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# The Education Crisis of Displaced Rohingya Refugee Children in Bangladesh

A Comparison of the Discussion in Online National and International  
Newspaper Articles

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## Abstract

News coverage regarding Rohingya refugees who are considered as one of the most vulnerable communities in the world has been increased after the military crackdown took place in Myanmar in August 2017. The study discusses how the national and international newspaper articles addresses the education crisis for displaced Rohingya refugee children in Bangladesh. The study begins with the concept of Rohingya refugees and their historical background to understand the root cause of the crisis. The previous studies present the relevancy of the available data and findings of the scientific researches for a clear understanding of the Rohingya refugee context. Further, this study employs the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a theoretical and methodological framework to analyze the discursive representations of the education crisis for the Rohingya refugee children. Despite the differences from the ideological point of view, the articles from four different newspapers contributes to present findings using two different analytical frameworks of DHA. The conclusion of the study presents the summary of the findings and the recommendation for the future research.

Key words: education, Rohingya refugee children, CDA, DHA, newspaper articles.

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## List of Abbreviation

|        |  |
|--------|--|
| ASEAN  | Association of Southeast Asian Nations                           |
| BRAC   | The Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee                       |
| CDA    | Critical Discourse Analysis                                      |
| DA     | Discourse Analysis   |
| DHA    | Discourse-Historical Approach                                    |
| GDPR   | General Data Protection Regulation                               |
| GoB    | Government of Bangladesh   |
| ICC    | International Criminal Court                                     |
| ICE    | International and Comparative Education                          |
| ISCG   | Inter Sector Coordination Group                                  |
| MoU    | Memorandum of Understanding                                      |
| NLD    | National League for Democracy                                    |
| RQ     | Research Question  |
| SDG    | Sustainable Development Goal                                     |
| UN     | United Nations   |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization |
| UNHCR  | United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees                    |
| UNICEF | The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund       |

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Research background

Statelessness is when millions of people do not exist in any community and considered as a political problem worldwide. Often these people are deprived of nationality, identity and basic rights and no political or moral responsibilities are acknowledged by any state for these group of people (Parekh, 2013). Carol Batchelor, director of UNHCR's division of international protection said;

*“If you live in this world without a nationality, you are without an identity, you are without documentation, without the rights and entitlements that we take for granted” (Nebehay, 2017).*

The stateless people are often denied entry and experience deadly conditions before they enter any other country with the help of Non- Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and human rights group. The stateless people experience social, economic or political exclusion from the society and denied all the basic rights from any state. The Rohingya people an ethnic group from Myanmar<sup>1</sup> are considered one of the most vulnerable communities in the world. Although it is one of the fastest growing refugee crises in the world but not many people are aware of their situation all around the world (OCHA, 2018). Millions of Rohingya have fled to other countries for a safe and secured future (Institute of Human Rights and Peace, 2014). The Rohingya people are forced into statelessness even within their country of origin because their cultural identity was never accepted by the government of Myanmar and often they were deprived of basic human rights such as food, health care and education (OCHA, 2018).

Being a citizen of Bangladesh and a student of 'Education' for both bachelor and master program, the education related issues in Bangladesh have always been a matter of concern for me. In August 2017, when I was about to start my master program in 'International and Comparative Education' at Stockholm University, the news of hundreds of thousands of Rohingya refugees fleeing from Myanmar to Bangladesh border due to attack by the Myanmar military against them caught my attention. I

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<sup>1</sup> The country 'Myanmar' is also known as 'Burma'. The military regime changed the name to Myanmar in 1989. Before that the name of the country recognized as 'Burma'(Mohajan, 2018). For this study, the name of the country is used as 'Myanmar' while 'Burma' is used to refer the time before 1989.

wondered how an ethnic group of people from a country where “Aung San Suu Kyi”<sup>2</sup> who is a Nobel Prize Laureate in Peace, National League for Democracy (NLD) leader and a global icon famous for defender of human rights can remain silent in such situation (Zarni & Cowley, 2015). Secondly, I was wondering how Bangladesh, which is a densely populated country, still struggling to fulfill the target of basic rights for all the citizens of the country will deal with the situation. From this curiosity I intended to conduct the study to analyze how the national and international newspapers present the education crisis of the Rohingya refugee children.

The Rohingya crisis has been an issue between Myanmar and Bangladesh for a long time. In August 2017, more than 671,000 Rohingyas had fled to Bangladesh (OCHA, 2018). Recently the arrival of hundreds of thousands of displaced Rohingyas in the refugee camps in Bangladesh draws the attention of both national and international media. News media is considered as a primary source of providing relevant and vital information. Therefore, this study will examine the coverage of the education system for Rohingya refugee children by analyzing national and international news articles after the military crackdown has taken place in August 2017.

The next section will present the historical background of Myanmar starting from colonial period<sup>3</sup> until 2017. These periods will explain the root cause of ignorance of Rohingyas in Myanmar for decades and the commencement of the Rohingya refugee crisis.

## 1.2 Historical Background

The historical process in this part will show the journey of Rohingyas and other ethnic groups over time. The details below will present the short demographic details of the country, the origin of Rohingya people, history of Myanmar in relation with Rohingya ethnic group starting from 1886 till recent oppression in Myanmar.

*“The Republic of the Union of Myanmar is an ethnic dominant country in Southeast Asia. Its capital city is Yangon and the official language is the Burmese. Its estimated populations are to be 60,584,650 (including the Rohingya) and estimated area of more than 261,000 square miles (676,578 km<sup>2</sup>). It is bordered in the south by the Bay of Bengal and the Andaman Sea, in the northeast by China, in the east by Laos, in the southeast by Thailand, in the west by Bangladesh, and in the northwest by India” (Mohajan, 2018, p.7).*

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<sup>2</sup> Aung San Suu Kyi was awarded Nobel Peace Prize in 1991. She was house arrested by the military regime for 15 years. Although her party National League for Democracy (NLD) won the election in 2015 but her political power is fragile due to the existence of military control (Bepler, 2018).

<sup>3</sup> Colonial period- British rule in Burma under the period 1886 to 1948

When it comes to the ethnic groups, Myanmar is considered as one of the most ethnically diversified countries of the world (Duran, 2017). The 1982 Burma Citizenship law recognized 135 ethnic groups<sup>4</sup> as a citizen of Myanmar where the Rohingyas were not included in the list (Farzana, 2018). Then the question arises – what is the origin of Rohingya people? The term ‘Rohingya’ is defined as an ethnic minority people who relates to Muslim Arakanese in Western Myanmar which is now known as Rakhine state (Ullah, 2016). The word Rohingya derived from the word ‘Rohang’ which considered as an old name from Rakhine state (Institute of Human Rights and Peace, 2014). A state which is located in the west coast of Myanmar and considered as one of the poorest region of Myanmar (Mohajan, 2018). They are recognized as ethnic minority because their ancestors are a mixture of diverse ethnic groups such as Arabs, Moghuls and Bengalis (ibid). Another reason for excluding Rohingyas from the ethnic group was that they are Muslims and ethnically different from the other ethnic groups in Myanmar (Ullah, 2016). The government of Myanmar argues that Rohingya people are migrant from Bangladesh or other south Asian countries. Although Rohingyas can trace their roots back in the history in Myanmar (E. Albert & Chatzky, 2018). The history of Myanmar presented below will help to understand the root cause of the crisis.

### 1.2.1 Colonial period and Independence – 1886 to 1948

From 1886-1937 Burma was a province of colonial India under British rule (Farzana, 2017). Burmese nationalist leader Aung San<sup>5</sup> led the national liberation movement and collaborated with the Japanese at their "Anti-imperialist invasion" of Burma (Bepler, 2018). The aim was that the Japanese would help Burma to grant independence from the British colonial empire. The Burmese wanted to create a single Burmese nationality and treat the minorities equally. Meanwhile many of the ethnic minorities including Karen, Kachin and Muslims were loyal to the British (Farzana, 2017). Afterwards, Aung San realized the Japanese wanted to take the power of the British colonial rule. Then he expelled the Japanese from Burma in 1945 with the help of the British and integrated Burma with the British colonial empire (Bepler, 2018).

One of the reasons of ethnic tensions in Burma was the British tactic of ‘divide and rule’ during the colonial period (Cho, 2011). The British authority divided Burma and introduced dual administration. They separated the minorities in frontier areas and the Burman majorities in the areas of central Burma. The ethnic minorities who were converted to Christianity were privileged by the British in terms of jobs and higher education which started the ethnic tension with the Burman majority (Cho, 2011). “That was how the colonial history came to create the idea of ethnic boundaries and enforced territorial

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<sup>4</sup> The ethnic composition is: Burman (68%), Shan (9%), Karen (7%), Rakhine (4%), Chinese (3%), Indian (2%), Mon (2%), and other (5%), while the religious cohabitation is: Buddhist (89%), Christian (4%; Baptist 3%, Roman Catholic 1%), Muslim (4%), animist (1%), and other (2%) (Ullah, 2011).

<sup>5</sup> Aung san - Burmese nationalist leader and father of the leader of NLD and Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Aung San Suu Kyi

ownership” (Farzana, 2017, p.44). In 1948, Burma gained independence from Great Britain (Bepler, 2018).

### 1.2.2 Military rule in Burma – 1949 to 1990

The ethnic conflicts continued since the national independence was granted by Britain (Duran, 2017). Aung San who was the leader of the political movements for Burma’s independence wanted to change the artificially created ethnic divisions developed by the British policy (Farzana, 2017). Thus, he proposed for equal rights for all the ethnic groups under the national constitution and established a sociopolitical relationship with all leaders from different ethnic groups (Duran, 2017). However, after his death the situation turned out different with the change of policy which became a threat for the minorities. In the late 1950s the ethnic minorities were against the regime. As a result, on March 1962 the military took the advantage and staged a coup (ibid). General Ne Win became the new head of state and ruled Burma until 1988. Before 1962 the Rohingyas owned identity cards and ration cards issued by government which was a proof of their citizenship in Myanmar. However in 1962 the military authorities seized all the cards to deny their legal identification (Mohajan, 2018). The strict system during this period by the military forced many people to go underground or flee to border areas (Cho, 2011). The Burmese excluded Rohingyas from the society and treated them as enemies because of the Rohingyas have no language, culture, religion and history in common with the Burmese and due to their collaboration with the British (Farzana, 2017).

In 1977, to ensure security and sovereignty of the country, the government of Burma operated a military operation called ‘Nagamin’. According to the government this action was taken against the illegal citizens where Rohingyas were also considered as illegal citizens (Guhathakurta, 2017). As a result of the operation, many people were internally displaced and more than 200,000 Rohingya fled the country and became refugees in Bangladesh in 1978. But within a short period of time the same authority agreed to take them back under an agreement between the government of Bangladesh and Myanmar (Farzana, 2017). But despite that they were officially declared as stateless as the 1982 Burma Citizenship Act refuses to recognize them as an ethnic group (Letchamanan, 2013). There were three categories of citizens following this act with terms and conditions: citizens, associate citizens and naturalized citizens. Citizens are those who belong to 135 national races and have evidence of their ancestor that were settled in Myanmar before 1823. Associate citizens are those who got the citizenship through the 1948 Union Citizenship Law (Farzana, 2017). And naturalized citizenship are for those who could speak one of the national languages well and have lived in Myanmar before independence and have applied for citizenship after 1982 (Pamini, Othman, & Ghazali, 2013). And these categories terminate the possibilities for Rohingyas to acquire a citizenship as they failed to provide any type of evidence which were applicable to get citizenship (Farzana, 2017).

### 1.2.3 Reforms of democracy – 1990 to 2015

Despite of few political and civil rights, the Rohingyas could vote in the 1990 election in Myanmar. But after the 1990 election the Myanmar military regime deregistered 200 civilian political parties and the Rohingya Muslim party was one of those parties (Farzana, 2017, p.53). The operation named Pyi Thaya (Prosperous Country) forced many Rohingyas to flee to Bangladesh from late 1991 to July 1992 for the second time (ibid). In 1993, the repatriation of the Rohingya refugees started, followed by a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) signed between the government of Myanmar and Bangladesh (Ullah, 2011). “Between 1993 and 1997, some 230,000 refugees were repatriated to Arakan, leaving behind some 26,000 in Bangladesh” (Farzana, 2017, p.72). Myanmar showed interest for repatriation at this point to maintain good relationship with Bangladesh. The pressure from local and international authorities also led Myanmar authorities to approve the repatriation (Farzana, 2017).

The National League for Democracy (NLD) earned the victory of Myanmar’s general election which was held on 8 November 2015 in both houses of parliament and in regional assemblies. This victory indicated a hope for changes and developments for the ethnic minorities (Thuzar, 2015b). After the general election Aung San Suu Kyi, the leader of NLD and Nobel Peace Prize Laureate vowed for a democratic future. But she remained silent during the time of conflict between the Rohingyas and the military of Myanmar. Aung San Suu Kyi’s silence towards the violence against Rohingya people was critiqued globally and considered as a savage (Brooten, Ashraf, & Akinro, 2015a).

The Rohingya people claim themselves that they are citizen of Myanmar and they have a demand to get the citizenship right just like any other Burmese citizen. But the truth is they are not accepted by the Myanmar authorities. The Myanmar authorities consider the Rohingya people as illegal immigrants. (Farzana, 2017). And they are not ready to accept the Rohingya people as citizen of Myanmar (Ullah, 2016). Farzana (2017) mentioned about the Rohingya people’s political identity and origin. According to her Myanmar government considers the Rohingyas as illegal immigrants or Bengalis who are not part of a history of Myanmar. But according to the Government of Bangladesh (GoB) Rohingyas were never recognized before the year 1977 (ibid). The GoB became familiar about the Rohingyas when many of them crossed the border for the first time due to political instability from Myanmar (ibid). The next part will discuss the crisis of the Rohingya refugees which started from August 2017. To conduct my thesis, I will analyze and present the findings based on this period.

## 1.3 Statement of the Problem

According to OCHA (2018) Since August 2017, more than 671,000 Rohingyas have fled and took shelter in Bangladesh after the military crackdown has taken place in Myanmar. The GoB and humanitarian assistance from local and International Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) worked together to save thousands of lives since the beginning of the crisis (OCHA, 2018, p.19). Since then, the border of Bangladesh is open for the Rohingya refugees and the humanitarian organizations are working there to provide support for the Rohingyas. In the present context of Bangladesh, the Rohingya people are known as ‘Forcibly Displaced Myanmar Nationals’ (ibid). The citizenship law of 1982 declared that Rohingyas are not listed among 135 minority groups (Ahsan Ullah, 2016, p.291). Therefore, Myanmar does not consider the Rohingyas as a minority group and they became stateless in their own country. The violence including burning villages, mass killings, violent attacks by the military of Myanmar against the Rohingya people in Myanmar were labeled as ‘genocide’ and ‘crimes against humanity’ by United Nations (Bepler, 2018, p.7).

For any humanitarian crisis, UN considers three durable solutions which are: voluntary repatriation, local integration, and resettlement. Concerning the Rohingya crisis only repatriation was considered seriously. Local integration and resettlement were not taken into consideration previously because of the government of Myanmar and Bangladesh are not ready to negotiate the matter. The legal status of the Rohingya people is vulnerable because both of the countries refused to accept them as their national citizens (Farzana, 2017, p.71). The living conditions of Rohingya refugees are miserable due to insufficient access to basic needs, local support and discrimination by the local people, lack of job opportunities, posttraumatic stress. Refugees living in the camps do not have freedom of movement (Milton et al., 2017). Education programs are only accessible up to the pre-primary and primary level (ISCG, 2018). Therefore, the global community should take proper actions to address the problem (Milton et al., 2017).

Online newspaper media is an easy way to reach the global community. It plays an important role to present any information regarding the conflicts and crises to the readers within short period of time. Regarding the Rohingya refugee crisis both national and international newspaper media covered the issue from different perspectives (Bepler, 2018). But concerning researches based on how the online newspapers covers the situation of education system for Rohingya refugee children in Bangladesh is insufficient. Thus, my study will present the crisis by analyzing how the online newspaper articles discusses and covers the situation.

## 1.4 Research Aim

The general aim of this thesis is to analyze how the selected articles discussed and presented the arguments, challenges, positive or negative features and the role of actors

or the events concerning the education crisis for the Rohingya refugee children in Bangladesh. This paper also presents how the articles based on UN reports present the education crisis of Rohingya refugee children in Bangladesh in accordance with similarities or differences with other free discussion articles. The selected articles will be analyzed based on the education crisis of Rohingya refugee children in Bangladesh after the military crackdown has taken place in Myanmar in August 2017.

## 1.5 Research Questions

This section presents the four research questions to guide the study. The first research question will find the answer about the education status of Rohingya refugee children in Bangladesh. This includes the differences, barriers and challenges corresponding to the actors and events working for the Rohingya refugee children.

