News Framing of the Rohingya Crisis Settlement: a Study on Aljazeera and BBC

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ABSTRACT

News is always framed before being broadcast to audiences. Policies, journalists and newsrooms contribute to choosing a frame or frames to present news items. This study aims to discover the frames implemented by Aljazeera and BBC in presenting their news of the Rohingya crisis settlement. The content analysis was implemented by following mixed method approach. The results were obtained from the qualitative analysis of Aljazeera and BBC news, as well as the statistical quantitative results. The findings showed that news framing is capable of shaping certain attitudes toward incidents. Three main frames were utilized in the news coverage of Aljazeera and BBC: responsibility, human impact, and powerlessness frames. The findings are valuable to news organizations and reporters in framing minority crisis news. It may also assist audiences to critically understand the frames that shaped the crisis settlement news. This study also enables audience to further understand the framing of incidents and conflicts implemented by the media.

Keywords: News; Framing; Rohingya Crisis; Settlement; Aljazeera; BBC.

INTRODUCTION

The Rohingya crisis is the top-most recent crisis in the world (Md Ziaur Rahman et al., 2018). The term 'Rohingya' is widely used to describe Muslims who reside in the region of Arakan. At the same time, the term is used to describe all Muslims in Burma

(Khdr, 2008; Shadeed, 2015). The crisis, which takes the form of conflict, arises chiefly from the religious differentiation between the Rakhine Buddhists and Rohingya Muslims. The recent Rohingya ethnic violence in Rakhine state of Myanmar increased and it transformed into ethnic cleansing and genocide (Nawoyski, 2013).

Hundreds of thousands of Muslim Rohingya were compelled to flee their homes due to discriminatory policies of Myanmar's government since the late 1970s. Because the oppression of Rohingya is turning into a genocide (Knuters, 2018), most have crossed by land into Bangladesh, while others have taken to the sea to reach Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand (Md Ziaur Rahman et al., 2018). Renewed violence erupted again in 2017, including reported rape, murder, and arson (Human Rights Council, 2018). This violence triggered an exodus of Rohingya amid charges of ethnic cleansing against Myanmar's security forces (Selth, 2018). Those forces claim they are carrying out a campaign to reinstate stability in the western region of Myanmar, but international pressure on the country's elected leaders to rein in violence continues to rise (Albert & Chatzky, 2018).

News media serve as valuable and powerful source of information (Cissel, 2012). News is the main source for viewers worldwide to obtain an image about the Rohingya crisis. However, news is framed differently according to source and gatekeepers. Cissel (2012) states that news companies and journalists have the ability to dictate which stories are considered newsworthy and how much prominence and space they are allocated. Therefore, inconsistent images might be framed in the minds of audiences due to the different frames that the crisis was shaped in. The adverse framing of the Rohingya crisis led some viewers to believe that they are an oppressed minority, while others consider it an internal civil conflict. Thus, settling the crisis is perceived differently.

Although news framing has been covered recently in literature (Provencher, 2016; Borah, 2011; Cissel, 2012; Mohammad Noorhusni & Abd Rasid, 2017; Rasaq et al., 2016), there remains a shortage of publications addressing news framing covering the Rohingya crisis. A need for more research is recommended by Md. Saddam Hossain and Md. Sajjad Hosain (2019) on settling the Rohingya crisis. Afzal (2016) also stated the need for more future studies on analyzing the media coverage of the Rohingya crisis to settle it. This study attempts to discover the frames implemented by Aljazeera and BBC in presenting their news of the Rohingya crisis settlement that was attempted by national and international bodies. This paper can also provide suggestions for new media to be able to frame similar crisis at national and international level. Moreover, the findings show an in-depth elaboration on how news media contribute to settling the Rohingya crisis.

NEWS FRAMING CONCEPT

The key concept raised in this this article is news framing. The word 'news' is composed of four letters each of which is the first letter of a direction. N is taken from North and E is the first letter of East. W stands for West and S is the first letter of South. This combination demonstrates that news come from anywhere in the world. Neiger and Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2016) defined news as narrative that provides (a) accounts and updates regarding present states-of-affairs and/or unfolding events, (b) reports on recent occurrences, (c) deeper context and/or commemoration of a more distant past, (d) analysis of possible implications of current events and/or anticipation

of upcoming events, and (e) projections that envision and address the far or conjectured future.

