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Media Bias and Framing Analysis of Local Media and Foreign Based Media coverage on the case of " Rohingya: Gambia files case against Myanmar at International Court of Justice"

Master Thesis

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Declaration of Authorship

I, PHOO PYAE PYAE SOE hereby declares that the research *"Media Bias and Framing Analysis of Local Media and Foreign Based Media coverage on the case of "Rohingya: Gambia files case against Myanmar at ICJ"* is submitted for the master program of Society, Media and Communication at Charles University in Prague. All the sources and literature used in this study have been properly cited and referred to the original contributors. I hereby declare that this thesis has not been used to obtain in other degrees and it is the presentation of my own research.

Date: 25th July 2021.

Sign:

Abstract

This study offers the framing analysis of local and foreign-based media on the coverage of "Rohingya: Gambia files case against Myanmar at ICJ" for over nine months period and examines the bias in their new contents and attention to the case. Evaluation of the number of coverage published by each media, shows that local media do not pay as much attention as foreign-based media, and undermines the seriousness of the issue. Moreover, the finding highlights that the news representation of local media are evidently in favor toward the Myanmar government in support of iconic national leader - Aung San Suu Kyi while abetting in covering up the violence action of the Myanmar military. Findings also suggests that foreign-based media covered the case most with genocide frame whereas self-defense frame was the most popular one in the coverage of local media. This study employed a comparative content analysis to detect the bias and observe the different framings of media.

Keywords: *Bias, Frames, media frames, Framing theory, Myanmar, Rakhine, Bangladesh.*

Acknowledgment

Writing a master thesis is an intensive process that requires planning, commitment, and patience in the work until it is completed. It is also a test for a person's capability, time management, and dedication to the work, which definitely reflects in the final outcome of the thesis. Despite all the hard times I had been through due to my country's military coup early this year, I am proud of myself for completing the master thesis.

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Table of content

RQ1. Are there any differences in the newspaper's attention to the ICJ-Rohingya case?
RQ2. Do these media bias or not in the news presentation of the case? If yes, how have these media represented the news in their coverage?
RQ3. What are the differences between local and foreign-based media in framing?

List of Table

List of Figure

Chapter -1

1.1 Introduction

Messages all around us are being framed in today's world. From small to corporate, every organization is telling their stories using different frames. So as that, media organizations will report the same issue or conflict from different perspectives on their publications. Media tells the story in a way to which their audience can understand and relate. To do so, they have to apply the frames that facilitate the audience's understanding of the social problems. How a particular issue is presented by also telling what to be done about them in the new content shapes the audience's perception about the issue. This process is called framing. Framing is most commonly found in the news.

The media shapes what we see and hear about issues and journalists have their own pre-existing thoughts and options based on their experience (Bratic & Schirch, 2007), which have influences on the way the news are constructed or framed. Therefore, news articles are considered as the particular patterns of languages in their discourse to embed the ideologies and opinions of the media, especially when the news is about presenting sensitive social issues or conflict. Entman (2010) also notes that framing in news is undoubtable as news often favors one side over another, especially in political disputes. Most partisan media even intentionally frame the news in prompting a particular political agenda in a polarized media environment (Jamieson et al., 2007; Levendusky, 2013). The media agency has total control over the news articles, thereby mediating different ideologies through their use of language, use of voice and quotes, and then controlling the mind of its audience. Even though the framing process allows the media to make a hierarchy of what's important and what people should be concerned with as its strength, the drawback of framing in news is that it is possible for there to be a negatively biased media that doesn't prioritize certain aspects based on importance. This can lead to improper and unethical messages being presented to large numbers of people. Thus, it is certainly interesting to examine the differences of framing between local media and foreign-based media, and how far they polarize in their news presentation on the case "Rohingya: Gambia files case against Myanmar at ICJ".

Especially in Myanmar in which the political reform set out with the process becoming more democratized and opening the economy to the world in 2010, it is riveting to explore whether the reform has contributed to the development of media or how media practices have changed or not after a long decades of authoritarian state. Even though Myanmar experienced the brutal Military Coup on 1st of February in 2021, this study will only imply the situation before the coup as the researcher herself condemned the coup and does not recognize the current coup's council of national administration as the government of Myanmar.

During the democratization period, national reconciliation and peace building between armed groups of ethics minorities and Myanmar Military was one of the priorities of the government to address, which is the key for the equal economic development across the country in the future. As the civil wars among groups and military were prolonged for decades, it impedes the development of the country. In addition, ongoing conflict between the Muslim (Rohingya) and Rakhine state also impact the ongoing peace building process. Meanwhile, the Rohingya Crisis occurred in 2017 due to the military 's clearance operation in the western part of the Rakhine region that forced roughly 270,000 Rohingya to flee to Bangladesh from Myanmar in two weeks. It has been receiving attention from both local and international media but they presented the same issue in different ways. As stated above, the narrative of the media has an impact on the issue definition of individuals' perception and presentations are varied by the practices and frames adopted by the news agencies. Some scholars have studied the overall representations and framing of different media of the Rohingya Crisis by applying several approaches but not on the specific case nor highlighting bias.

Hence, the study aims to examine the coverage of local and foreign-based media by evaluating the component of each news that indicates the bias, and trace whether they are biased in favor or opposition to the case of "Rohingya: Gambia files case against Myanmar at ICJ". Thereafter, it plans to analyze the different framings of each media on the case. Eventually, it will compare overall media attention, differences in representation and framings contributed by local media and foreign-based media. Using media framing theory and bias in news literature, the quantitative content analysis is applied to evaluate the variances in reporting among these media.

Before going further to the literature review chapter, three sub-sections such as contextual background of the conflict, Media Landscape and Political Transition in Myanmar and Myanmar Media and Rohingya Crisis which are crucial to understand the case of the study will be briefly described.

1.2. Contextual Background of the Conflict

In the contextual background, the different perspectives on the origin of the Rohingya community and the controversial immigration issue between Myanmar and Bangladesh will be explained. In addition, the prolonged tension between Rohingya Muslims and Rakhine Buddhists in the broader region, its escalation as a serious conflict by a local dispute, and the consequences of that conflict till the case of Gambia filed a case against Myanmar at ICJ (International Court of Justice) are covered.

Myanmar, known to many as Burma, is a Southeast Asia country bordered by five countries; China, India, Thailand, Laos and Bangladesh. It has enormous ethnic diversity with 135 official ethnics groups and seven ethnics minority states. The majority of country' ethnic group are Burmese (Burman), and nearly 88% of the country's residents are Buddhists *(Department of Population 2015; Myanmar Information Management Unit 2014)*. Rakhine is one of the ethnic states situated on the western coast of Myanmar and it is bordered by Chittagone region which is the southeastern part of Bangladesh. The northern part of Rakhine State covering Maungdaw and Buthidaung townships are the conflict zone in which communal violence occurred between Rakhine Buddhist and Rohingya communities starting from 2012. Rohingya Muslim and Rakhine Buddhist are two major ethics communities living in these areas but Rohingya Muslim shares similarities such as religion, language and physical features with the people in Chittagone -Bangladesh while Rakhine Buddhists have the common characteristics including religion with the majority of the country population. Even though Rakhine Buddhist are officially accepted as one of ethnic groups in Myanmar, Rohingya are not.

Immigration has always been an argument between two countries – Myanmar and Bangladesh. Leider (2014) remarks that that is the prolonged issue left to be addressed by both governments for years. Whenever Myanmar authorities complained about the

immigration from Bangladesh, Bangladesh side stressed the prolonged history of migrants inflow to their country from Myanmar and affirmed that it has been accommodating the huge number of refugees from Myanmar. Thus, it is hard to claim who are the real immigrants in that region and this conflict is usually reported as an immigration or border issue between two countries.

The origin of Rohingya are controversial as Myanmar government have been highlighting on the historically non-Myanmar origin of the Muslim group despite Rohingya's claim centuries of connection to Rakhine region. During the centuries before this area was merged with Myanmar, it had been an independent empire with well-integrated Muslim minority and its monarch adopted Muslims honorific and issued coins inscribed with the *Kalima,* the Islamic declaration of faith (Tahir Ba Tha 2007; Islam 2012; Siddiqui 2008).

According to Human Rights Watch report (2000), Muslim community was recognized as a part of Mrauk U Kingdom in Rakhine and even Muslim had a leadership role in court in 1770s. But, when a Burmese king invaded Rakhine in 1784, some of them had to move to Chittagong in Bangladesh. Based on these facts, Rohingya are considered to be from the Rakhine region, and mistakenly named as Bengalis who have the similar culture, language and religion in Bangladesh (Ganguly & Miliate, 2015).

However, the majority of Rakhine Buddhists always deny that Rohingyas are an ethnic group with historical facts in the region (Buchanan, 2003). In the article of Derek Tonkin (2014) who is a former British Ambassador to Thailand, Vietnam, and Laos, wrote that Rohingya identity was not in the historical records and official reports of the British government when they took over the Arakan region in 1826 and even until to the end of their mandate in 1948. In addition, he mentions that immigrants named as "Chittagonians' ' were originally from Chittagong division and they were detested by the locals, which could lead to communal conflict (Baxter, 1940: Tonkin, 2014). Leider (2014) also notes that the Muslim community reached to the highest number as the flow of people from Bengal arrived to settle in Rakhine. By highlighting these facts, the Myanmar government and Rakhine Buddhist often point out that the "Rohingya" community in Rakhine is the consequence of an insecure border with Bangladesh, and emphasize that Rohingya are descendants of illegal migrants from Bangladesh during British colonial

period. In fact, there is no border between the two countries and people in those areas freely come and go while Myanmar was part of British-India colony. The British administration was considered by many that they had encouraged the Indian origin, often Muslim for the sub-continent migration by generating the contemporary attitude of having economic advantage and privilege over Burmese and Buddhist majority during that time (Charney 2009; International Crisis Group 2013; Steinberg 2010; Taylor 2009; Turnell and Vicary 2008). Perhaps, this perspective fuels the tension today between Rohingya Muslim and Rakhine Buddhist.

Not only the origin of Rohingya is problematic but also the usage of the term "Rohingya" is controversial. While the Myanmar officials and Rakhine Buddhists do not accept the term "Rohingya" and use the term "Bengali", "Rohingya" term is widely used by the international media and humanitarian organizations by expressing their assistance and support towards Rohingya. The term 'Rohingya" implies the Muslim of Arakan or natives of Rohang or Arakhan. They preferred to be called as "Rohingya" rather than "Burmese Muslim" as it represents their unique identity of the region that have the diverse culture combination of Chittagonian, Burmese, Hindi and English (Lewa, 2010).

While Muslim in Myanmar commonly face discrimination in social and political conditions, Rohingya Muslim experience much worse situation and they have been persecuted by Myanmar's government for decades. Concerns mostly emphasized by many Buddhists is that a minority Muslim would take over their land with the upsurging population rate in their own state (Leider, 2014; Crisis Group, 2014). Under Myanmar Citizenship Act of 1982, Rohingya fell under the categories of illegal citizens (Lall, 2009) and they are not eligible to be citizens even if Rohingya can prove the documentation of their ancestor living in the country for centuries (Tonkin,2014). They have been denied to have citizenship right (Specia & Mozur, 2017), and been restricted to their freedom of movement, healthcare and education, livelihood opportunities and their ability to marry and have children (Amnesty International 2016, 2017; Green, MacManus and de la Cour Venning 2015; Lee 2014; Médecins Sans Frontières-Holland 2002; Physicians for Human Rights 2016). The Rohingya ethnic group may be the most persecuted minority in the world.

Staring from the accusation of sexual assault and local disputes between two groups, the series of deadly events began in this region. It was the rape and murder case of a young Buddhist women in June 2012. That event escalated the tension between two communities; Rakhine Buddhists and Rohingya Muslim, thereby led to widespread communal clashes and violence, left dead , demolishment of properties and massive displacement. At that time, Rakhine state was under a state of emergency and more than 100 people were killed and around 140,000 Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) were displaced because of the ceaseless violence (South & Jolliffe, 2015). According to BBC' report, a group of Rohingya insurgents – the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army were armed and trained to defend the Rohingya community against state repression in 2013, and they attacked the police station in the state resulting in the death of nine officers in 2016 (Hunt, 2017). Later after that incident, specifically in August 2017, Myanmar Military launched a "clearance operation" in Rakhine state. With a mission of seeking out the members of the Rohingya Army, Myanmar Military blindly brutalized the civilian members of the Rohingya community which included demolishing the hundreds of Rohingya villages over fire. This brutal act of operation was characterized by crimes against humanity and genocide intent (UN Human Rights Council 2018). Over 727,000 refugees have fled into Bangladesh at the time of the Rohingya crisis in 2016 (OCHA, 2019). At least 10,000 have died in rape, execution and demolition of villages committed by Myanmar Military Security Force in the conflict areas (Kirby, 2018; Williams & Levy, 2018). Although it was a crime against humanity, the Myanmar government denies the accusations (Hunt, 2017).

On 11st November 2019, Gambia filed a case at the International Court of Justice (ICJ) alleging that the ethnics clearance operation by Myanmar Military against Rohingya in Rakhine State violated provisions of the Genocide convention, specifically under article 9 of convention which pave the way for disputes between two parties "relating to the responsibility of a State for Genocide" and related acts to be proposed to the ICJ by any party. Although the final decision of the case may take a longer time, Gambia has requested the court for an order for provisional measures to shield the rights of the Rohingya community. The first hearing on provisional measurement took place on 10th December 2019 and State Counsellor – Aung San Suu Kyi represented Myanmar at ICJ. Despite huge support in Myanmar for Aung San Suu Kyi, she has been domestically and

internationally criticized for her ignorance of the brutal act of the Military towards Rohingya.

1.3. Media Landscape and Political Transition in Myanmar

Under this section, the brief about a political transition in Myanmar and media landscape discussing restrictions and media freedom before and after are presented in order to comprehend the process of changes and influencing factors in the Myanmar media industry.

After long decades of Military rule, Myanmar's political transition to a democratic country began in 2011. Despite a problematic election in 2010 organized by Military Junta, a series of political and economic reforms have seen under a former President Thein Sein' government. In 2015, Pro-democracy leader – Aung San Suu Kyi' party (NLD) won a landslide victory and the country reached a milestone in democratic transition.

The years immediately after the 2010 election, the political prisoners including journalists and bloggers were released and the Press Scrutiny and Registration Division was abolished. The decrease in surveillance and harassment journalists have seen compared to the past. Before 2010, there was no freedom for the local media in the country, and state-run media is not considered to be credible (Allott, 1994; Smith 1991,1992). Thus, civilians had to reply to the news related to secretive insight and political updates mostly on international satellite broadcasters such as the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Voice of America (VOA), Radio Free Asia (RFA-Burmese) (Fink,2001; Lintner,1989). Despite the influence and funding they received from foreign governments, they played an important role in providing information during the time of heavy censorship. After 2010, both local and international exile media groups were allowed to reoperate in the country. International news agencies launched their office once again inside the country with their own correspondents even though visas for foreign journalists are harder to receive and local correspondents are under threats while covering sensitive topics such as the crisis in Rakhine State (Brooten and Verbruggen, 2017; Crispin, 2018; Dickinson, 2017).

In 2013, as a part of an initiative for media freedom and development, the new independent journalist organization called Myanmar Press Council was set up. Restrictions on foreign news and other websites as old days have been more relaxed. Along with these reform processes, people's news consumption pattern has changed onto digital platforms due to the highest foreign investment in the telecommunication sector, which raises concern about other sectors of the economy (Samarajiva, 2016). Myanmar has become the fourth fastest growing telecommunication market in the world in 2015 from which mere one percent of total population was online in 2011(Trautwein, 2015). In 2017, roughly 95% of the population have access to mobile service and 85% of the phones are smartphones (Heijmans, 2017). With the fastest mobile phone and internet penetration, Facebook and Viber have become the sources of information and platforms where news is disseminated and communicated. Particularly, Facebook displaced radio as a primary source of information. People living in the rural areas consume the news through online sources, mostly Facebook in which journalists, government ministers, celebrities and different public figures spread their messages and lobby content. Most mainstream media have their own Facebook and online channels, where people can comment, discuss and debate right away.

Despite all the positive reforms and development, journalists are still under threat when reporting of the case is related to national security, communal and ethnic conflict, and criticism of the military. For instance: a photojournalist pointed out a military lawmaker voting on behalf of an absent colleague in June 2015. As a response, journalists were not allowed access to lower and upper house parliamentary chambers. Then, Shwe Mann, former president of the senate, said that blocking journalists from this access is a request from the military (Zaw, 2015). This is clearly shown that the military has power over parliament and its transparency to the media.

The media freedom in the country is limited while the case of filing to journalists by the officials and ministers or government bodies for defamation are significantly high (Brooten, L., 2016). The freedom of digital media is also controlled with the tele-communication law, section 66(d), which is used to quiet the critics of the state and military. ATHAN, a freedom of expression activist organization, has reported that about thirty-eight journalists have been arrested under the criminal liability law in section

66(d) of the telecommunication law, which describes that *"anyone found guilty of extorting, coercing, restraining wrongfully, defaming, disturbing, causing undue influence or threatening any person by using any telecommunications network shall be punished with a maximum three years in prison, a fine or both"*, (Brooten, L., McElhone, J. M., & Venkiteswaran, G., 2019). Freedom House's 2018 report assesses Myanmar's press status as "not free," and the World Press Freedom Index downgraded the country six points to rank 139th out of 180 countries in 2020. The freedom of speech and media freedom without concerning any potential threats still remain as a dream despite several democratic reform processes. Freedom of expression is widely accepted as a key in democracy and *"a better indicator of regional democratization than elections"* (Obydenkova, 2008, p. 226). Based on these facts, we can draw the point that Myanmar is a weak democratic state, which is unable to enforce the rule of law in protecting the media freedom and individuals' right to express freely.

1.4. Myanmar Media and Rohingya Crisis

This section covers the media reaction towards the taboo issue of race and religion, how this Rohingya crisis tests the media professionalism and democratic values of the country, and the barrier and threats for a media in covering the issues.

