

## **The Social Power Ideology between Buddhists and Islam Represented in Time Magazine**

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### **Abstract**

This article aimed to conduct a critical discourse analysis of news about Rohingya refugees published in The Times magazine. The qualitative descriptive method was employed as the basis for thinking and the critical paradigm was used as the point of view for the analysis. The theory applied in this study is Teun Van Dijk's theory of power and domination. The subject of the research is a discourse titled "When Buddhists Go Bad" that was published by The Times magazine. The results of the study indicate that The Times Magazine represents the Buddhist doctrine in Myanmar as being characterized by extreme social power and dominance, as it is supported by the Myanmar state in its discrimination against Rohingya refugees. Additionally, the ideology, social power, and domination held by Buddhists leads to the acceptance of this discrimination by Rohingya refugees.

**Keywords:** media, power, domination, times magazine, rohingnya.

Artikel ini bertujuan untuk melakukan analisis diskursus kritis terhadap berita tentang pengungsi Rohingya yang dipublikasikan di majalah The Times. Metode deskriptif kualitatif digunakan sebagai dasar pemikiran dan paradigma kritis digunakan sebagai sudut pandang untuk analisis. Teori yang diterapkan dalam penelitian ini adalah teori Teun Van Dijk tentang kekuasaan dan dominasi. Subjek penelitian adalah diskursus yang berjudul "When Buddhists Go Bad" yang dipublikasikan oleh majalah The Times. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa majalah The Times mewakili doktrin Buddha di Myanmar sebagai yang dicirikan oleh kekuasaan sosial yang ekstrem dan dominasi, karena didukung oleh negara Myanmar dalam diskriminasi terhadap pengungsi Rohingya. Selain itu, ideologi, kekuasaan sosial, dan dominasi yang dimiliki oleh umat Buddha menyebabkan penerimaan diskriminasi terhadap pengungsi Rohingya.

**Keywords:** media, kekuasaan, dominasi, majalah times, rohingnya.

## Introduction

The mass media has a significant influence on the way individuals perceive global events. Mass media is a widespread medium of communication and information that is widely accessible to many people.<sup>1</sup> The mass media has the important responsibility of disseminating news, commentary, entertainment, opinions, and other types of content. MY Sarigih (2019) asserts that the media can act as a bridge for communication, transmitting news or issues across space and time to reach a wider audience. Additionally, he argues that the media has a significant impact on the way we communicate, think, perceive things, and interact with others. Therefore, it can be said that the mass media plays a crucial role in shaping the thinking and perceptions of the general public through the messages it conveys.<sup>2</sup>

The mass media plays a significant role in shaping readers' opinions. Therefore, it is important that the language used in mass media is clear and effective in conveying information. As Syihaabul Huda (2018) argues, mass media is often in the public eye and can present a range of issues, including sensitive topics such as ethnicity and religion. If not handled carefully, these issues have the potential to incite conflict and violence, resulting in harm and loss of life. It is crucial that the mass media has a good delivery language to communicate these issues effectively and responsibly.<sup>3</sup>

One of the longstanding conflicts in Myanmar is the conflict between Islam and Buddhism, which has had a lasting impact on the country. The Muslims, referred to as the Rohingya minority, are in conflict with the Buddhist majority of Myanmar. Between 2015 and 2017, the humanitarian crisis faced by the Rohingya ethnic minority was a key issue. The conflict reached a climax with Myanmar's military counterattack against the Rohingya. According to Yumitro (2017), the Rohingya conflict has caused approximately 43% of the population to become refugees, and more than 80% of them are lacking basic necessities such as clothing, food, healthcare, education, and housing. This conflict has become a source of suffering and a humanitarian crisis that has garnered attention from around the world.<sup>4</sup>

The mass media is responsible for disseminating information about the Rohingya ethnicity to the world. Additionally, the mass media plays a crucial role in shaping the opinions of those who receive this information. A study by Andi Setiawan (2018) found that two Indonesian news portals, Republika Online and Detik.com, had different frames for explaining the Rohingya conflict.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Dedi Kusuma Habibie, "Dwi Fungsi Media Massa," *Interaksi: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi* 7, no. 2 (28 Desember 2018): 85.

