

**"They are (not) our responsibility": A content analysis of Rohingya refugees'
representation in the conventional Indonesian media**

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ABSTRACT

With recent protests and demonstrations against the waves of Rohingya refugees' arrivals in the western part of Indonesia, Aceh, in late 2023, the Rohingya community has become more marginalized in society, making them live in a more undesirable condition. This fact prompts people to see beyond how they live and more on how they are portrayed in public. Recognizing how the issue of refugee representation is crucial in shaping people's perceptions of refugees themselves, it has become an attention in the scholarly world to take into account what meanings can be gained from the current representation of Rohingya refugees within society, especially in the Indonesian media context. Serving as an intermediary between society and what is happening in the world, the media plays a crucial role in representing the Rohingya refugees to the world and determining how the community will be perceived by society through their own creation of representation. This qualitative study aims to see how Rohingya refugees are represented in the Indonesian media outlets *Detik.com*, *Kompas.com/.id*, and *The Jakarta Post* and find the most recurring topics or discussions in their representation. Using thematic analysis, this study will delve into 60 articles that include news articles, columns, and editorials for its sample population. Acknowledging how media is a main tool for the Rohingyas' representation, this study uses three concepts as the theoretical framework: media power to position media's role within society, representation to analyze the constructed portrayal with the lexical structure, and advocacy in journalism to see if there are efforts to encourage advocacy in the discussed subjects.

KEYWORDS: *Rohingya refugees, representation, media power, advocacy journalism, Indonesian media*

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1. Introduction

“Imagine that one day a civil war breaks out in your area, and as an innocent civilian, you find yourself in the middle of an armed conflict; things get bad, and your life is at risk; you are threatened or persecuted. To save yourself and your family, you may only have the option to flee outside of your own country.”

- Valerie Julliard, UN Resident Coordinator and UNDP Resident Representative

As of September 2023, UNHCR (2023) reported that there were 11,825 refugees residing in Indonesia from 52 countries, and around 13% of them or equivalent to 1,600 people were the Rohingyas. According to the Rohingya Culture Center (n.d.), the ongoing issue with the Rohingya communities is a result of long-standing political turmoil and exclusion in Myanmar. It started during the era of colonialism when the United Kingdom decided to occupy Burma, the country's name before it was referred to as Myanmar in the present time and made the Rohingyas their allies. The reason behind engaging with the Rohingyas is because the majority of the Buddhist Burmese were into the movement of anti-colonialism and heavily rejected the idea of the British occupation, while for the Rohingyas, they were employed and supported by the British military. In 1948, when Burma claimed independence from the British, the Rohingyas immediately became enemies of the majority of the Buddhist Burmese due to their past affiliation with the British colony (Rohingya Culture Center, n.d., & Ullah, 2016).

In 1982, the hostility escalated through the 1982 Citizenship Laws, where the Myanmar government officially acknowledged 135 ethnic groups and the Rohingyas did not make the list, thereby, the Rohingya communities had not been eligible for citizenship in Myanmar ever since (Ullah, 2016). The absence of nationalities has put the Rohingyas on the brink of endless sorrow and discrimination. When possessing no nationalities, the Rohingyas are not able to claim their rights to basic necessities and protection, not to mention that they are susceptible to transnational organized crimes, especially human trafficking. This fact marginalizes them even more in the sense that they are excluded from things they are entitled to and making them the world's biggest stateless community. That leaves the Rohingyas no choice but to seek asylum in neighboring countries, such as Bangladesh, Malaysia, and Indonesia (UNHCR, 2023). Subsequently, the problem lies in the positionality of each potential

recipient country; it is determined by whether they have signed the 1951 Refugee Convention and 1967 Refugee Protocol. Signatories to both agreements possess the responsibility of taking refugees to their borders, whereas the countries who did not do so, they do not have the obligation to open their borders for refugees in general.

As a matter of fact, Indonesia is neither a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention nor the 1967 Refugee Protocol (UNHCR, 2023); yet the country bases its diplomacy on humanitarianism that prioritizes peace and equality as stated in its 1945 Constitution (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2019). It is reported that humanitarian values have been the guiding principle when it comes to opening borders for those who seek refuge. Formally, Indonesia has *Peraturan Presiden (Perpres/Presidential Regulation)* no. 125/2016 that regulates the handling and management of refugees in Indonesia. According to the Cabinet Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia (2017), Indonesia has been working on the refugee issue with the responsible international organizations, such as UNHCR and the International Organization for Migration (IOM). The role of international organizations is essential in handling the refugees in the country as it involves burden sharing and makes clear budget allocation.

Domestically, there exists a local principle that is more customary in nature for assisting those who need a helping hand. In Aceh, there is a big fisherman community in the area and it is governed by *Panglima Laot* (Sea Commander), who serves a role as the one who overlooks the community through the Customary Law of the Sea, and their position is essential in safeguarding the marine and coastal areas in Aceh (Abdullah et al., 2018). Seeing the sea as a sacred place, the Acehnese Customary Law of the Sea governs how the fishermen conduct themselves at sea. Recognizing the high number of the Rohingya refugees getting to the Indonesian borders through the sea in Aceh, the Sea Commander encourages the fishermen to help each other. In an interview with *Detik.com*, an Acehnese fisherman said, “If there is a disaster [at sea], we must help. If you don't help, there are customary sanctions,” and those beliefs put the Rohingya refugees into the equation (Detik.com, 2023a). The case of the Rohingya refugees has been a heated discussion in the country that should prompt one to always inform oneself about what has been happening.

1.1. Societal relevance

The issues surrounding refugee management has been one of pressing issues in the international realm; from the eastern part of Southeast Asia to the western hemisphere. This is to recognize that what is happening to the Rohingya refugees is not isolated, as most countries must have had experience with or are currently facing this issue related to migration and refugee management. Aside from the Rohingyas, the European Union was faced with a challenging refugee issue and according to UNHCR (n.d.), European countries, such as Italy, Greece, Spain, Cyprus, and Malta received over 159,000 of the Middle Eastern refugees arriving at their sea borders, and 2,400 of them were reported dead or missing (UNHCR, n.d.). Refugees' arrival in a big volume has caused social turbulence and negative sentiments from the public; this issue has garnered mixed responses from politicians, citizens, and other prominent figures, including the Pope. He defended the refugees in the sense that these marginalized people did not have any other choices but to move and seek safe places for them to live and carry on with their lives (Mada, 2023). Same goes in Indonesia, despite being rooted on humanitarian values and customary laws, locals' hostility towards the Rohingya communities is still happening. This gives a sense of necessity to look at what could have affected this perception from the beginning. Recognizing the immense power of the media as a gateway to information, this study is concerned with the implication of what these representations give to the Rohingyas themselves and the society in general.

The arrival of the Rohingyas has sparked a debate on people's perception of humanity. Samosir and Ajengratri (2023) reported that Indonesians were reluctant to welcome the refugees because of the government's capability in providing welfare to the citizens. In late December 2023, Indonesian students in Aceh, a province on Sumatra Island, conducted a demonstration to express their condemnation of having the Rohingyas in the country (Munawarah, 2023). What is currently happening with the Rohingya refugees is not isolated; the presence of refugees is scattered globally and their representation in the media has always been a task to be further humanized, as mostly, the refugees' visibility is depicted by those of weak, meaningless, and superficial narratives (Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017). This study stresses the importance of looking through the representation of people whose basic rights have been forcefully taken away. Freedman's (2015) concept of media's power in "structuring our knowledge about the world around us" (p. 274) is relevant to this case as one's knowledge is well-informed by the media as the gateway to information.

1.2. Academic relevance

In conducting this research, I acknowledge previous studies which have been carried out surrounding the Rohingya refugees and each of the respective focuses. Previous studies show that there has been an increase in negative sentiments towards the Rohingyas on social media during the pandemic, which were narratives pertaining to the Rohingyas added more weights to the government and perceived the Rohingya communities as burdensome (Rashid & Saidin, 2023). Similarly, Nanda (2020) attempts to examine the Islamic values behind the representation of the Rohingya refugees in Indonesian Islamic mass media, which resulted in their portrayal being a marginalized group that has the right to fight back or "*jihad*" (p. 110). Subsequently, the management of the Rohingya refugees within the Asian region is heavily associated with the idea of Muslim solidarity in the recipient countries that actually has not reaped tangible improvement to the Rohingyas themselves (Missbach & Stange, 2021; Pratisti et. al, 2019).

Moreover, regionalism, which is depicted by the ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) cooperation, is a central topic in handling the Rohingya refugees. Cook (2021) and Barber and Teitt (2020) considered it to be slow-moving and vain; the regional cooperation is portrayed as meaningless by acknowledging the non-interference international principle and the anarchic principle that even international organizations cannot directly interfere with Myanmar's national affairs. In a similar view, Susetyo and Chambers (2020) concluded that Indonesia's diplomacy towards the management of the Rohingya refugees are deemed ineffective. However, there is a gap in the academic literature that analyzes how the Rohingyas themselves are represented in the media that can cause implications of how they are perceived in society.

Reflecting upon past studies, there is still little attention drawn to the research on how media power plays a role in representing and shaping the visibility of the Rohingyas, especially in the context of Indonesian media. In essence, the portrayal of refugees contributes to how a public perception is made (Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2018), as media is the intermediary between society to what is currently happening surrounding them or even remotely. In relation to the gap in literature, this thesis attempted to see the correlation among media, culture, and society; it is how media products, in this case, forms of articles, represent a marginalized and heavily persecuted community, and the implications of how the society, embedded in its culture, perceives the representations created by the media outlets.

1.3. Research question

This study tries to see what meanings have been given to the Rohingya refugees through the representation of themselves and to see if there is any implication for the advocacy efforts that are done by the media outlets, or the journalists involved in the making of the articles. This thesis aims to answer the following the research question: *How were the Rohingya refugees represented in the popular conventional Indonesian media in 2019-2023?* This study is conducted to provide nuance in the academic field by analyzing the news produced by the Indonesian media outlets on the Rohingya refugees and the implications for their visibility and representation.

This thesis is grounded in three main concepts, which are media power that defines how media helps people navigate their lives (Freedman, 2015), representation that uses language and lexical tools to shape portrayals and determine what meanings can be gained from them (Ahearn, 2010; Hall, 2013; Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2018), and advocacy in journalism to see if there are any efforts done by the media outlets or journalists to shape better, respectable, and dignified representation of the refugees, especially the Rohingyas (Janowitz, 1975).

1.4. Thesis outline

After the introduction, the literature review is the next chapter where I explained the theories and concepts I use as a framework for this study, which are: 1) media power, 2) representation, and 3) advocacy in journalism. In the literature review part, I divided the chapter into three subsections according to the respective theories and concepts. Furthermore, chapter three serves as research design, in which I detailed the methodology part of this thesis, which consists of data collection method that talks about how to get all the required sixty articles for the data, sampling of how many articles in the first place and how they are sorted into sixty articles, and the last one is the unit analysis that justifies the selection of the three media outlets: *Detik.com*, *The Jakarta Post*, and *Kompas.com/.id*. In chapter four or the results part, I explained the findings about what I found after stages of coding and the most reiterated code generated from the coding itself, and what it implies to the representation of the Rohingya refugees in general. Finally, in chapter five or conclusion,

I concluded the most recurring topics in the generated categories from data analysis part, stated important findings in this thesis and gave the direction of future studies to the representation of the Rohingya refugees.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Media power

Recognizing how media plays a significant role in this research, it is of essence to learn how media is influential and powerful in the first place. Ytre-Arne (2023) draws attention to the way media amasses its power through its use in everyday life, which is seen as a “routinized” (p. 8) practice that refers to how media is perceived as an indispensable everyday consumption. Ytre-Arne (2023) stresses media’s role as a guide in everyday life in the sense that it embraces various dimensions in life and “social domains” (p. 9), and that media also has the role of “navigation” (p. 9) that helps people make sense of the world around them. Through this familiarity and the sense of connectedness between people and the media, Freedman (2015) defines media power as connections involving actors, institutional structures, and contexts that contribute to shaping one’s perception or knowledge pertaining to one’s surroundings. By this definition, the emphasis is put on how media has the capacity to shape and assist in making informed decisions in society (Freedman, 2015; Ytre-Arne, 2023).

Furthermore, Ytre-Arne (2023) categorizes two uses of media that explain how the media itself has been an integral part of people’s daily lives: a) media repertoires and b) public connection. Media repertoires tries to see people’s use of extensive types of media in their daily lives, how these types of media that are used influence each other, and how they generate “meaningful relations between media a person uses regularly” (p. 10). Then, the concept of public connection is interested in seeing the daily role of media in understanding how people associate with the society around them (Ytre-Arne, 2023).