RQ:1 How is the Education for Rohingya refugee children in Bangladesh referred to in discourses in international and national English daily newspapers in Bangladesh?

The second research question will find the answers based on the arguments, challenges or barriers, positive or negative features presented by the actors or the events in the text.

RQ:2 What features and arguments are presented in the text of international and national English daily newspapers in Bangladesh related to social actors who are directly or indirectly involved with the crisis?

The third research question will find the answer how the UN based reports present the education system for Rohingya Refugee children and if there are any similarities or differences comparing to free discussion articles.

RQ:3 How are the features of UN report-based articles presented and positioned in discourse comparing to the other type of articles?

The fourth research question will find the other terms of basic needs apart from education which are used by the articles to present the Rohingya refugee crisis.

RQ:4 What other basic needs<sup>6</sup> terms were given more priority rather than 'Education' in both selected national and international newspaper articles for Rohingya refugees?

## 1.6 Significance of the study

This study will present the education crisis of the Rohingya refugee children through analyzing the national and international online newspaper articles. Most of the

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<sup>6</sup> Basic needs- which means the minimum requirements of food, shelter, clothing, education and healthcare.

relevant studies present the Rohingya refugee crisis from different perspectives. But my thesis focuses on the crisis of education system of the Rohingya refugee children in Bangladesh. The number of researches based on education crisis of Rohingya refugee children is insufficient. This study can broaden the range of studies concerning education crisis for the refugee children. It may bring interest for future research to explore the education system for refugee children. As Rohingya refugee crisis is considered as a global problem thus this contribute to the field of international and comparative education. It may help the readers to understand the problem and contribute for further development.

## 1.7 Relevance to the field of ICE

This study contributes in the field of International and Comparative Education (ICE). Therefore, this study will compare and help to understand the relation between education and society through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Bray et al., (2007, p.9) has cited about a framework for comparative education analysis where alternative categories are highlighted which is known as the Bray and Thomas cube. Under this comparative framework three different categories have been illustrated. For my study, the term ‘Refugee’ is suitable under the category ‘Nonlocal Demographic Groups’ which influences the educational interest by comparing the national and international level.

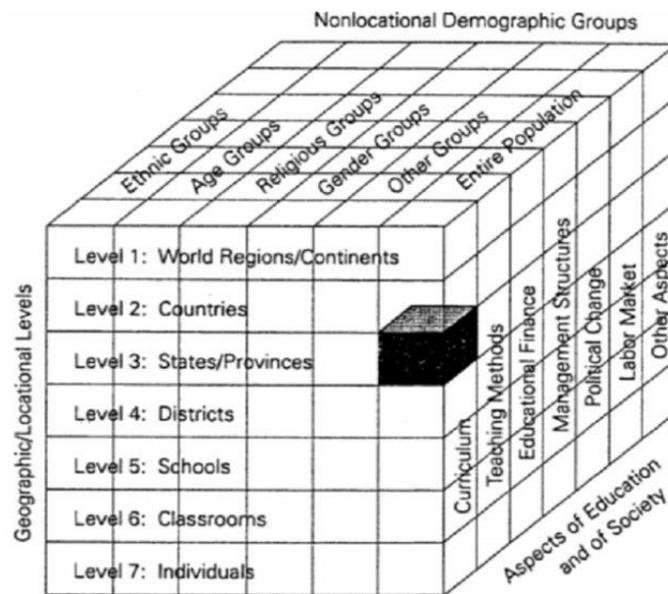


Figure 1: Framework for comparative education analysis (Adapted from Bray et al., 2007, p.9)

However, I hope that this study will help to present the situation and need for possible changes to bring social awareness to readers and social actors' attention for the further improvement of the current situation of Rohingya refugees.

## 1.8 Limitation of the study

The methodologies in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has different traditions to understand the discourse from its own epistemological position, concepts and procedure. According to Bryman (2016) qualitative research is too subjective and sometimes difficult to generalize the findings. And in CDA it is difficult to avoid subjectivity and authors' own interpretation. According to Breeze (2011), the same meaning can be understood by readers with different ideological views which might develop contradiction.

This study is based on small sample which are selected from online newspaper articles. Mogashoa (2014) pointed out that CDA as an analytical framework for discourse analysis has been criticized for selecting a small number of texts which sometimes make limitations and difficulties in making a conclusion. Also using the online newspapers articles is sensitive because later the source might not be available later. But as it is a master thesis and due to lack of funding it is not possible for the author to physically collect the data from the field.

According to Fairclough (1992) the original language should be used to reproduce and analyze the sample of the text. But the samples selected for this study is the newspaper articles written in English. Thus, there is no risk of modification of the language. For this study the selected samples analyzed are based on short period of time (2017-2018) which might not give a wider idea of the problem.

Last but not the least, as the author is not a native English speaker, thus there are possibilities that some phrases and meanings of the sentences might be tricky to understand.

## 1.9 Thesis outline

Following the aim and research questions, this study is divided into seven chapters. Chapter 1: which is already mentioned above gave brief description of the research and historical background, statement of the problem, research objectives and research questions which will guide the study including the significance and limitations of the study.

Chapter 2: presents the relevant previous research work on Rohingya refugee children.

Chapter 3: discusses about Discourse Analysis (DA), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) which will be applied both as a theory and methodology following the different levels of the Analysis in DHA.

Chapter 4: is about the process of the research including the research strategy and design. This chapter also includes empirical material which explains the process of data collection, brief description of the materials, ethical consideration and criteria for evaluating the research.

Chapter 5: analyzes and interprets the findings by conducting five level analytical method and three level of analytical framework in DHA.

Chapter 6: discusses the findings in accordance with the previous research. Additionally, it presents the similarities and differences by comparing the national and international newspaper articles.

Chapter 7: brings together the results of research findings to conclude the study and give recommendations for future research.

## Chapter 2

### Previous Research

A systematic review was conducted by the author of this study to find out the studies based on news media coverage which discussed and presented the education system of Rohingya refugee children (Shafiq, 2019). The previous studies were selected mostly based on humanitarian causes, media coverage and education system for Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh and few other countries to construct a foundation of this master thesis. To understand the concept of Rohingya refugee education in Bangladesh a brief idea of previous studies is presented below which are relevant with this thesis.

The research of Bepler (2018) presented the different features of social actors from political, economic and geopolitical perspectives. The study conducted the media analysis and took interviews from researcher and NGO representative in Bangladesh. The study of Riley et al., (2017) emphasizes on the daily life of the Rohingya refugee people, their mental health and living conditions at the refugee camps in Bangladesh. this study applied discourse analysis to analyze the situation of traumatized people and the daily stress with the living condition at the camp.

Afzal's (2016) study presented the framing of Rohingya refugee crisis. This study investigated the editorial opinion through content analysis as a scientific discourse. This study has discussed how the mainstream English language newspaper covers and frames the crisis and to what extent the readers relates to the crisis emotionally. The study by Brooten et al., (2015) compared the construction of Rohingya crisis by selecting the sources from newspaper and social media. This study followed human rights discourse and framing functions to understand how media challenge, construct and present the report and construct the key points. Thuzar (2015) highlighted the points on how the media coverage brings any solution for the Rohingya refugee crisis rather than giving the responsibility only to the host country. Both mainstream and online media used as a sample to analyze the findings in this study.

Zarni & Cowley (2015) focused on the genocides which took place in Myanmar against Rohingyas. According to them the Rohingya crisis exists for more than thirty-five years. Despite of enough evidence of genocide the international authorities remain quiet and no proper action has been taken against the crisis. The study of Downman & Ubayasiri (2017) discussed about the role of mainstream and alternative media to cover the Rohingya refugee issues. The result of the study showed that the articles covered the crisis of education, health and citizenship right for the Rohingyas is not enough.

Neal et al., (2018) addressed that there is a societal pressure among the refugee students in Malaysia as they do not have access in Malaysian government school. The

number of schools for Rohingya refugee children are not enough and the Burmese traditional methods were followed by the teachers in the classroom to teach the students. Begum et al., (2018) discussed the importance of quality education in primary, secondary and tertiary level and to develop geographical inclusive practice for the vulnerable children like Rohingya refugee children in their communities. The authors of this study recommended to monitor and evaluate the education system for the Rohingya refugee children in Bangladesh.

Bhatia et al., (2018) conducted a study to find out the challenges of daily needs, poor literacy, and rising poverty of Rohingya refugees in their local communities through a randomized survey. The study of Farzana (2017) in her qualitative study was grounded on the daily experiences of the Rohingya refugees in the camp. She explained about the quality and the facilities of the education system, how the people are isolated from the local people, child marriage of the Rohingya refugee girls in the refugee camps in Bangladesh. Bhatia et al., (2018) conducted a quantitative study where they discussed about the needs and rights of Rohingya refugees for their future. The challenges and the gaps of basic education and employability of Rohingya refugees were also highlighted in this study.

The study of Milton et al., (2017) is a case study which focused on the living condition of Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh. Lack of education facilities for the undocumented Rohingya refugees and not enough assistance from the global community and international agencies were discussed in this study. According to Guhathakurta (2017) the Rohingya refugees were considered as a security threat for the society and the economic condition of local population was unstable. The study of Rahman (2010) addressed in his study that Rohingya crisis was a security threat for internal stability of Bangladesh. The author also recommended to ensure education for the Rohingya refugees to make the Rohingya community workable.

Shafiq (2019), addressed in her systematic literature review that the number of research in the area of education crisis for the Rohingya refugee children is not enough. Thus, a good number of scientific studies is required to address the problem.

## Chapter 3

### Theoretical and methodological framework

Following the topic, aim and research questions of the study this chapter introduce the theoretical and methodological framework for the study. According to Bryman (2016) theory is important to understand how the study has been conducted, interpreted the research findings. This section presents Discourse Analysis (DA), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) as both a theoretical and methodological framework of this study. This study focusses on the empirical data referring to the education crisis of the Rohingya refugee children. A general theoretical and methodological framework of DHA in CDA will be applied to the analysis of the Rohingya refugees from the context of coverage of education crisis of the Rohingya refugee children in the newspaper articles.

As CDA is a tradition of DA, therefore this chapter begins with DA to get a basic knowledge. Further, I will present the concept of CDA and DHA. The reason I have selected DHA as an approach because it is considered as a prominent approach in CDA. This study will apply both theoretical and methodological concepts through DHA in CDA. These approaches generate a common conceptual framework which is useful to construct the identity and justify the discrimination and focus on formation of discourse (Wodak, 2015). In this study DA, CDA and DHA are linked to each other as a part of discourse practice and not considered as a different approach.

#### 3.1 Discourse Analysis (DA)

The term ‘discourse’ has wide characteristics. It has different meanings based on different contexts. There are many different definitions of discourse and not easy to find one simple answer. In general, the idea of discourse is: it is the way in which language is used following different patterns in different domains of any specific context. i.e. medical discourse, political discourse (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). Here different patterns could be a word, or more than one sentence or utterances applied in social context. To understand the different aspects of discourse, DA emphasizes the relevance of the context from different perspectives. E.g. social domain such as, medical, education and professional roles, time, location or could be any other social communicative event (Van Dijk, 2000). From the discourse analytic perspective, this study will help to understand how discourses such as stateless, humanitarian crisis, authorities define the concept of the refugee crisis. This study will analyze newspaper articles to learn how the discourse developed over time and examine the social context such as; military attack in Myanmar, international and national involvement, governments role to see how they contribute to discursive events. This interaction among text, discourse and social context will help to understand not only why they are

called Rohingya refugees but also how the reality of the present situation is constructed (Phillips & Hardy, 2002).

Boréus et al., (2017) distinguished the definition of discourse from two different perspectives which are narrow and broad definition. When discourse only refers to analyze the text without any connection to the context is considered as a narrow definition. The term broad definition applies when discourse is linked with linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of social practice covering all the social incidents (ibid, p.209). One of the aspects of discourse analysis mentioned by Boréus (2017) is how the questions of power has been viewed and understood. Different techniques from social science and humanities faculties can be applied in DA. Thus, the practitioners have the option to be creative and innovative by applying different methodologies and techniques (ibid). The task of practitioners can be explore by referring the discourse and social reality through different forms of discourse e.g. written texts, oral, symbols, pictures (Phillips & Hardy, 2002).

DA is not only a method; it also represents a theory and methodology. DA is not only consisting of a set of techniques which conduct the qualitative analysis of the texts but also involves a set of theoretical assumption to examine how the language constructs the social reality (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). According to Jorgensen & Phillips (2002), discourse analysis is a complete package which contains methods, theory and methodology to analyze the text step by step.

The concept of DA is vast in nature, it is important to select the relevant theoretical and methodological framework to examine and bring the result for this study. There are different approaches within DA. Among those approaches one of the influential approach is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) because CDA is concerned with “ideology, power relations, social injustice, and how they are represented and reproduce through power language” (Cook, 2010, p.439).

To find out how the texts of the newspaper articles are produced, distributed and consumed from the perspective of national and international level, this thesis will focus on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA will be applied as both theory and methodology to analyze different level of the texts and how the texts are associated and diverse from each other (Boréus et al., 2017). This analysis will focus on the social realities and social aspects of the production and interpretation (Fairclough, 1992). The newspaper has a significant role in mass communication both in Western and Non-Western societies (Teun A. Van Dijk, 1988). Therefore, this study is going to analyze how the national and international newspaper articles present the education crisis of Rohingya refugee children in Bangladesh through analyze the text from the selected articles (Fairclough, 1992).

In the next section, I am going to present CDA which is one of the traditions of discourse theory. It shares common ground with social reality and power structures

(Boréus et al., 2017). CDA is a critical approach which applies to make the analysis visible, criticized and investigate the connection between properties of text, social aspects and power relations (Fairclough, 1995, p.97). As this study is based on selected articles from national and international online newspapers, applying CDA as an approach will guide this study to produce knowledge through analyzing the text.

### 3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

CDA is a critical approach which applies to make the analysis visible and criticized. CDA investigate the connection between properties of text, realities and power relations (Fairclough, 1995, p.97). According to Wodak & Meyer (2001) in CDA, language is not powerful by itself; when the powerful people make use of the language it becomes powerful. Here the meaning of powerful people is, the people who suffer under any certain situation, the people who are responsible for the existing situation and the people who are involves and have desire to improve the situation (ibid). CDA is applied to these group of people to critically analyze the language use.

Researchers try to understand how the language is associated with social, cultural and political structures. Although, there are no single method which covers CDA but according to Fairclough (1995) CDA is:

“to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power” (1995, p.132).

Fairclough addressed that a set of discourse practice is like when media represent the ideology of knowledge and beliefs. Newspaper readers are considered as a part of the social practice. Any information coming from media texts contribute to construct, influence or change the view of the readers which influence the social reality (Fairclough, 2010).

According to Van Dijk (1993) “the theory and practice of critical discourse analysis focus on the structures of text and talk” (p.259). Since late 1980s, CDA is considered not only as a single method, rather as a widely known approach in the field of social science research (Wodak & Meyer, 2001; Krzyżanowski & Forchtner, 2016). “A tradition of social theory that has been a source of inspiration for critical discourse analysis is the Frankfurt School and its critical theory” (Boréus et al., 2017, p.222). CDA is defined by the central concept of discourse and works on how the language is used and how the power relations operate in the societies (Wodak & Meyer, 2001; Krzyżanowski & Forchtner, 2016). Norman Fairclough (Dialectical Relational Approach), Teun A. van Dijk (Socio-cognitive Approach), and Ruth Wodak (Discourse-Historical Approach) have played an important role to develop the concept and methods of CDA. Their own work or collaboration with each other established CDA as a

significant branch of research and carry out to employ CDA as framework and discipline (ibid).

To carry out the study further Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) by Ruth Wodak will be applied to analyze the findings from the selected texts. The reason for selecting DHA for this study is because it provides the means to examine, analyze, understand and explain the news and media discourse (Boukala & Dimitrakopoulou, 2018). Moreover, in the field of immigration and identity representation DHA has contributes in different range of studies (KhosraviNik, 2014, p.507). Therefore, in the next section I will present DHA which will lead the analysis part of my study.

### 3.3 Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)

The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) practice theoretical and methodological approaches which is one of the prominent approaches designed for CDA (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). DHA acknowledge discourse analysis not only as a method of language analysis but also involved with other aspects through integrating theory, methods, empirically based research that produce detailed social practice (Reisigl, 2018, p.44). DHA critically analyze what is present in the text and examine the qualities of the existing source through linguistic processes (KhosraviNik, 2010, p.63). DHA is considered as a series of analytical and descriptive tools which are important part of history, politics and sociology especially in relation to methodology (Tenorio, 2011).

DHA views ‘discourse’ as a structured form of knowledge not just the ‘text’ which refers to spoken or written documents (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p.6). Thus, to analyze the selected articles to view discourse as a structured form of knowledge this study will follow the five levels of analytical framework pioneered by Ruth Wodak and three level of analytical framework of DHA suggested by Majid KhosraviNik (2010). Five types of discursive strategies in DHA which coming in the next section will be applied for both level of analytical framework to analyze the findings.

