NLA University College

Rohingya human trafficking in the news: A comparative analysis of media representation in Bangladeshi and British newspapers

By Prolab Roy

NLA University College, Kristiansand

Declaration

Student

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original work and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere:

Candidate's Signature: *Date:*

                                                                    September 18, 2023

……………………………….

Name: Prolab Roy

Supervisor

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the dissertation/thesis was supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by NLA University College

Supervisor's Signature: *Date:*

                                                                    September 18, 2023

………………………………..

Name: Egil Sæbø

Acknowledgment

I would like to express my utmost gratitude to my Supervisor Professor Egil Sæbø. The successful culmination of my master's thesis endeavor would not have been achievable without his invaluable guidance, advice, and patience throughout my academic journey.

I wish to convey my eternal gratitude to the international admission office and especially Dr. Terje Skjerdal, for admitting me to study the unique Master's in Global Journalism at NLA University College.

I am also thankful to all my supportive faculty members of the program in Kristiansand, whose profound teachings and imparted skills have significantly enriched my academic expedition.

My heartfelt gratitude is dedicated to my parents, Delip Roy and Sima Roy. Without their unwavering dedication, support, and encouragement, my higher study dream abroad would never have been completed.

I am also thankful to my younger brother, Shail Kumar Rai for encouraging me to move to Norway for higher studies. His constant support, patience and love inspire me to work so hard and achieve my academic goals.

Prolab Roy
prolabroy.mcj@gmail.com

Dedication

I respectfully dedicate this master's thesis to my cherished parents, Delip Roy and Sima Roy, as well as to my younger brother, Shail Kumar Rai. Their unwavering encouragement has been the driving force propelling my pursuit of higher academic accomplishments.

Abstract

Human trafficking has emerged as one of the fastest-growing criminal activities, impacting almost every single nation in the world. This study examines and compares the way in which human trafficking of Rohingya refugees was presented in a Bangladeshi and a British newspaper between 2017 and 2021. Rohingya refugees, an ethnic Muslim minority, have become vulnerable to human trafficking following the military crackdown in Myanmar's Rakhine state in 2017. The current study employs a quantitative content analysis of 71 news articles from the Daily Star (BD) and the Guardian (UK) over a five-year period. A comparative analysis of media coverage of the Rohingya trafficking issue identifies major similarities and differences in the way the issue is framed, sources, and news tones used in these two countries. The study finds that six different frames, ten various sources, and three news tones are used to describe the Rohingya trafficking issue. For example, the Bangladeshi newspaper predominantly used the criminal justice frame, while the British newspaper used the victimization frame. Conversely, the health risk frame is the least prominent in the Bangladeshi newspaper while the criminal justice frame and human business frames are both considered less important in the British newspaper. While the Bangladeshi media uses the law enforcer's source with top importance, the British newspaper suggests the predominant use of aid/NGO/human rights groups' sources. However, both newspapers use official sources with great similarities. In terms of news writing tone, both media outlets predominantly utilize positive tones towards the refugees and trafficking victims. The Bangladeshi newspaper also presents the Rohingya refugees and trafficking victims negatively, marking the second most prominent tone within its articles. However, the British newspaper did not contain any negative tone in its coverage.

Keywords*: Human Trafficking, Rohingya Human Trafficking, Rohingya Refugee, Rohingya Trafficking, Rohingya Crisis, Media Framing, Media Representation, Framing Analysis, Comparative Analysis, Bangladesh, United Kingdom.*

Table of Contents

Abbreviations

ARSA- Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army

BBC – British Broadcasting Corporation

BD- Bangladesh

BDT-Bangladeshi Taka

BGB- Border Guard Bangladesh

BRAC- Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee

DS- Daily Star

G- Guardian

HRW- Human Rights Watch

IFRC- International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies

ILO- International Labour Organization

IOM- International Organization for Migration

NGO- Non-Governmental Organization

OECD- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

OHCHR- Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

RAB- Rapid Action Battalion

RRRC- Refugee Relief and Repatriation Commissioner

SUHAKAM-Human Rights Commission of Malaysia

UK- United Kingdom

UN- United Nations

UNHCR- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNICEF- United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

UNODC- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

USD-United States Dollar

WHO- World Health Organization

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Relevance of the Study

Human trafficking has emerged as one of the most rapidly proliferating criminal activities, affecting almost every country in the world (Chakraborty & Kundu, 2012). It is now widely regarded as a form of "modern slavery and economic exploitation" (Koettl, 2009). Traffickers exploit individuals every day for monetary profit in every nation globally (Sobel, 2014; Ahmad & Nusrat, 2022; Mutaqin, 2022). Human trafficking is considered the second most profitable criminal business after the sale of weapons and drugs. The estimated worth of human trafficking and forced labor industry stands at approximately 150 billion USD (Deb et al., 2011; Khan & Arslan, 2022). Presently, 50 million people are the victims of modern-day slavery (ILO, 2022).

The victims of human trafficking face sexual exploitation, forced marriage, and forced labor (Naik & Arafath, 2021). More than 30 million women, girls, and children are trafficked from Asian countries for commercial sex exploitation (Deb et al., 2011). An overwhelming 99 percent of the women and girls' victims are forced to work as sex slaves in the commercial sex industry (Naik & Arafath, 2021). Human trafficking arises from various factors such as poverty, unemployment, economic disparities, corruption, weak border control, gender/racial inequality, religious persecution (military crackdown), and political unrest (Shelley, 2010; Naik and Arafath, 2021). A massive exodus of Rohingya Muslims entered Bangladesh due to the military crackdown by the Myanmar government in Rakhine state in 2017. As of now, more than one million Rohingya refugees continue to stay in different camps in Bangladesh (UNHCR, 2022; Ahmad & Nusrat, 2022).

The Rohingya crisis, marred by human rights abuses, has garnered global media attention, shaping perceptions and inspiring action (Sobel, 2014; Routary, 2019). Media on local and international levels have framed the refugee crisis from various perspectives, including human rights issues, religious issues, ethnic issues, citizenship war, racism, Islamophobia, and political challenges for survival (Afzal, 2016). Globally, most media characterize the Myanmar government as a perpetrator of ethnic violence, Muslim genocide, and human rights abuses. Likewise, the

Bangladeshi media portrayed a more empathetic stance towards the refugees in the beginning. However, over time, in the host country and selected neighboring nations, media narratives have shifted to portray the Rohingyas as a burden, security threat, and potential offenders specifically around 2019 (Wadud, 2020).

Bangladesh is a Muslim-majority country. Bangladeshi Islamist groups support and shelter Rohingyas due to political gains. The ruling Awami League strategically opened Bangladesh's borders to Rohingya refugees, aiming to achieve their political objectives while preempting Islamist groups from exploiting the issue for political gains (Brennan & O'Hara, 2015; Yayboke, 2018). Media play a pivotal role in endorsing the government's supportive stance on Muslim Rohingya refugees, thereby garnering support from voters who hold an affinity towards Islam. However, with the Rohingya refugee crisis persisting as a long-standing burden for Bangladesh, the previously sympathetic and supportive media narratives evolved into adversarial perspectives (Wadud, 2020).

As an online journalist with years of experience, this author observed various news on Rohingya refugee-related issues spanning from 2017 to 2021. The trafficking of Rohingya refugees is a major issue featured in the Bangladeshi media with a great focus on law enforcers' activities. These common reporting issues include the rescue of refugees and the arrest of traffickers. It appears to the researcher that media outlets are much more focused on Rohingya human trafficking rather than their repatriation issue and permanent solutions to the crisis. This also indicates a growing concern about human trafficking, which became more evident after the military crackdown in Rakhine state in 2017. Consequently, this study is particularly motivated to investigate how the media, both in the host country of Bangladesh and on the international level, address the Rohingya human trafficking issue. The objective is to analyze the framing of the trafficking issue, examine the news sources used, and explore portrayals of refugees and trafficking victims, encompassing positive, negative, and neutral perspectives.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Since the eruption of the Rohingya crisis, it has garnered significant media attention around the world due to the gravity of the issue. Some research projects have been conducted on this crisis and from a few perspectives. Most media scholars used analysis of framing to investigate the representations of Rohingya refugees in the media in different countries, including Bangladesh. Some of the studies have been conducted for comparative analysis of the overall Rohingya crisis in the media in different countries, including Bangladesh, India, Myanmar, China, Malaysia, the USA, and the UK. The approach to media representation is different based on the geopolitical situation. For example, Afzal (2016) and Islam (2018) find that Bangladeshi media portrayed Rohingya issues from a humanitarian background with a great focus on victimization and suffering. The media studies in India, Myanmar, China, and Malaysia predominately approach the Rohingya crisis as a political conflict, and security issue, negatively portraying the refugees.

Conversely, media in the UK and the USA predominately treated the Rohingyas as powerless victims who needed assistance from the international community (Brooten, 2015). On the other hand, when it comes to media representation of human trafficking in general, there is a predominant view of sexual exploitation and prostitution issues obscuring the complexity and broader societal context (Gulati, 2010; Muraszkiewicz et al., 2014; Austin & Farrel, 2017). Studies also emphasized criminal justice and victimization issues rather than emphasizing the rescue and rehabilitation of trafficked victims (Pajnik, 2010; Muraszkiewicz et al., 2014; Barnett, 2016).

Despite some studies conducted on human trafficking and the Rohingya crisis, a combined study of Rohingya trafficking and their representation in the media in Bangladesh and the international media remains an unexplored academic field. Thus, the primary goal of this study is to conduct a comparative analysis of media representation of Rohingya human trafficking in the Bangladeshi and British newspapers. The existing research gap in combined media study on Rohingya human trafficking and their representation across local and international media platforms informs this research.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

The purpose of the study is to examine and compare media narratives in Bangladeshi and British newspapers and present a holistic perspective on the Rohingya human trafficking crisis. The study analyzed a total of 71 news articles, including editorials relevant to the Rohingya human trafficking issue of one Bangladeshi local newspaper and one British newspaper with a central focus on media representation. The key objectives of the study are:

(1) To understand how local and international media frame the Rohingya human trafficking issue

(2) To understand the utilization of various types of news sources and news tones to represent the issue

(3) To do a comparative analysis of media coverage in the Bangladeshi and British newspapers in terms of dominant news framing, news sources, and news tones

1.4. Research Questions

The study analyzed the media coverage of Rohingya trafficking in one Bangladeshi newspaper, The Daily Star (DS), and one British newspaper, The Guardian. Two research questions have been formulated to conduct this study. They are given below:

RQ1. What are the dominant frames, types of sources, and tones employed in the Bangladeshi and British newspapers?

This question has been chosen to investigate how local (The Daily Star) versus international (The Guardian) news media approach dominant news frames, various sources, and tones in their news coverage. This question is to gain valuable insight into the position of different local and international organizations and governments when it comes to encountering the issue of Rohingya human trafficking from local and international perspectives.

RQ2. What are the similarities and differences between the two newspapers' coverage in terms of news framing, sources, and news writing tones toward the Rohingya and trafficking victims?

This question has been formulated to do a comparative analysis of the newspaper's coverage. The answer to these questions is to shed light on the findings of the study and compare one country to another which eventually provides us with a broader understanding of the media framing of Rohingya trafficking and the utilization of different types of news sources. The news writing tones investigate the blame and sympathy toward the refugees and trafficking victims.

1.5. Significance of the Study

The Rohingya refugee crisis has become one of the worst humanitarian crises, according to world media reports. Mass media have the power to raise awareness of the problem of Rohingya trafficking, obtain public approval, and give victims a voice as well as a feeling of empowerment. Considering the unlikely prospect of an immediate resolution to the Rohingya crisis, research on media representation of the Rohingya trafficking issue remains of paramount importance (Sobel, 2014). The combined examination of media representation and Rohingya human trafficking issues in previous studies has not been given the attention it deserves. This study intends to add value to the academic discussion on media representations, for example, how journalists think about human trafficking and news framing of refugees in the global South versus the West. The findings are quite possible to relate to other similar studies on refugee trafficking, enriching a broader understanding of newspaper roles from local versus international perspectives. This study also anticipates making a valuable contribution to the existing literature within the domain of media and communication research. Furthermore, the findings may offer valuable insights for policymakers and media organizations.

1.6. The Structure of the Dissertation

This thesis contains six chapters. The first chapter begins with an introduction encompassing elements such as research relevance, study objectives, research questions, study significance, and the overall structure. The second chapter is devoted to the context of the study, the literature review, consisting of previous studies on media representation studies on human trafficking and the Rohingya refugee crisis and the theoretical framework. The third chapter is about the explanations of methods for data collection and analysis. The fourth chapter is for newspaper-wise data presentation of results and findings. The fifth chapter is for discussion, containing restating the newspaper-wise results, their interpretation, and explanations for comparative analysis of media coverage in these countries. Finally, the sixth chapter is the conclusion, containing the major findings of the comparative analysis.

Chapter 2: Review of Literature

The literature review of this paper has been split into two separate sections. The first section sheds light on the context of the study, some definitions of key terms related to human trafficking, relevant previous media studies on human trafficking, and the Rohingya refugee crisis. The subsequent section focuses on the theoretical framework of the study.

2.1. Context of the Study

The issue of human trafficking has drawn a significant amount of attention from the general public during the past two decades (Weitzer, 2014). The destitute and helpless are commonly the victims of human trafficking (Sobel, 2014; Ahmad & Nusrat, 2022; Khan & Arslan, 2022; Mutaqin, 2022). This criminal activity is carried out openly in the presence of governments and human rights groups (Chakraborty & Kundu, 2012). As a result, the issue has gained increasing media coverage, anti-trafficking activity has increased, and most nations have formulated new policies, legislation, and enforcement procedures to address it. Many governments from local and international levels have taken the issue as an important political goal (Weitzer, 2014). Governments and human rights groups across the world are working together to battle the crime (Laczko & Gozdziak, 2005; Weitzer, 2014; Naik & Arafath, 2021).

Every year, approximately 2.5 million men, women, and children are caught by human traffickers across international boundaries (Koettl, 2009). The number of victims of modern slavery is on the rise. Women and children are the most vulnerable group. At present, 50 million people are the victims of modern-day slavery, as per the latest report of Global Estimates of Modern Slavery 2021. Among them, 28 million are the victims of forced labor while 22 million are caught in forced marriage (ILO, 2022). The victims of human trafficking faced sexual exploitation, forced marriage, and forced labor, as noted by Walk Free Foundation and ILO (Naik & Arafath, 2021).

The crime of human trafficking for sexual exploitation is predominant among Asian countries. However, presently, a total of 160 countries around the world are infected with this heinous crime. More than 30 million women, girls, and young children are trafficked from Asian countries for

commercial sex exploitation (Deb et al., 2011). Likewise, Naik and Arafath (2021) note that 99 percent of the women and girls victims are forced to work as sex slaves in the commercial sex industry (Naik & Arafath, 2021). The majority of human trafficking cases, accounting for 85 percent, stem from Asian nations, mostly from Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Myanmar, Thailand, Philippines, Cambodia, China, and Indonesia. These victims from Asian nations face horrific sexual exploitation in the Middle East, North America, Europe, and Asia as well (Shelley, 2010).

There are many root causes for the prevalence of human trafficking. Insufficient employment options, impoverishment, global economic imbalances, corruption, lack of border security, racial and gender inequality, and political unrest and violence are a few of them (Shelley, 2010). Given the current situation worldwide, any region experiencing conflict would seem to be the center of such crimes of human trafficking (Ahmad & Nusrat, 2022). Similarly, Naik and Arafath (2021) argue that religious persecution (military crackdown) and poor economic conditions can fuel the intensity of human trafficking as the traffickers take advantage of people's vulnerability.

In Myanmar, the continuous human rights violence for decades against the Rohingya minorities has resulted in unavoidable forced displacement. Due to recurring episodes of violence, more than one million Rohingya people have fled Myanmar since the early 1990s. (Lee, 2021; UNHCR, 2022). A ruthless army-led "clearing operation" into Rohingya villages in 2017 brought decades of growing human rights violations to the attention of the world. The military of Myanmar used scorched earth tactics in the northern region of Rakhine state under the guise of searching for militants. These tactics, however, targeted the Rohingya community and hundreds of Rohingya villages were set on fire. As many as 9,000 Rohingya people were also reportedly killed by the military, while Rohingya women and girls were allegedly the victims of sexual assault on a large scale (Lee, 2021; Ahmad & Nusrat, 2022). This so-called ethnic clearance operation or military crackdown and sexual violence on Rohingya Muslim minorities in August 2017 were responsible for increasing forced displacement and human trafficking from Myanmar (Wahab, 2018; Naik & Arafath 2021; Anwary, 2022).

The Rohingyas are ethnic Muslim minorities from Myanmar's Rakhine state. They are the largest minority group among others in Buddhist countries. The majority of Rohingyas in Myanmar reside in the coastal area of Western Rakhine, and they are not permitted to visit anywhere without government consent. They are now one of the most persecuted communities in the world (Routray, 2019; Al Jazeera, 2022; Mantı & Cansu Islam, 2022). However, the ethnic group is refused their citizenship from Myanmar, and they have been persecuted and violently repressed for many years. Now many of them are at risk of being trafficked because of the military crackdown, which is thought to have resulted in thousands of deaths and hundreds of destroyed villages (Freedom Collaborative, 2022). More than 723,000 Rohingya refugees fled from Myanmar to Bangladesh by August 2018 (OHCHR, 2018; UNHCR, 2018). As of now, more than one million Rohingya refugees have been staying in different camps in Bangladesh as a result of the military crackdown by Myanmar in 2017 (Routray, 2019; Ahmad & Nusrat, 2022; Mantı & Cansu Islam, 2022).

As the issue has not been resolved even after five years, the mass exodus of Rohingya Muslims continues to countries like Bangladesh, India, Malaysia, Indonesia and a few others since 2017 (UNHCR, 2022; Ahmad & Nusrat, 2022). The UN High Commissioner of Refugees (UNHCR) reports that more than 2,300 Rohingya have traveled across the Bay of Bengal since January 2020 in search of employment, marriage, or family reunification, the majority of whom are women and children. Most refugees have departed from camps close to Cox's Bazar (Shishir, 2021). The refugee crisis is still ongoing at an alarming rate. Due to their poor and vulnerable condition, the people of the Rohingya community are often easy prey to human traffickers, especially for sexual and forced labor exploitations (Routray, 2019; Freedom Collaborative, 2022). According to the report of Freedom Collaboration (2022), the issue of Rohingya trafficking is still alarming and ongoing.

There is proof that Rohingya are being trafficked for sexual exploitation, domestic work, or labor exploitation both domestically to major cities and internationally to India, Pakistan, Nepal, and Malaysia (Ahmad & Nusrat, 2022). According to an investigation by the Malaysian Human Rights Commission (SUHAKAM) and Fortify Rights, about 170,000 Rohingya refugees from Bangladesh and Myanmar have been victims of trafficking aftermath of the episodic military

crackdown in Myanmar. The International Organisation for Migration notes that human trafficking case is on the rise in the largest refugee camps in south-eastern districts in Bangladesh. As of December 2019, the authorities announced that over 4,400 trafficking cases were still under investigation or being prosecuted. Roughly 15 percent of them are children (Shishir, 2021).

Mass media have the immense power to influence public perceptions and policymakers regarding human trafficking (Riffe, Lacy & Fico, 2014). As Myanmar continues the human rights violence against the Rohingya Muslim minority in the Rakhine state, the refugee crisis has gained extensive media coverage around the world (Sobel, 2014; Routray, 2019). The coverage of the Rohingya issue in world media can invoke various perspectives and shape the notions of mass people. The media can also motivate both common people and decision-makers to take action (Sobel, 2014).

2.2. Understanding Human Trafficking

In the middle of the 20th century, the term "trafficking" was first used in phrases like "trafficking in women and children" and "trafficking in white slaves" to describe the forced prostitution of women and children. However, by the late 1990s, it was clear that a more inclusive definition of human trafficking was required to fully encompass the pervasive and diverse forms of modern-day slavery (Cullen-DuPont, 2009). Scholars agree that human trafficking is a form of modern-day slavery of the historical slave trade in which traffickers exploit victims in various ways (Bales, 1999).

According to the Anti-Slavery International RACE Project report (2014, p. 86):

> *"Trafficking involves bringing people away from the communities in which they live and forcing them into work against their will using violence, deception or coercion. When children are trafficked, no violence, deception or coercion needs to be involved: simply transporting them into exploitative conditions constitutes trafficking."*

Similarly, Wijers and Lap-Chew (1997, p. 36) denote that human trafficking involves: "all acts in the recruitment and/or transportation of (persons) within and across national borders for work, by

means of violence or threat of violence, abuse of authority or dominant position, debt bondage, deception or other forms of coercion."

The concept of "trafficking in persons", an internationally recognized agreement, is a relatively new development. In 2000, a comprehensive definition of human trafficking was adopted by the General Assembly as part of the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in People, Particularly Women, and Children. The Trafficking Protocol defines the term "trafficking in persons" as follows:

> *"(a) "Trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs;*
>
> *(b) The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used;*
>
> *(c) The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered "trafficking in persons" even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article;*
>
> *(d) "Child" shall mean any person under eighteen years of age."*

Similarly, the US Department of Justice (2015) notes: "Human trafficking, also known as trafficking in persons, is a crime that involves compelling or coercing a person to provide labor or

services, or to engage in commercial sex acts. The coercion can be subtle or overt, physical or psychological."

Some important features of the definitions are mentioned here. Trafficking involves the exploitation of men, women, and children in various ways, including sexual exploitation, forced labor, forced marriage, and so on. Trafficking can happen inside and outside of international borders. It can occur in the victim's home country or an international country. Trafficking is a different crime from smuggling immigrants. Trafficking entails taking advantage of victims—often for sexual or other forms of exploitation—without their permission. Migration smuggling involves facilitating the unlawful transit of people across borders. In cases of trafficking, consent is not possible. Consent is meaningless in situations where personal freedom is restricted due to the inherent inalienability of such freedom, as acknowledged by international human rights law (Ghosh, 2009; Ohchr, 2014).

2.3. Previous Media Focus on Human Trafficking/Rohingya Crisis

Media representation studies have extensively examined both the issues of human trafficking and the Rohingya crisis separately. A sizeable number of studies have taken place on a broad spectrum, encompassing different nations at both local and global levels. The majority of scholarly literature on this topic is accessible in the English language. In pursuit of a master's thesis, relevant and important academic publications have been thoroughly evaluated and incorporated into this comparative analysis. This chapter begins with an individual presentation of the distinct examinations from various studies and subsequently, these studies are subjected to a critical evaluation.

Media Representation of Human Trafficking

Pajnik's (2010) study investigated how media frame the issue of human trafficking in the Slovene newspapers, focusing on various aspects, the presence and absence of certain themes, and their implications. The findings identified four different frames: criminalization, nationalization, victimization and regularization which collectively contribute to shaping the anti-trafficking

paradigm. The frames promote this paradigm by advocating for stricter regulations and highlighting the importance of the nation-state in combating trafficking. The victimization frame narrows the perception of sex trafficking, obscuring agency and perpetuating a victim narrative. Notably, media framing overlooks the broader social context, failing to address its link to inequality and social divisions.