Departing from the idea how people comprehend and sympathize with life events and occurrences, Robinson (2000), in his study on the policy-media interaction model, pays special attention to the significant role of media amid humanitarian crises. He describes that humanitarian crises are intricate moments that can cause apprehension within society due to the possibly gatekept information by the government, that also the policies can be sensed as doubtful and unconvincing by people during the time; hence, Robinson (2000) points out that those conditions lead people to seek more information from the media, as another source of intelligence that can help them comprehend what and how things occur during the challenging times. Therefore, after the media has assisted in the process of learning and eventually people have shaped an informed opinion about a phenomenon (Freedman, 2015),

the public will eventually come with an urge to demand compelling actions from the government; this is where the power of the media comes into play, as the public tension pushed by the media can pressurize the government to act on the humanitarian issues (Robinson, 2000).

Understanding that sociopolitical change can be stimulated by the pressure from media through its efforts to call on actions to the government (Robinson, 2000), Croteau and Hoynes (2018) refer to media as a part of “social institution” (p. 37), in which there exist various actors in the social realm that influence and are linked to one another, such as the media itself, which can have links to the government, influential groups, and society in general, not to mention the media’s ties to the political, economic, and cultural arena bounded by the social actors affiliated with the media structure itself. Newton (2006) suggests that the close relationship between media and society is what makes media so influential: “the media are deeply embedded in and part of society. They are subject to its influences much like other institutions: [...] they are social products like the rest of us” (p. 215). Additionally, Newton (2006) finds that media “permeate almost every corner of society” (p. 219) and it leaves influence on people it touches. This suggests that people generate high relatability and familiarity to the media, and subsequently, it is established in terms of the media’s indispensability in daily life (Ytre-Anne, 2023).

In seeing the multidimensional power possessed by the media that touches upon multifarious layers, including society and politics, Freedman (2015) distinguishes four paradigms to discuss the intersection: consensus, chaos, contradiction, and control; these paradigms aim to provide a framework for seeing various ways in which media itself exerts its power to influence. With a focus on the analysis of the sentiment towards the Rohingya refugees in Indonesian media outlets, Freedman’s (2015) control paradigm sees that media is used as a tool to reinforce hegemonic discourses in society and to limit public debate to a restricted consensus. A concept of manufactured consensus has previously been discussed by Herman and Chomsky (1988) that underlines the role of mainstream news media to reinforce the dominant narratives constructed by the people in power through the propaganda model that works in five filters: 1) ownership (media structure that involves various parties with their own vested interests), 2) advertising (source of revenue stream), 3) sourcing (prominent figures in power as sources), 4) flak (diverting deviant stories), and 5) anti-communism (building a common enemy). These filters function as the factors that in most ways determine

how media works, especially by seeing them as a corporation or company, hence, when media is mainly seen as business, it will be highly associated with commercial objects (Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Laws & Chojnika, 2020). Consequently, questions can arise pertaining to media and hegemonic narratives, and the inevitable relationship between the two. Herman and Chomsky (1988) note that the power of media also lies in its subtlety, that it subconsciously feeds people with information and lets it overflow in the minds of people, which will lead to naturally formed knowledge through the constant consumption of media.

In a contrasting view, Comeforo (2010) argues that the propaganda model as suggested by Herman and Chomsky (1988) does not always work in an environment that puts forward the idea of individual agency. He underlines the intrinsic debate in cultural studies that acknowledges the concept of “structure vs. agency,” which goes against the principle of the propaganda model that mostly perceives people as compliant or passive. Comeforo (2010) draws attention to how media is indeed tied to various responsibilities that are given by the interested parties behind the operation of media itself as the structure, yet there is an inherent agency within people that fosters more unrestricted conduct, and those people can be depicted by the journalists that are seen as more liberated beings or active agents that have their own decisions and navigations, instead of simply conforming to the restrictive media structure.

Taking it on a larger picture, Croteau and Hoynes (2018) explain that media indeed works as a medium for message dissemination to the intended audiences, but it is of importance to learn how media power is played within the concept of structure and agency. Ahearn’s (2010) idea of media power revolves around hegemony that is built upon Antonio Gramsci’s work, and it was previously stated in the work of Herman and Chomsky (1988). However, Ahearn (2010) contends that hegemony itself is not an uncontested matter; it is dominant, but it is not absolute since “there is always a room within a given hegemonic system to resist or transform it” (p. 263). Here, it is implied that the dominance of hegemony still leaves space for resistance, which encourages the relations of linguistics, power, and agency to come into play (Ahearn, 2010). The space for resistance can be understood as an attempt to constantly synthesize new narratives, and recognizing the vulnerability of hegemonic discourses, those narratives need to always be continually reinforced to maintain their dominance (Hall, 2013; Ahearn, 2010; Herman & Chomsky, 1988).

Building on the previous argument that hegemony is a case of perpetual reinforcement that can be done through Freedman's (2015) media power paradigm of control, Robinson (2002) considers it differently in the sense that media has the possibility of becoming a tool of change and being critical of government, especially during trying times such as humanitarian issues; this idea attempts to underline the presence of agency in the midst of media's restricting structure. Agency works as a capacity for autonomous conduct and a liberating behavior within a structure, that is seen as a configuration that imposes regulations and limitations (Ahearn, 2010). The attempt to challenge the power structure also echoes in Freedman's (2015) media paradigm of contradiction. The paradigm recognizes the bond that media shares with parties that have their own interests, yet media itself is not resistant to the ideas and values embedded in society in an endeavor to contest the power at play; it gives a room for the media and the structure behind them to reflect on the narratives they are going to disseminate (Freedman, 2015). The contradiction paradigm allows "good sense" (Ytterstad, 2012 as cited in Freedman, 2015, pp. 284-285) as a navigator to entice change and materialize the values of progressivity. When good sense is compared to common sense, the latter is mostly questioned about its genuine intention, while the former provides the ability to process and ponder instead of being passive in the dominant stream (Ytterstad, 2012, as cited in Freedman, 2015).

In further defining how much power media has over the public, van Dalen and van Aelst (2014) enlighten that there is a certain concern about the rise of "mediocracy" (p. 42) that the influence of media translates into the major factor that drives political agenda. They try to understand this phenomenon by seeing the autonomy of the media through the reach of the audience. The audience reach decides if the media itself can leverage its position in discussing with the government, as van Dalen and van Aelst (2014) make a comparison between the local media that has relatively less power and national outlets that have a higher reach, hence, in this case, media outlets with a significant number of audiences are perceived as more influential.

Yet, media power should not only be measured by audience reach. Taking an example of *the Global New Light of Myanmar* newspaper, Lee (2019) stresses the role of media that is operated by the government, or what is referred to as "state media" that tries to exercise its power through publication. In this case, he has concerns over the role of state media in the construction of narratives when it comes to the Rohingya refugees; the state media that is

controlled by the country proves a failure in portraying the Rohingyas in a dignified manner (Lee, 2019). As Lee (2019) argues, the concern lies in the power imbalance, which is orchestrated on a state level as suggested by Freedman (2015) through its control paradigm. The argument posed is how the government, which is seen as a policymaker that is constantly combating hateful speeches in the public arena, has become a part of the discriminatory system itself, by legitimizing oppressive representations in communities. Hence, such a positionality of state media has undermined the importance of justice and equality in their work, and it questions the credibility of state media itself (Lee, 2019).

In essence, the importance of looking thoroughly at the media as an essential actor in generating knowledge is reflected in the study by Ahearn (2011) which underlines that language is a powerful medium to strengthen and reinforce power relations. As a consequence, such power has the capability of forming narratives that are deemed acceptable to the public through the power of media in manufacturing consent (Herman and Chomsky, 1988; Ahearn, 2011). Yet, as much as media holds its power, the narrative that the media tries to communicate can always be challenged or reinforced through the agentive behavior embedded in every being (Ahearn, 2010) and putting forward the ideas of good sense that exert the capacity of being reflective towards presented issues (Ytterstad in Freedman, 2015). Lastly, building upon how language is inseparable from the power structure, Hall (2013) argues that the arbitrariness of sign and interpretation “opens up meaning and representation, in a radical way, to history and change” (p. 17), which can prove useful in fighting for justice for those marginalized and underrepresented, particularly the Rohingya communities.

2.2 Representation

Considering the significant power that media has over the public and political arenas, a closer look is needed to see what the media content has to offer. Ahearn (2011) illustrates how language is a notable aspect to analyze when it comes to power; she highlights that language itself is never neutral, as it is composed to a certain form that takes into account the interests, objectives, and values that the authors attempt to convey. Along the same lines, Hall (2013) underlines that meaning and language itself are interconnected to culture through the work of representation, as language has become a key to producing something meaningful about the world or to representing it to audiences. Fundamentally, reflecting that

“power relations can be enacted in, by, and through language” (Ahearn, 2011, p. 261), this argument supports the idea that language, as a part of culture, is a fitting tool to position itself in the society by making people familiar with the hegemonic ideas; later, this idea translates into supporting hegemony and reinforcing dominant narratives that are indispensable to the system itself (Ahearn, 2011).

Consequently, Hall (2013) distinguishes three approaches to representation: 1) reflective (portraying existing meaning), 2) intentional (creator-made intended meaning), and 3) constructivist (meaning is constructed). While the reflectionist portrays things as they are and the intentional displays what the creators intend to mean, the constructivist sees that meanings are always shaped, or just like its name, constructed. Essentially, representation refers to “the production of the meaning of the concepts in our minds through language” (Hall, 2013, p. 3). In a similar view, Canale (2021) defines representation as where the social world is shaped by particular social beings through “semiotic practices” (p. 200); the referred social beings can have their own messages or values to convey, as they construct such representation in a particular way to be perceived by the audiences.

Departing from the concept of representation that is used to portray people, Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017) raise the importance of humanizing the existence of migrants and refugees through their representation. They came up with five categories of visibility as a typical lens for portraying refugees in the media: a) visibility as biological life (corporeal existence), b) visibility as empathy (intimate snapshots), c) visibility as threat (capturing fear), d) visibility as hospitality (welcoming embrace), and e) visibility as self-reflexivity (aspirational intention) (Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017). These kinds of portrayals have put refugees on the brink of their dignity, and it raises warnings within the media industry that the inability of media to represent refugees as individuals with respectful lives should prompt the public to reconsider media responsibility towards vulnerable communities (Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017). The reason to push for media’s accountability in portraying marginalized communities in a proper way has become greater than ever; Ytre-Arne (2023) acknowledges in today’s digital era, information can be accessed so conveniently that it has become an inseparable part of people’s lives. Hence, how media portrays something to the public has a big influence of how the public itself perceives something (Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2027; Ytre-Arne, 2023).

Additionally, Kotilainen and Pellander (2022) are concerned with how the images of refugees are portrayed in the mass media; having based their research on the heavily

mediated European refugee crisis, the refugees themselves are often perceived as people who are helpless and undeserving, to the point that when they have a phone on their hands, it significantly lessens their degree of believability as a refugee. This perspective is also resonated by Risam (2018) who observes the media coverage on refugees in the Global North that is rendered victimizing, having a deterministic condition, and in constant need of assistance; she explains that any portrayals of them describing otherwise are most likely to reap “dismay to disgust” (p. 58) public responses. In 2015, pictures of refugees taking selfies with a smartphone were heavily circulated both on conventional media outlets and social media platforms (Kotilainen & Pellander, 2022). Such phenomenon has enticed the representative of nationalist Finns Party (Perussuomalaiset) Member of the European Parliament Jussi Halla-aho to call the refugees “iPhone men”, which insinuates that these refugees are fulfilled and no longer need assistance (Kotilainen & Pellander, 2022). Such mockery comes from the normalized association of refugees as uncivilized non-functioning beings—these damaging perceptions of refugees can profoundly affect people’s idea construction of what it means to be a refugee in a society (Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017; Kotilainen & Pellander, 2022).

The previous example shows how representation has been an essential tool in strengthening the idea of “us vs. them” that creates a binary opposition within society. The study by Ahearn (2011) and Hall (2013) on representation find that representation can be a means to make the presence of a certain community insignificant and undermine their existence, in this case the Rohingya refugees. Moreover, through visual-social semiotic analysis, Yeung and Lenette (2018) scrutinized photographic representations of the Rohingyas in the Bay of Bengali in 2015 from an Agence France-Presse public exhibition. In their findings, the overall connotation does not merely suggest the inevitable power imbalance, but there is nuance in those materials by portraying the refugees as agentive actors in their stories. Yeung and Lenette (2018) describe that the Rohingyas’ agency is portrayed by the refugees having the capacity of rescuing themselves in strands, rather than the common images of them seeking for help, so, instead, they helped themselves. This is a stimulating view of refugees and a way of confrontation with the idea that the Global North or aid providers are the professional rescuers of refugees; consequently, this lays the basis for the idea of not letting the refugees feel confined in a powerless narrative yet portraying them ought to be more than just “threats or victims” (Yeung & Lenette, 2018, p. 1302) dichotomy. Furthermore, their

characteristics as human beings that have active initiatives need to be accentuated, as argued by Chouliaraki and Stolic (2018) that refugees' representation must be taken seriously, in a way that represents them as fully functioning human beings in order to have a more humanist representation for people to grasp and reflect on.

