



P-ISSN 2355-2794
E-ISSN 2461-0275

Burma News International's Media Framing: Critical Discourse Analysis on the Rohingya Crisis

Agwin Degaf^{1*}
Arrima Fazza Maulidda¹
Nur Fitria Anggrisia²
Zainur Rofiq¹
Habiba Al Umami¹

¹Department of English Literature, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Malang 65144, INDONESIA

²Department of English Education, Faculty of Education and Teacher Training, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Malang 65144, INDONESIA

Abstract

The Rohingya crisis, underpinned by systemic discrimination and exclusion in Myanmar, continues to be a salient humanitarian concern. While international media have extensively covered the issue, perspectives from Myanmar-based media remain underexplored. Contributing to media discourse analysis, this study examines Myanmar-based reporting to understand how local narratives align with or differ from international discourses. It analyzes how Burma News International (BNI) constructs the Rohingya issue in articles published between March and July 2023, using van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) model across macrostructural, superstructural, and microstructural levels. The findings reveal that BNI constructs the Rohingya crisis through interconnected macrostructural, superstructural, and microstructural elements. At the macrostructural level, BNI consistently highlights themes of systemic persecution, repeated arrests, refugee camp incidents, and humanitarian aid, portraying the Rohingya mainly as victims of structural violence. At the superstructural level, the arrangement of headlines, leads, background details, and conclusions emphasizes urgency and humanitarian concern while providing limited representation of Rohingya voices. At the microstructural level, the repeated use of negatively charged language strengthens narratives of vulnerability, marginalization, and crisis. Hence, future studies should examine a broader range of media sources and platforms to further explore how media shape public understanding, reinforce ideological positions, and influence policy responses to humanitarian crises.

* Corresponding author, email: agwindegaf@uin-malang.ac.id

Citation in APA style: Degaf, A., Maulidda, A. F., Anggrisia, N. F., Rofiq, Z., & Umami, H. A. (2026). Burma news international's media framing: Critical discourse analysis on the Rohingya crisis. *Studies in English Language and Education*, 13(2), 968-984.

Received November 2, 2025; Revised December 18, 2025; Accepted April 5, 2026; Published Online May 31, 2026

<https://doi.org/10.24815/siele.v13i2.1112>

Copyright © 2026 by Authors, published by *Studies in English Language and Education*. This is an open-access article distributed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>)

Keywords: Burma News International, critical discourse analysis, media framing, marginalized communities, Rohingya crisis.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Rohingya, an ethnic community with long-standing ties to Myanmar's Arakan region, have been subjected to systemic persecution and disenfranchisement for centuries. Their heritage is derived from a range of ethnically oriented communities, including Persians, Arabs, and Bengalis, among others, who mixed and adopted an Indo Aryan linguistic and cultural orientation (Albert & Maizland, 2020). In contrast to such a rich heritage, the Rohingya community saw a series of violent tumults, beginning with the conquest of Arakan by the Burmese in the closing years of the 18th century. British colonization further destabilized the region, and the promise of independence during World War II did not translate into lasting security or rights for the Rohingya. These developments contributed to long-standing tensions, and in 1948, with Myanmar's independence, Rohingyas were deprived of both citizenship and basic rights. Their statelessness then became legally codified in 1982 with the Citizenship Law, with its high requirements effectively depriving most Rohingyas of any nationality (Chaijaroenwatana & Haque, 2020; Haque, 2017). This legislative disenfranchisement subjected Rohingyas to years of systemic abuses, including brutality, extrajudicial killings, and forced migration (Narnolia & Kumar, 2022). These accumulated injustices culminated in 2017, when violence widely described as genocidal led to more than 400,000 deaths and forced many Rohingya to flee to neighboring countries, including Bangladesh.

Currently, around 1.2 million Rohingya live in precarious conditions in Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh, while others have sought refuge in countries such as Indonesia. In Indonesia, especially in Aceh, early responses toward Rohingya refugees were largely sympathetic. Over time, however, growing numbers of arrivals began to place pressure on local communities, leading to shifts in public attitudes and challenges to social cohesion (Azis, 2023; Gunawan et al., 2024; Maula, 2024; Rumiarta & Jayantiari, 2023). Incidents such as the rejection of Rohingya boats in November 2023 and reports of more than 200 migrants arriving in early 2024 reflect growing tension between refugees and host communities. That shifting attitude reflects larger concerns regarding Indonesia's humane stance, particularly because Indonesia is not a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention and relies on international human rights principles such as non-refoulement when addressing refugee arrivals (Maula, 2024). At the same time, initiatives such as providing refugee children with access to education show continued efforts toward humane protection (Rumiarta & Jayantiari, 2023). Nevertheless, repeat arrivals and the disappearance of refugees have seen a 'humanitarian border' become a reality, raising concerns about long-term refugee host relations and the risk of future conflict (Azis, 2023). This situation underscores how media coverage can shape public awareness and influence political responses, since news reporting not only frames perceptions of the Rohingya but can also affect how the crisis is addressed in international forums.

Although studies of international and regional media's framing of the Rohingya crisis have multiplied, Myanmar-based media remain underexamined, including Burma News International (BNI). Most studies have examined biases in international and regional media's reporting about Rohingyas. To mention a few, Alfarisi (2018) examined Indonesia's frame for reporting about Rohingyas through a case study of The Jakarta Post, and Al Farisy and Mandarani (2020) examined reporting about the issue in CNN News. Munandar et al. (2024) compared Serambi Indonesia and The Jakarta Post, showing how the Rohingya were represented as a vulnerable refugee group in one outlet and a security problem in the other. Abbas (2024) examined Myanmar Times, Arab News, and The Guardian, identifying patterns of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation. Nevertheless, no studies have specifically examined BNI as a Myanmar-based outlet operating in a government-sensitive environment.

Furthermore, Houston (2020) argues that Myanmar's state narrative excludes the Rohingya while positioning the state as a mediator, and Brooten and Verbruggen (2017) analyzed

journalism practice in relation to the crisis, concluding that reliance on local fixers and interpreters can strengthen binary narratives. Even so, these studies have not specifically examined how Burma News International (BNI), as a Myanmar-based media outlet, constructs the Rohingya crisis through macrostructural, superstructural, and microstructural textual strategies. This gap is significant because Myanmar media operate between local political sensitivities and transnational humanitarian discourse. This study's novelty lies in its focus on BNI and its application of van Dijk's CDA model to examine how themes, news structures, and linguistic features shape ideological representations of the Rohingya. It also supports SDG 10 (Reduced Inequalities) and SDG 16 (Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions) by analyzing how media discourse may reinforce or challenge exclusion and unequal representation. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) helps reveal how dominant discourses legitimize existing power structures and inequalities (Cummings et al., 2018) and provides a framework for critiquing media narratives that may weaken inclusive governance and accountability (Harjanti & Ardiansyah, 2025). By exposing ideological patterns in media texts, this study contributes to discourse analysis and broader efforts to promote equality and inclusive institutions.

