, have few the human rights that human