#### Five types of Discursive strategies in DHA

This study will reveal the discursive strategies from the selected article. Discursive strategies are concerned with using the language in systematic way to find the different level of linguistic structure and complexity (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). By ‘discursive’ it means the basic fundamentals of discourse of identity and difference which present the situation positively or negatively. And by ‘strategy’ it means when the discursive practice adopts to accomplish a specific social, political or linguistic aim (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p.73). The table below gives a brief idea of each type of discursive strategies:

| Strategy   | Objectives   |
|--|--|
| Referential/nomination                               | Construction of in- groups and out-groups  |
| Predication  | Labelling social actors more or less positively or negatively, deprecatorily or appreciatively |
| Argumentation  | Justification of positive or negative attributions   |
| Perspectivation, framing or discourse representation | Expressing involvement Positioning speaker's point of view                                     |
| Intensification, mitigation                          | Modifying the epistemic status of a proposition  |

Table1: Discursive strategies (Adapted from Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p.73)

*Referential strategies* are the approach to name individual or a group of people. To categorize in-group and out-group people for this study, I will apply Van Dijk (1995) analytical categorization to label the discriminatory discourse strategies following the table below:

| In-group                   | Out-group                   |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Emphasis                   | De-emphasis                 |
| Assertion                  | Denial                      |
| Hyperbole                  | Understatement              |
| Topicalization             | De-topicalization           |
| •sentential (micro)        |                             |
| •textual (macro)           |                             |
| High, prominent position   | Low, non-prominent position |
| Headlining, summarizing    | Marginalization             |
| Detailed description       | Vague, overall description  |
| Attribution to personality | Attribution to context      |
| Explicit                   | Implicit                    |
| Direct                     | Indirect                    |
| Narrative illustration     | No storytelling             |
| Argumentative support      | No argumentative support    |
| Impression management      | No impression management    |

Table 2: construction of in-groups and out-groups (adapted from KhosraviNik 2010)

*Predication strategy* label social actors through collective names such as positive, negative, stereotypical or sympathetically which helps the reader to identify how the in-group or out-group actors are described (KhosraviNik, 2010a).

*Argumentation strategy* is a process to justify the positive or negative attribution, discrimination or preferential treatment of any individual or groups (ibid). Argumentation serves the validity of the truth and ask the question what should be done, forbidden or recommended (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). Thus, it is often relying on the 'Topoi' which connect the arguments with a conclusion. For this study the topoi from the list below will be used for the analysis section (see Appendix: B for the definition of each topoi).

|                              |                   |                   |
|------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1- Usefulness, advantage     | 6- Justice        | 11- Numbers       |
| 2- Uselessness, disadvantage | 7- Responsibility | 12- Law and right |
| 3- Definition                | 8- Burdening      | 13- History       |
| 4- Danger and threat         | 9- Economy        | 14- Culture       |
| 5- Humanitarianism           | 10- Reality       | 15- Abuse         |

Table 3: List of Topoi (Adapted from Wodak, 2009, p.321)

*Perspectivation strategy* is where “speakers express their involvement in discourse, and position their point of view in the reporting, description, narration or quotation of relevant events or utterances”. (Wodak, 2009, p. 320). E.g. when a politician posting his views of any event through writing, narration or quotation in social media is an example of perspectivation strategy.

*Intensifying and mitigation strategies* can influence the referential, predication and argumentative strategies (KhosraviNik, 2010a). Both strategies help to present the aspects either by sharpening it or toning it down (Wodak, 2009).

The five discursive strategies mentioned above will be applied for both five levels analytical framework and three levels of analytical framework in DHA to analyze the findings of the study but not in a strict concrete order.

### 3.3.1 Five levels analytical method in DHA

The first approach of DHA I will follow for this study includes five questions. The functions of the three levels of analytical framework focus on five main questions to investigate the discursive strategies:

1. “How are persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions named and referred to linguistically?
2. What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events and processes?
3. What arguments are employed in the discourse in question?
4. From what perspective are these nominations, attributions and arguments expressed?
5. Are the respective utterances articulated overtly, intensified or mitigated?” (Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p.32).

These five questions will guide the analyzing part to find the answers following each selected article from national and international online newspaper.

### 3.3.2 Three levels analytical framework in DHA

The last approach for further analysis of this study is three levels analytical framework in DHA suggested by Majid KhosraviNik (2010). “This three-level analytical framework draws on categories, methodologies and aspects that are relevant and/or crucial in analysis of social representations of certain social actor(s) in discourse, e.g. immigrants” (KhosraviNik, 2014, p.510). This level will not address completely different results from the five level of analytical framework and discursive strategies. It would rather help to narrow down the findings from the selected articles which will contribute to draw a conclusion of the findings at the end.

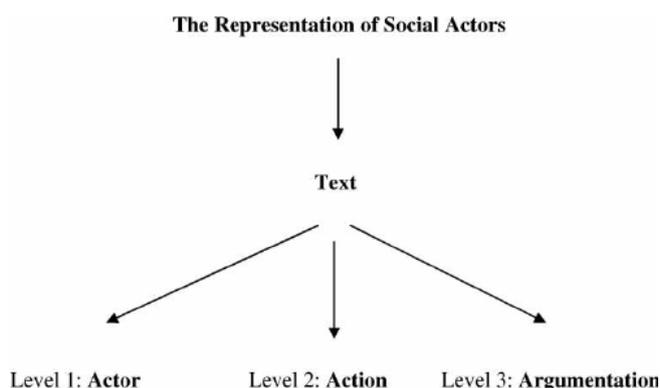


Figure 2: Levels of textual analysis (Adapted from KhosraviNik, 2010, p.64)

The three level analytical framework follow a set of questions to organize the analytical part which are: “what (is there in the linguistic content), how (the linguistic contents are presented) and why (they are presented in that certain way) by focusing on representation of actors, actions and arguments involved in a discourse” (KhosraviNik, 2014. p.510). Below is the brief description of three levels of analytical framework.

#### *Level one: Actor*

The first level examines how the linguistic process is applied within the presence or absence of the social actors and their qualities (KhosraviNik, 2010a). The level refer the questions and interests raise from these social actors in the text (Bolte & Keong, 2014). In order to relate discourse and society, this level help to understand the social actors in order to relate different aspects (Teun A. van Dijk, 1993). For textual analysis in this level a set of questions can be followed which are:

- Which persons/actors (and how) are named and referred to in discourses?
- How are persons positioned in discourse (in what roles, etc.)?
- What features are ascribed to all those represented/introduced into discourse?
- What is the social and political function/goal of particular references/nominations and representations of social actors?" (KhosraviNik, 2014, p.509)

In relation to these questions the description of the texts for the social actors may vary from the "different representation of the same social practice" (Leeuwan, 1996, p.39). There can be different categories of social actors such as: named or unnamed, in group or out group actors, positively or negatively represented actors (Kader, 2016). The in-group social actors are the people who are concerned about the relation with the society and the out-group e.g. refugees who are considered as a threat to that society (KhosraviNik, 2010b). The presentation of actors also have connection with the readers interest e.g. how the readers react, it can be either emotion or fear depending on the details of the subject (Leeuwan, 1996, p.38).

#### *Level two: action*

The second level analyze how the actions are related with the actors and how the text is presented and associated through a process following different number of choices (KhosraviNik, 2010a). "Language can represent social actions impersonally" (Leeuwan, 1996, p.33). Social actors focus on establishing the structure of any social situation and language through different actions where the social group or individual has an influence to shape different situations (C. S. Albert & Salam, 2013). For the second level this study will follow the question below:

- "How are actions associated to the actors" (KhosraviNik, 2010a, p.68)?

Action is a way of showing how a specific group shown as to be doing through "intensification and mitigation, fore-grounding and backgrounding among others" (KhosraviNik, 2010a, p.68). Actions have a great influence on the context of the text which conditionally control the mind of audiences (ibid).

#### *Level three: argumentation*

The third level critically put forward the qualities of the different argumentative strategies which are towards or against the social actors (KhosraviNik, 2010a). According to Van Dijk (1991) “news reports usually exhibit various kinds of argumentative structure, which they share with many other persuasive genres” (p.120). Argumentation is about negative evaluation followed by any situation through choice of words, storytelling and structure of sentence (Van Dijk, 1993). In the third level of analysis two questions will be followed:

- “What arguments are actually present in the text against the possible arguments available and establish why some arguments may have been strategically kept out?
- How the quality of the existing arguments is put forward and related to any social group(s) under investigation?” (KhosraviNik, 2010a, p.65)

Other than these questions, another part of argumentative analysis as a tool to analyze the texts of this study is the concept of ‘topoi’. Topoi is a process of “justify the transmission from the argument and argument to the conclusion” (KhosraviNik, 2010b, p.24). Topoi justified the positive or negative characteristics which explain the social and political inclusion or exclusion, discrimination of any person or group (ibid). To justify the claims of truth argumentation often depend on topoi (Kader, 2016, p.29). The range of topoi which are frequently used for refugee study are (See Table:3 for more details of topoi) usefulness; threat; authority; responsibility; burdening; and numbers (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). As topoi contribute to establish the methodologies in discursive practices, therefore the approach of topoi will be used in the argumentation section for this study (KhosraviNik, 2010b).

Before moving forward to next chapter, it is important to mention it here that none of the selected approaches will be followed by a strict concrete order. The selected text in the analysis part will be revised back and forth to enhance the trustworthiness of interpreting the data following each approach (Mullet, 2018).

## Chapter 4

### Research process and empirical material

This chapter will discuss about the research strategy and design, methods, data collection procedure, brief description of empirical material to introduce the newspapers for the readers, ethical consideration, trustworthiness and authenticity of this study.

#### 4.1 Research strategy and design

By research strategy Bryman meant “A general orientation to the conduct of social research” (Bryman, 2016, p.32). The study is a qualitative research because it is more focused on language-based approaches which is based on the collection of qualitative data and guided by the research questions. The study will follow an inductive approach by analyzing a small sample from newspaper articles to address the findings and draw a conclusion. “Method of inductive reasoning by means of which the study of a number of individual cases would lead to a hypothesis and eventually to a generalization” (Cohen et al., 2018, p.4). According to Tenorio (2011), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as theoretical and methodological foundation adopt well to proceed towards inductive approach.

Epistemology and ontology have influences on social research. According to Bryman (2016) epistemological issues for a study considers what should be accepted as a knowledge in a discipline and concerns about how it should be studied. From the epistemological position this study is interpretivist which emphasis on understanding the social world through examining the interpretation of any situation (ibid). From that perspective this study will analyze the text from selected newspaper articles about the education services for Rohingya refugee children in Bangladesh with the concern of understanding the social reality. Ontology raise a question about whether social entities should be considered to construct the actions or perception to social actors or what kind of things really exist (Bryman, 2016). And from that point of view this study will follow constructionism from ontological position that put forward the education system of Rohingya refugee children as social phenomena and present the social reality (ibid). Constructionism can be seen particularly in discourse analysis and frequently results in an interest in the representation of social phenomena (Bryman, 2016, p.30).

A research design gives priority to different aspects of research process to provide a framework which collect and analyses the data (Bryman, 2016, p.40). Thus, to provide a framework, this study will follow qualitative research because it aims to present the education system of Rohingya refugee children in Bangladesh through analyze the texts from online newspapers rather than the quantity. This study will apply the theory of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) following the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA). Qualitative research is suitable for this thesis in order to answer all

the research questions. And to answer the research questions of this study and to understand the challenges and barriers of education system for Rohingya refugee children in Bangladesh, a comparative design has been applied. A comparative research design “entails studying two contrasting cases using more or less identical methods” (Bryman, 2016, p.64).

## 4.2 Research methods

To present the arguments, challenges and different features presented by the actors or events, this study analyzes the news articles by covering the education crisis of displaced Rohingya refugee children. Articles from two daily online based international newspapers ‘The Guardian’, ‘Daily Mail’ and two national newspapers from Bangladesh ‘The Daily Star’, ‘Dhaka Tribune’ have been selected to analyze the findings. The selected news articles were published after the military crackdown took place in Myanmar in August 2017. These two different categories will help to compare the similarities and differences of the articles covered from both local and international perspectives by the national and international newspapers.

The selected newspapers were chosen based on the readership for the online version and these newspapers are committed to offer quality reports to its readers. The reason to choose online newspapers was they are accessible from any corner of the world without any monthly or weekly charge and now a days readers prefer to read online newspaper more than the printed version (Halliday, 2012). The selected articles were published between August 2017 to December 2018. The reason for choosing these sixteen months period because this is time when the crisis reached its peak and covered by the newspapers.

## 4.3 Data Collection

This study follows a qualitative method of analyzing empirical data through apply DHA in CDA. The study will present the crisis of education system of Rohingya refugee children by analyzing the articles. Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) has been selected as a method of analysis for this study. A total of twenty-one newspaper articles were collected from two national and two international online newspapers for further analysis.

| News outlet        | The daily star | Dhaka Tribune | The guardian | Daily mail | Total |
|--------------------|----------------|---------------|--------------|------------|-------|
| Number of articles | 7              | 4             | 7            | 3          | 21    |

Table 4: Outline of the analyzed articles

To find the relevant sample to analyze the data the keywords ‘Rohingya education’, ‘Rohingya refugee children in Bangladesh’, ‘international support for education for Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh’, ‘access to basic human rights’ have been used to find the relevant articles. At first, I have searched the general online search options to find relevant articles and for the final selection I have used the online search in the archives of the news outlets using the above keywords. At the beginning the number of articles were around thirty-five but at the end I ended up with seven articles from The Daily Star, four articles from Dhaka Tribune, seven articles from The Guardian and three articles from Daily Mail. Rest of the articles were excluded due to the lack of relevance with the aim of the study. Furthermore, I have divided the articles in three different themes which I will use to analyze the findings for the three level of analytical framework. The purpose for the three different themes is to narrow down the findings and avoid it to be too general and descriptive. The selected themes for the last level of analyzing part are: 1. Humanitarian and education crisis 2. Lost generation 3. Global/ International support.

The twenty-one articles were chosen using convenience sampling because the selected sample were based on the accessibility (Bryman, 2016) and readiness on the websites using the keywords mentioned earlier. As the method of analysis is DHA in CDA, thus I selected limited number of articles in order to focus more on the subject rather than the numbers. In the next section, the empirical details of the selected newspapers have been given to get a brief idea about the newspapers.

## 4.4 Description of Empirical Material

### 4.4.1 The Daily Star

The Daily Star was first published on 14 January, 1991 and works as an independent newspaper in Bangladesh (Rowlatt, 2016). It is one of the Bangladesh’s leading and circulated newspaper with an estimated circulation of 45,000 (Rowlatt, 2016). The editor and publisher of the newspaper is Mahfuz Anam. He was charged and jailed several times due to his freedom of writing against Awami League which is the ruling party of Bangladesh (Safi, 2017). The main donor of the publication is one of the biggest company called Transcom Group in Bangladesh (Genilo, Asiuzzaman, & Osmani, 2016).

The daily star is quite popular among higher and middle-class people of the country. This newspaper focus on featuring social, political and economic sectors on daily basis with a good source of information (Reza & Haque, 2011). It has a reputation for integrity and independency for publishing newspaper articles. It is also famous for to be judgmental towards the Government of Bangladesh (Rowlatt, 2016). This newspaper is committed to serve the people through democratic and neutral way without any fear and favor from any group or people (The Daily Star, 2019). This paper publishes all the contents with great diversity in different genres in a balanced way. For example,

business, science, religion, education etc. all the themes are equally important as politics, government, war and crime (Genilo et al., 2016). It covers all the national crises with great importance (The Daily Star, 2019).

#### 4.4.2 Dhaka Tribune

Dhaka Tribune which was launched on 19<sup>th</sup> April 2013 is the youngest mainstream daily English newspaper in Bangladesh. The following year the daily Bengali newspaper called 'Bangla Tribune' was also launched by the same publisher. Although the newspaper started its journey as broadsheet but later converted to a tabloid or compact size on 1<sup>st</sup> March 2015 (Genilo et al., 2016).

This newspaper is financed by countries one of the largest business group Gemcon-kazi farm group. The publisher of the newspaper Kazi Anis Ahmed is the brother of Kazi Nabil Ahmed who is the Vice Chairman of the same business group and one of the member of the parliament from the Jessore-3 constituency in Bangladesh (Mazumder, 2018). The editor is Zafar Sobhan who was formerly the Op-ed editor of The Daily Star. The newspaper is known as a progovernment independent newspaper due to its tie with the government political party (Mazumder, 2018). Dhaka Tribune has consistently covered the events relating to education and women empowerment (Genilo et al., 2016).