The communal violence in Rakhine State that occurred in 2012 have spread the tension in the country and the Rohingya Crisis coming out of this tension tested the integrity of political opening including objectivity of the media professionalism, freedom of expression and democratic values. Access to the conflict zone in Rakhine State has been restricted, blocking the independent coverage of humanitarian crises by the other stakeholders. As a result, journalists had to rely on official sources published by the military or government organizations, ending with the incomplete coverage (Brooten and Verbruggen, 2017; Frontier Myanmar, 2016). This case especially raises questions and challenges the journalists when they deal with taboo issues such as ethnic rights, religion and charges of ethnic cleansing by the military. A handful of local media have covered violence committed against the Rohingya, and there is a widespread lack of self-critique among Myanmar journalists who just restate the line of official statement (Brooten, L., 2016). At the same time, the state-run media and some private media also demonized the Muslim Rohingya, communicating in a way of "Us Vs Them" rhetoric of

ultranationalism. That manifestation of "enemy imaging" or "Us Vs them" rhetoric generates the separated unity in the society, which is the standard practices in authoritarian behavior, and in the role of media in the post anti-regime era, when there is a need for a new enemy (Rogerson, 1997; Brooten, L., 2016).

Press freedom can have a negative impact if it is not aligned with the willingness to limit hate and harmful speech and tolerance for disagreement (O'Neill, 1998; Voltmer, 2013). We can say that the closure of the censorship body has culminated in nationalists or racists demanding freedom of expression to propagate their hatred opinion(Voltmer, 2013). The prevalent hate speech against Rohingya in both online and offline media are proof of enemy imaging and racism. For that reason, this study would be really interesting to see the different presentations of local and foreign based media for the Rohingya -ICJ case in Myanmar.

Wade(2017) assessed propaganda against the Rohingya by the use of seminars and local media and the author noted that *"not just in leaflets and statements [by Ma Ba Tha and other nationalist monks], but in domestic media of all stripes, state-owned and private — left little mental space within the Buddhist communities of Rakhine State to consider the Rohingya as anything but menacing"* (p. 118). Social media, especially Facebook is even worse as it has been used to spread the hate speech and rumors inciting racism and violence reactions, since after the Buddhist-Muslim violence occurred in Rakhine State in June 2012, and it paved the way for having a forum for insult, racial slur, racism, provoking violence and concern against Rohingya or Muslim. As the consequences, violence in Rakhine state were intensified and journalists who reported critically about the case were under threats by the nationalist monks as they expected the message should be anti-Muslim or anti-Rohingya (Davis, 2017; Wade, 2017). There is also evidence demonstrating that Facebook was used to run the systematic campaign by the Military (Mozur, 2018).

For that reason, journalists who provided live reports of an incident on ground on Facebook or Twitter have been subjected to online harassment and attacked by those who think the content is biased towards Rohingya. Mratt Kyaw Thu (2017), well-known award winning journalist, has claimed that even local journalists directly reporting and

covering the situation on the ground have encountered the death threats from the public as they perceived that it is biased.

The case of two Reuters' journalists who were arrested in December 2017 after investigating a massacre of Rohingya in Inn Din township in Rakhine State, have highlighted how the military respond sensitively to its potential critics. These two journalists were charged for seven years in prison under the Official Secrets Act over accusations of holding secret government documents that they were destined for publicizing with an international and armed group – Arakan Army (Sithu Aung Myint, 2018). International communities condemned this act of injustice and some local groups demonstrated in public to call for the release of journalists and freedom of expression. These events indicated the complexity of Myanmar democratic transition and underscored power limitations of the civilian government over the military. Moreover, it underlined how decades of military' propaganda consistently impacted individuals' perception even after the country's liberalization.

Chapter - 2

2. Literature Review

Millions of people are consuming media content almost daily. As a cornerstone of democracy today, the media have the power to construct the opinion of citizens in particular ways. Thus, the different presentations about the same event are varied by the practices used by the news agency as the discourse is organized from a particular point of view. In communication literature, these differences are called "Frames", used in media to influence the thought of the audience. These frames are used to study the media coverage of an event within a set time in order to understand the ideology standpoint of a media, its attention and presentation of the case and its effect to the audience. Previous studies point out that framing is the complex process involving different units and mostly traces the concept and process of framing and the effect of framing on the audience. In addition, previously scholars contributed to the study of bias occurring in news framing and the different practices of framing analysis with their examinations.

Based on the existing literature, the historic concept of frames and framing by the honorable scholars, their comprehensive interpretation about framing, the interrelation of bias and framing in news contributed by scholars, and the elaboration of the theoretical framework used in this study of framing analysis are observed below.

2.1. The Concept of Frames and Framing

Frames are organized ideologies that are shared socially and persisted over time, and that add symbolic meaningful structure to the society. Many communication scholars contributed to the definition of "Frames" in their own ways. One of the earliest scholars, Goffman argues in his book, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience (1974),* that frames refers to the ways to organize experience- structure of one's perception of social events in accordance with principles of organization. People rely on the frames to easily interpret the complexity of social events and data in the world. Frames assist individuals to understand the information existed in the surrounding world according to their primary frames they accepted to their subjective opinions. Goffman's

work defined how frames help individuals to "locate, perceive, identify, and label a seemingly infinite number of concrete occurrences defined in its limits" and they are "schemata of interpretation" (Goffman, 1974, p-21). He argues that the interpretation of individuals on the same event is diverse as one's past experience has an influence on how things are framed and translated and thereby formed the action that one responds to that certain event.

Frames provide the related reference for the public about what is crucial. Frames come up with the organized facts and figures that form the meaning by entrenching in the larger scope of frames (Gamson et al., 1992). Similarly, Kaufman, Elliott & Shmueli (2013) notes that *"Frames provide meaning through selective simplification, by filtering people's perceptions and providing them with a field of vision for a problem" (p.208).* By doing so, frames offer the order and meaning to social problems, and then tell stories about how problems could come and what needs to be done to address them (Nelson et al.,1990). In the version of (Gamson and Modigliani (1987) for news frame - the centralized organizing idea or story line that has meaning to make sense of relevant events. Indeed, the media institution builds up the reality from the certain aspect of an issue by stressing the part which is often influenced over ideology or cultural values of content creators.

In addition, frames are essential to make the content more understandable and mass media creates the frames to highlight the certain points in their content with the aim to influence the audience's thought by focusing and providing the necessary information to their points. Thus, Entman (1993) defined that frame as the selection of some aspects of a perceived reality and creating them more noticeable in the communications content in a way to promote a particular problem' definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and recommendation over the content described. Gitlin (1980) sees the frame as *"the persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse" (p. 7).* Finally, Micheal J.Carter1(2013) defines frame as a convey meaning that has an organized, principled, shared, structured connotation. Therefore, it is important to note that the stories are presented with the frames that the media select, and as a consequence, the media feed the audience what to think about and how to think about that event. This pattern of communication is explained as framing theory in the study of the 1968 U.S

presidential election by McCombs and Shaw's (1972). It is called agenda-setting in that context.

The terms frame and framing are similar in context but both are different in meaning. While a frame focuses on salience of an issue from a different perspective in agenda-setting theory, farming concerns the presentation of the topic. Through framing the event from a certain aspect of an issue, the media tells the audience what and how to think, thereby influencing the decision making process of the people. This process of communication is explained by framing theory.

Framing as a construction of the reality

Regarding framing theory, there are multiple definitions about framing in communication. Goffman (1974), one of the earliest framing scholars, noted that framing is a cognitive function that instructs the perception of reality where human beings unconsciously participate. The concept of the framing involves the way the media present content and setting the meaning of the issue. For Gitlin (1980), framing is *'principles of selection, emphasis and presentation, composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, what matters' (p. 6).* In his view, frames provide the meaningful structure for a story from the ordinary event, which makes farming more sense rather than simply inclusion and exclusion of information. Literally, it means that the information providers usually have the control over the facts they offer by constructing and defining the event. Similarly, (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989) note that the media agency sets the broader of an issue and selects which information is more relevant to readers and omits other facts which might not help for their interpretation. Indeed, media agencies completely regulate the framing of the event or issue by constructing the news with an angle that they want the audience to enthuse.

Among these definitions, framing theory by Robert Entman is the most cited one and it argues that framing *"involves selecting and promoting some aspects of a perceived reality while suppressing other aspects and making it more salient and more noticeable in a communication text so that individuals can define a specific problem, to make interpretation, evaluation and recommendation" (Entman, 1993, p. 51).* No doubt that information providers or media agencies frame the reality of the event with their

perceived idea and then construct the news with selected information and angle that they want the audience to perceive. Typically, media stress on a specific element of a topic more than other aspects, guiding the readers to understand the event better, thus, de Vreese (2005) claim that media framing is the process of communication in defining and fabricating an issue in order to make sense to audiences and frames are associated with public communication in politics, journalistic norms and discourse in social movement. That fact has been supported by (Cissel,2012), which claims that journalists use framing as a tool to present their ideas and events they cover on a daily basis so that their readers have more understanding of the event from a certain aspect. Neuman et al. 's (1992) also affirmed the fact with his study of framing concepts as part of a journalistic package of events in a wider social and historical context and the interpretation of these contents by the individual with their own terms. The combination of certain words, emotional meanings are mainly organized in the news content (Entman, 2007), in order to earn or keep audience attention. With simplified message and interpretation of the event, news content provides meaning eventually to the audience. By this way, framing leads to a particular arrangement of issues' definition and eventually affects the knowledge of individuals. Here, it is important to note that the news content has been unconsciously or automatically framed by the editorial process or the different perceptive of all stakeholders participating in developing contents. For instance, editors, journalists, media institutions, and its sources. Thus, the ideology of the media agency has been already embedded in the framing of the news content or a certain event when it is delivered to the audience.

Framing as a process of communication

Framing can also be conceptualized from sociological and psychological context. The sociological concept emphasizes "the frames in communication" whereas the psychological aspect stresses on *"the effects of framing on the audience"* (Borah, 2011, p. 253). The work of de Vreese (2005) illustrates framing as a process investigating a typology of media frames and outlines an integrated process of a model of framing that covers production, content and media use perspectives. Framing is a dynamic process that involves tracing how frames emerge (frame-building) and interrelationship between media frames and its audience proposition (frame-setting). In the same manner, Entman (1993) noted that frames have several locations consisting of the communicator, the text,

the receiver and the culture. These elements constitute the process of framing in each stage: frame-building, frame-setting and individual and societal level consequences of framing (d'Angelo, 2002; Scheufele, 2000; de Vreese, 2002).

Frame-setting refers to the outcomes of framing on public opinion, or another meaning as *"the interaction between media frames and individuals' prior knowledge and dispositions,"* (de Vreese, 2005, p. 52). In this sense, framing is considered as independent variables that are related to the psychological aspect as well as the consequence of how news framing influences information processing and the subsequent decision-making process" (Borah, 2011, p 248). In frame-setting, scholars emphasize on the study of public opinion who are engaged to news frames such as how framing in news effect the interpretation and evaluation of described event (de Vreese, 2005), thereby how frames contributes in societal level in shaping actions as political socialization, decision-making and collective actions. Depending on the frames that are set for a story, the audience has been influenced to see what is the most important fact, who the victim is likely to be or whom to blame (Gastil, 2008).

Consequently, Frame-building refers to "the factors that influence the structural qualities of news frames'' (de Vreese, 2005, p. 52). de Vreese (2005) classified the internal and external factors that determine how journalists and news organizations frame stories in a particular way. In his study, he highlighted the influencing factors on building a news frame in broader societal norms and organizational constraints – editorial policy, news values, external pressure from interest groups, other policy makers and the ideological and political standpoint of journalists. In mass media communication research, frames are viewed as both dependent variables when research is studied how different frames are adopted by journalists as a result of the production process including organizational pressures, journalistic routines and elite discourse, and independent variables when research is focused on the outcomes of framing contents and its effect on the audience.

However, in this study, frames will be considered as dependent variables since the focus of the research is to analyze how frequently each media use the certain frames and their tone of voice and presentation over the issue. Depending on the representation of events, this study will also observe to what extent each media holds the objectivity or bias.

Bias Creates A Misperception About Reality

Bias in news reporting is inevitable like framing due to the inherently evaluative character of language (Geis, 1991). Entman (2007) argued that bias is a form of content that communicates one side of an issue and it is highlighted by the media agency. Bias is the consistent pattern in the framing of mediated communication (Entman 2007, P-166). In the same way, D'Angelo and Kuypers (2010) described the bias as *"consistent patterns in the framing of mediated communication that promote the influence of one side in conflicts…" (p. 338).* Thus, the framing content with the consistent biased information is identifiable in the news.

Bias is defined by the different scholars in various ways from different aspects of bias. However, the same outcomes of biased news create the misperception of reality of the event and favors one-sided content that the media agency selects to bias (D'Angelo, & Kuypers, 2010). Despite these definitions, bias may have different forms aligning with the story's angel that journalists like to present. Goffman (1974) states that framing is a cognitive function that shapes perceptions of reality in which all humans unconsciously take part. In this light, it is possible that all news is unintendedly framed and perhaps biased according to the attitudes of journalists, media organizations and the audience.

Common information biases identified by the several scholars such as (Patterson 2000; Bennett 2009; Burscher et al. 2014 and Korthagen 2015), are following:
(1) Personalization bias – emphasizing personal opinion in news while moderating the socioeconomic or political context that event takes place. By this way, the insight of the issue may be ignored and contents seem more appealing to the audience.
(2) Dramatization bias – creating the story or conflict in a dramatic way rather than presenting in harmony. (3) Fragmentation bias – focusing on individual stories or events from one angle while omitting or splitting it from the broader content of the issue. (4) Authority-disorder bias – Holding the power over the information by the authorities while journalists favor these authorities towards an attitude they are suspicious of. (5) Negativity bias – Being negative about the issue in general.

In addition, bias is also measured by the sources and voice mentioned in the news, for instance who is quoted in the news coverage of social and political issues. In another

version, selected content from the speech or readymade content such as press release can refer to sources bias or selection bias because it was part of news story telling and elements to inform or persuade the audience.

Studies working on source bias approach has underlined the ideological imbalance in the selection of sources (Corteau & Hoynes, 1994), dependence on authorities (Brown et al., 1987; Reese, Grant, and Danielian, 1994: Sigal, 1973), and reliance on spokespersons or experts (Salwen, 1995). Gans(1979)'s study examines the television newscasts and magazines and classified between "Knowns" and "Unknowns" as sources, that is also applicable in tracing source bias. It is worth noting that journalists have the right when s/he will report or write the news when an event occurs. If yes, to what extent the media agency would give the space on paper or platform about this event. These things or decisions are based on the level of potential interest by the audience, involvement of the individual, geographical location of news sources and attitude or aspects on the issues. All of these facts are related to the editorial process which is also mentioned in framing in the news above. This could be considered a selection bias of the journalist or media agency. Finally, the language used to determine the tone of news coverage in three versions – neutral, positive, negative, which is called framing bias. By taking into account the indicators scholars noted, type, tone of news, language, visual, sources and voices in news are applied to indicate the bias in this study.

2.2. Frame Features and Framing Analysis

The theoretical and empirical contribution to the definitions of news frames are varied. Conceptually, the news frames in a broader context suggest an "interpretative package" that delivers meaning to an issue and suggest what the controversy is (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). de Vreese (2005) explained the two approaches in identifying frames in the news. The inductive approach sets the prior news frame and then refrains from analyzing new stories. Under this approach, frames emerge from the content during the course of analysis (Gamson 1992: Neuman et al., 1992), but this approach has been criticized for depending on a small scale of sample and being problematic to replicate (Hertog & McLeod, 2001). Entman (1993) suggested that frames in the news can be examined and identified by *"the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases,*

stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments" (p. 52).

Additionally, de Vreese (2005) explains based on the empirical approach of scholars that frames are exclusive textual and visual elements in the news which are different from facts of a story, which he called as frame devices. For Shah et al. (2002, p. 367), frames refer to *'choices about language, quotations, and relevant information.'* The most comprehensive approach offered by Tankard (2001) suggests the list of framing mechanisms for identifying and measuring news frames. That list covers headlines, subheads, photos, photo captions, leads, source selection, quotes selection, pull quotes, logos, statistics and charts, and concluding statements and paragraphs.

In the deductive approach, the preset news frames with operationalized value are traced in the news article. In this approach, frames are set theoretically from the literature and code them in standard content analysis and this approach has a clear idea what frames are looking for in the news content. With a deductive approach in framing analysis, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) have identified five generic frames: conflict, human interest, economic impact, Morality and responsibility.

Conflict Frame

The conflict frame emphasizes the disputes between parties, individuals or institutions in order to attract the interest of the audience (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000), and highlight the conflict and controversies among groups (de Vreese, 2004). Media often chooses the conflict frames to simplify the complicity of the event so that the audience can easily understand the issue. D'Haenens and de Lange (2001) mentioned that the conflict is applied to simplify the context of social and political conflict in which a party takes a straightforward opposition. For instance, the refugee crisis is a rather complex phenomenon to report objectively, and sometimes it is apparent that the conflict frame may contribute the blame to a certain group in a crisis situation (Nijkrake, Gosselt & Gutteling, 2015). de Vreese (2004) observed that a narrative text in a conflict frame leads the readers to incorporate the opposite point of view in their thoughts. Other research related to framing analysis also states that the conflict frame is the second most used frame in news.

Human Interest Frame

The human interest frame presents an emotional and human centered perspective of an event (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). The human interest frame brings the issue into a personal story focusing on their problems and responsibility (Aalberg & Beyer, 2015). Journalists and editors produce the news content with a human interest frame to capture and retain the audience interest (Bennett, 1995). There is no doubt that news stories with human interest frames stimulate the feeling of empathy, sadness and sorrow related to the situation. Graber (1990), Robinson and Levy (1986) and Gunter (1987) note that individuals tend to recall the personalized and local news stories better. The emotional reaction to the issue by the readers is the clear indicators of blame and responsibility (An & Gower, 2009). In that way, it invokes the formation of negative perception toward issues, for instance, the readers perceive the issue as serious and urgent (Cho & Gower, 2006; An & Gower, 2009; Padin, 2005).

Responsibility Frame

The responsibility frame points to issues along with the consequences that should be addressed and taken as the responsibility either by the government or an individual or a group(Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Despite the presence of a responsibility frame in news content, it has not been measured explicitly; rather it has been shaped by the media for the public understanding of who is responsible for the cause of social problems such as poverty (Iyengar, 1987).

