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T.C.

ANKARA YILDIRIM BEYAZIT UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Framing the Identity and Citizenship Crises of Rohingya from the Perspective of Diaspora Communities

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DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

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ACCEPTATION AND CONFIRMATION PAGE

The thesis, prepared by Mufizur Rahman and titled "Framing the Identity and Citizenship Crises of Rohingya from the Perspective of Diaspora Communities", is accepted as a master thesis at Ankara Yildirim Beyazit University, Institute of Social Sciences, Department of Political Science and Public Administration by unanimous vote/majority vote.

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I approve that the thesis fulfills the necessities to be deemed a master thesis at Ankara Yildirim Beyazit University, Institute of Social Sciences, Department of Political Science and Public Administration.

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PLAGIARISM PAGE

I, Mufizur Rahman hereby declare that this MA thesis does not embody without acknowledgement. This is my original work and has not been published and presented for the award of any degree/diplomas at any other colleges and universities.

This is the result of my research thesis and effort except where due references are made in the text. I declare that all information in this thesis has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work; otherwise, I accept all legal responsibility.

Name, Last Name: Mufizur Rahman

Signature: …….

DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this research thesis to my honorable and invaluable father B.A MOHAMMAD YAKUB and mother SALIMA KHATUN who have been encouraging and guiding me not only to the track of my social life, but most significantly to the track of my educational life as well.

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Abstract

This thesis argues that by the citizenship policies of Myanmar government, the rights of Rohingya have been taken away and the identity of Rohingya has been marginalized. An emphasis is made on the history, ancestors, homeland, and ideal when an individual seeks for a recognition for an ethnic identity. Ethnic groups hold on to their unique culture, cultural heritage, language, homeland, and historical past not only to act in solidarity but also to reinforce the consciousness of national identity. Rohingya ethnic group in Rakhine state (formerly Arakan state) is in seek for identity and citizenship rights in the country. Even though Rohingya people have been living in Arakan for centuries, they are being marginalized and have been deprived their rights by the 1982 citizenship law, which was created by the authoritarian leader after the military coup in 1962.

This study was elaborated marginalized and persecuted life of Rohingyas for decades by the Government of Myanmar (GOM) in their homeland, and after the enactment of the 1982 Citizenship Law and citizenship policies enforced by the government. Thereby, every right was deprived systematically from the Rohingya by the GOM. By this circumstance of the country, many Rohingyas have been fled from the country and seek asylum from other countries. This study primarily used the qualitative research data of in-depth personal interview by conducting 18 Rohingya participants from diaspora community including male and female participants. The study examined the narrative of the Rohingya identity and citizenship policies of their homeland from the personal experience of diaspora community.

Keyword: Rohingya, Identity, Citizenship Policies, Diaspora Community, Homeland, Myanmar

ÖZET

Bu tez, Myanmar hükümetinin vatandaşlık politikalarıyla Rohingyaların haklarının elinden alındığını ve Rohingya kimliğinin marjinalleştirildiğini iddia etmektedir. Birey etnik bir kimliğin tanınmasını istediğinde tarih, atalar, vatan ve ideale vurgu yapılır. Etnik gruplar, özgün kültürlerine, kültürel miraslarına, dillerine, anavatanlarına ve tarihi geçmişlerine yalnızca dayanışma içinde hareket etmek için değil, aynı zamanda ulusal kimlik bilincini pekiştirmek için de tutunurlar. Arakan eyaletindeki (eski adıyla Arakan eyaleti) Rohingya etnik grubu, ülkede kimlik ve vatandaşlık hakları arıyor. Arakan'da yüzyıllardır yaşayan Rohingya halkı, 1962 askeri darbesinden sonra diktatörlüğün oluşturduğu 1982 vatandaşlık yasasıyla marjinalleştiriliyor ve haklarından mahrum bırakılıyor.

Bu çalışma, Myanmar Hükümeti tarafından ve 1982 Vatandaşlık Yasası'nın yürürlüğe girmesinden ve hükümet tarafından uygulanan vatandaşlık politikalarının ardından Rohingyaların on yıllardır marjinalize edilmiş ve zulüm görmüş yaşamı üzerinde detaylandırılmıştır. Böylece Myanmar Hükümeti tarafından Rohingyaların her hakkı sistematik olarak elinden alındı. Ülkenin bu durumu nedeniyle birçok Rohingya ülkeden kaçmış ve diğer ülkelerden sığınma talebinde bulunmuştur. Bu çalışmada öncelikle diaspora topluluğundan erkek ve kadın katılımcılardan oluşan 18 Rohingya katılımcısı yürütülerek derinlemesine kişisel görüşmelerin nitel araştırma verileri kullanılmıştır. Çalışma, diaspora topluluğunun kişisel deneyimlerinden yola çıkarak anavatanlarının Rohingya kimlik ve vatandaşlık politikalarının anlatısını inceledi.

Anahtar Kelime: Rohingya, Kimlik, Vatandaşlık Politikaları, Diaspora Topluluğu, Vatan, Myanmar

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

GOM:	Government of Myanmar
IDPs:	Internally Displaced Persons
NRC:	National Registration Card
ARNO:	Arakan Rohingya National Organization
URRR:	Union Residents Registration Rules
UN:	United Nations
ASEAN:	Association of South East Asian Nations
EU:	European Union
UNHCR:	United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees
UDHR:	Universal Declaration of Human Rights

CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

The element of citizenship is very important for the human being that every right depends on its direction in a state. By the phenomena, every birth has its history regarding his/her homeland in the birthplace and became a part of the nationality and citizen. However, it depends on the law of the particular country, in which some democratic countries have the law of citizenship straightforwardly, especially in Western countries.

When people become stateless, they are solely visible as natural living beings. They lose their natural invisibility in the world along with their public visibility to the world; the overwhelming phenomenon acquires the life of humans which cannot be deprived by any totalitarianism in order not to appear to the world. However, the authoritarian leader has plundered the legal personality and status of the people to be stateless in which they left solely with their humanity. The process for them politically preserves with de-nationalization that the stateless people do not have any opportunity and even abrogation of the traditional rights to asylum. In addition, the case of statelessness that since there is no general law provided for them, they become under the rule of police's arbitrary and unrestricted rule. They can be incarcerated and apprehended at any specific period without ever taking committed a crime. The reduction of individuals holds the political catastrophe of statelessness to the necked naturalness of being nothing but human, of being human-all-too-human.