Moreover, Gitlin (1980) defined frames as persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis and exclusion by which symbol handlers routinely organize discourse. Lecheler et al. (2013) define framing as the construction of content through particular features that provide clues about the interpretation of the text and the news event itself, suggesting certain attributes, judgments, and decisions. Thus, news framing can be defined as the process of selecting, priming, emphasizing and excluding certain news stories, as well as utilizing presentational styles to convey certain messages.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE ROHINGYA CRISIS

The Rohingya minority resides in the province of Arakan southwest Myanmar. It is separated from Myanmar by the Himalayas which make it a separate geographical unit. The population of the Muslim Rohingya is almost four million forming 70% of the region. However, according to the 2014 Myanmar population and housing Census which was published in 2016 and was the first census in thirty years, 87.9% of the population of Myanmar is Buddhist, 6.2% Christian, and 4.3% Muslim. The remaining are minor religious groups such as Hindu, Animist and no religion. The origin of the Rohingya who lives in the state of Arakan is a debated issue. According to Azad and Jasmine (2013), there are two main conflicting opinions. First, the Rohingya are illegal immigrants from neighboring countries and the second considers the Rohingya native inhabitants who are descendants of the original Muslims of Arakan. Although there are two opposing debates about the origin of the Rohingya, it is true that a large number of Muslims have resided in Arakan for hundreds of years (Azad & Jasmine, 2013).

According to Ibrahim (1996), in the year 44 AH / 664 AD Muslims entered the west of Burma (Arakan province) through Arab merchants. It is reported that mosques and Islamic centers were seen on the coasts of Arakan and the banks of the Bay of Bengal just fifty years after the commissioning of Prophet Muhammad (PBBUH) (Harvey, 1925). Early Muslims established mosques and schools and among them was the curious Mosques known as Buddermokan (Harvey, 1925) which are recently known as the shrines of Badr. Then Islam gradually spread in different areas of Burma. However, some historians such as Phayre (1883) argued that Islam reached Arakan during the reign of the Abbasid Caliph, Harun al-Rashid, in the eighth century AD by the Arab merchants, and then followed by Islamic delegations from around the globe. Thus, a large number of Arakanese reverted to Islam.

Other researchers such as Nur al-Islam (1991) states that Muslims had ruled themselves in the Kingdom of Arakan since Islam reached the country until 1084 AD. Then Muslims regained power again and formed a Kingdom which lasted almost three hundred and fifty years from 1430 until 1784 (Annadawi, 2002). It is also believed that the kingdom was from 1404 until 1785 AD (Nur al-Islam, 1991). Some ancient maps showed the name of Arakan as an independent state between India and the Burmese Kingdom of Pegu (see the appendix).

After the collapse of the kingdom, the Rohingya Muslim minority in the Arakan region of Myanmar experienced a crisis that affected different aspects of their lives. Arakan was conjoined with Burma and the Rohingya lost their independent statehood. Many Islamic monuments such as mosques and schools were destroyed. The

Rohingya scholars, preachers and common people were killed and persecuted and their properties were looted and burnt (Ibrahim, 1441H).

According to Subindu (1919), the loss of statehood lasted for nearly forty years, during which Bodawpaya, the king of Myanmar (1781–1819) launched a campaign against the Rohingya. He destroyed everything related to the Rohingya culture and faith and tried to establish the Burmese culture. Shadeed (2015) further confirms that Bodawpaya attacked fugitives and captivated children, women and men who were forcibly taken to Burma, and some of these captives were compelled to participate in wars.

Britain then occupied Burma in 1824. Burma remained under British rule until 1948. After independence, The Rohingya of Arakan were not granted the right to self-determination (Knuters, 2018). Arakan remained under Burma rule despite the disagreement of Arakan inhabitants whether Muslims or Buddhists alike. Since then, for sixty years there has been a civil war, turbulence and dispute (Md Ziaur Rahman et al., 2018).