Economic Consequences Frame

The economic consequences frame the outcomes of issues as a financial and economic concern for a country, organization or group or an individual (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Neuman et al., 1992). These frames underline the profit and loss ramification of the issue and it is more common in the news (Nijkrake, Gosseling & Gutteling, 2015). The broader the impact of an event is, the more valuable the news is. Thus, Neuman et al. (1992) note that it is common in the news as the economic consequences of an event are often significant (Graber, 1993).

Morality Frame

The morality frames place the event, problem, or issue in the context of moral prescription or religious tenet and it consists of a moral message, a reference to religious tenets or social norms (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). This frame is indirectly used by lending the voice of individuals such as quotations or inference (Neuman et al., 1992). These kinds of stories contain the standard social prescription and norms about how to behave. This frames presents in the context of dehumanized issues such as refugee crisis, and it is frequently found in the media coverage of contemporary issues (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; d'Haenens & de Lange, 2001) but it is less common compared to other frames as it is more issues specific.

In this study, the framework of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) is applied to analyze the news content and two predetermined frames: Genocide frame and self- defense frame are added as they are the key frames that researcher would like to detect in the media content.

Genocide Frame

The genocide frame is characterized by using the term "genocide" and "blame" to a group, and consist of the distinct victim and perpetrators of the conflict. For instance, in the context of ICJ case, we can interpret that the excessive use of "genocide" terms in content and indirectly blame toward Myanmar. It portrays the violence as a plot to annihilate an entire ethnicity (Hammond, 2018). Through communicating that an institution to the conflict has a clear intention to eradicate the whole community based on their religion, ethnicity, race or nationality (United Nations General Assembly, 1948), the media appeal the legal definition of genocide, and urge for the policy response to rescue the victims. Due to the narratives and urgency it creates, this frame is highly effective in presenting genocide conflict, leading the important of studying the application of this frame in media coverage of crisis today (Hammon, 2018;Kent,2006).

Self-defense Frame

The self-defense frame is defined to present the necessity of self-defense against a certain group during the conflict or crisis and justification with a grand cause for which eliminating the mentioned ethnicity or group is inevitable. Moreover, a "kill-or-be-killed" dichotomy that amplifies the fear and makes extermination essential for "our survival"

(Armoudian, 2020). The genocide communication studies of the existing literatures stress that the themes of blames and dehumanization are joined together along with the support toward the case to justify for the majority race of the country in the communication materials.

Based on the existing literature and Semetko and Valkenburg (2000)'s framework, this research plans to study the media (local Vs foreign based) representation of **"Rohingya: Gambia files against Myanmar at ICJ"** event to answer the following research questions.

RQ1. Are there any differences in the newspaper's attention to the ICJ-Rohingya case?

RQ2. Do these media bias or not in the news presentation of the case? If yes, how have these media represented the news in their coverage?

RQ3. What are the differences between local and foreign-based media in framing?

Please refer to the chapter -3 – methodology to explore more about how this research has been conducted to answer these research questions.

Chapter – 3

3. Methodology

To address the research questions, this study applied quantitative content analysis, which has been used in many fields as a tool to achieve research goals. According to Neuendorf (2002), "*content analysis has been a fast-growing technique in the world of quantitative research*" (p. 1). Content analysis is often applied to study the frames in news clippings. According to Semetko et al. (2000) and de Vreese (2005), there are two possible approaches to analyze frames in the news using content analysis: inductive and deductive. The inductive approach involves analyzing a new story with an open view to reveal the possible frames. As the main mission of this approach is to detect the many possible frames in the news by not setting the pre- determined frames, it is time consuming and labour intensive and hard to replicate, and often based on small samples. In the deductive approach, frames were defined theoretically from literature and coded in a form of content analysis. Matthes and Kohring (2008) stated that other frames out of defined frames could be overlooked in analysis but this approach is easily replicated as it enables to manage large scale samples and detect differences in framing of media' content. Many studies (e.g. D'Haenens & de Lange, 2001; Kim & Cameron, 2011; Nijkrake, Gosselt & Gutteling, 2015) also applied the deductive approach in analyzing media frames. Thus, this study follows the deductive approach using the reliable existing literature and framework of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). Hence, news articles related to Gambia files against Myanmar at ICJ (International Court of Justice) are analyzed based on that theoretical framework for its framing analysis part.

3.1. Overview of media Organizations

The online publications of four media organizations covering two local media (The Myanmar Time, Eleven Myanmar) and two foreign based media (VOA, RFA) were collected from November 2019 to July 2020 because ICJ filed Myanmar for the accusations of genocide in November 2019, and public interest is considered to be high in that nine months period that would contain different perspective and presentation of that specific case. This time frame was chosen to limit the number of news coverage to a manageable number of analyses.

This study was selected to retrieve the online sources of these four media organizations as people consume the news on the online platforms most and only 9% of total adults reported reading news on offline printed versions in Myanmar *(public opinion survey in Myanmar, 2017).* Originally, the researcher planned to observe one of the top local media Seven Day Media (7 Day Daily) under Information Matrix Co Ltd, which owns a series of popular journals such as internet journal, 7 Day TV and Duwan digital media – joint venture with Ringier AG from Switzerland. Unfortunately, in February 2021, 7 Day Media was shut down by the Myanmar Military Coup leaders' government with the accusation of fueling the protest with the news and information. Since the information on its website could not be accessed, the researcher has decided to remove it from the list. Instead, two private local media (Eleven Media, The Myanmar Times) were chosen for this study. Both are also top-tier media with the highest subscribers and are considered to be highly influential in the country.

1. With over 500 employees, Eleven Media Group has its own digital media and publishes both daily and weekly, and also two sports journals. Eleven Daily has the highest circulation and it was one of the first media outlets publishing daily in May 2013 (Meston, 2013).

2. Under Myanmar Consolidated Media Ltd, The Myanmar Times published daily and weekly in both English and Burmese languages. Compared to the other two local media, it targets the upper-middle class. Apart from that, it owned the digital media called Myanmar Time TV.

Two foreign based media (VOA, RFA) are chosen as people see these media as reliable sources of news related to politics and audiences used to rely on their news reporting to gain the right information under the Military Regime when the access to news was extremely limited.

1. VOA (The Voice of America) is a multimedia broadcaster funded by the U.S Government and covers a wide range of topics from daily news updates to in-depth analysis of regional issues, making it one of the most reliable news sources in Myanmar.

2. RFA (Radio Free Asia) was known as the most reliable source during saffron revolution 2007 in Myanmar due to its outstanding reporting with breaking stories and photos. It was warned by Myanmar authorities for using

"Rohingya" rather than using Bengali on its program in June 2018, but it resisted not to compromise its code of journalistic ethics. Thus, it would be interesting to see the different reporting and framing of the news by these media.

3.2. Keywords used for news

The keywords "ICJ", "Gambia", "Myanmar" are used as the search criteria on each site and directly relevant articles and news clips to ICJ cases are counted and a total of *"n-407"* articles was found and analyzed. Table -1 presents the number of articles per month and per media.

Table -1 : *Overview of the articles related to case "Gambia files against Myanmar at ICJ"*

	The Myanmar Time	*Eleven*	*VOA*	*RFA*	*Total*
Nov-19	14	15	26	29	84
Dec-19	33	59	83	44	219
Jan-20	9	8	22	15	54
Feb-20	1	1	5	6	13
Mar-20	0	2	2	2	6
Apr-20	0	0	1	2	3
May-20	1	1	10	5	17
Jun-20	0	1	5	4	10
Jul-20	1	0	0	0	1
Total	*59*	*87*	*154*	*107*	**407**

3.3. Unit of Analysis

The unit of Analysis for this study was the individual story. The dependent variable for this study includes pre-determined two frames and five generic frames mentioned above, and representation of the news such as sources selection, quotation, visual, tone of the news, length, presentation type (article or clip), presentation style (brief or story) while independent variable are the media organizations or production sources.

3.4. Media Attention

The total number of coverage by each media over a nine months period are calculated and length of news (short, medium, long) are also analyzed in order to measure their level of attention towards the case. In addition to that, content types (article or video) are also classified. Apart from that, articles were coded for a number of variables: date and article identification number.

Code book : Media Attention			
Name	**Code**	**Value**	**Definition**
Media name	1		The Myanmar Times
	2		Eleven Media
	3		Voice of America (VOA)
	4		Radio Free Asia (RFA)
Length of the article	1	Short	less than 200 words
	2	Medium	less than 400 words
	3	Long	more than 400 words
If it is clip			
Length of the clip	1	Short	less than 3 mins
	2	Medium	less than 5 mins
	3	Long	6~more mins
Type of Content	1	Article	
	2	Video	

3.5. Media representation and Bias

Scholars commonly note that measuring bias in news often emphasizes voices, sources-bias, selection bias or gatekeeping, language use or framing bias, attitude of journalists (Covert, T. J. A., & Wasburn, P. C, 2007), image, phrases, metaphor and presentation style (Borah, 2011; Druckman, 2001) which are typically applied to organize the news. Taking account of these existing literatures, the indicators to measure the bias of the news content in this study are presentation style: either news brief or story, type of news (article or clip), tone of the news, the type of visual applied in news, frequency of problematic usage or words (such as Rohingya, Bengali, Genocide) mentioned in the news and sources and voice selection.

3.5.1. Bias Indicator -1 : Reporting styles

The definition of news brief is operationalized as news that cover the news update with less background information or historical fact and summarized version of the case, while news story is counted as long article with solid information about issue, opinion leaded content discussed by two or more participants or third, general evaluation and assessment of the case, report on deeper causes, consequence and possible solutions of the conflict.

3.5.2. Bias Indicator -2 : Tone of News

The operationalized value for the tone of news is classified in four versions - (positive, negative, and neutral) outlook of the conflict and ambivalent which covered both positive and negative perspectives. The usage of positive terms brings the positive element in the content - discussion, negotiations and peace talk with less emotionalized description of conditions on the ground, feasible solutions and outcomes of the conflict, good emotional intensity after reading the article. Positive wordings are "honesty", "satisfaction", and "appreciation" (Kuttschreuter et al.,2011). However, in this study, positive is defined when the news presents the undermining facts about the issue and understates that the current situation of the case is not severe as it has been accused of by the Gambia to Myanmar. Besides, if the news often mentioned the justification for military operation against the Rohingya minority, support the defense of national iconic figure "Aung San Suu Kyi" against the case to protect the national interest and blame the international communities and organizations for exaggerating the case, it will consider as positive outlook of the conflict.

Negative terms are verified the wordings that indicates atrocities, misbehavior, injustice, failure, ingratitude, conflict, genocide, ethnic cleansing, humanitarian crisis and growing disaster. Moreover, the photos of the victims/ refugees that add weight to the report, quotes and sources that heavily mentioned the humanitarian needs of the refugees in which they visualized the event they witnessed and excessive use of negative wordings that intensify the terrible impression of the conflict. In addition, the tone of the news is set as negative when the news is highlighted more about the victim, the seriousness and urgency of the event to be addressed and provided the evidence collected by the Human Right Organization to the case.

The neutral tone of content is defined by the presentation of factual pieces that avoid strong wording, the verified information, statement or anecdotes (Miller, Tyler & Mor, 2014), and objectivity of the content which consists of the journalistic norms 5W1H in the news. When the contents in news are balanced by the views of both sides and the information presented are backed by the facts from different institutions, it is considered a neutral outlook of the conflict. If solutions to the case or additional performance or actions required to address the issues are suggested in the news, it is also counted as neutral.

However, both negative and positive views over the issue could present in the news, especially when the article is built up based on the opinion of a person, perhaps a scholar's assessment, for instance: interview article, etc. Additionally, when the news is constructed with the voices of multiple stakeholders from one side or additional facts from different sources are mentioned in the news either to relate or support the idea of the presented voices in the content or news angle. In such a scenario, the tone of the news is taken as ambivalent.

3.5.3. Bias Indicator -3 : Visual

For the type of visual used in news are categorized in four values for coding. (1) no visual in news (2) In favor of Gambia - the use of images or footage which portray more about Rohingya, refugees, the representative of Gambia, casualties of victims (3) In favor of Myanmar - visual usage of public support and rallies towards Aung San Suu Kyi' defense at ICJ, Myanmar government officials, and the representative of Myanmar. (4) Neutral - the overview photo of the court which presents all individuals of both sides, the equal presentation of both sides' images in news.

3.5.4. Bias Indicator -4 : Language usage (Terms)

As mentioned earlier, how the language or terms have been used in the content are also vital, particularly, if the term is controversial. The government of Myanmar does not recognize the Rohingya as citizens. For that reason, they have ordered the state-run media not to use the term "Rohingya" rather suggested to describe as the persecuted Muslim population that have lived in Myanmar for generation*(The New York Time).* Not only the state' government, the majority of Buddhist ultra-extremist refuse to use

"Rohingya" in referring to that member of Muslim population, whom they consider to be "Bengalis", illegal migrants from Bangladesh. However, international communities widely use the term "Rohingya" acknowledging the identity and rights of minority groups – Rohingya. Thus, in this study, the researcher counts the frequency of divisive terms or controversial usage of "Rohingya" and "Bengalis" mentioned in the news in order to detect the bias or measure the level of objectivity.

3.5.5.Bias Indicator -5 : Voice selection

This research also observes sources and voices mentioned in the news coverage as both are the focal points to identify frames (Tankard,2001). Both play the integral part in assessing the objectivity of the news. Boudana (2009) states how the sources and voices function and construct the idea in the news as follows.

"The sources, which supply the journalist with information (primary function) but also, fulfill a role of legitimization and transfer of authority (secondary function). The authority of the source, legitimated by his function, or his participation in—or in connection to—the events, is transmitted to the journalist who refers to the source. The voices, which express themselves in, and participate in the construction of, the journalistic account. The voices animate the story without being devoted to the transmission of pre-existing information that is present outside of them. They would rather express their feelings, political or ideological positions, etc., in reaction to a given event reported by the journalist." (p. 285)

Thus, in this study, five voices (Myanmar, Rakhine, Gambia, Muslim, third party) which are the main stakeholders for the case, are listed along with its defined value. (1) Myanmar- if the quote of Government or Military officials are mentioned as actors and sources of information (2) Rakhine - if the view of Rakhine people toward the case or Nationalists' opinions are quoted (3) Gambia - if the quote of Gambia' representative is used (4) Muslim - if the voice of Rohingya and Muslim organizations in the country is lent to be sensationalized the story (5) Third party – if the quote of International (UN, NGO, scholars, ambassador) communities, local expert's opinion and Ethnic Armed Organizations are inserted to balance the case. Each voice of above mentioned stakeholders is counted in the article or clip. If the total number of Myanmar plus Rakhine voice are exceeded the number of Gambia plus Muslim voice, story is considered to favor of Myanmar side and same logic apply to the Gambia side. If the number is equal, it is

considered as neutral at the end. However, third party actors are not neutral all the time and they have their own voice to raise at which side they support for, in such cases, the verdict is decided depending on the side they raise their voices. For instance, if the third party as official from Human Right Watch shows his or her stand points in support for the Rohingya community, one more score is added to the Gambia side. Or if the third party as political analyst or advocates contribute their positive opinion towards Myanmar officials' narrative, this point is added to Myanmar's side. To validate each voice, simple "Yes or No" questions are asked, and see the **Appendix – I** or **code book: Media representation & Bias** below.

3.5.6. Bias Indicator -6 : Source selection

The source's selection is assessed by where the facts in content were taken from. Sources are classified under five categories such as (1) In favor of Gambia when sources in news are solely from the side of Gambia and Rohingya organizations (2) In favor of Myanmar when news are based on statements issued by the Myanmar officials or Military representatives (3) Third party sources if the facts are from Human Right Watch, humanitarian organizations, UN institutions, embassies and other international communities and Ethnic Armed Organizations (EAO) (4) Ambivalent when the sources is unknown or unavailable in the news (5) Balance - the news are sourced from two or more institutions.

Code Book : Media representation & Bias					
Name	**Code**	**value**	**Code**	**Value**	**Definition**
Reporting style	1	News Brief			
	2	New stories			
Tone of the news	1	Positive outlook of the conflict			
	2	Negative outlook of the conflict			
	3	Neutral outlook of the conflict			
	4	Ambivalent			
Visuals	0		No visuals		
	1	In favor of Gambia	Gambia's representative image, Rohingya's refugee, interview of Gambia side, Causalities, Damage to the Rohingya side, Any form of support by Human right organization to Gambia actions and Rohingya group.		
	2	In favor of Myanmar	Image of ASSK, public support or rallies to ASSK's defense, interview of Burmese supporters		

	3	Neutral	Court, interview of expert, news occasion, the image of third party such as experts, ambassadors, representatives from HRW and Ethnic armed organizations.		
Terms		Rohingya	To count the total number of term presented in the news.		
		Bengalis			
Voices	1	In favor of Gambia			
	2	In favor of Myanmar			
	3	Neutral			
	1	Myanmar Voices	0	No	Does the news present the voice from Myanmar side?
			1	Yes	
	2	Rakhine Voices	0	No	Does the news present the voice of Rakhine ethnicity or nationalists' opinion on the case?
			1	Yes	
	3	Gambia Voices	0	No	Does the news present the voice from the Gambia side?
			1	Yes	
	4	Muslims Voices	0	No	Does the news present the voice from Rohingya side and Muslim ?
			1	Yes	
	5	Third party	0	No	Does the news include the voice from third parties? If yes, at which side they stand for or are they neutral on the case?
			1	Yes	
Sources	1	In favor of Gambia	(sources - representative from Gambia, Rohingya)		
	2	In favor of Myanmar	(sources - representative from Myanmar, elite military, government official--> which mostly take the side of Myanmar)		
	3	Others - Third party	(sources- expert' opinion, UN org)		
	4	Ambivalent	Sources is not available (NA)		
	5	Balance	Sources are from both side or more than two sources.		