Nations who are being denied in their own country would mean they do not have an opportunity to be visible in public as citizens of somewhere, however, they are nothing but human beings as stateless aliens in the global society. As the plights of Rohingya have been triggered, by the context of totalitarianism, Rohingyas have been challenging the atrocities of the military government (*Tatmadaw*) for decades; they have been devasted by the systematic oppressions of the authoritarian leaders. When the case is studied explicitly, it is systematically being discriminated, disenfranchised, persecuted, and marginalized their rights. Even though they have been living in Rakhine state with the ethnic Rakhine for centuries, they do not have citizenship rights as they are being treated as foreigners "Bengali", who have been an illegal immigrant from Bangladesh. Due to lack of citizenship rights, Rohingyas cannot move

anywhere, even within the territory of Rakhine state, and they do not have a passport of their own country. By the military government, the rights of Rohingyas have been deprived systematically after the military coup in Myanmar. Rohingyas have lost healthcare rights, movement rights, education rights, religious rights, self-determination, marriage rights, and they do not have any sort of freedom in the country. This study is limited by the perspectives of the Rohingya diaspora and their common thematic explanations regarding the citizenship and identity crises.

The military government changed the name of the country from Burma to Myanmar and Arakan to Rakhine state as well in 1989 (Mukherjee, 2019). According to Ronan Lee (2021), the ethnic majority of Myanmar is Bamar (or Burman) who are mostly Buddhist, which their population is around two-third of the entire country's population. The country's name both Burma and Myanmar are derived from Burmese language name – Myanmar is used for writing language and Burma is used for speaking. Burma was transliterated by the British and it became the colonial name of the country. Changing this colonial name was a part of the Burmanization strategy of the military government to merge the ethnic and religious minorities' cultural identity and overwhelm Barma Buddhist hegemony. However, many ethnic minorities and political opposition of the country did not trust the notion of military leader and disputed its legitimacy to the name of the country. They considered the Myanmar name as referring to a solely ethnic Bamar group, and they considered the variety of names as a political statement and refusing to accept it as a political act. Name disputes are common in areas of the nation where ethnic, religious, or political conflicts exist, such as the Rakhine state. Because of the contentious nature of Myanmar's official name changes, towns, cities, geographic features, and states are still referred to and recognized by their previous, more recognizable names (Lee, 2021). For instance, the Rakhine state is still identified as Arakan. Rohingyas basically identify the name of the country as Burma and Arakan for Rakhine state. Therefore, this thesis identifies both names Burma and Myanmar, and Arakan and Rakhine state.

1.1. Statement of the problem

The most important problem underlying the research is that ethnicity of Myanmar, Rohingya Muslims, have been stateless by the 1982 citizenship law, which was systematically and intentionally constructed by the military government to eliminate Rohingya from the right of the country through their ethnic identity portrays they are the original people of Arakan in Myanmar.

There are some factors in this research that firstly, by the citizenship law of authoritarian leaders, the policy on Rohingya Muslims which has been established is crucial to examine the entire tragedy of Rohingya.

Secondly, due to the loss of citizenship rights, Rohingyas have been stateless, but they are not stateless by birth, as they are the indigenous people of the land. So far, their rights have been deprived and made them refugee inside and outside the country.

Thirdly, the Rohingyas, who have been left from the country with many reasons, seek asylum from another country as a refugee. Though the countries where they seek asylum are not their homeland nor own country, they acquire many facilities and even the right of citizenship status.

1.2. The objective of the study

The significant purpose of this research is to explore the life of Rohingya and their identity from the perspectives of the diaspora community as they have citizenship problems in their own country and have become stateless. Since they do not have citizenship rights, their maximum population had to leave the country to seek asylum from another country. Therefore, conducting detailed analysis research on the citizenship issue of Rohingya ethnicity is extremely important in this contemporary era. Moreover, the identity crisis is also quite a prominent factor in Political Science study; studying the policy of GOM toward the case of Rohingya and examining the ethnic identity of Rohingya have been approached by this research.

This research demonstrates three primary objectives. First of all, Myanmar's citizenship policy on Rohingya people toward identity crisis is explained. Secondly, the study emphasizes when the citizenship rights of Rohingya people have been deprived systematically, they have become stateless and marginalized people. Thirdly, the individual experience of the Rohingya diaspora is analyzed by conducting direct personal interviews.

1.3. Research questions and the Main Argument

This study argues that citizenship policies have an influence in defining ethnic identity and the samehood. The premise can be traced via the case of the Rohingya based on the identity narratives of the Rohingya diaspora.

The main research question of this thesis is "How do the policies of 1982 Citizenship law enforcement relates Rohingya ethnic identity from the perspective of the diaspora community? Primary questions which will draw the framework of the case of Rohingya focus on self-definition and the samehood (Ruth Wodak, 2009); citizenship crises, ethnic and cultural discrimination, and marginalization (Friedlander, 2005) generivaty in practice in culture (back in Rohingya and as a part of diaspora separately).

This study seeks answers to the following sub-questions to question the main problems of the research:

1. How is the identity of Rohingya defined through the lens of Rohingya Diaspora in general terms?
2. How is the identity of Rohingya defined through the lens of Rohingya Diaspora in cultural terms?
3. How is the identity of Rohingya defined through important historical events?
4. How is the identity of Rohingya defined through the experiences of the Military Coup and the 1982 Citizenship Law?
5. How is the identity of Rohingya defined through the experiences of discrimination?

The study accentuates the marginalization of Rohingya people for decades by the Myanmar Government in their hometown, Rohingyas turning out to be stateless after the enactment of the 1982 Citizenship Law and citizenship policies applied by the government and ended up with the absence of basic human rights. Accordingly, this study opens up a discussion about the various conflicts in the region and the roles of Rakhine and Rohingya ethnic groups. Centering the impact of personal experiences in highlighting the dynamics of Rohingya identity in the diaspora; this study also looks at the place of the marginalizing policies pursued by the government in the hometown.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Historical Background

The Union Citizenship act of 1948 was accurately declared which group would be deserved for citizens. The constitution mentioned any of the indigenous ethnicity of Burma shall mean the Arakanese, Shan, Kachin, Karen, Mon, or Kayah ethnic groups and each ethnic group has settled in any of the territories included within the union as their eternal homeland from a period anterior to 1823 (Ferguson, 2019). In this respect, it is straightforward that the Rohingya ethnic group has to restore their ethnic identity right significantly because they are the indigenous people of Arakan. Many Rohingya activists have claimed precisely that they have enough evidence of their historical past related to the centuries ago and also have evidence of GOM that they had recognized Rohingya as an official ethnic group of Myanmar (Bray, 2019). Furthermore, ARNO in December 2011 revealed that 'the Rohingya have been living in Arakan from the trigger and time immemorial.' Some human rights and peace activists from the Rohingya like Wai Wai Nu claimed that the Rohingya lived in the Mrauk-U Kindom in the 5th century and that there are still inscriptions in the Rohingya language at ancient history (Washaly, 2019).

Arakan was a center of traders, where there were farms and other natural resources, so Arab merchants would trade with the Arakan region. When some of the Arab merchants have married the local women and mixed the people to Islam religion where the population increased (Chanthamith, Amin, Hossain, & Sultana, 2018). In AD 680 after the war of 'Karbala', Mohammed Hanif son of Hazarat Ali (R.A) arrived in the Arakan with his army at Arab-Shah village of Maungdaw in the Northern Arakan; While *Kaipuri*, the queen of Cannibals ruled in hill or mountain, they would torture and loot the people of Arakan. When Mohammed Hanif forces have conquered and captured the Cannibals' queen *Kaipuri*, she and her forces covered Islam in Arakan where the local Rohingyas have been increased by the blend of kin (Alam, 1999). This historical frame indicates that how the blood was mixed with the original people who call themselves Rohingya, and how Islam religion reached them at an early age.