The results of this dispute were tragic for the Rohingya. It included arrest, killing, displacement, loss and subsequent flight to neighboring safe countries seeking for a secure country. The vulnerable people who could not immigrate to neighboring countries continued to be oppressed and humiliated. However, this period and its relative calm, despite all these abuses and violations, represented a period of relative national reconciliation between the government of Myanmar and the Rohingya Muslims compared to what happened to the Rohingya after the year (1962) (Khdr, 2008). In the time between 1948 and 1962, the Rohingya were treated as citizens after the independence of Burma by three successive governments (Md Ziaur Rahman et al., 2018).

The predicament of the Rohingya Muslims has persisted over the last three decades, but it brutally deteriorated in the last few years (Md Ziaur Rahman et al., 2018). Recently, the violence that erupted in 2012 was disastrous (Brooten, 2015). The Human Right Counsel (2018) in its thirty-ninth session reported that in some villages, Rakhine men participated in looting, burning, killing, and injuring Rohingya. Civilians of other minority ethnic groups were also involved. The Human Right Counsel (2018) further reported recurrent and organized involvement of civilian groups in such operations in three townships in the Rakhine state. In 2017 due to the continuous and increasing persecution, the Rohingya has no choice but to flee the country. Ehteshamul Haque (2018) states that in August 2017, hundreds of thousands of Rohingya crossed into Bangladesh to escape another military crackdown which the United Nations' top human rights official- Zeid Ra'ad al- Hussein defined as 'a textbook example of ethnic cleansing.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The concept of framing was first posited by Gregory Bateson in 1972. The basis of framing theory is that the media focuses attention on certain events and then places them within a field of meaning (Arowolo, 2017). Frames provide meaning through selective simplification, by filtering people's perceptions and providing them with certain information regarding a certain issue. The term frame is commonly used to indicate how news frames and creates news stories and the way media present the

information they convey and construct values for audiences (Arowolo, 2017; An & Gower, 2009; Chong & Druckman, 2007). A media frame or a frame in communication refers to the words, images, phrases, and presentation styles that a speakers or media use to convey information or certain messages to audiences (Chong & Druckman, 2007; Cissel, 2012; Vreese, 2005).

Framing, as a theory in mass communication studies is one of the oldest and most well-established concepts (Pere, 2013; Abreu, 2015). Much of the research on framing has focused on media frames (An & Gower, 2009; Weaver, 2007). A large and growing body of mass media research centers on the concept of framing (D'Angelo, 2006). Many communication studies depend on framing theory to discover how news or information in general are framed and presented to the audience. In communication, framing defines how news media coverage shapes mass opinion by using these specific frameworks to help guide their audience to understanding (Cissel, 2012). Frames lead audiences to accept one meaning over another. Media frames provide boundaries around a news story and determine what is and is not newsworthy or notable. A frame also refers to the way media as gatekeepers organize and present the ideas, events, and topics they cover. A single news story can be presented in multiple forms based on the perception, attitudes and preferences of the news source. For example, at least three presentational styles can be developed when presenting a crisis news story. First, international bodies can be blamed because they did not put an end to the crisis. Second, local government who allowed the crisis to happen can also be blamed. Third, oppressed majority can also be blamed. Therefore, it is significant to look at how the media frame a crisis event (An & Gower, 2009).

Reviewing the literature shows that media utilize multiple frames in covering news. For example, Ryabinska (2007) identified six news frames: conflict, economic consequences, human impact, responsibility, morality and powerlessness frames. The conflict frame refers to the practice of reporting stories of clashing interpretation (Neuman et al., 1992). Economic consequences frame is the frame that reports an event, problem, or issue in terms of the consequences it will have economically on an individual, groups, organizations or countries (An & Gower, 2009). The human impact frame focused on descriptions of individuals and groups affected by an issue (Vreese, 2005). The responsibility frame attributes responsibility to political institutions or individuals (Ryabinska, 2007). The morality frame puts the event, problem or issue in the context of morals, social prescriptions and religious tenets (An & Gower, 2009). The powerlessness frame refers to the oppression and dominance of forces over weak groups or individuals (Neuman et al., 1992). To discover the frames implemented by Aljazeera and BBC in presenting their news of the Rohingya crisis settlement, the framing theory was utilized.