3.6. Analysis of Framing

As previously mentioned in the frame device and framing analysis section, the framework of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) has defined five generic frames: conflict, human interest, economic impact, Morality and responsibility. To be more specific, five questions each for human interest and responsibility frames, four questions for conflict frame and

three questions each for economic and morality frame. Each news article was examined by a series of twenty questions to which the coder has to answer "yes" or "no", meaning that multiple frames can coexist in an article. If the answer for one of the questions under the categories of each frame is positive, it indicates that the frame is present in the article. Similarly, two added frames to the framework for this study; Genocide and Self-defense are also validated with a list of three and four questions for the frames. For the coding categories and questions, please see the **Appendix-II.**

3.7. Sampling and Reliability of the Codebook

Two articles of each news organization per month were randomly selected to conduct sampling procedures and to amend a codebook. This led to the selection of five articles per media over nine month periods and 51 articles which is roughly 13% of the total volume are used as a sample for the coding. The first coder used the sample articles for coding and necessary amendments for the codebook were executed. Thereafter, the codebook along with updated values and instructions was ready for the second coder to code the same articles in the excel sheet. Before coding the rest of the articles, Cohen's Kappa was calculated by using open software PSPP to test the interrater readability of the codebook. Apart from the perceptible variables such as style, length, type of articles, the other variables were computed. Cohen's Kappa score is interpreted as follow: values ≤ 0 indicates no agreement, 0.01 to 0.20 as none to slight, 0.21 to 0.40 as fair, 0.41 to 0.60 as moderate, 0.61 to 0.80 as substantial and 0.81 to 1.00 as almost perfect agreement (McHugh M.L, 2012). The results of the interrater agreement score for this study are found in Table 2.

Table 2: Cohen's Kappa scores

		Readability score
Tone		*0.88*
Voice		*0.81*
Source		*0.86*
Frame	*Self-defense*	*0.76*
	Genocide	*0.83*
	Human interest	*0.83*
	Responsibility	*0.84*
	Conflict	*0.89*
	Economic consequence	*0.92*
	Morality	*0.87*

Chapter – 4

4. Results and Findings

This session presents the quantitative data resulting from content analysis of this study. Percentage tables and figures were illustrated to answer the different research questions. A total of 407 articles were collected and accessed online. The coding was conducted manually for each article, entered the data into Microsoft Excel, and then analyzed using open source statistical software PSPP and Excel functions.

4.1. Media Attention

The first research question asked about the difference in the newspaper's attention to the case.

Table - 3 : *Total coverage of each media over nine months*

	Local media		Foreign -based media		Total
	The Myanmar Time	**Eleven**	**VOA**	**RFA**	
Total	*59*	*87*	*154*	*107*	407
	146		*261*		407

Figure -1: Media coverage over nine months by each media regard to the case
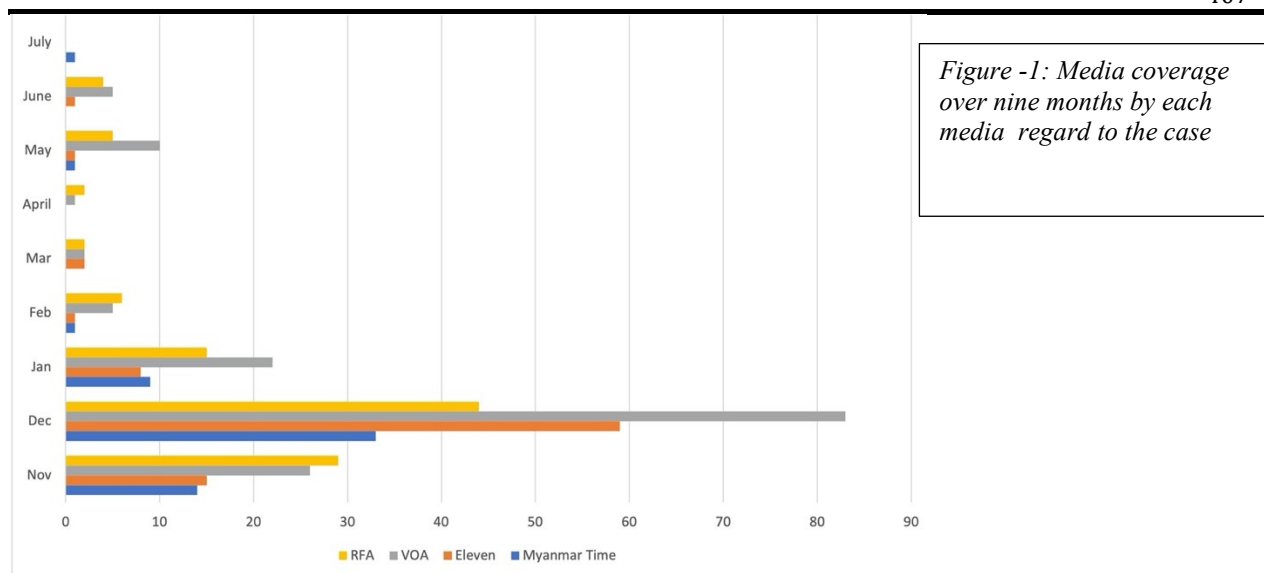
4.1.1 Number of publications: Table -3 indicates the number of articles published by each media over nine months and Figure - 1 illustrates the level of attention by media in each month. Overall, Voice of America (VOA) reported the case most with the highest count of news pieces *(154),* followed by Radio Free Asia (RFA) with the reports of *(107)*

news while Eleven Media and The Myanmar Times were with *(87)* and *(59)* coverages at the third and fourth place accordingly. In terms of news coverage, the total number of articles covered by VOA and RFA are 1.7 times higher than the combined number of news coverage by local media. All the media reached their coverage at the peak (53% of the total coverage) in December as the public hearing at the International Court of Justice took place from 10th to 12th December when the public interest on the case was at its highest. The patterns of reporting over the period by the media are similar but foreign-based media showed more interest in the case with 30.27% of coverage compared to local media, which only covered 17.12% of publications after December.

4.1.2. Length of content: The media attention doesn't only cover the total coverage but similarly the length of the news are all equally important. According to the result (see figure - 2), the length of the news covered by foreign-based media were majorly in-depth and have a longer style of presentation. As mentioned in Table - 4, 60% and 54% of news stories produced by VOA and RFA were in longer style, which was not the case for local media. For instance, the Myanmar Time substantially reported the news with a brief style in a short version, which is 60% of its total report. The reporting style of Eleven Media were proportional under each category of short (34%), medium(35%) and long (31%). Overall, 57% of the foreign-based media' total publications have the longer style of presentation, while its style was only contributed for 23% by local media. This shows that local media reported the case mostly with a short version while foreign media covered it with a longer form.

Table – 4: The length of the news presented by each media

Type	Name	short	medium	long
Local media *(n-146)*	The Myanmar Time *(n-59)*	35 (60%)	15 (25%)	9 (15%)
	Eleven *(n-87)*	29 (34%)	30 (35%)	27 (31%)
Foreign based media *(n-251)*	VOA*(n-154)*	40 (26%)	22 (14%)	92 (60%)
	RFA *(n-107)*	18 (16%)	32 (30%)	57 (54%)
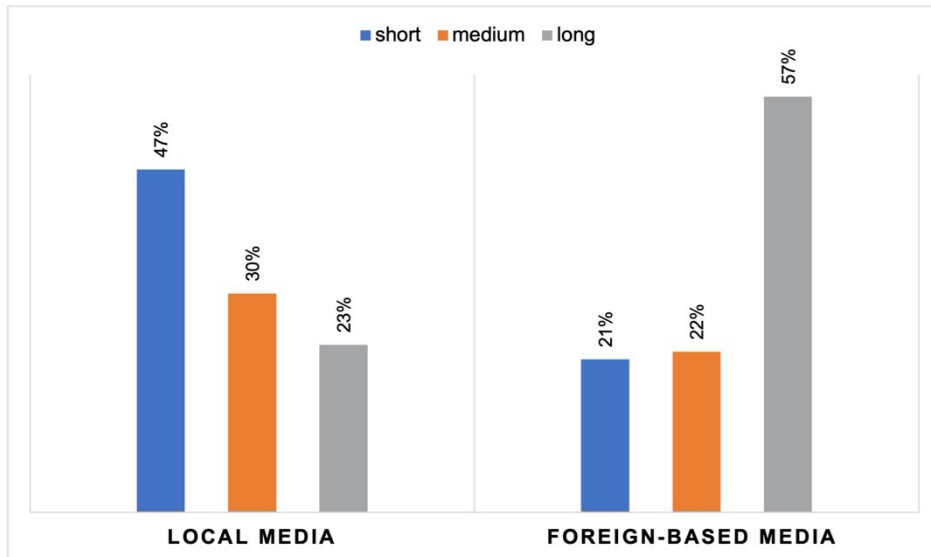
Figure -2 : News presentation by length - Local media (n-146) Vs Foreign-based media (n-251)

4.1.3. Type of content: Regarding the type of presentations, article form was the popular one for all media, above 75% of total counts by each media were published with the article format (See Table -6). All the articles published by VOA were also documented in video format. Important point to note here is that in some cases, clip and article can be overlapped since all media have multi-online platforms. Nonetheless, almost all articles of foreign-based media were also available with audio format on their website or perhaps all were broadcasted since their primary platform is radio channel that local media cannot offer.

Table – 5 : Frequency of content type on the case by the media

		Clip	Article
Local media *(n-146)*	The Myanmar Time *(n-59)*	3 (5.08%)	56 (94.91%)
	Eleven *(n-87)*	13 (14.77%)	74 (85.22%)
Foreign based media *(n-251)*	VOA *(n-154)*	139 (100%)	139 (100%)
	RFA *(n-107)*	49 (45.79%)	84 (78.5%)
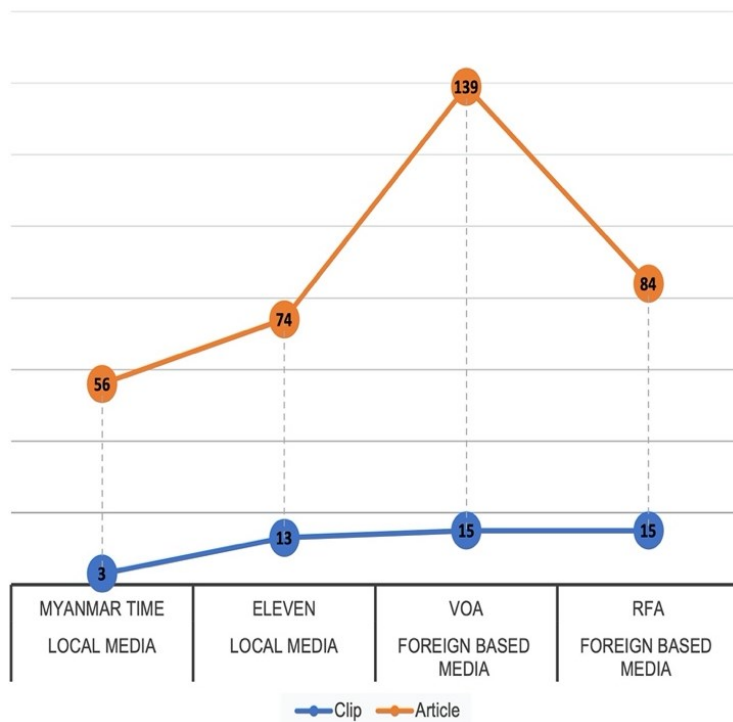
Figure -3 : Type of content reported by each media

4.2 Media representation and Bias

The second research question asked how these media represented and biased in the coverage of the case.

4.2.1. Reporting style: In general, all the newspapers prefer reporting in brief style with less background information on the case. However, as it is shown in Table - 5, it is visible that *103*, the frequency of story style' coverages by foreign-based media are 5.7 times greater than *18*, the total number under the same category, produced by local media. The variation between two styles was not that insignificant in VOA. In addition, the gap between two styles of coverage reported by foreign-based media demonstrates around 20% difference, while the variation for local media is 75.62% *(See Figure-3).*
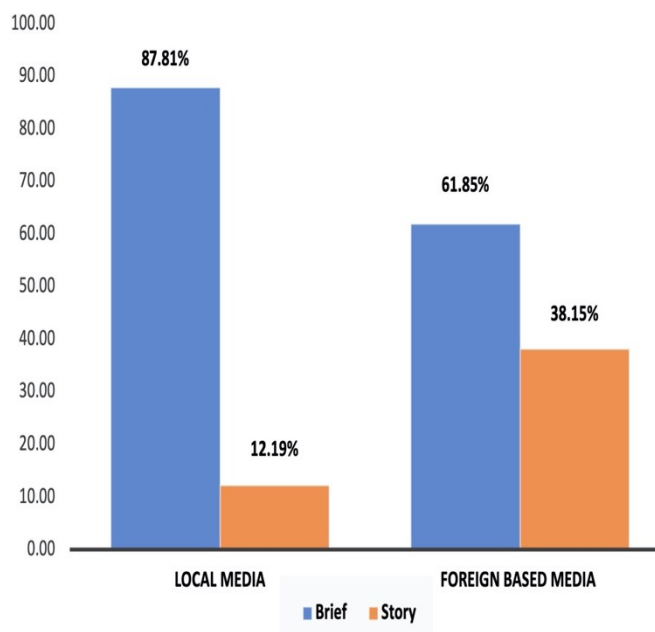
Figure -4 : Reporting style – Local Media (n-146) Vs Foreign-based media (n-251)

Table – 6 : Frequency of reporting style on the case by the media

		Brief	**Story**	**Total**
Local media *(n-146)*	The Myanmar Time *(n-59)*	54 (91.52%)	5 (8.47%)	59 (100%)
	Eleven *(n-87)*	74 (84.09%)	13 (15.90%)	87(100%)
Foreign based media *(n-251)*	VOA *(n-154)*	84 (54.54%)	70 (45.45%)	154(100%)
	RFA *(n-107)*	74 (69.15%)	33 (30.84%)	107(100%)

4.2.2. Tone of news: Table -7 illustrates the tone of mentions by each media regarding the case. VOA described the case most, 73 (47.40%) with negative tone and least, 10 (6.47%)with positive tone in terms of total counts compared to other media. 52% of coverage by local media were totally optimistic about the case while foreign newspapers contributed 8% of coverage with a positive tone, which is the least number of tones mentioned. On the contrary, 12% of stories were covered with negative tone by local media whereas the total numbers of stories with negative tone by foreign-based media were the highest contribution, 48%. Thus, it is very clear that the foreign-based media's reports were more negative about the conflict than news covered by local media. As in figure – 5, the publications with neutral tone were 30% by foreign-based media and 22% by local media. Both types of media equally constitute the presence of ambivalence at 14%.

Table -7 : Distribution of tones across articles by each media

		positive	negative	neutral	both
Local media *(n-146)*	The Myanmar Time *(n-59)*	32 (54.24%)	8 (13.56%)	16 (27.12%)	3 (5.08%)
	Eleven *(n-87)*	42 (50.00%)	10 (11.90%)	15 (17.86%)	17 (20.24%)
Foreign-based media *(n-251)*	VOA *(n-154)*	10 (6.49%)	73 (47.40%)	54 (35.06%)	17 (11.04%)
	RFA *(n-107)*	11 (10.28%)	53 (49.53%)	24 (22.43%)	19 (17.76%)
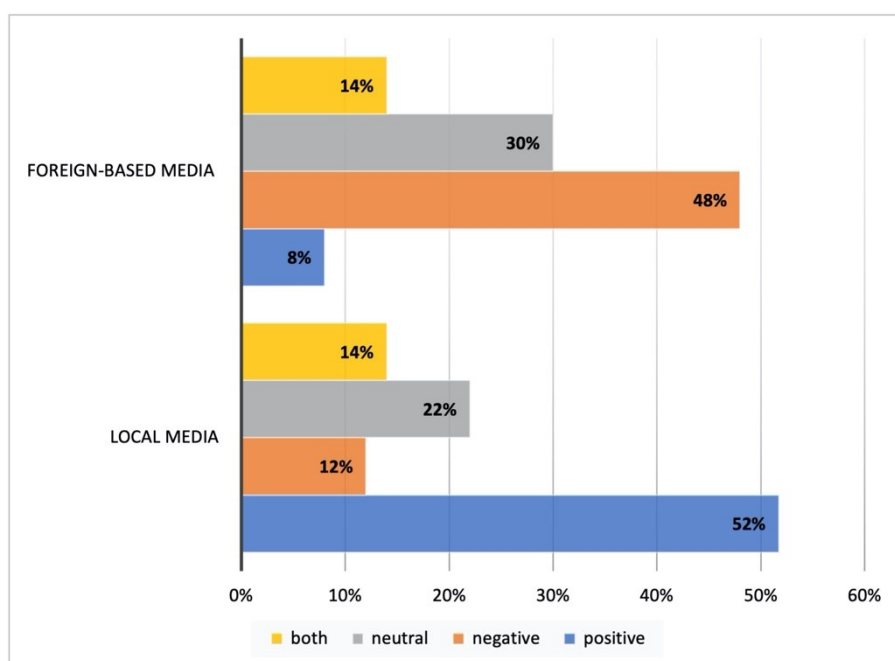
Figure - 5: Tone of mentions – Local media (n-146) Vs Foreign-based media (n-251)

4.2.3. Visual: Table - 8 provides the frequency of visuals from each side were used by the media when they reported on the case. Among all the media, it is likely that Eleven media either delivered the news with the use of Burmese' images or not using any pictures as 39% of its news did not use any news photo and 3% of pictures from Gambia sides were mentioned, which is the least number compared to other media. With regards to image in the news, VOA is the most neutral one as 79 (51%) out of 154 news were covered with the image from both sides or neutral image. As shown in figure 6, the percentage of news with Burmese published by local media was up to 53%, which is the highest proportion compared to other use of image, 19% for neutral, 6% from Gambia' side and 22% for none. In the case of foreign-based media, being neutral in using images was the most

popular norm with 46%, followed by the usage of photos from Burmese side, 37% and 17% from Gambia' side. The difference, in terms of visuals, is that foreign-based media reported all of their news with images and were more neutral as opposed to local media.