#### 4.4.3 The Guardian

The guardian was first published in 1821 as the 'Manchester Guardian'. The newspaper played a significant role during the great reform movements of the nineteenth century (The Guardian, 2010). The newspaper owned and funded by the Scott trust. Due to no ownership and shareholders of the newspaper they can work independently without any pressure (Osno & Priddle, 2011). Both online and printed version of the guardian ranked on the fourth place with one of the highest readership in the UK (Osno & Priddle, 2011). The guardian has a reputation of sustained and detailed coverage of the Global humanitarian crisis (Scott, 2019).

#### 4.4.4 Daily Mail

The Daily Mail was first published in 1896 and considered as the United Kingdom's second-biggest selling daily newspaper. This paper is a part of associated

newspapers which is funded by DMG media which is a national newspaper and website publisher. The editor of the newspaper is Geordie Greig.

This paper has a center right political stance and strongly defends conservative values and speaks out against liberal views. This paper is considered as the voice of ‘Middle England’ (Historic Newspaper, n.d.). This paper has been known for its coverage of foreign news and the events all over the world (Britannica, 2019). One of the main reasons for selecting this newspaper is it is always update to cover the crisis and conflicts in relation to immigration, refugees and asylum take place outside of the UK (Zonggao, 2017).

One of the reasons to select these national and international online English newspapers are that they have good source of updated news reports based on Rohingya refugee crisis. Moreover, all the articles are accessible online on the newspaper’s official websites. Each of the websites has free access and subscription fee is not required.

## 4.5 Ethical consideration

The ethics of social research in terms of conducting the research process is always a matter of concern. All the material used for this study are under consideration of “the information is publicly archived and readily available, no password is required to access the information, the material is not sensitive in nature, no stated site prohibits the use of the material” (Bryman, 2016, p.139). The concepts of secrecy, professional secrecy, anonymity and confidentiality are not applicable for this study either (Swedish Research Council, 2017). At the same time, general regulation of store and achieve the data is not required for this study (Swedish Research Council, 2017). Thus, Consent or privacy concerns introduced by the EU General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) do not apply with this study as well as the study is based on text analysis (GDPR, 2018). Four main principles underpinning the ethical conduct of research from the British Psychological Society (BPS) have been considered for this study:

- “1. Respect for the autonomy, privacy and dignity of individuals and communities;
2. Scientific integrity;
3. Social responsibility; and
4. Maximizing benefits and minimizing harm” (BPS, 2017, p.2).

Following the research ethics established by Swedish Research Council (2017) and Codex (2018), the control and process of analyze the data of this study is fair and transparent and not manipulate and plagiarize.

## 4.6 Criteria for evaluating qualitative research

Validity and reliability which are the classical concepts of criteria for evaluating research are more applicable to assess the quality of quantitative research (Bryman, 2016). But for qualitative research Guba & Lincoln (1994) proposed an alternative which are: trustworthiness and authenticity. Criteria for CDA concerns with the findings which should be accessible and readable for the social groups (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Thus, considering these criteria is important while analyzing the texts. The brief description of the criteria discussed below will be considered earnestly while analyze the data for this study.

### 4.6.1 Trustworthiness

In discourse analysis the analytical concepts vary from researcher to researcher based on their understanding and it is their responsibility to clarify it (Boréus et al., 2017). Therefore, Lincoln & Guba (1985) proposed trustworthiness instead of validity which has four criteria. The following four criteria are: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.

Credibility (which parallels internal validity) means how believable are the findings? (Bryman, 2016, p.384 ). In accordance to that as this study is following CDA and no participants have been involved with the study. The author tried to analyze the referential adequacy of the preliminary findings and interpretation using the sample as fair as possible (Nowell, Norris et al., 2017).

Transferability (which parallels external validity) means how the findings apply to other contexts (Bryman, 2016, p.384 ) Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested that transferability help to identify how clear and detailed the findings are.

Dependability (which parallels reliability) means how are the findings likely to apply at other times? (Bryman, 2016, p.384). According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) the reliability of the study will be judged by the readers who will examine the research process later.

Confirmability (which parallels objectivity) that is, has the researcher allowed his or her values to intrude to a high degree? (Bryman, 2016, p.386 ). Confirmability in this study will be concerned with establishing the interpretation and findings following rest of three criteria to understand how and why the decisions have been made (Nowell et al., 2017).

## 4.6.2 Authenticity

Authenticity find the answers for the genuine evidence and of unquestionable origin (Bryman, 2016, p.386). Guba & Lincoln (1989) suggested the criteria for authenticity which are mentioned by Bryman (2016) in the following order:

“Fairness- Does the research fairly represent different viewpoints among members of the social setting?

Ontological authenticity- Does the research help members to arrive at a better understanding of their social milieu?

Educative authenticity- Does the research help members to appreciate better the perspectives of other members of their social setting?

Catalytic authenticity- Has the research acted as an impetus to members to engage in action to change their circumstances?

Tactical authenticity- Has the research empowered members to take the steps necessary for engaging in action?” (Bryman, 2016, p.386).

Within the framework of discourse, authenticity is a form of expanded accuracy which helps to reduce the complex issues in simplified version (Lefkowitz, 2013). This study will answer the above questions for the authenticity of the study to analyze the findings. A balanced way of understanding the situation will be considered through generating knowledge (Cohen et al., 2018). The criteria’s mentioned above will be given importance in this study to fairly present the different point of views through applying DHA in CDA (Bryman, 2016).

The next chapter will analyze the findings of education crisis of the Rohingya refugee children from the selected online newspaper articles by applying different approaches of Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) in CDA.

## Chapter 5

### Analysis of Findings

In this chapter I will present the findings in narrative style. The findings are divided into two sections. The selected articles are listed in numbers according to chronological order following the publishing date. In the first part of this chapter I will analyze the articles following five level analytical method of DHA and explain how they have been constructed. Here I will include excerpt from the articles for further analysis. For the second part, I will analyze the data following three-level of analysis of DHA under three themes to narrow down the findings. The table below is the details of the selected newspaper and keywords.

Before moving forward to next section the table below will present the information about the selected articles including article numbers listed for analyzing part of this study, date of publish, headline of the articles including keywords or phrases in order to gain a better understanding of the context of each selected article.

| Article numbers | Name of the newspaper | Type          | Date              | Headline of the selected newspaper                                      | Keywords or phrases from the articles   |
|-----------------|-----------------------|---------------|-------------------|---|---|
| Article#1       | Dhaka Tribune         | National      | 21 September 2017 | <i>100,000 children of school-going age in the Rohingya camps</i>       | Education, learning centers, preschool programs, traumatized, lack of fund                              |
| Article#2       | The Daily Star        | National      | 23 October 2017   | <i>Rohingya women, children still at acute risk: Unicef</i>             | Vulnerable children, Basic live saving services, under-funded emergency, need education services        |
| Article#3       | The Daily Star        | National      | 12 November 2017  | <i>Food, Shelter to Rohingyas: \$882m needed for 10 months</i>          | International court of justice, humanitarian support, political support, challenges for Bangladesh.     |
| Article#4       | The Guardian          | International | 31 January 2018   | <i>Displaced Rohingya children left in limbo by refugee crisis</i>      | The refugee emergency, stateless children, humanitarian crisis, trafficking, access to education        |
| Article#5       | Daily mail            | International | 9 April 2018      | <i>Rohingya youngsters tell of life in world's biggest refugee camp</i> | Young Rohingya, precarious conditions, trauma, temporary learning center                                |
| Article#6       | The Guardian          | International | 7 May 2018        | <i>Now Rohingya refugees are threatened by monsoons. Britain</i>        | Desperate situation, humanitarian crises, violence and systematic abuse, unable to access services e.g. |

|                   |                |               |                |  |  |
|-------------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|--|--|
|                   |                |               |                | <i>must help</i>   | education, citizenship   |
| <b>Article#7</b>  | Daily mail     | International | 20 June 2018   | <i>Hiding from traffickers in 'prison-like' tents, Rohingya girls dream of school</i>      | Adolescent girls, monsoon season, no school, temporary learning centers  |
| <b>Article#8</b>  | The Daily Star | National      | 01 July 2018   | <i>UK calls for more int'l support for Rohingyas in Bangladesh</i>                         | Called for greater humanitarian assistance, pressure on the Myanmar authorities, education and livelihoods   |
| <b>Article#9</b>  | The Guardian   | International | 22 August 2018 | <i>The Rohingya refugee crisis speaks to the worst acts of humanity</i>                    | The child friendly spaces, brutality of the violence, psychosocial support, monsoon season   |
| <b>Article#10</b> | Dhaka Tribune  | National      | 23 August 2018 | <i>Unicef: Education investment needed to save 'lost generation' of Rohingya</i>           | Lost generation, despair and frustration, cramped and rudimentary refugee camps, despair and hopelessness, investment in education, no common curriculum |
| <b>Article#11</b> | Daily mail     | International | 23 August 2018 | <i>'Lost generation' looms for Rohingya refugee children without education</i>             | Prohibits formal education, older teenagers feel alienated, informal learning centers, safety and health risks   |
| <b>Article#12</b> | The Guardian   | International | 23 August 2018 | <i>'Lost generation': Unicef warns on fate of Rohingya children</i>                        | Permanent fixture, aid agencies set up informal learning centers, disaffected youth, sexual violence cases   |
| <b>Article#13</b> | The Guardian   | International | 24 August 2018 | <i>Rohingya crisis: 132 MPs across region call for Myanmar to be referred to ICC</i>       | Brought to justice, International Criminal Court, international community, ensure accountability,  |
| <b>Article#14</b> | Dhaka Tribune  | National      | 25 August 2018 | <i>Rohingya crisis, one year on: UN calls for international solidarity with Bangladesh</i> | International support, address the root causes of the crisis, stateless Rohingyas, international responsibility  |
| <b>Article#15</b> | The Guardian   | International | 25 August 2018 | <i>'We cannot go back': grim future facing Rohingya one year after attacks</i>             | Lost generation, refugee relief and repatriation, guaranteed citizenship, restrictions on education  |
| <b>Article#16</b> | The Daily Star | National      | 25 August 2018 | <i>Unicef warns of a 'lost generation'</i>   | Ethnic cleansing, youngsters, despair and frustration, bleak future, no agreed curriculum, invest in supporting quality education                        |
| <b>Article#17</b> | The Daily Star | National      | 26 August 2018 | <i>Unmaking a 'lost generation'</i>  | Urgent and serious attention, policymakers and world leaders, inadequate   |

|                   |                |               |                   |   |   |
|-------------------|----------------|---------------|-------------------|---|---|
|                   |                |               |                   |   | educational opportunities, non-formal education, lack of long-term planning   |
| <b>Article#18</b> | The Guardian   | International | 27 August 2018    | <i>I am a Rohingya refugee: we will become like animals if we stay in these camps</i>               | Humanitarian groups, repatriation, citizenship rights, no education, no schools   |
| <b>Article#19</b> | Dhaka Tribune  | National      | 09 September 2018 | <i>#SpaceOnEarth: Voices of Rohingya children</i>   | Raising the voices of Rohingya children across the globe, immediate short-term needs, ensure a safe and meaningful future   |
| <b>Article#20</b> | The Daily Star | National      | 20 November 2018  | <i>Int'l support must for Bangladesh to make shift to inclusive education for Rohingyas: Unesco</i> | Ensuring education for Rohingyas, discrimination in education, community-based or private schools, needed long-term and predictable resources   |
| <b>Article#21</b> | The Daily Star | National      | 15 December 2018  | <i>Entire generation denied education</i>   | Limited access to education, restrict formal education, human rights, the quality of teaching is extremely poor, "temporary learning centers, NGO involved, lack of long-term planning, freedom of movement |

Table 5: Information about articles (See Appendix: A to follow the links)

## 5.1 Analysis of DHA- five levels analytical method

This part will analyze all the selected articles following the five questions under the five levels analytical method in DHA (see chapter:3, p.18) and five discursive strategies of DHA but not in concrete order. The selected articles in this section are placed in chronological order by following the date of publish.

### *Article#1 (Dhaka Tribune article published on September 21, 2017)*

The actors and the events presented in this article were Rohingya children and representatives from NGO's. Almost the full article was attributed to different NGO, s and their work. The characteristics of the article labeled as an empathetic, positive and negative. The positive characteristics concerned about childcare facilities including learning centers in the permanent refugee camps in cox's bazar, Bangladesh.

“A number of programs have been undertaken to help facilitate education, sports and mental growth of the children at the camps.”

The negative feature mentioned in this article was that the organizations cannot provide facilities until they get enough fund. The article also labeled the crisis sympathetically through covering the traumatized situation of the Rohingya children after the military attack in Myanmar after August 2017.

“Since they came to Bangladesh through a harrowing experience, they were left traumatized.”

The argument presented in the article was the lack of cooperation and concern of the NGO's and GoB to provide education facilities to the Rohingya children. The arguments in this article employed as a 'topoi of disadvantage' due to the facilities provided by the organizations and GoB do not fulfill the need of the Rohingyas. The phrases 'lack of fund for education facilities' and 'shortage of teachers in the learning centers' highlighted in this article expressed the need for more support and education services. The respective utterances articulated as overtly because the situation of Rohingya refugees was open to the reader.

#### ***Article#2 (The Daily Star article published on October 23, 2017)***

In this article from national online English newspaper the actors were referred as Rohingya children, Rohingya women, donor governments and humanitarian organizations. Rohingya women and children were presented as a vulnerable in the article.

“UNICEF is working with partners to provide vulnerable children with lifesaving support.”

However, the features discussed in this article were labeled as negative e.g. the governments and humanitarian organizations warned the international community the need of resources to operate the emergency of Rohingya refugees. The emotional and psychological state of the Rohingya refugees after the military crackdown in Myanmar covered in this article labeled the out-group actors sympathetically to the readers. The arguments employed in this discourse were the needs for humanitarian assistance, lack of health and education services.

“The needs are massive and growing, but funding remains extremely limited.”

The statistics of new arrivals including the previous numbers of the Rohingya refugees were presented in this article which was a stereotypical way to reach the readers emotion.

“An estimated 450,000 Rohingya children aged 4-18 years old need education services, 270,000 of them from among the new arrivals.”

The arguments referred to this article was about the need of cooperation among the partner organizations. The argument concludes the article as a 'topoi of danger and threat' because there is a lack of resources for education, health, food and the international community should take an action to support the Rohingya refugees. The

words and phrases such as; ‘violence’, ‘vulnerable’, ‘population density’, ‘without basic lifesaving services’, ‘psychological condition of the parents’, ‘inhuman situation’ labeled the situation intensified because the vulnerable situation was extreme at the Rohingya refugees in the camp.

***Article#3 (The Daily Star article published on November 12, 2017)***

Representatives from the GoB and international organizations were referred as actor in this national English online newspaper article. The features assigned in this article showed both positive and negative perspectives. This article referred the recommendation from international organizations and authorities to take attempts to cooperate with the Myanmar authorities to take back Rohingya refugees in Myanmar was labeled as positive attribute.

“A contingency plan would be very important for Bangladesh.”

The economic, social and environmental challenges mentioned in the article were labeled as a negative attribute. An Argument highlighted in this article was; humanitarian support is not enough despite political support is required to solve the crisis.

“the government was not seeking humanitarian support from the international communities. Rather, the government asks for political support to solve the Rohingya issue.”

The arguments covered in the article can be marked as a ‘topoi of danger and threat’ due to vulnerable situation at the refugee camp. ‘Terrorism’, ‘spread of diseases’, ‘trafficking of women and children’, ‘illegal drug trade’ all these utterances implied as intensified due to the instability presented in this article.

***Article#4 (The Guardian article published on 31 January 2018)***

The actors referred in this international English online newspaper article were the Rohingya refugees, children, young population and international organizations. The first half of the article covered the experience of a Rohingya refugee who have fled to Bangladeshi border labeled sympathetically. The suggestion for a government-issued birth certificate and fundamental rights for stateless Rohingya refugees in this article is more stereotypical just to draw readers attention.

“without birth certificate stateless children face a lifetime of acute disadvantage”.

The rest of the article discussed different issues which can be considered as a negative characteristic. E.g. vulnerabilities, restriction to access education and work for young population, trafficking of young girls, smuggling Rohingyas by boat on the sea route towards south east Asian countries. The arguments presented in this article is the need for humanitarian assistance, education and employment.

“There have been consistent warnings that a long-term, displaced Rohingya community – particularly one without access to education or some form of work”.

The urgency of political solution and long-term planning mentioned in this article conclude the crisis as a ‘topoi of responsibility’ because these problems demands a specific solution. The Rohingya refugees who fled in Bangladesh were often described as ‘displaced’ and ‘stateless’, ‘vulnerable’, ‘discriminated’ in this article which referred them as socially deprived group. Theses utterances are labeled as overtly because the vulnerable situation of the young population at the Rohingya refugee camp was shown openly in this article.