Previous literature has studied the Rohingya crisis from different angles. Knuters (2018), for example, studied the political Buddhism and the exclusion of Rohingya in Myanmar. He states the need for more research on possible solutions and settlements to the Rohingya crisis. Ahsan Ullah (2016) studied the Rohingya crisis focusing on human right issues. He tried to seek justice for the stateless Rohingya. Data were obtained from 29 Rohingya refugees. The sample was drawn from three main countries of destination of the Rohingya: Bangladesh, six; Thailand, 14; and Malaysia, nine. Of them, four were women (three in Thailand and one in Malaysia). Brooten (2015) studied the framing coverage of violence against the Rohingya in Myanmar. This study analyzes a series of 2013 Reuters investigative reports on the

Rohingya that won the 2014 Pulitzer Prize, and then a series of blog posts that further the story appearing in English language transnational media.

Moreover, Ehteshamul Haque (2018) discussed the socio-political impacts of Rohingya refugees on Bangladesh. The main ramifications of the crisis were multidimensional sociopolitical problems like environment degradation, human trafficking, prostitution and recruitment of Rohingya. Md Ziaur Rahman et al. (2018) studied the identity of the Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar. They proved that the Rohingya have been a part of long history of Burma. Also Md. Saddam Hossain and Md. Sajjad Hosain (2019) studied the Rohingya identity crisis. They collected data though direct interviews with the refugees. At the end, the authors urged international communities to assist solving this crisis. Based on the above literature, a gap for settling the crisis remains unattended.

METHOD

The content analysis is applied in the current study by following mixed method approach. The researchers found it is necessary to follow mixed method, which is used to create a synergy between the quantitative and qualitative methods. Thus, this two-stag, sequential mixed method study aims at obtaining qualitative results from content analysis from two Arabic TV channels (Aljazeera and BBC), as well as the statistical quantitative results. Aljazeera and BBC were chosen because they are international channels famous of their extensive coverage of the Rohingya issue compared to other channels. Aljazeera encourages political action against oppression of Muslims (Entman, 2019). It continuously covered the Rohingya minority crisis since 2012 until the time of this study. Al Jazeera testified on its website that in 2017 it was ranked the sixth best news agency worldwide. The BBC has an office in Myanmar that enabled it to cover the crisis closely. Besides, the BBC Arabic channel obtained a large number of online viewers which reached more than (21) million a month. In addition, the regular users are about one and a half million.

The establishment of the crisis settlement items was first based on reviewing the news archives of Aljazeera and BBC from 2012 until 2017. This review resulted in establishing pre-set items. The pre-set items were checked by experts. Then, while reviewing the literature, new themes were added. Finally, the sample of the study was analyzed, and the final items were established. Two items were collapsed and two emerged. The sample of the study was limited to the whole year of 2017 because of the wide coverage of the Rohingya crisis that took place, and the international efforts that addressed the crisis. Only the main daily news bulletin was chosen. The bulletins were obtained from the channels' websites. Throughout the year of 2017, only one hundred twenty two news bulletin of Aljazeera and fifty of BBC reported the Rohingya minority crisis.

To analyze the news cast sample, a coding sheet was created benefitting from previous content analysis studies of wars and conflicts such as Al-Baghdadi (2010), Adwan (2012) and Ma'iuf (2014). Other content analysis studies were also a main reference for establishing the coding sheet such as Kanaker (2016) and Kanaker et al. (2017). The objective of this study is to discover the news framing of the Rohingya crisis settlement by Aljazeera and BBC. To achieve this objective, frequency, percentage and chi-square were run. Intercoder reliability was also implemented to ensure data accuracy. Three (3) coders run the coding independently. Then, Holsti's formula was implemented to test the intercoder reliability. The first coder result was

(90.1%), the second was (92.3%) and the third was (88%). The final intercoder agreement was (90.1%).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This study, as mentioned earlier, is aimed to discover the frames implemented by Aljazeera and BBC in their presentation of the Rohingya crisis settlement. To find out the settlements presented by both channels, 365 main daily news bulletins of 2017 were analyzed. Throughout the year of 2017, Aljazeera covered (122) incidents while BBC covered only (50). Repetition of news items was ignored. If the same news items were repeated in multiple news bulletins, they are considered only one. Frequencies of the settlements and chi-square were measured.