Additionally, the depiction of refugees' visibility as a threat correlates to the issues of Rohingya's representation in the Indonesian media, seeing them as a menace to the order of society and too different to live among other people (Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017). In the case of the Rohingyas, the concept of representation is followed by misrepresentation that can be depicted by the Rohingya's invisibility. Invisibility or portraying them as "the Other" is defined by Krumer-Nevo and Benjamin (2010) as "in which [their] difference is translated to inferiority by applying moral codes to differing social categories" (p. 695) which also echoes in the work of Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017) on refugees' visibility as a threat and that they do not belong in the existing social structure.

Georgiou (2018) studied the migrant voices in digital Europe that is relevant to this study; it emphasizes the lack of power that the refugees possess, as they must represent themselves and claim their own voices. The lack of power and voice happens since the refugees are mainly not considered as the main actors behind their stories, and it has led to their stories being overshadowed by all the prejudices and stereotypes labeled to them. "Bordering power" (Georgiou, 2018, p. 46) has also appeared in the issue, which is defined as putting attention to a hierarchical structure that marginalizes migrants and refugees and causes them to face danger, constrained mobility, and provisional acknowledgement. The bordering power relates to what Ahearn (2011) refers to as a way to preserve the hegemonic views on refugees by further limiting their mobility and restricting their rights to fully function as meaningful individuals to reinforce the idea of "us vs. them" (Hall, 2013).

Reinforcing the idea of "us vs. them", or the fortunate regular people vs. the refugees contributes to the representation gap, in the sense that the refugees are further marginalized, which can result in the reduced attention that they deserve, and eventually, further creates distance between refugees and people in general (Hall, 2013; Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017). This discriminative form of portrayal is what Pierre Bourdieu (as cited in Thapar-Björket et al., 2016) theorizes as symbolic violence that attempts to suppress a particular group's agency and aspirations using misrecognition, condescension, consent/complicity. According to Bourdieu (as cited in Thapar-Björket et al., 2016), these four aspects translate as:

misrecognition (seeing things the way the powers want them to be seen as), condescension (invalidating and undermining the existence of a particular entity), and consent/complicity as the result of the constantly supported narratives from those in power so that the victims feel the way they are. In essence, Thapar-Björket et al. (2016) point out that symbolic violence comprehends how semiotics and linguistics are constructed in a particular way that incites a degree of marginalization and discrimination towards specific communities; not only that, they argue that this kind of violence is also applied through everyday practices that include acts of communication and language.

The relations of people and their everyday use of media are echoed in what Ytre-Arne (2023) previously conceptualize media use as a routinized practice which is indispensable to everyday activities, and it is only through its mundaneness and repetition that Thapar-Björket et al. (2016) see that power tries to dominate the society through its subtle efforts; instilling values subconsciously and constantly to the point that people see it as normal. In this case, Kotilainen and Pellander (2022) proved that this perception is normalized until it reaches the governmental level through the previous example of representative of nationalist Finns Party (Perussuomalaiset) Member of European Parliament Jussi Halla-aho with his term “iPhone men” towards the refugees. On a public level, as briefly mentioned in the introduction, Rashid and Saidin (2023) conducted a study on Rohingya’s representation on social media platform X and came to the conclusion that most of the tweets had negative sentiments that portrayed the overall Rohingya community as burdensome and contemptible with the hashtag #SayNoToRohingya. Subsequently, Nanda (2020) conducted research specifically on the Rohingya’s representation in Indonesian Islamic mass media and tried to delve further into the Islamic values portrayed in their descriptions. Subsequently, she concluded that the way Islamic media portrays refugees must have two aspects: one, provocative components in which the refugees are seen as the oppressed group that deserves a fair defense, and second, a religious doctrine in which defending the Rohingyas as a part of meaningful religious practices that can reap good deeds in the afterlife, yet the bottom line is that the Rohingyas are the ill-fated communities that are in dire need of assistance (Nanda, 2020).

Not only are the Rohingyas portrayed as victims and burdens, but their representation is also depicted as that of charity and cooperation subjects. Taking pride in its humanitarian diplomacy and its involvement in ASEAN solidarity efforts, Indonesia has developed so much planning for resolving the Rohingya’s case, yet nothing significantly tangible has come into

being (Susetyo & Chambers, 2021). It has been a humanitarian jargon that exists behind the Muslim solidarity rhetoric, even on a scale of ASEAN; this has further marginalized the Rohingya communities to the point that their presence is a mere “objective” of a campaign, a performative political agenda, and a subject to touch upon to gain public buildup (Missbach & Stange, 2021). Considering that case, this kind of representation is damaging in the sense that Hall (2013) enlightens that representation is a portrayal that gives an idea about how people can make sense of something—when constantly portrayed this way, these communities will be highly associated with the representation their surroundings have tried to build in the first place. Additionally, Ahearn (2011) argues that this kind of lexical representation is well structured so as to instill audiences with the values that the authors want to portray and have the possibility to influence them.

Although the ideal portrayal of refugees is still a further task to work on, Yeung and Lenette (2018) underline the magnitude of portraying them as “proactive and enacting agency” (p. 1301) as a way forward; due to the fact that the way how people engage with an issue is affected by how the issue itself is depicted publicly. Furthermore, the reflection of portraying the agency of the refugees has become the food for thought in understanding society’s response to the representation of refugees itself. When the refugees try to depict themselves as functioning individuals and active agents, they have a high chance of receiving backlash by being seen as people who are able to stand on their own two feet and are not necessarily in a deprived state anymore (Risam, 2018), and when they are portrayed the other way around, it is an inhumane practice that contributes to their depiction and public knowledge as threats, passive, and undeserving (Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017; Georgiou, 2018). All in all, refugee representation has become a matter that needs to be constantly improved and reflected upon, especially in terms of how the public perceives the refugees themselves through the lens of the media.

2.3 Advocacy in Journalism

In analyzing the role of media in representing the Rohingya refugees, the role of journalism needs to be defined as a starting point. According to Deuze (2019), journalism in its essence is the frontliner of information, serving as an intermediary between people and the information that at the end helps the society to create informed decisions and actions. In further reflecting upon the role of journalism, Deuze (2019, p. 1) raises a fundamental

question: “How does journalism respond to social, cultural, political, and technological transformations, and how does it stay true to its own ideals?”. He outlines fundamental principles of journalism that have three components: 1) beliefs in public values that journalism should deliver truthful information to society, 2) the information delivered should have meaning and be contextualized in the respective country and local situations, and 3) the integration and implementation of journalistic values to be practiced at work (Deuze, 2019). The matter of journalists being integrated into their values, such as being transparent, shaping narratives that are important to the existence of people, and recognizing diverse voices is a widely discussed topic that has been raised for decades (Janowitz, 1975; Fisher, 2016; Deuze, 2019). Yet, what has become a challenge is when these noble intentions of journalism are faced with the reality of a restrictive media structure that leads to the outcome of power-favoring and prejudiced news coverage (Laws & Chojnika, 2020).

Subsequently, the ideals of media are a topic that is also discussed by Laws and Chojnika (2020), that media idealism majorly stays true to its name in the sense that it can only be perceived as ideals, without being able to achieve them into being. The challenge of materializing the ideals of media lies in the fact that media itself is bound by its structure and relations, which take into account profitability, business pursuits, and most importantly, their relations of power; this signals the intricacy of determining topics and issues to cover within the media outlets themselves (Laws & Chojnika, 2020). In an attempt to fight against unjust media coverage, Fisher (2016) explains how the theory of advocacy can be applicable in journalism, which has the objective to “inject a degree of advocacy to a story” (p. 722). Advocacy is an ever-relevant aspect of journalism, as Janowitz (1975) underlines the importance of equally and adequately portraying all viewpoints in the media, including those of marginalized and disadvantaged people. Presenting diverse points of view will contribute to the process of settling social conflicts, as the public will engage with views other than the dominant one, and Janowitz (1975) argues that it is only possible if the journalists start taking part in the advocacy process.

However, although the term “advocacy journalism” is still inadequately defined, Fisher (2016) examines how journalistic production plays a role in understanding this type of journalism; he distinguishes two approaches: the first is the “overt acts” (p. 717) where the journalists or media explicitly raise a particular issue in the content, and the second is the approaches that are more delicate and somewhat obscure. These concepts are useful in

seeing news coverage on the Rohingyas to indicate if there is an attempt by the journalists or the media itself to advocate on the issue. Advocacy in journalism can also be seen as an exercise rather than a mandatory guideline (van Antwerpen & Fielding, 2023), especially recognizing how the media's objective to serve as a gateway of information mainly clashes with different structural and organizational interests, hence, the subtle acts of advocacy are always an option for journalists or media outlets that are keen on voicing out on pressing issues (Fisher, 2016).

Such pressing issues can be referred to as issues of refugee representation, which is the absence of reasonable proportionality between the voices of non-refugees and the refugees themselves in telling their stories. This has caught the attention of Georgiou (2018) who discusses how it is not solely about portraying refugees in an impartial and humanized way; it is also about refugees' entitlement to their own voices and that they are given the chance to speak on their behalf and conveniently tell their stories. Nevertheless, to reach those ideals, Janowitz (1975) grasps the role of journalists through advocacy journalism, saying that the journalists themselves can "take the role of advocate" (p. 619) and assist the refugees in making their voice heard and recognized to have better representation.

Departing from the concept of Georgiou's (2018) bordering power, misrepresentation here can be comprehended as a result of the lack of advocacy effort within journalism that endeavors to acknowledge the presence of those who live in invisibility, which has enticed further societal negligence and ignorance towards refugees or marginalized groups (Hall, 2013; Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017). When this ignorance is normalized, Georgiou (2018) illuminates that awareness of refugees' well-being and respect will not be improved, and hence will further contribute to the narratives of bordering power that highlight their constrained mobility and provisional acknowledgement. In relation to this, Fielding (2023) explores the roles of media in advocacy journalism, in which the media can work hand-in-hand with the government to foster positive values embedded in public campaigns so as to make them known to the public. Yet, this is not always the case as previously argued by Freedman (2015) in the paradigm of contradiction, where the agency of journalists is put forward and can lead to the resistance to the dominant power and narratives.

Furthermore, in times of crisis, Kempf (2007) explains that journalists are not specifically responsible for conflict reconciliation, but more often than not, conflict is diminished when equitable reporting exists. He has the equation of "good journalism =

responsible journalism = peace journalism” (p. 3) and he believes that this equation is useful in seeing media-shaped reality. Subsequently, Kempf (2007, p. 5) states:

In particular, it is wrong to label the reality constructed by the media as true or false per se. The media construction of reality is a matter of meaning-making, and a dispute about its adequacy can only be a dispute which relates it to something outside itself: the facts upon which it rests, the goals it serves and/or the rules it follows.

Kempf’s (2007) stance suggests that interpretation plays a critical role in navigating reality based on mediated events as it is the issue of “meaning making” (p. 5), but one can always reflect on what the objectives of the media-shaped reality are trying to attain, and this is the place where good journalism can be at play. Furthermore, it is argued that good journalism has only one ultimate goal which is to depict reality as accurately as possible (Kempf, 2007) and this idea is in line with how Georgiou (2018) argues that bordering power that has been overshadowing the presence of refugees need to be diminished, that can be done through the efforts of advocacy in media coverage (Janowitz, 1975).

Building upon Freedman’s (2015) argument that media possesses the ability to structure knowledge, it also implies that the media holds the power to disregard the narratives it does not completely favor. Van Antwerpen and Fielding (2023) point out that media power is often criticized due to its nature that tends to support the reproduction of the hegemonic ideologies and failure to represent diverse communities in a fair proportionality. Subsequently, they propose the idea of constructive journalism that accounts for journalists’ ethical guide when they cover issues, and as a tool to contrast themselves with conventional passive journalism practices that are “are still subject to decisions that shape the way truth is presented, stories are selected, and audiences are informed” (p. 186), regardless of their attempts to be impartial. The word “constructive” suggests the concept as a practice, in which the journalists can comprehend objectivity as “an active rather than a passive pursuit” that can guide them in the interplay between organizational commercial pursuit, personal preconception, as well as the common good (van Antwerpen & Fielding, 2023, p. 186).

Recognizing the attempts to be an advocate through journalism do not come without struggles, Murdock and Golding (2016) studied the political economic aspect behind media production by acknowledging the media's association with commercialization and organizational interests, which have an implication on the media's stance and the power attributed to it. In this scenario, Herman and Chomsky's (1988) five filters work are relevant and useful to further provide a framework for this research; the first three filters see media as a corporation, whose end goal is to pursue profitability. In the same understanding, Fisher (2016) acknowledges that media production is a starting point where the hindrance to advocacy takes place, such as "gatekeeper bias" (p. 717) that indicates the sorting of stories that determines which topic to include, and which does not make the list. In the end, Fisher (2016) illuminates how these biases and challenges in advocacy stem from three factors: 1) macro level: media to advance political interests; 2) micro level: journalists' own values that can lead to biases; 3) organizational level: dealing with editorial demands, resources, as well as business objectives.