Gulati (2010) in his paper titled *"Media representation of human trafficking in the United States, Great Britain, and Canada "* examined whether newspapers used various viewpoints to cover human trafficking news. However, the findings showed that the news stories were highly reliant on official and some established news sources. The study was conducted on six different newspapers from the US, UK, and Canada from 2000 to 2005. The findings of the study explored that human trafficking coverage predominantly conceptualized as sex trafficking, based on official sources, identified criminalization as the preliminary reason for trafficking, and the most significant way of battling trafficking is strengthening current policy. The results also denoted that with minor differences, there were significant similarities among the countries in terms of representing human trafficking news stories. The coverage of six newspapers (The Washington Post and The New York Times from the UK; The Times of London and The Guardian from the UK; and The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star from Canada) was taken for analysis in this study.

Denton (2013) conducted a study on *"International News Coverage of Human Trafficking Arrests and Prosecutions: A Content Analysis."* The researcher went through content analysis of 191 stories related to human trafficking from Google News Archive (GNA) over six months from January to June 2007. The objective of the study was to come to a better comprehension of the act of human trafficking as well as to analyze the effects of the media's portrayal of human trafficking. The findings of this study point to the necessity of a deeper comprehension of all parties, including both women trafficking offenders and men victims. The findings also support the argument that contemporary trends in studies on human trafficking do not sufficiently counter popular media portrayals of traffickers and their victims. This is mainly because of media trends, which makes it

increasingly difficult to tell the difference between migrant smuggling and human trafficking for various abuse.

Sobel (2014) conducted a quantitative content analysis on human trafficking news coverage from three English media outlets in India, Thailand and the USA between March 2006 and March 2009. The comparative research *"Chronicling a crisis: Media framing of human trafficking in India, Thailand, and the USA"* explored the framing patterns of news stories before and after the start of the global United Nations (UN) anti-trafficking program. The dominant framing patterns were explored as human rights, crime, policy, and public health. The study revealed that the coverage of human trafficking stories increased significantly soon after the initiative, meaning that the coverage became more localized, and made more regular suggestions for causes and treatments. It also explored that there was not much blame on victims and more emphasis on the criminal and political aspects of human trafficking rather than human rights or public health issues. Moreover, an increasing number of official citations have been used after the treaty. In the end, the study concluded that the policymakers of the UN need to take more effective measures so that policy information can be disseminated through newspapers.

Muraszkiewicz et al. (2014) offered a review of how human trafficking is framed within the media in the UK, Cyprus, and Poland between 2010 and 2014. The qualitative content analysis of 212 news articles from ten different newspapers reveals a prevailing focus in media discussion related to sexual exploitation, especially prostitution. While the media in Cyprus deviated from this pattern, both British and Polish media outlets framed human trafficking as a matter of immigration. Furthermore, the study revealed that human trafficking was largely portrayed within the criminal justice frame, which included coverage of arrests and judicial proceedings. This framing noted that trafficking is connected with organized criminal networks. Sensational stories, notably in tabloids, were prominent, often featuring arrests and court cases with a high degree of detail to shock readers. Few news articles delved into the complex social issues underlying human trafficking. The study emphasizes that without comprehensive discourse that extends beyond sensational stories of sexual exploitation, public understanding regarding the true nature of human trafficking might remain distorted, ultimately hampering effective anti-trafficking efforts.

Nonetheless, the analysis implies that the large number of articles published in these nations, even if sensationalized, might play a positive role in promoting consciousness about human trafficking as an important issue in Europe.

Sanford, Martínez & Weitzer's (2016) research examined how media coverage shifts in the USA over a one-year period. The study was conducted on a total of 189 articles on human trafficking in the Washington Post and the New York Times between 2012 and 2013. The researchers also extend and reproduce a study conducted between 1980 and 2006. In addition to comparative analysis, the study investigated how media defined and framed the news of human trafficking. It also examined prominent features and types of sources and victims who got top priority. The study found that the media coverage was heavily dependent on official government sources, there being a clear focus on the actions of law-enforcements and it being a substantial source of the stories, victims are typically shown as minor girls and women and there was no definition of human trafficking in the stories in any of the newspapers. However, the media constructions discussed in this study can significantly impact how resources are allocated, how laws are enforced, and some other aspects of public policy.

Barnett's (2016) qualitative content analysis of magazines found a predominantly focus on victimization and benevolence frames in terms of media representation of human trafficking over a ten-year period from 2000 to 2010. However, these news articles maintained gender hierarchies and division between men and women. The coverage emphasized individual vulnerability while ignoring wider societal factors. In particular, male sex buyers and traffickers were neglected in these news stories, with an emphasis on women's involvement. Due to the media's significant influence on public opinion and policy-making, such distorted representations can lead to ineffective measures being taken.

Austin and Farrel's (2017) examination of media framing in the US newspapers found that media portrayals of human trafficking predominantly focused on sex trafficking and sexual exploitation, ignoring the other forms of human trafficking. Trafficking victims were frequently depicted as innocent and they needed to be rescued from traffickers. The study also noted that the depictions

of human trafficking tended to be oversimplified with inaccuracy. This inaccurate framing of human trafficking can influence policymakers to embrace less effective strategies, prioritizing criminal justice solutions as the primary means of controlling trafficking issues.

Overall, Sobel (2014) explored that there was a focus on the criminal and political aspects of human trafficking, with little responsibility placed on the victims. There was a predominant use of official sources. It also provided recommendations for the policymakers to take more effective measures to combat the issue. Similarly, Sanford, Martínez & Weitzer (2016) found that there was heavy dependence on official government sources with a major focus on victims, who are typically shown as minor girls and women and there was no definition of human trafficking. Likewise, Gulati (2010) and Austin and Farrel (2017) found that human trafficking coverage is conceptualized as sex trafficking and sexual exploitation. Gulati (2010) further noted the depiction of human trafficking mainly based on official sources, identified criminalization as the preliminary reason for trafficking, and the most significant way of battling trafficking is strengthening current policy. On the other hand, the study of Denton (2013) pointed to the necessity of a deeper comprehension of all parties, including both women trafficking offenders and men victims. It also found that it was difficult to tell the difference between migrant smuggling and human trafficking for various abuses.

The works of the literature review show that human trafficking is predominantly focused on victimization (Pajnik, 2010; Sanford, Martínez & Weitzer, 2016; Barnett, 2016), criminal justice/organized crime (Muraszkiewicz et al., 2014; Sobel, 2014) and sex trafficking/sexual exploitation (Gulati, 2010; Muraszkiewicz et al., 2014; Austin & Farrel, 2017) issues obscuring the complexity and broader societal context. Newspapers reporting human trafficking issues usually depend on official sources without scrutinizing their authenticity, and they regularly omit opposing points of view in their reports (Gulati, 2010; Sanford, Martínez & Weitzer, 2016). In terms of news writing tones, there is a predominant focus on a positive perspective, portraying victims as innocent, vulnerable, blameless and individuals in need of rescue (Sobel, 2014; Barnett, 2016; Austin & Farrel, 2017).

Media Representation of the Rohingya Crisis

In a study titled *"Blind spots in human rights coverage: Framing violence against the Rohingya in Myanmar/Burma,"* Brooten (2015) analyzed five investigative reports from Reuters and six blog posts from alternative media in the English language in 2013. In the media coverage, cliches are frequently used in reporting on violations of human rights portraying 3rd world victims as wretched and helpless, supporting the intervention of benign, paternalistic outsiders. Despite being prevalent and the subject of a lot of research, these orientalist frames have been at least partially challenged thanks to the internet and social media.

This analysis of Reuter's reports explored that the savior-as-white-foreigner frame is extended to encompass not just politicians, humanitarian workers, and aid agencies, but also journalists. The emergence of competing online perspectives has both strengthened and undermined this mainstream media framework. Besides, new victims are presented in the blog posts, and Reuters' silence is painted as vicious. The Reuters reports portrayed the Rohingya as victims in powerful ways, supporting the idea that the government and Burmese Buddhism are barbaric. However, this study also explored the hierarchies and conflicts present in the practices of international media as well as how and for what objectives human rights discourse is used (Brooten, 2015).

Islam's (2018) research examined the media framing patterns of six different newspapers in Bangladesh, India, and China in August 2017. This qualitative and quantitative content analysis of 258 and 50 news articles found noteworthy differences in media coverage. While Chinese media predominantly emphasized conflict as well as security frames, Bangladeshi and Indian media frequently focused on the human interest and protest frame. The human interest frame highlighted the violation of the human rights of the Rohingya refugees, including murder, rape, and arson attack, as well as their appalling living conditions in Bangladesh. This frame was focused on the emotional side of the crisis. On the other hand, the security frame presented the Rohingya refugees as a potential threat to national security because of their illegal border crossing. The conflict frame portrayed the situation as a conflict between the Rohingya community and Myanmar's army or as

a conflict between the Rohingya and Buddhists. In terms of sources, Bangladesh and India used national official citations but Chinese media mostly used government sources (Islam, 2018).

Afzal (2016) conducted a study *"Elements of pathos and media framing as scientific discourse: A newspaper perspective on Rohingya crisis"* by applying framing analysis to explore to what extent international media take a direct stance against Myanmar's ruling class. It examined how the editorials of different mainstream newspapers (The Nation from Pakistan; The New York Times from the US; and The Guardian from the UK) create appeal among the common masses. This means that much of the editorial story drew viewers in by playing on their emotions or pathos. The findings explored a similar representation of the Rohingya crisis like "pro-Rohingya Muslim monitory, anti-Buddhist majority anti-Myanmar ruling elite" in the three countries and they critically evaluated the suffering of the homeless and displaced Muslim minority community. This similar opinion confirmed that the Rohingya community had a legitimate request to become citizens of Myanmar and apply for naturalization. Instead, the ruling class in Myanmar has come under fire for its treatment of the Rohingya Muslims, who are portrayed as being a neglected ethnic group that has been denied even the most fundamental human rights. Newspapers frequently use emotive language to divert viewers' focus and attention from disasters. The results clarify the hotly contested interaction between feelings and persuasion and conclude that framing emotional pleas is an effective method for increasing information-searching and policy support.

Wadud's (2020) qualitative content analysis of Bangladeshi newspapers investigated how media frames shifted covering the Rohingya refugee crisis between August 2017 and December 2019. The analysis of 448 news stories from six different news outlets confirmed the prevalence of six dominant frames: Rohingya as victims, economic burden, baby booming, security threat, disease spreading, and prolonged crisis. The study confirmed that media framing has changed over time, indicating the pre-crisis period was much more focused on victimization while the post-crisis period saw a negative attitude toward the refugees. The findings also indicated the media ideology toward the refugees that online news portals showed a higher degree of hostility compared to the mainstream media (Wadud, 2020).

Rahman and Nova (2020) conducted a research work entitled *"Portrayal of Rohingya Women in the Newspapers of Bangladesh"* to investigate the portrayal of Rohingya women in three core categories (committing crime, vulnerability, and success) by analyzing 72 stories from Bangladesh Pratidin, 37 stories from Prothom Alo, 76 stories from The Daily Jugantor and 47 stories from The Daily Star. These media outlets are considered popular mainstream newspapers in Bangladesh. With the application of framing theory, the study found that the media outlets represented the suffering and helplessness of Rohingya women. All the news outlets reported that the Myanmar military was to blame for the rape and sexual assault of Rohingya women. However, there was no news item on the basic human rights of Rohingya women. The majority of the stories of all these media emphasized the portrayal of Rohingya women that they are being raped, captured escaping Malaysia, and smuggling drugs, among other things. Among the camp's biggest issues is the dearth of news coverage of health dangers.

Uddin (2021) investigated the media portrayal of Rohingya refugees conducting a qualitative content analysis of 40 articles from four Bangladeshi newspapers. The researcher used securitization theory as an analytical tool for this study. The findings confirmed four dominant frames: human interest, attribution of responsibility, securitization and conflict to cover the Rohingya crisis. The study found media used human interest frames more frequently compared to other frames. It also noted that English newspapers showed a higher frequency of utilizing the human interest frame compared to Bengali newspapers. However, the securitization frame was more prevalent in Bengali newspapers. The study also confirmed that a change in media framing occurred, with the utilization of the securitization frame starting in 2018, after the start of the crisis in 2017.

Ehmer and Kothari (2021) in their study entitled *"Malaysia and the Rohingya: Media, migration, and politics"* conducted a framing analysis of 1,133 news articles from The Star, a Malaysian newspaper to examine the themes of media framing between 2012 and 2016, a time when the violence against Rohingya minority escalated and they started to escape the mass killing and rape. The study explored that Malaysian media portray the Rohingya "as violent, criminal and illegal outsiders" but the host country Bangladesh acts as a kind individual providing aid and shelter. The

findings also denoted that Rohingya refugees presented as a source for both national and global political debates concerning migration as well as the difficulties brought on by refugees' movement, border controls, and human trafficking. The Rohingyas were portrayed as a threat to Malaysia's sovereignty, whereas Bangladesh approached the issue from a humanitarian standpoint.

Irom et al. (2022) conducted a qualitative content analysis of four media outlets within Bangladesh, Pakistan, Canada and The New York over a two-year period between August 25, 2017, and August 25, 2019. The study found three predominant frames--administrative, victim and thematic--and three major news sources—politicians, international organizations, and NGOs. Nation of origin, age, and sex were frequently stated as characteristics of Rohingya refugees. For sophisticated, complete reporting, the study recommends adopting theme and individualized frames.

Overall, the literature review of the media representation of the Rohingya refugee crisis, Brooten (2015) explored that orientalist frames have been at least partially challenged thanks to the internet and social media. The media coverage had a major focus on violations of human rights to portray 3rd world victims as wretched and helpless, supporting the intervention of benign, paternalistic outsiders. In contrast, Islam (2018) found that the framing patterns of Chinese media emphasized conflict and security frames while Bangladeshi and Indian media frequently focused on the human interest and protest frame. Similarly, Ehmer and Kothari (2021) explored that Malaysian media portray the Rohingya "as violent, criminal and illegal outsiders" while Bangladeshi media outlets represent the issue from humanitarian grounds and act as a shelter and aid provider.

In the same way, Afzal (2016) found the representation of the Rohingya crisis as "pro-Rohingya Muslim monitory, anti-Buddhist majority anti-Myanmar ruling elite" in the media coverage of Pakistan, the USA, and the UK. Additionally, Uddin (2021) found a contradictory result between the Bangladeshi newspapers that human interest was more dominant in English newspapers compared to Bengali newspapers. Bengali newspapers were more focused on the security frame as a threat to the country's stability, this finding is contradictory to the findings of Islam (2018) and Ehmer & Kothari (2021). This indicates that the framing patterns in media have changed over time. Wadud (2020) also noted similar findings that media framing has changed over time,

indicating the pre-crisis period was much more focused on victimization while the post-crisis period saw a negative attitude toward the refugees.

The reviewed literature on both human trafficking and the Rohingya crisis in media collectively notes valuable insights on how media represent the issues, including dominant media frames, changes in framing patterns over time and the tendency to simplify narratives by focusing on certain perspectives. Despite the valuable insights placed in these studies on both issues, there appears to be room for a combined media representation study on Rohingya refugees and human trafficking in local versus international media context. This current study aims to do a comparative analysis of Bangladeshi and British newspapers human trafficking of Rohingya refugees. This combined media representation study on Rohingya human trafficking should potentially provide a more nuanced understanding of how media narrative operates in the complex humanitarian crisis of Rohingya trafficking and the implications it has for public policymaking and anti-trafficking response.

2.4. Theoretical Framework

This study employs media representation and framing theories to guide the investigation of newspaper stories about Rohingya trafficking. By employing these theoretical lenses, this study aims to gain a more nuanced understanding of how the issue is portrayed in media. The discussion begins with the definitions of the theories and next, it will give explanations of why these particular theories are considered for this study.

2.4.1. Representation Theory

"Representation is how media texts deal with and present gender, age, ethnicity, national and regional identity, social issues, and events to an audience" (BBC Bitesize, 2023). It is one of the key concepts in media and communication studies. Media forms like news and documentaries are considered realistic (Branston & Stafford, 2010). This concept enabled academics to go beyond considering media texts as only a portrayal or depiction of reality (Elfriede Fürsich, 2010). Media texts possess the capacity to influence how individuals perceive and understand important events

(Bitesize, 2023). The use of media representation theory in this paper helped to interpret and analyze the news articles to bring out the hidden meaning of the texts. Though several media scholars emphasized media representation, this researcher finds the works of Stuart Hall (1997), Cottle (2000), Elfriede Fürsich (2010), and Sani Orgad (2012) to be among the more relevant to this study.

"Representation means using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent, the world meaningfully, to other people" (Hall, 1997, p.15). This denotes that the use of language to communicate meaning to others is referred to as representation. Here language may be expressed through literature, film, photography, or other art forms. In a nutshell, representation is the process through which language generates meaning (Hall, 1997). Similarly, Fursich (2019) argues that "the representations are constitutive of culture, meaning, and knowledge about ourselves and the world around us. Beyond just mirroring reality, representations in the media such as in film, television, photography and print journalism create reality and normalize specific world-views or ideologies" (Fursich 2019, 115). Supporting these views, Orgad (2012) notes that media representations refer "to texts (in the broad sense, which includes images) that circulate in the media space and carry symbolic content: news photographs and articles, 47 advertisements, radio programs, YouTube videos, blogs, Facebook pages, etc." Branston & Stafford, (2010) argue that media representation, however, focuses "realistic or compelling some media images seem, they never simply present the world directly. They are always a construction, a re-presentation, rather than a mirror, or a clear 'window on to the real'."

According to Hall (1997), media representation is considered the significant process of meaning production and exchange of meaning among members of a culture. This process entails the use of words, symbols, and other representational elements of reality. Meaning is produced through the representation of literature, images and other forms of art. There are reflective approaches, intentional approaches, and constructional approaches that produce meaning from language (Hall, 1997). Considering the significance of representation, Orgad (2014) said "The process of producing meaning perhaps the major contribution of the rich body of research on media

representations is its insistence that all representation is fundamentally and inextricably inscribed in relations of power." (Orgad, 2014, p. 61).

Orgad argues that media representations encode power relations, and by generating insights, values, perceptions, and beliefs, they establish and replicate power relations. The majority of media representation studies focus on the ways that various media representations reproduce or contest power relations and social inequality, such as those based on class, gender, racial group, sexual orientation, ethnic background, age, and nationality, frequently in subtle, subconscious, and increasingly sophisticated ways (Orgad, 2014). Similarly, Cottle (2000) argues that the unequal power structures of society are greatly facilitated by the media, particularly through representation. This is because media representation produces binaries between the majority and minorities by emphasizing many controversial ideas like "Who we are or who we are not, us versus them, insider versus outsider, citizen versus foreigners, etc. By doing so media creates more discrimination towards minorities and vulnerable groups within a society" (Cottle, 2000, p.2).

Media scholars argue that media representation can be problematic in several ways. The application of media representation may happen with stereotyping and 'scripts'. Stereotyping takes place when classifying or framing specific groups, identities, and circumstances. The word "script" is commonly used to suggest that we become accustomed to things and frequently understand how we might "perform" them in our daily lives. These types of media representations happen frequently when it comes to representations of others such as ethnic, gender minorities, or international groups (Branston, & Stafford, 2010). Supporting this view, Hodkinson (2011) denotes that the representations of ethnic or minority groups and their issues are featured in ways that are commonly stereotyped or negatively biased. "Stereotypical depictions of ethnic minorities have been a constant feature of the history of media content" (Hodkinson, 2011, p. 201).

Media portrayal constantly reflects that minorities, immigrants, and refugees are considered as either criminals or a security threat to the native country for their economy and culture (Wodak, 2013). The concept of orientalism (Said, 1978) illuminates that the representations of Asia, North America, and the Middle East by Western countries are stereotyped and undesirable. Fürsich

(2010) argues that there is evidence from media research over 25 years that media texts, such as newspaper stories, television programs, and advertisements play an important role in problematic stereotype representations of others. Numerous media platforms not only represented minorities as distinctive, exotic, recognizable, or even abnormal but also limited their coverage to various issues.

Media representation theory in this study serves as one of the pivotal concepts. This study employed media representation theory as a lens to examine how the human trafficking incident of Rohingya refugees is portrayed, and how language is used to frame the issue from two different cultures of journalism practice. Media representation theory is important to this study because of its focus on examining the languages used in news in two different media cultures and journalistic practices. How journalists think and produce meaning in two different cultural contexts (Hall, 1997; Fursich, 2019) when it comes to Rohingya refugees and their trafficking issues. Alongside the media text and language, the images (Orgad, 2012) are also considered in this study to understand the news writing tones, for example, positive, neutral and negative toward the Rohingya refugees and trafficking victims. Media narratives predominantly emphasize power dynamics and inequalities across class, gender and race (Orgad, 2012). These findings will be interesting to see how journalists depict Rohingya ethnic minorities and trafficking victims across two different cultural realities.

2.4.2. Framing Theory

This study also employs framing theory as a pivotal concept to effectively address its research questions. Framing theory is an extensively employed concept in the domain of media and communication. Framing is the way we shape and present information or ideas in a specific context, which affects how people perceive and interpret them. It entails constructing narratives or stories that emphasize certain aspects of a subject while downplaying or disregarding others (Chong & Druckman, 2007). A frame can be "a phrase, image, analogy, or metaphor that a journalist uses to communicate the essence of an issue or event" (Moy et al., 2016, p.7).

According to Entman (1993),

> *"The process of framing involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such way to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (p.51-52).*

Similarly, Tankard et al. (1991, p.3) highlight that frame acts as a central organizing concept providing a context and elucidating an issue of a news article by the process of "selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration." It suggests that in addition to selection and salience, a frame may also entail exclusion and further explanation. With a special focus on how journalists set frame structures, Zhang (2000) argues that framing is

> *"a process of how politicians, policymakers relay their messages to attract media attention and put the best face on the events, how journalists construct messages under organizational guidelines and professional values, and how audience members interpret, think, and reassess those media messages" (Zhang, 2000, p. 5).*

With an emphasis on meaning construction, Van Gorp (2005) argues that as journalists use cultural allusions to describe reality, narrative frames in news reports have a significant impact on how the public understands a problem (Van Gorp, 2005). Supporting this view, Gamson & Modigliani argue that news framing can be defined as "a central organizing idea or storyline that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection among them. The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue" (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987, p. 143).

On the other hand, Goffman (1974) argues that the media use frames to draw people's attention to a particular event or phenomenon and the frames eventually shape the interpretation of that phenomenon that is occurring around them. This means that frames help to develop concepts and themes of a particular event (Goffman, 1974). The scholar emphasizes both meaning construction and the way journalists produce frames to draw public attention to a particular phenomenon.

