

# ETHNIC CONFLICT AND ROHINGYA CRISIS: TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW INTEGRATIVE APPROACH

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## Abstract

*Both Marxism and modernism have assumed the non-existence of ethnic conflict stipulated by the establishment of communism and globalization. However, communism has not been established yet and the concepts like melting pot, amalgamation and glocalization have become very popular as the impact of the present thriving state of globalization. Instead of being extinct, the world is now increasingly being inflicted by ethnic conflict and racism. Still, the existence of ethnic conflict is a part of our reality and the Rohingya refugee crisis is the burning example now. Hence, theoretical analyses are crucial to examine these complicated circumstances. To intensely explore and explain Rohingya crisis, several theories of ethnicity (e.g. primordialism, constructivism, Instrumentalism) have been critically discussed in this study. However, adequate and significant theories that can provide the proper explanation of ethnic conflict are yet to be constructed. This paper is an initiative to introduce a new integrative approach and prescribes a solution of ethnic conflict.*

**Keywords:** Primordialism, Instrumentalism, Constructivism, Circumstantialism, Integrative approach, Model of intercession.

## Introduction

It is very imperative to comprehend that each case of ethnic conflict has its own unique characteristics, deep-rooted causes and other socio-political history that construct the uniqueness of that conflict. Since the cases vary regarding their foundations and natures, the analysis of all the cases would be unique as well. For instances, ethnic violence in Rwanda, Armenia, Bosnia, Kosovo, Cambodia and Bangladesh are the examples of the most devastating violence of the world (Williams, 2015). However, not all the violence can be analyzed under a single theory because the root causes and foundations are different from each other (Yang, 2000). Over the years, researchers have developed different theories of ethnicity that can be clustered into three

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schools of thought: Primordialism, Instrumentalism and Constructivism (Williams, 2015; Yang, 2000; Che, 2016). These theories analyze conflicts occurring due to ethnicity with distinct views and thus each of these has distinct conceptions of the causes of the ethnic conflicts. Often these theories are incapable of making comprehensive and meaningful analysis of different ethnic conflicts because of their focus on one-dimensional aspect. Synthesizing these theories might facilitate a superior account and portrayal of ethnic conflict on individual case premise (Seol, 2008; Yang, 2000 Che, 2016). Since the present paper is concerned about the Rohingya ethnic conflict because they are one of the most persecuted ethnic groups in the world, abovementioned theories of ethnicity will be briefly depicted to analyze the in depth causes of the conflict.

### **Methodology of the Study**

The study has employed exploratory research design as it has helped the author to gain basic insight of the crucial Rohingya problem. It has also facilitated exploring the appropriate theory to analyze the veiled reasons of the Rohingya ethnic conflict by various major theories of ethnic conflict. Moreover, employing exploratory research design has resulted here in establishing suggestions for further research to identify or formulate an appropriate theory of ethnicity that can sufficiently explain the present Rohingya problem. To analyze the deep-rooted problem of the Rohingya issue, the study has mainly depended on the different secondary data sources. It has gone through extensive review of literatures with the objective of acquiring a comprehensive understanding of the Rohingya case. Such literatures that have been examined in this study include respective articles and publications, relevant professional journals, numerous documents available online that provided the needed information on the ethnicity of Rohingya community, the prolonged history of oppression and the catastrophic massacre of them in recent years and their tragic influxes to Bangladesh in the last years. Again, renowned academic resources and books were thoroughly studied to gather theoretical knowledge regarding different schools of thought of ethnicity that are found to be in relation to Rohingya problem. While choosing the secondary data sources to collect information, special attention has been provided to ensure that the sources are authentic, up to date and focused on addressing the limitations of ethnicity theories and its application upon various ethnic conflicts.

## **Theories of Ethnic Conflict**

Ethnic conflict is a highly debatable phenomenon because at present time one third of all countries are experiencing ethnic conflict within their national boundaries (Ware & Laoutides, 2018). The causes of these conflicts are differently theorized by the scholars of diverse disciplines and the focus are mainly fall into three approaches namely- Primordialism, Instrumentalism and Constructivism (Yang, 2000; Seol, 2008). This part of the paper briefly discusses these theories of ethnic conflict and the following section analyzes the theories critically.