Putting the hindrance aside, the objective of journalism that puts forward the idea of openness, objectivity, constructiveness, and representativeness (Janowitz, 1975; Fisher, 2016; van Antwerpen & Fielding, 2023) lies in encouraging activism that is stimulated by advocacy done by the media, which is to shift the activity: from amplification to action (McKeever et al., 2023). Consequently, public activism prompted by the media is what Robinson (2000) previously argues in his policy-media interaction model during the humanitarian crises. As an alternative to the view of responsibilities of media, beliefs in the journalists as an individual can be seen as an alternative in understanding what journalism is about (Deuze, 2019). In his argument, the perspective of a journalist in ensuring their stories cover various perspectives and have them verified through meticulous process are imperative in conveying stories that are significant to the public (Deuze, 2019). All in all, in the persuasive efforts of what advocacy brings, it attempts to bring more than just convincing rhetoric but to push awareness of what has happened around one's world (Janowitz, 1975).

3. Research design

This study aims to explore the representation of the Rohingya refugees during waves of protests in the country about their arrival in parts of Indonesia, especially Aceh. In doing so, a qualitative study was conducted to understand what meanings can be perceived about the Rohingyas in Indonesian news coverage. Flick (2018) describes the qualitative method as an approach to making sense of and describing social occurrences by using various data as sources; among them are the experiences of groups or individuals and the interactions between them, as well as various types of documents, such as texts, audio, and clips. From the description, this method focuses on delving into the data and constructing meaning from it to understand a particular social phenomenon. Flick (2018) further explains that researchers need to construe the acquired data to make it meaningful for social research. In this case, qualitative was deemed as a suitable method to analyze data taken from the Indonesian news coverage in seeing the idea of Rohingya refugees that they were trying to showcase, and furthermore, to find patterns and see what meaning was implied from their representation.

Additionally, Boeije (2010, p. 80) points out three important components in qualitative analysis: a) constant comparison, b) analytic induction, and c) theoretical sensitivity. First, going with the constant comparison, Boeije (2010) refers to this stage as observing iterative characters or patterns from the data, or he puts it as “describe the variation that is found within a certain phenomenon” (p. 83). Also, the step of constant comparison works as a moment for the researcher to explore, compare, and make sense of the data. Subsequently, analytic induction functions as the phase where the researcher explores theoretical concepts that can be used as frameworks in this research, furthermore the task is to make sure that theories are compatible with the research materials and eventually, answer the research question (Boeije, 2010). In doing analytic induction, there are steps that include incubation (literature review), confrontation (testing or challenging the concepts found in the literature review to the case study or research material), generation (testing if the data is suitable), and closure (finding the overarching theme) (Maso & Smalling, 1998 as cited in Boeije, 2010, p. 87). Finally, theoretical sensitivity is what Boeije (2010) describes as “researcher’s ability to develop creative ideas from research data, by viewing the data through a certain theoretical lens and with knowledge of theory on your research topic” (p. 88). When the main theories or concepts have been chosen as the main framework, the researcher needs to start

interpreting the data within the perspective of the theories, in this case is seeing through the selected Indonesian news coverage through the lens of media power, representation, and advocacy in journalism.

3.1. Data collection method

In conducting this research, a qualitative content analysis was used to analyze the data taken from Indonesian newspapers. Essentially, Schreier (2013) describes content analysis as a method that thoroughly defines not only the meaning of the acquired data, but also how the data is constructed in the first place. In a similar view, Hsieh and Shannon (2005) consider content analysis as “a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns” (p. 1278). The “subjective interpretation” that Hsieh and Shannon (2005) refer to is in correlation to what is discussed by Flick (2018) in the sense that qualitative method is also an approach for the researcher to make sense of something, hence, interpretation is involved.

Hsieh and Shannon (2005) put an emphasis on the “content of text data” (p. 1278) as research material in content analysis; hence, qualitative content analysis is fitting to this research, whose data was taken from articles (text data) produced by Indonesian media outlets in order to scrutinize the descriptions of the Rohingya refugees in their coverage. In many of the articles found in the online website portals, some of the news articles had pictures and/or videos embedded on the page, and they were disregarded as this research focused on textual data, which was derived from the news content and headlines.

Furthermore, Schreier (2013) comes up with three characteristics: 1) data reduction, the data is selectively chosen to ensure that it is relevant to the research question; 2) systematic, where there are methodological and particular steps to follow, this phase includes stages of coding in ensuring that the acquired data is able to answer the research question; 3) flexible, although the coding process is perceived as a systematic part to do, the flexibility lies in how the coding needs to always be harmonized with the data, to ensure that the categorization is valid in describing the research materials. As this research focused on the refugee representation, seeing where the representation of them was displayed or made public was essential. While also recognizing media’s power in shaping public (Freedman, 2013), this research subsequently aimed to delve deeper into Indonesian media coverage to see what Hall (2013) argues by language being a tool to construct knowledge, in this case is

through the representation of the Rohingya refugees and what meanings can be gained from them.

3.2. Sampling

3.2.1 Sampling units

This thesis sourced the materials from Indonesian media outlets. In sourcing the suitable outlets, this study sorted the list based on a study by the Reuters Institute and the University of Oxford on the Digital News Report (2023) which uncovers Indonesia's popular media outlets and categorizes them into two: 1) TV, radio, and print, and 2) online. Focusing on textual data and considering the accessibility, the research focused on the online media, of which the top two outlets are *Detik.com* and *Kompas.com* with the brand trust score of 63% and 69% respectively (Reuters Institute, 2023).

Detik.com is a part of CT Corp, which is Indonesia's largest diversified conglomerate and has businesses in media and entertainment, retail, financial services, and property (Detik, 2021). Having been established since 1998, *Detik.com* is seen as one of the pioneers of online media in Indonesia; its importance in public continues to the present time. By 2021, they had 17 billion total pageviews in a year, 462 million total visitors in a year, and 162 million total users playing video in a year, and these calculations were done from all of their platforms, which are their website, mobile site, and mobile application (Detik, 2021). *Detik.com* has 12 channels on its website, ranging from *DetikNews* which discusses daily national and international news, to *DetikNet* that covers information and communication technology world, including but not limited to gadget, social media, and photography. *Detik.com* does not have a print edition. In this research, the articles mostly came from *DetikNews* channel but they also came from *DetikFinance*, *DetikTravel*, and other channels as long as they matched the criteria of the news that show the Rohingya's representation in their respective aspects.

Founded in 1965, Kompas Group has been one of the biggest media outlets in Indonesia and also one of the first online media outlets to exist in the country (Kompas, n.d.). As of 2022, *Harian Kompas* (print edition) had a daily circulation of 225,081 and 363,235 for its e-paper, *Kompas.id*. Kompas Group also expanded its operation to a web-based channel, which was previously named *Kompas Online*; initially, it only replicated the news from the

paper edition. Yet, replication from paper-based newspapers used to take some time and audiences could not access the news in an up-to-date fashion and that fueled the media outlet to expand its news productivity by transforming it to *Kompas.com*. Furthermore, *Kompas.com* has been producing news content by itself and not just mirroring content from *Harian Kompas*, and they have 294 million pageviews per month (Kompas.com, 2022; Kompas, n.d.). In this research, the data collection will include articles from *Kompas.com* and *Kompas.id*, as *Kompas.id* has more lengthy articles (replicated from the print edition) that are useful in seeing how the Rohingyas are represented in the media.

All in all, articles from *Detik.com* and *Kompas.com* were written in Bahasa Indonesia which indicates that their audiences are locals. To add more perspectives to the study, one English-language Indonesian media outlets was selected, namely *The Jakarta Post*. The outlet was established in 1983, making it the forerunner of “Indonesian-oriented English publication” as they describe themselves (The Jakarta Post, 2022b). Having English as its main language, *The Jakarta Post* (2022b) aims to become a “conduit” between Indonesia and the globe, hence the target audiences are widened to more than just Indonesians, but global readers. For its print circulation, *The Jakarta Post* has 44,500 people reading its print edition daily, with a breakdown of 95% subscribers and 5% newsstand, and in terms of nationalities, 85% of the readers are Indonesian and 15% of them are foreigners, which mostly came from the United States, Singapore, and India. For its e-post performance, they had 19,470 subscribers as of 2023 (The Jakarta Post, 2023). Furthermore, for their website performance, they have 14.5M and 6.6M average page views per month in both desktop and mobile respectively. In this study, where language and texts play a significant role in the representation of the Rohingyas, adding *The Jakarta Post* as the sampling unit will be useful if there are differences in the description and portrayal in representing the Rohingyas.

3.2.2 Units of analysis

Sixty articles were included in the sample, and the purposive sampling method was used to sort the articles by their relevance, in which the articles need to have an Indonesian context and for that, I used the keyword “Rohingya” to be used in the selected media outlets’ websites respectively and read through the articles one by one. Purposive sampling was done to manually select articles that have the highest relevance to this research and to make sure that the selected data best suit the research question and the overall research objective

(Campbell et al., 2020). Considering the limited number of articles to source from, the articles that were analyzed in this research were those in an Indonesian context to have better relatability to the massive demonstration that have been happening and prompted by the locals, not to mention ones conducted on social media.

The data consisted of features, editorials, and columns, and I selected those that have an Indonesian context. The purpose of using purposive is that the number of news article was higher in number than those of features, columns, and editorials. With the low number of articles aside from news as shown by the table below, then, columns, editorials, and features can be manually chosen by screening and analyzing them content-wise. All in all, this research did not only use news articles, but it was also open to features, columns, and editorials to enrich insights about the Rohingyas' representation in Indonesian media outlets in a two-year timeframe, from 1 January 2022 to 31 December 2023.

Table 1. Total number of articles to be sorted

	<i>Detik.com</i>	<i>Kompas.com/.id</i>	<i>The Jakarta Post</i>
News	359	244	69
Columns	3	3	17
Editorials	0	0	3
Features	1	3	0
Total	363	250	89

First and foremost, news articles were included as units of analysis as they are seen as straightforward and convenient, also due to the fact that their article length is chunk-sized, suitable for people who do not really have time to deep dive into longer articles. Furthermore, features also count in this research as they are pieces that are longer than news articles, and they aim to provide more in-depth insights to an issue; they let the readers immerse themselves in the issue, so as to have more understanding towards the issue itself. The more space a medium has, the more voices it can hold; this summarizes how, in a feature, more voices can be represented, and this is essential in ensuring refugees are given the space to claim their own voice (Georgiou, 2018).

In scrutinizing refugees' representation in the media, columns and editorials were also important to take into account. In essence, editorials are articles on an issue based on the publishing publication's standpoint, while columns are written by a particular figure and are based on their stances (Boston University, n.d.) In this research, editorials that portrayed the overall stance of a media outlet were helpful in seeing if there was any advocacy attempt in their journalism, as one of the frameworks in this study. Then, columns are also useful in seeing a perspective of figures, for example, political experts, economists, or other prominent figures on the Rohingya refugees and can be utilized to further scrutinize what influence they have on refugees' representation and visibility in general.

Additionally, the number of articles generated within the timeframe is not the same every month or year, for example, the last months of 2023 garnered a significant number of news articles in all the chosen media outlets as there was a continuous demonstration happening in Jakarta, Aceh, and other parts of Indonesia to reject the presence and the recent arrival of new waves of Rohingya refugees to the country (Munawarah, 2023). The article collection was done through the websites of the chosen media outlets, respectively: www.detik.com, www.kompas.com, www.kompas.id, and www.thejakartapost.com and they were sorted by date within the timeframe.

Upon sorting the articles, every media outlet had a different system for filtering their news articles. On *Detik.com*, the articles were sorted based on the keyword "Rohingya" and garnered 363 articles within the timeframe. After scanning them one by one, there were 25 articles that did not qualify as the issue of Rohingya was only mentioned a bit or they have ASEAN contexts or other countries. Then, there were 338 articles that were sorted by a randomizer website, www.randomizer.org.

Similar to www.kompas.com and www.kompas.id, the keyword "Rohingya" was put on the website's search bar and generated 250 articles within the timeframe. After further screening, there were 17 unqualified articles that did not have relevance to this research; hence, there were only 233 articles left to be put in the randomizer. Lastly, for *The Jakarta Post* (retrieved from www.thejakartapost.com), the total articles were 89, and there were 26 unqualified articles as they focused more on the international context. Furthermore, the reason why the data was enlarged to not only news articles, was due to the importance of seeing what other forms of articles brought to the issue as they have distinct characteristics between each other, and one enriches the others.

In the end, there were 20 articles sorted from *Detik.com*, *Kompas.com/id*, and *The Jakarta Post* respectively, coming from varied numbers of article types, such as news, columns, editorials, and features.