Table - 8 : Visual used in Local Media Vs Foreign-based Media

Type	Name	None	Gambia	Myanmar	Neutral
Local media *(n-146)*	The Myanmar Time *(n-59)*	3 (5%)	5 (9%)	33 (56%)	18 (30%)
	Eleven *(n-87)*	34 (39%)	3 (3%)	44 (51%)	6 (7%)
Foreign based media *(n-251)*	VOA *(n-154)*	0	23 (15%)	52 (34%)	79(51%)
	RFA *(n-107)*	0	21 (20%)	42 (39%)	44 (41%)
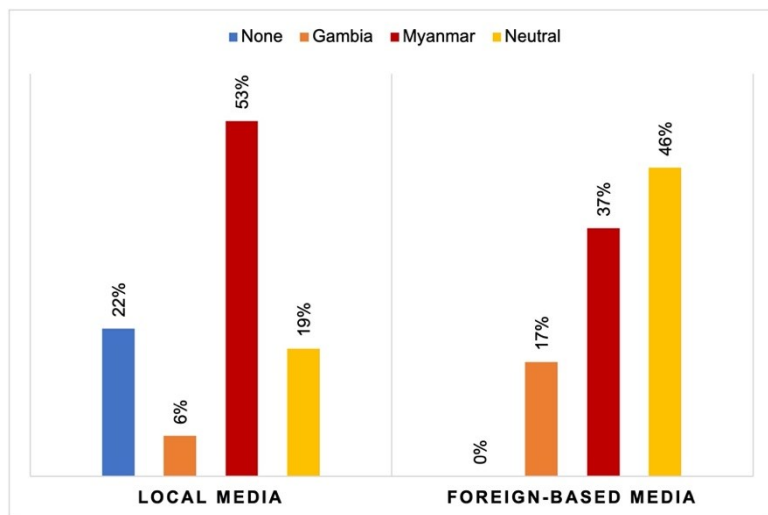
Figure - 6: Frequency of visual used - Local media (n-146) Vs Foreign-based media (n-251)

4.2.4. Language usage (terms): The frequency of the problematic terms mentioned in the news and total counts of these words by media type were calculated. Table -9 gave the information about the number of articles using these terms by each media. The Myanmar Times, Eleven barely used the terms Rohingya in their publications with the least percentage of 8% and 17% and Eleven even used the racist term "Bengali", which reflects its position on the case. The total number of articles with Rohingya terms in local media were only 20 (12%) out of 146 articles, whereas the combined count of the same term used in foreign-based media were 165 out of 261 articles which is almost 62% of total coverage. For the word count of terms "Rohingya" and "Bengali", it appears that the "Rohingya" term was described significantly less in local media, 110 counts, compared to foreign-based media, 719 which mentioned 6.5 times higher. At the same time, media

based abroad show no support in using racist term "Bengali" in their publications compared to local ones. (See Table -10).

Table - 9: Number of article presented the specific term

	Rohingya	Bengali	None
The Myanmar Time (n-59)	5 (8%)	0	54 (92%)
Eleven (n-87)	15 (17%)	7(8%) overlap	70 (82%)
VOA (n-154)	106(69%)	0	48 (31%)
RFA (n-107)	59 (55%)	0	48 (45%)

Table 10: Total word count of each terms in media

	Rohingya	Bengali
Local media (n-146)	110	28
Foreign-based media (n-251)	719	0

4.2.5. Voice selection: Table -11, illustrates the detailed proportion of voices used in the news by each media. The gap between the use of voices under each category (Gambia, Myanmar and Neutral) by both media are significantly distinctive. Among all the media, VOA holds the highest level of neutrality at the highest with 48.70% and followed by the Myanmar Time with 37.28%. RFA and Eleven stood at the third and lowest place with 36.44% and 21.83% respectively. It is clear that local media, Eleven and The Myanmar time raised the voice most from Burmese side for 68.96% and 59.32% while both contributed the voice of the opposing side at the lowest percentage for 9.19% and 3.38% of their coverage.

Conversely, both foreign-based media, VOA and RFA emphasized the voices from stakeholders who took the side for Gambia, in most of their publications by maintaining neutrality at the highest level. Overall, the total number of articles used of voices from Gambia's side were relatively low, 6.85% in local media that has considerably stated the voice from local side for 65.06% of the coverage. Its neutrality was at 28.08% of total coverage, which is lower than the neutrality rate of foreign-based media (See figure 7). However, 43.67% of foreign-based media' coverage was neutral, which is the maximum percentage compared to other uses of voice from Gambia's side at 39.46% and 16.85% from Burmese side.

Table 11: Frequency of the stakeholder's voice used in the news by the media

	Gambia	Myanmar	Neutral
The Myanmar Times (n-59)	2 (3.38%)	35 (59.32%)	22 (37.28%)
Eleven (n-87)	8 (9.19%)	60 (68.96%)	19 (21.83%)
VOA (n-154)	63 (40.90%)	16 (10.38%)	75 (48.70%)
RFA (n-107)	40 (37.38%)	28 (26.16%)	39 (36.44%)
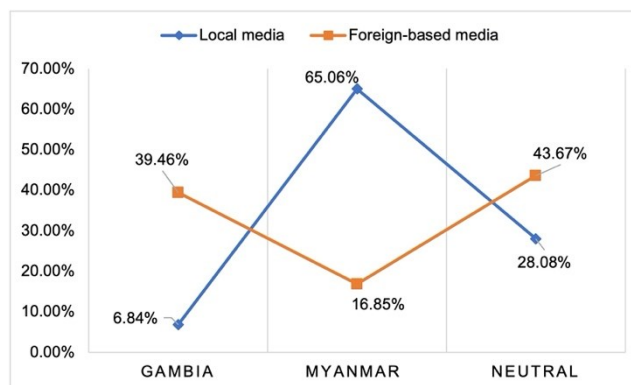
Figure -7: Frequency of the stakeholder's voice used in the news: Local media (n-146) Vs Foreign-based media (n-251)

As mentioned in the methodology session, to which side the media favor more regarding voices used in their articles were decided on exceeding the number of voices from each side with third party contribution. That means the total score count of each side has a considerable effect by the third party's standpoint on the case. Table-13 illustrates the allocation of third party's standpoint to each side.

As mentioned in table -13, half of the third party used in The Myanmar Times media' coverages (3 out of 7) supported the side of Myanmar, whilst the rest was neutral with the case. It received the lowest number and percentage of news solely written with a third parity' voice. Under the category of third party, the greater number of Eleven media' third parties in news (16 out of 21) were apparently in favor of Myanmar's side. By contrast, VOA got the highest percentage (46.10%) among all the media, and 38 out of 71 third parties in its media raised their voices for Gambia and 32 were neutral. Only one person shared its score with Myanmar sides. That means the third parties used in VOA were either in favor of Gambia' side or being neutral but not many were not at Myanmar's side. In the case of RFA, 12 out of 26 third parties backed Gambia, whereas 8 and 6 third parties allocated their score to Myanmar and held neutrality. Its proportion of third-parties' voice based news published over the period were roughly the same percentage issued by Eleven Media. Additionally, voice used in news was additionally classified by filtering and grouping each side of stakeholder, third party, multi-voices presence and none in order to understand their representation of stakeholder's voice, their objectivity and bias on

the case. Table 12- presents the percentage / number of articles classified by each group of voices used in the media.

	Table-12: Number of news constructed on each voice					Table -13: Standpoint of third party used in news		
	Gambia	Myanmar	Multi	None	Third party	Gambia	Myanmar	Neutral
The Myanmar Times	2 (3.38%)	24 (40.67%)	19 (32.20%)	7 (11.86%)	7 (11.86%)	0	3	4
Eleven	5 (5.57%)	35 (40.22%)	14 (16.09%)	12 (13.79%)	21 (24.13%)	3	16	2
VOA	20 (12.98%)	8 (5.19%)	37 (24.02%)	18 (11.68%)	71 (46.10%)	38	1	32
RFA	6 (5.60%)	9 (8.41%)	60 (56.07%)	6 (5.60%)	26 (24.29%)	12	8	6
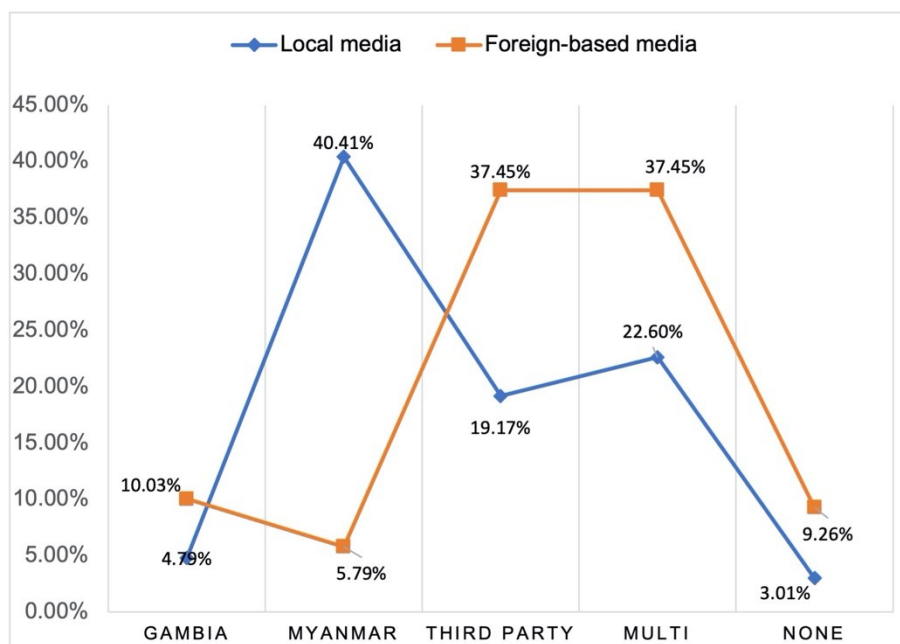
Figure - 8: Frequency of the stakeholder's voice used in the news - Local media (n-146) Vs Foreign-based media (n-261) [elaborated version]

As shown in table 12, the number of articles presenting multi-voices in Eleven Media were quite low(16.09%) compared to other media. RFA earned the maximum number of articles (56.7%) in presenting multi-voices, followed by the Myanmar times (32.20%) and VOA (24.02%) accordingly. The counts of articles exclusively based on the voice of Gambia's representative were the lowest among other categories in all media except VOA.

Above all, 40.41% of the local media coverage was found using the solo voice of Burmese officials and supporters of national leaders in their news (see figure - 8). Its percentage of articles presenting multi-voices and third parties' opinions were 22.60% and 19.17% which is almost twice less than the percentage under the same categories in foreign-based media. The least percentage among all voice categories circulated in foreign-based media was the voice of stakeholders from Myanmar's side which showed 5.79%. However, foreign-based media reported the equal percentage of presenting multi-voice and third-parties' opinion based news for 37.45%. Its contribution for the voice of Gambia was 10.03% which is more than the number of Myanmar's voice constructed news.

4.2.6. Sources selection: News stories sourced from Myanmar gave a maximum number of 35 (59.32%) in The Myanmar Time, in which 9 (15.25%) were from either third party's sources or in the category of not available. Only 6 (10.16%) of articles included multiple sources in that media and there was none sourced from Gambia's side, which is also the same case for Eleven Media. 32.18% of Eleven media's coverage were cited from Myanmar's sources and its 19.54% claimed from a third party's source. 23 out of 87 total articles (26.43%) did not mention any sources and 19 (21.83%) were presented with more than one sources in Eleven Media. In the case of VOA, 62 (40.26%) of its news were based on third party's sources while 43 (27.92%) were covered with multiple sources. The number of articles sourced from the Gambia side were 12 (7.69%) in VOA and 6 (5.6%) in RFA, which circulated half of its total articles citing different sources for 54 (50.46%). The sources of 20 (18.69%) articles out of 107, were not available and from third parties. Merely 7 (6.54%) of its news were cited from the government of Myanmar.

Table - 14 : Number of news by sources type in each media

	Gambia	Myanmar	Third party	Not available	Multi
The Myanmar Times *(n-59)*	0	35 (59.32%)	9 (15.25%)	9 (15.25%)	6 (10.16%)
Eleven *(n-87)*	0	28 (32.18%)	17 (19.54%)	23 (26.43%)	19 (21.83%)
VOA *(n-154)*	12 (7.69%)	9 (5.84%)	62 (40.26%)	28 (18.18%)	43 (27.92%)
RFA *(n-107)*	6 (5.6%)	7 (6.54%)	20 (18.69%)	20 (18.69%)	54 (50.46%)
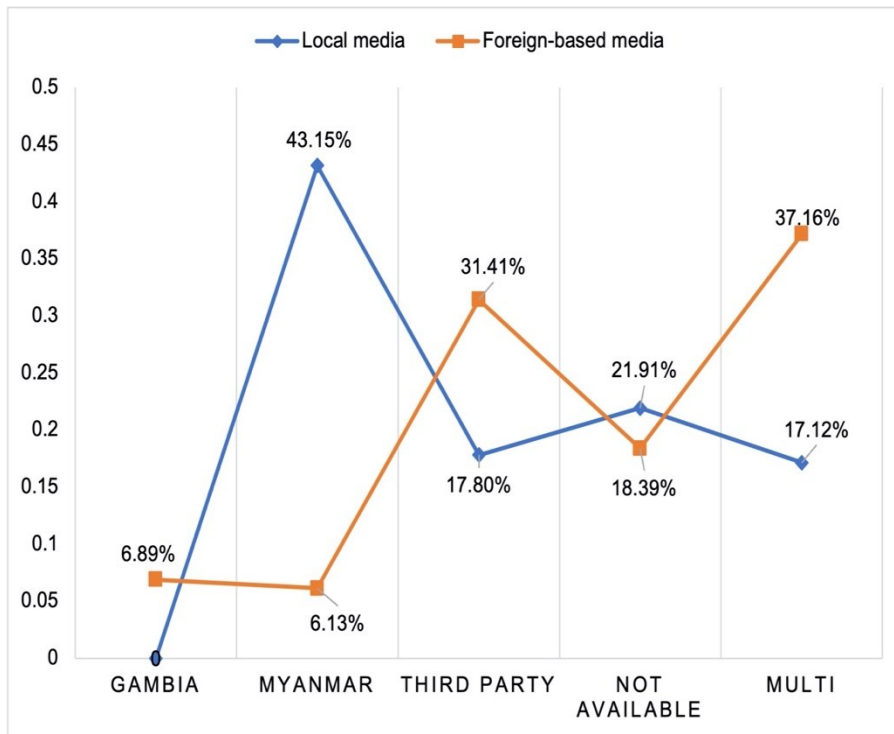
Figure -9: Percentage of articles by sources type in Local media (n-146) Vs Foreign-based media (n-261)

In general, it is apparent that foreign-based media presented the majority of their articles with multiple sources for 37.16% and information provided by third parties for 31.41% respectively. Compared to local media, foreign-based media citied the minimum number of articles sourced from Myanmar side, 6.13% which is around seven times less than the circulation of articles sourced from Myanmar government officials in local media, (43.15%). Articles using the information from Gambia side in local media did not occur as opposed to foreign-based media which published 18 articles (6.89%) with Gambia's sources. The percentage of articles presented with third party and multiple sources in local media were roughly between 17 % and 18% which is comparatively lower than the proportion of foreign-based media contribution for these categories. Under the category of sources "not available", the difference between both media types were not significant.

4.3. Analysis of framing

The third research question asked the appreciable differences between local and foreign-based media in framing in the coverage of the case.

4.3.1 News frames in Local media

The percentage of news frames used in local media coverage is provided in table 15. As mentioned before, multiple frames can exist in a news story. On average, an article in local media contains 3.5 frames. Two frames are majorly covered : self-defense frame and responsibility frame which have shown presence in 84% and 73% of the total publications in local media. Additionally, 52% of the stories contained human interest frame, followed by conflict frame (41%) and genocide frame (28%) at the place of fourth and five rank. Morality frame was less popular with the presence of 14% in the coverage and the least percentage was the economic consequences frame with mere 4% of the article. The characteristics of a frame can coexist in an article at the same time. The detailed characteristics of seven frames which could also be seen in table 15, will be discussed in detail.

Table – 15: Local media (n-146) - Use of news frames and their characteristics in media coverage

#Rank		Media coverage	Attribute
1	*Self-defense frame (n - 123)*	*84%*	
	The story presents the blame to Gambia, Bangladesh, Rohingya and international community and reject the accusation of genocide.		*33%*
	The story presents the action that Myanmar would handle to overcome this situation.		*36%*
	The story presents the support toward Aung San Su Kyi' defense at ICJ or evolve around the nationalist mindset.		*59%*
	The story presents kill or be killed dichotomy or national safeguard or justify the military's operation against Rohingya.		*19%*
2	*Responsible frame (n-108)*	*73%*	
	The story suggests that some level of government (Myanmar or United Nation or Bangladesh or Gambia and other groups) has the ability to alleviate the problem.		*21%*
	The story suggests that some level of government (Myanmar or United Nation or Bangladesh or Gambia and other groups) is responsible for the issue or problem.		*89%*
	The story suggest that an individual or group of people in society (nationalists, supporters of Aung San Su Kyi, EAOs, Muslim group, Rohingya, Rakhine) is responsible for the issue/problem.		*7%*
	The story suggest solutions to the issue.		*26%*
	The story suggests the issue or problem requires urgent action.		*3%*

3	*Human interest frame (n-76)*	*52%*
	The story provides a human example or 'human face' on the issue.	*3%*
	The story employs adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy or sympathy.	*29%*
	The story emphasizes how individuals and groups are affected by the issue or problem.	*79%*
	The story delves into the private or personal lives.	*5%*
	The story contains visual information that generates feeling of outrage, sympathy and compassion.	*20%*
4	*Conflict frame (n-60)*	*41%*
	The story reflects disagreements between or among parties, individuals, groups or countries	*73%*
	The story refer to fights, riots, and confrontation between two or more parties, individuals, groups, countries.	*43%*
	The story refers to two or more sides of the issue or problem	*20%*
	The story refers to winners and losers.	*5%*
5	*Genocide frame (n-41)*	*28%*
	The article presents the blame to Myanmar officials, the Military' operation and its violation of Human rights.	*63%*
	The article presents the victim, dehumanized behavior of the Military, violence action, mass killing and atrocities.	*41%*
	The article presents the accusation that Myanmar commit the genocide or pressure toward Myanmar government to change the policy or rescue the victim.	*44%*
6	*Morality frame (n-21)*	*14%*
	The story contains a moral message	*71%*
	The story makes a reference to morality, God and other religion.	*29%*
	The story offers specific social prescriptions concerning behavior.	*33%*
7	*Economic consequences frame (n-6)*	*4%*
	There is a mention of financial losses or gains, either now or in the future.	*67%*
	There is a mention of costs or degree of expenses involved.	*100%*
	There is a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action	*17%*
	Total number of frames	*435*
	Total number of articles	*126*
	Frame per article	*3.5*

4.3.1.1 Self-defense frame in Local media

The result of the study has highlighted that almost all local media coverage (84%) have seen the presence of the self-defense frame, which is characterized by four main themes. Firstly, 59% of articles with a self-defense frame covered either the rallies displaying the support for state counselor – Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's defense at ICJ or the content evolving around the mindset of nationalist. Secondly, 36% and 33% of the media coverage containing the self-defense frame presented the action plan how Myanmar

government will proceed to handle the situation, and a complaint or blame implying that Gambia has placed the incomplete and misleading factual picture of the situation on ground.