The study analyzed articles in BNI between March and July 2023 and examined them for discursive and linguistic constructions that shape public understanding of the crisis. The study seeks to answer three questions:

1. How is the theme of the Rohingya crisis constructed at the macrostructure level?
2. How is the structure of the Rohingya crisis in reporting in BNI constructed through superstructural elements such as headlines, leads, background, verbal reaction, and conclusion?
3. What discursive constructions at the microstructural level shape the construction of the Rohingya crisis in reporting by BNI?

The purpose is to identify BNI's ideology and assess whether its reporting reflects, confirms, validates, and even contests government narratives. Van Dijk's CDA model provides a useful lens for examining how language, ideology, and power operate in news discourse. This study contributes to research on the representation of marginalized groups in Southeast Asian media and on the intersection of politics and ethnicity in discriminatory contexts. The findings are expected to inform academic and practical discussions on how media discourse shapes public perceptions and influences more equitable responses to the Rohingya crisis.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis and Media Representation

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a theoretical device for describing the complex interrelationship between society, discourse, and power. One of its early pioneers in both theory and practice is Teun A. van Dijk, who developed a socio-cognitive model with a strong emphasis on explaining cognitive processes involved in discourse interpretation (van Dijk, 2018). In the analysis of news texts, this model links language meaning to the cognitive processes through which discourse is produced and interpreted by social actors. Context models, a salient feature of van Dijk's framework, refer to individuals' mental representations that mediate between social structures and discourse, shaping pragmatic appropriateness and ideological framing (Abdel-Raheem, 2020; van Dijk, 2009). Within media discourse, the model has been widely used to show how language reflects and reproduces inequality, power, and dominance (Yang, 2013). Cognitive processes such as propositional structures shape text comprehension and reveal deeper ideological dimensions in media narratives (Carey & Harste, 2013; Wood, 2006).

Extending this perspective, CDA allows for a deeper examination of media ideology and bias, particularly in the representation of complex issues such as the Rohingya crisis. Van Dijk's socio-cognitive model draws attention to the interaction between social and cognitive factors in text processing (van Dijk, 2016). For instance, "Us versus Them" representations and evasion strategies embedded in discourse reveal power relations that contribute to the reproduction of

social inequality (Qowim & Degaf, 2024; Yang, 2013). Media representations of the Rohingya vary across national and regional contexts. Western media reshaped Aung San Suu Kyi's public image from a peace icon to a controversial figure following the 2017 Rohingya crisis, reflecting shifts in ideological positioning and political accountability (Myat, 2019). In contrast, Bangladeshi media have tended to adopt a more neutral tone, focusing on humanitarian assistance and diplomatic negotiations (Fatima & Torun, 2022). Indian media often align with government narratives, using pejorative language to portray the Rohingya negatively, though some outlets provide more critical perspectives (Aamir Ali et al., 2024; Aldamen & Jaleel, 2024).

2.2 Van Dijk's Model of CDA

Van Dijk's model of discourse analysis proposes a systemic model for discursively analyzing three dimensions: macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure (Veronika & Degaf, 2024). Macrostructure considers the theme structure of news texts and how fact and paragraph structures combine to present overall stories (van Dijk, 1988). Superstructure deals with items such as headings, background, and conclusion, and microstructure considers language options at the individual word, phrase, and sentence level in terms of purposeful events (van Dijk, 1988). All three dimensions combine in an analysis to expose social inequality and domination, and are produced, reproduced, and challenged through discourse (van Dijk, 2015).

Van Dijk's Ideological Square theory supplements such analysis with its linkage of structures of discourse with ideological representations and an analysis of ideology, values, and beliefs in shaping structures of ideology in news messages (Fuchs, 2020; van Dijk, 2011). Ideology and structures of power extend even to cyberspace, with new avenues for reproduction of ideology emerging in social media platforms. Bangladesh social media, for instance, mirrors a mix of positive and negative sentiments towards refugees, including discursive discussion regarding religious and refugee-related issues (Rashid & Al-Zaman, 2026). In contrast, social media is positively utilized by the diaspora community for re-appropriation of identity and advocacy for its cause (Aziz, 2024). All such observations go to illustrate the imperative of studying traditional and new forms of media in an analysis of how discourse constructs public thinking and reinforces structures of ideology.

2.3 Contextualizing Discourse: Historical, Institutional, and Social Dimensions

A comprehensive discursive analysis integrates institutional, social, and historical contexts, as argued by van Dijk (2001). Historical contexts provide the background for present discourse, institutional contexts reveal how political and economic systems shape dominant narratives, and social contexts examine relations among social groups. For example, Mohammad (2024) showed that political rhetoric at the UN General Assembly during the Afghan withdrawal reflected broader geostrategic narratives. Institutional contexts have also been explored by Uzuner-Smith and Englander (2015), who identified neoliberal ideology in university policies, and by Foste et al. (2023), who found that diversity statements aligned with institutional priorities.

In social contexts, Sengul (2019) examined right-wing populist discourse in Australia and revealed how media disseminate societal ideology. Meanwhile, Taylor (2004) analyzed discursive changes in educational policy and the representation of marginalized voices. These studies highlight the value of integrating institutional, social, and historical perspectives in CDA to uncover ideological bias and power relations.

3. METHODS

3.1 Research Design

This study adopts a qualitative approach grounded in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine media discourse on the Rohingya crisis. It follows van Dijk's socio-cognitive model,

which links language structures and textual forms with broader political and social contexts, and incorporates corpus-assisted discourse study to enhance systematic, transparent, and rigorous analysis (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). Focusing on news texts, the study identifies ideological patterns in Burma News International (BNI)'s representation of the Rohingya. As it relies solely on publicly available texts, no human participants were involved.

3.2 Data Sources

Data were collected from news articles published on BNI's official website using the keyword "Rohingya", focusing on publications between March and July 2023. The search yielded 20 articles, which were then screened for relevance to the study's focus. Articles were included if they substantially addressed the Rohingya issue (e.g., displacement, arrests, living conditions, humanitarian concerns, or government policy), while opinion pieces, duplicates, and those with only incidental references were excluded. The full list of retrieved articles and their inclusion status is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Initial retrieved articles and screening results.

No.	Title	Published date	Status
1	Rohingya Refugee Camp in Cox's Bazar Catches Fire, 22,000 Inmates Affected	March 7, 2023	Included
2	Women's Peace Network Releases Report on Rohingya Situation	March 24, 2023	Included
3	Nine Rohingya Youth Arrested in Thanphyuzayat Township	March 27, 2023	Included
4	Over 150 Rohingya Arrested in Thanbyuzayat, Mon State	March 28, 2023	Included
5	Muslim Refugees from Rakhine IDP Camps Face Ever Greater Risks	March 31, 2023	Included
6	70 Rohingyas on Boat Arrested at Sea	April 25, 2023	Included
7	Sixty-Two Rohingya Arrested at Sea Near Hainggyi Island	May 9, 2023	Included
8	Rohingya Killed in Rohingya Camp Gunfight of Two Groups	June 15, 2023	Included
9	Six Members of the Rohingya Community Arrested at Mayan Chaung Checkpoint	June 22, 2023	Included
10	US Announces Additional \$61m Humanitarian Assistance	July 18, 2023	Included
11	Rohingya Inmates Die in Patheingyi Prison	March 25, 2023	Excluded
12	Junta Ministers Visit Muslim Refugee Camps in Bangladesh	March 17, 2023	Excluded
13	Foreign Delegation Visits Refugee Transit Camps in Maungdaw Township	March 14, 2023	Excluded
14	Hundreds Missing After Fire Overtakes Rohingya Refugee Camp	March 10, 2023	Excluded
15	Top ARSA Commander Shot Dead in Bangladesh	March 8, 2023	Excluded
16	Bangladesh to Send Team to Inspect Repatriation Scheme	May 6, 2023	Excluded
17	Over 300 Arrested Rohingya Sentenced to Prison Terms	July 19, 2023	Excluded
18	KNU Urges Unrestricted Access of Humanitarian Aid	May 23, 2023	Excluded
19	Junta Searches for Residents of Chut Pyin Village, Site of Alleged 2017 Massacre	March 7, 2023	Excluded
20	DYC Urges ICC to Take Action Against Military Council for Crimes Against Humanity	March 20, 2023	Excluded