<sup>2</sup> M. Yoserizal Saragih, "Journalist of Print Mass Media in Medan Study: Journalism, Print Media of Newspaper Journalistic and Organizational Structure of Print Media," *Britain International of Humanities and Social Sciences (BioHS) Journal* 1, no. 2 (3 Oktober 2019): 86, <https://doi.org/10.33258/biohs.v1i2.40>.

<sup>3</sup> Syihaabul Huda, "OPTIMALISASI BAHASA: PENGGUNAAN BAHASA YANG BAIK, LOGIS, DAN SANTUN DI MEDIA MASSA," *Dialektika: Jurnal Bahasa, Sastra, Dan Pendidikan Bahasa Dan Sastra Indonesia* 5, no. 1 (29 Juni 2018): 63, <https://doi.org/10.15408/dialektika.v5i1.5953>.

<sup>4</sup> Gonda Yumitro, "Respon Dunia Internasional Terhadap Tragedi Kemanusiaan Rohingya," *Jurnal Sospol (Sosial Politik)* 3, no. 2 (Juli 2017): 82.

<sup>5</sup> Ipung Pramudya Setiawan dan Made Selly Dwi Suryanti, "Keterlibatan Asean dalam Menangani Konflik Myanmar (Studi Kasus: Konflik Etnis Rohingya 2017 - 2019)," *POLITICOS: Jurnal Politik dan Pemerintahan* 1, no. 2 (16 September 2021): 85, <https://doi.org/10.22225/politicos.1.2.2021.83-97>.

Detik.com provides information about framing solidarity actions for the Rohingya, while Republika Online focuses on reporting on individuals who engage in mass actions such as raising funds for the Rohingya. Ayu's research (2017) found that Kompas.com did not view the Rohingya issue as solely an inter-religious conflict, but rather as a humanitarian crisis. This suggests that the conflict is not only about religious differences, but also involves broader issues related to humanitarian concerns.<sup>6</sup>

In this case, the mass media can serve as an intermediary for various parties in achieving their goals, such as peace missions. Erizon (2018) found that ASEAN countries used intermediaries or third parties to help resolve conflicts and address the Rohingya crisis. In addition, ASEAN utilized humanitarian efforts and diplomacy to address the issue.<sup>7</sup> Dwi Putri (2021) also conducted research on how the mass media framed this conflict, comparing the perspectives of BBC News Indonesia and Radar Bangsa. The findings showed that BBC News Indonesia had a broader perspective than the local mass media, Radar Bangsa.<sup>8</sup>

On the other hand, Hosen (2020) conducted research comparing the framing of Bangladesh Newspapers and US Newspapers. He found that both have differences in their coverage, with Bangladesh Newspapers focusing more on humanitarian crises and US Newspapers focusing more on atrocity violence. Additionally, Bangladesh Newspapers published more articles with conflict, human interest, and crisis frames, while US Newspapers published more articles about atrocity violence. Despite these differences, both deliver the news in neutral voices, avoiding negativity and refraining from defending any parties involved in conflict.<sup>9</sup>

Kanika conducted research that examined the media coverage of the Rohingya issue in Indian mass media, using a thematic analysis of two leading news outlets. The study, which was conducted from August 2017 to December 2019, analyzed various themes related to Rohingya refugees and explored the media's discourse on the Rohingya situation in India in order to understand public opinion on the issue.<sup>10</sup> Meanwhile, Kanaker's study used framing theory to analyze the way that Al Jazeera and the BBC framed the causes and consequences of the Rohingya crisis. The research found that the primary cause of the

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<sup>6</sup> Ayu Usada Rengkaningtias, "Jurnalisme Damai (Peace Journalism) Dalam Kerukunan Antarumat Beragama (Analisis Framing Kompas.Com Terhadap Isu Rohingnya)," *Jurnal Kajian Islam Interdisipliner* 2, no. 2 (2017): 163, <https://doi.org/10.14421/jkii.v2i2.1084>.