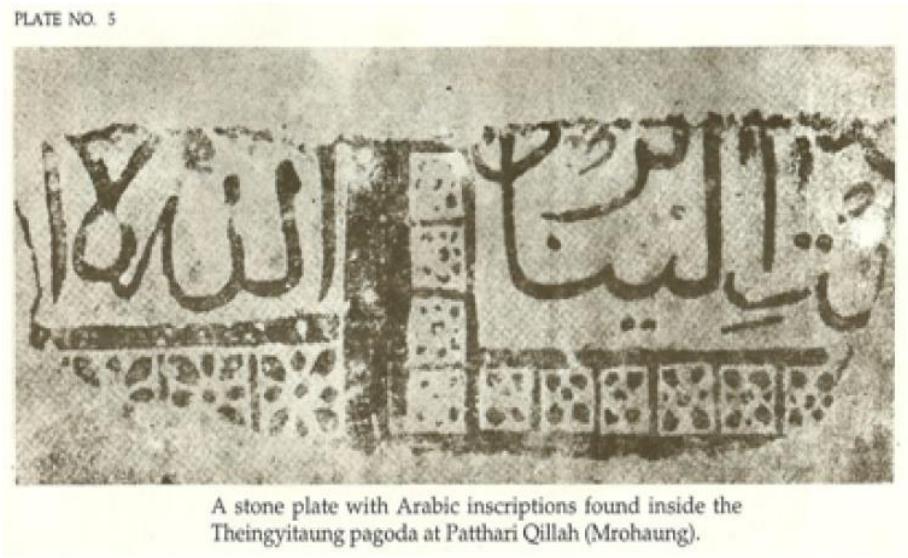


Figure 2.1: A stone plate with Arabic inscriptions inside the Theingyitaung pagoda at Mrohaung township, Arakan

Source: A History of Arakan by Dr. Mohammed Yunus (1994), p-91

According to Lee (2021), the invasion of the Arakan kingdom by the Konbaung dynasty in 1784 ended Arakan's sovereignty and pushed the Burmese closer to British-controlled Bengal. For the people of Arakan and the Burmese, this had catastrophic and long-term repercussions. Lee (2021, p.34) highlighted that Colonel Michael Symes was entrusted by the East India Company with facilitating diplomacy and commerce with Burma, and he became Britain's first official envoy to the Burmese Court in Ava in 1795. Francis Buchanan, a polymath, accompanied Symes and meticulously documented information about the topography, local politics, and the personalities and customs of the individuals he met. In 1798, he conducted research about Chittagong, and in 1800, he conducted surveys in Mysore and many more. Following the conquest, tens of thousands of Arakan residents were forcefully resettled in upper Burma. Buchanan and Symes met many former Arakan inhabitants on their Ava trip, and it was likely the first they encountered individuals identifying themselves with a term obviously related

to the modern Rohingya- Rooinga. Buchanan chronicled his trip to Ava in great detail, including his meeting with people from Arakan who identify themselves as Rooinga (Lee, 2021).

Ronan Lee (2021, p.44) elaborates the historical past that border issues between the Burmese and the British festered, and the Burmese became involved in the first of three Anglo-Burma wars in 1824, within four decades after invading Arakan. Burmese loss in the first conflict and the British conquest of Arakan in 1826 marked the start of more than a century of British colonial rule in Burma. Ethnic groups acknowledged to have lived in Burma before the start of this war would be considered indigenous (*taingyintha*) and entitled to group citizenship rights in Myanmar in the distant future. He also indicates that there was an original Muslim population that occurred who are Rohingya in pre-colonial Arakan before 1823 (Lee, 2021).

Ronan Lee (2021) mentioned that some members of an artisan in the early sixteenth century converted to Islam. Bengali Muslims with Hindu heritage were more likely to be retained in Arakan among the Bengalis transported as slaves to Arakan. Myanmar's government, military, and nationalists dispute Arakan's historical ties to Bengal, the early influence of Hinduism, the presence of Mahayana rather than Theravada Buddhism, and connections to regional and global trade networks, all of which lend credence to Rohingya claims about their heritage (Lee, 2021). Before the seventh or eighth centuries, most of the people in Arakan believe in Hinduism rather than Buddhism. Most of the Hindus converted to Islam when Islam arrived in Arakan, who are today's Rohingya Muslims. There are Hindus still in Arakan who speak the Rohingya language and their skin color and culture are the same, but they do not call them Rohingya themselves since GOM recognized the name as illegal. Since they very small minority, they have fear or lack of knowledge to identify themselves as Rohingya.

2.1. Identity Crisis

The Rohingya people have been encountering discrimination and marginalization by the citizenship policy of GOM for decades. According to Parnini (2013), the Rohingya ethnic minority has struggled with refugee life inside and outside the country as one of the most marginalized and persecuted minorities in the globe since the late 1970s. The vulnerable and

destitute Rohingya minority has suffered from human rights violations tyrannically in their homeland Myanmar under the regime of the military junta, and a huge number of populations have been forced to flee to the neighboring countries (Parnini, 2013).

According to Ullah (2016), the issue of "Rohingya" considers a process of rebuilding the contemporary nation-state system. The trouble of the Rohingyas from Myanmar to the neighboring countries like Bangladesh since the late 1970s is being rather complex with their status as well as identity. Citizenship is quite a prominent factor for indicating utterly entitlement in a sovereign state. The former generals intentionally utilized xenophobia and Islamophobia to declare the 1982 citizenship law. Beyond this, the violence has started against Rohingya Muslims; so far, there is nothing has changed despite the political pressure and economic sanctions that were put on the Myanmar government from the international community to stop violence and recognize the ethnic identity of Rohingya (Ullah, 2016). The citizenship policy of GOM towards Rohingya ethnic identity is quite an unfair subject in the world. Charney mentioned the fact that Rohingya a controversial ethnonym because this context has several types of sectors politically, however, he indicated a few of those such as religious connotations, and Muslim Rakhine racial and religious argument (Charney, 2005).

2.2. Citizenship Crisis

A law drafting committee commenced their work on a new citizenship law which was passed through three rounds of making corrections before a final draft after a new constitution for a one-party state accomplished in 1974. The government has taken away the NRCs from the Rohingya and other ethnic groups; however, the military government issued "White Card" or Temporary Registration Card only to the Rohingya people discriminately, while the other ethnic groups were provided "Pink Card" or Citizenship Scrutiny Card (*TaingYinTha Card*). "These cards are, as their name suggests, clearly intended under paragraph 13 of the 1951 URRR only as interim documentation" (Cheesman, 2017; Washaly, 2019). After the 2012–13 crises in the Rakhine state, the situation became worse for Rohingya as the government confiscated even the

‘White Cards’ that had been the last form of identity card and official documentation held by the Rohingyas (Mukherjee, 2019).