Table 2. Selected articles

	<i>Detik.com</i>	<i>Kompas.com/id</i>	<i>The Jakarta Post</i>
News	18	16	13
Columns	0	3	5
Editorials	0	0	2
Features	2	1	0
Total	20	20	20

3.4. Data analysis

After obtaining and sampling the 60 articles, they went through a thematic analysis, which Braun and Clarke (2006) describe as “a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (p. 79); it involves delving into a data set to find meanings from the lexical iterations. Conducting thematic analysis was considered suitable in this study as it tried to delve into what has been repeated in the collected data. Furthermore, the research used an inductive approach in which I kept the data open to delve into them thoroughly without expectations of predetermined results (Azungah, 2018). Keeping the research inductive also helped find the iteration in the data and further explore it to find meaning.

In this research, the sorted articles and headlines were coded and categorized into fitting descriptions to find patterns in the data and see how the media have been portraying the Rohingya refugees. As thematic analysis focuses on the written part of the data, this study excluded pictures and clips embedded in the collected articles. In analyzing the data acquired from various Indonesian media outlets, a three-step coding stage: 1) open coding, 2) axial coding, and 3) selective coding was conducted (Boeije, 2010). Hsieh and Shannon (2005) point out that the coding stage plays a substantial role in determining the success of content analysis, as in the end, it aimed to provide themes that were used to answer the research

question. In this research, the categories derived from all the coding stages are utilized to see how the Rohingya communities were represented in the Indonesian media and what meanings can be gained from it.

As the research used an inductive approach, the first step or open coding was conducted to explore the data; it was the phase where data are looked at piece by piece, line by line, and word by word to be able to generate codes. Generally, open coding is an initial phase that lets the researcher code everything that is found in the data; it does not have limitations in the topics, and the researcher can explore the data to their advantage (Boeije, 2010). According to Boeije (2010), codes generated from the initial coding stage or open coding are comprehensive but cluttered; subsequently, the second coding step or it is usually referred to as axial coding works in deciding which components, discussions or fragments are the most apparent and dominant in the research. It helps one to start establishing codes for similar clusters of data. Next, after the similar elements were clustered into broader codes or labels, selective coding was conducted to create themes that were relevant to the theoretical concepts in order to answer the research question (Boeije, 2010). The final phase of the coding aimed to generate a wider topic or the main reiterations of the heart of the research and link them to the previously chosen theoretical concepts of frameworks. In this phase, all kinds of articles gathered had final codes and they were reflected on the concepts of media power, representation, as well as advocacy in journalism to see how the descriptions of the Rohingya refugees have been addressed.

Acknowledging the time constraint, I split the total number of articles to be coded in this research as: one-third of the articles went through the initial coding (20 articles from *Detik.com*) that generated 1127 codes, continued by two-third of the article sample to be done in axial coding (40 articles from *Kompas.com/.id* and *The Jakarta Post*) that generated 193 codes, and the final process was the selective coding that used all of the 60 articles from *Detik.com*, *Kompas.com/.id*, and *The Jakarta Post* that resulted in the final 18 codes.

After going through an extensive coding process, the codes were condensed and made into four big categories: 1) suffering, 2) political object, 3) factual, and 4) compassion object. Generally, “suffering” refers to the passages discussing about the Rohingya refugees being evicted from their camps, their lacking conditions in which their basic necessities were not able to be fulfilled, and also them not possessing a nationality. Then, “political objects” was defined as the Rohingyas as collective burden through the lens of Indonesia’s political

situations or regional cooperation (ASEAN). In “factual”, this includes the texts and fragments that mostly came from news articles reporting the real-time arrival of the refugees, the correlation to human trafficking, as well as the fact that they are fleeing camps. Lastly, in “compassion object”, this refers to the passages that put forward the idea of the Rohingyas being worthy of dignity and meaningful lives, which are portrayed through the portrayal of Indonesian customary laws that encourage the help from locals and the humanitarian assistance given by organizations and governments. Below is the coding scheme that was used as the main framework for the results chapter.

Table 3. Coding scheme

Suffering	Political object	Factual	Compassion object
Absence of nationalities	The Refugee Convention	Fleeing camps	Advocacy efforts
Lack of necessities	Indonesia’s leadership	History/background story	Customary laws
Lack of hope	International cooperation	Involved in human trafficking	Help from locals
Struggling at sea	Role of international organizations	Waves of arrival	Humanitarian diplomacy
Unwelcoming locals	Countries accepting asylum		

4. Results

The results chapter is divided into four subsections that discuss the four categories from the coding scheme: 1) suffering, 2) political object, 3) factual, and 4) compassion object. The categories were generated as an umbrella theme for the most repeated codes that are useful in seeing how the Rohingya refugees were represented and covered by the selected Indonesian media outlets, which are *Detik.com*, *Kompas.com/.id*, and *The Jakarta Post*. Fragments obtained from *Detik.com* and *Kompas.com/.id* articles were written in Bahasa Indonesia, and I translated them accordingly.

4.1. Suffering

The representation of the Rohingya refugees revolved around their suffering, which was catalyzed by a lot of factors, including “unwelcoming locals” that has been the most iterated discussion and was found in 14 articles out of 60. This kind of portrayal highlighted the hostility expressed by people in Indonesia, especially the Acehnese, towards the Rohingyas. *Kompas.com* covered a demonstration in Aceh, “Students in Aceh held a demonstration on Wednesday, December 27, 2023, demanding that the government expel the increasing number of Rohingya refugees” (Reditya, 2023, para. 1). However, the articles pertaining to unwelcoming locals did not only cover the events which were physically happening in the country, but it also included articles discussing hate speech by locals on social media, for example a feature by *Detik.com* (2023a, para. 4) “the wave of Rohingya arrivals in Aceh was filled with sentimentally negative Indonesian netizens. In fact, hate narratives and hoaxes about the Rohingya are widely circulating on social media”. These articles gave a sense that the Rohingya refugees were persecuted and discriminated across places.

Figure 1. Headline from *Detik.com* (Setyadi, 2023a).

detikNews > Berita

490 Pengungsi Rohingya Kembali Tiba di Aceh, 249 Orang Ditolak Warga

Agus Setyadi - detikNews

Minggu, 19 Nov 2023 17:31 WIB



Ilustrasi pengungsi Rohingya (Foto: AP/Rahmat Mirza)

Note: translated headline: 490 Rohingya refugees arrive in Aceh, 249 of them rejected by locals

After the discussion on the locals being unwelcoming, the Rohingyas were mostly covered as people who struggle at sea, such topic existed in eight out of 60 articles. It portrayed how the Rohingya refugees come from a harsh journey, especially having to undergo a difficult journey in the sea without possessing adequate food for the people on the boat, particularly children. Quoting a feature article from *The Jakarta Post*:

Maritime and Security Agency (Bakamla) spokesman Capt. Yuhanes Antara believes the most recent boat was originally on course for Malaysia. "But the boat had an engine malfunction and was adrift at sea for a month. To make matters worse, according to the survivors, they ran out of food during the voyage," he said in a statement (Harish, 2022, para. 12).

Furthermore, their suffering was also portrayed as possessing a lack of necessities, including food, water, a place to live, and, most importantly, security. The discussion of the Rohingya refugees lacking primary needs was found in seven articles out of 60. The lack of food that the refugees face was described mostly in a way that they are heavily affected by the budget cut from the International Organization for Migration. One article from *The Jakarta Post* portrayed such suffering by stating, “tears well up in Nur Kayes' eyes as the mother of two speaks of struggling to feed her family in a squalid camp in southeast Bangladesh, where United Nations funding shortfalls have left refugees without enough to eat” (Mazed, 2023, para. 2). *The Jakarta Post* wrote the quoted statement in a compelling storytelling by reporting the feelings of the suffering Rohingya refugee, Nur Kayes, and she was portrayed in a poignant way so that the audience could get a sense of pity.

When discussing their suffering, the topic surrounding the absence of nationality was found in six articles out of 60, which highlighted that it has been one of the ultimate causes of what has been happening to them in the first place. In *Detik.com's* feature, “Since 1982, there has been no status for citizenship, which has made the Rohingya the world's largest stateless ethnic group. This means they are in limbo and without state protection” (Hanifa, 2023, para. 6), the fragment put forward the idea that the suffering of Rohingyas was resulted from the longstanding political turmoil in Myanmar and in one of its articles, *The Jakarta Post* mentioned:

Deemed stateless in their own country, the Rohingya have often fallen victim to human trafficking rings operating in and around the region. Even those who are brought into Indonesia often find themselves back in the trafficking circuit, unable to bear waiting out their resettlement limbo (Tanamal, 2022, para. 14).

The fragment from *The Jakarta Post* above suggested that the absence of nationality of the Rohingyas issued in Myanmar made them susceptible to uncertainties and crime, especially human trafficking. In addition to the Rohingyas not having a nationality, the Rohingya refugees were also portrayed as people whose future was uncertain, and therefore, they were lacking hope that was found in five out of 60 articles. For instance, *Kompas.id* wrote in a feature:

More than a decade of Rohingya ethnic refugees from Myanmar who live in refugee camps in Bangladesh smuggled into countries in the Southeast Asian region to search for freedom. They sailed without certainty that they would reach land. Oftentimes, what is achieved is death (Zulkarnaini, 2023a, para. 2).

Portraying the refugees as lacking hope can suggest their presence in endless suffering to the point that it implied that their lives were meaningless, especially when Kompas.id used the word “death” in the above fragment. Below is one of the examples of headline and picture used in accompanying the articles from the “suffering” category, the picture used was the one that prompted immediate sympathy and the one that portrayed how the Rohingyas were living in an undesired situation, in this case, it is a skinny boy eating on the floor outdoors.

Figure 2. Headline from *The Jakarta Post* (The Jakarta Post, 2022).

INDONESIA • ARCHIPELAGO

Nearly 200 starving Rohingya reach Aceh after a month at sea

But after more than a month adrift on the Andaman Sea without much food, medicine or a working engine, nearly 200 Rohingya reached Aceh province after their overcrowded, rickety wooden boat finally reached shore on Monday.

Agencies

PREMIUM Laweueung, Aceh • Wed, December 28, 2022



Rohingya refugees eat food in a temporary shelter following their arrival by boat in Laweueung, Aceh province on December 27, 2022. Rohingya refugees received emergency medical treatment after a boat carrying nearly 200 people came ashore on December 27, authorities said, in the fourth such landing in the country in recent months. (AFP/Chaideer Mahyudin)

Table 4. Overview of code distribution in the suffering category

	<i>Detik</i>	<i>Kompas</i>	<i>The Jakarta Post</i>	Total
Absence of nationalities	2/20	3/20	1/20	6/60
Lack of necessities	1/20	2/20	4/20	7/60
Lack of hope	0/20	3/20	2/20	5/60
Struggling at sea	1/20	2/20	5/20	8/60
Unwelcoming locals	3/20	7/20	4/20	14/60

The portrayal of refugees as suffering human beings left an impression of them lacking “proactive and enacting agency” (Yeung & Lennete, 2018, p. 1301), where they live day to day with the assistance of international organizations, in this case IOM, who is responsible for the refugees’ food management. In this kind of representation, three of the media outlets expressed how the Rohingyas were communities that were trapped in dire conditions and continuously seeking help from the other people but themselves; as they were portrayed to be the people who always rely on others, especially Indonesia that has become their destination. In relation to what Georgiou (2018, p. 46) refers to as “bordering power”, this portrayal reinforced the idea that the Rohingya refugees were a community that were helpless, different, and unworthy, which can grow a sense of them becoming “the Other”.

4.2. Political object

Aside from being seen as the community who is suffering from time to time, the Rohingya community was also deemed appropriate as political objects to deal with. In this umbrella theme, the Rohingyas mostly were not directly represented as themselves, but more into a burden that has a lot to do with international politics and cooperation. The most repeated discussion is surrounding “Indonesia’s leadership” in handling the Rohingya refugees, which was brought up in 13 out 60 articles. These articles mostly portrayed how Indonesia is a

welcoming country to refugees, especially the Rohingyas. In this case, the Rohingyas were portrayed as dignified beings that are worthy of protection and meaningful lives through policies made by the Indonesian government. Passages in this discussion were pertaining to the Presidential Regulations as the only legal standing of Indonesia to manage refugees. However, Indonesia's leadership also translated into the efforts Indonesia had in handling refugees and that Indonesia currently does not have comprehensive policies to manage them, and this gave a sense that the Rohingya refugees were not their priorities, as what was depicted by a column from *Kompas.com*:

Legally, Indonesia also has a legal vacuum in terms of handling refugees. The only mechanism available is Presidential Decree No. 125/2016 concerning the handling of overseas refugees, which only regulates rescue, shelter, and temporary support mechanisms for refugees and asylum seekers (Susetyo, 2023, para. 33).

Additionally, this discussion also highlights expectations towards Indonesia in an international realm, as what was written by *Detik.com* (2023a, para. 46), "Indonesia, as chairman of ASEAN, still has the opportunity to open up space to discuss the wave of Rohingya refugees, where the real root of the problem is in Myanmar". The fragment explained the pressure put into Indonesia to bring about change within the ASEAN community in handling the refugees. What it implied to the representation of the Rohingya refugees is that they were an international burden that, in this case, the member states of ASEAN must deal with in order to achieve conflict resolution.