<sup>7</sup> Erizon Indra dan Tri Cahyo Utomo, "Kepatuhan Negara-Negara ASEAN Untuk Tidak Campur Tangan Dalam Menangani Persekusi Etnis Rohingya Di Myanmar," *Journal of International Relations* 4, no. 3 (30 Agustus 2018): 382, <https://doi.org/10.14710/jirud.v4i3.21046>.

<sup>8</sup> Dwi Putri Robiatul Adawiyah, Fifi Listia Sari, dan Agoes Moh Moefad, "Media Framing Analysis and Islamic Minority Sect," *KOMUNIKA: Jurnal Dakwah Dan Komunikasi* 15, no. 2 (1 Oktober 2021): 255, <https://doi.org/10.24090/komunika.v15i2.4790>.

<sup>9</sup> Shamim Hosen, *The Forced Migration of the Rohingya Refugee into Bangladesh: Driving Factors*, 2020, 3, <https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.20064.30722>.

<sup>10</sup> Kanika Walia dan Serdar Öztürk, "Unfolding Rohingya Refugee Crisis Through Mass Media: A Thematic Analysis of Indian Print and Electronic Media," dalam *Rohingya Refugee Crisis in Myanmar: Ethnic Conflict and Resolution*, ed. oleh Kudret Bülbül, Md. Nazmul Islam, dan Md. Sajid Khan (Singapore: Springer Nature, 2022), 201, [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-6464-9\\_12](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-6464-9_12).

crisis, as covered by both news outlets, was security and military issues, which accounted for 91.8% of coverage, while the remaining 8.2% was allocated to other causes.<sup>11</sup>

Al Jazeera and BBC news together covered 20 consequences of the Rohingya crisis, with Al Jazeera independently covering 17 consequences and the BBC covering 10. The three main consequences that were covered by both news outlets were deportations, massacres, and repression. Their coverage tended to focus on specific incidents rather than providing a comprehensive understanding of the crisis, and tended to use a framework of powerlessness and a small amount of responsibility.<sup>12</sup>

In contrast, research by Irom found that news about the Rohingya refugee crisis in four different countries often used victim, thematic, and administrative frameworks, with politicians, international organizations, and NGOs as the dominant sources. The characteristics of refugees that were often mentioned included nationality, age, and gender.<sup>13</sup>

This includes a holistic understanding of the Rohingya refugee crisis and a nuanced depiction of the refugee subject through an examination of the thematic and personal frames used in elite press coverage from three different countries. Vu (2020) conducted a framing and textual analysis of the crisis as reported in *The Irrawaddy* (Myanmar), *The New Nation* (Bangladesh), and *The New York Times*. The results of this analysis reveal differences in how the press in each country described the crisis, with *The Irrawaddy* incorporating nationalist narratives and downplaying violence against the Rohingya, *The New Nation* focusing on the humanitarian aspects of the crisis, and *The New York Times* using Western hegemonic discourse.<sup>14</sup>

Textual analysis reveals that although the same words are used to describe the Rohingya crisis, some of them carry different connotations. The findings of this study are discussed through the lens of ideological and cultural influences. Khadimul (2018) defines the persecution of Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar's Rakhine state in 2017 as an event that received significant international media coverage. According to normative theory, media from different countries may report on the same issue differently due to the differences in their socio-political systems. Khadimul's study examines how media from three countries - China, India, and Bangladesh - frame the Rohingya issue. A systematic and qualitative content analysis of six newspapers from these three countries was conducted to analyze the framing of the Rohingya issue according to Robinson's (2001) Media-Policy Interaction model.<sup>15</sup>

Khadimul conducted a study on media coverage of the Rohingya crisis in three neighboring countries - China, India, and Bangladesh - over the course of one month

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<sup>11</sup> Osama Kanaker, Mohamed Oklah Abughazlih, dan Mohd Faizal Kasmani, "Media Framing of Minorities' Crisis: A Study on Aljazeera and BBC News Coverage of the Rohingya," 2020, 6, <https://doi.org/10.17576/JKMJC-2020-3602-01>.