The story presenting kill or be killed dichotomy, national safeguard and justification about military operation were 19% of coverages with a self-defense frame. It justified that insurgent attacks challenged the sovereignty and security of the country, for that reason the Military had to conduct the clearance operation. Since insurgents had been using guerilla tactics, the military could not distinguish enough between insurgent and civilians. There may also have been malfunction to prevent civilians from destroying properties after fighting. So, it was an incidence but not genocide intent as it has been accused.

4.3.1.2 Responsibility frame in Local media

The case "Gambia files against Myanmar at ICJ '' was produced for 73% with the responsibility frame in the coverage of local media. 89% of the stories with the presence of responsibility frame majorly advocated that some level of government including Myanmar Government, Gambia, Bangladesh, Myanmar Military and International Court of Justice, are responsible for the issue, while 26 % suggested the solution to the case. The suggestion that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the issue appeared in 21% of the article with responsibility frames. 7% of coverage with responsibility frame suggested that individual or group of people in society such as nationalists, supporters of Aung San Suu Kyi, Ethnic Armed organization, Muslim organization are accountable for the problem. For example, in most coverage supporting Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the content typically provoked the audience action, communicating that supporting the national figure who will be protecting the national interest is the responsibility of citizens living in this country. Suggesting the action required urgently to address the issues was least presence characteristic with 3% of the total stories with responsibility frame.

4.3.1.3 Human Interest frame in Local media

The human interest frame was applied in more than half of the coverage of local media (52%). 79% of the articles with a human interest frame primarily emphasize the group of people affected by the issue. For instance, the occasion of over 700,000 Rohingya displacement due to clearance operations. Descriptive adjective and personal vignette

was employed in the articles with human interest frame for 29%. This characteristic was applied when the news is covered the accusation of Gambia for human right violation and genocide intent. For instance, the outline of a person's opinion on human right violation of Myanmar military and that person is either from Gambia's side or Human Right activists. The descriptive coverage of rallies in the support of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's was added to that theme. Along with that type of presentation, the story containing visual information that generates feelings of compassion, outrage took over 20% of the stories with human interest frames. The presence of the theme - the private or personal life was 5% in the stories with a human interest. That theme was valid in the news related to sanction, for instance: US imposed the sanction targeting Military general's businesses, the journey of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi supporter to Hague and other stories and opinions of her supporters. Mere 3% covered the story with a human face, especially the struggle of the victim.

4.3.1.4. Conflict frame in Local media

In terms of conflict frame, 42% of the local media's coverage was framed. The main proportion of the coverage (73%) contained the characteristics of disagreements among parties, individuals, groups or countries. 43% of the cases showed the presence of a fight and riots between two parties, individuals or countries. This characteristic is commonly merged with the previous attribute of conflict frame related to the disagreement. Roughly 20% of the coverage depicted the conflict that there is reference to two or more sides of the issue. This generally occurs along with the first characteristic – disagreement, saying that the depth of the issue is complex and not easy to draw the conclusion since multiple parties such as Ethnic armed groups, minority groups and other agents, have been involved. For instance, the coverage implied that no one talked about the loss of Hindus minority and Rakhine communities like the international community does for the rights of Rohingya. Finally, 5% of the conflict frame articles refers to the winner or losers. The main subject in these articles is Myanmar that has been depicted as a potential winner against Gambia at the International Court of Justices.

4.3.1.5. Genocide Frame in Local media

Nearly one third of the total coverage in local media (28%) showed the presence of the genocide frame. Under three characteristics of genocide frame, approximately 63%

highlighted to the human right violation of Myanmar's Military during operation or blame to the government of Myanmar. This characteristics has seen only in the case of Gambia's submission at the count was reported in local media. The international pressure such as to change the policy or slapping with sanctions against Myanmar government for the ignorance of profound humanitarian crisis in the country, contributed to 44% of the articles with genocide frame. Presenting dehumanizing behaviors of Myanmar Military, other form of mass killing and atrocities was 41% and it has frequently cooccurred with the first characteristics of genocide frame – human right violation.

4.3.1.6 Morality Frame in Local media

In local media, morality was found in 14% of total coverage. Containing moral messages in the articles (71%) contributed the largest percentage of human interest frame's story. Nearly one third of morality frame's articles (29%) referred to the norms in Buddhism and other forms of religious practices. An example of morality framed with this characteristic is, the groups of religious devotees including nuns showed their support toward the national leader – Aung San Suu Kyi, in a form of chanting in the place of pilgrimage. Along with those characteristics of the morality frame, social prescriptions concerning behaviors were presented in the content for 33%. For instance, it is said that these inhuman acts of Rohingya armed groups are totally unacceptable in our society, which hold and preserve the norms of Buddhism, etc.

4.3.1.7 Economic consequence frame in Local media

The presence of the economic consequence frame was negligible in local media as its occurrence was mere 4%. All the economic consequence articles mentioned the costs or the degree of expense involved with managing this issue. Over half of coverage with these frames (67%) described the financial losses in terms of the country's economy. 17% of the articles concerned the economic consequence of pursuing or not pursuing the action.

4.3.2 News frames in Foreign-based media

The news frames used in foreign-based media are demonstrated in table 16. Frames per article in foreign-based media (3.7) was almost the same with the number of frames contained in local media (3.5). Unlike local media, genocide frame (79%) dominated the most in articles produced by foreign-based media. Apart from that, responsibility frame

(75%), human interest frame (74%) and conflict frames (69%) followed the same rank in order as local media but with different percentage of frames existing in the articles of foreign-based media. A half of the total articles in foreign-based media (52%) has shown the presence of self-defense frames. Same as local media, morality frames(17%) and economic consequence frames (5%) were the least presence frames in the stories of foreign-based media. The elaboration of the characteristics under each frame will be discussed in the following.

Table -16: Foreign-based media (n-251) - Use of news frames and their characteristics in media coverage

#Rank		Media coverage	Attribute
1	*Genocide frame (n-206)*	*79%*	
	The article presents the blame to Myanmar officials, the Military' operation and its violation of Human rights.		*90%*
	The article presents the victim, dehumanized behavior of the Military, violence action, mass killing and atrocities.		*42%*
	The article presents the accusation that Myanmar commit the genocide or pressure toward Myanmar government to change the policy or rescue the victim.		*57%*
2	*Responsibility frame (n-197)*	*75%*	
	The story suggests that some level of government (Myanmar or United Nation or Bangladesh or Gambia and other groups) has the ability to alleviate the problem.		*11%*
	The story suggests that some level of government (Myanmar or United Nation or Bangladesh or Gambia and other groups) is responsible for the issue or problem.		*96%*
	The story suggest that an individual or group of people in society (nationalists, supporters of Aung San Su Kyi, EAOs, Muslim group, Rohingya, Rakhine) is responsible for the issue/problem.		*3%*
	The story suggest solutions to the issue.		*21%*
	The story suggests the issue or problem requires urgent action.		*8%*
3	*Human interest frame (n-194)*	*74%*	
	The story provides a human example or 'human face' on the issue.		*12%*
	The story employs adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy or sympathy.		*38%*
	The story emphasizes how individuals and groups are affected by the issue or problem.		*96%*
	The story delves into the private or personal lives.		*13%*
	The story contains visual information that generates feeling of outrage, sympathy and compassion.		*16%*
4	*Conflict frame (n-180)*	*69%*	
	The story reflects disagreements between or among parties, individuals, groups or countries		*86%*
	The story refer to fights, riots, and confrontation between two or more parties, individuals, groups, countries.		*32%*
	The story refers to two or more sides of the issue or problem		*11%*

	The story refers to winners and losers	*6%*
5	*Self-defense frame (n-138)*	***52%***
	The story presents the blame to Gambia, Bangladesh, Rohingya and international community and reject the accusation of genocide.	*22%*
	The story presents the action that Myanmar would handle to overcome this situation.	*56%*
	The story presents the support toward Aung San Su Kyi' defense at ICJ or evolve around the nationalist mindset.	*39%*
	The story presents kill or be killed dichotomy or national safeguard or justify the military's operation against Rohingya.	*24%*
6	*Morality frame (n-42)*	***16%***
	The story contains a moral message.	*93%*
	The story makes a reference to morality, God and other religion.	*14%*
	The story offers specific social prescriptions concerning behavior.	*26%*
7	*Economic consequences frame (n-14)*	***5%***
	There is a mention of financial losses or gains, either now or in the future.	*29%*
	There is a mention of costs or degree of expenses involved.	*79%*
	There is a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action.	*14%*
	Total number of frames	*971*
	Total number of articles	*261*
	Frame per article	***3.7***

4.3.2.1 Genocide frame in Foreign-based media

With the presence of 79%, Genocide frame was the most popular frame used in the articles of foreign-based media. The narratives accusing the Myanmar military violates the Human Rights included in 90% of the articles. 57% of the articles contained the characteristics suggesting that Myanmar's Military committed the genocide and at the same time pressuring the government of Myanmar to rescue the victim. The articles with the presence of Myanmar Military's atrocities and violence were 42% in articles with genocide frames. Unlike the presentation of local media, foreign media presented this frame with the use of voices of Gambia, representatives of Human Right Watch, Human Right Activists in the country and the leaders of ethnic minority groups who have also experienced the oppression and brutality of the Myanmar Military in their regions.

4.3.2.2 Responsibility Frame in Foreign-based media

Foreign-based media covered the articles with a responsibility frame for 75% which is 10% less than local media's production news with the same frame. Similar to local media, suggesting some level of government are responsible for the issue (96%) was majorly

taken over the first place, followed by the number of stories with the characteristics of providing solutions to the issue (21%) and referring that certain level of government would have an ability to alleviate the issue (11%) at second and third place respectively. Stories with the presence of suggestion: individual or group of people in society are responsible for the issue (3%) and urgent action required (8%) in foreign-based media were reversely proportional to the percentage of contribution in the local media.

4.3.2.3 Human Interest Frame in Foreign-based media

With less than 1% of the responsibility frame, the human interest frame was used in 74% of the articles in foreign-based media. The stories that mentioned the group of people affected by the issue (96%) were the most popular characteristics among five themes and its theme was also the most prominent one in local media. The percentage of articles consisting of personal vignette and expressive adjectives were 38%. This characteristic was co-occurred with other features that provide the human face on the issue and stories of individual's personal lives, which were 12% and 13% of the stories with human interest frame. With human interest frame, stories that postulate the visual information generating the emotional feeling was 16% in foreign-based media.

4.3.2.4 Conflict frame in Foreign-based media

The articles with the conflict frame were 69% in foreign-based media. Same as local media, the theme of disagreement among groups or countries took the largest proportion (86%) in conflict frames. One third of articles with conflict frames (32%) were the feature containing the fights and confrontation among individuals or groups or countries. 11% of the articles with conflict frames suggested the two or more sides of the issue and its consequences. Mere 6% of articles indicated winner or loser under conflict frame. Even though local media was extremely optimistic about Myanmar winning at the court, that view was totally contradict in foreign-based media, which usually assess the case by taking reference of the decision of ICJ regarding previous genocidal case such as Bosnian and Rwandan genocide cases.

4.3.2.5. Self-defense Frame in Foreign-based media

Self-defense frames exist in roughly over half of the coverage (52%) in foreign-based media. 56% of the article with self-defense frames referred to the announcement of

Myanmar's officials, releases and future activities of the government that will be conducted to overcome the challenging situation. The presence of nationalist mindset and support toward Aung San Suu Kyi were found in 36% of the articles under self-defense. The story acknowledged the fact that the military's clearance operation against Rohingya was for national safeguard or security of the state, was 24% of the self-defense frame. These types of contents occurred when the media rephrased the words or lines of court materials submitted by Myanmar side and defense of Myanmar's legal team in the public hearing session at the court. Blaming against international communities and Gambia (22%) was least mentioned characteristics of self-defense frames in foreign-based media. The usual blame towards the Gambia team from Myanmar was that agents or advocates for The Gambia had neglected to address the complex situation pertaining to the historical context of the roots of conflict, economic and social and military in the region. These claims with self-defense frames were discovered in the narratives of Myanmar's government statement or defense at the court, which have been cited in the foreign-based media.

4.3.2.6 Morality Frame in Foreign-based media

17% of the articles contributed to the morality frame in foreign-based media. Similar to local media, articles with a morality frame mostly contained the moral message which is 93%. This feature of moral message was often attached to the social prescription that concerned wrong behaviors, which was 26% of the article with a morality frame. In some stories, human right activists in the country criticized that organizing the rallies in support of Aung San Suu Kyi who would defense the allegation of genocide at ICJ, was the same old pattern of propaganda that had been practiced by the former Juntas, who have been committing the serial human right abuses in ethnic regions. With that news angle, foreign-based media stressed on the wrong act of the Myanmar military and government with more clarification. Less percentage of religious practices or message from God (14%) were mentioned in the articles of morality frame.

4.3.2.7 Economic Consequences Frame in Foreign-based media

The number of articles with the presence of economic consequence frame (5%) were relatively low in foreign-based media. In the same way as local media, the cost or the possible expense as a result of the issue (79%) was the prevalent characteristics in the

articles with an economic consequence frame. Almost one third of the article (29%) contained the financial losses and consequences of targeted sanctions imposed by international communities against the Military junta and in some cases, Myanmar government. Along with that, 14% concerned the probable effect for not practicing the actions suggested by the international communities.

Chapter – 5

5. Discussion & Conclusion

This study comparatively examined local and foreign-based media coverage of Gambia files case against Myanmar at International court of Justice, which earned the highest public interest in Myanmar in late 2019 and early 2020. Explicitly, this study observed the media attention, bias and framing of the media from their stories covered. In this session, important findings in detail, reasonable interpretation and noteworthy conclusions are discussed and checked with the findings of previous literature. At the same time, some deviations and commonalities are elucidated. Firstly, the attention of each media to the case and their distinctions in news presentation will be discussed. Secondly, the detecting factors of media bias in coverage will be explored. Thirdly, the dominant frames in the publication of each media type and their difference in framing will be discussed.

5.1. Media attention to the case: Local Media Vs Foreign-based media

News media have the power to maximize the importance of the news story or case by the amount of time invested in reporting on the issue or a case. *"The salience of an object (the importance of an object) increases the amount of news coverage about the topic"* (Chyi & McCombs, 2004, p. 22).

5.1.1 Number of publications: In this study, the media attention is evaluated by the number of articles published and the presentation style including length, style and type. The data received from the classification of these evaluations indicated that foreign-based media paid more attention to the case compared to the local media over the research period from November 2019 to July 2020. The accumulative number of coverages by foreign-based media were almost double than local media's coverage in total. In both media, the peak of the coverage was seen in December in which the main event took place, and the amount of attention on the case by foreign-based media were consistently higher than local ones throughout the period except in July.

5.1.2. Length of content: In terms of news coverage additionally classified by its length, foreign-based media published the most in long version, which is the lowest case of presentation found in local media. Unlike local media, foreign-based media analyses were proactive in the construction of their stories. Rather than number of coverage in response to the case, reports were consistent throughout the period even before and after the event and invested more time in writing in-depth stories or exclusive interviews with the expert on the case.

5.1.3. Type of content: In terms of news type, both local and foreign-based media preferred to report in article format, and some stories were overlapped in both types of presentation because of the multiple media channels owned by each media. However, the number of news clips produced by local media were minimal in comparison with the total production of news footage documented by foreign-based media. Hundred percent of news articles in VOA were accessible in video version and almost half of the news in RFA were produced in both versions. Furthermore, all the content of foreign-based media were also available in audio version on their website since their primary platform is for radio broadcasting that local media cannot offer. Although the representation style of each media can be different subject to their audience type and resources they have, it undoubtedly shows their attitude and standpoint on the case.

Answer to RQ-1: Are there any differences in the newspaper's attention to the ICJ-Rohingya case?

Based on the result analyzed above, it can be drawn to the fact that local media do not see the case as serious as foreign-based media, which have been emphasizing the act of Myanmar Military's human right violation. It is possible that local media tend to team up with the narrative of democratic regime that has been expressing the case not to call as a genocide case. That finding affirmed that the fact pointed by Brooten,L., (2016) who notes that local media have extremely castigated the foreign media by admonishing for overemphasizing human rights and not considering enough on national security of Myanmar. On the other hand, it might be that the narrative of foreign-based media is in harmony with the view of international communities as they are somehow funded or influenced by foreign governments and international groups.

5.2. Media Representation and Bias

5.2.1. Reporting style : The evaluation of coverage style either story with background information or news brief were also taken into account in evaluating the media representation. The result has shown that the local media was more keen to report in a brief style with less information and lack of background context as mere 12% was published in story style. On the contrary, the vast majority of news in foreign-based media were reported in story style citing multiple sources and opinions with background information or historical context. In covering the case related to ethnic conflict or minorities, it is critical to include the information about contextual background guiding the readers to comprehend the root cause of the conflict (Romano, 2013). In the case of the conflict in western Rakhine, it stems from the problematic history of origins in those areas and the citizenship status of the Rohingya community. It is not solely the conflict that occurred out of communal violence in 2012 as most ordinary Burmese have assumed. This long-standing issue contributed to this crisis can be traced as far as British colonial period and other cultural, social, economic factors including religion and political conditions in the country, from the past to present have catered to this crisis. According to Galtung (2002), dismissing the context of the conflict formation and background information may hinder the transformation of the conflict through constructive discourse.