The second most repeated topic in the articles was "role of international organizations" which was found in 11 out of 60 articles, the articles attempted to put the sole focus on what they tried to improve in Indonesia, such as a feature by *Kompas.com*, "For children, now they have received an education, although not entirely perfect. The [Rohingya] children are taught various things by volunteer teachers from the United Nations Agency for Refugees, UNHCR, and IOM" (Zamzami & Arief, 2023, para. 18). In this topic, the presence of the international organizations was seen as a savior that helped the Rohingya refugees to get out of their misery, for example the organizations help with the education as depicted by the previous quotation. Yet, what is interesting from this kind of coverage is there was also an effort to cool

down the heated refugee debates within the Indonesian society, in which *Kompas.com* interviewed a professor in an Indonesian public university Universitas Airlangga, Dr. Baiq Wardani:

Dr. Baiq said that Indonesian people do not need to be jealous and compare the conditions of local people with those of refugees. He said that the refugees received benefits provided by the International Organization for Migration (IOM). IOM itself is a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) that distributes aid to refugees (Muhammad, 2023, para. 4).

From the quotation, the article aimed to minimize the social tension between the locals and the Rohingyas, due to the wide speculation of the government's budget being heavily allocated to manage the Rohingyas, and through this interview, it was clarified that the food budget came from IOM, as it was a part of the role of international organizations. Furthermore, in the coverage surrounding "international cooperation" that was found in nine out of 60 articles, the articles stressed the work done by Indonesia, ASEAN, and other responsible international organizations, especially UNHCR and IOM. The meaning this topic gave to the representation of Rohingyas was that they were mostly portrayed as collective responsibility, whose handling needed to involve various international parties. However, such a portrayal could also come in a more concerning tone, for example an article by *Kompas.id*:

UNHCR in Kutupalong is said to be overwhelmed, even though they are supported by the European Union, the United States, Canada, Japan, Finland, Sweden, and the IKEA Foundation. The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) groups of countries have also not been able to do more (Saju, 2022, para. 5).

By stating the countries and high-profile international organizations involved in the international cooperation, the article suggested that the Rohingyas were an issue that required help from multiple parties, including the powerful nations and established organizations. However, from the fragment above, it tried to cover how the involved stakeholders were overwhelmed with the ongoing refugee issues.

Subsequently, in the topic of “countries accepting asylum” that was found in eight out of 60 articles, the Rohingya refugees were depicted as people who were struggling to find countries that can grant them a safe place to live, as they need to consider the positionality of countries which are prospective to become their safe haven. One prominent example in one of articles from *Detik.com*, quoting the former Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs, Mahfud MD:

Other countries have closed their borders: Malaysia and Australia did. So did Singapore, they did not want to accept them. They ran to Indonesia. Initially, the refugees only wanted to transit [in Indonesia], but over time it became a refugee destination, not merely a transit destination, because usually they wanted to go to Australia, but they stopped in Indonesia and didn't want to leave again (Budi, 2023, para. 3).

By the quote, the refugees were portrayed as communities whose presence is not welcomed by the countries they wished to stay in, as they are forced to constantly be on the lookout for the places that want to accept them. What articles from “countries accepting asylum” denoted was that the Rohingya refugees were seen as communities whose presence was becoming no one’s responsibility. Furthermore, such articles gave an implication that the international communities did not sympathize with their sufferings; eventually, the refugees needed to be on their own and kept looking for the countries that want to accommodate them.

The least repeated topic in the category was “The Refugee Convention” that existed in six out of 60 articles, a lot of demonstrations and protests against the Rohingya refugees were justified under the argument of Indonesia not ratifying the 1951 Refugee Convention, which basically states that Indonesia is not obliged to accommodate refugees. As reflected on what was written in the editorial by *The Jakarta Post* (2022a, para. 1), “Indonesia is not a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention, and as such, is not obliged to take on the boatloads of asylum seekers that have been arriving in large numbers to avoid persecution in their countries.” This kind of articles informed people that Indonesia is not tied to any forms of international agreements or conventions on refugees that burden the country with a responsibility of giving asylum; these articles gave meaning that the Rohingyas have limited

options when it comes to sanctuary, and not all the international communities do care about them, hence it implied that they are insignificant.

Figure 3. Headline of *Detik.com* (Setyadi, 2022).



Pengungsi Rohingya yang terdampar di Aceh. (Agus Setyadi/detikSumut)

Note: Translated headline: IOM-UNHCR demanded not to move away from their responsibilities towards the Rohingyas

The picture above is the example of how the Rohingyas were represented in the category of “political object”, although the headline was written along the lines of IOM and UNHCR, the spotlight was still given to the suffering of the Rohingyas. In the picture, their fatigue was apparent, and they were sitting on the grass while the officials and police officers were standing, which implies a sense of inferiority.

Table 5. Overview of code distribution in the political object category

	<i>Detik</i>	<i>Kompas</i>	<i>The Jakarta Post</i>	Total
The Refugee Convention	0/20	4/20	2/20	6/60
Indonesia's leadership	5/20	4/20	4/20	13/60
International cooperation	2/20	4/20	3/20	9/60
Role of international organizations	2/20	3/20	6/20	11/60
Countries accepting asylum	2/20	3/20	3/20	8/60

By referring to the Rohingya refugees as an international burden and a community that needs to be handled on an international scale, this aligns with what Missbach and Stange (2021) see the international cooperation efforts, especially those conducted on the ASEAN scale, has been nothing but a solidarity rhetoric. Through these articles, the media tried to capture the audiences' attention by informing them how Indonesia was not alone, especially the role of international organizations was emphasized as one of the donors and fund providers for the Rohingyas' presence in Indonesia. It tried to somehow promote transparency, as well as "correcting" common perception of the public that mostly Indonesia had to bear all the expenses by the Rohingyas, while mostly they were accommodated by the international organizations.

4.3. Factual

There were two most repeated topics in this category. First was “human trafficking” that was brought up in 15 articles out of 60, by reporting that human trafficking was the prominent reason behind the surge of the Rohingya refugees’ arrivals in Aceh. One article in *Detik.com* discussed the refugee involvement in human trafficking:

A Rohingya refugee named Muhammad Amin (MA) was named by the police as a suspect because he was suspected of being an agent of Rohingya refugee smugglers to Aceh. MA made use of his experience as a Rohingya refugee who arrived in 2022 (Detik.com, 2023b, para. 1).

In addition to the articles regarding human trafficking cases in Aceh, there were also provocative headlines accompanying the articles themselves; one of the examples is the headline by *Detik.com*, “Police: Rohingyas came to Aceh not to seek refuge, but to look for a job” (Setyadi, 2023b). This gave generalization towards the overall Rohingya refugees that they were seen as people who were not in the dire need of sanctuary and other necessities, but merely as people who hunt for jobs. When reiterated, this kind of representation has a possibility of being developed further into prejudice. Another article in *Detik.com* implied how the presence of the human trafficking cases could have a serious consequence to how people perceive the Rohingyas themselves, “It is feared that the growing issue of human smuggling and illegal immigrants could actually be a justification for the expulsion of Rohingya refugees while they are in the middle of the sea” (Detik.com, 2023a, para. 41).

The other most repeated topic was “waves of arrival” that also reached 15 out of 60 articles, they consisted of the journalists reporting the massive arrival of the Rohingya refugees to Aceh. One headline from *Kompas.id* said, “In three days, 592 Rohingya immigrants arrive in Aceh” (Zulkarnaini, 2023c), which reported the mass arrival and the dramatic surge that happened in such short period, while *The Jakarta Post* reported in 2023:

Hundreds of Rohingya refugees reached different parts of northern Aceh shores on overcrowded wooden boats in the past week. At least 600 refugees have reached on different shores in Bireuen and Pidie regencies as of Thursday, according to local officials (The Jakarta Post, 2023, para. 16).

The information on the number of the Rohingya refugees coming gave an implication of how there were lot of the Rohingya communities that needed to be helped, especially with the significant surge of arrivals in the end of 2023. What this meant to the representation of Rohingyas was that they were portrayed as a community that faced constant persecution in Myanmar and suffered from time to time that they needed to flee in big groups.

Subsequently, what has become the attention of people was the fact that the media coverage reported on the Rohingyas fleeing the camps that were prepared by the local government and the locals themselves; this topic was found in eight out of 60 articles. *Detik.com* reported that, “A total of 26 Rohingya refugees fled from refugee camps in Pekanbaru City, Riau” (Siregar, 2022, para. 1) and *Kompas.com* reported that, “Moreover, the reality is that Rohingya asylum seekers often do not last long in shelters. After being helped and rescued, most of the 'boat people' chose to escape from the temporary camp” (Susetyo, 2023, para. 26). Both media outlets covered the Rohingya refugees fleeing camps, yet they were written in two different ways: while *Detik.com* wrote it in a more straightforward way, *Kompas.com* was reporting about the how the issue escalated, which implies that the Rohingyas were being unmindful.

While the articles from the “fleeing camps” topic could be considered portraying the refugees as the ones being ungrateful; the second topic, “history or background story”, depicted what has caused the refugees in the position they are now and it was found in 12 out of 60 articles. *Kompas.com*, in one of its feature articles, tried to inform its audience by acknowledging the past in Myanmar:

The conflict between the Rohingya ethnic group and the native Myanmar population began at the end of the 18th century, when the British came and made Myanmar their colony. At that time, Indian people who were also colonized by Britain came to Myanmar to work, even giving the impression of "usurping" the rights of the Myanmar people. This makes the Myanmar people feel like they were colonized twice, namely by the British and the Indians, who physically resemble the Rohingya ethnic group (Ningsih, 2023, para. 23)

This article was more educational in nature; it aimed to cover the story from the Rohingyas' side and understood more about what the refugees have gone through since the early stage of persecution. While taking account of their history, it has the possibility of giving the readers more context and a sense of relevance.

Figure 4. Headline and picture from *Detik.com* (Setyadi, 2022).



Note: Translated title: Anomaly of Rohingya refugees in Aceh: Stranded, helped then flee

The above picture shows how the headline portrays the Rohingyas as ungrateful, supported by the picture portraying them as the ones needing help; being stranded on an island with sorrowful facial expressions.

The articles under the topic of history and background story had a more emphatic contribution to the representation of the Rohingya refugees; such articles tried to provide more insights to the audience about the generational persecution that has been happening for decades. Furthermore, it aimed to give understanding to what makes them refugees in the first place. Even though they were not always directly quoted or interviewed, this type of article can be perceived as a way to advocate for refugees' voices through the perspectives of journalists, this is in a similar thought of what Georgiou (2018) advocates for the refugees to claim their own voice and make their voices heard.

Table 6. Overview of code distribution in the factual category

	<i>Detik</i>	<i>Kompas</i>	<i>The Jakarta Post</i>	Total
Fleeing camps	6/20	2/20	0/20	8/60
History/background story	3/20	5/20	4/20	12/60
Human trafficking	10/20	4/20	1/20	15/60
Waves of arrival	4/20	7/20	4/20	15/60

In the “factual” topic, the articles written were mostly data-based, such as informing the numbers of refugees arriving at the Indonesian borders, the numbers of refugees fleeing the camps, or the imprisonment of people involved in the smuggling and trafficking of Rohingya refugees. Even though the articles were factual and based on real-time reports from the location or obtaining the information directly from the local government or international organizations, what also matters is how the articles were written and the lexical options that the journalists chose that can have negative implications for the representation of the Rohingya communities.

4.4. Compassion object

In the last umbrella theme “compassion object”, the Rohingya refugees were portrayed as a community for people to sympathize with. The most dominant topic was “humanitarian diplomacy” that was brought up in 25 out of 60 articles; although this topic related to political aspect, the reason why it did not go under the political subject category is because of how the articles described Indonesia’s political stance in a more specific way, which was concerning about Indonesia’s diplomacy rooted in humanitarian values. For example, *Detik.com* quoted, “Iqbal, as spokesperson for the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs emphasized that Indonesia is not bound by the Refugee Convention. So far, Indonesia has handled refugees solely in accordance with humanitarian values” (Rahim, 2023, para. 5). The article put forward the idea of humanitarian values was rooted in Indonesia’s diplomacy, rather than solely relying on international cooperation. However, this also gave ambivalence of how the refugees were portrayed in this humanitarian scheme, as what was reported by *Kompas.com*:

On the one hand, the Indonesian people are famous for their generosity and humanitarian spirit, which do not easily turn away foreign guests, especially if they are really suffering and need help. On the other hand, this wave of boat people continues to come every year and has exceeded the capacity and limits of patience of the government and local communities (Susetyo, 2023, para. 30).

The above fragment and these articles from the humanitarian diplomacy code showed that humanitarian diplomacy itself, which has been a pride and values of the Indonesian government, is put into question. With the heated protests and rejection towards the Rohingya refugees, the Indonesian government and the locals were confronted with the reality of the application of humanitarian value itself. It gave implication to the Rohingya refugees that they are a “burden”, but it was also implied that Indonesia along with the people recognize the refugees’ needs of safety and freedom.