3.3 Research Instruments

The research instrument was the researchers, supported by a structured coding sheet based on van Dijk's CDA model. The researchers conducted close reading, coding, and analysis of the selected news articles, guided by three levels of analysis (macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure) to systematically identify themes, news organization, and linguistic features in the representation of the Rohingya community.

3.4 Procedures of Data Collection

After the screening process, ten articles listed in Table 1 were selected for analysis. The articles were organized chronologically and coded at the paragraph and line levels to examine reporting patterns over time. The researchers served as the primary instrument, using close reading and van Dijk's CDA framework to analyze macrostructure, superstructure, and

microstructure elements systematically. To strengthen triangulation, secondary sources such as academic journals and institutional reports were used to provide historical, political, and socio-cultural context (Shahin & Hasan, 2023). Combining primary and secondary data enabled a more comprehensive understanding of media discourse on the Rohingya crisis and refugees' lived experiences (Ansar & Khaled, 2023).

3.5 Data Analysis

This study applies van Dijk's three-dimensional CDA model (macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure) to examine how BNI frames the Rohingya issue. Macrostructural analysis identifies dominant themes and broader socio-political narratives (Bairmani & Abid, 2019); superstructural analysis examines textual organization such as headlines and leads to understand framing strategies (Anshori et al., 2022), and microstructural analysis investigates linguistic features that construct ideological meanings (Liando et al., 2022). To ensure systematic analysis, articles were coded by media name, paragraph, and line number (Nurhadi et al., 2020), while triangulation with academic literature and institutional reports strengthened the validity of the findings (Carragee & Roefs, 2004). Through this approach, the study explores how discourse, ideology, and power are reproduced in media representations of social issues (Lin, 2014).

4. RESULTS

The findings reveal how BNI constructs the Rohingya issue through macrostructural, superstructural, and microstructural discourse strategies.

4.1 Macrostructure

Macrostructure refers to the general meaning constructed through themes or topics in discourse. This section examines the dominant themes emphasized by BNI in representing the Rohingya and the media strategies used to construct that reality. The macrostructural findings from the 10 selected news articles are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Macrostructure findings in 10 articles.

Published	Theme	Finding	Data source
March 7	Rohingya Camp Fire	"At least 2,000 houses were destroyed, affecting more than 22,000 Rohingya refugees in the camp."	Paragraph 1
March 24	Women's Peace Network Report on Rohingya Situation	"The situation of the Rohingya has significantly deteriorated since the military coup, requiring urgent action."	Paragraph 1
March 27	Rohingya Arrests	"Rohingya youths were arrested by the Military Council during security operations."	Paragraph 1
March 28	Rohingya Arrests	"A total of 154 Rohingya were arrested in Thanbyuzayat Township."	Paragraph 1
March 31	Risks Faced by Rohingya	"Rohingya refugees face extreme hardship and life-threatening risks while attempting to flee."	Paragraph 1
April 25	Rohingya Arrests	"Seventy Rohingya were detained by the Military Council navy during an interception."	Paragraph 1
May 9	Rohingya Arrests	"Sixty-two Rohingya were arrested at sea near Hainggyi Island."	Paragraph 1
June 15	Rohingya Camp Incident	"A gunfight inside a Rohingya camp resulted in one fatality."	Paragraph 1
June 22	Rohingya Arrests	"Undocumented Rohingya individuals were arrested in Kyaikhto Township."	Paragraph 1
July 18	Humanitarian Assistance	"The United States government announced additional humanitarian assistance for Rohingya refugees."	Paragraph 1

The macrostructure analysis uncovers several significant themes in BNI's coverage of the Rohingya crisis. A prominent recurring theme is the systematic oppression of the Rohingya, as reflected in repeated reports of arrests in articles published on March 27, March 28, April 25, May 9, and June 22. These articles consistently portray the Rohingya as facing ongoing restrictions, detention, and insecurity, thereby constructing them as victims of state-related violence and discrimination. Alongside this, another important theme is the depiction of incidents within Rohingya camps, including the fire reported on March 7, which highlights the destruction of 2,000 houses and its impact on 22,000 residents. While the report emphasizes the scale of the disaster, it focuses primarily on immediate effects rather than exploring deeper causes or broader implications.

Violence within the camps also emerges as a key concern, particularly in the June 15 article describing a fatal gunfight in a Rohingya camp, which reflects the fragile security conditions experienced by refugees. In addition, the March 24 article, reporting on the Women's Peace Network, broadens the discussion by highlighting the worsening conditions of the Rohingya following Myanmar's military coup in 2021. This is further reinforced by the March 31 article, which presents the risks faced by Muslim refugees attempting to flee, emphasizing hardship, restricted movement, and dangerous migration routes. These interconnected narratives collectively frame the Rohingya as living under continuous threat, both within and beyond camp environments.

The theme of humanitarian assistance is also clearly visible, particularly in the July 18 article reporting additional aid from the United States government for displaced Rohingya in Myanmar and Bangladesh. This positions the crisis within a broader international context and presents external intervention as a necessary response. Taken together, these themes display that BNI's coverage constructs a multifaceted narrative of the Rohingya crisis, accentuating systemic oppression, camp-related incidents, insecurity, displacement, and humanitarian assistance. However, while the reporting effectively highlights the urgency and scale of the crisis, it pays limited attention to deeper structural causes and includes relatively few direct Rohingya voices, leaving notable gaps in representing their lived experiences.

4.2 Superstructure

Superstructure analysis examines the formal organization of news texts, including headlines, introductions, background information, verbal reactions, and conclusions, to explain how BNI constructs the Rohingya issue in its reporting. The selection and arrangement of these textual elements reveal framing techniques that shape public perceptions of the Rohingya as a marginalized group in Myanmar. To provide a clear and systematic overview of the superstructural patterns identified in the data, the main findings are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3. Superstructure findings in 10 articles.

Superstructure element	Description	Example from news text	Data source
Headline	Headlines emphasize numbers, locations, and dramatic events to highlight severity and urgency.	"Rohingya Refugee Camp in Cox's Bazar Catches Fire, 22,000 Intimates Affected"	March 7, headline
Headline	Numerical emphasis portrays arrests as widespread and systematic.	"Over 150 Rohingya Detained in Thanbyuzayat, Mon State"	March 28, headline
Lead	Leads expand headlines by foregrounding scale and immediate impact.	"2,000 houses were damaged, and 22,000 people were affected by the fire"	March 7, paragraph 1
Lead	Leads highlight vulnerability during arrest and escape attempts.	"The arrested Rohingya were hiding in a rubber plantation forest"	March 28, paragraph 1
Background	Background situates events within broader political contexts.	"The situation of the Rohingya has worsened since the military coup in 2021"	March 24, paragraph 2

Table 3 continued...