#### ***Article#5 (Daily Mail article published on 9 April 2018)***

The actors referred to this article were Rohingya children, representatives from INGO's. This article covered the events presented the personal experiences of the Rohingya refugee adolescents faced in Myanmar and the refugee camp in Bangladesh. The first half of the article presented the living conditions of the Rohingya refugees including health issues. The rest of the article addressed the personal stories of the Rohingya adolescent. Challenges during monsoon season in the camp including the risk of no education and health services during monsoon season addressed the features in negative manner. Few more negative features in this article were the warning for outbreak of diseases, lack of security in the camps and temporary education service for the Rohingya refugees.

“He attends what he calls “school” – a temporary learning center set up by aid workers – daily, where he learns the Burmese alphabet, math’s and English.”

Any positive characteristics or features attributed to social actors was not addressed in this article. The arguments employed in the article was about the terrible living conditions and the mental status of the refugee children.

“more than half of the displaced – some 370,000 children – are living in cramped, precarious conditions, many reeling from recent trauma”.

The arguments employed in the article referred as a ‘topoi of reality’ because the circumstances in this article presented the genuine situation of the Rohingya refugees. The Rohingya refugees were referred as a ‘malnourished youngsters’ and ‘vulnerable’ due to the poor living condition at the refugee camp. The phrases in this article addressed as overtly because the lack of health, education, other basic needs and the poor living conditions due to vulnerable situation were transparently presented in this article.

#### ***Article#6 (The Guardian article published on 7 May 2018)***

In this article from international online English newspaper the actors were referred as international community, the GoB and the government of UK. The features of the article were more subjective because the article shared authors personal experiences from the refugee camp. Negative features addressed in this article were the risk during monsoon season and lack of education, health and other basic services. The positive feature addressed was to seek for help from the government of UK to support in such vulnerable situation of Rohingya refugees.

“Without this expertise, almost half a million people will continue to be unable to access services such as health facilities, food support and education”.

The arguments addressed in this article were to ensure citizenship for the Rohingyas in Myanmar and gave them the right to access education and work in Myanmar. The arguments can be concluded as a ‘topoi of responsibility’ because the government of UK was asked to take a political action to contribute to the vulnerable situation at the camp.

“This reality demands the UK takes a position of political leadership in addressing the crisis on both sides of the border”.

The phrases ‘desperate situation’, ‘humanitarian crisis’, ‘marginalization’ and ‘discrimination’ has been addressed in this article to present the vulnerable situation at the refugee camps. The article labeled the utterances from the text as intensified because the living conditions of the Rohingya refugees were expressed as dreadful.

#### ***Article#7 (Daily Mail article published on 20 June 2018)***

The actors referred to this international online English newspaper were adolescent Rohingya girl and INGO representatives. The positive feature in this article addressed as how the GoB worked in the refugee camp to relocate the refugees to protect from landslides and waterborne diseases. The negative features presented in this article were the unsecured environment for the adolescent girls inside the camp, no formal school for the adolescents, and temporary learning centers which was only for the children.

“Children's charities only run temporary "learning centres" for some refugee children up to the age of 14 because Bangladesh does not allow formal schooling in the camps”.

The safety of the adolescent’s girls and their urge to go to school are employed as the arguments in this article. These arguments were expressed from the perspective of ‘topoi of reality’ because the situation of the adolescent’s girls is as it is in the camp.

“rights groups called for more services to protect girls, from education and security to toilets”.

The phrases and words ‘prison-like’, ‘trafficked or sexually harassed’, ‘domestic abuse’ were articulated as overtly because the utterances from the text clearly addressed the insecurity of the adolescent girls and the living condition at the camp.

***Article#8 (The Daily Star article published on 01 July 2018)***

In this article from national online English newspaper the actors were presented as two international representatives; Minister of State for Asia and the Pacific 'Mark Field' and UK Special Envoy for Gender Equality 'Joanna Roper'. The article was subjective as it presented the experiences gathered from their visit at the refugee camp. The positive features presented in this article were the recommendation for a long-term international support for education and livelihood for Rohingyas, dialogue with Myanmar authorities to make progress, education and empowerment right for Rohingya women and girls. The Rohingya refugee camp visit and afterwards suggestions labelled the situation as stereotypical strategy.

“Minister Field and Joanna Roper met refugee families and community leaders to learn about the persecution they suffered in Rakhine, and to hear about the challenges that life in the camps presents”.

The arguments presented in this article was to provide support for the Rohingya refugees during the monsoon season and long-term provision for education and livelihood. These arguments were presented as a 'topoi of humanitarianism' because of the need of humanitarian support from international communities. The words and phrases 'heart breaking', 'crowded', 'unsafe' and 'violence' present the uncertain living conditions at the Rohingya refugee camps which address the utterances as intensified.

***Article#9 (The Guardian article published on 22 August 2018)***

The actor referred to this international online English newspaper article was an international representative from the UK. The article is subjective because it presented the personal experiences of the authors' visit to the Rohingya refugee camp in Bangladesh. The positive feature mentioned in this article was the benefit of psychosocial support provided to the Rohingya children through 'child friendly spaces' to recover from mental trauma after the conflict in Myanmar.

“If just one of these centers were removed, 23,000 children would go without access to vital psychosocial, recreational and educational facilities”.

The negative features addressed in this article were the lack of basic sanitation, unsecured environment and vulnerable living conditions at the refugee camps. The arguments highlighted in this article were the importance of child friendly spaces, clean water, the need for quality education and health facilities. The 'topoi of danger and threat' concluded the arguments because the living condition of the Rohingya refugee children were vulnerable and there was a lack of international support to manage the crisis. The utterances from the texts; 'brutality of the violence', 'vulnerable to the dangers', 'atrocities' presented the crisis as an intensified because of the miserable living conditions of the Rohingya refugee children at the camp.

***Article#10 (Dhaka Tribune article published on 23 August 2018)***

A report from UNICEF referred as an actor in this national online English newspaper article. The positive feature in this article was a call for international support to provide quality education system for the Rohingya refugees both in Bangladesh and Myanmar. The negative feature in this article was presented as how the Rohingya refugees are deprived from education, employment and put the generation in risk for the future.

“If we don’t make the investment in education now, we face the very real danger of seeing a ‘lost generation’ of Rohingya children,”

The arguments highlighted in this article were; the need to ensure quality education, life skills and to find a solution to implement a lasting solution for the crisis.

“More than half a million Rohingya refugee children in southern Bangladesh are being denied access to a proper education; and international efforts are urgently needed to prevent them from falling prey to despair and frustration”.

This argument concluded the argument as a ‘topoi of justice’ due to the need of equity in education and the citizenship right for the Rohingya refugees. The utterances ‘despair and hopelessness’, ‘despair and frustration’, ‘traumatized by the experience in Myanmar’ articulated in the text as mitigated to ensure a better future of the Rohingya children.

***Article#11 (Daily Mail article published on 23 August 2018)***

The actors referred to this international online English online newspaper were the NGO’s and INGO’s representatives. The positive feature presented in the article was the work progress of the humanitarian agencies who provide basic services including education facilities for the children (age group: 3 to 14) in temporary learning centers. The negative features presented in this article were the Rohingya refugee camps lack formal education and health services. The negative features also included the risk of floods, landslides and diseases during monsoon season and sexual violence due to the unsecured environment at the refugee camps.

“Bangladesh prohibits refugees from receiving formal education, because the government is concerned that the predominantly Muslim Rohingya population may become a permanent fixture”.

The arguments employed in the texts was the risk of a lost generation if the education and employment facilities remain inaccessible to the Rohingya refugees in the future. The argument was expressed as a ‘topoi of danger or threat’ because the future of the Rohingya refugees are at risk without education and basic services. The utterances ‘lost generation’, ‘teenagers feel alienated’ and ‘hopeless’ described the crisis as overtly because the extreme situation was not hidden in this article.

***Article#12 (The Guardian article published on 23 August 2018)***

The actor referred to this international online English newspaper article were representatives from INGO's. The positive feature mentioned in this article was about the international organizations work progress towards education, health and other basic services. The negative features presented in this article was the Rohingya refugees have no access to formal education. Additionally, the effect of the services related with health, education and daily living conditions during monsoon season at the camp addressed the features negatively in this article.

“Sooner or later, you're going to have large groups of disaffected youth on your hands.”

The Arguments employed in this article was the risk of young Rohingya refugee girls without well-being and safety at the camp and the need for formal education for the Rohingya refugee children. The 'topoi of Responsibility' concluded the arguments for this article because an urgent support from international community was needed to tackle the crisis. The words and phrases 'violence', 'disaffected youth', 'lost generation' presented the article as intensified because of the unstable situation of the young refugee girls and the children at the camps.

#### ***Article#13 (the guardian published on 23 August 2018)***

The actors referred in this international English online newspaper were the representatives of the governments from south east Asian countries. The positive feature of this article was the attempt to call for a justice for the Rohingya refugees. The negative feature addresses in this article was the Myanmar authorities denied the charge against the violence in Rakhine state between Rohingyas the military of Myanmar. The argument employed in this article was to take necessary steps for a genuine solution to address the Rohingya refugee crisis.

“we are now at a stage where the international community must step in to ensure accountability.”

The arguments were expressed from the perspective of 'topoi of justice' to bring a permanent solution with the cooperation of the government of Myanmar and Bangladesh. The words and phrases 'ethnic cleansing', 'women sexually assaulted' and 'raped' highlighted the violence towards the Rohingyas in Myanmar. The inhuman situation in Myanmar addressed the utterances as intensified in this article.

#### ***Article#14 (Dhaka Tribune article published on 25 August 2018)***

In this article from national online English newspaper the actors were presented as INGO representatives. The positive feature of the article was a call for international solidarity to support the Rohingyas in Bangladesh. The challenges to access the basic

services including health, education and woman safety at the camps presented as a negative feature in this article.

“in order to expand the response from day-to-day life saving operations to also addressing challenges such as education and self-reliance for the Rohingyas”.

The argument employed in this article was the urgency of provide the basic services including education, health, shelter and food. The ‘topoi of responsibility’ concluded the argument because the attempt from international community were highly needed to cooperate with government of the Myanmar regarding the crisis.

“International support is needed to assist the government of Myanmar to address the root causes of the crisis”.

The utterances ‘separated and unaccompanied children’, ‘other vulnerable refugees’ and ‘safety of women and girls’ articulated in the text as mitigated through cooperate with the international community to bring a solution of the crisis.

#### ***Article#15 (The Guardian article published on 25 August 2018)***

Representatives from national and international organizations were referred as an actor in this international online English newspaper article. The previous experiences of the Rohingyas after repatriation in 1991 was presented as a negative feature in this article. Another negative feature claimed by the organizations that the existing fund was not enough to provide basic facilities to the Rohingya refugees.

“Food is dwindling and agencies warn of ‘lost generation’ of children growing up without school”

The positive feature the article presented that there was no pressure from the government of Bangladesh to the Rohingya refugees for repatriation without a fixed solution. The arguments employed in the article was the cooperation from the international community is required to convince the GoB to allow the Rohingya refugees to access formal school or employment in Bangladesh.

“The international community needs to show responsibility for what they all recognize as a horrific situation”.

The argument in this article concluded it from the perspective of ‘topoi of disadvantage’ because the humanitarian organizations cannot work longer if they do not have enough fund. ‘Grim future’, ‘lost generation’, ‘horrific situation’ these utterances were labelled as mitigated because it recommended the international community to cooperate with the GoB and ask the government to limit the restrictions towards the Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh.

#### ***Article#16 (The Daily Star article published on 25 August 2018)***

A report published by UN was referred as an actor in this national online English newspaper article. The positive feature presented in this article was to call international

community to cooperate with the government of Myanmar to ensure the quality education and other citizenship rights in Rakhine state after the repatriation. The negative feature presented was the lack of educational opportunities for the girls and young population without formal school, curriculum and lack of essential life skills of the Rohingya refugee children.

“girls and teenagers are especially at risk of being excluded when it comes to educational opportunities in Cox's Bazar”.

The argument addressed in this article was the need of quality education and necessity of basic life skills for the adolescents. This article also argued for the implementation of a long-term plan to ensure water, sanitation, health care and education. The ‘topoi of law and right’ concluded the argument which require an international political action to be conducted. The utterances 'voluntary, safe and dignified return', 'protection for Rohingya children', 'meaningful livelihoods' were referred as mitigated because this article proposed for an international support to provide justice to the Rohingya refugees by giving them the citizenship right.

#### ***Article#17 (The Daily Star published on August 26, 2018)***

Two actors were referred in this national English online newspaper article. The first one was a report from UNICEF about the education services for the Rohingya refugee children. The second one concerned the experience of the authors who visited the learning centers in the Rohingya refugee camps in Bangladesh. The positive feature of the report was the one-year outcome of the learning centers established by the UNICEF for the Rohingya refugee children. Another positive feature addressed in the article was the significant number of religious educational institutions which provide informal education to the Rohingya refugee children. The negative feature addressed in this article was the ignorance from the local and international policymaker about the crisis. Another negative feature addressed in the article was the GoB do not approve any long-term plan or do not offer formal education with the fear that the Rohingya refugees might hope for a permanent settlement in the country.

“The Bangladesh government's objection to any long-term education plan is due to its fear of whether it will send the wrong message—that the Rohingyas are accepted “permanently”.

Two arguments were presented in this in this article. The first one was the lack of agreements to address the absence of educational opportunities.

“the number of educational institutions was insufficient, infrastructures were unsatisfactory, and no specific curriculum was followed”.

And the second one addressed the need of cooperation between the GoB and the organizations to introduce a fair educational plan for the Rohingya refugees. The arguments presented in this article was from the perspective of ‘topoi of responsibility’ because it referred that the local and international policy makers should introduce a policy and the international community should take the responsibility to act in order to find solutions for the crisis. The utterances such as; ‘security threat’, ‘lost generation’, ‘lack of long-term planning’, ‘without an agreed and approved curriculum’, ‘vulnerable

younger population’ presented as mitigated because it was recommended by the article to take the proper necessary steps by the international community and policy makers to solve the crisis.

***Article#18 (The Guardian article published on 27 August 2018)***

An actor referred in this article was from a Rohingya refugee who shared her real-life experiences. The positive feature in this article was the work progress of the Humanitarians group in the Rohingya refugee camps in Bangladesh. The brief description of brutal military attack in Myanmar, the poor living condition at the refugee camps in Bangladesh and the concern for future of the Rohingya children without education presented as negative features in this article.

“Here we have no education, no schools. I fear we and our children will become like animals if we have to keep living this refugee life”.

The arguments employed in the article was the need for repatriation and citizenship right for the Rohingyas in Myanmar. The arguments were concluded from the perspective of ‘topoi of disadvantage’ in this article because the existing support from the organizations was not enough for a permanent solution for the Rohingya refugees which needs modifications. The utterances such as; ‘difficult journey’, ‘fear’, ‘trouble’ presented as intensified because it presented the overall situation of the camp to the readers through this article.

***Article#19 (Dhaka Tribune article published on September 9, 2018)***

The action referred to this national online newspaper article is a report from BRAC which is a national NGO in Bangladesh. The positive feature addressed in this article was the emergency services and coordination provided by the local organizations e.g. education, healthcare and skill development programs. The negative feature presented in this article was the lack of services for the Rohingya women and children in the Rohingya refugee camps.

“Women and children typically bear the biggest brunt of any disaster”.

The arguments employed in this article were the need of immediate short-term solution instead of a long-term solution and international dialogues or actions to ensure a safe and meaningful future for the Rohingya refugee children. The arguments in this article concluded as a ‘topoi of responsibility’ because the article referred that the organizations should focus on short-term plans to find solutions for the crisis. The utterances such as; ‘forcibly displaced’, ‘children were forced to behave like adults’, ‘helpless Rohingya children’, ‘so much atrocity in their short lives’ presented the article as overtly because the reality of the Rohingya refugees life were exposed in this article.

***Article#20 (The Daily Star article published on November 20, 2018)***

A report from INGO referred as an actor in this national online newspaper article. The description of the need of formal education for Rohingya refugee featured positively in this article. The negative feature stated in this article was the gap to fulfill the requirements for education and food in 2017.

“Globally, only a third of the funding gap for refugee education has been filled”.

Another negative feature in the article was the GoB do not provide inclusive education to the Rohingya refugees and show less interest to address the education needs of the Rohingya children.

“Among the top 10 countries hosting refugees, Bangladesh has so far excluded Rohingyas from its national education system”.

The argument presented in this article was the proposal for long-term plan and authorize the Rohingya refugees to access national education system. The arguments concluded from the perspective of ‘topoi of disadvantage’ because the article referred that the implementation of a long-term plan for a permanent solution for the crisis is important. The utterances such as; ‘discrimination in education’, ‘fill the gap’, ‘needed long term’ and ‘predictable resources’, ‘education needs’, ‘challenges and opportunities’ addressed the crisis as mitigated because the article presented the need for take necessary steps to execute a long-term plan for the Rohingya refugees.