The second most repeated topic was “advocacy efforts” that was found in 17 articles out of 60; what was meant by advocacy here is the attempt to raise people’s awareness and sensitivity towards perceiving the existence of the Rohingya refugees, as what was stated by *Detik.com* in one of their features:

We can learn about the history and dark times of the Rohingya, so that a sense of solidarity arises to "consider" whether we need to accept this refugee group. Accepting Rohingya refugees is not just a humanitarian act. This action is a clear demonstration of the willingness to open the door to those seeking refuge (Hanifa, 2023, para. 12).

The fragment above encouraged the action of being considerate to the Rohingya refugees by welcoming those who seek refuge; what was implied to the portrayal of the refugees is that they are perceived as people who have rights to be helped during difficult times, as they are also human beings. Here, a sense of advocacy was visible in the way the Rohingya refugees were described. Subsequently, there was a "help from locals" topic that was found in nine out of 60 articles; they portrayed the goodwill from locals that want to help the Rohingya refugees. In one of their articles, *Kompas.com* wrote, "Aceh does not have a special place to accommodate refugees from abroad. However, on compassionate grounds there are still some Acehnese who continue to help the refugees" (Zulkarnaini, 2023b, para. 10). This topic showed how there were still locals who were willing to give a hand to the refugees who were in need, and this was a form of fighting against the dominant discussion of how the locals being unwelcoming and violent.

In the least repeated topic of discussion in this category, which was "customary laws" and found in seven out of 60 articles, there were two aspects to highlight: 1) the international customary laws that Indonesia should not push back the arriving refugees to the sea due to the non-refoulement principle, and 2) the Acehnese customary laws that forbid to let people struggle at sea. *Kompas.com* put it in their coverage by quoting a fisherman saying, "On land, we may be enemies, but when we are at sea, we become brothers. If there is a disaster, we must help. If you don't help, there are customary sanctions" (Rachmawati, 2023, para. 8). That quotation was directly aimed to the Rohingya refugees, as they have been portrayed as people who struggle at sea trying to find a place that wants to accept them, as described in the category of "suffering". The topic of "customary laws" can also be seen as a room for advocacy that can encourage the readers to act the same, as the articles reported about how such customs are applied in locals' daily lives.

Figure 5. Headline from *Kompas.com* (Zulkarnaini, 2023d).

ROHINGYA

Selamatkan Nyawa Rohingya

Mendorong mereka kembali ke laut sama halnya menghadapkan mereka pada kematian. Apalagi, para pengungsi banyak perempuan dan anak-anak.

Audio Berita 6 menit

Oleh **ZULKARNAINI**
21 November 2023 19:00 WIB · 4 menit baca

A TEKS ▾ [f](#) [t](#) [w](#) [m](#) [e](#) [b](#)



AFP/RAHMAT MIRZA

Warga Rohingya dikawal setelah perahu mereka mendarat di Bluka Teubai, Aceh Utara, Aceh, pada 16 November 2022, sesuai berlayar lima pekan di laut.

Note: Translated headline: Save Rohingyas' lives: Pushing them back into the sea is the same as exposing them to death. Moreover, many of the refugees are women and children. Caption: Rohingya residents are escorted after their boat landed in Bluka Teubai, North Aceh, Aceh, on November 16, 2022, after sailing five weeks at sea.

Taking an example from one of the headlines from the category of "compassion object", it is apparent that this category is different from the other three; in this example, the headline contained an advocacy aspect into it. It tried to prompt actions from the readers and was encouraging in nature.

Table 7. Overview of code distribution in the compassion object category

	<i>Detik</i>	<i>Kompas</i>	<i>The Jakarta Post</i>	Total
Advocacy efforts	4/20	8/20	5/20	17/60
Customary laws	2/20	3/20	2/20	7/60
Help from locals	1/20	5/20	3/20	9/60
Humanitarian diplomacy	6/20	10/20	9/20	25/60

In the compassion subject, the articles portrayed refugees as a community to be taken care of, while the advocacy efforts were seen as a way to acknowledge their presence in society and acknowledge them as human beings who are worthy of recognition. In this category, the advocacy efforts done by the journalists were visible in the way that the articles encouraged them to represent the Rohingya refugees in a more dignified way and did not merely see them as a burden to a country but also as human beings. The articles in this category also included several columns, which were written by authors who expressed their personal opinions. This can be seen as what Fisher (2016, p. 722) said: “inject a degree of advocacy to a story”; it was done by allowing other voices to be covered, although it was done in the form of a column, which helped to uphold justice for the refugees. The articles here essentially embraced the role of experts and people from other international organizations to let them express their opinions by occupying space in the media outlets.

5. Conclusion and discussion

This research aimed to find out how the Rohingya refugees were represented in the Indonesian media in 2022-2023. The research has shown that the Rohingyas were portrayed as people who were suffering and victims of generational political persecution in Myanmar. They were seen to be constantly struggling and fighting for their lives in order for them to regain their rights to live and be free. However, this kind of portrayal considered these refugees mostly as victims and they were doomed to suffer, without having any efforts to make them sound that they were entitled to a more dignified life. In this perspective, their suffering was portrayed by two factors: internal and external. In the internal part, the suffering of the Rohingya refugees was explained as something that came from them; that they did not have the strength to carry on and therefore, lacking hope and will to live. The external factor was depicted mostly as the absence of protection caused by the generational marginalization by the Myanmar government that they were not granted nationality. By the external factor, the Rohingya representation was seen as people who were struggling and lacking quality of life. This kind of representation echoes in the study of Thapar-Björket et al. (2016) on symbolic violence by reporting the Rohingya refugees as a vulnerable communities that are hopeless and in a constant need of a lending hand that can undermine their dignity as human beings, as this is done in the opposite way of what Yeung and Lenette (2018) suggested to cover the refugees that they have their own agency.

Not only are they seen as suffering beings, the presence of the Rohingya communities were highly associated with political objects; the Rohingya refugees were seen as people who are the burden of the international cooperation, but at the same time it also pushed Indonesia and other international parties to engage in an issue in a way that it is a collective responsibility. When portrayed this way, the political subject can imply that the Rohingya refugees were always in the regional or national political agenda for Indonesia, it was seen that handling the Rohingyas was a never-ending business, and their presence was most of the time merely noted as political agenda, without clear and tangible actions of how to deal with them. Rohingyas' association towards being a political object also noted Indonesian positionality in the Refugee Convention that the country was not a signatory part of it, hence the coverage highlighted the role of international organizations that helped the country to manage the refugees. Additionally, the role of Indonesian leadership in ASEAN was

highlighted to bring about change, especially pushing for the conflict resolution in Myanmar that can ease the burden of the Rohingya refugees in general. Overall, the presence of the Rohingya refugees were portrayed in a way that is similar to the table tennis game; bouncing here and there, from one country's burden to another without actually having the real destination of how and where they are going to end up in. Being a continuous political object can mean a sense of unwantedness among the Rohingyas; states, organizations, politicians see them as nothing more than a collective burden due to their statelessness. This perspective brings us to what Fisher (2016) refers to as advocacy in journalism in a more obscure way, by subtly educating the audiences on the marginalization that the Rohingyas have faced since decades ago, and why they seek asylum in the first place.

In addition to “political objects”, media outlets covered the Rohingya refugees as “factual”. This perspective brought an interesting condition that can make the readers sympathetic about what is happening with the Rohingya communities. Portraying the history and the real-time conditions of the Rohingyas can gain a sense of relevance and relatability that encourage people to act. With articles pertaining to Rohingyas’ history and background story, the Rohingya themselves were portrayed as people who have been marginalized since decades ago. Specifically for the articles surrounding history and the background story of the Rohingyas, it can be seen as an advocacy effort that these media outlets tried to make people stand on the Rohingyas’ shoes so as to gain better insights about them, that they can “take the role of advocate” (Janowitz, 1975, p. 619). When done in the form of news articles, this can hint a sense of advocacy done by the media to widen the voices covered in their coverage. Yet, the “factual” category can also fuel the locals’ hostility towards the community, as the surge of the Rohingyas’ arrivals were simultaneously noted with the presence of human trafficking; such topic to discuss could give justification for the locals to despise the Rohingyas, as their visibility is moving towards threat that causes unease and the feeling of threatened among society (Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2018).

Finally, the media outlets brought another perspective to the horizon, which is “compassion object” that aimed to encourage sympathy by taking it mostly from another point of view: people but not directly the Rohingyas. Mostly the articles gave spotlights to locals’ hospitality, until the values of the Indonesian diplomacy itself: humanitarian. By compassion, it implied that the Rohingyas were seen as human beings that have the same needs as the locals, hence, there grows a sense of solidarity. All in all, the Rohingyas were

portrayed as people who are entitled to human rights and meaningful lives. This kind of coverage and portrayal played a rightfully important role in the journey towards a more respectful representation of the Rohingya refugees; by covering other voices that have a more positive and respectful connotation to the refugees themselves. By having compassion towards the Rohingyas, it can encourage a sense of sympathy and create a collective concern that can be useful to demand a change from the status quo through the policy-media interaction model (Robinson, 2000). This proves the point made by van Antwerpen and Fielding (2023) that advocacy in journalism should be seen as an exercise; a practice that needs to be constantly done to balance editorial constraints and the need of bringing about social change.

In essence, there were three main ways of how the media outlets described the Rohingyas: 1) burden, 2) people worthy of meaningful lives, and 3) a mixture between both divides. This conclusion should prompt us to the essential question posed by Deuze (2019, p. 1), “How does journalism respond to social, cultural, political, and technological transformations, and how does it stay true to its own ideals?” and reflect on the role of representation done by media to the existence of the Rohingya communities; what kind of representation that is deemed appropriate for the portrayal of the long-standing marginalized community, in this case, the Rohingyas?

First, the constant portrayal of the Rohingyas being a burden as what suggested by the “suffering” and “political object” categories might have affect society to think in a similar way in the sense that seeing the Rohingya refugees as an issue, that they are seen as too far from the society that fuels them to keep perceiving the Rohingyas as “the Other”. However, there were also articles that discuss the unlawful actions done by the Rohingyas, which can trigger further hostility within the society. The issue with this representation is that the dilemma that comes from it; Chouliaraki and Stolic (2018) studied the harm of building the visibility of the Rohingyas as such, but what needs to be taken into account is that such representation might be happening in real life. Human trafficking and bad mannerisms of the refugees could actually be occurring, what is to be noted here is how to avoid the generalization that was mostly done by the media outlets.

Second, upon portraying the Rohingya communities as people entitled to quality life, this is what Janowitz (1975) refers to as an effort to advocacy in journalism; that news coverage tries to acknowledge the unheard voices and be advocates to those marginalized. Although

this took place through the form of columns and opinions, editorials and news articles were still lacking this quality. This is in accordance with what Murdock and Golding (2016) refer to a hindrance within the organization, that there are always internal interests and views towards one particular issue. Then, the third kind of representation shows how it manages to capture two points of view: the “reality” and the advocacy values that let the readers to choose for themselves. This can be perceived that the media outlets try to balance all the viewpoints in an equal manner, as what Deuze (2019) emphasizes on the public values that information and journalism can bring to society.

In wrapping up this thesis, there are three important points to be noted. First, most of the articles always reflected on the political condition in Indonesia. Based on the findings, articles pertaining to “humanitarian diplomacy” was the most dominant, it suggests that the stance of Indonesia towards its humanitarian commitment is still put forward despite all the coverage that has a more negative sentiment. This ambivalence implies that despite the negative sentiment, there is a certain hegemonic idea that tries to always get its voice into the discussion; this is what Herman and Chomsky (1988) try to argue with the media filter, that the dominant narrative has always found its way to position itself in the centre of society. However, this gives ambivalence towards the overall sentiment of the articles; on one hand, the articles represent the Rohingyas as people who are undeserving of sanctuary and protection, while on the other hand, this humanitarian value serves as a guideline for Indonesians to act.

Second, the representation of the Rohingya communities can be shaped in various ways. Yet, what can be dangerous is the generalization that is formed by the journalists writing the articles. This case happens particularly when the coverage about human trafficking and the involvement of human trafficking started arising and the social tension started to get more and more intense. The provocative headlines that give a sense of generalization towards the community started to appear and prompted the locals to get even more heated. Such a thing can cause biases and prejudices within the society. One prominent example is when the Rohingyas were portrayed solely as people looking for jobs through the headline of *Detik.com* that says “Police: Rohingyas came to Aceh not to seek refuge, but to look for a job” (Setyadi, 2023b), this generalization undermines the suffering and the persecution that the Rohingyas need to go through.