Background	Background reinforces long term restrictions and marginalization.	"Rohingya Muslims have lived in camps for a decade under tight restrictions and limited economic opportunities"	March 31, paragraph 2
Verbal Reaction	Limited first person testimonies indirectly represent Rohingya experiences.	"They face many hardships and bullies, and freedom of movement is restricted for them"	March 31, quoted testimony
Verbal Reaction	Institutional voices frame the issue as a security concern.	"Delayed repatriation is driving Rohingya youth into crime, including drugs and militia activity"	June 15, official statement
Conclusion	Conclusions frame the crisis as an international humanitarian issue.	"Sustainable solutions are urgently needed to address the Rohingya crisis"	July 18, concluding paragraph

As illustrated in Table 3, the headlines used in BNI articles tend to foreground dramatic events and numerical figures, drawing readers' attention to the severity and scale of the Rohingya crisis. Headlines such as "Rohingya Refugee Camp in Cox's Bazar Catches Fire, 22,000 Intimates Affected" and "Over 150 Rohingya Detained in Thanbyuzayat, Mon State" immediately frame the news around disaster and repression. Similar headline patterns can be found in articles published on March 27, March 31, April 25, May 9, and June 22, where specific numbers and locations are repeatedly emphasized. Through this consistent use of numerical and spatial markers, the headlines guide readers toward interpreting these events as part of a broader and ongoing crisis.

Lead paragraphs expand on the headlines by providing detailed descriptions of events. In the article published on March 7, it is explicitly stated that "2,000 houses were damaged and 22,000 people were affected by the fire", heightening a sense of tragedy and urgency. Similarly, in the article published on March 28, the report notes that the arrested Rohingya had taken refuge in a "rubber plantation forest", adding a layer of vulnerability to the narrative. In reports on arrests, such as those published on April 25 and May 9, the inclusion of specific locations and numbers in the lead paragraphs links individual incidents to broader systemic issues. For example, one article states that "70 persons, including children, were apprehended in an attempt to escape poverty and violence" (April 25). These leads build on the themes introduced in the headlines and provide contextual detail that shapes readers' understanding of the events.

Background sections situate current events within wider systemic and historical contexts. For instance, the article published on March 24 refers to a Women's Peace Network report describing "the poor state of affairs for the Rohingya ever since the 2021 military coup" and calling for immediate international intervention. Similarly, the March 31 article provides background information stating that "Rohingya Muslims have lived in camps for a decade under tight restrictions and limited economic opportunities". In contrast, the article published on June 22 explains recent arrests as part of a "larger pattern of violence and systemic suppression in the aftermath of Myanmar's military coup". These recurring contextual references reinforce the framing of the Rohingya crisis as a long-standing humanitarian issue and the concept of situation models, where framing shapes audience interpretation of complex social issues.

Verbal reactions in the articles combine individual testimonies and official statements, although direct Rohingya voices remain limited. In the article published on March 31, a Muslim man from Sittwe provides a vivid account of daily hardships: "They face many hardships and bullies, and freedom of movement is restricted for them. Some run the risk of being arrested, and for them, death is preferable to living in such a manner". This testimony personalizes the crisis. In contrast, official statements, such as those cited in the article published on June 15, reflect institutional perspectives, with an Armed Police Battalion stating that "frustration at delayed repatriation is driving Rohingya youth into a life of crime, including drugs and militia activity". These contrasting reactions illustrate the complexity of representations while also revealing the limited space given to Rohingya self-representation in BNI's reporting.

Conclusions in BNI articles regularly frame the Rohingya issue as an urgent international concern. The article published on July 18, which reports on United States humanitarian assistance, reiterates calls for "sustainable solutions to the crisis" and international intervention. This framing

situates the Rohingya issue within broader humanitarian discourses and encourages readers to interpret it as a global responsibility rather than a purely domestic matter.

In summary, the superstructure of BNI's news articles consistently presents the Rohingya crisis as a severe humanitarian emergency shaped by systemic discrimination and failed state policies. The combined use of headlines, leads, background information, verbal reactions, and conclusions constructs a narrative that positions the Rohingya as victims in urgent need of international intervention. From a critical discourse perspective, textual structures significantly influence how news events are interpreted and remembered. Through the deliberate organization of news elements, BNI's reporting reinforces the humanitarian framing of the Rohingya crisis and stresses the influence of media discourse in shaping dominant narratives about marginalized communities.

4.3 Microstructure

The microstructure analysis examines how words and sentences are used in the news articles. This analysis focuses on four main areas: meaning (semantic), sentence structure (syntactic), word choice (stylistic), and rhetorical strategies. These elements together reveal how BNI constructs representations of the Rohingya issue at the textual level.

In terms of meaning (semantic), the representation of the Rohingya as victims can be observed through specific lexical and propositional patterns in the articles. For instance, the article published on June 22 states that "members of the Rohingya community have often been arrested across the country" and that "some have even been killed on the spot, with no consequences for their murder". This formulation highlights not only repeated acts of violence but also the absence of legal accountability, which contributes to constructing a narrative of vulnerability and injustice. Similarly, the March 28 article reports "frequent arrests of undocumented Rohingya people" and notes that some individuals "are even killed on the road without the perpetrators being identified". These statements foreground patterns of arrest and violence while presupposing the existence of undocumented Rohingya populations, thereby framing their condition within a context of legal marginalization and insecurity.

Rather than presenting these issues in abstract terms, the articles embed such meanings within concrete events and recurring patterns, allowing readers to interpret the Rohingya situation as one characterized by ongoing restriction, risk, and limited protection. Through these specific examples, the semantic structure of the news texts contributes to shaping a consistent portrayal of the Rohingya as a marginalized and vulnerable group within the broader socio-political context.

In terms of sentence structure, the articles rely on a combination of active, passive, and complex constructions. Active sentences are commonly used to identify authorities or international actors as those carrying out actions, whereas passive constructions frequently position the Rohingya as the recipients of those actions. This grammatical pattern subtly reinforces their vulnerable status within the narratives. At the same time, the reporting remains relatively clear through the use of cause-and-effect relationships that connect specific incidents to broader patterns of discrimination. For example, an article published on March 31 explains that "as a result, many of them are seeking to leave and migrate to other countries", while also noting that "due to severe restrictions on their freedom of movement, Muslim refugees living in IDP camps are resorting to undocumented migration". These explanations help readers understand the conditions that push Rohingya refugees to flee, making the narrative more coherent and accessible.

The articles also use pronouns to keep the narrative flowing and to emphasize the Rohingya's situation. For example, in a sentence from July 18, "...for the lifesaving work they continue to do every day", the word "they" refers to "humanitarian partners, including many Rohingya volunteers". Using pronouns helps avoid repeating the same words and makes the text easier to read. The variety in sentence structure can highlight or hide the roles and responsibilities of different social actors in the news.