Myanmar authoritarian leader General Ne Win established a new constitution, which has been indicated 1982 citizenship law. According to Kaveri (2017), the military government of Myanmar officially recognized 135 ethnic groups, in which they intentionally declined other 9 ethnic groups including the Rohingya minority – as the previous list of Myanmar official ethnic groups, there was 144 official recognized ethnic groups including Rohingya. In this consequence, the ethnic Rohingyas have been marginalizing by accusing them are illegal immigrants who came from Bangladesh. The 1982 citizenship law has portrayed that the people who have been inhabiting before 1823 inside the country, are counted as the nationals of Myanmar – the people who have been recognized as citizens of Myanmar by the law of 1948 – they have been also the nationals of Myanmar.

The alternative paths to citizenship issued by the Burma Citizenship Law (1982) – as Associate or Naturalized citizens – be similarly problematic for the Rohingya, with a high risk of future statelessness. They worry that their citizenship will be arbitrarily revoked is dampening the Rohingya's zeal for seeking individual citizenship recognition. Section 8 of the Burma Citizenship Law (1982) makes it simple for the government to do so: "(b) The Council of State may, in the interest of the State, revoke the citizenship, associate citizenship, or naturalized citizenship of any individual other than a citizen by birth" (Lee, 2021, p. 76).

Although the ethnic Rohingyas have been living for centuries in Rakhine state, they were not able to show the documents as the government forcibly taken away during the 1978 operation; therefore, they have been stateless in their ancestor land Myanmar. When they have lost their rights, the plight of Rohingya has been started, they are being oppressed by a number of cruel military operations (Kavari, 2017). Rohingya people were being challenged with various persecutions, discriminations, and marginalization by the 1982 citizenship law, which has been quite discriminately carried out against the identity of the Rohingya (Blomquist, 2015). The government, do not allow them to move from one city to another, has restricted their education, has revoked them from the government positions.

In addition to the restrictions of healthcare, subjected to restrictions on births and marriages, and forced to relocate to camps for IDPs, where their movement is extremely restricted. In this consequence, Rohingya people have an acute malnutrition rate 50% higher than non-Rohingya residents in Rakhine state, and diarrheal illness rate five-fold greater than the General Myanmar population (Pocock NS, 2017). Rohingyas encounter many difficulties and restrictions only due to the lack of citizenship rights, forced labor as a volunteer without giving money, torture the young girls, confiscation of Rohingya lands, and gave to the Buddhist people who had been appointed from Bangladesh to Myanmar by its government since 2000 (Mukherjee, 2019).

2.3. Military Operations

The military authoritarian leaders of Myanmar who are Bamar nationalists have started to apply several sorts of policies in favor of the fact that they want the power merely for Bamar and utilized the *Burmanization* policy into the polity of the country. In 1978, the military regime launched an operation so-called King Dragon Operation (*Naga Min operation)*, it is an exclusively proper population maintenance policy in which the government systematically identified illegal residents particularly in unstable regions like northern Rakhine state. The operation severely led to mess persecution and marginalization of the Rohingya that included widespread rape, physical violence, destruction of villages, and arbitrary arrest (Blomquist, 2015). In addition, many Rohingya's houses have been destroyed, set fire, faced violent resettlement, and thousands have been caught up in the military sweeps, expel into a foreign land when 3500 were sent forcibly to Bangladesh in 1975. Moreover, an estimated 200,000 Rohingyas were forced to flee to Bangladesh as a consequence of oppression regarding the operation of King Dragon in February (Grundy-Warr & Wone, 1997). In 1991, another operation so-called the operation *Pyi Thaya* was launched brutally by the authoritarian leader in northern Rakhine state, Myanmar. Again, there were approximately 250,000 Rohingyas escaped to Bangladesh because the military government arbitrarily arrested, forced labor, summary executions, tortured and raped the women (Dussich, 2018).



Figure 2.2: Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh who escaped their life from the persecution of the King Dragon Operation in 1978

Source: https://www.doctorswithoutborders.org/what-we-do/news-stories/news/timeline-visual-history-rohingya-refugee-crisis

2.4. Communal Conflicts and Plight of Rohingya

In Rakhine state (formerly Arakan), there are two major ethnic groups Rakhine and Rohingya live together along with other ethnic minorities, and many conflicts have occurred between ethnic Rakhine and Rohingya since the 1939 independence of the country (Laoutides & Ware, 2019). A communal conflict between Buddhist Rakhine and Rohingya Muslims, which was a pre-plan cold-blooded massacre against Rohingya in March 1942. "*Maybon* Township in

Kyaukpru District and the six townships of *Minbya, Myohaung, Pauktaw, Kyauktaw, Ponnagyun,* and *Rathidaung* in *Akyab* district were depleted of Rohingya Muslims by murder and massacre and those who escaped evacuated through long tortuous and hazardous routes across mountains to Maungdaw. 22,000 Rohingya Muslims reached *Subirnagar* Camp in Rangpur District in India but a very large number had stayed behind in Maungdaw owing to lack of facilities, disease, and destitution. These refugees in Maungdaw who had lost their dearest one and all their property now turned against the Rakhine and fell upon them in retaliation" (Alam, 1999, p. 24).

Communal violence again between ethnic Rakhine and Rohingya in Rakhine state was affected by the "divide and rule" policy of the government across the country. In 2001, Rohingya Muslims were attacked in towns across Myanmar, including Sittwe and Maungdaw in Rakhine state (Burke, 2016). In June 2012, horrible violence occurred between ethnic Rakhine and Rohingya, and it has been an extreme incompatibility on both groups so far – appeared again not only in seventeen cities of Rakhine state, but it also has spread over the whole country (Mukherjee, 2019). The crisis has been emerged by the pre-planned coordinate, in which the local government and Rakhine Buddhist people targeted Rohingya Muslims. Official figures have put the combined toll at 192 dead, 265 injured, and 8,614 homes destroyed, in violence across 11 townships out of Rakhine state's 17 townships. 140,000 people were displaced into IDPs, 86 percent of whom were Rohingya Muslims (Laoutides & Ware, 2019). The security forces then participated in the brutal killing, torturing, oppressing, beating, and arbitrary arresting of the Rohingya people. Myanmar government has blocked humanitarian access, further compounding the Rohingya suffering and international media. During the conflict, state media emboldened discrimination by publishing inaccurate, incendiary, anti-Rohingya accounts of the violence (Abdelkader, 2013). The exodus of Rohingya triggered early 2012, but the mass extent emerged in 2015 to neighboring countries Bangladesh, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, India, and so forth. The systemic misery of the life of Rohingya people is fueling a massive refugee crisis with many seeking to escape by small boat through the sea to neighboring countries. This outflow of people has been a regular response to periods of systemic oppression and has become a critical feature of the spring post-monsoon period in recent years. This critical incident briefly attracted international press attention in May 2015 (Ibrahim, 2016).