TABLE 1. the Rohingya Crisis Settlement as framed by Aljazeera and BBC

No.	Crisis Settlement Items	Aljazeera		BBC		Subtotal	
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
1	United Nations efforts	19	15.6	6	12	25	14.5
2	UN reports and testimonies to condemn the government of Myanmar	16	13.1	9	18	25	14.5
3	Abuses that attained no settlement efforts	16	13.1	7	14	23	13.4
4	International talks with Burma to alleviate the suffering of the Rohingya	17	13.9	3	6	20	11.6
5	Urge the UN to put pressure on Myanmar	6	4.9	3	6	9	5.2
6	Investigation promises	4	3.3	4	8	8	4.7
7	International criticism of the massacres and violations against the Rohingya	3	2.5	5	10	8	4.7
8	Security Council meetings	5	4.1	1	2	6	3.5
9	Relief aids	4	3.3	1	2	5	2.9
10	Calls for sanctions	4	3.3	1	2	5	2.9
11	Criticizing the United Nations for its laches concerning the Rohingya issue	1	0.8	4	8	5	2.9
12	Arabs contact Myanmar to alleviate the crisis suffering	4	3.3	0	0	4	2.3
13	International investigations	4	3.3	0	0	4	2.3
14	Calling factions for a humanitarian truce	2	1.6	2	4	4	2.3
15	International initiatives to settle the crisis	3	2.5	0	0	3	1.7
16	Appeals to end the abuse	3	2.5	0	0	3	1.7
17	Security Council calls on Burma to end the violence	2	1.6	1	2	3	1.7
18	Efforts of human rights organizations	0	0	3	6	3	1.7
19	International actions to alleviate the suffering of the Rohingya	2	1.6	0	0	2	1.2
20	International and UN calls to warn Myanmar	2	1.6	0	0	2	1.2

21	Islamic summits / Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC)	1	0.8	0	0	1	0.6
22	International resolutions against refugees	1	0.8	0	0	1	0.6
23	Vatican efforts	1	0.8	0	0	1	0.6
24	Internal Burmese moves to address the crisis	1	0.8	0	0	1	0.6
25	International conferences to discuss the crisis	1	0.8	0	0	1	0.6
Total		**122**	**100**	**50**	**100**	**172**	**100**

Table 1 shows that Aljazeera and BBC framing of the Rohingya crisis settlements varied. The top settlement of the Rohingya crisis as framed by Aljazeera and BBC news is the United Nations efforts. This settlement scored (15.6%) on Aljazeera and (12%) on the BBC. The overall score of both channels was (14.5%). Even though the collective score of this settlement makes it the top score, it is not the case for the BBC. The BBC framed UN reports and testimonies to condemn the government of Myanmar as its prime settlement. It occupied 18% of the BBC coverage. Even though the United Nations efforts were the primary settlement, no solid evident on the ground testified that the united nation has availed or contributed to settling the crisis. The main contribution is the condemnation of the violence that took place. Since the outbreak of violations in the region in June 2012, the Rohingya crisis witnessed no positive progress. The United Nations declarations made by the Secretary-General, his representatives, the United Nations coordinators and other associations have not yet borne fruit. No UN resolution was issued to bind the Myanmar authorities to halt the tragedy.

Similarly, the settlement of UN reports and testimonies to condemn the government of Myanmar scored (14.5%). Aljazeera's score was (13.1%), but the BBC's was higher (18%). The framing of this settlement to be in the lead reveals the significance placed by Aljazeera and BBC on UN reports and testimonies. News coverage has therefore attached paramount significance to the efforts made in the drafting of reports and documentation of international events in the form of evidence to condemn the violence before competent authorities, whether the United Nations Secretariat or the Security Council. These reports increase the efficiency of the new coverage. Video footage and written reports together with eyewitnesses constitute as solid evidence in case of future litigation.

The second top score was abuses that attained no settlement. Sixteen (16) news items of Aljazeera 13.1% and seven (7) of the BBC 14% obtained no settlement. The average score of both channels was 13.4%. Despite the gravity of the crisis, some of the reported calamities were not addressed and no efforts were made by any international actors or even the UN organization to alleviate the agonies resulted from grave injustice against civilians.