<sup>12</sup> Kanaker, Abughazlih, dan Kasmani, 12-13.

<sup>13</sup> Bimbisar Irom dkk., "News Framing of the Rohingya Crisis: Content Analysis of Newspaper Coverage from Four Countries," *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* 20, no. 1 (2 Januari 2022): 124, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2021.1906472>.

<sup>14</sup> Hong Tien Vu dan Nyan Lynn, "When the News Takes Sides: Automated Framing Analysis of News Coverage of the Rohingya Crisis by the Elite Press from Three Countries," *Journalism Studies* 21, no. 9 (3 Juli 2020): 1304, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2020.1745665>.

<sup>15</sup> Md Khadimul Islam, "How Newspapers In China, India And Bangladesh Framed The Rohingya Crisis Of 2017," *Electronic Theses and Dissertations*, 1 Januari 2018, 76, <https://egrove.olemiss.edu/etd/648>.

starting on August 25, 2017, the first day of the crisis in Myanmar. The study analyzed 50 news stories qualitatively and 258 news stories quantitatively, and found significant differences in the way the issue was covered in the different countries. In Indian and Bangladesh, newspapers tended to focus on the human interest and protest aspects of the crisis, while Chinese media emphasized the conflict and security aspects. In Bangladesh, aid agencies were the most commonly cited sources in newspapers, while in Indian newspapers, national officials were the most frequently cited. Chinese newspapers tended to rely on the Myanmar government as their main source of information.<sup>16</sup>

Based on previous research, there are similarities and differences in the media's framing of the Rohingya crisis. The news media plays a crucial role in bringing attention to the situation in Myanmar, and this research focuses on the social power and ideology of the Buddhist majority in Myanmar as represented in Times Magazine, a London-based publication. The study aims to examine two points: (a) how Times Magazine presents the social power and ideology of the Buddhist majority in Myanmar, and (b) the impact of this representation on the Muslim minority in Myanmar on the readers

### Method

In this research, a descriptive method was employed, which involved the use of the Van Dijk model of Critical Discourse Analysis to qualitatively analyze the data. The data collection process was divided into three stages: data collection, data classification, and data analysis. The focus of the study was the news discourse found in an issue of The Times Magazine titled "When Buddhists Go Bad." The object of the study was to apply Critical Discourse Analysis to examine the themes of power, social, and ideology present in the newspaper's news discourse.

The present study employs the method of Critical Discourse Analysis to search for and identify relevant data within the news discourse of The Times Magazine. A sample of the data will be used as evidence in the analysis. Once all of the data has been collected, the findings related to critical discourse in the newspaper's news discourse will be recorded. The text will be analyzed based on appropriate theory, specifically by examining the production and interpretation process of the text and explaining how the media portrays the social power and ideology of the majority against the minority.

### Finding and Discussion

Van Dijk's work focuses on the language used by the media as a form of social practice, particularly in terms of the ideology present in news presentation.<sup>17</sup> In the case of The Times Magazine, the news text presents themes of social, power, and ideology, which can either portray a positive or negative image for both the Rohingya ethnic minority and the Buddhist majority ethnic group in Myanmar. The following data consists of news headlines from the media and the framework for the discourse analysis, using Van Dijk's model, of the reporting on these two groups in Myanmar.

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<sup>16</sup> Islam, 27.

<sup>17</sup> Hera Wahdah Humaira, "Analisis Wacana Kritis (AWK) Model Teun A. Van Dijk Pada Pemberitaan Surat Kabar Republika," *Literasi : Jurnal Bahasa Dan Sastra Indonesia Serta Pembelajarannya* 2, no. 1 (29 Juni 2018): 33, <https://doi.org/10.25157/literasi.v2i1.951>.