Table 4. Stylistic - microstructure findings in 10 articles.

Published date	Focus of representation	Dominant lexical choices
March 7	Rohingya as displaced victims	"refugees", "inmates", "homeless"
March 24	Severity of the Rohingya situation	"catastrophic", "grave rights violations", "brutal", "systematic acts", "dire"
March 27	Arrest and repression	"arrested"
March 28	Arrest and capture	"arrested", "captured", "apprehended"
March 31	Precarious living conditions	"perilous", "arrested", "starvation", "hardships", "bullying"
April 25	Forced migration and deprivation	"detained", "apprehended", "traffickers", "poverty", "food shortages", "perilous journeys"
May 9	Interception and detention	"refugees", "arrested", "intercepted", "confiscated", "detained"
June 15	Violence and death	"killed", "crossfire", "gunshot", "shoot", "attack"
June 22	Illegality and concealment	"undocumented", "arrested", "inspected", "hidden"
July 18	Humanitarian and international crimes	"humanitarian assistance", "refugees", "genocide", "crimes against humanity", "ethnic cleansing"

To illustrate patterns of lexical choice at the microstructural level, Table 3 presents the dominant stylistic features found across the ten BNI articles. Overall, word choices tend to portray the Rohingya situation in consistently negative terms, with frequent use of expressions such as "refugees," "arrested," "detained," and "killed". These recurring terms draw attention to hardship, insecurity, and loss, shaping how readers understand the crisis even without explicit judgment. This linguistic framing is often reinforced rhetorically through references to visual elements and the repeated use of large numbers in headlines. Although the original visual materials published by BNI are not reproduced in this article due to copyright and ethical considerations, the analysis examines how these visuals are described and situated within the news texts, including captions, narrative context, and accompanying headlines. Descriptions of images showing arrested Rohingya individuals, along with numerical emphasis, strengthen the sense of scale and urgency surrounding the events. Referring to the Rohingya primarily as refugees rather than citizens also places them within a broader pattern of media representation of displaced groups. In addition, the use of strongly charged terms such as genocide, crimes against humanity, and ethnic cleansing adds moral weight to the reporting, intensifying the portrayal of suffering and reinforcing humanitarian interpretations of the Rohingya crisis.

The rhetorical analysis reveals that many news articles provide visual representations of Rohingya in dire conditions. Headlines often emphasize the scale of arrests with significant numbers. For instance, the March 24th article shows Rohingya walking with police escorts, while the March 27th article features arrested Rohingya women with censored eyes. Similar images of captured Rohingya alongside military officers appear in articles from March 28th, March 31st, April 25th, May 9th, and June 22nd. The July 18th article, while lacking visuals, uses specific aid amounts in the headline to create a concrete impression. This use of prominent visual elements and numbers is the emphasis strategy, aimed at increasing the saliency of certain information in readers' memory and forming desired mental models. The articles generally employ a direct, factual style with minimal use of metaphors.

5. DISCUSSION

The findings consistently show that the Rohingya are portrayed as victims of systemic persecution and framed as a humanitarian issue requiring international attention. At the macrostructural level, the coverage emphasizes prolonged victimization, while at the superstructural level, BNI presents the crisis as requiring international intervention, often downplaying Myanmar's responsibility, reflecting selective inclusion of Rohingya voices (Dussich, 2019; Ullah & Chattoraj, 2023). At the microstructural level, lexical choices, sentence structures, and visual rhetoric reinforce narratives of victimhood and marginalization, particularly through negatively charged terms such as "refugees," "arrested," "detained," and "killed," which

shape ideological interpretation (Ubayasiri, 2019; van Dijk, 1991; Veronika & Degaf, 2024). The framing of the Rohingya primarily as refugees rather than citizens further obscures legal and political identities (Baker & McEnery, 2015) and reflects historically rooted biases that construct them as outsiders, reinforced by colonial narratives and later institutionalized through the 1982 Citizenship Law, which renders them stateless within Myanmar's ethno-national framework (Ansar, 2020; Anwary, 2020; Debnath et al., 2022; Sahana et al., 2019; Shohel et al., 2024).

Media representations of the Rohingya often reproduce systemic oppression by framing the community in immediate, narrow terms while neglecting the deeper geopolitical and historical roots of their persecution (Swazo et al., 2020). This is reflected in discourses that present the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) primarily as a security threat, aligning with state narratives (Lee, 2021; Zahed, 2021), and in reporting patterns that prioritize arrests, numbers, and visible suffering, reinforcing a crisis-driven narrative while marginalizing structural explanations, consistent with van Dijk's (1988) argument on how schematic elements shape audience interpretation. In BNI's reporting, such emphasis sustains a dominant discourse of urgency, limiting alternative perspectives on long-term causes of marginalization. This tendency also appears in Myanmar-based reporting more broadly, where refugee crises are foregrounded over sustained analyses of exclusionary structures (Nakanishi, 2024), emphasizing the need to integrate historical, institutional, and social contexts to better understand how long-standing discrimination shapes public narratives.

Institutionally, BNI documents abuse of human rights and systemic discrimination perpetrated under Myanmar's ruling military regime, in agreement with broader evaluations of state policies against the Rohingya. Narratives in reporting by the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR, 2018) and the International Crisis Group (2017) agree with BNI's observation of extreme restriction in terms of freedom of movement, access to educational and economic opportunity, and demonstration of the structural suppression experienced by the Rohingya. Institutional barriers have their origin in Myanmar's 1982 Citizenship Law, a legislation that stripped the Rohingya of Myanmar's register of acknowledged ethnic groups, declaring them stateless and denying them minimum legal recourse (Haque, 2017; Mahaseth & Bag, 2024).

Myanmar's exclusionary practices are further reinforced through policies of denationalization and the omission of the Rohingya from official state documents, including the 2014 census, which contribute to their systematic disenfranchisement and continued portrayal as outsiders in their own country (Suaedy & Hafiz, 2015). Reporting by Burma News International reflects this pattern by framing the Rohingya crisis not merely as ethnic tension but as an organized process of exclusion embedded within state structures. In this regard, BNI's coverage aligns with studies identifying Myanmar's institutional framework as enabling violence and ethnic cleansing under the justification of security and nationalism (Akins, 2018; Samad, 2023). This framing is further reinforced through the use of highly charged terms such as "genocide", "crimes against humanity", and "ethnic cleansing", which situate the crisis within a broader humanitarian and legal discourse. As van Dijk (1997) explains, such discursive choices extend beyond description by shaping readers' moral and emotional responses, thereby strengthening calls for humanitarian action and international intervention.

Examining these institutional actions highlights the Rohingya issue as a pressing human rights concern that requires immediate international attention. Scholarly work on state policies that contribute to exclusion and violence supports this perspective, emphasizing the need for international intervention to address such systemic injustices (Noyori-Corbett et al., 2024). Within this institutional context, BNI's reporting underlines the urgency of the Rohingya cause by drawing attention to the policies and structural conditions that sustain their persecution.