#### ***Article#21 (The Daily Star article published on December 15, 2018)***

The actors referred in this article were the representatives of national and international organizations. The positive feature of the article was these organizations provided temporary learning centers and their own curriculum for the Rohingya refugee children. The limitations such as; restriction to formal education, poor teaching quality, and lack of long-term plans for education addressed as a negative feature in this article.

“A whole generation of Rohingya children is being denied the opportunity to shape their own future as they face extremely limited access to education”.

The arguments presented in this article was that the authorities of Myanmar should withdraw the restrictions and accept the Rohingya refugees as the citizen of Myanmar with the right to access education and freedom of movement. The arguments were concluded from the perspective of ‘topoi of reality’ because the article presented the real situation of the Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh and a specific decision should be made to change the situation. The utterances such as; ‘system of segregation’, ‘restrict formal education’ presented the situation as intensified because the article addressed the lack of resources and restriction for education which was endanger for the Rohingya refugee children.

## **5.2 Analysis of Three level of analytical framework**

This section will analyze the findings following three level of analytical framework proposed by DHA in CDA which will proceed through an in-depth analysis of newspaper discourses under three different themes<sup>7</sup> following the articles selected from four online national and international English newspaper. The five level of discursive strategies are also included in each theme which will help to analyze the text from the selected articles (KhosraviNik, 2010a). The three major themes in the texts were identified following qualitative coding methods which is deductive coding (Mullet, 2018, p.124). The deductive coding was applied based on the existing data from the articles and selected the themes following the data which will guide the findings to narrow down the broad data. These themes will help the findings to find the relevance, similarities or responses within three level of analytical framework. Additionally, I include the excerpts from the selected articles here as well but not in a chronological order like previous sections. But I will mention the article number beside each excerpt to understand from which article it has been taken. The below shows the articles numbers under each theme:

| <b>Humanitarian and education crisis</b> | <b>Lost generation</b>          | <b>Global and international support</b> |
|--|---------------------------------|---|
| Article# 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 18, 21           | Article# 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17 | Article# 3, 6, 9, 8, 13, 14, 19, 20     |

Table 6: Number of articles under each theme

## 5.2.1 Theme: Humanitarian and education crisis

### *Level one: Actor*

This section will present the roles of actors, phenomena or events of the selected articles under the theme of humanitarian and education crisis. This will illustrate how the actors or events are referred in the selected articles, their roles and what features are addressed (KhosraviNik, 2014).

The persons, actors or events in this section are Rohingya children, girls, women, young population, donor governments and humanitarian organizations, and representatives from national and international organizations. The excerpt below showed the role of both local and international NGOs' facilitated services including education, health and life saving support.

“Agencies and NGOs.....have been working for Rohingya children here. The organizations have launched learning centers, childcare and pre-schooling at the

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<sup>7</sup> Here ‘themes’ are not used as a thematic analysis framework approach.

permanent and temporary refugee camps”. (Article#1, Dhaka Tribune article published on September 21, 2017)

Here predication strategy applies with the social actor because the actors were labeled as positively or negatively. The positive feature of the national and international representatives labelled as the work progress to support the Rohingya refugees despite of a big gap to achieve the goal. The excerpts from two different articles below show how the barriers and challenges were discussed in both national and international newspaper articles.

“The needs of refugees and those of the communities hosting them are increasing at a much faster pace than our capacity to respond” (Article#2, The Daily Star article published on October 23, 2017).

“The influx brought six times more Rohingya to Bangladesh recently, of whom 60% are children. It will be tough to provide service to so many children” (Article#1, Dhaka Tribune article published on September 21, 2017).

Therefore, most of the articles under this theme addressed the need for a call for an international support for fund raising. The Rohingya refugee children as an actor referred as an outgroup people and their presence in these articles were rather positive. Instead the Rohingya refugees in most of the articles were predicted negatively or sympathetically by referring them as vulnerable or forcibly displaced.

The representatives of national and international organizations can be categorized as the in-group actors and the Rohingya refugees, children and women are as the out-group actors. The in-group actors got more attention in the newspaper articles through their quoted or summarized dialogues. On the contrary the out-group actors were presented as vulnerable, danger and threat which presented that the Rohingya refugees were discarded from the society. Only few articles from international online newspaper selected for this study presented the personal experiences of the Rohingya refugees. For example, both excerpts below from international newspapers presented the voices of Rohingya refugees-

“I like to go to school very much. I can play there with my friends and can learn and it helps my brain to be sharp” (Article#5, Daily Mail article published on 9 April 2018).

“If we stay in these camps for a long time, our community will lose its religion and its unity. Our children won’t be educated. So, despite everything, we want to go back to Myanmar – but only with citizenship and our rights”. (article#18, The Guardian article published on 27 August 2018)

However, both positive and negative features of Rohingya refugees addressed the need of support for the humanitarian and education crisis from the selected articles in this level.

## *Level 2: Action*

This section will present how the action and actors are associated to each other in the selected articles under the theme of humanitarian and education crisis.

Actions varies depending on different situations. Actions were referred in these articles in accordance with the actors' contribution to education, health and humanitarian support. The representatives of national and international organizations presented their actions from different perspectives. The progress of their work in these articles were shown as mitigation because the actors' effort to tackle the crisis and support the Rohingya refugees were presented in the articles.

“Rohingyas are often taught in informal "temporary learning centres" where the quality of education and curriculum can vary significantly depending on the NGO involved” (Article#21, The Daily Star article published on December 15, 2018).

Additionally, these actors addressed the need of fund and the limitations to fulfill their goal for the education and other basic services.

“We need to work by engaging other NGOs but everything depends on funds. We can expedite our work as soon as we get the necessary funds” (Article#1, Dhaka Tribune article published on September 21, 2017).

The action of the government of Bangladesh and Myanmar as actors were often criticized by the articles due to lack of cooperation. The articles often highlighted the point to act for the citizenship right of the Rohingya refugees and called for international support.

“A government-issued birth certificate is a right supposed to be afforded every child under international law” (Article#4, The Guardian article published on 31 January 2018).

The risk during the monsoon season which may leave negative impact for the health, education and other services for the Rohingya refugees were shown as a mitigation because it was addressed as a warning to take necessary steps before the situation get worse in the selected articles.

“With the start of the monsoon season, the government is working to relocate tens of thousands of people amid fears of landslides and waterborne diseases” (Article#7, Daily Mail article published on 20 June 2018).

The action of Rohingya children, women and young population as an individual or actors was presented from different perspectives in the selected articles. A few articles presented the Rohingya refugees as the ingroup actors. The articles addressed them as victim and presented the action through their hardship and poor living condition at the camps.

“Many adolescents have taken on additional roles as caregivers and providers, helping with distributions, collecting firewood and caring for their elderly relatives or siblings. At least 900 children are living in child-headed households”. (Article#2, The Daily Star article published on October 23, 2017)

Nonetheless, the actions presented by both outgroup and ingroup actors addressed the need for a long-term solution for the crisis in these selected articles.

### *level three: Argumentation*

This level will present how the actors presents the argument from the selected articles under the theme of humanitarian and education crisis. Furthermore, this part will focus on the argumentation strategies in DHA and conclude the argument with topoi to justify and legitimize the in-group and out group actors (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016).

The selected articles addressed the restriction of access to formal education as an argument. For example, Article#21 referred that the need for withdraw the restriction to access formal education and the GoB was criticized for the ignorance of the issue.

“Only by being able to access to education and the job market can Rohingya build a future for themselves and contribute to Bangladeshi society” (Article#21, The Daily Star article published on December 15, 2018)

This article also criticized the government of Myanmar for the same issue and addressed the reason for restriction to access formal education in Myanmar.

“At the heart of the Rohingyas' lack of access to education are the Myanmar authorities' genocidal policies”

The arguments were concluded from the perspective of ‘topoi of justice’ because the articles presented the importance of remove the restriction to access formal education and called for the support from the authorities of both governments.

Furthermore, these articles argued for the need of humanitarian assistance to reach a certain goal of the organizations involved with the Rohingya crisis. E.g. the excerpts below showed the urgency of the humanitarian assistance and services to support the Rohingya refugee crisis:

“We are thinking about providing services to all children. But it is not possible for UNICEF to handle the matter alone” (Article#1, Dhaka Tribune article published on September 21, 2017).

“it needs to provide life-saving humanitarian assistance to affected children and women” (Article#2, The Daily Star article published on October 23, 2017).

The articles addressed another argument that the international community either ignore the issue or do not take proper initiative for a long-term solution. The utterances such as; ‘vulnerable’, ‘forcibly displaced’, ‘helpless’ and ‘lost generation’ conclude the arguments from the perspective of the ‘topoi of disadvantage’ due to the vulnerable situation of the Rohingya refugees.

The arguments for the young Rohingya population were presented as a victim and hopeless generation and presented them as out-group actors in these articles. The following excerpt help to understand the situation more clearly:

“The fact that it’s a very young population brings particular challenges: you have the most vulnerable ones, the ones under five, for whom sheer survival is critical, and then you have the other kids, adolescent boys and adolescent girls, who at least need some hope to sustain them, otherwise this is very desperate situation.” (Article#4, The Guardian article published on 31 January 2018)

The arguments addressed for the Rohingya refugees as an out-group actor labeled them sympathetically to draw attention from the readers. The arguments mostly presented their vulnerable situation at the camps.

"The perception is that these girls are now women and will face more risks." (Article#7, Daily Mail article published on 20 June 2018)

“We will never accept repatriation without the rights the Myanmar government snatched from us a long time ago” (Article#18, The Guardian article published on 27 August 2018)

However, the excerpts above conclude the existing utterances from the perspective of ‘topoi of Danger and threat’ because the organizations are helpless without the national and international support and unable to provide quality education to the Rohingya refugees who were mostly addressed as a victim in the articles.

## 5.2.2 Theme: Lost generation

### *Level 1: Actor*

This part will analyze the role of the social actors or events following the selected articles under the lost generation theme. Here the publishing date of the selected articles under this theme started from August, 2018 when the Rohingya refugee children were declared as ‘lost generation’ (UNICEF Child Alert, 2018). The actor or the events referred to these articles were the agencies and the representatives from NGO’s and INGO’s.

The role of the actors or the events in these articles were presented following the progress of the work and the need of support for the Rohingya refugee children for the education services at the refugee camps. The in-group actors were featured gratefully because the articles gave more focus on the actors’ achievements and limitations. The articles addressed the quotation or summarized dialogues of the in-group actors and discussed more about their achievements rather than focusing more on the solutions. The voice of the Rohingya refugees as out-group actors were given less attentions in the selected articles.

“UNICEF has been working on the ground, since the onset of the crisis, as part of a coalition of national and international agencies. In 2018, the agency appealed for US\$28.2 million for its work educating Rohingya refugees” (Article#10, Dhaka Tribune article published on 23 August 2018).

“Aid agencies have managed to provide basic services, but the crisis is far from over, with refugees in overcrowded camps at risk of floods, landslides and disease” (Article#11, Daily Mail article published on 23 August 2018).

On the contrary, the role of the Bangladesh authorities as an actor was featured negatively. The articles addressed how the representative of international organizations criticized the Bangladesh authorities for their restriction to access formal education.

“Bangladesh prohibits refugees from receiving formal education, because the government is concerned the predominantly Muslim Rohingya population might become a “permanent fixture” (Article#11, Daily Mail article published on 23 August 2018).

The role of the religious educational institutions as an actor was addressed in one of articles which has no direct involvement government or any organizations. However, the actor was featured rather positively in the article. Although these institutions provide only Arabic lessons to the Rohingya children. Thus, it has no connections with the education services at the refugee camps.

“a significant number of religious educational institutions have been founded by various Islamic charity organizations. Although they are referred to as madrasas, most of them are pre-primary institutions” (Article#17, The Daily Star published on August 26, 2018).

The Rohingya refugee children as out-group actor have access to education through the learning centers provided by the local and international organizations at the camps. The poor quality of the education services provided to these actors were labeled negatively. The excerpt below presents the situation of the education services at the camps;

“Despite the sincere efforts of the international organizations, including UNICEF, it was obvious that the number of educational institutions was insufficient, infrastructures were unsatisfactory, and no specific curriculum was followed” (Article#17, The Daily Star published on August 26, 2018).

“there is no agreed curriculum and few learning opportunities for all those above 14 years old”. (Article#16, The Daily Star article published on 25 August 2018)

Hence, the ingroup actors were addressed both positively and negatively and the outgroup actors were given less attentions under this theme.

## *Level 2: Action*

Under the theme lost generation this part will analyze how the actors and action associated with each in the articles. In this part actions were referred as the

responsibilities related with education services provided by the organizations worked in the Rohingya refugee camps.

The excerpts from the selected articles mostly addressed the achievements of the organizations through informal learning center and other child friendly space services.

“For about one third of children up to the age of 14, a network of learning centers and child-friendly spaces offer a chance to begin healing, and respite from their harsh surroundings” (Article#10, Dhaka Tribune article published on 23 August 2018).

“Inside Cox's Bazar, some 1,200 education centers were operational by July this year for around 140,000 children -- a significant achievement, given the level of demand” (Article#16, The Daily Star article published on 25 August 2018).

The action for to act on a long-term planning and call for fund was addressed in the articles for a sustainable education system.

“Most of these institutions, according to the parents and camp management leaders of the Rohingya community, were providing services to the children only up to the age of 14 owing to resource constraints and a lack of long-term planning” (Article#17, The Daily Star published on August 26, 2018).

“UNICEF’s appeal for USD 28.2 billion for education of Rohingya children has not been met—only half has been raised” (Article#17, The Daily Star published on August 26, 2018).

However, the excerpts below addressed that the action to implement a learning framework was under process and the GoB considered to be flexible with the restrictions for education and shelter.

“A new learning framework designed to provide children with a higher-quality education ..... as well as essential life-skills – is now under development” (Article#10, Dhaka Tribune article published on 23 August 2018).

“It is considering slightly relaxing restrictions on education and better-quality housing for the refugees” (Article#15, The Guardian article published on 25 August 2018).

One of the articles acknowledged that even though there was an official deal signed by UN, Bangladesh and Myanmar for the repatriation but no progress were noticed regarding that.

“Under an official deal signed by the UN and the governments of Bangladesh and Myanmar in June, it was agreed that efforts would be made to create appropriate conditions for the voluntary, safe and dignified return of Rohingya refugees to their former communities. But to date, no such returns have happened” (Article#16, The Daily Star article published on 25 August 2018).

However, the excerpt from article#15 addressed the action which was about the charge against Myanmar for the violence against the Rohingyas in Rakhine through International Criminal Court (ICC) to give the Rohingya people justice. But, the long

procedure of the legal fight was addressed at the same time which reduced the expectations for any solutions.

“The legal fight Holding Myanmar accountable will be a long process ..... to charge the state with genocide and other crimes against humanity” (Article#15, The Guardian article published on 25 August 2018).

The actions were focused more on developing education services and achieving the target. The actions of the in-group actors were more highlighted because the articles addressed more about the work progress of the organizations rather than the achievements of the Rohingya refugee children from the current education services. Therefore, the voice of Rohingya refugees were mostly ignored comparing to ingroup actors under this theme.

### *Level 3: Argument*

This part will analyze the arguments presented in the text based on the UN reports under the theme lost generation. The arguments from these articles will address the issues such as; education services and living conditions of the Rohingya refugees at the refugee camps.

One of the arguments presented in the selected articles was the need to implement a long-term plan for the Rohingya crisis. The argument featured positively in the articles to draw attention of the local and international authorities. The excerpt below addressed the crisis and need for a long-term solution;

“We really want to see everybody accepts that this is not a crisis that is going to go away anytime soon and that we have to plan in a more sustainable way for the future, whether that be in terms of providing water and sanitation or health care, or in need of education.” (Article#16, The Daily Star article published on 25 August 2018).

In accordance with the above proposal an excerpt from another article featured the role of policymakers negatively and argued that the local and international policy makers do not consider issue seriously or mostly ignore the crisis.

“This should not be another report that policymakers, both local and international, gloss over and then forget about” (Article#17, The Daily Star published on August 26, 2018).

The above utterances concluded the arguments from the perspective of ‘topoi of disadvantage’ because the situation remained the same without any development.

The next argument presented the features of the crisis negatively. The articles addressed that the need of curriculum, vocational training and planned learning competency framework were strategically ignored by the authorities.

“without an agreed and approved curriculum... taught with a variety of materials-are not much of a help to the community” (Article#17, The Daily Star published on August 26, 2018).

“Neither UNICEF’s report nor any other available plan explores whether a curriculum with vocational training can be devised to address the situation” (Article#17, The Daily Star published on August 26, 2018).