Figure: 2.3: Sura Katu from Nazih village, Sittwe township, was one of many forced to flee by the violence in June 2012 and died

Source: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-20264279

CHAPTER THREE

3. Conceptual Framework

3.1. Citizenship

Citizenship in general terms emphasizes the bond between an individual and a state. However, this legal bond has numerous outcomes exceeding the relationship between a state and an individual. Rather, it encompasses a reference to the membership of a political community. The unit of political community is the nation. Thereby, it becomes a realm for inclusion and exclusion practices (Naujoks, 2020). Wiesner and Bjork (2014) interpret citizenship as it implies a clear formalized relationship between the rule of government and governmental bodies. In this respect, on the one hand, the context of citizenship has no democracies, and on the other hand, they demonstrated citizenship is a significant concept both for the practice and theory of democracy. For getting across the relationship between citizens and polities, citizenship has a practical and normative connotation. The authors tried to figure out else the concepts of citizenship are that in nation-states, a person who belongs to the local community and/or belonging to a state or a polity are fixed by nationality laws. Citizenship concepts refer to what the demos do as well. The important aspect of citizenship's meaning to a citizen is that he/she can become a member of a political party, get an opportunity to express their needs, vote, or discuss. Moreover, active and passive participation in public discourse, elections, and political activity are some instances of citizenship's significant component in representative democracy (Wiesner & Björk, 2014).

According to Kenny, Taylor, Onyx, and Mayo (2015), in order to get into the concept of active citizenship in the contemporary era, the rational transfer is needed to observe that was occurring during the 1980s in the social science, which followed upon the significance of human agency in social change. The authors demonstrated this transfer into two-level that firstly, it was reflected in the progressing intention to new social movements. Secondly, it has come up with new approaches to welfare. The authors mentioned the point of Marshall is, various measures of citizenship, which became institutionalized in Britain into three levels; by an extension of citizen rights from civil rights, to social rights, and political rights. The authors revealed that in

the eighteenth century, civil rights were introduced, particularly freedom of speech, approach to the justice and legal system. With the political rights along with women's rights to vote, the right to access political activities was developed in the nineteenth century. Social rights were set up in the twentieth such as the right to social security and welfare in periods of inconvenience and unemployment, concluding in the development of the post-war welfare state (Kenny, Taylor, Onyx, & Mayo, 2015). Along with the discussions on the cultural rights and their relationship with the nation-state, together with the increase in the humanitarian crises and the trans nationalization, the citizenship bond has been discussed heavily around the inclusion and exclusion practices – or around the identity crises.

In contemporary societies, within the context of a nation-state, Maas (2013) has argued that the concept of citizenship has been undermined as a homogeneous political and legal status, and it is a form of membership in a sovereign state. This tiny definition of citizenship inhibits significant evolutions at both sub- and superstate levels. Maas has indicated that citizen descends from the French cite, which is meant a member of a city, and before that assumption, the Latin *cı ̄vita ̄s*, which is meant the community of citizens that entitled to the rights and opportunities of that city. He mentioned that citizenship is affected by the state, substate, superstate, or nonstate political communities. In this contemporary era, the concept of citizenship is quite a predominant aspect in a sovereign state; in this respect, the perception is within the relationship between citizenship and statehood that the milestone of citizenship is sole with a state, it is not provided by states' or nations' organization such as EU, ASEAN, UN, and so forth (Maas, 2013). The author Wan highlighted that citizenship is both legal statuses that a citizen has legal rights of education access and political rights and cultural certification. Higher education can be pursued by the circumstance of having citizenship. As citizenship has a variety of definitions and meanings in the political arena, it can be obtained legally in different scope: by blood, by naturalization, or by birth. The author comes with the United States has progressed the dimension that citizenship is both a birthright and an achievable status (Wan, 2014).

3.1.1. Historical Development of Citizenship

3.1.1.1. Modern Citizenship

The former system of citizenship had endured in the modern world solely in extremely adjusted form by participation in political self-governance. With some particular rights of political participation in an independent republic, in this contemporary era, the core meaning of citizenship is member, that governs through some system of elected representatives, and parliamentary, presidential, bicameral, unicameral, or some other variation. In this respect, citizenship is conceived in favor of every right including political rights and privileges, as well as an ethos of at least some readiness to practice the rights in ways that provide to the common good. Deliberate and vote has significantly ruined from the modern world, but the polity-wide assembly in which every citizen suit, as more than the hereditary aristocracies and monarchies that the American and French revolutionaries first attacked (Smith R. M., 2002).

By the entire entity of pertinent citizens now exist, merely a few uncommon traces of flexible, forthright, combined self-government, within sub-units like school districts, small towns, and countries. Anticipations that predominant citizens will widely participate with the demise of every citizen assembly in activities of political self-government have also bleached. Citizenship in most modern societies infrequently includes a powerfully participatory public ethos or vigorous democratic exercises as many have argued (Brubaker, 1992).

It appears to be less overwhelming that in actuality there have never been merely 'liberal,' 'republican,' or 'liberal republican' modern republics when we presented to the political processes through which perceptions of peoplehood have been formed; and being regimes have often blended elements of 'civic' and 'ethnic' nationhood. It remains real that most modern societies' citizenship laws have been changed over the period in more 'liberal,' 'republican,' and 'civic' directions with proper racial, gender, ethnic, and religious counters to complete citizenship being omitted (Smith, 1991). The conception that authentic citizenship includes rights of political participation has been a reverberating rhetorical tool for legislative and constitutional reformers and revolutionaries in the political contests that have exposed these alter over the last two centuries (Smith R. M., 2002).

3.1.1.2. Nation-State and Citizenship

Citizenship is not only an important status for the people who exist in a state, but it is also a significant identity of a community. As Ryburn argues, citizenship acts to include and exclude base on being a full member of a community, and he continues to claim that citizens have to be different from "other" that has been a migrant frequently. However, both citizens and migrants are not two different issues, solely two aspects of the ontological situation that carry out political potential. Ryburn (2018) also stressed that citizenship has been two primary politico-philosophical schools, which are the liberal and civic republican traditions. The concept of the liberal tradition holds at its importance the values of self-determination and freedom. A citizen of a country has the right to vote and they can be a candidate in a particular election (Ryburn, 2018).

Jus sanguinis and *jus soli* are the two main procedures to acquire citizenship at birth. *Jus sanguinis* indicate to achievement of citizenship from the condition of descent: children, regardless of where they are born, and acquire at birth the citizenship of a parent. Jus soli is the doctrine that children acquire the citizenship of the country in which they are born. Each country legislates its necessities for citizenship (McFadden, 2019; Safran, 1997).