Socially, BNI's negativity reflects anti-Rohingya sentiments on social media platforms. "They are illegal immigrants, not our people" and "Good job arresting these Bengalis; they don't belong in our country" represent Myanmar's widespread exclusionism, closely in harmony with institutional and media frames. Myanmar is not an exception, with similar negativity and social exclusion trends in other environments. For example, studies from India confirm that Rohingya refugees become dehumanized and misrepresented in discourses in the media, in harmony with

the strong government stance towards them (Aldamen & Jaleel, 2024). Similarly, international studies in the media report high densities of negativity in reporting about Rohingyas, in a broader issue of refugee marginalization (Rashid & Al Zaman, 2026).

Anti-Rohingya sentiment remains prominent on social media platforms, with several studies documenting mixed but predominantly negative attitudes in countries such as Malaysia and Bangladesh (Okamoto & Kirimura, 2024; Rashid & Al Zaman, 2026). These negative perceptions are often intensified by hate speech and disinformation, as seen in other contexts such as Turkey, where social media discourses surrounding Syrian refugees have contributed to heightened public antagonism (Filibeli & Ertuna, 2021). In this way, online discourse does not operate in isolation but frequently mirrors and amplifies frames already present in traditional media, reinforcing narratives that position the Rohingya as outsiders and further distancing them from broader society. This alignment between institutional policies, prevailing social attitudes, and discursive patterns across both traditional and digital media reflects a persistent pattern of negative representation. The continued circulation of discriminatory language across these platforms strengthens the portrayal of the Rohingya as an unwanted and marginalized group, thereby deepening their social exclusion and ongoing disenfranchisement.

The analysis contributes to critical discourse studies by demonstrating the applicability of van Dijk's model in examining how media discourse legitimizes and delegitimizes social actors and actions in conflict contexts. The findings show that BNI frames the Rohingya crisis as a humanitarian issue while subtly aligning with broader state-related narratives, adding nuance to existing scholarship by highlighting how framing operates within domestic media systems shaped by political and institutional pressures. In applied linguistics, the study bridges CDA and English language education by using authentic media texts to show how lexical choice, grammar, and textual organization can develop learners' critical language awareness and media literacy, emphasizing the importance of critically engaging with sensitive issues such as ethnicity, migration, and human rights. Previous research supports the integration of CDA in language classrooms to enhance learners' ability to analyze bias, ideology, and representation while improving linguistic competence and critical thinking (Alford, 2015; Ratnadewi & Yunianti, 2019), and the use of news discourse as teaching material helps students understand power, stance, and evaluation in real-world contexts (Nasution et al., 2020), positioning news discourse as both an analytical and pedagogical resource for fostering ethical awareness and social responsibility.

6. CONCLUSION

This study draws attention to how media shape public discourse on the Rohingya crisis. Using van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework, the analysis reveals that Burma News International (BNI) frames the crisis through interconnected macrostructural, superstructural, and microstructural dimensions. At the macrostructural level, BNI's reporting consistently emphasizes themes of systemic oppression, repeated arrests, incidents in refugee camps, and humanitarian assistance, presenting the Rohingya primarily as victims of ongoing structural violence. At the superstructural level, the organization of headlines, leads, background information, and conclusions foregrounds urgency, scale, and humanitarian concern, while offering limited space for direct Rohingya voices. At the microstructural level, the frequent use of negatively charged lexical choices further reinforces narratives of vulnerability, exclusion, and crisis. Taken together, these findings show how thematic focus, textual organization, and linguistic choices operate together to shape media representations of the Rohingya crisis in Myanmar and address the study's research questions.

Several limitations of this study should be acknowledged. The analysis focuses on a specific time frame, which may not capture broader or evolving patterns in media coverage of the Rohingya crisis. In addition, the study examines reporting from a single news outlet, which may not fully represent the diversity of perspectives within Myanmar's media landscape. These limitations also point to important directions for future research. Subsequent studies could expand the scope by including multiple Myanmar-based newspapers, particularly alternative or

independent media, as well as a longer period of analysis to trace changes in discourse over time. Further research might also explore social media platforms or audience responses to better understand how media narratives influence public opinion. In addition, interviews with journalists or media practitioners could help clarify newsroom practices and decision-making processes that shape reporting on the Rohingya crisis.

Funding

This research received no external funding.

CRedit authorship contribution statement

A.D. – Conceptualization, Methodology, Writing, Data Analysis.
 A.F.M. – Investigation, Data Curation, Data Analysis, Writing.
 N.F. – Data Curation, Investigation, Reference Resources.
 Z.R. – Methodology, Validation, Review, Editing.
 H.A.U. – Investigation, Data Visualization, Review, Editing.

Declaration of generative AI and AI-assisted technologies in the writing process

The researchers declare that, as non-native English speakers, they used AI-assisted tools such as Grammarly and ChatGPT solely for grammar checking, language refinement, and improving readability. All ideas, analyses, interpretations, and conclusions are entirely original, and no generative AI was used to produce the research content. The authors take full responsibility for the integrity and accuracy of the manuscript.

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to express their sincere gratitude to Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang for the institutional support provided during the conduct of this research.

REFERENCES

- Aamir Ali, S. M., Ghose, A., & Iqbal, S. M. U. (2024). Media bias and “othering”: A critical discourse on news framing of the Rohingya crisis settlement in Bangladesh and India. In S. Kir Elitaş (Ed.), *Media representation of migrants and refugees* (pp. 264-277). IGI Global Scientific Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.4018/979-8-3693-3459-1.ch016>
- Abbas, A. H. (2024). A critical cognitive-discourse analysis of the Rohingya crisis in the press. *International Journal for the Semiotics of Law*, 37(7), 2417-2432. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11196-024-10147-x>
- Abdel-Raheem, A. (2020). Mental model theory as a model for analysing visual and multimodal discourse. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 155, 303-320. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2019.09.012>
- Akins, H. (2018). The two faces of democratization in Myanmar: A case study of the Rohingya and Burmese nationalism. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 38(2), 229-245. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13602004.2018.1475619>