### **Primordialism**

The primordialist is the oldest school of inquiry in the field of ethnicity (Varshney, 2009). Classical scholars of primordialist school generally view ethnic identity as ascriptive which means identity is fixed at birth and passed down generation to generation and thus no change is possible. As human being's ethnic ties are deeply inherent in us, it naturally connects us with some people and makes natural divisions with others based on some elements like race, religion, language, location (Williams, 2015:147). Therefore, ethnic identity is accepted as perpetual and distinctive with well-defined social boundaries and ethnic group is thought of as the objective entity in primordialism. In accordance with, the notion of primordialism can be split into two perspectives; socio-biological and cultural (Yang, 2000). The sociobiological perception emphasizes the notion of "kinship" in determining ethnicity. Here, sociologist Van den Berghe argued that an ethnicity is an extended form of kinship. Genetic kinship bonds will originate from an individual's belonging to/ being part of a nuclear family, then an extended family and finally an ethnic identity group (Yang, 2000; Varshney, 2009). Ethnic identity develops and remains because of common ancestral ties between the group members that never break and these ties, despite the presence of numerous difficulties, keep everyone together, maintain solidarity and encourage the expression of consensus also portrays the cultural perspective as the second perspective of primordialism, which emphasizes the importance of a common culture (e.g. common language, common religion) which influences the genesis of ethnic identity even if there is no common ancestor (Yang, 2000:43). 'The cultural perspective shares the value of common cultural and historical kinship connections as an

emotional and psychological sense of belongingness to an “extended family” can be imagined which is worth defending’ (Yang, 2000:43). One racial group feels the same emotional and psychological sense of belongingness to other racial groups if they originate from the same country or region. They can develop a common ethnic identity though they have no biological bonds. For example, the ethnic groups in Bangladesh Chakma, Marma, Khashia, they do not share the same ancestor tie but a sense of belongingness works, among themselves due to their ethnic status. When the group members feel vulnerable in case of emotive dimension, common ancestral bonds, passion driven behavior, those will be the salient causes at times of ethnic conflict.

### **Instrumentalism**

The theory of instrumentalism came into prominence in 1960s by criticizing the idea of primordial accounts (Adlparvar & Tadros, 2016: 124). According to instrumentalist school of thought “ethnicity is neither inherent in human nature nor intrinsically valuable” (Williams, 2015:147). The theory argued that ethnic conflict arises when a group of people politicize and persuade ethnic identity to generate political, social and economic advantage for their own benefit at the expense of depriving and neglecting others. Instrumentalists’ belief that elites disconcert ethnic tensions intentionally and using conscious strategies induce ethnic violence. Aristocrats to exercise authoritative power uninterruptedly, and suppress the collective interest, ethnic violence are mostly used weapon. As Yang stated, “Instrumentalism appears a more nuanced theory as it recognizes the relevance of political and socio economic structural dynamics to account for temporal and geographical variations in occurrence of ethnic conflicts. Instrumentalism highlights elite manipulation and politicization of ethnicity as the foundational source of grievances which induce ethnic conflict” (Yang, 2000:45). Within the Instrumentalist framework, the rational choice approach is a recent formulation, which depicted that, people as a rational being act such a way that they can acquire the maximum potential benefit by endowing minimum costs. Actors act rationally to maximize gains and avoid losses based on “cost-benefit analysis” (Varshney, 2009). Thus, the rational choice approach can be applied on instrumentalist framework as actor has well planned actions and decisions of his broad intrigues lead to ethnic conflict and consequently he achieves authority, wealth, security and

overall personal wellbeing. The ethnic conflict rises up as the aftereffect of controlled exploitation of aristocratic society in accordance with their politic schemes to fulfill their objective of inducing and empower such conflict in the community (Seol, 2008). Factors other than ethnic identity such as greed, grievance and frustration are basic sentiments of human being are important that drives motivate towards conflict. The instrumentalist approach suggests that, greed is more powerful than grievances and it works as a vital factor of ethnic conflict (Weir, 2012). Ethnic conflict develops among target masters over uncommon resources driven by the purposes of political pioneers for political or fiscal increments or a contemplate control in perspective of a normal decision to actuate or enable ethnic ruthlessness (Williams, 2015). To accomplish their own political or economic interest, political leaders intentionally exploit by deploying their well thought decisions to induce and stimulate ethnic conflict and thus such conflict emerges among rational agents to possess the facilities and assets that are scanty in a certain society (Che, 2016). The notion of instrumentalism can be in the case of greedy elites of society who wants to manipulate or exercise their immense power on the feeble people or the political leaders and masses of different ethnic groups can instrumentally use it.