Framing theory is important in this study to understand how journalists select particular aspects of Rohingya human trafficking issues in local versus international newspapers. Entman's (1993) observation is considered to understand how frames shed light on issues that can influence human consciousness by exerting information. News frames are "embodied in the keywords, metaphors, concepts, symbols, and visual images emphasized in a news narrative" (Entman, 1991, p. 7). This study includes this analysis to understand the dominant frames in the news articles.

The process of message creation is used to study framing, with a focus on how journalists produce news texts and the consequences this has on audience perception (Gitlin; 1980; Entman, 1993; Reese, 2001; Yang, 2008; Littlejohn & Foss, 2009; Kim, Carvalho & Davis, 2010; D'angelo, 2018). These observations underscore the significance of framing theory in this study, facilitating comprehension of how journalists construct meaning. The framing process is influenced not only by news editors and journalists but also by policymakers and various interest groups. The influence in media framing refers to the role of media as gatekeepers in terms of organizing and presenting an idea of events (An & Gower, 2009).

However, there are some criticisms of framing. According to Bajracharya (2018),

- *"Framing builds mistrust against the media."*
- *"Framing creates gap between the truth and the public awareness by creating a point of view."*
- *"Framing distorts truth."*
- *"Frames limit debates by placing vocabularies and metaphors that can be used in news that is used by all public."*
- *"Framing is becoming less as new media is developing and giving people an opportunity to think about same topic with different point of view."*

2.4.3. Functions and Typologies of Frames

There are four major functions of frames in news articles (Entman, 1993, p. 51). The functions are defined below:

- *"define problems - determine what a causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits, usually measured in terms of common cultural values;"*
- *"diagnose causes - identify the forces creating the problem;"*
- *"make moral judgments - evaluate causal agents and their effects; and"*
- *"suggest remedies - offer and justify treatments for the problems and predict their likely effects."*

In terms of framing typology, there are two major types of media frames: issue-specific or episodic frames and generic or thematic frames. Issue-specific or episodic frames refer to the methods of presenting facts or arguments that are customized to a particular subject or issue. These entail emphasizing key parts of a problem and presenting them in a particular way in order to influence how people view and react to it. Generic or thematic frames, on the other hand, are broader, more general approaches to representing the data or arguments that are not particular to a specific issue or subject. They may be employed to advance a certain worldview or ideology or to provide a general viewpoint or way of thinking on a number of connected issues (Iyengar, 1994; De Vreese, 2005).

According to Neuman, Just and Crigler (1992: 74), media predominantly use five common types of frames: human impact; powerlessness; economics; moral values; and conflict:

- *the focus of the human impact frame is the "descriptions of individuals and groups affected by an issue";*
- *the powerlessness frame denotes "the dominance of forces over weak individuals or groups";*
- *the economics frame refers to "the preoccupation with profit and loss";*
- *the moral values frame depicts the "morality and social prescriptions"; and*
- *the conflict frame involves media's "game interpretation of the political world as an on-going series of contests, each with a new set of winners and losers".*

Similarly, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), identified and defined five frames: conflict; human interest; attribution of responsibility; morality; and economic consequences. However, the scholars include the morality frame and exclude the powerlessness frame. At the same time, the conflict frame is defined in a different way such as the "conflict between individuals, groups, institutions or countries".

- *The human interest frame refers to the "bringing a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue or problem".*
- *The attribution of responsibility frame is "presenting an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for causing or solving to either the government or to an individual or group".*

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter principally illustrates and explains the data collection and analysis methods used in this research. This research employed a quantitative content analysis and framing analysis to understand the media representation of the Rohingya human trafficking issue. This chapter outlines how research tools were used to collect and analyze news articles, how content analysis proceeds, and how framing analysis proceeds, including news article selection, analysis, coding, and other relevant factors.

3.1. Research Design and Approach

For a comparative analysis of media coverage of Rohingya human trafficking, two newspapers were chosen: one from Bangladesh, a South Asian nation, and one from the United Kingdom, a Western country. This research can be considered as a comparative study. The study is intended for a better understanding of the social phenomena related to the media coverage of Rohingya human trafficking from two different nations. According to Alan Bryman, "We can understand social phenomena better when they are compared in relation to two or more meaningfully contrasting cases or situations" (Bryman, 2016, p.72).

The units of analysis, which comprise all news stories identified through systematic and rigorous search methods, were selected from a time frame spanning over five years. This study mainly employs a quantitative research method, based on primary data to answer the two key research questions. More precisely, a quantitative content analysis approach was adopted in this study. Quantitative content analysis is one of the frequently used research approaches in the field of social science and communication. In this study, a quantitative approach is utilized focusing entirely on news text and photographs, excluding additional visual content such as videos.

3.2. Selection of Sample Newspapers

This study examines the news coverage (online versions) of a Bangladeshi newspaper (The Daily Star) and a British newspaper (The Guardian) regarding the Rohingya human trafficking issue. The researcher mainly wants to investigate how the media portray the Rohingya human trafficking issue in Western newspapers versus local newspapers in the Global South. Consequently, these newspapers have been selected for a comparative analysis between the two countries of Bangladesh and the United Kingdom. These two media outlets have been chosen specifically due to their extensive circulation within their respective nations, as well as their sophisticated online portals that offer easy accessibility to a wider audience. The two media outlets also claim that they are independent and free from influence (Daily Star, 2022; Guardian, 2022). The Daily Star has been selected for this study due to its top circulation and popularity among Bangladeshi-educated people. The Daily Star holds the top position among all English newspapers in the country according to the ministry's website (Azad, 2023).

The Guardian has been selected for this study because of its extensive coverage of the Rohingya crisis and trafficking issues. Initially, the researcher examined several Western newspapers on their coverage of the Rohingya trafficking issue but discovered a limited number of articles on the phenomenon understudied, hence the selection of the Guardian newspaper. According to the Guardian (2023), the newspaper plays a significant role in producing high-impact journalism with a global online readership. Furthermore, it ranks as the second most-read online newspaper in the United Kingdom (The Guardian, 2023). Data collection for this research has been exclusively conducted using online versions due to their ease of accessibility. Furthermore, the researcher encountered limitations related to both time and resources. The researcher exclusively chose relevant news articles within a five-year timeframe that are related to this study. A brief overview of the Daily Star and the Guardian newspapers is given below.

3.2.1. The Daily Star

The Daily Star has the highest circulation among English daily newspapers in Bangladesh (Riaz & Rahman, 2021). The newspaper has a 77 percent share of the total English newspaper readership. The average daily sales of the print version is 55,000 copies. The Daily Star also operates an online edition. As of January 2018, the website had more than one million users who actively used it, and there were over 70,000 users who visited it daily. The number of online readerships is on the rise (Azad, 2023). It is widely known that political parties have a significant involvement and influence in the ownership of media outlets in Bangladesh (Riaz & Rahman, 2021). However, the Daily Star is regarded as a progressive and left-leaning newspaper in Bangladesh (Mehtaz, 2021; Fatima & Torun, 2022). The Daily Star claims that they are independent of political parties and entrenched interests, which allows it to maintain its nonpartisan stance. The slogan of Daily Star is "Journalism without fear and favor" (Daily Star, 2022). The English daily started its journey on January 14, 1991. The website address of The Daily Star is: https://www.thedailystar.net/

3.2.2. The Guardian

The Guardian has become the most widely read quality and trusted news publisher in the United Kingdom (UK), according to the latest PAMCo results. It also shows that a record-breaking 35.6 million adults on average per month are accessing the Guardian's journalism across both digital and print formats. The newspaper has a significant reach and influence on its audience in the UK. The media outlet has overtaken the Daily Mail (33.6 million readers on average per month) to become the second most-read online newspaper in the UK (The Guardian, 2023). The political stance of the Guardian is regarded as a center-left newspaper (Mehtaz, 2021). The Guardian claims to provide fearless and investigative journalism for its readers (The Guardian, 2023). As one of the oldest newspapers, it started its journey in 1821. The Guardian has an online edition as well as two international sites: Guardian Australia and Guardian US. Guardian Media Group, the sole

proprietor of which is the Scott Trust, owns The Guardian. The media outlet is free from influence as it is funded by its readers, it claims (The Guardian, 2023). The worldwide readership of The Guardian fuels its independent, high-impact journalism. In 2020, the Guardian received financial support from over 1.5 million readers (The Guardian, 2023). The website address of The Guardian is: https://www.theguardian.com

3.3. News Story Selection Criteria

Since the Rohingya crisis erupted, the Daily Star and the Guardian published a good number of news articles on this issue. The researcher made a systematic search to ensure the inclusion of all news articles related the Rohingya human trafficking during a five-year timeframe between 2017 and 2021. A total of 71 sample news stories were found during the timeframe with the application of systematic search with keywords in stages. Initially, keywords were searched for in the search options of both online newspapers. Next, the same keywords were used for Google searches with newspapers' names. The used keywords were "Rohingya trafficking", "Rohingya human trafficking", "Rohingya sexual exploitation", "Rohingya crisis", and "Rohingya refugee crisis". In this stage, relevant news articles on Rohingya human trafficking were selected after reading. The news stories comprised straight news, editorials, interviews, feature stories, and analysis.

The search for news stories revealed that the Daily Star, a local newspaper in Bangladesh offered more extensive coverage of the Rohingya crisis and trafficking when compared to the international newspaper, the Guardian. While 48 news articles have been found in the Daily Star, 23 stories were found in the Guardian. All the news stories are related to the human trafficking of Rohingya refugees. The data collection started from the beginning of August 2017 to December 2021. The researcher intentionally selected this timeframe because of the mass exodus of Rohingya Muslims to Bangladesh. It was the period that the military of Myanmar launched a crackdown on the Rohingya people in the northern part of the Rakhine State, following the attack of an insurgent group on the border posts on August 25, 2017. As a result of the severe brutality and violence committed by the Myanmar military, over 740,000 Rohingya Muslims were compelled to leave

their homes and take shelter in Bangladesh in search of safety and protection (Fatima & Torun, 2022). Since then, local and international media have given significant attention to this issue.

3.4 Data Collection Methods

This study utilizes two data collection methods, specifically quantitative content analysis and framing as methods, as part of its quantitative research design. A brief overview of these two data collection methods is given below:

3.4.1. Quantitative Content Analysis

"Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (Berelson 1952, p.18). This analysis involves an examination of texts, images, and expressions for intended meanings and applications (Krippendorff, 2018). The content analysis enables systematic and objective quantifications of substantial among of data. It is a highly flexible method for a wide range of media such as printed or visual (Bryman, 2016). This research incorporates the content analysis method mainly because it concentrates on news articles in newspapers and its suitability to quantify or measure large among of data.

Due to the statistical investigation and research objectives, this study primarily utilized a quantitative content analysis method to address the two research questions. "Quantitative content analysis is a research method in which features of textual, visual, or aural material are systematically categorized and recorded so that they can be analyzed" (Coe & Scacco, 2017, p.1). Quantitative content analysis method is employed in this research due to the attribution of variables that can be quantified into specific data, enhancing the precision and objectivity of findings (Berelson, 1952; Hansen, 1998). The quantitative analysis of frame frequency, sources, and tones will be an advantage in getting more precise insights into the issue of Rohingya trafficking. In this current study, the quantitative content analysis method is employed to do a comparative analysis of Bangladeshi and British newspapers on the Rohingya human trafficking issue.

3.4.2. Framing as Method

There are two separate analytical approaches for investigating news frames: inductive and deductive. The inductive approach involves conducting analysis without any preconceived notions, with the goal of revealing various potential frames within the news text, whereas the deductive approach employs predetermined/predefined frames to analyze their appearance within the news text (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). However, the present research is not confined to a single strategy; rather, it uses a combination of the two approaches to accomplish careful and reliable results.

In the initial phase of analysis, this study investigates the five generic frames proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) to evaluate their applicability to the articles under consideration. It is important to point out that the main aim of the study is not to examine the pattern of these predefined generic frames within sample articles. Instead, this study aims to maintain a receptive position toward the identification of frames that expand beyond the predetermined frames. As a result, the study considers not only established frames but also frames that emerge naturally from news articles. De Vreese (2005) highlights the inductive approach to news frame analysis, in which frames develop during the analysis of the news text.

This study comes up with six different frames: one predefined frame: attribution of responsibility, three redefined frames: victimization, criminal justice, and public policy and the two emerged frames: human business and health risk. The frames are shortly explained here. The attribution of responsibility frame refers to "a way of attributing responsibility for [a] cause or solution to either the government or to an individual or group" (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 96). The victimization frame in this study is redefined, influenced by Van Grop (2005) and Pajnik (2010), emphasizing the suffering of Rohingya refugees and trafficking victims due to persecution and human rights violations after leaving their home country. The criminal justice frame focuses on presenting the criminal justice process and rescue incidents of Rohingya trafficking victims, redefined through insights from a previous study by Tafari (2019).

The public policy frame investigates legislative measures, law enforcement strategies, NGO actions, and governmental, international, and domestic involvements in combating Rohingya refugee trafficking and ensuring victim protection. This study redefined the public policy frame through valuable insights from Tafari's media study (2019). The human business frame depicts Rohingya refugee trafficking as profit-oriented and organized criminal ventures, highlighting financial motives and systemic exploitations for forced labor, prostitution, and profit. The health risk frame highlights the health issues faced by Rohingya trafficking victims, focusing on evident public health hazards such as the spread of diseases and the physical and mental health harm inflicted by traffickers.

3.5. Data Management and Analysis

The main objective of the study is to find answers to the two research questions. In this research, the news articles are collected from one Bangladeshi and one British newspaper for a five-year timeframe from 2017 to 2021. The stories related to the human trafficking of Rohingya refugees are already taken as samples. The news stories are placed on several Google spreadsheets and categorized to get the data organized as per the research objectives (see appendix). The categories include serial numbers, publication dates, news categories, links, sources, frames, and tones. The researcher read the news stories repeatedly and made remarks under each category, for example, what types of frames, sources, and news tones were found in the news stories. Sometimes, quotations were taken from the stories to support the frames for analysis with proof.

In analysis, both rhetorical and technical framing devices were used to identify major frames in the news stories. The utilization of rhetorical devices within news articles can establish frames of the news article. "The text contains frames, which are manifested 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" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Similarly, Gamson and Lasch (1983) argue four rhetorical devices, such as "metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, and depictions", offer a framework to explore the topic at hand. They are briefly explained below:

- ➢ **Metaphors:** It is a form of speech that contains two components, the principal subject is to represent the main concept while the associate subject is to deepen readers' comprehension.

- ➢ **Exemplars:** It is similar to metaphors, which serve as suitable models that use actual past or present events to create a frame for the principal subject.

- ➢ **Catchphrases:** When commentators often try to sum up events in a compact theme, tagline, title, or slogan that tries to convey a certain frame, catchphrases are short attempts to condense the primary subject; and

- ➢ **Depictions**: This refers to how a text presents the main subject, whether through the use of metaphors, exemplars, or colorful strings of modifiers.

In terms of technical devices, Tankard (2001, p. 100) suggests some technical devices to recognize the frames in a news text. The technical devices include headlines, subheadings, leads (the first paragraph of a news article), photographs, photo captions, news sources, quotations, statistical illustrations, and concluding statements or paragraphs.

Table 1: Framing Devices

Category	Examples
Rhetorical	Presence or absence of certain keywords; Stock phrases; Sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of judgments or facts; Metaphors; Exemplars; Catchphrases and Depictions
Technical	Headlines; Subheads; Photographs; Photo captions; Leads; Selection of sources or affiliations; Selection of quotes; Statistics, charts, and graphs; Concluding statements or paragraphs

(Source: Gamson & Lasch, 1983; Entman, 1993; Tankard, 2001)

This study used **Table 1** as a guide for a systematic and cohesive consideration of the framing devices defined above for data analysis. In the context of quantitative content analysis, this media representation study mainly focused on both technical and rhetorical devices, including headlines, subheadings, leads, photographs, photo captions, thematic judgments or facts, and certain keywords. To identify news frames, all of these devices in each news article were duly taken into consideration in this study through a systematic reading of each of the news articles. In terms of identifying news tones, this researcher mainly investigates how the two newspapers assign blame, express sympathy, or maintain a neutral position toward the refugees and trafficking victims. In this case, several framing devices, including pictures, captions, and the presence or absence of specific keywords related to assigning blame or expressing sympathy, were taken into consideration.

During the analysis process, the researcher meticulously reviewed and scrutinized the news articles multiple times, conducting a manual examination of each of the sampled articles. Various software applications are available to facilitate quantitative research in the identification of technical devices. However, in this study, the researcher opted for manual evaluation of both rhetorical and technical devices to attain a more profound understanding of the Rohingya trafficking issue. Therefore, in light of the benefits and drawbacks of computer-assisted analysis, manual data analysis was found to be more beneficial for this study due to its manageable sample size. Finally, the researcher moved to the discussion parts in the light of representation theory and framing theory to address the research questions.

3.6. Validity and Reliability

Validity and reliability are two pivotal components in research, demanding the researcher's meticulous attention during study design, analysis, and overall assessment of the study quality (Patton, 2001). In content analysis, it is of utmost importance to ensure the validity and reliability of findings (Bryman, 2012).

Validity indicates the extent to which a study examines if a measurement accurately captures the intended notion or phenomena. This means seeking the answer to whether our measurements align or not with the intended focus (Trochim & Donnelly, 2008; Neuendorf, 2017). The validity can be influenced by the notion of researchers and the validity depends on their choice of paradigm assumption (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Consequently, researchers generate their concepts of validity according to their choice, for example, quality, trustworthiness, and rigor (Seale, 1999; Stenbacka, 2001; Davies & Dodd, 2002). In this case, the researcher diligently adhered to the news selection criteria (as outlined in sub-point 3.2), effectively managed and analyzed the data (as specified in sub-point 3.5), adeptly employed established frames, redefined existing frames and identified emergent frames from the news text. Beyond the predetermined frames, the researcher thoroughly examined the news articles and developed new frames with proper interpretations.

Reliability, on the other hand, is the extent to which other researchers experience similar observations and analysis in a particular field and that would produce similar interpretations and findings to the previous research. This denotes the degree to which a method of data collection and analysis produces the same result for different study participants (Kirk & Miller, 1986). Similarly, Brayman (2016, p.279) notes that reliability "entails considering the degree to which two or more observers of the same behavior agree in terms of their coding of that behavior on the observation schedule." Weber notes "Reliability problems usually grow out of the ambiguity of word meanings, category definitions, or other coding rules" (Weber, 1990, p. 15). In this case, this research redefined and developed new frames and clarified the ambiguous issues within content categories. Inter-coder reliability is the degree of agreement or consistency between two or more coders when it comes to analyzing the same data in content analysis (Neuendorf, 2017). The researcher enlisted the assistance of two graduate students for coding. This assistance was limited to some articles for calibration purposes and was not applied to the entire sample selection. The researcher conducted a discussion with the two graduate students via a Zoom meeting, providing them with the coding process guidelines outlined in Chapter 4. The outcomes achieved by the coders closely correspond to the researcher's findings, indicating a notable degree of agreement concerning the actual sample articles.

In terms of objectivity and epistemological standpoints, the researcher made an effort to maintain the objectivity of interpretation as much as possible. From the same culture and region where the Rohingya people took shelter in refugee camps, it was quite easy for the researcher to understand the point of view of the Daily Star. On the other hand, there is a clear influence of British culture in Bangladesh since it was a British colony. The people in the region are more or less familiar with the British way of thinking and expressing themselves in the same way. The educated people here are also familiar with British newspapers, given easy and unrestricted online accessibility. This researcher's interpretations closely aligned with the objectives of the writers for both newspapers, which should count for reliability.

3.7. Limitations and Challenges of the Study

The external validity of the study is one of its focal limitations because of its specific focus on a particular area. The study's primary focus is on Rohingya refugee trafficking rather than the overall crisis, resulting in a limited sample size in its five-year timeframe. Due to the nature of the quantitative method, the major focus of the study was statistical analysis rather than delving into the in-depth interpretation of the phenomenon. The study did not consider the print versions of the two media outlets because of time and budget constraints. This selection of a single newspaper per country restricts the researchers' capacity to extrapolate findings to other newspapers in Bangladesh and the United Kingdom.

Chapter 4: Data Presentation and Analysis

This study examined a total of 71 news articles from the Daily Star and the Guardian in Bangladesh and the United Kingdom, respectively. The news articles from both newspapers have some primary and some secondary focus on the Rohingya trafficking issue. The Daily Star (Bangladesh) contains a total of 48 news articles, including 39 articles with primary focus while the Guardian (UK) contains 23 articles with 12 primary focus (details about news categories can be found in the appendix section). The primary focus denotes the sample news articles solely about Rohingya human trafficking whereas, the secondary focus indicates some parts of the articles talk about the trafficking issue. Before delving into the individual findings of the two media outlets, a few things need to be noted. The newspapers from both countries had a significant focus on the Rohingya refugee crisis. However, when it comes to articles related to Rohingya trafficking only, the Daily Star had a major focus compared to the Guardian. The author has made thorough searches (as presented in Chapter 3) and is likely to have come up with more or less all the relevant articles on the Rohingya trafficking issue from the two newspapers. The breakdown of news articles collected from two sample newspapers is given below:

Newspapers	Numbers of Articles	Percentage
The Daily Star	48	67.6%
The Guardian	23	32.4%
Total	71	100%

Even though the Guardian only has 23 articles, the size of the news stories is comparatively bigger than that of the Daily Star. As some secondary focus news articles have been included in this study, the researcher only analyzed the particular parts that talk about the Rohingya trafficking issue. Based on the examination of a variety of rhetorical and technical devices, this study now proceeds with the individual results and findings of the Daily Star and the Guardian. In terms of rhetorical and technical devices, each of the 23 articles obtained from Guardian used subheadings while the Daily Stat used 24 subheadings out of a total of 48 articles. This study identified a total of 43 pictures across sampled articles, primarily reinforcing victimization and criminal justice frames.

The pictures and captions were used to determine whether news stories about Rohingya refugees and trafficking victims convey positive or negative tones. Most of the news articles from the Guardian have more than one picture in each story. However, the news articles of Daily Star mostly used a single picture and some of them are representational images. All the pictures in the Guardian contained captions but many pictures in the Daily Star were used without any caption at all. However, before proceeding with the quantitative findings, some important descriptions are given shortly to make it clear what is contained in different news frames, news sources, and tones associated with Rohingya refugees and trafficked victims.

4.1. News Framing

This study comes up with six different frames, each briefly explained below.

4.1.1. The Victimization Frame

Most of the articles in both newspapers predominantly focus on the victimization frame, emphasizing the seriousness of Rohingya human trafficking, and various that make them easy prey for traffickers. This indicates the horrific crimes and human rights violations faced by Rohingya refugees and trafficking victims during the perilous journey by fishing trawlers to cross the border for better lives. Some of the articles focused on the personal experiences and suffering of the trafficking victims.