- Al Farisy, I. H., & Mandarani, V. (2020). Textual analysis of Rohingya crisis in CNN news. *International Journal on Integrated Education*, 3(4), 72-75. <https://doi.org/10.31149/ijie.v3i5.434>
- Albert, E., & Maizland, L.. (2020, January 23). The Rohingya crisis. *New York Council on Foreign Relations*. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/rohingya-crisis>
- Aldamen, Y., & Jaleel, D. T. A. (2024). A depiction of Rohingya refugees in India's online news platforms following the shift in the Indian government's stance in 2017. *Societies*, 14(8), Article 140. <https://doi.org/10.3390/soc14080140>
- Alfarisi, I. S. (2018). *The textual analysis about Rohingya crisis in the Jakarta Post e-paper* [Bachelor's thesis, Universitas Muhammadiyah Sidoarjo]. Umsida Library Repository. <http://eprints.umsida.ac.id/4347/>
- Alford, J. (2015). Critical discourse analysis research methods for the English classroom. *English in Australia*, 50(3), 15-20.
- Ansar, A. (2020). The unfolding of belonging, exclusion, and exile: A reflection on the history of Rohingya refugee crisis in Southeast Asia. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 40(3), 441-456. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13602004.2020.1819126>
- Ansar, A., & Khaled, A. F. M. (2023). In search of a Rohingya digital diaspora: Virtual togetherness, collective identities and political mobilisation. *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications*, 10, Article 61. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-023-01553-w>
- Anshori, M., Pawito, P., Kartono, D., & Hastjarjo, S. (2022). Comparative framing: Media strategy in public communication policy. *KnE Social Sciences*, 7(5), 126-139. <https://doi.org/10.18502/kss.v7i5.10545>
- Anwary, A. (2020). Interethnic conflict and genocide in Myanmar. *Homicide Studies*, 24(1). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1088767919827354>
- Azis, A. (2023). The refugees vanish: Rohingya movement, emergency's temporality and violence of the Indonesian humanitarian border. In S. Petcharamesree & M. P. Capaldi (Eds.), *Migration in Southeast Asia. IMISCOE Research Series* (pp. 177-193). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-25748-3_10
- Aziz, A. (2024). Rohingya diaspora online: Mapping the spaces of visibility, resistance and transnational identity on social media. *New Media and Society*, 26(9), 5219-5239. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448221132241>
- Bairmani, H., & Abid, R. (2019). The integration of phrasal verbs in the critical analysis of discourse. *Journal of Education College Wasit University*, 2(2). <https://doi.org/10.31185/eduj.vol2.iss2.897>
- Baker, P., & McEnery, T. (2015). *Corpora and discourse studies: Integrating discourse and corpora*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Brooten, L., & Verbruggen, Y. (2017). Producing the news: Reporting on Myanmar's Rohingya crisis. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 47(3), 440-460. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2017.1303078>
- Carey, R. F., & Harste, J. C. (2013). Comprehension as context: Toward reconsideration of a transactional theory of reading. In R. J. Tierney, P. L. Anders, & J. N. Mitchell (Eds.), *Understanding readers' understanding: Theory to practice* (pp. 189-204). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203056837-12>
- Carragee, K. M., & Roefs, W. (2004). The neglect of power in recent framing research. *Journal of Communication*, 54(2), 214-233. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2004.tb02625.x>
- Chaijaroenwatana, B., & Haque, M. M. (2020). Displaced Rohingya and concern for non-traditional security risks in Thailand. *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, 47(3), 201-225. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00927678.2020.1763537>
- Cummings, S., Regeer, B., deHaan, L., Zweekhorst, M., & Bunders, J. (2018). Critical discourse analysis of perspectives on knowledge and the knowledge society within the Sustainable Development Goals. *Development Policy Review*, 36, 727-742. <https://doi.org/10.1111/dpr.12296>

- Debnath, K., Chatterjee, S., & Afzal, A. B. (2022). The Rohingya crisis in Myanmar: A geo-strategic interpretation. *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights*, 29(5), 825-848. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15718115-bja10075>
- Dussich, J. P. J. (2018). The ongoing genocidal crisis of the Rohingya minority in Myanmar. *Journal of Victimology and Victim Justice*, 1(1), 4-24. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2516606918764998>
- Fatima, M. J., & Torun, A. T. (2022). Representation of Rohingya refugees in the Bangladeshi media: A content analysis. In K. Bülbül, M. N. Islam, & M. S. Khan (Eds.), *Rohingya refugee crisis in Myanmar: Ethnic conflict and resolution* (pp. 261-289). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-6464-9_11
- Filibeli, T. E., & Ertuna, C. (2021). Sarcasm beyond hate speech: Facebook comments on Syrian refugees in Turkey. *International Journal of Communication*, 15, 2236-2259. <https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/16582>
- Foste, Z., Duran, A., & Hooten, Z. (2023). Articulating diversity on campus: A critical discourse analysis of diversity statements at historically white institutions. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 16(5), 575-588. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000354>
- Fuchs, C. (2020). *Social media: A critical introduction*. Sage Publications.
- Gunawan, Y., Novendra, C. S., & Febrila, A. (2024). Indonesia's responsibility towards Rohingya refugees: Analysis of the 1951 Refugee Convention. *Legality: Jurnal Ilmiah Hukum*, 32(2), 182-194. <https://doi.org/10.22219/ljih.v32i2.32164>
- Haque, M. M. (2017). Rohingya ethnic Muslim minority and the 1982 citizenship law in Burma. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 37(4), 454-469. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13602004.2017.1399600>
- Harjanti, F. D., & Ardiansyah, R. (2025). Media narratives and linguistic agency: The role of language in framing perpetrators of violence against women and children in Indonesia. *Bahastra*, 45(2), 423-436. <https://doi.org/10.26555/bs.v45i2.1645>
- Houston, K. (2020). Pseudo neutrality in intra-state conflict: Myanmar's official discourse on Rakhine. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies*, 14(2), 25-52. <https://doi.org/10.51870/CEJISS.A140202>
- International Crisis Group. (2017, December 7). *Myanmar's Rohingya crisis enters a dangerous new phase* [Report No. 292]. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-east-asia/myanmar/292-myanmars-rohingya-crisis-enters-dangerous-new-phase>
- Jørgensen, M., & Phillips, L. J. (2002). *Discourse analysis as theory and method*. SAGE Publications Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781849208871>
- Lee, R. (2021). Myanmar's Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA): An analysis of a new Muslim militant group and its strategic communications. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 15(6), 61-75.
- Liando, N., Tatipang, D., Rorimpandey, R., & Karisi, Y. (2022). Easing the rules of health protocols: A critical discourse analysis of Indonesian president's speech on COVID-19 handling in 2022. *Englisia Journal of Language Education and Humanities*, 10(1), 127-145. <https://doi.org/10.22373/ej.v10i1.13755>
- Lin, A. (2014). Critical discourse analysis in applied linguistics: A methodological review. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 34, 213-232. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0267190514000087>
- Mahaseth, H., & Bag, A. (2024). Deconstructing the identity crisis and the lack of legal personality of Rohingya refugees in Myanmar. *Asia Pacific Journal on Human Rights and the Law*, 25(1), 30-64. https://brill.com/view/journals/aplu/25/1/article-p30_002.xml
- Maula, B. S. (2024). Examining the handling of Rohingya refugees in Indonesia through the lens of international law and Maqāsid al-Sharī'ah: An exploration of Islamic humanitarianism. *Mazahib Jurnal Pemikiran Hukum Islam*, 23(1), 1-40. <https://doi.org/10.21093/mj.v23i1.7942>
- Mohammad, H. M. A. (2024). Critical discourse analysis of Biden's speech on the US withdrawal from Afghanistan. *World Journal of English Language*, 14(3), 54-61. <https://doi.org/10.5430/wjel.v14n3p54>