### **Constructivism**

Challenging primordialism and instrumentalism, constructivism claims both of these philosophies are blemished. Constructivism rejects the idea of ethnic identity is ascribed, ancestral and stagnant rather it claims that ethnic identities are constructed, and even some time reconstructed, flexible, and changeable and a product of society (Williams, 2015; Weir, 2012). Constructivism thus argues that ethnic identities are acquired and unfixed. However, constructivism presumes that ethnic identity is created and result of continuous social interaction (Ware & Laoutides, 2018). Social, political and institutional settings of a community contribute in the formation of ethnic identity and strongly influence it over the time (Anderson, 1983). Ethnic identities generally fortify in conformity with geographic focus or separation, religious school, political rivalry and closely integrated networks in a unified society. The speculation of constructivism holds concrete historical process liable for ethnic conflict as its hypotheses indicate such process is responsible to induce ethnic ruthlessness. Primordialism and instrumentalism constantly place more

importance to feelings or strategic estimation regarding ethnic identity in contrary, constructivists focus on exterior methods in clarifying such identities' politicization (Fearon & Laitin, 2000). There are three predominant contentions that have been promoted by constructionists. First, ethnicity is socially developed. Second, as an augmentation of developed identity, ethnic limits are adaptable and alterable. Three, ethnic connection or recognition is resolved or developed by society (Seol, 2008; Adlparvar & Tadros, 2016; Yang 2000). Constructivists prescribe, ethnic identity is socially constructed thus it can be shaped by diverse ways including colonization, conquest or immigration (Anderson, 1983).

### **Critical Analysis of Ethnic Conflict Theories**

It is nearly impossible to understand any ethnic conflict by using any one specific theory among various existing theories of ethnicity even though many theorists tried to theorize many ethnic conflicts by using the prominent theories of ethnicity (Seol, 2008; Yang, 2000). Because the existing theories have many shortcomings to explain an ethnic conflict (Seol, 2008; Yang, 2000; Che, 2016). In this section, the theories of ethnic conflict have critically been discussed. Critics argue that Primordial notion regarding ethnic identity is ascribed and unchanging. Greeley criticizes that primordial identities, bindings and ties are overly deterministic and also puts example of USA and other multi ethnic societies where the ethnic differentiations are characterized as “dynamic, flexible mechanism that grow and whose disappearance ought not to be assumed on a priori ground” (Seol, 2008: 339). It fails to explain why and how ethnic membership of any individual and group change. The hidden reasons behind ethnic conflict are not always inevitably ancient hatreds, fear of domination, ejection but there could be other factors like social and political inequalities, competition and conflict over scarce resources and such. Primordialist accounts suggest that emotive dimension, common ancestral bonds and passion driven behavior are the salient causes at times of ethnic conflict. If these are the reasons, why did ethnic violence rise and fall at different times and not continuously? (Varshney, 2009:280) For example, Even though Yugoslavia encountered vicious ethnic conflicts in the years of 1980s and 1990s, there was a significantly extended period of peace in the country while socialist system was established (Varshney, 2009:280). Moreover, Many ethnic conflicts of modern ages have nothing to do with national or communal animosities and also their conflicts have

no tangible relation with old history; e.g. Chinese-Malay violence in Malaysia (Varshney, 2009:280). How will primordialist school depict the clash between older inhabitants of a land and new migrant group where there is no history of contact? On the other hand, Constructivist theorists rejected the notions of primordial animosities and argued that the idea of nation is contemporarily formulated (Anderson, 1983). Prior to the ascent of contemporaneity, people mostly communicated within limited groups. In case of communications that broadened past the local and regional territory were mostly related to religious and dominion promotions (Anderson, 1983). As Anderson states that ethnicity is not a thought of primordial, it will be invalid to regard ethnicity as primordial (Seol, 2008; Varshney, 2009).

On the other hand, circumstantial approach, which combines instrumentalist, and constructivist approach overlooks the emotional and affective bases of the members of an ethnic group rather give more emphasis on the rational and materialistic issue. Circumstantial approach defines human interests in a constricted manner. An ethnic group can be stratified in different grounds such as gender, socio economic status and various other conflictive terms (Yang, 2000). Circumstantial approach fails to notice that other than political and economic interest's members of ethnic group have to grapple over ideal interests. Ethnic groups like many other groups of a society maintain their social and cultural norms and customs as well as identities despite being indifferent to their self-interest. If ethnic groups are identified as interest group, it is required to elucidate why ethnic bondage is capitalized rather than any other forms of social solidarities. In addition, circumstantial approach falls short to evaluate that how primordial ties can be a helpful basis for collective economic and political action.