Moreover, journalists should acknowledge the impact of rhetoric and propaganda campaigns against Rohingya orchestrated by interest groups in this conflict. Since the role of the media is to educate its audience, journalists should have a more balanced view, particularly in group conflict. And they should provide the elucidation of the hidden agenda of interest parties who had been attempting to manipulate the public perception or to cloud the root cause of the conflict (Powers& Andsager, 1999). In this sense, we could say that local media failed to offer the contextual background which will assist its audience to understand the cause of the current conflict. Whether it was intentionally reported in that way or not, will depend on their journalistic standard and norms, national partisan and the level of support by the media to government agenda related to the case.

5.2.2. Tone of News: The tone of media coverage in both media types were found to be opposite. For instance, almost half of the articles in foreign-based media was published with the negativity tone to the case despite its neutrality held in one-third of its total articles. The positivity level of the foreign-based media related to the case was the lowest. Conversely, in local media, the tone regarding the case appeared to be mostly positive while its negative outlook on the conflict was at the bottom. This was expected given the fact that Myanmar government's consistent justifications on the case and its effort to resolve this Rohingya issue with the assistance of an advisory commission on Rakhine State led by Kofi Annan, the former United Nations Secretary General (Westcott & Wright, 2016). In addition, the Myanmar government, particularly political figure- Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, had been trying to conceal the brutality of the Myanmar Military as per her party politics in winning the hearts of her supporters that eventually would make her win the 2020 November election.

Meanwhile, her mission to have a good relationship with the military junta was maintained even though the image of the military has undergone because they would not have faced the case at ICJ as she has done. All was paving the way for her power superiority and hero figure in the country despite criticism of the international community for being silent on brutal treatment of the Military.

So, it is reasonable to say that the narrative and tone of local media would support the Myanmar government with the cement of nationalism and abetted in covering up the ruthlessness of the Myanmar Military. For that reason, local media posited the positive outlook of the conflict while foreign-based media was consistently highlighting the negative outlook of the conflict, portraying the terrible situation of the Rohingya community on the ground. This result supported the previous findings of scholars, for instance, Chandran (2016), states that international media and scholars publicly criticize Myanmar democratic government led by Aung San Suu Kyi and Myanmar Military for the brutal treatment of Rohingya and for rejecting them to offer citizenship and basic human rights.

5.2.3. Visual: In the matter of visuals used in the coverage, every news story in foreign-based media used the image associated with the news and its neutrality in presenting both sides' pictures was doubled the neutrality level of local media. The frequency of

images used from Myanmar sides were high and used from Gambia side were low in both media types. It is not surprising as both media types majorly target the audience in Myanmar. However, the difference is that foreign media used the victimized image of Rohingya community, especially when its content was favor to the point of human right violation of Myanmar military, but that was never prevalent in local media, which labelled bad guy figure to the Rohingya community and showed the image of casualties and damaged by the Rohingya Militant. It could be related to the discussion in Tone of news section as well as to the point of humanity that have been explicitly repeated by the international communities.

5.2.4. Language use (Terms): The individual media outlet has its own style and narrative by using specific language to describe the conflict and case. Apart from Eleven media, none of the media outlets did not use the term "Bengali". Referring to the Muslims community in Rakhine state as "Bengalis" can be considered demonizing language as it endorses the idea of negativity such as xenophobia and evil aggressor (Rowell, 2011). In the official statement of Myanmar foreign minister strongly warned against using "Rohingya" and "Bengali" *"that are incendiary and create greater divisions between those who live in Rakhine and elsewhere,"* (Gerin, 2016). Moreover, it suggested to use or describe as the Muslim community living in Rakhine state. So, it seemed that The Myanmar Time media stuck to that instruction and avoided using the terms Rohingya and Bengalis in their coverage, while Eleven Media have used those words significantly, mainly "Bengali" to identity the Muslim community. Even if the "Rohingya" term was used in the official court materials of Gambia, Eleven media changed the wording and term into Bengali when it reported what Gambia defended at the court.

Unlike local media, both foreign-based media used the term " Rohingya" as its fellow international communities that respect and recognize the existence of Rohingya identity and the usage of "Bengali" term has not been found in foreign-based media. Aside from this term, the emotive word used in the coverage of local media and foreign-based media were completely different. A closer look at the wording and usage of the media as an example, some of the emotive and strong wording such as "ethnic cleansing", "genocide", "crime against humanity", "human right violation" often appeared in foreign-based media. However, in the case of local media, it used the language such as "terrorist attack", "separatist movement", "threat to the national security", "militant" and "religious

extremism" which describe the bad guy character to the Rohingya community. At the same time, those words might be applied to provoke the feeling of anger, fear and hatred button of people in Myanmar which could lead to irrational patriotism and nationalism. Surprisingly, some of those words have been found in the quotes of Myanmar government officials. In the work of Brooten, L.(2016), she notes that state-run and some private media have criticized the international media for arguably biased toward the Rohingya community and their narrative reflected the "us-versus-them" rhetoric of the racist Buddhist monks. So, this result of this study can relate to that finding and additionally contributed to the point she has made.

5.2.5. Voice & Source Selection : Assessing voices and sources in the news play an integral part in measuring bias as the way they have been used in the article usually reflect the attitude of the journalist or media. The analysis of the voices used in the news indicates that the use of voices among examined media were varied. For instance, local media was more likely to include the quotes from government authorities, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's supporters rather than people from Gambia sides including Human Right organization, activists and the Muslim group. The percentage of voices who backed Gambia was too low in local media and its neutrality or presenting the voices either from third-party or from both sides were just less than one third of the total articles produced. It is barely find the quotes from human right organizations and other parties such as Rohingya/ Muslim group and the Bangladesh. The voice of third parties inserted in local media tended to take more on Burmese side rather than being neutral, which means there was a selection bias. For instance, Eleven Media highlighted that the praise for the brave decision of Aung San Suu Kyi by Japanese Ambassador for Myanmar and his belief in Myanmar not committing the Genocide.

In addition, the support of China towards Myanmar on the case has been mentioned and none of the condemnation or urging statements against the Myanmar government issued by western embassies or organizations have not been mentioned in their publications. At the same time, sources in local media were government officials, military personnel or diplomats or political party leaders who seem passive racists. News with more than one sources were just 17% in local media and half of total publications were cited from the people who sided with Myanmar.

It can draw to the fact that local media were overly reliance on the official sources which is a primary concern for media reporting that could lead to misleading or offer a chance for the political leaders or government to frame the content or influence the perception and opinion of the public on the case (Druckman,2001; Powers& Andsager, 1999). The voices of the other sides, particularly the minority voices, were totally ignored in the coverage of local media. In addition, news sourced from multi-parties or third parties showed the lowest figures and news citied from official statements or Myanmar side were almost half of the total coverage in local media. None of the news originated from the provided facts by Gambia. Furthermore, Myanmar media indicated the fact that profound improvement has been seen on ground due to the ongoing effort of the Myanmar government.

By contrast, foreign-based media frequently focus on the quotes from third-parties representatives including HRW, INGO, Human Right activists, minority leaders and other interest groups and individuals but it did not exclude the voices from the Buddhist nor the Myanmar Officials. However, the narratives of foreign-based media emphasized more on allegation of Human Right violation and genocide. For instance, it repeatedly mentioned the group of people not only the Rohingya community but also other ethnic minorities affected by the military actions. Instead of focusing on the case at the court itself, reports from foreign-based media presented on the different view of stakeholders on the case and it explained how and why it happened and its ongoing situation but not offering solutions to the case nor issues. It was supported by the result analyzed for the study. News with multi-sources ranked the highest, followed by the news with third party sources. News with solo citation from each side (Gambia or Myanmar) were presented at the minimum, which was totally opposite from local based media. Moreover, the neutrality in presenting voices in news scored the highest, but majority of the third parties quoting in news took the side for Gambia in foreign-based media. Only a few of third parties' voices supported the Myanmar sides and a handful number stayed neutral.

Analysis of commonly used sources and voices by each media type indicated that local media tended to promote or use the local official sources and majority's voices but not minority, which could be interpreted as a bias toward its government and domestic popular support regardless of journalistic standards and norms that should adhere to balanced information. On the other hand, foreign-based media mainly applied the

perspectives of interest groups, minority and human right groups. However, the voices of local people living in the conflict region were basically ignored in both media types although the voices of the victim or local community were covered in the human story of foreign media. The limitation to visit to the conflict region or lack of resources to reach out to the victims would also be one of the reasons that hamper the media to get the voice from local people.

Answer to RQ-2: Do these media bias or not in the news presentation of the case? If yes, how have these media represented in their coverage?

All in all, the data received in the study of media presentations' style, tone, visuals, sources and voice support the fact that local media tend to frame the story in a self-defensive manner and are biased in reporting. The case at the court was emerged out of the conflict, which is assumed as threat to national territory and religion by the majority of Burmese including journalists. So, journalists or media person are more likely to self-identify him or herself with in-group similarity of each side that made them to instill the nationalism unintentionally leading to contributing bias in their reported news. The unconscious nationalist idea rooted in the mind of some journalists created the desire for "Good Vs Evil '' or "Us Vs Them" reporting at the end. Nationalism is an integral form of political partisanship (Roccas et al., 2008) and it has the potential impact on the perceptions of media bias. The prominence of group conflict news frames have contributed much to the perceived media bias (Kim, 2016; Matheson & Dursun, 2001; Stroud et al., 2014). This finding of the study affirmed that media could have the perceived bias in their coverage when the case is related to nationalism.

In addition, noticeably on social media, both local and foreign journalists who report objectively about the military's operation in northern Rakhine State have been accused of exaggerating the case or having biased toward Rohingya or false reporting by their peers and also by the public. The case " Rohingya: Gambia files Myanmar against Myanmar" is no exception and it was even more sensitive and tended to have more personal bias since the popular political figure – Aung San Suu Kyi had defense for that case at the court. As discussed in the Myanmar Media and Rohingya Crisis section, journalists who reported objectively have been threatened to death or legally charged even if it was in the period of the newly democratic regime. The reason behind this cause is probably the feeble professionalism and journalistic training in the Myanmar media

sector. Despite the effort invested by INGOs and civil society for the media development, it is still in the beginning stage as there was no formal journalism training for the reporters under the authoritarian Military regime, who oppressed the role of media. Most reporters in local media entered their career with a passion in the working journalism field. While functioning in this field and learning from the seniors in house, they believe to have informal skills and knowledge overtime. Journalists working for the international media have more chances to attend training and rub shoulders with foreign journalists, thereby becoming familiar with international journalistic values and standards. The differences in constructing the stories and news presentation between local media and foreign-based media were noticeable as a result of this study.

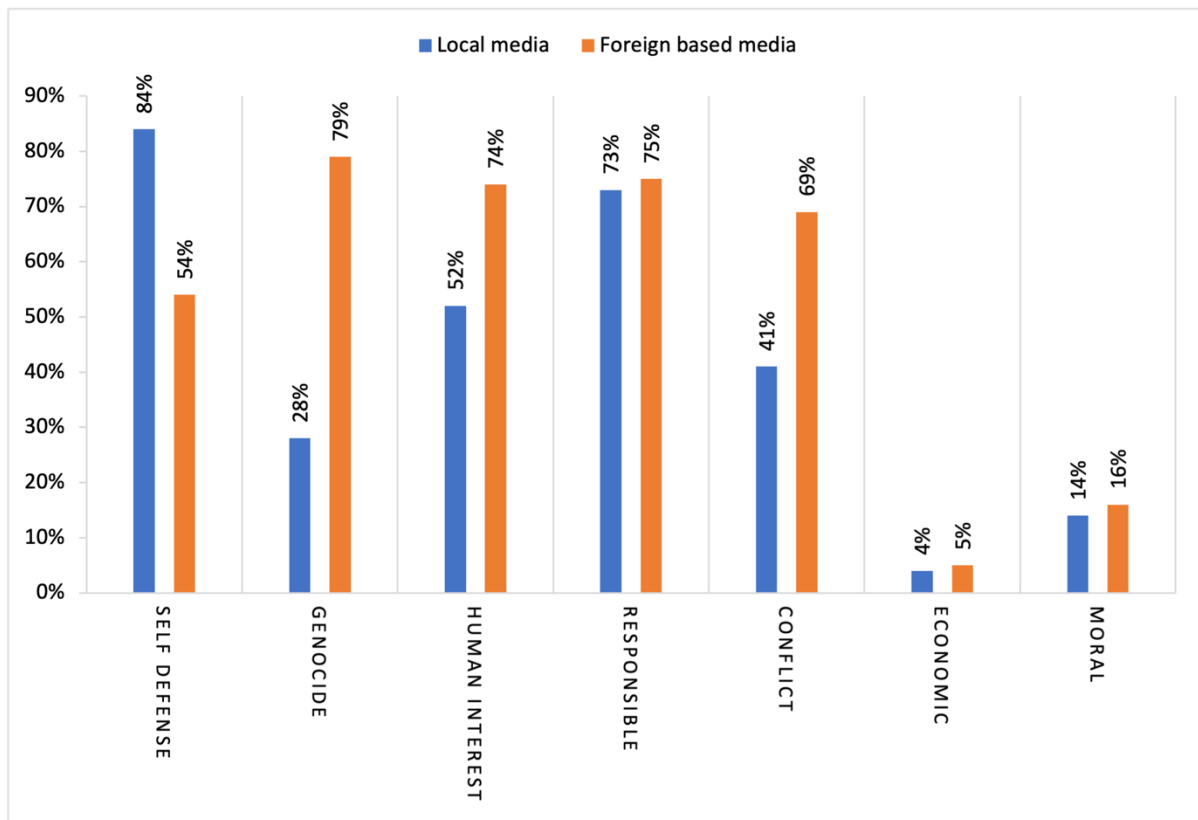## 5.3. Difference framing between Local media and Foreign-based media

Figure - 10: Comparison of framing percentage contained in Local media (n- 146)
and Foreign-based media (n- 261)

Answer to RQ-3: What are the differences between local and foreign-based media in framing?

Contribution of each frame in local media and foreign-based media have been mentioned in the session of 4.3.1 and 4.3.2. The significant differences between local media and foreign-based media was the huge gap in the framing of self-defense and genocide frame. Noticeably, the majority of local media's articles (84%, 123 out of 146) expressively presented the news with a self-defense frame, whereas the publications of foreign-based media with the same frame were (54%, 138 out of 261). Likewise, foreign-based media covered most of its stories with genocide frame (79%, 206 out of 261) which was more than double the percentage of genocide frame referred in local media (28%, 41 out of 146). Apart from these two frames, contribution for human interest frame, responsibility frame and conflict frame in foreign-based media were almost proportional with mere variances in percentage. However, local media paid more attention to the responsibility frame (73%, 108 out of 126) in its coverage after genocide frame. The proportion of articles with morality and economic frames in both media were insignificant (14~16%) and the economic frame was the least applied frame in both media types with the roughly same percentage of distribution(4~5%).

According to the finding of this study, apart from main pre-determined frames – self-defense and genocide frame, the order of frame predominance in both local media and foreign-based media were responsibility, human interest, conflict, morality and economic consequences but surely with the different contribution in each frame. Scholars mentioned that crisis news usually frames in the following order – attribution of responsibility, economic, conflict, human interest and morality (An and Gower, 2009) but this study partially agreed that finding the economic frame was the least mentioned in this study despite the responsibility frame being mentioned most. Responsibility frame was indeed the most frequent frame in the coverage of conflict resolution or crisis.

5.3.1. Responsibility Frame

The responsibility frames dominated in local media after the main self-defense frame. Myanmar government's ongoing effort and measurement in resolving the issue and appreciation toward the current regime that showed the accountability and strong stance for the case, were mainly highlighted in the framing of responsibility. Besides, the fact

that Myanmar Military to have transparency in releasing information and court materials of the case regarding the troop accused of violating the military regulation during clearance operation in northern Rakhine state in 2017, was also stressed in the stories. One proposed solution under the responsibility frame was, for instance, the bilateral agreement between Myanmar, and Bangladesh to proceed the verification process of returnees, conflict resolution, and implementation of peace, stability and development initiatives in Rakhine state were also projected. Local media frequently stressed that every citizen should not fail to support Daw Aung San Suu Kyi who will defend as a country's representative at the court. It narrated that it is the responsibility of every citizen who should be united at the pivotal situation. Although local media appreciates the accountability and continued effort of regime to resolve the case with the use of responsibility frame, foreign-based media urged the government to accept the reality rather than denying that there may not have genocide intent against Rohingya and then to cooperate with the international communities to resolve the situations rather than undermining the crimes committed by Military. Under responsibility attribution, this way of framing has often occurred, especially when the news is covered about the court trial hearings session joined by both sides. The solutions suggested in foreign-based media were toned in with local media at some point, but mostly foreign-based media called Myanmar government to respect the decision of International court of Justice in implementing the provisional measurements to stop the violence immediately. Instead of highlighting the responsibility of other agents in the society such as non-government organizations, ethnics leaders, foreign-based media emphasized the role of government and its responsibility to stop the atrocities happening in the country.

5.3.2. Human Interest Frame

The Human Interest Frame was the third dominant frame in both media types. The displacement of the Rohingya community due to the military operation was a common recurring fact in both media. However, local media mentioned that only when it restated the accusation or submitted court materials by the Gambia side. The adjectives were used in describing the rallies of Aung San Su Kyi's supporters along with the visualization and images of the event. Rather than reporting the stories of victims- Rohingya in conflict areas, the story angle of local media constructed on the opinion of Aung San Su Kyi supporters or the damage occurred by Rohingya militants, etc. The struggle of the victim

was largely ignored in local media. However, in the human interest frame of foreign-based media, the articles highlighting the numerous human right violation and abuse of Myanmar Military in ethnics conflict regions were prevalently mentioned. For instance, burning the homes and forced displacement, deaths in detention, torture and other kind of abuse involving arbitrary arrests. By using the voices of different stakeholders, it presented their reactions and outrage against Myanmar's military. Besides, the stories of the individual victim and refugees with expressive adjectives were written to push the emotion and create the sympathy of the news readers. In some stories, the quotes of human right activists who tell the longstanding issue of human right violation during armed conflicts between ethics armed groups and Myanmar Military, were described. Both themes mentioned above were built in the stories to back up the persecution of Rohingya in Rakhine region. Unlike local media that offer the visual of either local support to Aung San Suu Kyi or government officials, foreign-based media used the image of victim more under human interest frame. For instance, the image of a long queue of Rohingya refugees crossing the border from Myanmar to Bangladesh or the footage of this occurring and interview with the victim etc. Noticeably, foreign-based media highly stressed a massive number of Rohingya refugees relocation and presented the unfavorable view of international communities against the authorities of Myanmar regarding that crisis.