In the Daily Star, the victimization frame is found a total of 25 times with a proportion of 26.3%, including 15 primary frames and 10 secondary frames.[1] The narratives of DS30, DS32, DS33, and DS35 are mainly focused on Rohingya refugees' victimization by trafficking networks, highlighting their suffering. They specifically emphasize harsh conditions on a small boat, detailing instances of torture, death, and rape during their perilous journey. For example DS30

---

[1] The articles which contain victimization frame as the primary frame are DS1, DS2, DS4, DS5, DS7, DS10, DS18, DS22, DS32, DS33, DS35, DS43, DS44, DS45, DS48 and while DS3, DS6, DS8, DS9, DS12, DS15, DS27, DS30, DS36 and DS42 contain victimization frame as secondary frame.

notes: "In Myanmar, Rohingyas have no future and lead a sub-human life. They are forced to take help of traffickers to escape the atrocious conditions at home". DS32 notes "Traffickers use offers of marriage, job to lure Rohingya women, girls into sex slavery abroad; rescued overseas, many now trapped behind wall of red tape." DS24 and DS33 portray a shared tragic event where more than 135 Rohingya refugees on trawlers capsized in the Bay of Bengal during their perilous journey to Malaysia, leading to 11 deaths, 50 missing individuals, and the rescue of 72 survivors by law enforcers. The headlines, subheads, and leads of these articles, especially the primary-focused articles, consistently reinforced the victimization frame.

The pictures and captions of these articles also reinforced the victimization frame by portraying vulnerable Rohingya individuals, including women, children, and men, trapped in fishing trawlers, rescued victims, recovered bodies from the sea, and the hardships faced by refugees entering Bangladesh. For example, the pictures of DS7 DS16, DS33, and DS35 evoke sympathy or compassion for the trafficking victims. All these images were strategically employed to avoid revealing the true identities of the victims. The picture reflects the hardship and suffering of the Rohingya refugees. The fifth picture of DS7 is used to emphasize the false promise of traffickers in the name of enrolling children in school and giving them free food and accommodation. The captions of DS33 notes law enforcers pulled the trafficking boat back into shore after it capsized in the sea while DS16 notes a group of Rohingya Muslims, victim of traffickers, are rescued from a boat.

On the other hand, 38 percent of news articles in the Guardian, including 22 percent primary frame contain the victimization frame.[2] Most of the articles emphasized the vulnerable condition and suffering of Rohingya men women and children with a special focus on the ways they were trapped by the trafficking networks during the perilous journey abroad for better lives. Articles G5, G6, and G7 shed light on the prevalent trafficking risk within the Rohingya refugee community,

---

[2] The articles which contain victimization frames as the primary frames are G5, G6, G7, G11, G12, G13, G15, G18, and G21 while the articles of G3, G4, and G17 contain victimization frames as secondary frames.

particularly emphasizing the vulnerability of children and girls who are targeted for labor or prostitution. Articles G11, G12, G13, G15, G17, G18, and G21 detailed the tragedy of trafficking victims on boats to Malaysia, emphasizing victimization and desperation. Survivor accounts underlined the dire conditions, and traffickers exploited hopes for a better life abroad, even demanding ransoms. For example, G13 notes: "We ran short of food and water," said Mohammad. "Many children and women were crying. Around 30 people on the boat died because of getting no food and water..." Similarly, G18 notes: "People are kept there until the money is paid," an NGO worker said. "So that's why the last boat has been kept for months and months, where not everyone has paid."

The pictures and captions within these articles reinforced the victimization frame by encompassing a variety of poignant scenes: the arrival of Rohingya individuals in adverse situations, solemn burial rituals for victims, the challenges faced by sea-bound refugees seeking improved lives, the precarious threats associated with traffickers' boats, the emotional portrayal of deceased bodies and their mourning relatives, the distressing conditions within refugee camps, and the vulnerability of refugees on board vessels. This collective imagery provides insight into the intricate and multifaceted hardships and adversities encountered by both the Rohingya refugees and trafficking victims.

Among the news articles, both newspapers extensively covered a tragic incident involving a trawler capsizing in the Bay of Bengal. DS24 and DS33 reported 15 deaths, with the trawler carrying 135 Rohingya refugees, of whom 71 were rescued. G12 noted 16 deaths, a trawler carrying 138 refugees, and 68 rescued victims. Furthermore, G13 provided a combined story of multiple incidents over two months, detailing the rescue and death toll from trawler capsizing at sea, with 30 reported deaths and around 400 refugees rescued during a perilous journey to Malaysia. This observation highlights that the UK newspaper accorded significant prominence to the incident, notably emphasizing a higher death toll, rescued individuals, and the overall number of victims compared to its Bangladeshi counterpart. The presentation approach of the British newspaper provides a comprehensive outlook on the incident, emphasizing a significant focus on Rohingya trafficking victims and their dangerous situations.

4.1.2. The Criminal Justice Frame

The criminal justice issue is another area of focus in both newspapers, describing the criminal justice process, and law enforcers' activities, including arrests, rescues, investigations, and court verdicts. In the Daily Star, the criminal justice frame is identified a total of 32 times, accounting for a proportion of 33.7%. This encompasses 24 primary frames and eight secondary frames. [3] The stories mainly focused on the activities of different law enforcement agencies to arrest human traffickers and rescue the Rohingya trafficking victims. The headlines, subheads, intro, pictures, and captions of these articles depict the criminal justice process, mainly the rescue of Rohingya trafficking victims and the arrest of alleged traffickers. Among the primary frames, 15 news articles[4] were directly focused on the rescue of Rohingya trafficking victims and the arrest of accused traffickers and two articles (DS16 and DS19) focused on gunfights incidents between the law enforcers (police, RAB, and BGB) and the traffickers groups.

All these news articles in Bangladeshi newspaper were concise and did not delve deeper into the phenomenon of Rohingya trafficking. The news articles described the human trafficking of Rohingya refugees as an isolated incident but with a special focus on the raids of different law enforcement agencies to halt the organized crime of Rohingya human trafficking. During the raids, the law enforcers rescued the trafficking victims, arrested the traffickers, and seized the electric gadgets used for trafficking, and cases were filed in these connections. Though the news articles reflected some suffering of Rohingya trafficking victims, there was not sufficient background of the overall crisis. These news articles were mainly dependent on law enforcers' sources. Most of the news under the criminal justice frame used pictures of Rohingya trafficking victims, law

---

[3] The articles with primary frames include DS6, DS8, DS9, DS11, DS12, DS14, DS15, DS26, DS17, DS19, DS21, DS24, DS25, DS26, DS27, DS24, DS36, DS39, DS41, DS42, DS46 and DS47, while secondary frames are present in DS2, DS4, DS7, DS10, DS32, DS33, DS35, and DS45.

[4] (DS3, DS6, DS8, DS9, DS11, DS14, DS17, DS21, DS23, DS24, DS33, DS34, DS36, DS37, and DS39)

enforcement members, arrested trafficking network members, and several representational images, including maps.

Moreover, there were several news articles under the criminal justice frame with different angles and with sufficient background and various sources. For example, DS12 was an editorial with the headline "Justice obstructed" describing the Thai, and Malaysian authorities delayed the justice process even after discovering the mass graves of Rohingya refugees and some others in the jangle of the Malaysia-Thailand border, as per a human rights report. It also mentions: "The four-month delay in investigating the gravesite delayed the exhumation of remains [in May 2015] from the site, which, in turn, hampered forensic specialists from identifying the causes of their death," SUHAKAM and Fortify Rights note".

Articles DS27 and DS41 covered different angles with a secondary focus on Rohingya human trafficking. While DS41 describes the criminal justice process, particularly the drives of law enforcers to rescue the trafficking victims and arrest the traffickers, DS27 represents the investigation of law enforcers that there were ten different Rohingya groups engaged in various crimes, including human trafficking.

In contrast, The Guardian confirms a much smaller proportion, only 6%, of its three articles to the criminal justice frame. The articles G4 and G13 have a primary frame focus, and G15 has a secondary frame focus. The headline of G4 was "Thailand convicts traffickers after 2015 mass graves discovery" with a major focus on the criminal justice process, particularly, the investigation of law enforcement agencies. The article notes: "A Thai judge has found dozens of people guilty, including senior army general, in the country's largest ever human trafficking trial…The mammoth, two-year trial – its verdict more than 500 pages long – included testimony from more than 200 witnesses…." Article G13 and G15 focuses on the activities of law enforcement members to rescue the Rohingya trafficking victims from a floating boat in the sea. All three of these articles are substantial in size, containing comprehensive details from various sources, and providing sufficient background information on the Rohingya crisis.

4.1.3. The Responsibility Frame

The responsibility frame is also prominently emphasized in both newspapers' coverage, attributing blame to the Myanmar government for the military crackdown on the Rohingya Muslim community. Furthermore, certain groups and governments are implicated for their roles in contributing to the vulnerability of refugees to human trafficking. Both newspapers give descriptions of how the Rohingya community faced mass rapes, killings, and burning down of their houses during the military crackdown in the Rakhine state of Myanmar in August 2017. The UN and the US describe it as "ethnic cleansing".

In the Daily Star, the responsibility frame is notably featured in approximately 18 percent of the articles, with 14 occurrences as a secondary frame and three instances as a primary frame.[5] Most articles with a secondary frame consistently blame the Myanmar government for the military crackdown on the Rohingya community and the denial of their nationality led to the Rohingya crisis and human trafficking. In addition to this, article DS12 denotes that the Thai and Malaysian governments are also responsible for increasing trafficking cases. It reveals the witness testimony in the court that some Thai government officials were found guilty of Rohingya trafficking networks. They were involved in selling Rohingya refugees in large numbers to traffickers for many years. In addition to this, the articles of DS20 and DS25 mention the US Trafficking in Persons Report claims that Bangladesh is responsible for increasing Rohingya trafficking cases. DS20 note: "The country does not fully meet the minimum standards required to combat trafficking in persons..." Articles DS20 and DS25 underscore the Bangladesh government's responsibility for inadequate efforts to combat human trafficking, as the country has remained on the Tier 2 Watch List for three consecutive years.

---

[5] The articles with secondary frames are DS3, DS4, DS5, DS7, DS8, DS10, DS12, DS15, DS18, DS20, DS22, DS25, DS36, DS45 and articles with primary frames are DS30, DS31, and DS38.

On the other hand, the Guardian confirms the responsibility frame 28 percent appearing five times as a primary frame, and nine times as a secondary frame.[6] The narratives of news articles of G3, G4, and G19 particularly referred to the governments except Myanmar in the region that are responsible for increasing cases of Rohingya human trafficking. Articles G11, G12, G13, and G21 consistently referred to the Myanmar government for its military crackdown on the ethnic Rohingya community, forcing them to leave the country in 2017. The Muslim ethnic group faced mass rapes, killings, and arson attacks in thousands of their houses. Since 1982, almost all the Rohingya Muslims have been denied their citizenship, and become stateless. Since the crisis erupted, the situation for the Rohingya community in Myanmar has not improved. Following the military crackdown, the members of the trafficking networks have become more active in preying on the vulnerable and displaced Rohingya refugees. For example, G12 notes: "The network had been largely dormant since then but fears of new activity have risen since more than 700,000 Rohingya fled the Myanmar military in 2017, taking Bangladesh's total population of Rohingya refugees to more than a million."

The narratives of G3 and G4 state the inconsistent attempts of the Thai government are responsible for increasing Rohingya trafficking. The headline of the story (G3) explains Thailand is accused of inconsistent efforts to address the issue. The description of G4 directly notes that 21 Thai government officials, including a senior army general, were found involved in Rohingya trafficking cases.

---

[6] The primary focused articles are G1, G2, G3, G8 and G9 and the secondary focused articles are G4, G11, G12, G14, G16, G18, G19, G21 and G22.

Similarly, G13 notes:

> *"Having first fled crimes against humanity in Myanmar and then being turned away by Malaysia, they have nowhere left to go – a fact that is harrowingly demonstrated by the callous indifference of other governments that refuse to give them sanctuary,"* according to Amnesty International.

Besides, G18 states that along with the non-government actors, "There has to be a way for governments in the region to start feeling responsible for the lives of the Rohingya."

4.1.4. The Public Policy Frame

The public policy frame in both newspapers primarily focuses on various measures and recommendations. These include the introduction and reformulation of new regulations, raising awareness, strengthening security measures, and enhancing border control to address the issue of Rohingya trafficking. The public policy frame is shown roughly equal importance in both newspapers. In the Daily Star, 10.5 percent of its articles contain the frame, including five times as primary frame and five times as secondary frame. [7] On the other hand, the Guardian articles allocate the public policy frame with a proportion of eight percent, including four times as a secondary frame.[8]

For example, articles DS7 and DS22 mainly focus measurements regarding on strengthening security and increasing border control by law enforcement members. It also recommends working on the root causes that make Rohingya refugees more vulnerable to human trafficking groups.

---

[7] The articles contains public policy frames include DS2, DS4, DS5, DS13, DS20, DS25, DS29, DS33, DS39, and DS40.

[8] The articles are G3, G11, G13 and G21.

Similarly, the article of DS7 notes that along with reinforcing security, it needs to ensure legal protection and justice for trafficking victims.

DS22 also notes some factors to address that make them easy prey of human trafficking such as "economic hardships, lack of education, lack of livelihood generation opportunities, lack of access to the fundamental necessities." DS33 denotes that the government, UN agencies, and aid organizations have to work together to ensure a minimal camp environment for refugees so that they do not go for the perilous journey at sea for a better life abroad. However, DS28 notes the actions of the information drive to provide information about COVID-19 and child protection at the camps.

The Guardian article G3 denotes: "The Thai government has introduced some reforms and new laws to address trafficking and forced labor… It points to gaps in the country's legal framework and enforcement, in particular in the regulation of brokers who recruit workers..." G11 states actions by the UN and the government to create awareness among the refugees and strengthen the capacities of law enforcers to eliminate the issue of human trafficking of Rohingya refugees. Similarly, G13 and G21 describe the implementation of new provisions to help the Rohingya refugees to help them disembark from boats.

4.1.5. The Health Risk Frame

The health risk frame in both media outlets primarily emphasizes concerns regarding the potential spread of diseases, including coronavirus and HIV/AIDS, among Rohingya refugees and the local populations in the host countries. The health risk frame holds a notable 14 percent importance in the UK newspaper but is relatively less significant in the Bangladeshi newspaper, accounting for just over 2 percent.[9] For example, DS28 states the outbreak of coronavirus fuels the vulnerability of Rohingya refugees, with a particular focus on child trafficking. The narratives denote that over

---

[9] The articles in both newspapers contain health risk frame are DS21, DS28, G13, G14, G15, G17, G18, G20, and G22.

42 Rohingyas have been infested with coronavirus and three of them died in the refugee camp. D28 notes: "There is an acute need for hygiene kits and personal protective equipment such as facemasks, disinfectants, and hygiene kits to prevent children from getting infected." Besides, some aid organizations have been working to provide mental and psychological support to the refugees, including the children.

Similarly, articles G13, G15, and G17 in the Guardian predominantly focus on the health risk frame by describing the risk of coronavirus outbreak through Rohingya trafficking victims. The reports describe that the countries, including Malaysia, have turned to the floating boats of Rohingya trafficking victims to restrain the spread of the coronavirus outbreak to their countries. The authorities took the matter as a serious public health threat for their countries. However, Bangladesh rescued some 280 Rohingya refugees, victims of trafficking networks from some floating fishing boats in the sea and sent them to Bhasan Char, an isolated island of the country on the southern coast to avoid the potential risk of spreading coronavirus in the refugee camps in Cox's Bazar.

G18 describes the terrible health condition of Rohingya trafficking victims who were rescued from fishing boats in the sea. The refugees showed indications of mental distress and physical torture, likely from traffickers onboard. One victim had burn injuries. Three of them died of various health issues, including breathing problems, and headaches. And four others were undergoing treatment at the hospital. An aid worker said, "We had to burn the clothes they used before because they hadn't been able to bathe or change their clothes. They were starving … about 30 of them died on the journey and they threw all the bodies to the sea."

In addition to this, Bangladeshi media also focus on potential public health treatment of sex-related diseases from Rohingya refugees and trafficking victims. For example, DS22 denotes the unprotected sex and sexually transmitted diseases of Rohingya refugees and trafficking victims as a percentage of Rohingya women and girls are trapped in sex trafficking. The customers who go for sex can be infested with various sexual diseases as they are not willing to wear condoms. Referring a foreign media, the DS article denotes that "a Rohingya sex worker said, "I take birth

control injections, but I worry about HIV every day". Unfortunately, she has never been tested for STDs." The article also denotes that Myanmar is among 35 nations responsible for 90 percent of new HIV infections worldwide. As Rohingya girls and women have been subjected to gang rape by the Myanmar military, there has been a high risk of spreading sexually transmitted diseases. This can be a serious public health threat to the entire region.

4.1.6. The Human Business Frame

Both media outlets emphasize the human business frame, highlighting financial transactions between Rohingya refugees and trafficking networks. They portray Rohingya trafficking as a profitable enterprise, with refugees receiving monthly payments for recruiting others from the camps. In the Daily Star, the frame accounts for 9.5 percent, while it constitutes six percent of the Guardian's coverage. Notably, the Daily Star features this frame nine times, while the Guardian does so three times, with both newspapers emphasizing it solely as a secondary frame.[10]

The Daily Star, for example, articles DS10 and DS22 note that Rohingya refugees were estimated to be worth $50 to $100 million per year. Similarly, DS35 notes a boat of up to 1,000 people can be worth up to $3 million for the traffickers. The narratives of articles in both newspapers report various amount of charges by trafficking groups of Rohingya refugees for sending them to different countries, including Malaysia, Indonesia, and India. For example, the articles of DS3, DS8, DS32, and DS35 state that Rohingya trafficking victims pay a charge of 10,000 taka ($120) and some of them pay Tk 30,000 and some others pay up to Tk 200,000 upon arrival at their destination countries, particularly in Malaysia. Sometimes, the traffickers hold the refugees hostages and compel them to pay ransom to release them.

---

[10] The articles are DS1, DS3, DS4, DS6, DS8, DS10, DS22, DS32, DS35, G4, G10, G12 and G18.

In the Guardian, the articles similarly focus on the ransoms earned by the members of the trafficking network, who hold Rohingya refugees hostage shortly after their arrival in destination countries. Articles G4, G12 and G18 highlight traffickers demanding ransoms from Rohingya victims' families for release. The reports also note that the payments are made in various currencies via mobile banking services, reflecting a common practice in hostage situations. G12, for example, notes Rohingya trafficking victims "were routinely held captive in Thai jungles until their relatives agreed to pay ransoms of around $2,000 (£1,548)." G18 notes when victims need meals or wish to contact family members, traffickers demand further payments.

Table 2 offers a systematic examination of different news frames used by The Daily Star (Bangladesh) and The Guardian (UK) on Rohingya human trafficking coverage. The comparative analysis finds six news frames: victimization, responsibility, criminal justice, public policy, health risk, and human business. It also highlights the frequency of primary and secondary frames of the six frames.

Table 2: Frequency of Frames in Both Newspapers

Framing Titles	Frequency of The Daily Star Frames (Bangladesh)			Frequency of Guardian Frames (United Kingdom)			Average Frequency (%)
	Frequency of Primary Frames	Frequency of Secondary Frames	Total Frames (%)	Frequency of Primary Frames	Frequency of Secondary frames	Total Frames (%)	
Victimization	15 (15.8%)	10 (10.5%)	**25 (26.3%)**	11 (22%)	08 (16%)	**19 (38%)**	32.3%
Responsibility	03 (3.2%)	14 (14.8%)	**17 (17.9%)**	06 (12%)	08 (16%)	**14 (28%)**	23.0%
Criminal Justice	24 (25.3%)	08 (8.4%)	**32 (33.7%)**	01 (2%)	02 (4%)	**03 (6%)**	19.9%
Public Policy	05 (5.3%)	05 (5.3%)	**10 (10.5%)**	00(00%)	04 (8%)	**04 (8%)**	9.3%
Health Risk	01 (1.1%)	01 (1.1%)	**02 (2.1%)**	03 (6%)	04 (8%)	**07 (14%)**	8.1%
Human Business	00 (00%)	09 (9.5%)	**09 (9.5%)**	00(00%)	03 (6%)	**03 (6%)**	7.8%
Total Frames			**95 (100%)**			**50 (100%)**	100%

The findings from the Bangladeshi newspaper (Daily Star) reveal a total of 95 (100%) frames after analyzing 48 sample news articles during a five-year period. The criminal justice frame is one of the predominant frames in the framing patterns, securing the highest position among others while the health risk frame is in the bottom position. The criminal justice frame (33.7%) is the most dominant frame, followed by the victimization frame (26.3%) and responsibility frame (17.9%). At the same time, the criminal justice frame contains the highest number of primary frames (26.3%) followed by the victimization frames (15.8%). This means that Bangladeshi journalists considered the criminal justice issue as the first important focus of the Rohingya trafficking issue while the issue of victimization by traffickers secured the second most important frame.

The findings from the British newspaper (The Guardian) reveal a total of 50 frames, constituting 100 percent, after analyzing 23 sample news articles during the same five-year period. The victimization frame is one of the most predominant frames in the framing patterns, securing the highest position with a share of 38% among others while the criminal justice and human business frames jointly are placed in the bottom position with a proportion of 6%. Similarly, the victimization frame secured the top position when it comes to the primary focus of Rohingya trafficking news coverage. On the other hand, public policy and human business frames have no position as primary frames. Furthermore, the results also illustrate that as the secondary frame frequency, the Guardian journalists considered the responsibility frame as the second most important frame with a proportion of 28% while criminal justice and human business frames jointly were on the bottom point with a share of 6%.

Overall, the Bangladeshi newspaper (the Daily Star) confirmed just around double the number of frames compared to the British newspapers, as per the combined news frames (Table 2). The Guardian appears to focus more on victimization, responsibility, and health risks, while the Daily Star emphasizes criminal justice, victimization and responsibility aspects. While the Daily Start came up with a total of 95 news frames, the Guardian had 50 frames. While the criminal justice frame was the most important in Bangladeshi newspaper with a proportion of 33.7%, the frame was on the bottom list in the UK newspaper with a share of 6%. It is observed that there were similar patterns in terms of public policy and human business frames with a small percentage

difference compared to other news frames in both media outlets. In terms of responsibility frame, Bangladeshi and British media outlets placed the third and second positions with a share of around 20% and around 30% respectively. Similarly, while the victimization frame with a share of 38% was the top priority among UK journalists, it was considered as second most important among Bangladeshi journalists. In UK newspapers, on the other hand, the health risk frame accounted for 14% of the coverage, whereas in the Bangladeshi newspaper, it constituted only 1.1%.

4.2. News Sources

This study confirms ten different groups of news sources used in both media outlets in Bangladesh and the UK. They are shortly explained below:

4.2.1. Aid Agency/NGO/Human Rights Groups: These news sources are grouped as they serve the same purpose and similar activities to support the Rohingya refugees and trafficking victims. Most of the articles in both newspapers in two countries used local and international aid agencies/human rights/NGO officials or their data in the reports. These source groups include the ILO, UNODC, US Report of Trafficking in Persons Report, UNICEF, UN Refugee Agency, RRRC, UNHCR, Civil Society Forum, BRAC, Walk Free Foundation, COAST, Human Rights Commission of Malaysia (SUHAKAM), Fortify Rights, Geutanyoe, Amnesty International, and Human Rights Watch (HRW).