‘Topoi of responsibility’ concluded the above utterances because it presented the need of cooperation from the local and international organizations. The articles referred that these actors should be responsible to find the possible solutions and develop a long-term planning to support the Rohingya refugees.

One of the arguments from these articles addressed the risk of the future generation of the Rohingya refugee children without formal education and other facilities which referred them as hopeless and despair. This feature labeled the Rohingya refugee children sympathetically to draw readers attention.

“It's about an insurance against a loss of a generation of children to hopelessness and despair -- something that we really must avoid at all costs” (Article#16, The Daily Star article published on 25 August 2018).

“teenagers feel alienated and hopeless, Unquestionably, there is a danger that we might be facing a lost generation,” (Article#11, Daily Mail article published on 23 August 2018).

The above utterances concluded the arguments from the perspective of ‘topoi of danger and threat’ due to lack of act or quick solutions which may put the future of the Rohingya refugees in danger.

Other than the above arguments an article from international newspaper addressed the demand of Rohingya refugees. Although, the voice of Rohingya refugees were mostly ignored in most of the selected articles but this article presented the voice of Rohingya refugees against the forcible repatriation. The previous repatriation in 1992 was a bitter experience which caused the genocide later in the Rakhine state.

“Back then, we agreed with Bangladesh and the UNHCR. We obeyed their messages and their rules, and our people returned. And we faced a genocide. Everything got worse.” (Article#15, The Guardian article published on 25 August 2018).

The above utterances concluded the arguments from the perspective of ‘topoi of humanitarianism’ because the national and international authorities failed to provide humanitarian support to the Rohingya refugees which need a permanent solution from the humanitarian organizations.

### 5.2.3 Theme: Global and International support

### *Level 1: Actor*

This part will analyze how the actors were features under the theme global and international support. The actors referred in these articles were the representatives from national and international organizations and the government.

The actors were labeled in this theme either negatively or as an urgency. The excerpts below show the challenges of the actors who works in the Rohingya refugee camps and the lack of cooperation between the international agencies and the GoB.

“UN and other aid agencies are being held up by red tape as they try to gain access to the camps.” (Article#6, The Guardian article published on 7 May 2018).

“They saw first-hand the damage caused by recent monsoon rains, and the work of the Government of Bangladesh and humanitarian agencies to protect the refugees” (Article#8, The Daily Star article published on 01 July 2018)

In relevance to the above excerpts another article addressed the necessity of cooperation and quality service of the actors. The argument warned the GoB that if the international organizations quit the camp, the GoB need to take the responsibility. Here the article labeled the Rohingya crisis as burden for the international organizations.

“The humanitarian support currently provided by the international organizations would not continue for a long period. Hence, the burden would be on the government of Bangladesh” (Article#1, Dhaka Tribune article published on September 21, 2017).

The local and international organizations as actors labeled the work responsibility as an urgency. The excerpts below addressed the actors responds during any emergency.

“At the onset of the (latest) emergency, UNHCR immediately deployed additional staff to Bangladesh” (Article#14, Dhaka Tribune article published on 25 August 2018).

“BRAC, as one of the very first responders to the crisis, provided emergency services in the first phase, and then expanded into comprehensive, coordinated services in areas such as healthcare, education.” (Article#19, Dhaka Tribune article published on September 9, 2018).

The role of the organizations and government as the actors were features as an in-group actor by addressing their individual works. The articles referred the actors as an individual group and promoted the organizational achievements under this theme. The solution for cooperation among the actors were missing in the selected articles.

### *Level 2: Action*

This part will analyze how the texts are presented and associated with the actors through their actions. Here the actors from national and international organizations and

government representatives were referred as actors under the theme global and international support from.

The assistance and support given by the national, international and GoB were presented as an action in the selected articles. The excerpts below only present the individual achievements of a national organizations.

“BRAC has launched an international communication campaign titled “#SpaceOnEarth” to help strengthen global support for the Rohingya and for raising the voices of Rohingya children across the globe” (Article#19, Dhaka Tribune article published on September 9, 2018).

Only a few articles addressed the importance of cooperation and gave example of other host countries and their partnership with international organizations. The call for humanitarian assistance and need for strong partnership as an action was highlighted in the excerpt below.

“The United Nations refugee agency has urged the international community to step up its support for the stateless Rohingyas in Bangladesh and to show solidarity with their generous hosts” (Article#14, Dhaka Tribune article published on 25 August 2018).

However, few other articles mentioned that the support from international communities were not enough. A political action is required to address the crisis between Myanmar and Bangladesh government.

“the government was not seeking humanitarian support from the international communities. Rather, the government asks for political support to solve the Rohingya issue” (Article#3, The Daily Star article published on November 12, 2017)

Additionally, the call for international pressure and dialogue with the Myanmar authorities and justice against Rohingya were addressed in a few articles. One of the articles recommended that the action is needed to take the matter at the international court of justice.

“the matter should be taken to the International Court of Justice” (Article#3, The Daily Star article published on November 12, 2017).

“We will continue to use international pressure and dialogue with the Burmese authorities to make progress” (Article#8, The Daily Star article published on 01 July 2018).

The action of the in-group actors was emphasized in the selected article and focused on the individual achievements. The action of Rohingya refugees as an out-group actor were given less priority in the selected articles.

### *Level 3: Argument*

This part will address the arguments from the selected articles under the theme global and international support. The arguments referred in the articles were; the restriction to access formal education and to ensure citizenship. The articles presented the importance of education both for to become a part of the society and to meet the challenges after displacement.

“The rapid and unplanned growth of the camps makes the response challenging. But there are opportunities to improve the situation” (Article#6, The Guardian article published on 7 May 2018).

“Progress on ensuring Rohingya citizenship must be a priority” (Article#6, The Guardian article published on 7 May 2018).

In accordance with the above excerpts, the excerpts below argued for the need of international engagement to support the Rohingya refugees. Besides, the articles presented the argument to address the root causes of the crisis. The need of an international assistant to discuss the issue with Myanmar government was mentioned in the article.

“UNHCR urges renewed international engagement and support for Rohingyas and host communities in Bangladesh” (Article#14, Dhaka Tribune article published on 25 August 2018).

“Discussants at the dialogue recommended taking both soft and hard approaches bilaterally and multilaterally so that the Myanmar authorities take back its nationals soon” (Article#3, The Daily Star article published on November 12, 2017).

An argument addressed by the article was to bring justice for the Rohingya refugees and Myanmar should be investigated by the International Criminal Court (ICC) for the violence against the Rohingya refugees in Rakhine state.

“Justice for the Rohingya is an issue that goes beyond regional politics – it concerns humanity as a whole,” (Article#13, the guardian published on 23 August 2018).

Another important point presented as an argument was the comparison of Bangladesh with other host countries. Bangladesh restricted formal education for the Rohingya refugees but the other host countries allowed the refugees to access the national education system.

“Among the top 10 countries hosting refugees, Bangladesh has so far excluded Rohingyas from its national education system, while Pakistan has had an ambivalent stance” (Article#20, The Daily Star article published on November 20, 2018).

The argument to ensure a safe future for the Rohingya refugees was discussed in the selected articles. Thus, the need for international support was mentioned in the following excerpt;

“The collective international responsibility for protecting and finding solutions for these refugees must remain a priority for all countries in the region and beyond” (Article#14, Dhaka Tribune article published on 25 August 2018).

Another argument referred in the articles was to ensure a secured future by providing quality education for the Rohingya refugee children and women. The articles highlighted several times without education and empowerment the future of the Rohingya refugees will be at stake.

“the learning centers for Rohingya children, displaying a thirst for education despite all that they have endured at such a young age” (Article#8, The Daily Star article published on 01 July 2018).

The excerpts addressed above concluded the arguments from the perspective of ‘topoi of justice and responsibility’ because the need for support from international community was referred several times to ensure a secured life for the Rohingya refugees. Thus, the importance of the cooperation from the international community to tackle the crisis was mentioned in the articles. The importance of repatriation of the Rohingya refugees and ensure them formal education by the Myanmar authorities also conclude the arguments as a ‘topoi of justice and responsibility’.

### *Brief summary of the three themes*

This section will present the findings of the following Research Questions (RQ) of my study under the three themes from three level of Analytical framework. This summary will help the reader to understand the discussion part (Chapter-6) precisely.

RQ:1 How Education for Rohingya refugee children in Bangladesh referred to in discourses in international and national English daily newspapers in Bangladesh?

RQ:2 What features and arguments are presented in the text of international and national English daily newspapers in Bangladesh related to social actors who are directly or indirectly involved with the crisis?

RQ:3 How the features of UN report-based articles presented and positioned in discourse comparing to the other type of articles?

RQ:4 What other basic needs terms were given more priority rather than ‘Education’ in both selected national and international newspaper articles for Rohingya refugees?

The first theme ‘Humanitarian and education crisis’ presented the answers of four RQ of this study. RQ:1 (Research Question) addressed the engagement of the actors as the representative of education services for the Rohingya refugee children from different perspectives. The temporary learning centers for the Rohingya refugee children at the camps provided by the local and international organizations were mentioned in the articles. But the lack of fund was a barrier for the further progress of the education services. Thus, RQ:2 presented two arguments from the selected articles. The first one

was, the Government of Bangladesh (GoB) should give the Rohingya refugee children access to enroll in the national education system in Bangladesh. The second one was, the call for fund and humanitarian assistance from international community for a sustainable future of the Rohingya refugees. The findings of my RQ:3 which featured the texts from UN report-based articles, highlighted the importance of citizenship right and the risk of negative impact to health and education services during monsoon season. Other than education the terms; health, food, monsoon season and sanitation were featured in these articles. The findings for the RQ:4 presented that both local and international NGO's were involved to provide services including education, health and other basic services. The articles addressed the Rohingya refugees as vulnerable, displaced, danger and threat in most of the selected articles. However, the articles referred to call for a justice to ensure the education rights for the Rohingya refugees for a sustainable future.

The second theme 'Lost generation' presented the findings from all the research questions. The findings from RQ:1 where the UN representatives promoted their work at the education sector at the Rohingya refugee camps. At the same time, the contribution of the GoB for education was featured negatively due to the restriction for formal education. UN representatives as in-group actors were given more attention due to their active contribution for the education services. The ignorance of local and international policymaker towards implementation of sustainable solution for education system was also noticeable in the articles. RQ:2 addressed the arguments that the education quality was poor due to the insufficient infrastructure, no curriculum and lack of qualified teachers. Thus, the articles argued for a sustainable solution for the education services by executing a long-term plan. The need of curriculum, vocational training and learning competency framework for a better education services were also referred as an argument in most of the selected articles under this theme. RQ:3 addressed the work progress of the education services run by the UN agencies. Most of the articles under this theme were UN based report. Thus, the features presented in these articles were linked with the education services run by UN for the Rohingya refugees. The findings from RQ:4 highlighted that the term education was used frequently because the selected articles under this theme were based on the education report published by UN. However, the term; water, sanitation and health were also addressed few times in the selected articles.

The third theme 'Global and international support' also presented the finding of all the research questions. The findings of RQ:1 addressed the contribution of the international organizations and the GoB as an actor in education services. The support provided by these actors to operate the Rohingya emergency was featured in the articles but no long-term planning for education services was implemented by them. The lack of cooperation between the local and international organizations to promote education were also presented in these articles. The findings of RQ:2 presented few arguments from the selected articles. One of the arguments was about the need of humanitarian support and the political support to deal with the crisis. Another argument presented in a few articles was to bring justice for the Rohingyas through International Criminal Court (ICC) for the violence against them in Myanmar. But as the procedure is lengthy the articles called for a quick solution. The findings of the RQ:3 presented that the UN calls

for international engagement to support the Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh. Other than education these articles highlighted to ensure citizenship and justice for Rohingya refugees. RQ:4 presented that the term health, food, shelter, security, terrorism, trafficking of women and children were discussed in both national and international newspaper articles under this theme.

Chapter 5 has analyzed the Rohingya refugee situation from the theoretical and methodological understanding. The next chapter will present the discussion based on the findings of the analysis of the selected newspaper articles.

## Chapter 6

### Discussion

In this chapter, the discussion part will be divided in two parts. In the first part, I will discuss the relevant findings addressed in the national and international online newspaper articles. In the second part, I will discuss about the comparison between national and international newspaper articles.

#### 6.1 General discussion

The findings of the analysis chapter entail different aspects in both national and international English online newspaper articles. This part of the study will discuss the findings of my study in accordance with the reference from previous research.

### *The status of basic life savings and humanitarian assistance*

In relevance with the study of Wali et al., (2018) the findings of my study presented that the Rohingya refugees who were forced to flee from Myanmar, experienced the lack of basic need and human right issues at the refugee camps in Bangladesh. Another finding Similar to Ullah's (2016) study showed that the Rohingya refugees are deprived of their basic rights and the their living condition is unstable due to the lack of national legal frameworks in most southeast Asian countries. The term 'education' was linked with the need of basic and human right issue. In accordance with the study of Gallano (2018) the findings of my study addressed that the education service provided by the NGOs' and INGOs' were unable to fulfill their goals because of lack of fund, lack of infrastructure and teaching materials and restriction to access education by the GoB. The teachers were demotivated to work in the learning centers due to low salaries and hassle to travel to remote areas.

The UN report-based articles addressed the importance to ensure education the Rohingya refugees comparing to other articles. Other than education the terms; shelter, food, water, sanitation, health, nutrition was addressed in most of the articles. In regard to education services the contribution of the GoB, UNHCR and national and international NGO's failed to fulfill the gap of education needs for the registered Rohingya refugees. Thus, most of the selected articles called for the international support either to approve the humanitarian rights or to donate enough fund within the duration of 16 months period starting from September 2017 to December 2018. Unfortunately, any attempt to implement a plan or approval of any long or short-term plan were not addresses in any of the selected articles. In such context the rapid needs of education and other basic services should be taken into consideration by the actors through a systematic way.

### *Restriction to formal education and other basic services*

The restriction in formal education and other basic services were significantly discussed and argued in the selected articles. In agreement with Farzanas' (2017) study the findings of my study presented that the GoB does not allow Rohingya refugee children to access formal education. There were only temporary based learning centers and no education services after grade five. The restriction of movement did not allow them to leave the camp for studies and work. A report published by UNICEF labeled the Rohingya refugees future as 'lost generation'. They proposed if there is no cooperation from international community to take proper action to protect the Rohingya refugees then the world might see a lost generation of an ethnic group in the future. Other than

education; the restriction for movement, no employment, insufficient food assistance was highlighted in the selected articles. In line with the study of Wali et al., (2018) my study presented that the refugees were not allowed to work and study outside the camp even though the opportunities inside the camps were limited for education and job. Therefore, many refugees looked for job outside the camp illegally. The NGO representatives as an actor addressed their contribution to assist the Rohingya refugees was ongoing but due to restrictions from the GoB and lack of cooperation from the international community made it difficult to reach their goal.

### *Lack of fund and resources*

The representatives from NGOs', INGOs' and the GoB were working to support the educational services for the Rohingya refugee children. But due to the massive population in the camps the representatives faced challenges to provide quality services. Thus, there is a demand for fund and resources mentioned in the selected articles. Most of the selected articles addressed often that the lack of fund was one of the main challenges to provide quality education to the Rohingya refugee children. Additionally, the UN reports mentioned about the importance of implementation of a long-term plan for education to protect the Rohingya refugees from vulnerable situation. The lack of fund and resources was not related only with education services. Other issues such as; health care, livelihoods, challenges during monsoon were also linked with the fund problem in the selected articles.

In accordance with Farzana (2017) my study also presented that there is a huge gap in the quality of education due to a lack of fund and teaching and learning materials. UNHCR warned that it will withdraw the financial support if the fund remains limited. Thus, urgent assistance from the international community was needed to raise the amount of fund and resources to provide education and other basic services.

### *Unsafety of young population (boys and girls)*

In accordance with the study of Begum et al., (2018) findings of my study presented that the young population of Rohingya refugees aged 14-18 were deprived from formal education due to the restriction from the GoB. The risk of child marriage, trafficking, child labor increased because of no access to school for these Rohingya refugee boys and girls. To protect these children the NGO's and INGO's introduced 'safe space' where they could spend their time and receive support to recover from the trauma. One of the findings showed the importance of 'safe space' for the young population which provided the children and young population psychosocial, recreational and other facilities.

The findings from UN report-based articles warned that due to the restriction to access education and job the future of young population might be at risk. All these barriers drove the young Rohingya children towards hopelessness and despair. If the

situation remains the same, the world might see a lost generation of the Rohingyas in the future. The need for clean water, health facilities, safe latrines for girls, early marriage addressed in the articles along with education services. As mentioned by OCHA (2018) my finding also presented that separate strategies for education services in emergencies for young Rohingya population need immediate attention to reduce the risk of vulnerable life of Rohingya refugee children.