International talks with Burma to alleviate the suffering of the Rohingya was framed as the third important settlement. Aljazeera broadcasted seventeen (17) news items related to this settlement, while the BBC broadcasted three (3) only. The score of Aljazeera was 13.9%, and the BBC was 6%. The average score of both channels was 11.6%. This percentage shows that Aljazeera, compared to the BBC, closely followed the talks that aimed at negotiating or mediating with the Myanmar government to settle the crisis of the Rohingya.

The fourth settlement was urging the UN to put pressure on Myanmar. The coverage of this settlement scored less than half of its predecessor. Aljazeera covered

it six (6) times 4.9%, while the BBC coverage was only three (3) times 6%. The overall percentage of both channels was 5.2%. Based on the overall score, the attitude of the United Nations General Assembly was not serious enough. It was limited to condemnation, anticipation, apprehension, anxiety expressed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. This half-hearted attitude led its observers to appeal and urge the UN to intervene and settle this humanitarian crisis.

The fifth top settlement, investigation promises, scored 3.3% on Aljazeera and 8% on BBC. The overall score was 4.7%, and each channel covered it four (4) times. All the settlements mentioned above by the United Nations and other human rights associations such as associations of international justice borne a single fruit: a promise from the government of Myanmar to investigate few cases.

Similarly, the international criticism of the massacres and violations against the Rohingya also scored 4.7%. However, the frequency was not similar to the previous settlement. Aljazeera covered it three (3) times 2.5% while the BBC coverage was five (5) times 10%. This criticism prompted the Myanmar government to form a committee composed of members of the military and government to investigate cases documented by activists or human rights actors promising that violators will be held accountable. Notwithstanding the investigation took place, no conviction was issued except that some lower-ranking members of the armed forces were held partially responsible for minor violent incidents. The report described these incidents as self-defense. Other offenders were reported to be civilians out of government control, and the violence they committed was just angry reactions to the Rohingya.

The sixth score was the Security Council meeting. Aljazeera covered it five (5) times 4.1%, but the BBC covered it only once (1) 2%. The average score of both Aljazeera and BBC was 3.5%. The low score of this settlement shows that the security of the Rohingya minority was not granted the expected importance by the Security Council despite being a grave humanitarian crisis. The outcome of these meetings was issuing few resolutions concerning the refugee, but they were limited to encouraging neighbouring countries to accept the refugees and treat them well. Unfortunately, these meetings did not result in a binding decision that obliged the Myanmar authorities to cease the violent practices immediately. Rather, it remained mere non-binding recommendations that Myanmar did not implement. The interference of China, India and Russia might be a hindrance that prevented a binding resolution who justified their opposition by considering the crisis an internal issue, and no international entities should interfere.

The seventh score was occupied by three equal settlements: relief aid, calls for sanctions and criticizing the United Nations for its laches concerning the Rohingya issue. The first two settlements were covered four (4) times 3.3% each by Aljazeera, and once (1) 2% by the BBC. The third settlement score was the opposite: once (1) by Aljazeera (0.8%) and four (4) times 8% by the BBC. The average score of each of these settlements was 2.9%. The relief aids were limited despite the appeals of associations on the ground to provide relief assistance of all kinds to face the crisis. The international aids were rather rhetoric than actual.

Likewise, the eighth score was also occupied by three equal settlements: Arabs contact Myanmar to alleviate the crisis suffering, international investigations and calling factions for a humanitarian truce. The first two settlements were covered by Aljazeera four (4) times each 3.3%, while the BBC never touch on them. The third settlement was equally covered by both channels. Each channel covered it twice (2). The average score of each settlement was 2.3%. This finding showed that the Arab

mediation with the Myanmar government to alleviate the suffering of the Rohingya was minimal. It revealed that the Rohingya issue was not a concern of the Arab regimes maybe due to the critical circumstances in which the Arab region is undergoing, the so-called Arab Spring. These circumstances contributed to lessening the interest in the Rohingya issue.

The ninth score was occupied by four settlements: international initiatives to settle the crisis, appeals to end the abuse, Security Council calls on Burma to end the violence and efforts of human rights organizations occupied the ninth score. The first two settlements were only covered by Aljazeera three (3) times each 2.5%, while the BBC did not cover them. The third settlement was covered twice (2) by Aljazeera 1.6% and once (1) by the BBC 2%. The fourth settlement was not touched on by Aljazeera, while the BBC covered it three (3) times 6%. The average score for each settlement was 1.7%. The international initiatives to resolve the crisis were not as expected despite the long period of the crisis. Only three initiatives were identified to resolve the crisis during the sample of this study: the year of 2017.