In politics, citizenship is an important concept, and among it is one of the most broadly discussed and debatable issues by several political scientists because identity is an important key for an individual as it is related to the role that plays a significant role in the political community. Citizenship refers to the people's moral quality in a more general sense, as it is also exemplified by the people of his or his behaviors. Therefore, to be a good citizen of the country people should have civic-minded that is, one acts responsibly and honestly, anyone can reasonably demand their social and political system, obeys the laws, and it has also the interest that's cognition in society at large (Safran, 1997).

In the order to acquire the citizenship of the country, there have been three main basics principles these are, naturalization, *just soli*, and *jus sanguinis*. All the States have used these three principles one or more of these. Basically, it is when the States were defined as monarchs or in terms of the sovereignty of feudal lords. Among the principles of citizenship acquisition, citizenship is more precise for those who were born in the State according to *jus soli*. The

"legitimacy of a state" is based on the sovereignty of a state or community, *jus sanguinis*, or inherited "blood" communication became the common principle of operation. From the point of view of these origins, both principles have progressive and reactionary aspects. In general, *jus sanguinis* dominates the "historic" states. That is, past or previous political, whereas *jus soli* are a priority in settled communities; The state played an important role in the formation of the nation (Safran, 1997; McFadden, 2019).

In the era of the nation-state, the discourse of citizenship are debates about nationhood; in order to belong to a nation-state, what it refers about, and what it needs to mean. The nation-state is a distinctive system of arranging and experiencing political and social membership as an institutional and social-psychological actuality. It is a distinctive system of evaluating and characterizing social and political membership; however, the nation-state is an idea and an ideal as well. The nation-state can be characterized regarding the six membership strategy as an ideal-typical model of membership. Membership of the nation-state is sacred, egalitarian, democratic, national, unique, and socially consequential according to this model (Brubaker, 1990).

As the elucidation of Daniel Skobla (2001), since integrated self-representation, as an ethnic minority necessitates a palpable collective representation of the majority, the logic of a nation-state generates an ethnic minority. Thereby, the ethnic minority should be recognized by the public claim to membership of an ethnic-cultural nation different from the numerically or politically dominant nation, by the demand for state recognition of this distinct ethnic-cultural nationality, and the assertion of certain collective cultural or political rights based on this ethnic-cultural nationality. An observer may see those ethnic minorities can express themselves in several political, social, and cultural aspects (Skobla, 2001).

3.1.2. Modern Citizenship Theory

3.1.2.1. Liberal Theories

Citizenship was a doctrine of equality, and it was a developing institution at the same time. In theory, it was cultivated by improving the body of rights that they were able to enjoy, initiating at the point where all people were independent. Marshall demonstrated citizenship into three parts such as civil, political, and social. The civil part is created of the rights require for individual freedom, freedom of speech, liberty of the person, the right to own property, thought and faith, and the right to justice. When a person is belonging to a community with full membership, the citizenship status is provided in their resident country. And the citizens are the same in terms of their rights and duties as the status is granted equally to all people. Every individual is a member of any community, and they can enjoy the rights of citizenship since it is a political, social, and civil right. The citizenship status facilitates every fundamental right including a property right which is quite important for a person when he possesses something in his country. Someone who does not have citizenship status has restrictions to possess something. Marshall mentioned that citizenship had assisted to instruct improve into the track which led through to the egalitarian policies of the twentieth century despite it had finished little to reduce social inequality, even by the end of the nineteenth century. Marshall elucidated that a clear perception of community membership is based on allegiance to a civilization that is a common possession. By the common law, it is a loyalty of free people granted protection and rights (Marshall, 2009).

Basak Ince (2012) has pointed out about citizenship that the coming decade would be the citizenship's decade, and it increasingly visible. Citizenship has also turned into an interesting part among political thinkers upon every essence of the political spectrum. This dimension is a reflection of a progressing trust in many aspects that we are existing "an era of citizenship". Moreover, according to Ince (2012), citizenship is a strategic concept and milestone in the analysis of identity, empowerment, participation, human rights, and the public interest. By the citizenship card, people can have human rights, and participate at every level of political events; without citizenship rights, people are marginalized and disenfranchised. Furthermore, people are inevitably evaluated that whether they can be a member or not in the land. It includes a rational way between inclusion and exclusion, between people who supposed eligible for

citizenship and those who are ignored the right to be members. Although some are universal, membership also plays a role of rights and duties that alter by period and place (İnce, 2012).

In theory, the constitutive elements of a particularly citizenship's liberal conception are transparent. A different citizenship's institutionalization and conception whose fundamental importance is to maximize individual liberty by the liberal citizenship. The concept proclaims that the state should execute to arrange the entitlements such as health care, income, and education that individuals require to direct the dignified, independent lives important to their freedom. The liberal theory commences with the individual whether it is the issue of citizenship or anything else. The sight of liberalism of the individual form its perspectives of all social collection, including the state (Schuck, 2002).

Locke demonstrated that every individual is granted with and inspired by reason, characterized as the "Voice of God", through which they can recognize the dictates of divinely provided natural law. Everybody is equally granted from birth for this reason that is fundamental for their determinations to leave the state of nature, to enter into political and civil society, and to act in the community (Locke, [1690] 1960). Schuck (2002) emphasized that untrammeled freedom of individual inquiry, thought, worship, and expression is the most certain track to truth and social improvement.

3.1.2.2. Communitarian Theories – practice with responsibilities

Community is often conceived of in cultural terms, insists a social ontology. The notion of community is particularly obvious in the debate upon citizenship. In the discourse of modern communitarianism, the division of the protagonists is that whether citizenship as membership of a political community responds on the individual or a preceding moral or cultural community. It is significant that most of this discourse in the normative political theory. There is a considerable deficiency of a sociological analysis of the predominant conditions in the discourse such as citizenship and community while communitarians assert to be more in proper adjustment with the social constitution of citizenship (Delanty, 2002).

Community is not seen as a mutual agreement resource from which citizenship can directly pull out; however, it is a proper reasonable concept. The assumption to communitarianism, in which community contributes a cultural foundation for citizenship contorts the nature of community and citizenship in the society of contemporary. Moreover, it has provided in a consensual and spatially determined of the life-world. According to the sociology of Durkheim in terms of community, it is fundamentally community regard to common cultural values. Modernity is characterized by qualified values and immediate recognition of the individual with the collectivity to arrange forms of integration that are characterized by contractual connections and necessary integration between groups (Durkheim, 1960).

For communitarians, in particular rights, liberal conceptions of group membership are extremely formalistic. The factual connections that collective members of a community together, neglecting the tangible measures of identity and participation. Communitarians dispute the asocial concept of the individual in liberalism. The individual is both socially constructed and embedded in a cultural context (Delanty, 2002).

T.H. Marshall (1992) emphasized that the concept of citizenship has been traditionally dominated by liberal theory and has been more central to political theory, and to a range in social policy. The discourse on citizenship has been moved again to an open position across a contextualized thought of citizenship as the indication of community with the appearance of communitarianism since the 1980s (Marshall, 1992).