Table1. Object of Research	
Types of Media	Online
Media Name	Times Magazines
Title	When Buddhist Go Bad
Publication	Monday, July 13
<b>Social Power Data</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Buddhists and their holy men are not immune to politics and, on occasion the lure of sectarian chauvinism. (Paragraph 6)</li> </ol> <p>After President Mahinda Rajapaksa, a conservative, was elected in 2005, Buddhist supremacist groups became more powerful. (Paragraph 13)</p>
<b>Ideology Data 3.</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. When Buddhist Go Bad (Tittle)</li> <li>2. The mantra of Hate (Headline)</li> <li>3. Temple and State (Headline)</li> <li>4. Alms in Arms (Headline)</li> <li>5. It seems a peaceful scene, but Wirathus message crackles with hate. "Now is not the time for calm, (P:1. Line:5)</li> </ol> <p>"Now its Buddhism turn" (paragraph:7. Line: last)</p>
<b>Power Effect</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. "My son was killed because he was Muslim, nothing else," Razak's mother Rahamabi told me in the shadow of a burned -out mosque. (Paragraph11)</li> <li>2. According to Human Rights Watch, machete-wielding Buddhist hordes attacked Rohingya villages; 70 Muslims were slaughtered in a day long massacre in one hamlet. (Paragraph 10)</li> <li>3. Thousands of Muslims are still crammed into refugee camps where journalist are forbidden to enter. Paragraph 9.</li> </ol>

## 1. Social Power and Ideology Represented by Times Magazine

### a. Social Power Analysis

Buddhists in some countries have significant power as a religious group. They may have their own army and promise to defend their religion. In Sri Lanka, Buddhists gain influence by aligning themselves with high-ranking officials. In Thailand, Buddhist monks receive assistance from the military when collecting alms. They may arm themselves for protection against surprise attacks from minority groups. Even after changes in leadership, Buddhists in these countries often enjoy immunity to laws and constitutional governance. It can be concluded that many Buddhists are supported by powerful individuals in their societies.

### b. Ideology Analysis

Based on the description of the data, the selected data discusses a review of Time Magazine with the title "When Buddhists Go Bad." Time Magazine is a publication that primarily covers worldwide phenomena. The article

explains how the phenomenon of Buddhists occurred in Asia. Upon reading the title, "When Buddhists Go Bad," readers will be immediately drawn in. The title also implicitly explains the focus of the article. The author presents three main points about Buddhists: Mantra of Hate, Temple and State, and Alms in Arms. The author uses bold letters to emphasize these headlines and draw the reader's attention.

Based on the analysis of data 1, it is evident that the author of this article focuses on the actions of Buddhists in several countries in Asia. In the article, the author provides details about the actions of Buddhists in Myanmar, Thailand, and Sri Lanka. The author highlights instances of violence against minority groups, such as the Rohingya in Myanmar and Christians, Hindus, and Jews in other countries, perpetrated by Buddhists in the name of preserving their race and religion. In the third title of the article, "The Temple and the State," the author uses the words "temple" and "country" to represent Buddhism and the race and country of Buddhists, respectively, and discusses why Buddhists attack minority groups in their country. In the fourth title, "Alms in Arms," the author illustrates how Buddhists in Thailand receive support in their attacks on minorities, as the Muslim population makes up at least 80% of the area's population and Buddhists receive help from the state.

"It seems a peaceful scene, but Wirathu's message is filled with hate. Now is not the time for calm..." (Line 5, Paragraph 1). In this data, the author of the article suggests that the dominant group speaks negatively about the minority, but conveys their message with intonation or gestures that might seem "tolerant." The group has a strong ideology, as evidenced by their statement "Now it is Buddhism's turn" (paragraph 7, last line), which implies that there will be no mercy for minorities and that it is time for Buddhists to take action.

c. Power Effect

The great power dynamic between Buddhists and the government, which aims to make the country a 100% Buddhistland, has a negative impact on minority groups, particularly Muslims in Myanmar. It leads to pogroms, violence, and discrimination against minorities, which are getting worse every day.