- Munandar, I., Rakhmyta, Y. A., Zakaria, R., & Wahyuningsih, S. K. (2024). The portrayal of Rohingya refugees in Indonesian news media: A corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis. *Studies in English Language and Education*, 11(3), 1710-1728. <https://doi.org/10.24815/siele.v11i3.34839>
- Myat, M. M. (2019). Is politics Aung San Suu Kyi's vocation? *Palgrave Communications*, 5, Article 50. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-019-0258-1>
- Nakanishi, Y. (2024). Northern Rakhine State and the threat perception of Myanmar's armed forces. *Japanese Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 62(1), 28-46. https://doi.org/10.20495/tak.62.1_28
- Narnolia, N., & Kumar, N. (2022). Rohingya refugees and Myanmar: State, citizenship, and human rights. In S. I. Rajan (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of refugees in India* (1st ed., pp. 466-474). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003246800-41>
- Nasution, S. S., Sukmawati, N. N., Lubis, A. A., Hastomo, T., & Sesriyani, L. (2020). Using critical discourse analysis to explore an authentic teaching material: A focus on language and power. *Studies in English Language and Education*, 7(2), 527-543. <https://doi.org/10.24815/siele.v7i2.16636>
- Noyori-Corbett, C., Sharma, Y., Bhattacharjee, S., Harden, M., Ratcliffe, E., & Cahill, A. W. (2024). Social constructivist and rights-based analysis of global governance of statelessness: The case of the Rohingya crisis. *Journal of Human Rights and Social Work*, 9(2), 171-184. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41134-023-00274-z>
- Nurhadi, Z. F., Marlina, N. C., & Firdaus, M. (2020). The critical discourse analysis on pornography news of "V Garut" at TribunJabar.id online media. *Jurnal Komunikasi Malaysian Journal of Communication*, 36(4), 16-33. <https://doi.org/10.17576/jkmjc-2020-3604-02>
- OHCHR. (2018, September 17). *Report of the detailed findings of the independent international fact-finding mission on Myanmar*. <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/1643079?v=pdf>
- Okamoto, M., & Kirimura, T. (2024). Discourse analysis on the Rohingya issue in social media: Analysis of Malay-language tweets. *Japanese Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 62(1), 90-106. https://doi.org/10.20495/tak.62.1_90
- Qowim, A., & Degaf, A. (2024). Kanjuruhan Tragedy in *The New York Times*: A critical discourse analysis. *Indonesian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 13(3), 468-476. <https://doi.org/10.17509/ijal.v13i3.66957>
- Rashid, M. H. O., & Al-Zaman, M. S. (2026). What do social media users in host countries talk about refugees?: A thematic analysis of Rohingya-related online discourse. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 24(1), 62-75. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2023.2263842>
- Ratnadewi, D., & Yuniarti, S. (2019). Indonesian student teachers' critical thinking skills in text analysis with CDA approach. *Humanities and Social Sciences Reviews*, 7(3), 424-431. <https://doi.org/10.18510/hssr.2019.7362>
- Rumiarta, I. N. P. B., & Jayantiari, I. G. A. M. R. (2023). The fulfilling right to education for Rohingya refugee children in Indonesia. *Age of Human Rights Journal*, 21, Article 7659. <https://doi.org/10.17561/tahrj.v21.7659>
- Sahana, M., Jahangir, S., & Anisujjaman, M. (2019). Forced migration and the expatriation of the Rohingya: A demographic assessment of their historical exclusions and statelessness. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 39(1), 44-60. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13602004.2019.1587952>
- Samad, M. A. (2023). Ethnic cleansing of the Rohingyas: A historical analysis. *Paramita*, 33(2), 175-188. <https://doi.org/10.15294/paramita.v33i2.46697>
- Sengul, K. (2019). Critical discourse analysis in political communication research: A case study of right-wing populist discourse in Australia. *Communication Research and Practice*, 5(4), 376-392. <https://doi.org/10.1080/22041451.2019.1695082>
- Shahin, K. M., & Hasan, M. (2023). The Rohingya refugee crisis: Political and humanitarian perspectives. *Southeast Asia: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, 23(3), 151-161. <https://doi.org/10.1108/seamj-05-2023-0041>

- Shohel, M. M. C., Ashrafuzzaman, M., & Shabnam, S. (2024). The Rohingya crisis and the global impact of the refugee influx. In P. Pietrzak (Ed.), *Analyzing global responses to contemporary regional conflicts* (pp. 298-322). IGI Global. <https://doi.org/10.4018/979-8-3693-2837-8.ch014>
- Suaedy, A., & Hafiz, M. (2015). Citizenship challenges in Myanmar's democratic transition: Case study of the Rohingya-Muslim. *Studia Islamika*, 22(1), 29-63. <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v22i1.1387>
- Swazo, N. K., Haque, T. M., Haque, M. M., & Nower, T. (2020). *The Rohingya crisis: A moral, ethnographic, and policy assessment*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429324109>
- Taylor, S. (2004). Researching educational policy and change in 'new times': Using critical discourse analysis. *Journal of Education Policy*, 19(4), 433-451. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0268093042000227483>
- Ubayasiri, K. (2019). Framing statelessness and 'belonging': Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh's the Daily Star newspaper. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 25(1&2), 260-276. <https://doi.org/10.24135/pjr.v25i1and2.472>
- Ullah, A. A., & Chattoraj, D. (2023). *The unheard stories of the Rohingyas: Ethnicity, diversity and media* (1st ed.). Bristol University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/jj.5186775>
- Uzuner-Smith, S., & Englander, K. (2015). Exposing ideology within university policies: A critical discourse analysis of faculty hiring, promotion and remuneration practices. *Journal of Education Policy*, 30(1), 62-85. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2014.895853>
- van Dijk, T. A. (1988). *News as discourse*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- van Dijk, T. A. (1991). *Racism and the press*. Routledge.
- van Dijk, T. A. (Ed.). (1997). *Handbook of discourse analysis: Disciplines of discourse*. Academic Press.
- van Dijk, T. A. (2001). Critical discourse analysis. In D. Tannen, D. Schiffrin, & H. Hamilton (Eds.), *Handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 352-371). Blackwell.
- van Dijk, T. A. (2009). *Society and discourse: How social contexts influence text and talk*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511575273>
- van Dijk, T. A. (Ed.). (2011). *Discourse studies: A multidisciplinary introduction* (2nd ed.). Sage. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446289068>
- van Dijk, T. A. (2015). Critical discourse analysis. In D. Tannen, H. E. Hamilton, & D. Schiffrin (Eds.), *The handbook of discourse analysis* (Vol. 2, pp. 466-485). John Wiley & Sons. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118584194.ch22>
- van Dijk, T. A. (2016). Critical discourse studies: A sociocognitive approach. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse studies* (3rd ed., pp. 62-84). Sage Publications. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781036235192.n3>
- van Dijk, T. A. (2018). Discourse and migration. In R. Zapata-Barrero & E. Yalaz (Eds.), *Qualitative research in European migration studies* (pp. 227-245). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-76861-8_13
- Veronika, I., & Degaf, A. (2024). Anti-vaccine COVID-19 narratives: A critical textual analysis of American and Indonesian online news. *Studies in English Language and Education*, 11(3), 1782-1800. <https://doi.org/10.24815/siele.v11i3.37380>
- Wood, T. (2006). Adherence relations in literary and non-literary discourse. *Journal of Literary Semantics*, 35(2), 165-180. <https://doi.org/10.1515/JLS.2006.009>
- Yang, P.-L. (2013). A critical discourse analysis of Taiwan's national debate on economic ties with China. *Taiwan Journal of Linguistics*, 11(2), 83-104.
- Zahed, I. U. M. (2021). The state against the Rohingya: Root causes of the expulsion of Rohingya from Myanmar. *Politics, Religion and Ideology*, 22(3-4), 436-460. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21567689.2021.1995716>