4.2.2. Law Enforcers: Four different law enforcement agencies is found in Bangladeshi newspaper such as police, the Rapid Action Battalion (RAB), Border Guard Bangladesh (BGB), and Bangladesh Coast Guard. The news articles used law enforcement officials to describe their efforts to rescue the Rohingya refugees and trafficking victims as well as to arrest the traffickers.

4.2.3. Government Officials/Politicians: These sources mainly focus on the government official/political view from Bangladesh and some other countries that are affected by the Rohingya crisis and trafficking issue. While the Bangladeshi newspaper mentioned Minister AK Abdul Momen, Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina, Law Minister Anisul Huq, Teknaf Mayor Abdullah Monir, and US Embassy office sources, the UK newspaper used different countries' government sources

mainly without the name of the official/politician for example, Bangladeshi, Thai, Indonesian officials sources.

4.2.4. Foreign Media & Correspondent: Some articles from Bangladeshi newspaper refer to some international media such as Fortune; South China Morning Post, and BBC. The foreign correspondent source is the reporter who is giving information from a foreign country such as the New Delhi correspondent of Daily Star provides information from India.

4.2.5. Victims: The victim source is the Rohingya refugees and trafficking victims. Some of them are living in the refugee camps and some of them are out of the host country and caught by the human trafficking network.

4.2.6. Traffickers: The alleged traffickers who are arrested by the law enforcers during the drive to rescue the Rohingya trafficking victims.

4.2.7. Experts: This is mainly about the observations or recommendations mentioned in the news articles that come from different scholars or experienced people.

4.2.8. Rohingya Leaders: This source includes the spoke persons of various committees for the Rohingya community in the refugee camps. For example, the chairman of the Rohingya refugee committee and the Arakan Rohingya society are included in this source.

4.2.9. Locals: Some individuals, including local villagers, shopkeepers, and fishermen fall within the category of local sources.

4.2.10. None: This is mainly found in editorial articles when there is no mention of any specific source just describing the view of the writer.

Table 3: Newspaper-wise & Combined Source Frequency

Types of News Sources	Combined Average Frequency	The Daily Star (Bangladesh)	The Guardian (United Kingdom)
Aid /NGOs/Human Rights Groups	28.5%	23.5% (19)	36.7% (18)
Law Enforcers	22.3%	32.1% (26)	6.1% (03)
Govt. Officials/Politicians	16.1%	16.0% (13)	16.3% (08)
Victim	13.8%	11.1% (09)	18.4% (09)
None	6.2%	6.2% (05)	6.1% (03)
Foreign Media/Correspondent	3.1%	3.7% (03)	2.0% (01)
Traffickers	3.1%	4.9% (04)	00% (00)
Rohingya Leaders	3.1%	0% (00)	8.2% (04)
Locals	2.3%	0% (00)	6.1% (03)
Experts	1.5%	2.5% (02)	00% (00)
Total	**100% (65)**	**100% (81)**	**100% (49)**

Table 3 illustrates the country-wise and combined average frequency of used news sources in both the Daily Star (Bangladesh) and the Guardian (the UK). A total of ten types of news sources were used in both newspapers. Among them, the Bangladeshi newspaper is predominantly dependent on the law enforcers' sources with a percentage of 32.1% while the Guardian was highly dependent on aid agency/NGOs/human rights groups' sources with a proportion of 36.7%. On the other hand, there was no use of local and Rohingya leaders' sources in Bangladeshi media. Similarly, the UK outlet had no dependency on experts and traffickers' sources. In terms of using government officials'/politicians' sources, the newspapers in Bangladesh and the UK have shown a significant similarity with a share of 16% and 16.3% respectively. Furthermore, the British newspaper demonstrated a notable reliance on victim sources, constituting 18.4% of their coverage, a figure roughly double that of the Bangladeshi media, where the utilization of victim sources stood at 11.1%. Additionally, when it comes to average combined frequency, the use of aid agencies/NGOs/human rights groups was in the highest position with a share of 28.5%, followed by the law enforcer's source at 22.3%, and victim source at 16.1%. Conversely, foreign media &

correspondents, expert opinion, and traffickers, Rohingya leaders, and local sources were on the bottom line with a proportion between 1.5% and 3.1%.

Overall, both newspapers reveal a comparable dependency on aid organizations, NGOs, and human rights groups as primary sources. However, they diverge significantly in their selection and utilization of source categories such as law enforcers, victims, Rohingya leaders, locals, and traffickers. Notably, The Guardian tends to encompass viewpoints from Rohingya leaders, local individuals, and victims to a greater extent in contrast to the Daily Star. Conversely, the Daily Star places a more pronounced emphasis on incorporating perspectives from law enforcers and traffickers. These divergent approaches underscore distinct editorial policies and the newspapers' inclinations toward specific types of sources.

4.3. News Tones

Three different news tones were researched in this study. They are shortly explained below:

4.3.1. Positive: The manner of favorable news writing tones to describe the sufferings and hardships of Rohingya refugees and trafficking victims, as well as condemning Myanmar for its military crackdown on them. The articles contain positive tones that portray Rohingya refugees and trafficking victims in a powerful way that they are helpless, they are powerless, and they need assistance from the international community. The articles describe their horrific experience of mass killing, rapes, and torture by the Myanmar military and their suffering and difficulties in refugee camps and suffering and torture by human traffickers on fishing trawlers.

4.3.2. Neutral: This tone entails offering an objective and unbiased depiction of events, persons, and situations.

4.3.3. Negative: This tone indicates the accusation or blame leveled at Rohingya refugees and victims of human trafficking. The stories contain negative tones that typically emphasize their obvious flaws rather than sympathizing with the hardships and obstacles they face. The articles contain a negative tone describing Rohingya are violent, a security threat, and a burden for the host country. This is because they are involved in various crimes, including trafficking, drug peddling, and document forgery.

In addition to this, if a news article contains both positive and negative tones, then the overall dominant tones have been considered for the articles. The author also considers the headlines, subheads, pictures and captions of the story to understand the overall tone toward the Rohingya refugees and trafficking victims.

Table 4: News tones of both newspapers

Newspapers	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Individual Total
Daily Star	60.4% (29)	20.9% (10)	18.7% (09)	100% (48)
Guardian	87% (20)	13% (03)	00%	100% (23)
Average	73.7.%	17.0%	9.3%	100% (71)

Table 4 shows the individual results of news tones used in both the Daily Star and the Guardian. The findings validate that both newspapers predominantly focus on positive news tones. While the articles in the Daily Star consist of slightly over 60% positive tones, The Guardian's articles are characterized by a significant 87% positive tone. Next to the positive tones, there were around 21% and 13% neutral tones in the Daily Star and the Guardian, respectively. In contrast, the Daily Star comprises around 19% negative tone, whereas The Guardian did not contain any negative tone. In terms of the combined results, both newspapers predominantly feature positive news tones, accounting for a proportion of 73.7%, followed by neutral tones at 17%, and negative tones at 9.3%. In summary, the Daily Star offers a wider range of sentiment, presenting a comprehensive view of Rohingya trafficking. The Guardian maintains positivity and neutrality, possibly reflecting distinct perspectives, influenced by editorial guidelines, audience, and journalistic viewpoints.

Chapter 5: Discussion

The purpose of this study was to investigate the overall news framing, news reporting tones, and selection and uses of different news sources in the Bangladeshi and British newspapers on human trafficking of Rohingya refugees over a five-year period. The study found six different types of frames, ten types of news sources, and three types of news tones. The frequency test as a quantitative statistical method found some significant similarities and differences between the two newspapers. The discussion chapter begins with framing, then news sources, and finally, the chapter concludes with news reporting tones toward the Rohingya refugees and trafficked victims.

5.1. Combined News Framing

The researcher eventually arrived at six dominant frames that emerged in this study after a careful reading of the sample news articles, examination of previous frames, and redefinition of existing frames. These major frames are briefly explained below with the article codes placed in the appendix section.

Frequency of frames in both newspapers
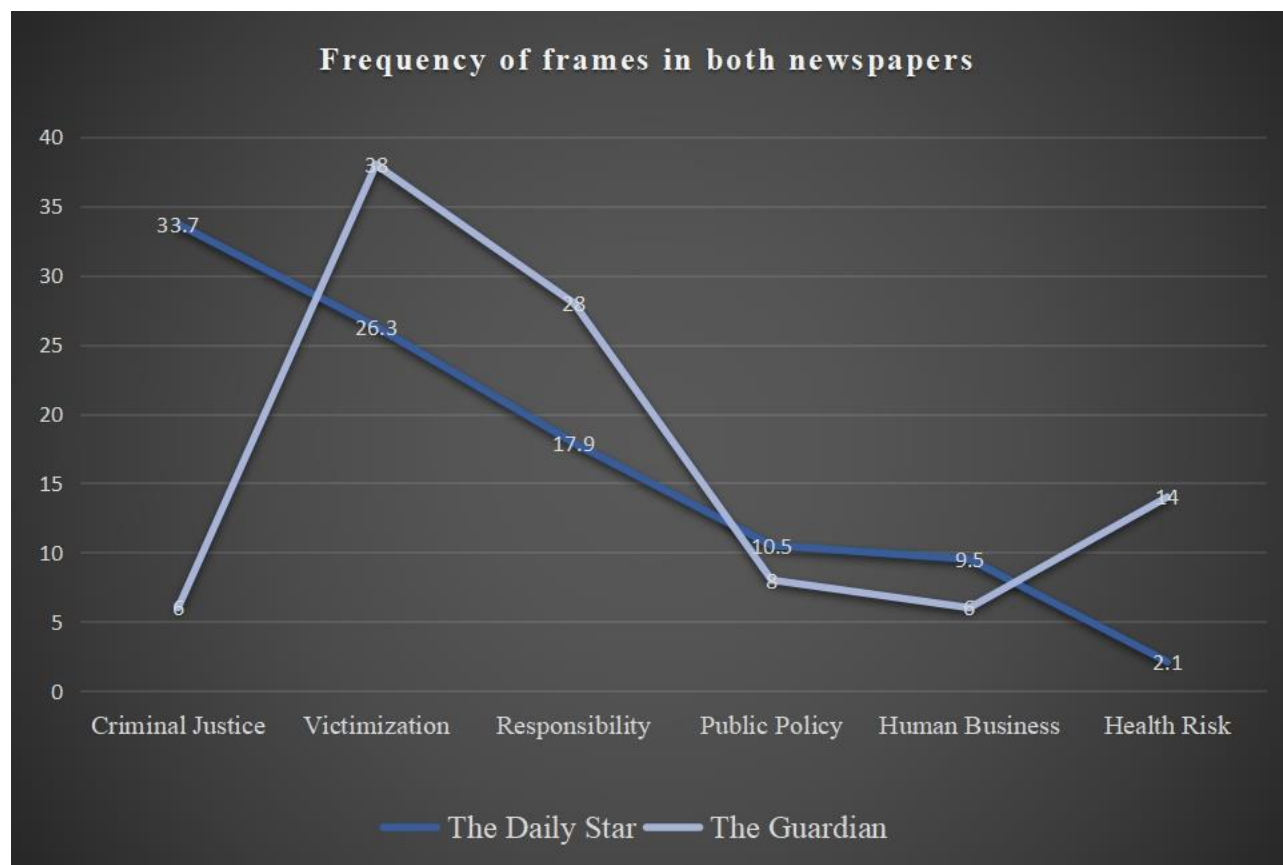
The bar chart above gives information about the combined framing frequency in both the Bangladeshi and British newspapers. The Guardian demonstrates a stronger emphasis on the frames of victimization, responsibility, and health risks within its coverage, whereas the Daily Star places a greater focus on the criminal justice frame followed by victimization and responsibility frames. The criminal justice frame is ranked as the most important frame among the six frames in Bangladeshi newspaper with a proportion of around 34%, whereas the victimization frame is positioned as the prime frame in the British newspaper with the highest proportion of 38%. On the other hand, the health risk frame with a share of over 2.1% is placed at the bottom with the lowest percentage in the Bangladeshi newspaper, while the human business frame and criminal justice frames jointly secured the lowest percentage of about 6% in the British newspaper. The following section provides explanations and interpretations of the six different frames:

5.1.1. The Victimization Frame

The victimization frame is one of the most dominant frames in both newspapers during the five-year time frame. While the Bangladeshi media showed the victimization frame as the second most important frame, accounting for slightly over 26 percent, the UK media highlighted this frame as the most significant, constituting a ratio of 38 percent. The victimization frame represents how the Rohingya refugees are caught by trafficking networks and their suffering and hardship during the dangerous journey for better lives abroad. This study has redefined the victimization frame based on studies conducted by Van Gorp (2005) and Pajnik (2010). This frame indicates the process of victimization and suffering of Rohingya refugees after fleeing their home country or "habitual residence because of a well-founded fear of persecution because of his/her race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion" (Van Gorp, 2005, p. 489). The frame also throws light on the personal and emotional aspects, diving into the plight of trafficking victims and their hardships and sufferings as a result of human rights violations.

The victimization frame in both media outlets in Bangladesh and the UK predominantly focused on the vulnerable condition of Rohingya refugees in the camps and the sufferings and human rights violations against them when they are caught by trafficking networks. For example, G14 notes "Hundreds more Rohingya refugees remain stuck at sea, rights groups have warned, just one day after it emerged that dozens of people died onboard a boat that was refused entry to Malaysia and left adrift for two months." Similarly, the headline of DS33 notes "Rohingya boat capsize adds to already long list of tragedies". The findings regarding the victimization frame are supported by the works of Brooten (2015), Barnett (2016), Islam (2018), and Irom et al. (2022) as they found the media outlets in the USA and Bangladesh portrayed the Rohingya as deplorable and helpless in a powerful way with a great focus on human rights violations. Although both media outlets in Bangladesh and the UK focused almost a similar depiction, the UK newspaper was more focused on the victimization frame compared to the Bangladesh newspaper. However, the findings of both media outlets played a significant role in portraying Rohingya refugees and trafficking victims as innocent victims, helpless, vulnerable and they need assistance from the international community.

This observation in this study is supported by Brooten (2015) that the internet and online media have at least partially challenged orientalist frames.

However, the findings of this study run counter to media studies conducted in China, Malaysia, and India. These studies revealed that the framing patterns observed in Chinese media tend to highlight the criminal and political dimensions of the Rohingya crisis and human trafficking issue, rather than centering on the victims and their hardships (Pajnik, 2010; Sobel, 2014; Islam, 2018: Ehmer and Kothari, 2021). The newspapers in India and Malaysia predominantly focused on the security threat frame as Rohingya are violent, involved in different crimes and they are illegal intruders while Chinese media mainly treated the issue as a matter of political debate and conflict. This is probably because of their geographical locals and how they are affected by the Rohingya crisis and trafficking issues. The findings regarding the victimization frame in this study underscore the unequal power structures in society, highlighting divisions between majority and minority groups, potentially leading to discrimination against vulnerable Rohingya ethnic populations. This conclusion sinks with the media representation theory offered by Cottle (2000) and Orgad (2014).

5.1.2. The Criminal Justice Frame

The criminal justice frame is the most dominant in the Bangladeshi newspaper with the highest proportion of primary frames while the frame remains the less dominant frame in the UK newspaper with a focus on secondary frames. The criminal justice frame accounts for 33.7% of the Daily Star's coverage, while the Guardian allocates only 6%, signifying a notable difference in their focus on this aspect. Most of these articles in the Daily Star predominantly focus on the criminal justice process, particularly about the rescue of Rohingya trafficked victims and the arrest of traffickers whereas, the British newspaper had a major focus on the investigation of law enforcement agencies and court verdicts. The criminal justice frame refers to the presentation of the criminal justice process and rescue incidents of Rohingya trafficking victims. The criminal justice frame in this study is redefined after gaining valuable insights from previous research. The criminal justice process includes: "investigations, arrests, prosecutions, trials, and court

judgments" (Tafari, 2019, p.26). In addition to this, the issue of rescuing Rohingya refugees and their protection from human trafficking networks is considered under the criminal justice frame.

The findings of this current study align with similar observations made in the studies conducted by Muraszkiewicz et al. (2014) and Sanford et al. (2016) in their media representation studies of human trafficking. In the same way, the findings of Pajnik (2010), Sobel (2014), and Tafari (2019) also have a clear focus on the activities of law enforcers to address the issue of human trafficking. These scholars have noted that media representations of human trafficking tend to focus more on the criminal aspect of the issue rather than on long-term solutions. This observation is consistent with what this researcher sees in the Bangladeshi newspaper, which has the highest percentage of coverage in the criminal justice frame compared to the British newspaper. Most of the articles predominantly centered on rescue and arrest incidents, lacking in-depth exploration of the underlying phenomenon due to their brevity. For example, the headline of DS17 notes "62 Rohingyas rescued in Cox's Bazar, 5 'traffickers' held". These findings indicate that the Bangladeshi newspaper tends to adopt a more general approach to reporting, while the British newspaper places greater emphasis on in-depth reporting. In contrast, the articles published in the British newspaper offered a more comprehensive view of the phenomenon, presenting a detailed background and broader contextual information. For example, the headline of G4 notes "Thailand convicts traffickers after 2015 mass graves discovery". However, the criminal justice frame in both media outlets is mainly focused on three groups such as traffickers as evil perpetrators, helpless victims, and law enforcers who control crime. The findings of this study support those of Austin & Farrell (2017).

On the other hand, the predominant view of framing human trafficking as the issue of sex slavery or prostitution (Gulati, 2010; Austin & Farrell, 2017) contradicts this current study. This is mainly because the narratives of Rohingya trafficking-related news stories not only present sex slavery or prostitution but also forced marriage, bar dancer, domestic servants, and forced labor in various risky industries. The researched articles denote that Rohingya refugees are trapped by the trafficking network and forced to do so. Consequently, these narratives come under the victimization frame earlier in this study. Furthermore, media studies on the Rohingya crisis lacked

focus on the criminal justice perspective. Instead, they portrayed refugees as a security threat to the host and neighboring countries (Islam, 2018). The findings under the criminal justice frame in the Bangladeshi newspaper suggest the strict position of the Bangladesh government to address the problem of Rohingya trafficking and ensure safety and justice for the victims. The activities of law enforcement agencies also denote the notion of nationalization to represent the country positively to the world. This indicates Bangladesh has taken the issue of Rohingya trafficking seriously to control the crime. The findings regarding the criminal justice frame construct meaning that positively shapes readers' perceptions, in accordance with the conclusions of Hall's (1997) media representation theory.

5.1.3. The Responsibility Frame

The responsibility frame is the second most prevalent in the UK newspaper with a proportion of 28 percent and the third most prevalent in the Bangladeshi media outlet with a share of around 18 percent. This frame in both media outlets shows a predominantly focus on the frequency of secondary frames rather than the primary frames, as per Table 1 in the findings chapter. In this study, the responsibility frame is outlined by Semetko and Valkenburg. This frame involves portraying an issue or problem in a manner that assigns either the government or an individual group the responsibility for its cause or solution (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 100). Firstly, the narratives of responsibility frame in this study mainly referred to the Myanmar government being responsible for the Rohingya crisis and the increasing cases of Rohingya trafficking. Secondly, it also assigns responsibility to several other governments in this region, including Thailand and Bangladesh.

The findings of the responsibility frame in both Bangladeshi and British newspapers frequently referred to the Myanmar government being held responsible for the Rohingya crisis and the increasing human trafficking of Rohingya refugees. For example, G12 states "The trafficking network had been largely dormant since then but fears of new activity have risen since more than 700,000 Rohingya fled the Myanmar military in 2017, taking Bangladesh's total population of Rohingya refugees to more than a million." Additionally, some other governments are held

responsible for their inadequate steps to control Rohingya trafficking. For example, DS20 notes "The country does not fully meet the minimum standards required to combat trafficking in persons..."

These findings in this study are consistent with Afzal's (2016), Brooten's (2015), Anwy's (2019), and Uddin's (2021) media representation studies of the Rohingya crisis in Bangladesh, Pakistan, the USA, and the UK. Like this present study, the previous researchers found criticism against the Myanmar government due to the episodic ethnic cleansing operation on the Rohingya community in Rakhine. However, the media representation study of the Rohingya crisis in state-run newspapers in Myanmar by Kironska and Peng (2021) found contradictory findings to this current study. Kironska and Peng (2021) found that the state-run media of Myanmar depicted Rohingya as a unified group of culprits endangering national harmony and security. The Burmese media used similar rhetorical devices as seen in the countries in Central Europe for the portrayal of Muslim refugees. For example, "Islam as a threat to Buddhism, 'traditional values' and national security" (Kironska & Peng, 2021, p.16). This is mainly because of the social, cultural, and political context to support the government of Myanmar.

On the other hand, most of the media representation studies on human trafficking did not focus on the responsibility frame. However, the media representation study of Rohingya refugee trafficking confirms the utilization of the responsibility frame. This is mainly because the case of Rohingya trafficking is connected to the Rohingya crisis as they fled from the military crackdown of the Myanmar government. Consequently, the prevalence of responsibility frame is normal when it comes to the trafficking of Rohingya refugees rather than the media treatment of general human trafficking. It is also important to note that most media representation studies specifically referred to the Myanmar government for its brutal military attack and Rohingya crisis. However, this current study of the Rohingya trafficking issue in the media, not only referred to the Myanmar government but also other governments/non-government groups for the increasing number of Rohingya refugees being trafficked. The other parties are also reflected in this study as the issue of Rohingya trafficking is connected with international borders and countries. This media coverage

underscores government officials' passive approach to addressing trafficking issues and their involvement, which could inform appropriate policy decision-making.

5.1.4. The Public Policy Frame

The public policy frame in both media outlets found great similarities with an average frequency of just over 9 percent. The articles in the Bangladeshi newspaper contain this frame with just over 10 percent, including half of them in primary and secondary frequencies. However, the British newspaper was 8 percent without any primary frequency in its articles. The public policy frame in this study focuses on various legislative measures, strategies of law enforcement agencies, suggestions, and demands or actions of non-government organizations or human rights groups to combat the human trafficking of Rohingya refugees. It also includes the role of governmental bodies, international agreements, and domestic laws in influencing the response to Rohingya trafficking, trafficker prosecution, victim protection, and support. In Tafari's study, the public policy frame refers to "events in the public policy environment, such as legislative initiatives, suggestions or demands for legislative change, political debate or a report" (Tafari, 2019, p.30). However, this study has redefined the public policy frame, specifically concentrating on Rohingya human trafficking, outlining a range of strategies and recommendations that can be enacted to resolve the challenge of Rohingya human trafficking.