However, any of the aforementioned theory is not sufficient to analyze the present Rohingya issue properly. Primordial school of thought describes ethnicity, as ascribed and fixed where deeply rooted ancient hatred is the cause of ethnic conflict. If the Rohingya case is profoundly analyzed, it will be clear that the violence occurred against Rohingya is not only for the reason of ancient hatreds but there are other several reasons that should be taken under consideration. Here lies the importance of circumstantial theories that criticize the myth of primordial instinct of humankind and claim "ethnicity is a social, political and cultural construct

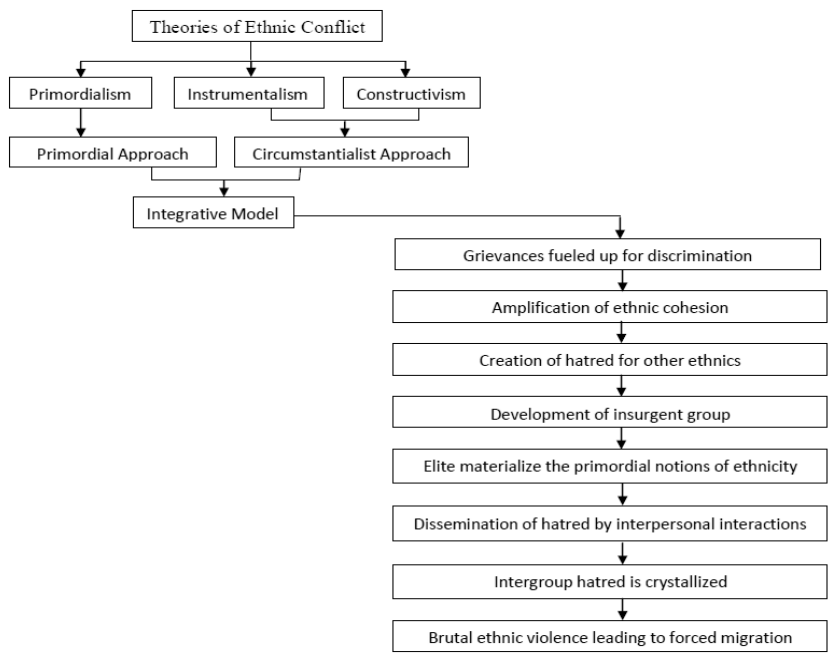
for specific and different interests and status groups and consequently an elastic and highly adjustable instrument to serve particular and multiple objects” (Seol, 2008: 348). These theories comprehend ethnicity as socially constructed and manipulated rationally by the powerful elites for their own interest to maximize their own benefit (Che, 2016). The role of Myanmar military and other security forces, political elites, Buddhist monks and village leaders and their direct and indirect involvement, association, participation and support in the brutal violence against the Rohingyas can be analyzed under this theory. Instrumentalism, as a part of circumstantial theories, can play significant role to broadly explain Rohingya ethnic conflict but it is also not substantial enough on its own which led our search for a broader and richer model to appropriately analyze the ethnic conflict of the Rohingyas. In next section, an integrative model (blending of primordial and circumstantial approach) will be discussed to explore the theoretical explanation of ethnic cleansing of Rohingya.

### **Integrative Approach**

The integrative model offers a new idea about various ethnic violence of modern world. It interconnects two important variables that are ethnic identity and grievances to illustrate how their amalgamation affects to increase incomprehensible cohesion among the members of ethnic groups and the probability of ethnic conflict (Yang, 2000; Che, 2016). Ethnic violence in Rwanda and Burundi in the early 1990s can be best described by integrative model because it emphasizes largely on the conflicts between dominant and discriminated ethnic groups. However, ethnic cleansing in Rwanda and the clear Hutu-Tutsi dichotomy can easily be explained by primordialist ideas such as ancient hatreds or grievances (Weir, 2012). Nevertheless, it is not feasible to explain the Rwanda genocide exclusively by primordial issues rather political elite manipulation played a major role in this case. They defined democracy by their own choice as ‘majority rule’ and the majority rules meant Hutu community rules (Yang, 2000). The postcolonial government adopted many oppressive and discriminatory policies against Tutsi and denied all citizenship rights, which ultimately bound most of them to flee into neighboring countries. As a consequence of such discriminatory condition, the Rwandan Patriotic Front’s (RPF) was originated by frustrated, oppressed and Tutsi which resulted in assassination of the president of