Based on data 7.1 and 7.2, the author of the article asserts that Buddhists do not respect the human rights of minorities and instead take actions that restrict or seek to restore these rights. Some of these actions are limiting human rights and restoring minority cultural rights. Giving restrictions and restoration of human rights is as human and cultural rights and they should be protected for all people, regardless of their religion. Discrimination and conflict between these religions are inevitable, leading to violence and killing between groups.

Furthermore, in the final data, the author of the article notes that there are still many, even thousands, of people who are held captive by the majority and that the author is not allowed to enter the area. Most Buddhists

have a significant influence within Myanmar. Based on the findings and discussion presented above, it is clear that the ideology of the majority has a significant impact on the stability of the beliefs held by the surrounding group.

Van Dijk (1991) posits that ideology refers to a system of social, political, or religious ideas that are held by elites and shared with a social group or movement.<sup>18</sup> In Myanmar, a Buddhist monk seeks the eradication of Muslim Rohingya refugees from Myanmar's territory. This ideology is supported by most of Myanmar's political elites, who object to the presence of Rohingya refugees. In this case, the monk and political elites can be considered social representatives. These social representatives form an organization to control the actions of the group. Therefore, it can be concluded that the discrimination against the Rohingya minority by the Buddhist majority in Myanmar is a result of a powerful Buddhist monk ideology, supported by political elites, in order to gain a specific advantage.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) links the dimensions of text, social action, and context. CDA also connects the historical-power-ideological dimension based on the PHI (power-history-ideology) principle. Therefore, as Holy states, CDA involves more than just linguistic analysis. In this case, when we consider power, there is a power dynamic present.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, when there is power, there are also those who are oppressed and those who are oppressing. In the context of Time Magazine, the Buddhists, who hold power, use it to oppress Rohingya refugees. The Buddhists do not oppress without justification; rather, they do so because they are guided by a strong ideology that is rooted in history.

In this case, the possession of reliable power is often accompanied by a strong ideology. As indicated in the findings above, the majority group holds a significant amount of power that can have a strong impact. Power, in this context, refers to the ability of an entity to make changes and maintain the status quo. Those who hold reliable power often possess wealth, significant income, a high position or status, good education, and dominant group power. The Buddhist majority possesses all of these factors, which they use to suppress the Rohingya minority. As a result, the Rohingya minority experiences discrimination as a result of the power held by the Buddhist majority.

## Conclusion

From the data analysis, it can be concluded that critical discourse analysis focuses on discourse as a form of interaction that combines spoken and written language as a form of social practice. The social practices of the Myanmar Buddhists are represented by the author of the Times Magazine in the critical discourse. The author also mentions the ideology held by the Myanmar Buddhists, which is an important factor in critical discourse

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<sup>18</sup> Teun A. van Dijk, *Racism and the Press*, Critical Studies in Racism and Migration (London ; New York: Routledge, 1991), 27.

<sup>19</sup> Holy Rafika Dhona, "KOMUNIKASI GEOGRAFI," *Jurnal Komunikasi* 13, no. 1 (11 November 2018): 2-3, <https://doi.org/10.20885/komunikasi.vol13.iss1.art1>.



analysis. The author explains the various realities that arise from the power exercised by the Buddhists against the Rohingya refugees.

The effects of Buddhist power align with Van Dijk's theory, which posits that power always has a corresponding effect, either on the oppressors or the oppressed. The Rohingya refugees experienced the negative effects of the representation of power wielded by the Buddhists. Based on the analysis above, it is suggested that news writers should strive to report objectively and avoid judging one of the parties, as seen in the headline "When Buddhist Go Bad."

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