The narrative of the public policy frame in both newspapers is predominantly focused on various measures, including strategies and recommendations to address the trafficking issue of Rohingya refugees. For example, article G3 denotes: "The Thai government has introduced some reforms and new laws to address trafficking and forced labor…" Some articles emphasize the need for bolstering security and border controls, providing legal protection to trafficking victims, organizing awareness programs, and addressing the root causes that make individuals vulnerable to trafficking networks. For example, DS22 notes "We have alerted all the security agencies that trafficking events are taking place… We have tightened the border areas, security has been tightened on the sea…" said an official. Article G11 discusses UN and government efforts to raise

awareness among Rohingya refugees and enhance law enforcement capabilities to combat human trafficking.

The findings of the public policy frame in this study align with similar observations drawn by Pajnik (2010), Gulati (2010), Gulati (2009), Sobel (2014), and Tafari (2019) in their studies media representation studies on human trafficking in various countries. These studies identified common trends of adopting new laws, enhancement of law enforcement capabilities, adjustments to existing policies, and stricter border controls in newspapers from India, Thailand, Finland, the United States, Great Britain, Canada, and Slovenia. On the other hand, the majority of media studies on the Rohingya crisis, including Islam (2018), Uddin (2021), and Rahman and Nova (2020) did not focus on the public policy frame. Instead, they predominantly identified frames related to human interest, securitization, and responsibility.

However, Irom et al. (2022) came up with a similar observation to this current study, in a slightly different way, concerning measures to address the Rohingya crisis. Irom et al. (2022) used the administrative frame to indicate the bureaucratic efforts by the government and non-government organizations in managing various aspects of Rohingya refugees at the border crossing, legal status, and so on. In this study, the utilization of the public policy frame in both Bangladeshi and British newspapers is presumed to play a pivotal role in shaping readers' perceptions concerning the issue of Rohingya human trafficking, thereby enhancing public awareness. This conclusion is firmly rooted in media representation theory, as proposed by Hall (1997) and further supported by Fursich (2019).

5.1.5. The Health Risk Frame

The health risk frame holds greater importance in the UK media outlet compared to its significance in the Bangladesh media context. The health risk frame is regarded as the third most important frame in the UK newspaper with a ratio of 14 percent, however, it is seen as the least significant frame in the Bangladeshi newspaper with a proportion of just over 2 percent. The health risk frame in this study addresses the health challenges faced by Rohingya trafficking victims, underscoring

how their health concerns could potentially become a public health threat for Bangladesh and neighboring countries. This includes the risk of spreading diseases like coronavirus and HIV from Rohingya refugees and trafficking victims. The frame also includes the physical and mental health damage of Rohingya trafficking victims by traffickers.

Most of the articles in both media outlets in Bangladesh and the UK predominantly focus on the health risks related to coronavirus and other sexually transmitted diseases both for Rohingya refugees and the locals in the countries they arrive. The Guardian, in particular, predominantly emphasizes the health risk frame by detailing the potential outbreak of coronavirus among Rohingya trafficking victims. The reports describe that the countries, including Malaysia, have turned to the floating boats of Rohingya trafficking victims to restrain the spread of the coronavirus outbreak to their countries. For example, G15 denotes "Two boats still stranded at sea as Malaysia accused of using COVID-19 as an excuse to turn them back." Some articles denote the potential risk of sexual diseases, for example, DS22 denotes that Myanmar is one of 35 countries contributing to 90% of global HIV infections. It also notes "A Rohingya sex worker said, "I take birth control injections, but I worry about HIV every day."" The authorities took the matter as a serious public health threat for their countries.

The findings of the health risk frame in this study are in sync with the "disease spreading" frame of the Rohingya crisis by Wadud (2020) in Bangladeshi newspapers. Like the current study, Wadud noted that Rohingya refugees are considered a public health threat, particularly for spreading sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV. Similarly, the media representation of human rights coverage in the USA by Brooten (2015) confirmed similar health-related challenges of displaced Rohingya refugees with limited resources. In the same vein, the media representation of human trafficking coverage in India, Thailand, and the USA by Sobel (2014) found a similar public health issue which is lined with the findings of this study on Rohingya human trafficking.

On the other hand, several studies, including Gulati (2010), Sanford, Martínez & Weitzer (2016), Afzal (2016), Islam (2018) Mehtaz (2019), Rahman and Nova (2020), Hosen (2020) and Ehmer and Kothari (2021) have focused on various aspects like prostitution, criminality, human rights violations, and security threat while neglecting the health-related issues of the Rohingya refugees and the Bangladeshi citizens. In this current study, the health risk frame in Bangladeshi newspaper depicts that Rohingya refugees are mainly responsible for spreading sexually transmitted diseases in Bangladesh, particularly near the refugee camps. The refugees are also shown as public health threats for spreading coronavirus in both media. While the media using health risk frames in both Bangladeshi and British newspapers creates public awareness among mass people, it also promotes anti-Rohingya sentiment among the readers.

5.1.6. The Human Business Frame

The human business frame is seen as having considerably lower significance in both newspapers of the six frames examined in this study. In Bangladeshi newspaper, the frame ranks as the fifth important frame with around 10 percent, whereas the UK newspaper finds the frame as the sixth important frame comprising a proportion of 6 percent. The human business frame refers to the portrayal of Rohingya refugee trafficking as a profit-driven venture and organized criminal activities. The frame has a particular focus on the financial aspect of refugee trafficking and the systematic nature of Rohingya refugee exploitations, including forced labor, prostitution, and domestic maids for the financial gains of traffickers. This human business can be linked to the economic consequence frame outlined by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) as both frames present an event, problem, or issue concerning the economic implications it has on an individual, group, organization, area, or country, for example, the news emphasizes the prices, to some extent, or charges associated with the issue (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

However, the human business frame in this study is unique and has a particular focus on presenting the financial aspects of the Rohingya trafficking issue. The narratives include how local and international trafficking networks make money through the trafficking business. It also focuses on the financial aspect of trafficked victims as they are trapped by the trafficking networks and forced

to pay money if they want to save their lives. For example, articles DS10 and DS22 note that the Rohingya trafficking business is estimated to be worth $50 to $100 million per year. Most of these articles in both newspapers succinctly describe numerous ways in which financial transactions occur between Rohingya refugees and members of local and international trafficking networks. Article DS3 denotes "There were two Rohingya men who had already paid 10,000 taka ($120) each." Similarly, G12 notes Rohingya trafficked victims "were routinely held captive in Thai jungles until their relatives agreed to pay ransoms of around $2,000 (£1,548)." Some articles represent Rohingya trafficking as a lucrative business and Rohingya refugees are employed with monthly payments for collecting people from the camps.

The human business frame in this study arises from some news articles that deal with the financial aspects of Rohingya trafficking, it is kept because of its special focus on particular aspects of Rohingya trafficking cases. Although some media representation studies related to human trafficking emphasized that human trafficking is organized criminal activities, these studies ignored the bigger financial aspect of the human trafficking business. Barnett's findings (2016), despite the exclusive focus on women, reinforce the findings of this study by highlighting that human trafficking operates as a lucrative enterprise. The review of human trafficking in Finish media conducted by Tafari (2019) found an economic issue frame that is only limited to the economic aspect of forced labor in Finland. However, the human business frame in this study is unique to the financial aspect of the Rohingya trafficking case. In terms of media representation studies of the Rohingya crisis, Islam (2018), and Wadud (2020) found an "Economic consequence frame" and "Economic burden frame" respectively.

Islam's study (2018) delves into the impacts of the Rohingya crisis on domestic investment and trade relations with Myanmar, as well as the economic implications for a substantial number of Rohingya refugees. Conversely, Wadud's research (2020) focuses on the transformation of displaced refugees into an economic burden for Bangladesh. Although there are some similarities when it comes to the financial aspect of the Rohingya refugee crisis, the human trafficking of Rohingya particularly addresses Rohingya human trafficking as a lucrative human business industry. The human business frame in this study implied to understanding of how a big financial

factor involved with Rohingya trafficking victims in Bangladesh often sends ransom payments to secure the release of hostages held in foreign lands. This practice undoubtedly places an economic burden on Bangladesh, resulting in adverse effects on the country's overall economy. This observation is closely linked to the media representation study conducted by Wadud (2020). Overall, the human business frame in both Bangladeshi and British newspapers illuminates the financial motivations and structure behind the phenomenon of Rohingya trafficking. These findings can potentially assist policymakers in implementing appropriate measures to address this crime effectively.

5.2. News Sources

There are significant similarities and differences between the two newspapers in terms of using news sources in the articles. Most of the news articles were focused on the victimization, suffering, and human rights abuses of Rohingya refugees and trafficking victims. Consequently, the reports in both media outlets predominantly emphasized human rights groups, non-government organizations, and aid agencies, according to the findings of combined average frequency.
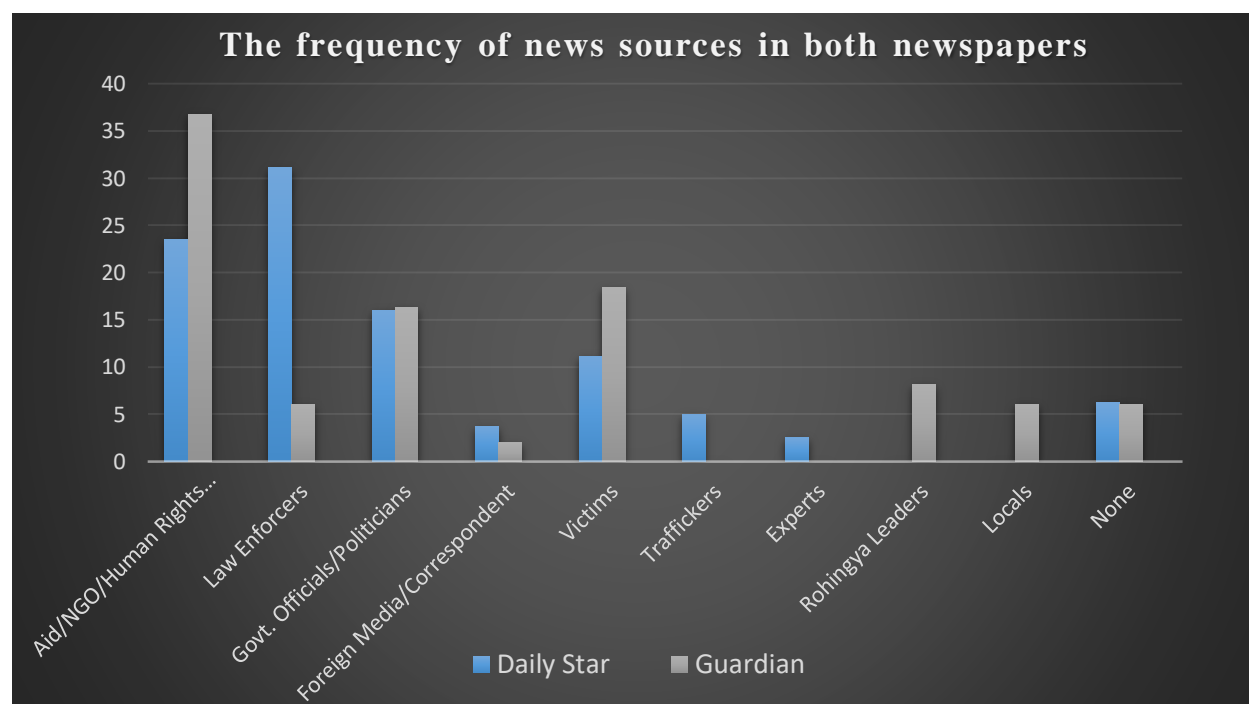
This similar finding is suggested by Islam (2018) and Irom et al. (2022) in their media studies on the Rohingya crisis in Bangladesh, India, and China. However, when it comes to newspaper-wise results, the British newspaper used the highest proportion of aid agency sources while the Bangladeshi newspaper used just over the half amount of the British newspaper. For exact arithmetical details, please look at a combined frequency in Table 2 noted in Chapter 4.

In terms of law enforcer's sources, Bangladeshi newspapers are highly dependent on such sources with the highest proportion in its news articles. This is mainly because of its predominant focus on the actions of different law enforcement agencies to rescue the Rohingya trafficking victims and arrest the members of local and international trafficking networks. On the other hand, the British newspaper had a minimal focus on law enforcer's sources. However, the two newspapers in both countries secured the third position with significant similarities in terms of using government official/politician sources. The findings in this study are similar to the works of Gulati (2009) Sanford, Martínez & Weitzer (2016), Hosen (2020), and Awny (2019). Gulati (2009) noted a similar pattern of using government official sources in media representation of human trafficking in Bangladesh the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada. Similarly, Hosen (2020), Awny (2019), Sanford, Martínez & Weitzer (2016), and Irom et al. (2022) in their media representation studies of Bangladesh and the US on the Rohingya crisis, found that the US media was highly dependent on government official sources when it comes to a critical situation. The findings of British and Bangladeshi media in this study found almost a similar pattern of using official sources in the case of the Rohingya trafficking issue.

In terms of victim sources, while Bangladeshi media used it as the fourth most important source, the British media used the victim sources as the second most important source. In previous media representation studies on the Rohingya crisis, it was found that Bangladeshi media used the victim's voices as a good source to describe the horrific experience they faced in Myanmar (Islam, 2018; Hosen, 2020). However, over time, the use of victim sources shifted to law enforcers' sources when it came to the issue of human trafficking and the Rohingya crisis. On the other hand, the British newspaper is highly dependent on victim sources second to the aid agency sources as most of the news articles were focused on the narratives of victimization, sufferings, and hardships

of Rohingya trafficking victims on fishing trawlers with little or no food and drinking water onboard.

This study also found a completely different type of source during the careful reading of articles in the Bangladeshi newspaper. The newspaper used the voices of alleged traffickers who were involved in the Rohingya trafficking network. In terms of traffickers and expert opinion sources, the Bangladeshi newspaper found a proportion between two and five percent while British media did not use any of the traffickers and expert sources in its articles. In terms of using local and Rohingya leaders' sources, the British newspaper used some of those with a ratio of over five percent. However, both newspapers in the two countries found a similar pattern in terms of using "None" sources in their articles.

5.3. News Tones

This study also concentrates on news analysis, aiming to comprehend the positive, negative, or neutral sentiments in the news coverage toward the Rohingya refugees and trafficking victims. The study finds significant differences and similarities in news tones in both newspapers.
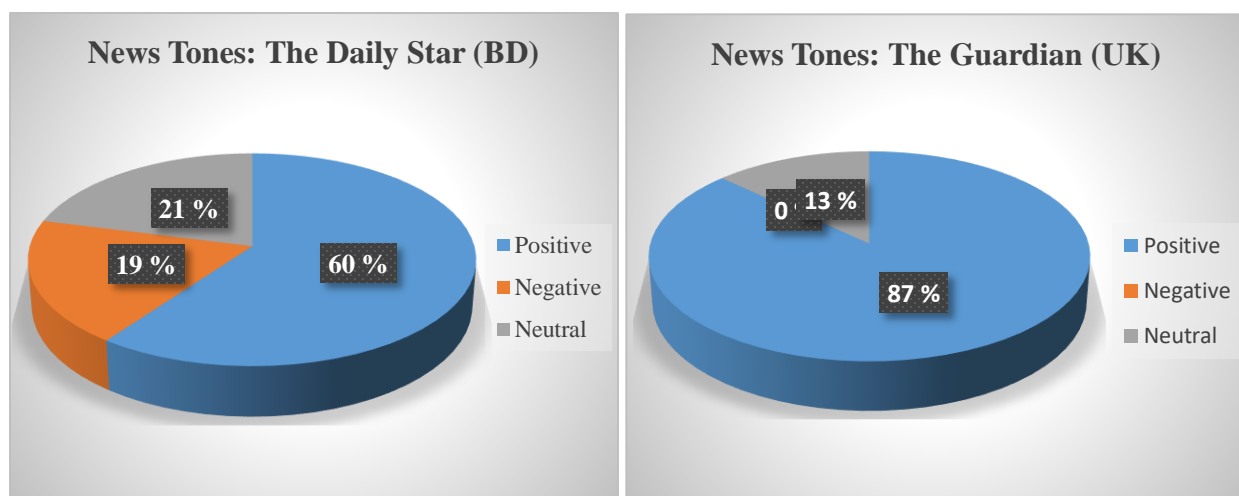
The overall frequency of news tones revealed that most of the news articles in both newspapers contained a positive tone, followed by a certain percentage expressing a negative and neutral tone towards Rohingya refugees and trafficking victims. The study finds a significant similarity in both

newspapers in the two countries in terms of using a positive tone. The Guardian exhibited a positive tone in approximately 87% of its articles, whereas the Daily Star maintained a positive tone in 60% of its articles. This suggests that The Guardian's articles contain approximately 30% more positive tones compared to those in the Daily Star. The finding of three distinct news tones underscores the significance of media representation theory, highlighting how journalistic practices contribute to the construction of meaning within distinct cultural contexts (Hall, 1997; Fursich, 2019). This phenomenon is particularly evident in the journalistic practices observed in Bangladeshi and British newspapers.

Journalistic practices in both countries predominantly centered on positive reporting tones, shedding light on the hardships endured by Rohingya trafficking victims and attributing the responsibility to Myanmar authorities for the escalation of the Rohingya human trafficking problem. These observations align with the findings of media representation studies conducted by Islam (2018), Nahar (2019), Wadud (2020), and Ehmer & Kothari (2021) in the context of the Rohingya refugee crisis. The positive tones include the narratives of victimization conditions of trafficking victims in small fishing trawlers with no or small food and drinking water and tortured by the traffickers, hardships, no education, no earning source, and a grim future in Bangladesh. The narratives in both newspapers indicate that Rohingyas are helpless and they need help from the international community.

The positive tone also denotes that the Myanmar military is mainly responsible for this increasing human trafficking problem as they attacked the Rohingya community. Most of the articles in both newspapers predominantly focused on the narrative of Rohingya people who faced mass rapes, killings, and burning down of their houses during this crackdown. The Guardian also observed that the majority of world media condemns the Burmese government's conduct and portrays the Rohingya as a persecuted ethnic minority. The victims were portrayed as displaced ethnic Muslims, helpless and powerless who were easy prey to trafficking networks. These observations in this study are also in line with the results from the media representation study done by Sobel (2016) and Kironska & Peng (2021).

In terms of neutral and negative tones, this study reveals significant differences in both newspapers. While the Daily Star features 21 percent of news articles with a neutral news tone, The Guardian contains 13 percent of articles expressing a neutral tone regarding refugees and trafficking victims. The articles with a neutral tone in both newspapers indicate that the articles simply present the facts without apportioning blame or holding any specific group responsible for the crisis and human trafficking. In contrast, the Daily Star incorporated a specific percentage of news articles characterized by a negative tone, while the Guardian's articles did not contain a negative tone. The negative tone is found the third most important news tone in the Daily Star with a proportion of around 19 percent. The negative news tone reflects some of the narratives of accusation or blame placed toward the Rohingya refugees and trafficking victims. This finding resonates with similar observations made in the media studies conducted by Islam (2018), Ehmer and Kothari (2021), and Kironska and Peng (2021), where Bangladeshi, Burmese, Malaysian and Indian newspapers also represent Rohingya negatively like they are violent, intruders, problem makers, illegal outsiders, criminals, and threat to national security and stability.

The Bangladeshi newspaper contains a negative tone in eight articles.[11] Most of these articles describe some groups of Rohingya refugees who were involved in human trafficking networks, prostitution, drug peddling, fraudulent jobs, or marriage proposals. Rohingya men and women have become notoriously active in the refugee camps, worsening the overall security condition in the host country. Some Rohingya people were killed in a gunfight with law enforcers. Some Rohingyas were arrested on suspicion of forging passports for Rohingyas and Bangladeshis unlawfully trafficked to India, Malaysia, Thailand, and other countries for trafficking. These observations are similar to the findings of Wolf (2017) cited by Uddin (2021) that the significant prevalence of criminal activities, such as drug peddling, smuggling, and prostitution, originating from within the Rohingya community, poses a threat to the established law and order of the society.

---

[11] The articles which contain a negative tone are DS13, DS16, DS19, DS31, DS39, DS40, DS41 and DS42.

The article DS31 highlights that the environment of Rohingya refugee camps poses a potential risk of militant activity initiation. An expert said, "Lingering of repatriation means the rise of human trafficking through the sea and extremist ideologies -- that will ultimately affect the entire region's development." Mohanty (2020) confirms a similar observation in his media representation study that supported the findings of this thesis as the narratives of negative tone in the articles consider Rohingya refugees as a threat to the national security and development of Bangladesh. This means the negative depiction appealed to the local people to treat them as others and it influenced the government to repatriate them (Mohanty, 2020). Similarly, Mehtaz (2019) notes that the prevailing Rohingya refugee crisis is responsible for worsening the social, economic, and political environments in Bangladesh. The findings of the British newspaper differ from those of Bangladesh primarily due to their distinct cultural and geographical contexts. Bangladesh, as a host country, grapples with a multitude of challenges stemming from the Rohingya refugees, including issues such as trafficking, drug peddling, and document forgery. These challenges have a negative influence on journalistic practices, often resulting in a more negative portrayal of the refugees and trafficking victims.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This study aimed to do a comparative analysis of Bangladesh and British media coverage of human trafficking of Rohingya refugees over a five-year period. The quantitative analysis of 48 articles from the Daily Star and 23 articles from the Guardian reveals that the Bangladeshi newspaper predominantly used the criminal justice frame, whereas the British newspaper mainly used the victimization frame. In contrast, the health risk frame holds the lowest prominence in the Bangladeshi newspaper, while both the criminal justice frame and the human business frame are regarded as less significant in the British newspaper. The Bangladeshi newspaper prioritizes the law enforcers' sources whereas the UK newspaper predominantly relies on sources from the aid/NGO/human rights groups. However, there were significant parallels in how both media used sources from government officials and politicians.

In terms of news writing tones, the media outlets in both countries mostly portrayed refugees and trafficking victims positively. However, the British newspaper exhibited a 30% more positive tone than its Bangladeshi counterpart. Although around 19% of articles in the Bangladeshi newspaper portrayed the refugee and trafficking victims negatively, the British newspaper entirely avoided any negative tone in its coverage. This study is a pioneering effort to combine media portrayal of the Rohingya human trafficking issue from the perspectives of Bangladesh and the United Kingdom, offering a valuable contribution to understanding media framing, the utilization of news sources, and the news tone towards Rohingya refugees and trafficking victims. The extensive media coverage of Rohingya trafficking in Bangladesh reflects the government's position and efforts to address the crime and save the lives of victims. It also plays an important role in creating awareness among refugees and Bangladeshi citizens regarding the traps of trafficking networks.