### *Ensure the citizenship in Myanmar*

Another finding from the selected articles addressed one issue often which was the approval of citizenship right for the Rohingya refugees. As the issue was rather sensitive and complex, the involvement of international community was highly demanded. Additionally, the repatriation issue was discussed several times in the selected articles. According to OCHA (2018) the GoB believes repatriation is the only solution for the Rohingya refugees and there is a signed contact between Bangladesh and Myanmar government on repatriation of Rohingya refugees in November 2017. Although, the previous repatriation in 1992 was a bitter experience for most of the refugees and they do not want to repeat the same history. After the violence took place against the Rohingyas in August 2017, the Rohingya refugees strongly refused for the repatriation without ensuring the citizenship in Myanmar.

In accordance with the study of Pamini et al., (2013), the findings of my study addressed that if no other countries willingly accept the refugees, the future of the Rohingya refugees are at stake. The daily living conditions of the Rohingya refugees which includes education, health and other basic needs was unstable. Thus, to ensure the citizenship in Myanmar and to protect the Rohingya refugees, the need of cooperation by the Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to convince Myanmar was considered significantly.

### *Risk of no services during monsoon season*

The risk of limited services in the camp during monsoon season was highlighted in the articles several times. The representatives from different organizations warned that they might cut off the access to education services and child friendly space facilities during monsoon season. Along with education the limitation of clean water, food and health services, shelter was also mentioned as a risk during the monsoon season. Additionally, the actors mentioned the risk for flood, landslides and outbreaks of waterborne diseases. Later, the findings addressed that the GoB and the organizations took preparation for the monsoon season but the resources they had was not enough to tackle the situation. Thus, the need for fund and support were addressed several times in the articles.

### *Rohingya refugee education and Sustainable Development Goal (SDG)*

One important issue was missing in all the articles was target the SDG to ensure education for all the Rohingya refugee children. As, the Rohingya refugee crisis is considered as one of the world's worst forced displacement (Olney et al., 2019) therefore, the forced displacement of the Rohingya refugee becomes one of the barriers to achieve the Sustainable Development Goal #4 – “ensuring quality education for all”. According to UNHCR (2017) the restriction to access formal education and repatriation is a barrier to reach the goal. Although the report from UNHCR stated in SDG-5.1 and 16.9 to provide legal identity and citizenship right to the stateless people. But, the implementation of the SDG was hardly seen and none of the selected newspaper articles mentioned about the agenda either.

## 6.2 Comparison of national and international newspaper articles

Both national and international newspaper articles used the common elements to present the education crisis of Rohingya refugee children. Although the articles were written by different authors but the core issues were the same. Yet, few differences are noticeable in comparison to national and international newspaper. The international online newspapers articles presented the personal stories and experiences of the Rohingya refugees which was not often addressed in the national newspapers. The personal stories were labeled as sympathetically following the predication strategy which help the readers to connect with the storyline.

The text type comparing to four different newspapers were not similar but the core issue was presented in similar way. Both the national and international newspapers presented the crisis as a central focus of all the discussion.

Most of the international newspaper articles briefly mentioned the background of the military attack in Myanmar which took place in August 2017. This is a positive feature following the predication strategy which help the readers to be familiar with the incident.

Both national and international newspaper articles had quoted the statements from the representatives and reports and called for an international support. The in-group actors were more highlighted comparing to the out-group actors in both national and international newspaper articles. Both categories presented the Rohingya refugees as a vulnerable group in need of external help. At the same time all the newspaper articles acknowledged the Rohingyas as an ethnic group.

Some of the International newspaper articles criticized the GoB because of the restriction to access formal education but the national newspaper articles did not address the issue in a similar way.

The articles from both categories were written not just to present the crisis to the readers but also to persuade an action and support the crisis through addressing the calls for international and political support.

Issues concerning repatriation process, living conditions, economic and social situation, citizenship rights, security risk, trafficking of children and women, monsoon season were discussed more in international newspaper articles.

Nevertheless, following my research question four when it comes to evaluate the priority of the other terms in comparison to education, it concludes that all the terms are equally important and linked with the crisis. The actors contribute to the crisis focusing on developing all the terms in a row rather than giving priority to only one term. Each of the term is important part of the basic needs of the Rohingya refugees and one cannot be developed by ignoring the other. Thus, most of the articles called for the humanitarian and political support to handle the crisis by focusing on all the terms.

## Chapter 7

### Concluding remarks

This study focused on how the national and international newspaper articles presented the challenges and barriers to access formal education for the Rohingya refugee children including other basic services at the refugee camps in Bangladesh. The DHA frameworks helped the study to clarify how national and international media construct the role of actors or events to present the issues either explicitly or implicitly. This study significantly covered the similarities, differences and relevance by applying the discursive strategies and analytical frameworks to address the findings.

The UN security council failed to stop the brutality and vulnerable situation in Myanmar. The neighboring countries; China and India supported Myanmar because of

their geo-strategic and economical interest (Farzana, 2018). Despite the call for political support from the international community for a permanent solution for the Rohingya refugees, there is no sign for any progress. The local and international policy makers do not have any intention to bring justice for the Rohingya people (Ullah, 2016). The suggestions made by the actors or the events from the selected articles for a long-term planning in the host countries and the repatriation sounds more like contradiction. It proved that the actors are not even sure about any permanent solution for the refugees. Even third country resettlement is not mentioned by any of these actors because Bangladesh and Myanmar refused to accept the refugees as the citizen of their country.

The Rohingya issue in Myanmar has its long history of violence and persecution which started from British colonial period onwards. The repatriation took place several times before the violence in August 2017 but the vulnerable situation of Rohingya refugees never improved by the Myanmar authorities. Although, the GoB is ready for repatriation of the Rohingya refugees but the situation remains politically sensitive now due to the citizenship right demanded by the Rohingya refugees (Milton et al., 2017). The Rohingya refugees fear the repetition of violence again if they go back without the citizenship right. Thus, in January 2018 they submitted a letter of demands where they have mentioned; if they are ensured by the citizenship rights and justice they are ready to go back in their old land (Farzana, 2018).

One point to address in comparison to the Rohingya refugee crisis with the migration crisis in Europe is both crises need acceptance and international protection (Pagano, 2016). The life of thousands of peoples is at risk and going through the same emergency. Yet, the Rohingya refugees received less media attention and support from the international community comparing to the migration crisis in Europe. Although, they have many similarities.

Considering the above discussion, my study concludes that the need of long-term plan and international support is crucial. Additionally, the initiative from the local and the international community to protect the Rohingya refugee children is compulsory. Without international assistance there is a limitation to provide basic and humanitarian supports. As the lack of fund and restrictions are counted as a barrier towards the progress for the services provided to the Rohingya refugees, the involvement of international community is highly needed to convince Myanmar to accept the Rohingya refugees. At the same time, the Myanmar authority should accept them as the citizen of Myanmar without any restriction to access education and employment. If the international community fail to convince the Myanmar authorities then the GoB should work with UNHCR to consider the third country resettlement for a better future for the Rohingya refugees (Farzana, 2018).

Last but not the least, the number of studies based on access to education for the Rohingya refugee children is very limited. Therefore, future research is recommended in

similar topics to explore the influence of media coverage for the same issue and present the results and updates of the status of Rohingya refugees.

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## Appendix: A

| <b>National and international online English newspaper article informations</b> |                       |               |                   |   |
|---|-----------------------|---------------|-------------------|---|
| Article number  | Name of the newspaper | Type          | Date              | Headline and link   |
| Article#1   | Dhaka Tribune         | National      | 21 September 2017 | <b>100,000 children of school-going age in the Rohingya camps</b><br><a href="https://www.dhakatribune.com/uncategorized/2017/09/21/children-school-going-age-rohingya-camps">https://www.dhakatribune.com/uncategorized/2017/09/21/children-school-going-age-rohingya-camps</a>  |
| Article#2   | The Daily Star        | National      | 23 October 2017   | <b>Rohingya women, children still at acute risk: Unicef</b><br><a href="https://www.thedailystar.net/rohingya-crisis/rohingya-women-children-still-acute-risk-unicef-1480618">https://www.thedailystar.net/rohingya-crisis/rohingya-women-children-still-acute-risk-unicef-1480618</a>  |
| Article#3   | The Daily Star        | National      | 12 November 2017  | <b>Food, Shelter to Rohingyas: \$882m needed for 10 months</b><br><a href="https://www.thedailystar.net/education-employment/food-shelter-rohingyas-882m-needed-10-months-1489834">https://www.thedailystar.net/education-employment/food-shelter-rohingyas-882m-needed-10-months-1489834</a>   |
| Article#4   | The Guardian          | International | 31 January 2018   | <b>Displaced Rohingya children left in limbo by refugee crisis</b><br><a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/01/devoid-of-hope-displaced-rohingya-children-are-vulnerable-to-trafficking-and-radicalisation">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/01/devoid-of-hope-displaced-rohingya-children-are-vulnerable-to-trafficking-and-radicalisation</a> |
| Article#5   | Daily mail            | International | 9 April 2018      | <b>Rohingya youngsters tell of life in world's biggest refugee camp</b><br><a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-5592521/Rohingya-youngsters-tell-life-world-s-biggest-refugee-camp.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-5592521/Rohingya-youngsters-tell-life-world-s-biggest-refugee-camp.html</a>                                      |
| Article#6   | The Guardian          | International | 7 May 2018        | <b>Now Rohingya refugees are threatened by monsoons. Britain must help</b><br><a href="https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/may/07/rohingya-refugees-monsoon-myanmar-bangladesh">https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/may/07/rohingya-refugees-monsoon-myanmar-bangladesh</a>   |
| Article#7   | Daily mail            | International | 20 June 2018      | <b>Hiding from traffickers in 'prison-like' tents, Rohingya girls dream of school</b><br><a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/reuters/article-5863171/Hiding-traffickers-prison-like-tents-">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/reuters/article-5863171/Hiding-traffickers-prison-like-tents-</a>  |

|            |                |               |                 |   |
|------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|---|
|            |                |               |                 | <a href="#">Rohingya-girls-dream-school.html</a>  |
| Article#8  | The Daily Star | National      | 01 July 2018    | <b>UK calls for more int'l support for Rohingyas in Bangladesh</b><br><a href="https://www.thedailystar.net/rohingya-crisis/uk-mark-field-calls-more-international-support-rohingyas-bangladesh-1598167">https://www.thedailystar.net/rohingya-crisis/uk-mark-field-calls-more-international-support-rohingyas-bangladesh-1598167</a>   |
| Article#9  | The Guardian   | International | 22 August 2018  | <b>The Rohingya refugee crisis speaks to the worst acts of humanity</b><br><a href="https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2018/aug/22/rohingya-refugee-crisis-speaks-worst-acts-humanity-myanmar-bangladesh">https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2018/aug/22/rohingya-refugee-crisis-speaks-worst-acts-humanity-myanmar-bangladesh</a>  |
| Article#10 | Dhaka Tribune  | National      | 23 August 2018  | <b>Unicef: Education investment needed to save 'lost generation' of Rohingya</b><br><a href="https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/2018/08/23/unicef-education-investment-needed-to-save-lost-generation-of-rohingya">https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/2018/08/23/unicef-education-investment-needed-to-save-lost-generation-of-rohingya</a>   |
| Article#11 | Daily mail     | International | 23 August 2018  | <b>'Lost generation' looms for Rohingya refugee children without education</b><br><a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/reuters/article-6088859/Lost-generation-looms-Rohingya-refugee-children-without-education.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/reuters/article-6088859/Lost-generation-looms-Rohingya-refugee-children-without-education.html</a>                                   |
| Article#12 | The Guardian   | International | 23 August 2018  | <b>'Lost generation': Unicef warns on fate of Rohingya children</b><br><a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/aug/23/lost-generation-unicef-warns-on-fate-of-rohingya-children">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/aug/23/lost-generation-unicef-warns-on-fate-of-rohingya-children</a>  |
| Article#13 | The Guardian   | International | 24 August 2018  | <b>Rohingya crisis: 132 MPs across region call for Myanmar to be referred to ICC</b><br><a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/aug/24/rohingya-crisis-132-mps-across-region-call-for-myanmar-to-be-referred-to-icc">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/aug/24/rohingya-crisis-132-mps-across-region-call-for-myanmar-to-be-referred-to-icc</a>   |
| Article#14 | Dhaka Tribune  | National      | August 25, 2018 | <b>Rohingya crisis, one year on: UN calls for international solidarity with Bangladesh</b><br><a href="https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/crisis/2018/08/25/rohingya-crisis-one-year-on-un-calls-for-international-solidarity-with-bangladesh">https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/crisis/2018/08/25/rohingya-crisis-one-year-on-un-calls-for-international-solidarity-with-bangladesh</a> |
| Article#15 | The Guardian   | International | 25 August 2018  | <b>'We cannot go back': grim future facing Rohingya one year after attacks</b><br><a href="https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2018/aug/24/rohingya-one-year-after-attacks">https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2018/aug/24/rohingya-one-year-after-attacks</a>   |
| Article#16 | The Daily Star | National      | 25 August 2018  | <b>Unicef warns of a 'lost generation'</b><br><a href="https://www.thedailystar.net/news/rohingya-crisis/unicef-warns-lost-generation-1624282">https://www.thedailystar.net/news/rohingya-crisis/unicef-warns-lost-generation-1624282</a>   |

|            |                |               |                   |  |
|------------|----------------|---------------|-------------------|--|
| Article#17 | The Daily Star | National      | 26 August 2018    | <b>Unmaking a 'lost generation'</b><br><a href="https://www.thedailystar.net/news/opinion/black-white-grey/unmaking-lost-generation-1624465">https://www.thedailystar.net/news/opinion/black-white-grey/unmaking-lost-generation-1624465</a>   |
| Article#18 | The Guardian   | International | 27 August 2018    | <b>I am a Rohingya refugee: we will become like animals if we stay in these camps</b><br><a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/aug/27/i-am-a-rohingya-refugee-we-will-become-like-animals-if-we-stay-in-these-camps">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/aug/27/i-am-a-rohingya-refugee-we-will-become-like-animals-if-we-stay-in-these-camps</a>   |
| Article#19 | Dhaka Tribune  | National      | 09 September 2018 | <b>#SpaceOnEarth: Voices of Rohingya children</b><br><a href="https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/2018/09/09/spaceonearth-voices-of-rohingya-children">https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/2018/09/09/spaceonearth-voices-of-rohingya-children</a>   |
| Article#20 | The Daily Star | National      | 20 November 2018  | <b>Int'l support must for Bangladesh to make shift to inclusive education for Rohingyas: Unesco</b><br><a href="https://www.thedailystar.net/rohingya-crisis/education-for-inclusive-rohingya-international-support-must-bangladesh-make-shift-unesco-1663129">https://www.thedailystar.net/rohingya-crisis/education-for-inclusive-rohingya-international-support-must-bangladesh-make-shift-unesco-1663129</a> |
| Article#21 | The Daily Star | National      | 15 December 2018  | <b>Entire generation denied education</b><br><a href="https://www.thedailystar.net/backpage/news/entire-generation-denied-education-1673896">https://www.thedailystar.net/backpage/news/entire-generation-denied-education-1673896</a>   |

## Appendix: B

1. *Usefulness, advantage*- if an action under a specific relevant point of view will be useful, then one should perform it
2. *Uselessness, disadvantage*- if existing rulings do not help to reach the declared aims, they must be changed.
3. *Definition, Name-interpretation*- if an action, a thing or a group of persons is designated as any name then it should carry the qualities/traits/attributes contained in the meaning of the designation.
4. *Danger and threat*- if a political action or decision shows any danger or threat one should perform it differently or do something against them.
5. *Humanitarianism*- if a political action or decision does or does not conform with human rights or humanitarian convictions and values, one should or should not perform or take it.
6. *Justice*- if persons/actions/situations are equal respects, they should be treated/dealt with in the same way.
7. *Responsibility*- if a state or a group of persons is responsible for the emergence of any problems, it or they should act in order to find solutions to these problems.
8. *Burdening, weighting*- if a person, an institution or a country is burdened by any problems, one should act in order to diminish these burdens.
9. *Finances*- if a situation or action costs too much money or causes a loss of revenue, one should perform actions which diminish the costs or help to avoid the loss.
10. *Reality*- because reality is as it is, a specific action/decision should be performed/made.
11. *Numbers*- if the numbers prove a certain topo's, an action should be performed or not be carried out.
12. *Law and right*- if a law or an otherwise codified norm prescribe or forbids a specific politico-administrative action, the action must be performed or omitted.
13. *History*- because history teaches that certain actions have specific consequences, one should perform or omit an action in a specific situation comparable with the historical example referred to.
14. *Culture*- because the culture of a specific group of people is as it is, specific problems arise in specific situations
15. *Abuse*- if a right or an offer for help is abused, the right should be changed, or the help should be withdrawn, or measures against the abuse should be taken."

Table: list of Topoi (Adapted from Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p.74) and the conclusion rules quoted from (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 74-77)