Third and the final point, the advocacy done by the media cannot solely be defined by the articles written by the journalists, but it can also be defined in a way that the media outlets provide space for experts, spokespersons, academia, or activists themselves to take up the space of the media outlet by writing columns. In the literature review part, I emphasized that advocacy in journalism is still ill-defined, and this point can be one of the arguments in defining the term, which is to create space for people to speak up and this is not limited to journalists only; citizen journalists can also do this by occupying the space of the media through columns. Specifically in this case, the columns about the advocacy for the Rohingya refugees were mostly written by the spokespeople for international organizations, including but not limited to UNHCR and IOM, representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, activists, and academia. They push for the engagement of locals to be more accepting and give the Rohingyas their rights to basic needs and protection.

Based on the findings, advocacy in journalism in the conventional Indonesian media is still a long way to go. Janowitz's (1975) idealism of encouraging journalist to proactively engaging in the efforts of voicing out the "alternative" to the hegemonic ideas does not really fit in this finding, as the advocacy efforts mainly came from columns that were written by external parties. However, with the fact that "humanitarian diplomacy" discussion kept recurring, it is a start to the contribution of the advocacy journalism. Yet, what can be highlighted is that media plays a crucial role in shaping people's perception towards a subject (Freedman, 2015), and in this case, the awareness towards the Rohingya refugee handling needs to be accentuated in a way that it can push for people's sensitivity and awareness, which could lead to change in the status quo (Robinson, 2000).

While this thesis focused on exploring the representation done by the conventional Indonesian media, future studies can extend the scope to social media, especially taking the same timeframe during the big wave of protests in Indonesia. It is also worth mentioning that social media allows for conversations among the audiences that can gain more varied sentiments towards the representation of the Rohingya communities. Furthermore, future studies can also explore audience perception: how society perceives different representations towards the Rohingya communities to better assess the media power and how representation done by the media can have an impact on society.

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7. Appendices

Appendix A: Initial coding

Initial coding THESIS

Documents: Article 34 - Detik.com 2022.docx, Article 161 - Detik.com 2023.docx

Document 5: Article 34 - Detik.com 2022.docx

In Groups: Detik 2022

Status: Created: 29 April 2024, Bening Damardjati; Changed: 29 April 2024, Bening Damardjati

Comment: Click to add comment

Text Zoom: 125%

Article 34 - Detik.com 2022.docx

Headline: Pengungsi Rohingya, Solidaritas, dan Tantangan Ekologis
Date: 20 Des 2023
Media outlet: Detik.com
Link: <https://news.detik.com/kolom/d-7096093/pengungsi-rohingya-solidaritas-dan-tantangan-ekologis>

Dalam bayangan mata dunia, Indonesia menjadi panggung sentral untuk peristiwa dramatis yang kini mencuat ke permukaan yaitu migrasi Rohingya. Gelombang kedatangan ribuan pengungsi ini tidak hanya menciptakan berbagai perdebatan kompleks. Solidaritas kemanusiaan memainkan peran sentral dalam menyambut mereka, menciptakan narasi tentang keberanian dan empati dalam menerima sesama manusia yang dalam kesulitan.

Namun, seiring dengan cahaya kemanusiaan, bayangan tantangan ekologi juga membenteng di balik tirai peristiwa ini. Peningkatan jumlah penduduk dan pemukiman baru menimbulkan pertanyaan mendalam tentang bagaimana Indonesia dapat menjaga harmoni dengan lingkungannya.

Sebagai negara penerima, Indonesia menjadi pemeran utama menjalankan perannya sebagai tuan rumah bagi kisah kemanusiaan yang menggugah hati, namun juga membawa sejumlah pertanyaan mendasar, seperti bagaimana kita sebagai bangsa dapat memelihara solidaritas kemanusiaan tanpa mengorbankan dampak ekologi yang mungkin terjadi dari migrasi ini. Apakah dampak besar terhadap lingkungan lokal dan keberlanjutan ekologi dapat diatasi dengan kebijaksanaan dan solusi yang bijak?

Analisis yang Cermat

Di tengah perdebatan global tentang perubahan iklim dan hal lainnya, migrasi Rohingya ke Indonesia menjadi sorotan terbaru yang membutuhkan perhatian dan analisis yang cermat bagi bangsa Indonesia.

Baru-baru ini, sebuah kapal kayu yang membawa pengungsi dari etnis Rohingya menghadapi penolakan ketika mencoba mendarat di Aceh, menyebabkan mereka terpaksa kembali ke laut setelah sebelumnya sempat berhasil mendarat namun dihadapkan pada penolakan. Kejadian ini memunculkan pertanyaan, mengapa etnis Rohingya memutuskan untuk mengungsi ke beberapa negara tetangga, termasuk Indonesia?

Untuk menaibahas, kita perlu menelusuri akar konflik yang telah

Coding: Covering issues that come with refugees, Emphasizing the spotlight on Indonesia, Explaining waves of refugee arrivals, Stating the role of solidarity, Refugees struggling, The rise of humanity, The refugee surge triggering questions, Confronting th, Indonesia having a central role, Reporting dilemma of refugees management, Stating the question of...onment-refugee balance, Asking the ref, Asking the refugee effe...ability and environment, Asking possib, Stating the heating debate of climate change, Arrival of Rohi, Reporting the need of s...t analysis of Rohingyas, Reporting recent arrival of Rohingyas, Refugees going back to the sea, Rejection after, Questioning why Indone...he destination country, Investigation roots of the conflict

Initial coding THESIS

Documents: Article 34 - Detik.com 2022.docx, Article 161 - Detik.com 2023.docx

Document 5: Article 34 - Detik.com 2022.docx

In Groups: Detik 2022

Status: Created: 29 April 2024, Bening Damardjati; Changed: 29 April 2024, Bening Damardjati

Comment: Click to add comment

Text Zoom: 125%

Article 34 - Detik.com 2022.docx

Headline: Anomali Pengungsi Rohingya di Aceh: Terdampar, Ditolong Lalu Kabar
Date: 29 Des 2022
Media outlet: Detik.com
Link: <https://www.detik.com/sumut/berita/d-6486967/anomali-pengungsi-rohingya-di-aceh-terdampar-ditolong-lalu-kabar>

Lima gelombang pengungsi Rohingya terdampar di Aceh sepanjang 2022. Usai ditolong dan diselamatkan, sebagian besar 'manusia perahu' malah memilih kabur dari kamp penampungan sementara.

Dirangkul **detikSumut**, Kamis (29/12/2022), tahun 2022 dibuka dengan kaburnya delapan pengungsi Rohingya dari kamp di Kota Lhokseumawe. Beberapa orang yang diduga sebagai penjemput pengungsi ditangkap dalam tahun ini.

Selain itu, pengungsi Rohingya terus berdatangan ke Aceh secara bergelombang. Bila tahun-tahun sebelumnya mereka ditemukan di tengah laut, kali ini 'manusia perahu' ini langsung berlabuh di daratan Tanah Rencong.

Berikut rangkuman kedatangan dan pelarian Rohingya selama 2022:

Januari 2022
Pada pertengahan Januari, sebanyak delapan pengungsi Rohingya yang ditampung di shelter BLK Desa Menasah Mee-Kandang, Kecamatan Muara Dua, Kota Lhokseumawe, Aceh melarikan diri. Mereka kabur dengan memanjat pagar.

Kedelapan pengungsi yang kabur adalah Khaleda Bibi binti Muhammed Yunus (22), Mosana Begum binti Abdul Kasem (18), Asma binti Salim Mulah (15), Haresa binti Saleh Ahmad (24), Kismut Ara binti Solimullah (12), Noor Safa binti Khatatullah Imur (18), Noor Kayah binti Fetan (24), dan Samira binti Muslim (18).

Coding: Suggesting refugees' unacceptable behavior, Refugees' unappreciative manner, Refugees' waves of arrival, Locals' effort in helping, Refugees being ungrateful, Rohingya issue in 2022, Refugees fleeing from camp, Rohingya smugglers, Unstoppable refugees' waves of arrival, Comparing refugee situations to last year, Calling names: Boatmen, Recapping arrival and flee of Rohingyas, Early arrival of Rohingyas, Refugees being accommodated, Refugees' attempt of fleeing, Identified fleeing refugees, Names of fleeing refugees, Names of fleeing refugees, Names of fleeing refugees

Appendix B: First three pages of initial coding codebook

ATLAS.ti Report

Initial coding THESIS

Codes

Report created by Bening Damardjati on 23 May 2024

○ **A big wave of refugees arriving**

Created: 04/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 04/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **A boat that brought Rohingya refugees**

Created: 01/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 01/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **A massive scale of Rohingyas coming**

Created: 04/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 04/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **A new wave of refugees coming**

Created: 04/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 04/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **A refugee in need of help, gadget**

Created: 01/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 01/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **A refugee reporting their friends fleeing**

Created: 03/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 03/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **A refugee threatening rape victim**

Created: 01/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 01/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Absence in power**

Created: 04/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 04/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Absence of Rohingyas' nationality**

Created: 05/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 05/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Accepting refugees because of humanity**

Created: 01/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 01/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Accommodating refugees**

Created: 30/04/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 30/04/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Accommodating Rohingyas in camps**

Created: 01/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 01/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Accommodation provided by government**

Created: 04/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 04/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Accommodating Rohingyas**

Created: 03/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 03/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Aceh government confirming the total number of Rohingyas**

Created: 01/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 01/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Aceh's customary laws**

Created: 03/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 03/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Aceh's traditional values**

Created: 02/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 02/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Acehnese facing possibility of bigger refugee wave**

Created: 04/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 04/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Acknowledging locals' hostility**

Created: 01/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 01/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Acknowledging Myanmar's hostile condition**

Created: 04/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 04/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Acknowledging the Rohingya issue as a complicated matter**

Created: 01/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 01/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Acknowledging the rooted conflict in Myanmar**

Created: 30/04/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 30/04/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Addressing root of problems in Myanmar**

Created: 04/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 04/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Advocacy group collecting GPS coordinates**

Created: 03/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 03/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Advocacy group cooperating internationally**

Created: 03/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 03/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Advocacy group initiative**

Created: 03/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 03/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Advocacy group pushing for international cooperation**

Created: 03/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 03/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Advocacy group receiving GPS coordinates**

Created: 03/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 03/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Advocating common responsibility**

Created: 02/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 02/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Advocating local beliefs**

Created: 02/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 02/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Alleged human traffickers arrested**

Created: 04/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 04/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Alleged smuggler**

Created: 03/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 03/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Alleged smugglers' action**

Created: 03/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 03/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Alternative camps for Rohingyas**

Created: 01/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 01/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

ATLAS.ti Report

Axial coding THESIS

Codes

Report created by Bening Damardjati on 23 May 2024

○ **A massive scale of Rohingyas coming**

Created: 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **A refugee in need of help, gadget**

Created: 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Accommodating refugees**

Created: 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Aceh's customary laws**

Created: 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Acknowledging the rooted conflict in Myanmar**

Created: 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Actions taken by the Myanmar army**

Created: 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

Comment:

In defense of Rohingnya militant group

○ **Advocating common responsibility**

Created: 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Advocating local beliefs**

Created: 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

○ **Arresting alleged smugglers**

Created: 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Arrival of refugees**

Created: 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **ASEAN consensus**

Created: 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **ASEAN humanitarian effort**

Created: 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Background story of Rohingyas**

Created: 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Bad manners of Rohingya refugees**

Created: 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Being compassionate with the refugees**

Created: 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Being involved in human trafficking**

Created: 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Calling names "boatmen"**

Created: 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Calling on international communities to take part**

Created: 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Calling on Refugee Convention signatory countries**

Created: 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Camp tents were demolished**

Created: 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Causes of locals being hostile**

Created: 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Comparison to Malaysia**

Created: 07/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 07/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Comparison to neighboring countries**

Created: 07/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 07/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Complexities of international intervention**

Created: 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Concluding Rohingyas do not merely seek asylum**

Created: 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Conflict in Myanmar**

Created: 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Continuous rejection by locals**

Created: 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Countries accepting political asylum**

Created: 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Customary law violations**

Created: 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Deaths on the boats**

Created: 07/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 07/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Defining Indonesia's positionality**

Created: 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Demanding government to evict Rohingyas**

Created: 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Demanding regional support**

Created: 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 06/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

ATLAS.ti Report

Selective coding THESIS

Codes

Report created by Bening Damardjati on 23 May 2024

- **Absence of nationalities**

Created: 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Advocacy efforts**

Created: 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Countries accepting asylum**

Created: 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Customary laws**

Created: 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Fleeing camps**

Created: 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Help from locals**

Created: 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **History or background story**

Created: 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Human trafficking**

Created: 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Humanitarian diplomacy**

Created: 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Indonesia's leadership**

Created: 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **International cooperation**

Created: 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Lack of basic necessities**

Created: 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Lack of hope**

Created: 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Role of international organizations**

Created: 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Struggling at sea**

Created: 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **The Refugee Convention**

Created: 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Unwelcoming locals**

Created: 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati

- **Waves of arrival**

Created: 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati, **Modified:** 08/05/2024 by Bening Damardjati