The tenth score was formed by two settlements: international actions to alleviate the suffering of the Rohingya and international and UN calls to warn Myanmar. They were covered twice (2) 1.6%, each by Aljazeera only. The BBC did not touch on them. The average score was 1.2%. Notwithstanding the existence of international demands to warn Myanmar government to end the crisis, these warnings were not effective on the ground.

Finally, five settlements were covered once (1) 0.8% each by Aljazeera only: Islamic summits/ Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), international resolutions against refugees, Vatican efforts, internal Burmese moves to address the crisis and international conferences to discuss the crisis. The BBC never touched on any of them. The OIC efforts were limited to promises to present a draft resolution to the Security Council. The draft was actually submitted, but it did not avail the crisis. Concerning the internal Burmese moves, they also came in a form of a promise to protect the Rohingya. The promise was not effective. Rather, things got worse.

To discover whether there is a significant difference between the settlements framed by Aljazeera and BBC, chi-square was measured as shown Table 2. The result showed that there was no significant difference between the two channels ($X^2 = 33.709$, *df = 24, p <.05*).

TABLE 2. Differences between Aljazeera and BBC of Rohingya crisis settlements

Crisis	Chi-square	Degrees of freedom (d.f.)	P-value
Settlement	33.709	24	0.090

Based on the above findings, the United Nations efforts and UN reports and testimonies to condemn the government of Myanmar were equally framed to be the top settlements of the Rohingya crisis. Despite the fact that the United Nations is the international association that is directly concerned with any crisis worldwide, it was framed by both Aljazeera and BBC to constitute only 14.5% of the settlements. Despite the availability of reports and testimonies, they were not utilized to issue any obligatory international resolution to end the crisis even though it included murder and assassination.

The international talks between Burma and other countries to alleviate the suffering of the Rohingya did not yield effective outcomes because they were no more than promises which did not come true. Besides, urging the UN to put pressure on

Myanmar did not encourage the United Nations to issue a binding Security Council resolution to end the crisis. Even the minor investigations that were made locally held no person accountable except few minor military officers. The prolongation of the crisis might be due to the minor international criticism of the violations that were committed.

The other settlements framed by Aljazeera and BBC were minimal. The news, as framed by both channels, showed that Middle East countries did not show keen interest in assisting the Rohingya minority. It might be due to the fact that these countries are unstable and busy with internal and external obstacles. The Security Council meetings encouraged the neighbouring countries to welcome the refugees. However, it was hoped that the Security Council kept the crisis at pay rather than allowing it to aggravate and then seek minor alleviations.

Despite the fact that Aljazeera covered (122) incidents while BBC covered only (50), the coverage of both channels was not identical. Based on table 1, twenty five (25) settlements were framed by both channels. However, not each channel presented twenty five settlements. Though in different percentages, Aljazeera presented twenty four (24) settlements while BBC presented only fourteen (14). Out of twenty five (25), thirteen (13) settlements were mutual between Aljazeera and BBC. The mutual settlements were not identical. For example, the settlement of international talks with Burma to alleviate the suffering of the Rohingya was 13.9% on Aljazeera, while on the BBC was only 6%. The settlement of criticizing the United Nations for its laches concerning the Rohingya issue was 0.8% on Aljazeera while on the BBC was 8%. For further details please refer to table 1.

The content analysis provides evidence that News media have the ability to shape and even create audience attitudes toward incidents that happens every day by imparting certain frames on them. Frames vicariously confer certain meaning to make audiences advocate or oppose certain news. Three main frames utilized in the news coverage were the responsibility, human impact and the powerlessness frames. The responsibility frame was utilized by attributing the responsibility of settling the Rohingya crisis to mainly the Security Council and the United Nations. Ehteshamul Haque (2018) stresses on the importance of responsibility frame by saying that international bodies like United Nations (UN), European Union (EU), ASEAN and others have to play a more active role in settling the Rohingya crisis. Md Ziaur Rahman et al. (2018) also stress the importance of the responsibilities of Myanmar government and international humanitarian organizations for early settlement. The human impact brought an emotional angle to settle the Rohingya crisis. The powerlessness frame projected the Rohingya as a dominated, deprived and oppressed minority that is in need of international organizations to end their agonies. This finding identifies with the finding of Brooten (2015) who states that the Rohingya are powerless victims.