Rwanda, Juvénal Habyarimana and in turn initiated the horrific genocide of Tutsis by Hutu community in Rwanda (Yang, 2000, Weir, 2012). The violence upon Rohingya people can also analyzed by Integrative model. The integrative model is analyzed by drawing a chart below-



**Chart 1:** Conceptual framework of the study.

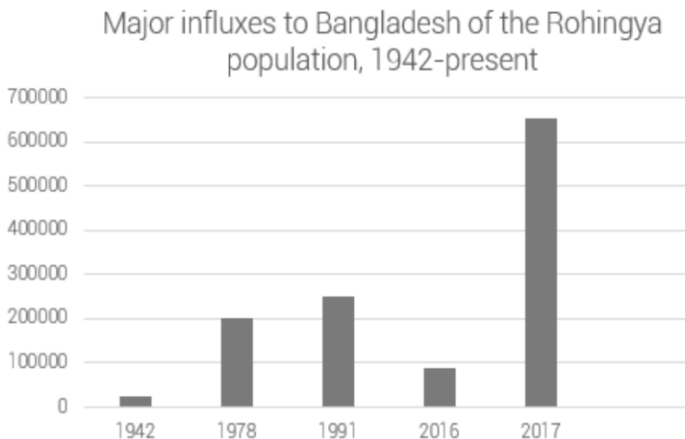
The present paper identifies at least four common factors of that led to such massacre in Myanmar and unlawful deportation of huge number of Rohingya ethnic people in Bangladesh, including causes of Rohingya crisis, discriminatory behavior towards Rohingya, atrocious violence against Rohingya people, intentional retardation of the repatriation process by Myanmar government. This paper will focus these factors gradually with adequate facts and data to understand how the Rohingya refugee crisis can be best described by integrative model. In this section, firstly a short history of Rohingya ethnic people has been discussed.

**History of the Rohingya**

The Rohingya population is concentrated in the historical region of Arakan, an old coastal country of Southeast Asia. Before the 2016–17 crises, an estimated 1 million Rohingya lived in Rakhine State, Myanmar.

However, since August to December 2017, an estimated 625,000, mostly muslim refugees from Rakhine had crossed the border into Bangladesh (Assessment Capacities Project (ACAPS) 2017:1). They were living a life of extreme vulnerability being marginalized as ‘other’ where they are not considered as a ‘national race’; rather ‘illegal immigrants’ from Bangladesh. Their citizenship applications are excluded under different policies, legal status, arbitrary and discriminatory ways; making them ‘stateless’ (Leider, 2015). The earliest record of noteworthy incursion from Myanmar was in 1942 due to communal riot when over 20,000 Rohingya fled to Bangladesh. The largest influxes in Bangladesh before 2017 were in 1978 and 1991-1992, when over 200,000 Rohingya entered Bangladesh each time following reported evictions from their homes in Rakhine state by the Myanmar military (Shafer, 2013:9). The negotiations between the two governments are reported to have motivated the return of the Rohingya population. Nearly 107,300 of the Rohingya population had returned to Myanmar by March 1979 and around 180,000 people returned between 1978 and 1979 (ACAPS, 2017:2). Before 25 August 2017, 33,000 Rohingya refugees were officially registered in Bangladesh and were inhabitants of UNHCR managed camps, on the other hand, an estimated additional 200,000-500,000 Rohingya individuals were living in informal settlements (displacement camps) and with host communities. Between 25 August and early December 2017, over 600,000 of the Rohingya arrived in Cox’s Bazar (ACAPS, 2017:3).