The predominant use of the criminal justice frame and law enforcer's sources indicates the strict position of the Bangladesh government to address the human trafficking of Rohingya refugees. On the other hand, the British media is highly dependent on the victimization frame and aid agency/NGO/human rights group's sources, emphasizing the sufferings and difficulties of refugees and trafficking victims. The two newspapers in both countries highly emphasized a

positive tone toward the refugees and trafficking victims, criticizing the Myanmar government for its military crackdown on the ethnic Rohingya Muslim community. This powerful presentation of refugees and trafficking victims indicates that they are helpless and powerless, they cannot help themselves, and they need support from the international community. At the same time, approximately 19% of articles in Bangladeshi media portray the refugees and trafficking victims as burdens of Bangladeshi as they are involved in various crimes, including human trafficking, drug peddling, and document forgery.

Since the Rohingya crisis is unlikely to be solved quickly, there will be a high risk of human trafficking of this vulnerable group. Consequently, without proper media coverage, the issue of Rohingya refugees would not be solved and their trafficking would not be controlled. This study is limited to a particular area of focus. However, despite the limitations, this study hopefully makes an important contribution to similar cases of refugee trafficking across different countries in the world. Further research endeavors focusing on media representation may delve into several key facets, including the characterization of Rohingya trafficking victims by the media, the media's approach to addressing human rights issues associated with Rohingya human trafficking, and the effect of news framing on the formulation of public policies pertaining to Rohingya trafficking.

Appendix

In this section, coding guidelines are outlined to specify the methodology used for identifying news frames, tones, and source types in this study. Within the trafficking focus category, "Primary Focus" denotes news articles exclusively dedicated to Rohingya trafficking, while "Secondary Focus" pertains to news articles that touch upon the trafficking issue to some extent. In the framing category, "P" signifies the primary frequency of the frame (the predominant frame of the article), while "S" denotes the secondary frame frequency and the secondary frame employed in the article. The coding for the Daily Star (Bangladesh) is presented at the outset, followed by the coding for The Guardian below:

The Daily Star, Bangladesh

Code	Date	Headlines	Trafficking Focus	News Type	Framing	Tones	Sources Type
DS1	Oct 21, 2017	'Rohingya children at risk of trafficking, sexual abuse and child labour'	Primary	Straight News	P-Victimization, S-Responsibility S-Human Business	Positive	NGO official, Government Officials
DS2	Nov 13, 2017	Rohingyas have no future in Bangladesh camps: Campaigner	Secondary	Interview	P-Victimization, S-Public Policy S-criminal justice	Positive	Law enforcers-Military/police, Government Official, Victims-Rohingya say
DS3	Dec 16, 2017	Human trafficking bid foiled in Teknaf	Primary	Straight News	P-criminal justice, S-Victimization, S-Human Business	Neutral	Government officials,
DS44	Jun 20, 2018	Rohingya girls dream of school	Secondary	Straight News	P-Victimization	Positive	NGO-Brac charity
DS4	Jun 30, 2018	Rohingyas' statelessness increases vulnerability to trafficking: Report	Primary	Straight News	P-victimization, S-Criminal justice, S-Human Business, S-Public policy S-Responsibility	Positive	NGO/Aid agency-ILO, UNODC, US State Department's Trafficking in Persons Report, Unicef,
DS5	Jul 30, 2018	Recognise the extent and seriousness of human trafficking	Primary	Editorial	P-victimization, S-Public policy S-Responsibility	Neutral	Law enforcers-CID, NGO/Aid Agency-UN Refugee Agency, Victims-The Bengali say
DS6	Aug 21, 2018	Human Trafficking to Malaysia: CID arrests 'kingpin'	Primary	Straight News	P-criminal justice, S-Human Business, S-Victimization	Neutral	Victims- The Rohingya say, Government Official, NGO Official, Aid agency- RRRC, UNHCR, Human rights-Advocate, Law enforcers-Police
DS7	Sep 2, 2018	Evicted from Rakhine, trafficked in Cox's Bazar	Primary	Straight News	P-Victimization, S-Responsibility, S-Criminal Justice,	Positive	Government officials
DS8	Nov 9, 2018	Malaysia-Bound Rohingyas: 33 rescued from trawler in Bay	Primary	Straight News	P-Criminal Justice, S-Human Business, S-Victimization, S-Responsibility	Positive	Law enforcers-Fayezul Islam Mondol, coast guard commander in the southeastern coastal town of Teknaf; BGB spokesman Major Shariful Islam, Government official- Teknaf

							mayor Abdullah Monir said, Trafficker-arrested traffickers, Abdus Shukur
DS45	Dec 14, 2018	Targeted for trafficking	Primary	Straight News	P-Victimization, S-Responsibility S-Criminal Justice	Positive	Law enforcers-Nahid Adnan Tainan, additional police superintendent, Aid/NGO/Human Rights Group-John Quinley, human rights specialist with Fortify Rights/Young Power in Social Action/Dina Parmer, IOM's head/UN Migration Agency IOM
DS46	Feb 9, 2019	30 Rohingyas rescued from 'traffickers'	Primary	Straight News	P-Criminal Justice	Neutral	Law enforcers-Lt Col Md Asadud Zaman Chowdhury, captain of BGB-2/Pradip Kumar Das, officer-in-charge of Teknaf Police Station
DS47	Feb 12, 2019	22 Rohingyas rescued in Cox's Bazar	Primary	Straight News	P-Criminal Justice	Neutral	Law enforcers-BGB official
DS9	Mar 27, 2019	Human trafficking: 4 displaced Myanmar women rescued in Dhaka, 2 held	Primary	Editorial	P-Criminal Justice, S-Victimization	Neutral	Law enforcers- Rab-3 Commanding Officer Lt Col Emranul Hasan, Trafficker- Hamid confessed of his involvement in human trafficking. Locals- Riyad, the owner of a photocopy shop,
DS10	Mar 28, 2019	Human Trafficking: Rohingyas faced horrific crimes	Primary	Straight News	P-Victimization, S-Criminal justice, S-Responsibility S-Human Business	Positive	NGO/Human Rights Group-SUHAKAM and Fortify Rights; Jerald Joseph of SUHAKAM/Human Right report; Matthew Smith, Chief Executive Officer of Fortify Rights. Victim-Rohingya Muslim
DS11	Mar 28, 2019	Two 'traffickers' held in Dhaka	Primary	Straight News	P-Criminal justice	Positive	Law enforcers-Lt Col Emranul Hasan, commanding officer of Rab-3.
DS12	Mar 30, 2019	Justice obstructed	Primary	Editorial	P-Criminal justice S-victimization S-Responsibility	Positive	None
DS13	Mar 31, 2019	Crimes in the Rohingya camps	Secondary	Editorial	P-Public Policy	Negative	Law enforcers-Md Anwar Hossain, inspector of Baharchhara police box of Teknaf Police Station. Aid/NGO Official-Abu Morshed Chowdhury, co-chairman of NGO-Civil Society Forum
DS14	May 13, 2019	22 Rohingyas rescued from human traffickers	Primary	Straight News	P-criminal Justice	Positive	Government officials-authorities said, Law enforcer— police officer Abul Khair
DS15	May 14, 2019	Police rescue Rohingyas from being trafficked to Malaysia	Primary	Straight News	P-criminal Justice, S-victimization S-Responsibility	Positive	Law enforcer—Mohammad Iqbal Hossain, additional superintendent of Cox's Bazar police; press release of the Bangladesh Coast Guard
DS16	May 15, 2019	Five killed in 'shootouts'	Primary	Straight News	P-criminal Justice	Negative	Law enforcer—Pradip Kumar Das, officer-in-charge of Teknaf Model Police Station.
DS17	May 18, 2019	62 Rohingyas rescued in Cox's Bazar, 5 'traffickers' held	Primary	Straight News	P-Criminal justice	Positive	Law enforcers-Mohammad Iqbal Hossain, additional superintendent of Cox's Bazar police press release
DS18	Jun 21, 2019	Traffickers preying on Rohingyas	Primary	Editorial	P-Victimization, S-Responsibility	Positive	NGO/Aid/Human Rights Group-The annual US report ofTrafficking in Persons Report 2019
DS19	Jun 23, 2019	2 'human traffickers' killed in Cox's Bazar 'gunfight'	Primary	Straight News	P-criminal Justice	Negative	Law enforcers- Officer-in-charge of Teknaf Model Police Station Pradip Kumar Das

DS20	Jul 30, 2019	Let's act to prevent human trafficking	Primary	Editorial	P-Public Policy, S-Responsibility	Positive	None
DS21	Aug 7, 2019	'Human trafficker' arrested in Cox's Bazar	Primary	Straight News	P-criminal Justice S-Health Risk	Neutral	Law enforcers- Jakir Hosen Bhuiyan, officer-in-charge (OC) of the police station.
DS22	Dec 7, 2019	Trafficking in Rohingya: Exploiting the desperate	Primary	Editorial	P-Victimization, S-Responsibility S-Human Business	Positive	Foreign Media- Fortune; South China Morning Post, NGO/Aid/ Human Rights Group-Anti-trafficking organization-Counter-Trafficking Data Collaborative (CTDC)/Human Rights Organisation- Human Rights Commission of Malaysia (SUHAKAM) /Fortify Rights, Law enforcers- Bangladeshi police official
DS23	Jan 27, 2020	13 Rohingya women rescued in capital	Primary	Straight News	P-criminal Justice	Neutral	Law enforcers- the Rab-3 press release
DS24	Feb 12, 2020	Trawler capsize: another Rohingya survivor rescued from Bay	Primary	Straight News	P-criminal Justice	Positive	Government officials-Law Minister Anisul Huq, Aid Agency/NGO--US Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report, Brac Migration Programme
DS25	Feb 16, 2020	Human trafficking: special tribunals to ensure speedy trials	Primary	Editorial	P-Public Policy, S-Responsibility	Positive	Government official/politician- Law Minister Anisul Huq , Government official-US Embassy office, Aid //NGO/Human rights Group-US AT report /brac migration official/Human rights lawyer Salma Ali
DS26	Feb 17, 2020	3 Rohingyas rescued, 3 human traffickers detained in Cumilla: Rab	Primary	Straight News	P-criminal Justice	Positive	Law enforcers - Rab-11 Commanding Officer Major Talukder
DS48	Mar 5, 2020	What will the Kingdom gain from deporting them?	Secondary	Editorial	P-Victimization	Positive	Aid/NGO/Human Rights Group- Fortify Rights
DS27	Jun 4, 2020	Myanmar guilty, Bangladesh victim	Secondary	Editorial	P-criminal Justice S-Victimization	Positive	None
DS28	Jun 21, 2020	Coronavirus fallout: Rohingya children at growing risk of trafficking	Primary	Straight News	P-Health Risk	Positive	Aid/NGO/Human rights group- child rights organization Educo; Matiur Rahaman, Educo Cox's Bazar emergency response head of mission Victim-Mosharoffa
DS29	Jun 26, 2020	Government increased its efforts to prevent trafficking: US State Department	Primary	Straight News	P-Public Policy	Positive	NGO/Aid Agency/Human Rights Group-US Trafficking in Persons Report
DS30	Jul 14, 2020	Covid-19 And The Rohingya: Hunger, exploitation, hate crimes and xenophobia	Secondary	Straight News	P-Responsibility S-victimization	Positive	Victim -Sharifah Shakirah
DS31	Aug 25, 2020	Rohingya repatriation: Myanmar doing little while Bangladesh facing challenges	Secondary	Straight News	P-Responsibility	Negative	NGO/Aid Agency-said COAST Trust Executive Director Rezaul Karim Chowdhury, Expert opinion-Prof Imtiaz Ahmed, director of the Centre for Genocide Studies at Dhaka University

DS32	Aug 25, 2020	Dream of a better life ends in nightmare	Primary	Straight News	P-Victimization, S-Criminal Justice, S-Human Business	Positive	Victim-Taiyyaba Khatun; Hafiza; Law enforcers-official statement, NGO/Human Rights Group-human rights lawyer Razia Sultana. NGO-Pinaki Sinha, executive director of Saanlap, Aid worker-Razia Sultana, who is also the founder of Rohingya Women Welfare; Shamsun Nahar, who runs a training centre in Kutupalong, Government officials-Additional Secretary Abu Bakr Siddique, who heads the anti-trafficking cell at the Ministry of Home Affairs
DS33	Aug 25, 2020	Rohingya boat capsize adds to already long list of tragedies	Primary	Editorial	P-Victimization, S-Criminal Justice, S-Public Policy	Positive	None
DS34	Dec 7, 2020	14 Rohingyas, 2 traffickers detained in Sylhet	Primary	Straight News	P-criminal Justice	Negative	Law enforcers-ASP Kamruzzaman of Rab-9.
DS35	Dec 16, 2020	Rohingya Trafficking Network: They sell dreams, deliver violence	Primary	Investigative News	P-Victimization, S-Criminal justice, S-Responsibility, S-Human Business	Positive	Victim-Hasan; Julekha Begum , Law Enforcers-Sony Sanjaya, director of the general crime division for Aceh's police, Government officials, NGO/Aid agency-community leaders and aid workers, Iskandar Dewantara, co-founder of the Geutanyoe Foundation, an Indonesia-based refugee advocacy group, Traffickers-Mohammed
DS36	Jan 7, 2021	4 members of int'l human trafficking ring arrested from Dhaka's Uttara	Primary	Straight News	P-criminal Justice, S-Victimization	Neutral	Law enforcers-the additional DIG , CID Additional Deputy Inspector General Sheikh Omar Faruque ,
DS37	May 11, 2021	24 Rohingyas rescued while being trafficked to Malaysia	Primary	Straight News	P-criminal Justice	Positive	Law enforcers
DS38	Jun 21, 2021	Myanmar on Cusp of A Civil War: Another refugee influx on horizon?	Primary	Straight News	P-Responsibility	Neutral	Law Enforcers, Expert opinion
DS39	Aug 6, 2021	Member of human-trafficking gang involving Rohingyas arrested in India	Primary	Straight News	P-criminal Justice	Negative	NGO official, Foreign Correspondent
DS40	Oct 5, 2021	Bangladesh will open fire at Myanmar border to stop trafficking: Momen	Primary	Straight News	P-Public Policy	Negative	Government officials- Foreign Minister AK Abdul Momen
DS41	Oct 7, 2021	Fear and loathing in refugee camps	Secondary	Straight News	P-criminal Justice, S-Public Policy	Negative	Victim- Zakir Hossain, a resident of camp-7 in Ukhia; Mohammed Faisal, Law enforcers-Commanding Officer Naimul Huq of APBn-14, Government officials/politicians- Foreign Minister AK Abdul Momen; Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina

| DS42 | Nov 21, 2021 | [2 Rohingyas arrested on trafficking charges in Kolkata](#) | Primary | Straight News | P-criminal Justice, S-Victimization | Negative | Foreign correspondent- our New Delhi Goswamy |
| DS43 | Dec 7, 2021 | [Why are Rohingya women and girls so unsafe in refugee camps?](#) | Secondary | Editorial | P-Victimization | Positive | None |

The Guardian, United Kingdom							
Code	**Date**	**News Headline**	**Trafficking Focus**	**News Types**	**News Frames**	**Tones**	**News Sources**
G1	Sep 1, 2017	[Fears mount of Myanmar atrocities as fleeing Rohingya families drown](#)	Secondary	Straight News	P-Responsibility	Positive	None
G2	May 23, 2017	[Up to 150 children under five die each day in Aung San Suu Kyi's Myanmar](#)	Secondary	Straight News	P-Responsibility	Neutral	NGO-Unicef
G3	Mar 30, 2017	[Thailand accused of failing to stamp out murder and slavery in fishing industry](#)	Primary	Straight News	P-Responsibility, S-Victimization, S-Public Policy	Neutral	Locals-local fishermen NGO-UN, Steve Trent of the Environmental Justice Foundation, Human rights activist Andy Hall Government official-Thai Government said
G4	Jul 19, 2017	[Thailand convicts traffickers after 2015 mass graves discovery](#)	Primary	Straight News	P-Criminal justice, P-Responsibility S-Victimization, S-Human Business	Positive	Thailand Government official, Aid/NGO/Human Rights group-Fortify Rights, a non-profit rights group based in south-east Asia, Amy Smith, the executive director of Fortify Rights-1 and Sunai Phasuk, a senior researcher on Thailand at Human Rights Watch
G5	Nov 5, 2017	[I miss them so much': Myanmar's lost Rohingya children plead for their parents](#)	Secondary	Feature News	P- Victimization	Positive	NGO/Humanitarian aid organization official- Lisa Akero, a protection and gender specialist at the International Federation of the Red Cross; Human Rights Watch; NGO official- Rik Goverde, a communications manager at Save the Children; United Nations Children's Fund says; Elhadj As Sy, a top official with the Red Cross; Victim - Kabir Ahmed is relieved to be out of Myanmar; 14-year-old Fatima; Kabir Ahmed; victim children; Kamal Hossain; Kamal Hossain; says a middle-aged Rohingya woman
G6	Jan 31, 2018	[Displaced Rohingya children left in limbo by refugee crisis](#)	Secondary	Straight News	P- Victimization	Positive	Victim- Majuma; Anwar; Zura (not her real name) is 13; Majuma Begum NGO official- Vivian Van Steirteghem, Unicef's chief of field office; Van Steirteghem says; UN World Food Program source the UN's secretary general, António Guterres; In a report this month, the UK House of Commons international development committee warned

						Law enforcers-Myanmar Army official- The army's commander in chief, Ata Ullah,
G7	Sep 1, 2018	The Rohingya crisis, a year on: four generations of one family on life in limbo	Secondary	Feature News	P-Victimization	Positive	NGO-Oxfam
G8	Jul 19, 2018	Australia imports $12bn worth of goods at risk of being made by slaves – report	Secondary	Straight News	P-Responsibility,	Neutral	NGO/Aid Organisation-Walk Free Foundation report
G9	Oct 10, 2019	Five-year-old boy among 30 Rohingya arrested for travelling in Myanmar	Secondary	Straight News	P-Responsibility, S-Human Business	Positive	Victim source, NGO/Human Rights Group-Human Rights Watch (HRW)
G10	Dec 16, 2019	I'm happy, but I am also broken for those left behind': life after Manus and Nauru	Secondary	Opinion	P-victimization	Positive	Victim-Faisal
G11	Feb 11, 2020	Rohingya refugees die after boat capsizes off Bangladesh	Primary	Straight News	P-Victimization, S-Responsibility, S-Public Policy	Positive	Victim-Noor Ahmed NGOs-UN
G12	Feb 12, 2020	Deaths of 16 Rohingya at sea raises fears trafficking ring has been revived	Primary	Straight News	P-Victimization, S-Responsibility, S-Human Business	Positive	Government officials- Bangladeshi officials NGO-International Organization for Migration and the UN refugee Law enforcers-The Bangladeshi coastguard has Human rights organisation-Bangkok-based Rohingya activist Hajee Ismail, Tun Khin, a UK-based Rohingya diaspora leader Victim-Ziaur Rahman
G13	Apr 16, 2020	Bangladesh rescues hundreds of Rohingya drifting at sea for nearly two months	Primary	Straight News	P-Victimization, S-Criminal Justice, S-Health Risk, S-Public Policy	Positive	Victim- Mohammad Law enforcers -coastguard UN official-United Nations High Commissioner Rohingya community leader-Noor Hossain, a Rohingya community leader NGO-Athena Rayburn of Save the Children; Amnesty International official
G14	Apr 17, 2020	Hundreds of Rohingya refugees stuck at sea, say rights groups	Primary	Straight News	P-Victimization, S-Health Risk, S-Responsibility	Positive	Expert-Researchers Human Rights Group/NGO-Amnesty International/ UN/ Rohingya rights official
G15	May 2, 2020	'Let the boats in': Rohingya refugees plead for stranded relatives to be saved	Primary	Straight News	P-Victimization, S- Health Risk, S-Criminal Justice	Positive	NGO/Human rights organisation- charity Médecins Sans Frontières, rights group; Amnesty International Victim-Mohib Ullah; Mohammad; Razaul Government official- Foreign ministry Abdul Momen Rohingya leader-Mohib Ullah, chairman of the Arakan Rohingya Society for Peace and Human Rights
G16	May 3, 2020	Rohingya refugees sent to remote Bangladeshi island after weeks at sea	Secondary	Straight News	P-Victimization, S-Responsibility	Positive	Government officials-official said Aid/NGO/Human Rights Gropus-UN special rapporteur/Chris Lewa, the director of the Arakan Project monitoring group
G17	May 8, 2020	Rohingya refugees arrive at 'de facto detention island' in Bangladesh	Primary	Straight News	P-Health Risk, S-Victimization, S-Health Risk	Positive	NGO/Human rights organisation-Rights groups; Phil Robertson, the deputy director of Human Rights Watch's Asia division

							Government official-Bangladesh confirmed, Abdul Momen Victim-Serazul Hoque;Kamaal Rohingya leader-Sirajul Mostofa, the chairman of Rohingya Refugee Committee,
G18	Sep 12, 2020	Three Rohingya refugees die days after seven-month ordeal on trafficking boat	Primary	Straight News	P-Victimization, S- Health Risk, S-Human Business, S-Responsibility	Positive	NGO/Aid/Human Rights Group-UN refugee agency/GeutanyoeRima Shah Putra, local director for Aceh-based NGO Geutanyoe Foundation Chris Lewa, whose Arakan Project has monitored Rohingya sea journeys NGO-Geutanyoe's co-founder Lilianne Fan
G19	Sep 22, 2020	Rohingya refugees allege sexual assault on Bangladeshi island	Secondary	Straight News	P- Victimization S-Responsibility	Positive	Victim-Sitara, 28
G20	Jun 26, 2020	Indonesian villagers defy Covid-19 warnings to rescue Rohingya refugees	Primary	Straight News	P-Health Risk, S-Victimization	Positive	Locals-Local people Aid/NGO/Human Rights Group-Amnesty International official Government official/politician-Malaysian prime minister, Muhyiddin Yassin Foreign Media-Reuters
G21	Dec 29, 2021	Indonesia says it will push back Rohingya refugees adrift on leaking boat	Primary	Straight News	P-Victimization S-Public Policy S-Responsibility	Positive	None
G22	Dec 30, 2021	Indonesia relents on plan to push back boat carrying 100 Rohingya refugees after outcry	Primary	Straight News	P-Health Risk, S-Victimization, S-Responsibility	Positive	Government official-Armed Wijaya, head of the national taskforce Locals-Local fishermen/Bireuen resident Wahyudi NGO/Aid/Human Rights group-Amnesty International and the UN High Commissioner
G23	Dec 14, 2021	Facebook put profit before Rohingya lives. Now it must pay its dues	Secondary	Editorial	P-Victimization	Positive	None

References

Ahmad, M. M., & Nusrat, R. (2022). Human Trafficking and Crimes in the Rohingya Refugee Camps in Bangladesh. In *Handbook of Research on Present and Future Paradigms in Human Trafficking* (pp. 26-42). IGI Global.