The result of current study identifies with the findings of Rumaisa' and Iman (2018) who reported that the United Nations did not act seriously to end the Rohingya crisis; as well as the Security Council sit on the fence watching the crisis from afar. The findings are also consistent with the findings of Bl'alia (2006) who states that Aljazeera has its own footprint in covering human rights violations. Despite the unserious attitude of the United Nations, UN was framed by Aljazeera and BBC as the key player to end the Rohingya crisis. Md. Saddam Hossain & Md. Sajjad Hosain (2019) states that so far there is no notable improvement of the solution and

settlement of the Rohingya crisis. They highlighted the importance of responsibility frame by stating that the international sides have not yet shown any serious interest to come to a unified agreement regarding Rohingya. The stance of international players such as Russia and China were shaped based on self-interest rather than human rights. The findings also showed that not all the Rohingya agonies received attention. Some of the disasters were left unattended and no settlement attempt was implemented.

The finding partially met the expectation because despite the economic consequences of the crisis, the economic frame was not implemented. This finding is supported by Brooten (2015) who stated that news leaves unexamined the transnational political and economic forces that contribute to the continuing horrific human rights situation facing the Rohingya.

CONCLUSION

It is expected that the findings of this study assist news organizations and reporters in framing minority crisis news. It may also assist audiences to critically understand the frames that shaped the crisis news to enable them to further understand how media present incidents and conflicts. The results also help future researchers to gain a recent analysis of news frames of current minority crisis.

This study has contributed to the theoretical development by confirming the previous literature of news crisis framing. It supports the framing theory and confirms the implementations of frames in the presentation of news. It also discovered the utilization of the responsibility, human impact and the powerlessness frames. The study revealed that the need of utilizing other frames in covering crisis news. The moral values frame was not utilized either. The immoral invasions, arsons and killings that took place necessitated the utilization of moral values frame to project the immoral and inhumane behaviours. Therefore, this study recommends media players not to limit the coverage to certain frames. The morality and economic frames are significant in cases of oppression and persecutions. Future researchers are recommended to study the actual causes of the Rohingya crisis, and whether the crisis is originated to religious antagonism.

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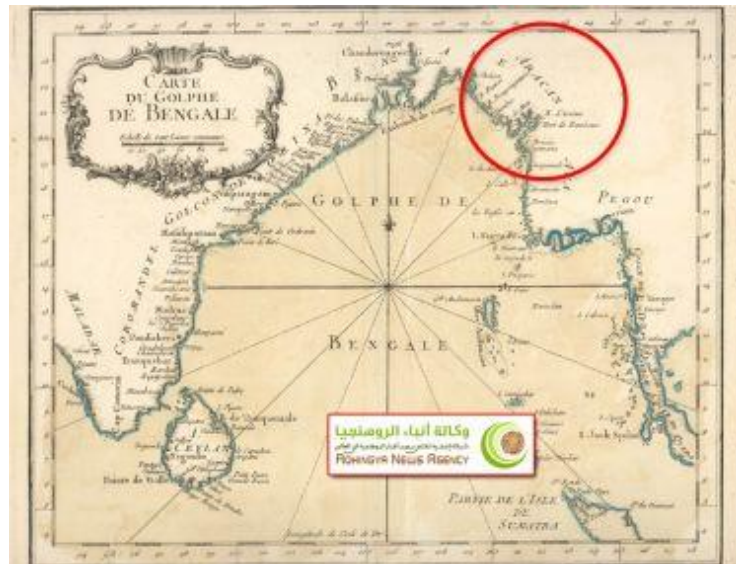Nawoyski, K. (2013). Genocide Emergency: Violence against the Rohingya and Other Muslims in Myanmar. *Genocide Watch.*

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Appendix

Old map showing the presence of Arakan.

Source: Rohingya News Agency, 17 October, 2012.

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