5.3.3. Conflict Frame

The presence of the conflict frame was predictable due to the nature of the case. It is noticeably that Myanmar did not agree to the accusation of genocide intent filed by Gambia nor the complaint of the international communities for the human right violations. With the presence of conflict frame, it claimed in its media content that there could have been violations of human rights and infringement of universal accepted norms of justice and rule of law in armed conflicts but these cannot be amount to genocide intent. However, Myanmar is willing to prosecute the wrongdoers and whoever violated will be charged according to the laws. The presence of conflict frame attribution-disagreement and riot was found only when local media restated the court materials submitted by Gambia. In some cases, the stories mentioned the fight between Myanmar Military and ethnic armed groups but blamed the armed groups, and supported the idea that the international community has a poor understanding of the social and political

context of this case. In presenting the winner or loser prediction, the narrative of the local media was overconfident on the side of Myanmar. Although local media was extremely optimistic about Myanmar winning at the court, that view was rarely seen in foreign-based media. In foreign-based media, the disagreement centered around distinctive opinions and voices on the case from the stakeholders of each side. By way of example, international communities supporting Gambia has insisted in pointing out the several indications of genocide intent done by Myanmar Military against Rohingya and other ethnic minorities, while Myanmar government is defensing by telling that clearance operation in western Rakhine state was a counterterrorism response to Rohingya militant attack against police outposts in August 2017. On top of that, they justified that the democratization in Myanmar is still in its infancy stage which meant its democracy values cannot be firmed enough like in other countries, but Myanmar is willing to prosecute the wrongdoers under military criminal justice system functioned in accordance with the constitutional orders of the country. Not only the disagreement of both sides, other forms of diverse views were presented in terms of exclusive interviews with political analysts, experts, representatives from international human right organizations and senators of westerns countries. Compared to local media, foreign-based media presented more views from multiple stakeholders and did not use a single source as local media. It is rational to say that the presence of conflict frames in foreign-based media were more vibrant with different individuals' opinions and reviews.

5.3.4. Morality Frame

Morality frame was not popular in the coverage of both media types. The moral message presented in local media was simply urging the fellow Burmese Buddhist citizens for national solidarity. That was backed by the support of other ethnic armed groups that do not like foreign intervention on the domestic conflict. In other cases, nationalist Buddhist monks orated in the public areas while displaying the image of atrocious crimes against local Rakhine people committed by Rohingya armed groups. With the use of Buddhism's norms, the narrative of the articles blamed the Rohingya community for their wrongdoing. Most of the time, this morality frame often occurred in combination with self-defense, and responsibility frames in local media. However, the narrative and news angle of foreign-based media was apparently contradictory from local media's narrative. For instance, it questioned the political will of the Myanmar government in performing

the provisional measurement instructed by the International Court of Justice (ICJ) as observable improvement on the ground has not been seen yet. And also, Myanmar government continued using the Muslim in Rakhine region rather than recognizing the term - Rohingya in their statements, despite Rohingya – the ethnic group have been widely accepted by the international communities. The moral message in foreign-based media focused more on humanity explaining the terrible living conditions of Rohingya communities at the camps. In addition, with the use of human right activists', the story lines expressed that organizing the rallies to support Aung San Su Kyi was like the same old propaganda agenda applied by the former military juntas. Contrasting to local media, this morality frame was coexisted with genocide and responsibility frame in foreign-based media.

5.3.5. Economic Consequences Frame

It is acceptable to see the low occurrence of economic consequences in both media as people should not consider the conflict from the economic consequences. The other aspects of the case were more important than this frame, for instance, some level of government to prevent the recurrence of historical violence and pave the way for the basic life improvement of people who have been affected by the conflict. Similar attributions of economic consequences were seen in both media. For instance, the number of blue collar workers who could be unemployed if the international community imposed the targeted sanction against Myanmar Military Juntas. In addition, there will also be a financial loss in the export industry of the country, especially in exporting rice, garment and fishery products. Both local media and foreign-based media contributed the same proportion of economic consequences in the coverage, and surprisingly, their highlights of economic consequences were more or less the same.

5.3.6. Genocide Frame

Unlike local media, genocide frame was the most popular applied in foreign-based media. Its narratives stressed the ignorance of the current democratic regime and blamed it for not condemning the atrocities of the Military against the Rohingya and other minorities. For instance, not only a group of Rohingya, but also the other members of ethnics groups – Kachin, Shan and Karen also have sympathy for the Rohingya and their support was with them. Even thanks to the initiatives of Gambia against Myanmar and condemned the

political figure – Aung San Suu Kyi for ignoring the military suppression against minorities for many decades. Besides, foreign-based media mostly criticized Daw Aung San Suu Kyi as a hypocritical human right icon who failed to speak out for the truth, and insisted that her defense at ICJ in The Hague was *"an effort to tap domestic support in her Buddhist-majority country ahead of elections due next year".* Further, the reaction of international communities against Myanmar Military and international pressure towards Myanmar government in terms of statement, sanction, individual's opinion of US senators and UN's representatives were covered in all respects. Blaming or accusing Myanmar government or Military for human right violations was rare to see in local media and it only occurred only when it recited the statement of Gambia or foreign embassies.

5.3.7. Self-defense Frame

Self-defense frames were the most prominent one in local media despite its ranking at the 5th place in foreign-based media. Local media mostly reported the demonstrations in solidarity with "Daw Aung San Suu Kyi" in several locations across the country, in a way of calling for the support from the audience in her defense of justice for the country. "We stand with our leader" was the popular phrase for protesters. Nationalist mindset is found by the use of stakeholders' voice, to be specific, "we must unite when our country is being sued by a small African country and show our support to a legal team led by "Mother Suu". "We did not conduct any genocide, it was just the counter-terrorism operations which targeted only to illegal insurgents who has attacked the security outposts in Rakhine". It was the most typical frame but there was also the blame to the opposing parties. For instance, Gambia and international communities failed to understand the historical context of the roots of conflict, in terms of economic, social. Further Myanmar blamed Gambia for barely touching the Rohingya militant attacks that had triggered off those serial conflicts and even implied that the suggested provisional measurement by Gambia will not be helpful to halt the genocide intent against Rohingya rather it could have resulted the negative impact on efforts at reconciliation and sustainable peace and development, etc. Due to the lack of local understanding on the complicity of the issue, international communities have accused of Myanmar for Genocide intent. These facts were the justification mostly found in the self-defense frame of local media. Despite the presence of a self-defense frame, foreign-based media literally criticized the lines of supporters as a blind support of Aung San Suu Kyi, which contrasts

from the presentation of local media. The presence of this criticism merged with the genocide frame in the article, meaning that foreign-based media provide the parallel view in reporting the event of Aung San Suu Kyi's supporters. Self-defense frame consisted only when they quoted or restated the defense points of Myanmar officials.

5.4. Limitations

This study design has some minor limitations while referenced in the theoretical framework and previous findings. Firstly, sampling method and sample size could have an impact on the result despite the fact that selection of the stories was conducted in a reliable manner. Even though 13% (407 articles) of total media coverage were examined as a sample, the media coverage was limited in some months. Secondly, it must be acknowledged that two local media examined here do not represent the whole view of all local media as well as the represented two foreign-based media do not denote the view of all media based in abroad. The two media each for local media and foreign-based media were chosen due to their wider circulations, readership and accessibility, but even so, they can only provide the common view and framing. One of the main purposes of this research was to study the difference in representation and framing of the news "*Rohingya: Gambia files case against Myanmar at ICJ*" between local media and foreign-based media. Thirdly, detecting bias in the news was convoluted, even the indicators in this study would not be sufficient to draw the conclusion whether the media was biased, but at least, the handful of results in each indicator was viable for ones to judge on that. Lastly, the five frame of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) is the deductive approach used as a framework in this study to operationalize the "content", and analyze but not applied as a central research idea. Furthermore, the content analysis was also the descriptive method, thus the analysis only provides the facts but may not adequately reveal the ground causes and explanations for the observed outcomes. Even if the operational definition of the coding categories were modified to be precise by taking into account previous scholar's studies, theories and literatures, further improvement might be needed from the scholar point of view.

5.5. Implications and further research

Despite these limitations, this study contributes to the existing literature by providing the facts and analysis of different representations of the sensitive news related to nationalism. It also offers a strong comparison of perceived bias of foreign-based media and local media' journalists in terms of media representation, and how the presentation could be different depending on the level of media professionalism as well as the media environment they have been trained in. Besides, it highlights the media reactions and their standpoints of the case when the news is about partisan identities and nationalism. Moreover, this study contributes the empirical facts of framing and rhetoric in the controversial case of Genocide accusation. In the study of Rohingya crisis, nothing has done related to this genocide accusation case so far. For that reason, this study would additionally provide the fact and value to the existing literature of framing in genocide case study, in terms of language and tone used in media.

Apart from that, based on the current study of this research, further studies should examine the classification of stakeholders' contribution in shaping the news narrative of the issue, their tone and different media representation of stakeholders in the media. Not only that, it would be interesting to examine the framing effect, in another word, the impact of different story narratives by both local and foreign-based media to their individual interpretation and overall perception on the issue can be conducted by accessing the audience's reaction on their social media platforms. Thereby, the additional research about how the framing of the news will have been altered on the social media platform by the contributions and engagement of the public under posts and what will be the causal relation between the effect of social media and the diverse audience support in democratic and military regime. Further studies should also consider the different framing of legacy media, particularly foreign-based radio broadcasting stations versus Myanmar radio broadcasting stations that run under government if possible.

Furthermore, it also added to the empirical and theoretical contributions of the scholars regarding the different aspects of Myanmar Media, which have experienced several challenges along the way of political transitions in the country. In addition, this paper underscores that the country's isolation during military regime have the direct impact on the media sector as well as the intellectual and ideological development of the majority

of the country's population, which leads the country in the challenging situation in tackling taboo issue such as religion, ethnic minority right and human right violations of military. And, this study could also be used as a fact or further study in highlighting the weakness of Democratic system in the developing country. Democracy is the most viable system so far in the world and nothing to complain about. However, democracy functions work well only in developed countries, but it paves the way for populism in the developing country, especially in Myanmar which have been exploited by the Military elites in the past. For instance, power is in the hands of the people is the claim of democracy, and the voters have the right to choose their representatives, who have goodwill for the sake of the people. Since it does not account for the level of education and human development of the citizens of the voters, it could go wrong as a blind faith when the majority of the society is in the condition to repair in all respect to catch up with the democratic values. Even the Nobel prize winner, Aung San Suu Kyi, could not resist the popular idea of the majority, then thereby, turned into a populist being criticized by the international community. The way she handled the case reflected the current populist theories in the literature. Thus, by taking that case, it would be a unique study to go further for the research in political communication and populism in South East Asia.

Notes: The analysis of media coverage "[Rohingya: Gambia files case against Myanmar at ICJ](#)" of local media and foreign-based media provides the conclusion that local media created more self-defense narrative while foreign-based media covered the stories with genocide frames more. Other than that, responsibility and human interest frames were the frequent frames used significantly in both media. Furthermore, over the period of analysis, the foreign-based media paid more attention to the issue compared to the local media which shows the perceived bias in their news presentation. The reason behind putting bias over the content stress the excessive necessity of media development within the country. As the media is considered to be the change agent, it is paramount for the media to build their competency and respect the journalistic values so as not to be toxic for the society. Unfortunately, the local media community unconsciously engaged in portraying enemy figures, promoting hate speech that partially justified the military's human right violation against the Rohingya community while supporting the country's political figure – Aung San Suu Kyi, who has now been under house arrest after Military Coup on 1st February. Nevertheless, Myanmar is now going through an abysmal situation

under the Military coup's regime. Meanwhile, the flow of information and the internet is greatly restricted and the press is subject to strict censorship, so, the current situation of Myanmar does not even have a space for international communities and civil societies to work on the country's media development. Thus, it is going to be a long way to see the progress of media development after ending the military coup, which Burmese citizens have been wishing and fighting for with the resilience and perseverance.

###

Appendix:

Appendix - I : Code Book (Media attention, representation & bias)					
Name	**Code**	**value**	**Code**	**Value**	**Definition**
Media name	1	The Myanmar Times			
	2	Eleven Media			
	3	Voice of America (VOA)			
	4	Radio Free Asia (RFA)			
Type of News	1	News Brief			
	2	New stories			
Type of Content	1	Article			
	2	Video			
Length of the article	1	Short	less than 200 words		
	2	Medium	less than 400 words		
	3	Long	more than 400 words		
If it is clip					
Length of the clip	1	Short	less than 3 mins		
	2	Medium	less than 5 mins		
	3	Long	6~more mins		
Tone of the news	1	Positive outlook of the conflict			
	2	Negative outlook of the conflict			
	3	Neutral outlook of the conflict			
	4	Ambivalent			
Visuals	0		No visuals		
	1	In favor of Gambia	Gambia's representative image, Rohingya's refugee, interview of Gambia side, Causalities, Damage to the Rohingya side, Any form of support by Human right organization to Gambia actions and Rohingya group.		
	2	In favor of Myanmar	Image of ASSK, public support or rallies to ASSK's defense, interview of Burmese supporters		
	3	Neutral	Court, interview of expert, news occasion, the image of third party such as experts, ambassadors, representatives from HRW and Ethnic armed organizations		
Terms		Rohingya	To count the total number of term presented in the news.		
		Bengalis			
Voices	1	In favor of Gambia			
	2	In favor of Myanmar			
	3	Neutral			

	1	Myanmar Voices	0	No	Does the news present the voice from Myanmar side?
			1	Yes	
	2	Rakhine Voices	0	No	Does the news present the voice of Rakhine ethnicity or nationalists' opinion on the case?
			1	Yes	
	3	Gambia Voices	0	No	Does the news present the voice from the Gambia side?
			1	Yes	
	4	Muslims Voices	0	No	Does the news present the voice from Rohingya side and Muslim ?
			1	Yes	
	5	Third party	0	No	Does the news include the voice from third parties? If yes, at which side they stand for or are they neutral on the case?
			1	Yes	
Sources	1	In favor of Gambia	(sources - representative from Gambia, Rohingya)		
	2	In favor of Myanmar	(sources - representative from Myanmar, elite military, government official--> which mostly take the side of Myanmar)		
	3	Others - Third party	(sources- expert' opinion, UN org)		
	4	Ambivalent	Sources is not available (NA)		
	5	Balance	Sources are from both side or more than two sources.		

**Appendix - II : The generic frames for analysis - Codebook**					
Two - pre determined frames	Self-Defense frame by Myanmar	0	No	Does article present the blame to Gambia, Bangladesh, Rohingya and international community over ethnic tension and reject the accusation of genocide?	
		1	Yes		
		0	No	Does article present how Myanmar side will overcome this accusation and mention how they will proceed to manage this crisis?	
		1	Yes		
		0	No	Does article show the support to the justification of ASSK at ICJ or present the nationalist mindset?	
		1	Yes		
		0	No	Does article present kill or be killed dichotomy or purification or rescue of Rakhine race or national safeguard or justify a reason why the Military have to perform the operation?	
		1	Yes		
	Genocide Frame	0	No	Does the article present the blame to Myanmar officials, the Military' operation and its violation of Human rights?	
		1	Yes		
		0	No	Does the article present the victim, dehumanized behavior of the Military, violence action, mass killing and atrocities?	
		1	Yes		
		0	No	Does article present the accusation that Myanmar commit the genocide or pressure toward Myanmar government to change the policy or rescue the victim?	
		1	Yes		
Five Generic frames: the conceptual framework of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000)	Human Interest Frame	0	No	Does the story provide a human example or 'human face' on the issue?	
		1	Yes		
		0	No	Does the story employ adjectives that generate feelings of outrage, empathy? Or Does the story present a group of people are showing support to a certain idea, and provoke people reaction to join it?	
		1	Yes		
		0	No	Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/ problem?	
		1	Yes		
		0	No	Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors?	
		1	Yes		
		0	No	Does the story contain visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy or compassion?	
		1	Yes		
	Responsibility frame	0	No	Does the story suggest that some level of government (Myanmar or United Nation or Bangladesh or Gambia and other groups) has the ability to alleviate the issue/problem?	
		1	Yes		
		0	No	Does the story suggest some level of the government (Myanmar or United Nation or Bangladesh or Gambia and other groups) is responsible for the issue/problem?	
		1	Yes		

		0	No	Does the story suggest that an individual or group of people in society (nationalists, supporters of Aung San Su Kyi, EAOs, Muslim group, Rohingya, Rakhine) is responsible for the issue/problem?
		1	Yes	
		0	No	Does the story suggest solutions to the issue/problem?
		1	Yes	
		0	No	Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action?
		1	Yes	
	Conflict frame	0	No	Does the story revolve around disagreement between parties, individuals, groups, countries? (Muslim, Rohingya, Buddhist, Rakhine, Myanmar, Gambia, EAOs, Bangladesh)
		1	Yes	
		0	No	Does the story refer to fights, riots, and confrontation between two or more parties, individuals, groups, countries?(Muslim, Rohingya, Buddhist, Rakhine, Myanmar, Gambia, EAOs, Bangladesh)
		1	Yes	
		0	No	Does the story refer to two sides or more than two sides of the problem?
		1	Yes	
		0	No	Does the story refer to winners and losers?
		1	Yes	
	Economic consequences frame	0	No	Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?
		1	Yes	
		0	No	Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expense involved?
		1	Yes	
		0	No	Is there a reference to economic consequences of (not) pursuing a course of action?
		1	Yes	
	Morality frame	0	No	Does the story contain any moral message?
		1	Yes	
		0	No	Does the story make reference to morality, God, Allah, and other religious tenets?
		1	Yes	
		0	No	Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?
		1	Yes	

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