**Graph: 1** Influxes of the Rohingya to Bangladesh



Source: ACAPS, 2017

## **Causes of Rohingya Crisis**

Present study highlights on some crucial causes of Rohingya crisis as groundwork to analyze this conflict under integrative model. This section focuses on geo-political, economic, political, social and religious contexts to seek out causes those fueled up the conflict. Geographically Rakhine state is clustered with the coastal areas that are of tactical importance to both India and China (Shafer, 2013). Moreover, Myanmar is a gateway to ASEAN for the India and to South Asia for the China (Kolås, & Tønnesson, 2006). It is a natural geostrategic buffer and both countries have strategic and security interests. Both China and India have multiple developmental projects centering Rakhine state and Myanmar government has exerted interests in clearing land to establish Export processing zone (EPZ) for enhancing economic growth. The Myanmar military junta since the military coup in 1962 has been using this practice against minority groups for developmental projects including military base expansions, gas, oil and other natural resources exploitation and extraction, large agriculture projects and tourism. As the Rohingya's citizenship has been denied by the 1982 citizenship law, they legitimize their use of force against the Rohingya people to dislocate them to grab the area for their own use (Habib, Jubba, Ahmed, Rahman & pallard, 2018). Myanmar government especially Myanmar military always receive preponderance support from China (Habib, Jubba, Ahmed, Rahman & pallard, 2018; Ullah, 2011). Such an approach of "competitive cooperation" would be productive and win-win position for all three. These are grounds for India-China cooperation in Myanmar (Kolås, & Tønnesson, 2006). There are several political factors worked behind the violence. In 1962 Myanmar military junta seized the political power and adopted the "1982 Citizenship Law" in 1982 that denied Rohingya's equal access to citizenship, effectively stripping them of nationality rights and creation of stateless Rohingyas (Ahmed, 2010; Ibrahim, 2018). Based on this law, Rohingya could register only as a temporary resident with the white card provided to them by Military junta in 1990 (Shafer, 2013). By holding white card, they could exercise only limited rights, which were not proof of full citizenship however; they were allowed to be included in Myanmar's 2008 constitutional referendum and 2010 general elections (Kipgen, 2013). In national census of 2014, this minority group was initially permitted to identify as Rohingya, but at the threat of Buddhist nationalist, Myanmar government withdrew it and

cancelled the temporary identity card in February 2015 ignoring their voting rights (Ware & Laoutides, 2018). However, the victory of National League for Myanmar (NLD) in 2015 opened up new rays of hopes for restructuration in Myanmar's politics though the military occupied the significant amount of political power by law (Ware & Laoutides, 2018; Leider, 2015). In spite of having majority seats in the parliament, the NLD was not free from the influence of the military since the military retains 25% seat in the parliament and remains unreformed (Ullah, 2011; Shafer, 2013; Ware & Laoutides, 2018). The structural forces of the social subsystem have emerged from the faulty social structure of Rakhaine state companioned with inequalities that are built into the social system (Warr and Wong, 1997). At the imposition of the 1982 citizenship law, Rohingya people have to face restriction on marriage, family planning, education, employment. Discrimination and submission have been deeply rooted in the administrative, social and economic system, which fostered frustration and fear among this ethnic group (Ibrahim, 2018) and contributed partly to the emergence of rebellion group named Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (Shafer, 2013; Ullah, 2011).

### **Restrictions and Discriminatory Behaviors Towards Rohingya**

The Rohingya are denied of their right of citizenship and as its consequence they cannot acquire national identity card that is necessary for higher education, business, travelling, health care and for availing other human rights and also they can easily be detained and imprisoned (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 2018:168-174). The main purpose behind such oppression is to limit the concentration of Muslim Rohingyas (Mazhar, & Goraya, 2016). Therefore, their right of travelling is also violated as their movement is restricted and most often they are not given the travelling card. Furthermore, their right of education is denied as they are deprived of their national identity card that is needed after high school and consequently, they cannot even apply for suitable job opportunities (Ahmed, 2010). Moreover, there are several restrictions imposed on the marriage system and childbirth of Rohingyas ("Two-child-only policy") to intentionally lower down their birth rate. Lastly, Rohingyas also face discrimination based on culture and religion because ethnic communities of Myanmar consider Rohingya culture as foreign and a threat towards the Buddhist culture (Kipgen, 2013). Many

mosques are thus turned into Buddhist temples and communal prayers, gatherings are banned (Warr & Wong, 1997). In essence, Rohingyas have restrictions on access to food, health care, livelihood and on such basic human rights. Because of the violation of their freedom of movement and increased security presence, they face huge restrictions in their need of humanitarian access. They suffer from malnutrition and other severe health issues. The discriminatory practices make Rohingyas face struggle related to household lists, citizenship, education, and persuasion of livelihood and in every stage of their lives (Ullah, 2011; Ahmed, 2010).