Al Jazeera. (2022). Who are the Rohingya? Retrieved October 15, 2022, from https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2018/4/18/who-are-the-rohingya

An, S.-K., & Gower, K. K. (2009). How do the news media frame crises? A content analysis of crisis news coverage. *Public Relations Review*, 35, 107-112. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2009.01.010

Anti-Slavery International. (2014). Trafficking for forced criminal activities and begging in Europe. Retrieved March 30, 2023, from https://aa.ecn.cz/img_upload/6334c0c7298d6b396d213ccd19be5999/race_europe_report.pdf

Anwary, A. (2022). Sexual violence against women as a weapon of Rohingya genocide in Myanmar. *The International Journal of Human Rights*, *26*(3), 400-419. https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2021.1931136

Ardèvol-Abreu, A. (2015). Framing theory in communication research: Origins, development and current situation in Spain. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, 70, 423-450. DOI: 10.4185/RLCS-2015-1053en

Aronowitz, A. A. (2009). *Human trafficking, human misery: The global trade in human beings*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA.

Austin, R., & Farrell, A. (2017). Human trafficking and the media in the United States. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Criminology and Criminal Justice*. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264079.013.290

Awny, M. (2019). *The Rohingya refugee issue: Differences in media framing in Bangladesh and India* (Doctoral dissertation, Iowa State University).

Azad, M. A. (2023). *Media Landscapes in Bangladesh*. European Journalism Centre. Retrieved August 28, 2023, from https://medialandscapes.org/country/bangladesh/media/print

Bajracharya, S. (2018). Framing Theory. Businesstopia. Retrieved March 25, 2023, from https://www.businesstopia.net/mass-communication/framing-theory

Bales, K. 1999. Disposal people: New slavery in the global economy, Berkeley, *CA: University of California Press.*

Balzacq, T. (2010). A theory of securitization: origins, core assumptions, and variants. In *Securitization Theory* (pp. 15-44). Routledge.

Barnett, B. (2016). Dividing women: the framing of trafficking for sexual exploitation in magazines. *Feminist Media Studies*, *16(2),* 205-222. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2015.1052004

Bitesize. (2023). *What is Representation?* Retrieved March 28, 2023, from https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/guides/z9fx39q/revision/1#:~:text=Representation%20is%20how%20media%20texts,understanding%20about%20these%20important%20topics.

Berelson, B. (1952). *Content Analysis in Communication Research*. New York: Free Press

Brennan, E., & O'Hara, C. (2015). The Rohingya and Islamic extremism: A convenient myth. *The Diplomat*, *29.*

Brooten, L. (2015). Blind spots in human rights coverage: Framing violence against the Rohingya in Myanmar/Burma. *Popular Communication*, *13*(2), 132-144. https://doi.org/10.1080/15405702.2015.1021466

Bryman, A. (2012). Content Analysis. In A. Bryman, *Social Research Methods* (pp. 288-309). New York: Oxford University Press.

Bryman, A. (2016). *Social research methods*. Oxford university press.

Chakraborty, A. and Kundu, S. K. (2012) *Human Trafficking: An Encumber and Impede to Human Society*. 1st edn. LAP LAMBERT Academic Publishing.

Chantavanich, S. (2020). Thailand's challenges in implementing anti-trafficking legislation: The case of the rohingya. *Journal of Human Trafficking*, *6*(2), 234-243. https://doi.org/10.1080/23322705.2020.1691825

Chaudet, D. (2018). The Rohingya Crisis: Impact and Consequences for South Asia. *Journal of Current Affairs*, 2(2), 1-17.

Cho, S. Y., Dreher, A., & Neumayer, E. (2013). Does legalized prostitution increase human trafficking?. *World development,* 41, 67-82. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2012.05.023

Chong, D., & Druckman, J. N. (2007). A theory of framing and opinion formation in competitive elite environments. *Journal of communication*, *57*(1), 99-118.

Chuang, J. (2006). Beyond a snapshot: Preventing human trafficking in the global economy. *Global Legal Studies*, 13(1), 137-163. https://doi.org/10.2979/gls.2006.13.1.137

Connolly-Ahern, C., & Broadway, S. C. (2008). "To booze or not to booze?" Newspaper coverage of fetal alcohol spectrum disorders. *Science Communication*, 29(3), 362-385. https://doi.org/10.1177/1075547007313031

Creswell, J. W. & Miller, D. L. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. Theory into Practice, 39(3), 124-131.

Creswell, J. W. (2013). Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing among Five Approaches (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2016). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Sage publications. https://doi.org/10.1177/1524839915580941

Coe, K., & Scacco, J. M. (2017). Content analysis, quantitative. *The international encyclopedia of communication research methods*, 1-11. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118901731.iecrm0045

Cullen-DuPont, K. (2009). *Human trafficking*. Infobase publishing.

D'Angelo, P. (2006). *News framing as a multiparadigmatic research program: A response to Entman.* Journal of Communication, 52(4), 870–888.

D'Angelo, P. (2018). PROLOGUE A TYPOLOGY OF FRAMES IN NEWS FRAMING. *Doing news framing analysis II: Empirical and theoretical perspectives*.

De Vreese, C. H. (2005). News framing: Theory and typology. *Information design journal+ document design*, *13*(1), 51-62.

Deb, S., Mukherjee, A., & Mathews, B. (2011). Aggression in sexually abused trafficked girls and efficacy of intervention. *Journal of interpersonal violence*, *26*(4), 745-768. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260510365875

Drisko, J. W., & Maschi, T. (2016). *Content analysis*. Pocket Guide to Social Work Re.

DS. (2022, October 15). About us. The Daily Star. Retrieved October 15, 2022, from https://www.thedailystar.net/about-us

Ehmer, E., & Kothari, A. (2021). Malaysia and the Rohingya: Media, migration, and politics. Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies, 19(4), 378-392. https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2020.1821274

Entman, R. (1991). *Framing U.S. Coverage of International News: Contrasts in Narratives of the KAL and Iran Air Incident*, Journal of Communication, 41(4), 6–27.

Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of communication*, *43*(4), 51-58.

Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of communication*, *43*(4), 51-58.

Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Towards clarification of a fractured paradigm. *McQuail's reader in mass communication theory*, *390*, 397.

Farrell, A., & Fahy, S. (2009). The problem of human trafficking in the US: Public frames and policy responses. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, *37*(6), 617-626.

Fatima, M. J., & Torun, A. T. (2022). Representation of Rohingya Refugees in the Bangladeshi Media: A Content Analysis. *Rohingya Refugee Crisis in Myanmar: Ethnic Conflict and Resolution*, 261-289.

Freedom Collaborative. (2022). *Mapping Rohingya movement: collected data on the trafficking routes of a persecuted population*. The End Human Trafficking. Together. Retrieved October 15, 2022, from https://freedomcollaborative.org/mapping-rohingya-movement

Gamson, W. A., & Modigliani, A. (1994). The changing culture of affirmative action. *Equal employment opportunity: labor market discrimination and public policy*, *3*, 373-394.

Gamson, W.A. & Lasch, K.E. 1983. The political culture of social welfare policy. In: Spiro, S.E. & Yutchtman-Yaar, E. (eds.) Evaluating the welfare state: Social and Political perspectives. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Ghosh, B. (2009). Trafficking in women and children in India: nature, dimensions and strategies for prevention. *The International Journal of Human Rights*, *13*(5), 716-738. https://doi.org/10.1080/13642980802533109

Gitlin, T. (1980). *The whole world is watching: Mass media in the making and unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Harvard University Press.

Gulati, J. (2009). *Media Representation of Human Trafficking in Three Liberal Democracies, 2000-2005*. Available at SSRN 1429595.

Hansen, A. (1998). *Mass communication research methods*. NYU Press.

Hawkins, J. M. (2018). Textual analysis. In M. Allen (Ed.), The SAGE encyclopedia of communication research methods

Hossain, S., & Hosain, S. (2019). Rohingya identity crisis: A case study. Saudi Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences.

Hutchinson, S. (2018). Gendered insecurity in the Rohingya crisis. Australian Journal of International Affairs, 72(1), 1-9.

Hutchinson, S. (2018). Gendered insecurity in the Rohingya crisis. Australian Journal of International Affairs, 72(1), 1-9.

ILO. (2022). *50 million people worldwide in modern slavery*. Retrieved October 15, 2022, from https://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS_855019/lang--en/index.htm

Irom, B., Borah, P., Vishnevskaya, A., & Gibbons, S. (2022). *News framing of the Rohingya crisis: content analysis of newspaper coverage from four countries*. Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies, 20(1), 109-124.

Irom, B., Borah, P., Vishnevskaya, A., & Gibbons, S. (2022). *News framing of the Rohingya crisis: content analysis of newspaper coverage from four countries*. Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies, 20(1), 109-124.

Islam, M. K. (2018). How Newspapers In China, India And Bangladesh Framed The Rohingya Crisis Of 2017.

Islam, M. S. (2019). Understanding the Rohingya crisis and the failure of human rights norm in Myanmar: Possible policy responses. Jadavpur Journal of International Relations, 23(2), 158-178.

Isti'anah, A. (2019). Themes in South-East Asian Newspaper Headlines on Rohingya Issue: Critical Discourse Analysis. Register Journal, 12(2), 181-205.

Iyengar, S. (1994). Is anyone responsible?: How television frames political issues. University of Chicago Press.

Jones, L., Engstrom, D. W., Hilliard, T., & Diaz, M. (2007). Globalization and human trafficking. J. Soc. & Soc. Welfare, 34, 107.

Kanaker, O., Abughazlih, M. O., & Kasmani, M. F. (2020). Media framing of minorities' crisis: A study on Aljazeera and BBC News coverage of the Rohingya. *JURNAL KOMUNIKASI-MALAYSIAN JOURNAL OF COMMUNICATION*.

Kim, S. H., Carvalho, J., & Davis, A. (2010). Talking about poverty: News framing of who is responsible for causing and fixing the problem. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 87(3/4), 563–581.

Kirk, J., & Miller, M. L. (1986). Reliability and validity in qualitative research. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Kironska, K., & Peng, N. N. (2021). *How state-run media shape perceptions: an analysis of the projection of the Rohingya in the Global New Light of Myanmar*. South East Asia Research, 29(1), 16-31.

Klandermans, B., & Staggenborg, S. (Eds.). (2002). *Methods of social movement research* (Vol. 16). U of Minnesota Press.

Koettl, J. (2009). *Human trafficking, modern day slavery, and economic exploitation* (p. 7). Social Protection & Labor, the World Bank.

Krippendorff, K. (2018). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. Sage publications.

Laczko, F., & Gozdziak, E. (2005). *Data and research on human trafficking: A global survey*. International Organization for Migration.

Lawrence, R. G. (2010). Doing news framing analysis: Empirical and theoretical perspectives. *Researching political news framing: Established ground and new horizons*, 265-285.

Lcht. (2018, December 10). Human Trafficking: A Human Rights Violation. Retrieved from https://combathumantrafficking.org/blog/2018/12/10/human-trafficking-human-rights-violation/#:~:text=Various%20human%20rights%20violations%20occur,inhuman%2C%20degrading%20treatment%20or%20punishment.

Lecheler, S., & De Vreese, C. H. (2018). *News framing effects: Theory and practice* (p. 138). Taylor & Francis. DOI: 10.4324/9781315208077

Lee, M. J. (2021). Media influence on humanitarian interventions: analysis of the Rohingya refugee crisis and international media coverage. *Journal of International Humanitarian Action*, *6*(1), 20. https://link.springer.com/article/10.1186/s41018-021-00108-5

Lewis, D. (2018). The view from Cox's Bazar: assessing the impact of the Rohingya crisis on Bangladesh. *South Asia@ LSE.* http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/id/eprint/89629

Logan, T. K., Walker, R., & Hunt, G. (2009). Understanding human trafficking in the United States. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 10(1),* 3-30. https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838008327262

Mantı, N. P., & Cansu Islam, D. N. (2022). Genocide, Forced Migration, and Forced Labor: A Case Study on Rohingya People Under International Law. In *Rohingya Refugee Crisis in Myanmar* (pp. 19-45). Palgrave Macmillan, Singapore. https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-981-16-6464-9_2

Mayring, P. (2004). Qualitative content analysis. *A companion to qualitative research*, *1*(2), 159-176.

Mayring, P. (2014). Qualitative content analysis: theoretical foundation, basic procedures and software solution.

McCaffrie, C. (2019). Displaced Rohingya children and the risk of human trafficking. *Journal of Human Rights and Peace Studies*, *5*(1), 47-47.

Mehtaz, A. (2021). The representation of the Rohingya refugee crisis: a comparative analysis of newspapers in Bangladesh, Myanmar, the UK and the USA. http://hdl.handle.net/10230/52393

Chowdhory, N., & Mohanty, B. (Eds.). (2020). *Citizenship, Nationalism and Refugeehood of Rohingyas in Southern Asia*. Singapore: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-2168-3

Moy, P., Tewksbury, D., & Rinke, E. M. (2016). *Agenda-setting, priming, and framing*. The International Encyclopedia of Communication Theory and Philosophy, 1-13.

Muraszkiewicz, J., Georgiou, M., & Constantinou, A. (2014, Sep). Review of the media framing of human trafficking. TRACE project. http://trace-project.eu/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/TRACE_D1.2_Final.compressed.pdf

Mutaqin, Z. Z. (2022). Modern-Day Slavery at Sea: Human Trafficking in Thai Fishing Industry. In *ASEAN International Law* (pp. 461-480). Springer, Singapore. https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-981-16-3195-5_26

Nahar, S. (2019). The 2017 Rohingya crisis: A corpus-assisted discourse analysis of representation in The Daily Star. *International Journal of Social Science and Humanity*, 9(4), 119.

Neuendorf, K. (2017). The content analysis guidebook. SAGE Publications, Inc, https://doi.org/10.4135/9781071802878

Neuman, W. R., Just, M. R., & Crigler, A. N. (1992). *Common knowledge: News and the construction of political meaning*. University of Chicago Press.

Ochieng, P. A. (2009). An analysis of the strengths and limitation of qualitative and quantitative research paradigms. *Problems of Education in the 21st Century*, *13*, 13. https://scientiasocialis.lt/pec/files/pdf/Atieno_Vol.13.pdf

Ohchr. (2014). *Human Rights and Human Trafficking*. New York and Geneva: UNITED NATIONS. Retrieved March 30, 2023, from https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/Publications/FS36_en.pdf

Ohchr. (2018). *Human Rights Report 2018*. Retrieved October 16, 2022, from https://www.ohchr. org/Documents/Publications/OHCHRreport2018.pdf

Pajnik, M. (2010). Media framing of trafficking. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 12(1), 45-64. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616740903429114

Patton, M. Q. (2001). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods (3rd ed.)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Rahman, M. R & Nova, J. K. (2020). *Portrayal of Rohingya Women in the Newspapers of Bangladesh*. Global Journals. Retrieved from https://socialscienceresearch.org/index.php/GJHSS/article/view/3377

Rahman, M. S. (2020). The advantages and disadvantages of using qualitative and quantitative approaches and methods in language "testing and assessment" research: A literature review. https://doi.org/10.5539/jel.v6n1p102

Reese, S. D. (2001). The framing project: A bridging model for media research revisited. *Journal of communication*, *57*(1), 148-154.

Reese, S.D. 2007. The Framing Project: A Bridging Model for Media Research Revisited. Journal of Communication 57: 148–154.

Riaz, A., & Rahman, M. S. (2021). Who owns Media in Bangladesh? Center for Government Studies, Dhaka. https://bdmediaowners.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Full-Report_Who-Owns-the-Media-in-Bangladesh.pdf

Ricoeur, P. (1981). *Hermeneutics and the human sciences: Essays on language, action and interpretation*. Cambridge university press.

Riffe, D., Lacy, S., & Fico, F. (2014). *Analyzing media messages: Using quantitative content analysis in research*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Routray, B. P. (2019). Onwards Malaysia: Rohingya focused human trafficking networks. *Retrieved from.* http://mantraya.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Mantraya-Special-Report_Onwards-Malaysia-Rohingya-focused-Human-Trafficking-Networks.pdf

Sanford, R., Martínez, D. E., & Weitzer, R. (2016). Framing human trafficking: A content analysis of recent US newspaper articles. *Journal of Human trafficking*, 2(2), 139-155. https://doi.org/10.1080/23322705.2015.1107341

Scheufele, D. A. (2008). Framing effects. *The international encyclopedia of communication.* https://doi.org/10.1002/9781405186407.wbiecf039

Scheufele, D. A., & Tewksbury, D. (2007). *Framing, agenda setting, and priming: The evolution of three media effects models.* Journal of Communication, 57(1), 9-20. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00326_5.x

Schmidt, L. K. (2016). *Understanding hermeneutics.* Routledge.

Seale, C. (1999). Quality in qualitative research. Qualitative Inquiry, 5(4), 465-478.

Semetko, H. A., & Valkenburg, P. M. (2000). Framing European politics: A content analysis of press and television news. *Journal of communication*, *50*(2), 93-109.

Shelley, L. (2010). Human trafficking: A global perspective. Cambridge University Press.

Shishir, N. N. (2021). *Human traffickers prey on Rohingya refugees.* London: The Third Pole. Retrieved October 15, 2022, from https://www.thethirdpole.net/en/livelihoods/human-traffickers-prey-on-rohingya-refugees/

Smith, M. (2017). *How left or right-wing are the UK's newspapers?* Retrieved February 23, 2022, from https://yougov.co.uk/topics/politics/articles-reports/2017/03/07/how-left-or-right-wing-are-uks-newspapers

Sobel, M. R. (2014). Chronicling a crisis: Media framing of human trafficking in India, Thailand, and the USA. *Asian Journal of Communication*, *24*(4), 315-332. https://doi.org/10.1080/01292986.2014.903425

Stemler, S. (2000). An overview of content analysis. *Practical assessment, research, and evaluation*, *7*(1), 17.

Stenbacka, C. (2001). *Qualitative research requires quality concepts of its own*. Management Decision, 39(7), 551-555

Tankard, J. W., Hendrickson, L., Silberman, J., Bliss, K., & Ghanem, S. (1991). Media frames: Approaches to conceptualization and measurement (Paper presented to the annual meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication). *Boston, Massachusetts*.

The Guardian. (2022). About us. The Guardian. Retrieved October 15, 2022, from https://www.theguardian.com/about

The Guardian. (2023). New data shows Guardian is the top quality and most trusted newspaper in the UK. The Guardian. Retrieved March 15, 2023, from https://www.theguardian.com/gnm-press-office/2020/jun/17/new-data-shows-guardian-is-the-top-quality-and-most-trusted-newspaper-in-the-uk

Thiselton, A. C. (2009). *Hermeneutics: an introduction*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing.

Trochim, W. M. K., & Donnelly, J. P. (2008). *The research methods knowledge base (3rd ed.).* Mason, OH: Cengage Learning.

Uddin, M. R. (2021). *Representation of the Rohingya People in Bangladeshi Media: A Framing Analysis of Mainstream Newspapers* (Master's thesis). https://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi:tuni-202104203167

Unhcr. (2018). Synthesis of Rohingya Response Evaluations of IOM, UNICEF and UNHCR. Retrieved October 16, 2022, from. https://www.unhcr.org/5e453ea64.pdf

Unhcr. (2022). *Rohingya emergency*. Retrieved August 13, 2023, from https://www.unhcr.org/emergencies/rohingya-emergency

Unhcr. (2022). *UNHCR's Grandi urges redoubled support for Rohingya refugees, host communities in Bangladesh*. Retrieved October 15, 2022, from https://www.unhcr.org/news/press/2022/5/628e04824/unhcrs-grandi-urges-redoubled-support-rohingya-refugees-host-communities.html

United Nations. (2022). ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN ALL ITS FORMS REMAINS MAJOR UNITED NATIONS PRIORITY, SAYS SECRETARY-GENERAL. Retrieved April 04, 2023, from https://press.un.org/en/2002/SGSM8519.doc.htm

United Nations. (2022). Peace, dignity and equality. Retrieved April 04, 2023, from https://www.un.org/en/global-issues/human-rights

US Justice Dept. (2022). Human Trafficking. Retrieved October 16, 2022, from https://www.justice.gov/usao-ri/human-trafficking#:~:text=After%20drug%20trafficking%2C%20human%20trafficking,the%20location%20of%20a%20community.

US Justice Dept. (2015). *What is Human Trafficking?* Retrieved March 30, 2023, from https://www.justice.gov/humantrafficking/what-is-human-trafficking#:~:text=Human%20trafficking%2C%20also%20known%20as,or%20overt%2C%20physical%20or%20psychological.

Van Gorp, B. (2005). *Where is the frame? Victims and intruders in the Belgian press coverage of the asylum issue*. European Journal of Communication, 20(4), 484–507. https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323105058253

Wadud, M. (2020). *Good Rohingyas, Bad Rohingyas: How Narratives of Rohingya Refugees Shifted in Bangladesh Media*, 2017-2019 (Doctoral dissertation, University of Nevada, Reno).

Wadud, M. (2020). *Good Rohingyas, Bad Rohingyas: How Narratives of Rohingya Refugees Shifted in Bangladesh Media*, 2017-2019 (Doctoral dissertation, University of Nevada, Reno).

Wahab, A. (2018). The colours of exploitation: Smuggling of Rohingyas from Myanmar to Malaysia. *Akademika*, *88*(1), 5-16.

Weber, R. P. (1990). Basic Content Analysis, 2nd ed. Newbury Park, CA.

Weitzer, R. (2014). New directions in research on human trafficking. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *653*(1), 6-24. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716214521

Weitzer, R. (2015). Human trafficking and contemporary slavery. Annual review of sociology, 41, 223-242. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-073014-112506

Wheaton, E. M., Schauer, E. J., & Galli, T. V. (2010). Economics of human trafficking. International Migration, 48(4), 114-141. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2009.00592.x

Wijers, M. & Lap-Chew, L. (1997). Trafficking in women, forced labor and slavery-like practices in marriage, domestic labor and prostitution, Utrecht: Foundation Against Trafficking.

Winter, G. (2000). *A comparative discussion of the notion of validity in qualitative and quantitative research.* The Qualitative Report, 4(3&4). Retrieved February 25, 1998, from http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR4-3/winter.html

Wolf, S. O. (2017). Genocide, exodus and exploitation for jihad: The urgent need to address the Rohingya crisis. SADF-South Asia Democratic Forum. DOI: 10.11588/xarep.00004442

Yang, J. (2008). *US, Chinese newspapers frame Iraq war differently*. Newspaper Research Journal, 29,80–93. https://doi.org/10.1177/0739532908029003

Yayboke, E. (2018). The Rohingya in Bangladesh: Playing Politics with a People in Crisis. *The Center for Strategic and International Studies. https://www. csis. org/analysis/rohingyabangladesh-playing-politics-people-crisis. ss*.

Yusuf, I. (2018). Three faces of the Rohingya crisis: Religious nationalism, Asian Islamophobia, and delegitimizing citizenship. *Studia Islamika*, *25(3),* 503-542.

Zhang, W. (2000, August). *An interdisciplinary synthesis of framing*. Paper presented at AEJMC Conference, Phoenix, Arizona

Zimmerman, C., Hossain, M., & Watts, C. (2011). *Human trafficking and health: A conceptual model to inform policy, intervention and research*. Social science & medicine, 73(2), 327-335. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2011.05.028