3.2. Identity: Ethnic and National Identity

A human being, he or she, belongs to a particular group of people that they have their own identity to recognize them. According to Hutchinson and Smith (1996), ethnic groups or communities are important parts of a larger society. It is a tradition that does not challenge the relationship between ethnic groups and nations, but rather believes that ethnic groups are always a minority inside a nation or state. The most appropriate general term to describe this subset of the population is ‘ethnic group.’ An ethnic group is described here as a collectivity within a larger society that has actual or alleged common ancestry, memories of a common historical

past, and a cultural concentration on one or more symbolic components considered as the epitome of their peoplehood. Kinship patterns, geographical proximity, religious affiliation, language or dialect forms, tribal affiliation, nationality, phenotypical attributes, or any combination of these are examples of symbolic components. Kindness consciousness among group members is an essential complement. The focus of the ethnic inquiry is on cultural categories with social and group referents. There is some form of the boundary where there is a group, and where there are boundaries, there are processes to keep them in place. Physical features, language, dress, and other components of ethnic group development must represent and suggest distinctions in blood, substance, and cult, and hence to the building blocks of ethnicity (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996).

According to Chandra (2006, p.400), the categories of ethnic identity are a subset of identity categories that descent-based attributes determine membership eligibility. Attributes connected with descent embrace those acquired genetically such as skin color, gender, hair type, eye color, height, and physical features, or through cultural and historical inheritance such as name, language, place of birth, and origin of one's parents and ancestors, or in the course of one's lifetime as markers of such an inheritance (last name or tribal markings). Attributes "believed to have collaborated with descent" are attributes around which a reliable myth of society with descent has been interlaced.

Chandra (2006, p.400) also mentioned that the membership of identity categories is defined by descent-based characteristics. The following limitations define ethnic identity categories, which are a subset of the broader set:

(a) They are impersonal, in the sense that they constitute an imagined community in which members are not related to one another in any way;
(b) They constitute a subset of a country's population rather than the entire population;
(c) If one sibling is qualified for membership in a category in one location, then all other siblings in that location are likewise eligible; and
(d) Only one's own genetically transmitted characteristics, as well as the language, religion, place of origin, tribe, region, caste, clan, nationality, or race of one's parents and ancestors, qualifies one for membership.

If some of the limitations that make up the ethnic identity subset look arbitrary, it's because they are (Chandra, 2006).

There are many factors why ethnicity is important in forming identities that I agree with Smith's idea, and oppose to Chandra. To begin with, the name of an ethnicity is a significant identity that allows them to present themselves to the world among others. People can be identified which ethnic group it is since the name is distinctive. Second, culture is a very identification of an ethnic group since it portrays the core point with their heritage. It is carried out generation to generation and is practiced everywhere, including in diaspora. Thirdly, every ethnic group has their own language that can identify themselves. Last but not the least, dressing and food styles make a unique identity as ethnic groups have their own dress and they have separate traditional foods to identify which are carried out to the next generation.

National identity is a concept of an individual group association that is an indication of a particular group of people that conceive the existence or non-existence of a nation. An accumulation of social-psychological accesses in an attempt to consider individual-group identification, stressing its pertinence for elucidating the charm of ethnicity, nationalism, and patriotism (Davis, 1999).

Every nation is unique with its culture, history, and appearance, and the world is constructed of nations. Each human being belongs to a nation that allegiance to the nation influences all other loyalties. As a nation is a solely legitimate milestone of social and political power, any individual who is nationless or is social and political outcasts and cannot completely accomplish himself or herself. Nations have to be integrated, independent, and free to have self-determinations. When a nation is being denied by another nation or state, conflict may appear between two national communities in terms of the "ownership" of territory, cultural traditions, myths, or heroes (Davis, 1999).

Triandafyllidou (1998) highlighted that national identity may be conceived as a double-edged relationship. The identity can distinguish a particular extent of commonality within the group. Therefore, it is based on a set of common attributes that tie the members of the nation together. It also rather embraces a set of elements that extend from ethnic links to a distributed public

culture, common historical memories and ties to a homeland, and also a common legal and economic system (Triandafyllidou, 1998).

The national obligation may narrate to an opinion in common descent and a common culture, particularly a procedure of traditions, ideas, symbols, and patterns of behavior and communication that are shared by the members of the community. Furthermore, national identity may also be connected to a specific territory, the homeland of the nation, and also the natural arrangement in which it can exercise its sovereign powers. Each national identity is generally dependent upon a joining of these elements. Civic and territorial ties are stronger for some communities, whereas for others common ethnicity and cultural closeness are widespread (Triandafyllidou, 1998).

Ethnic minorities that have been involved in the constitution of the state within which the ingroup shapes the national majority may be significant others for the latter. From the dominant nation, such minorities often have a unique culture, language, myths and traditions and there is a possibility by the mighty nation to raise a threat either to the territorial combination of its quasi nation-state if they pose secessionist indications, or to its cultural integrity and genuineness when they declare their right to distinction and divide the cultural and political instruction of the quasi nation-state.

3.2.1. Ethnicity and Identity

Ethnicity is generally categorized with the particular culture and identity of a group of people politically and socially. In a state, every official recognized citizen is provided a citizenship card and passport according to the ethnicity as their identity in terms of the political right. Common culture, common race, common religion, common language, and common tribe might be utilized to recognized someone's ethnicity. The concept of ethnicity is portrayed as a politically legitimate category and intellectually sound. Hollinger has implied that in ethnic claims and ethnic movements, the different cultural and political risks have been warned. According to the debate of Hollinger, because it refuses to approach the people who are not in any ethnic group, assuring cultural products and resources as one's ethnic heritage is exclusionary. By a

cosmopolitan, ethnic movements and their exclusionary claims should be passed beyond and taken the place of. Ideals, cultural objects, and institutions belong to human beings and not to any group, as the post-ethnic perspective of Hollinger (Hollinger, 2000).

Identity and culture are the cornerstone of ethnicity to categorize. Individuals and groups attempt to address the problematics of ethnic boundaries and meaning through the construction of identity and culture. Faithfully progressing asset of both group organization and individual identity, ethnicity is significantly conceived as a dynamic. Ethnic identity is utterly connected with the context of boundaries as ethnic boundaries indicate who is a member and who is not a member of a particular ethnic group. The concept that ethnicity is basically an individual variety operates the danger of stressing method at the cost of the structure. That ethnic identity is compulsory and optional as personal choices are restricted by the ethnic categories attainable at a special period and place. In this respect, that system is restricted to socially and politically clarified ethnic categories with changing extents of stigma or benefit added to them. In some conditions, the system of attainable ethnicities can be rather restricted and constraining (Nagel, 1994).

3.2.1.1. Culture

In order to imply to cultural and national communities, there are two sorts of terminologies such as “imagined communities” and “invented tradition”. In such social interactions, various cultural identities in distinct social and cultural contexts may be picked up by an individual, and their cultural identity goes through a proper process of formation and reformation. The cultural identity of an individual embraces several components such as ethnicity, religion, language, gender, nationality, and social class. These different aspects criss-cross and interconnect within the life of the individual and in social interactions (Anderson, 1983).