**Table 1:** Sectors where Rohingya people experience discrimination in last 5 years

	Count	\$
School	2,445	75.91
Police station	2,012	62.47
Social service personnel	424	13.16
Neighbour	1,295	40.20
Restaurant	42	1.30
Bank	867	26.92
Salesperson in a store/shop	79	2.45
Unknown person in a public place	150	4.66
Hospital	2,549	79.14

Source: (Habib, Jubb, Ahmed, Rahman & pallard, 2018, p. 57)

**Atrocious Violence against Rohingya People**

Primordial ethnic conflicts are immensely influenced by the circulation of the ethnic resentment that is originated from the instrumentalisation of ethnic identities. Myanmar regime instrumentalised such ethnic resentment against Rohingya by using several techniques and tools. For instance, Violence that spread like a flaming fire in Rakhine state on 8 June, 2012 was the result of preplanned actions of Mayanmar regime and was further ignited by the two incidents occurring on 28 May and on 3 June, 2012. On 28 May 2012, three suspects were accused of murdering and raping a 27-year-old Buddhist female in the Kyauk Ni Maw village tract of Ramree Township in the south of Rakhine State and they were allegedly identified as Bengali/Muslims/Kalars though the suspects’ origins were not clearly identified by the authorities. The hatred created

due to this incident led into the killings of 10 Muslim travelers in Toungup locality by a mob of 300 people on 3 June 2012 (UNHCR, 2018:149). The hostility continued until August 2012 and was resumed in October 2012 across 12 communities in Rakhine state (UNHCR, 2018:162). Here, Tatmadaw soldiers and security forces were exempted for all of their heinous acts against Rohingyas that they performed arbitrarily through previous years (Lewa, 2009). They were the main perpetrators who were encouraged by Myanmar government and they also got constant assistance from the local security forces and ethnic Rakhines. They tortured Rohingya community mainly by brutally killing, injuring, detaining and abducting civilians, looting, torching, burning and destructing Rohingyas' households, shops and other infrastructures including mosques, educational institutions and such, conducting sexual abuse including brutal rape and mutilation of both males and females (Human Rights Watch, 2017) and restricting the freedom of Rohingyas to lead daily lives while displacing them to different confined displacement camps and denying them the basic rights of humans.

**Table 2:** Crimes Experienced by Rohingya in Myanmar

<b>Crime(s) experienced in Myanmar prior to travelling to Bangladesh</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Extrapolated to estimated population of 128,205 families</b>
Burned down home	2,890	89.72	115,026
Beaten	2,886	89.60	114,872
Vandalism at your home	2,846	8.36	113,282
Arrested	1,400	43.46	55,718
Gun short	1,035	32.13	41,192
Damaged or destroyed crops	1,029	31.95	40,961
Vandalism at your business	892	27.69	35,500
Thrown family member into fire	865	26.86	34,436
Shatched money or valuables	633	19.65	25,192
Murdered	602	18.69	23,962
Evicted	500	15.52	19,897
Raped	445	13.82	17,718
Robbery	437	13.57	17,397

Source: (Habib, Jubb, Ahmed, Rahman & pallard, 2018, p. 68)

Such attacks and oppressions are thought of as preplanned as hate campaigns were promoted during the violence in 2012 by handing out booklets against Rohingyas. Ethnic Rakhines were taken to the areas of attacks by Tatmadaw soldiers and they were also provided with weapons (Ibrahim, 2018). In addition, local officials, security forces, monks and political parties participated in directly and/or invoked attacks that took place against Rohingyas in different time intervals. Moreover, the similar patterns of attacks were seen including the dissemination of a rumor, creation of anger in ethnic communities in relation to the rumor that was spread and the occurrence of the attacks within a proximate time across several townships. Similar violence were faced by Rohingyas in 2017 but only it was much more indescribably brutal and sever and known as “clearance operation” that aimed at ethnic cleansing of Rohingya community from Myanmar on the basis of terrorist attacks by ARSA (The Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army). From August 2017 to March 2018, forensic analysis of satellite images show that, around 37,700 infrastructures were destructed while 214 villages were partially destroyed and 178 villages were destroyed in north Rakhine state those were mainly inhabited by the Rohingys (UNHCR, 2018:185). More than 7,00,000 Rohingyas fled from Myanmar to Bangladesh and hundreds of them were murdered, died, injured and tortured on their way of fleeing. In addition, they were threatened that there were to be killed if they went back to Myanmar again.

**Table 3:** Perpetrator of crimes identified by Rohingya

	Count	%
Don't know	310	9.62
Myanmar Army	3,138	97.42
Myanmar Police	2,656	82.46
I know them by name	14	0.43
I know them by face	27	0.84
Other ethnic communities	435	13.51
Other	52	1.61

Source: (Habib, Jubb, Ahmed, Rahman & pallard, 2018, p. 73)

Besides the abovementioned extreme violence, Rohingya community faced unjust treatment in every sphere of their lives and there were

constant arrangement of hate campaigns against them through actual and virtual communications. In actual or real life, hatred against Rohingya was spread by verbally abusing them by delivering derogatory (e.g. calling Rohingyas ‘Kalar’, ‘Bengalies’, ‘Illegal immigrants’, ‘Muslim dogs’, etc.) and threatening (e.g. death and sexually abusive) remarks. Numerous publications in newspapers (e.g. *The New Light of Myanmar*, *Eleven Media*, etc.), magazines (e.g. *Paccima Zone* magazine), social media hate posts (e.g. facebook posts by high-ranking government officials, Tatmadaw soldiers, The 88 Generation Students group, etc.) (AFP, Yangon. 2018), and audio-visual materials (e.g. MaBaTha’s video of “To Thida Htwe, record written in blood, oath declared in blood” poem) played key role in escalating the ethnic hatred (UNHCR, 2018:323). As a consequence of Myanmar regime’s such long-lasting oppression and violations of human rights of Rohingyas, anger and resentment have been accumulated within Rohingya community that led to amplified ethnic cohesion among them (Wasif, 2017) . This ethnic cohesion in turn gave birth to the protester organization ARSA (The Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army) that is aggressive in nature and made several terrorist attacks on Tatmadaw soldiers and security forces. On the other hand, Buddhist ethnic ties were crystallized, inter-group hatred was emerged among them against Rohingyas where they as Bengali muslims were taken as threats for Buddhists’ religious existence in Myanmar and supports of ethnic cleansing were grown among Buddhist community in Myanmar. Thus, materializing the hatred created in Buddhist community against Rohingyas, Myanmar regime seized the opportunity to use ARSA as a weapon to employ “clearance operation” where the real scenarios demonstrated that Rohingyas were never reckoned as the citizens of Myanmar and always had been terrorized, oppressed and brutally persecuted since decades. Here, it can be noticed that the political elites of the Myanmar regime manipulated this ethnic conflict and spread hatred through formal and informal interactions by pointing out the ethnic differences among Rohingyas and other ethnic communities in Myanmar and how there can be lack of blood ties, common ancestry, kinship and religious similarities among them. Hence, all these instruments of hatred creation were capitalized to ensure that Rohingyas left Myanmar and this was also demonstrated by the Tatmadaw soldiers when several groups of Rohingyas were let go while fleeing in exchange of pledges made by Rohingyas to travel to Bangladesh and never return. Moreover, this further



explains the lack of Myanmar's interest to grant international community's opportunities to work on finding an appropriate solution regarding this conflict and to make arrangements to take back the previous and present influxes of Rohingya communities in Bangladesh. Such indifference of Myanmar government toward providing justice or even acknowledge the horrific injustice against Rohingyas led to the inhuman ethnic cleansing that the world had witnessed in 2017 in Myanmar.

## Conclusion

In closing, It can be discerned by reviewing related literatures on theoretical analysis of ethnic conflict that most of the researchers have found the reasons behind ethnic conflict either employing primordial or circumstantial approach but only a very few have accentuated on the synthesis of the two approaches (Seol, 2008, Yang, 2000; Che, 2016). To analyze the Rohingya refugee crisis, an integrative model which blends primordial and circumstantial approach is considered essential especially because each of the theories focuses on a single dimensional aspect of Rohingya crisis including explanation and manipulation of their ethnic identity, stateless condition, discriminatory behavior originate from hatred and grievances, gross human rights violations, and all these become the foundation of mass ethnic conflict. However, the crime against Rohingya occurred in combination of all these abovementioned factors as these are closely allied. Therefore, integrative model is implied as it covers all the primordial and situational aspects of Rohingya conflict. The present article can be utilized as groundwork for further researches to formulate a new theory that will be solely sufficient to analyze the complex patterns of different ethnic conflicts and will offer a concrete solution of such conflicts whilst such pattern of analysis and solution may vary case to case. However, academia and researchers should introduce an appropriate theory imminently to understand and to solve the ethnic conflicts because these conflicts cause mass killing and displacement of minor ethnic communities from their homesteads only to save their lives.

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