The cultural identity of a person exists in overwhelming processes of mutual action along with various factors. Social interplay and individual perception portray a pivotal role in the emergence of human identity. By the past and present life of individual human beings, the social interactions of an individual have been corresponding accounted. Nagendra Bahadur Bhandari

described that embodying these factors, the cultural identity of conceptualizations of an immigrant can extensively be sorted into three groups. First of all, essentialism stresses a cultural community's essential characters which an individual legacy as a group member. Secondly, an individual's cultural identity be developed through social interaction in the existence. This social constructivist access refuses association with any essential figures that are unalterable. Thirdly, both the essentialist and social constructivism carry out with cultural identity. And the role of cultural ancestry and social interaction in the establishment of the cultural identity of the individual (Bhandari, 2021).

Hall's claim of being stresses the resemblances, the togetherness, and the implicit essence of people. In order to recognize a person, a special and unique cultural identity exists in every group of people. There is a genuine cultural identity, an authentic self that people with an apportioned history and ancestry share in common. Hall emphasized that the exploration of rethinking is a function of fanciful reunification. It indicates an imaginary consistency upon the experience of fragmentation and scattering that is the history of every enforced diaspora. According to Hall, the practice of representation is appropriated with the places of a case who represents it since cultural identity is a matter of representation. He mentioned an instance of a Jamaican-born youth in the British diaspora that the discourse of representation entreats his personal experience. The subject's condition undertakes transformations in geographic and historical places, ultimately becoming different from the cultural identity's pattern. He also argues that every discourse embracing the identity's discourse is placed, and it persists in changing (Hall, 1994).

Hall highlighted that cultural identity is a matter of becoming and being, and it possesses to the future as much as to the past in this another implication. Cultural identities, have histories, appear from somewhere. Hall is so appropriate in exposing identity as "the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past". The past's narrative is an unescapable and flexible strength in forming identity. The past is utterly connected with the present, and our cultural identity is shaped by the bargaining of past and present. The negotiation transforms third place in the diaspora, in which the fluid and various cultural identities of immigrants develop (Hall, 1994).

3.2.1.2. Religion

Sociologists clarified about religion or its researches a thousand times; there is nothing that could compromise on the indications of one and another. Religion is a social structure that is set up by the consecrated faiths and made perfect by rituals and behavior. Hence, it is not inappropriate to imply that religion is both the construction and the relation of the cultural field of learning. Religion is rather a guideline of every individual in terms of distinguishing good or bad. Beyond these, it has the power of setting moral values, rituals, and behavior mazes although kinship or ethnicity-wise bonds can create physical and imagined common bases for a shared life.

According to Claire Mitchell (2006) religion is, in another political dimension, the most prominent counterpart of self-identification. A group of people and individuals can be recognized by their region, race, religion, or nation that were and which ethnic group they belong to; however, the people who are nonbelievers, their sense of religion, or the role of religious systems has a place in their lives. The treatment that they ascribe to a religion determines the importance of religion in defining oneself. Religion is introduced to the children in a family. From childhood life, it is instructed and carried out to practice it. In this modernization era, religion was tried to made invisible in public space even though religion has not terminated its place in language. To define the self in both individual and collective identities, religion has often been an extremely crucial aspect. It has never lost its strength in defining the primary uniqueness between the cultures even during the nation-state and national identity construction eras (Akar, 2017).

Furthermore, people practice religion to characterize the good and the bad as it instructs these by the phenomenon, as well as “us” who is good and “them” who is the bad or the ones to be convinced and won. These pledges of possessing a shared life and lifestyle have been the determinants of social formations and social relations. Nationalism utilizes religious rituals to alter institutions with or as a contrast to it rather than excluding religion completely. In the case of Myanmar, the dominant religion is Buddhist which is Theravada Buddhism; the military government mobilizes the Buddhist religion in the regulations of the activities of the state. While the other minority religions come into account, they are being marginalized by the navigation of Buddhist monks as the government provided the power to them indirectly (Anwary, 2018).

Although language differences, or Babel, are almost universal, religion has been a powerful force for pre-modern ethnicities. This is marked especially for the ethnic groups that have developed a myth of ethnic election. "**Cynthia Enloe** expands this discussion on the several links between nationalism and religion. She has a particularly focused on the use of religion by tribes and angelic religious traditions, and especially the tribal community" (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996).

3.2.1.3. History

Ethnic identity is a unique element of every particular ethnic group. In order to identify in a state from different ethnicities, it is quite important to have own language, tradition, and culture. By operating a historical narrative, contemporary identities begin constituting the national identities. The history of an ethnic group is rather important to share the legacy with the next generation. And history appears a tool for making a common ground of symbols for the members of the nation. Identity is identity something relevant to the history of a particular group of people. There is only one historical truth in the modern national identity construction. Akar emphasized that the creating of the history for the modern identity prefers a beginning implication and a concluding point wantonly. Entire other historical road maps or elucidations in terms of the past are ideological (Akar, 2017).

If an individual becomes an immigrant voluntarily or is forcibly relocated to a country or region dominated by various large groups, or if an individual is born into a family in which parents come from different large groups, his or her sense of large-group identity may be mixed up and complicated. The members of the group sublimate their offensive against the leader in a way that is similar to the process of a son turning his negative feelings toward his oedipal father into devotion. In order, the members of a group make ideal the leader, identify with each other, and gather nearby the leader. There is still another type of transgenerational transmission that is more directly relevant to identity issues on the individual level and offers more direct parallels to group identity. This form of transgenerational transmission involves the depositing of an already formed self or object image into the developing self-representation of a child under the premise that there it can be kept safe and the resolution of the conflict with which it is associated can be postponed until a future time (Volkan, 1998).

Lon Kurashige (2002) stressed that the identity of a group was, in fact, “betwixt and between” the shafts of assimilation and retention, in which it was vague, flexible, and contingent on the historical experience. He highlighted that in the past twenty years, students of American race and ethnicity have thrown overboard the concept of assimilation, indicating the fundamental achievement of retention. In this regard, within the retentionist camp, a new argument has come up. Descriptions from cultural studies, literary criticism, sociology, and race theory have altered the question through whether ethnic and racial identifies are overwhelming to how they have been constructed. He implied that constructionists undergo identity not as an original, social fact but as a fickle motion attributed upon reaching and regulating authority. Ethnicity is a logical discussion of challenged ethnic meanings in which possibilities contest for authenticity in the frame of extensive scope of political challenges and everyday circumstances. By portraying hidden and exposed racism, overwhelming groups have determined the level for those they have subordinated to promote their factor by reinterpreting racist discourse; thereby, emphasizing it into an empowering racial identity (Kurashige, 2002).

3.2.1.4. Identity

The meaning of the identity of a group or individual virtually ascribes to equality or sameness. As the identity of a person exposes that his ethnicity, national aspect, and homeland, it is rather important to maintain its legacy. One thing may assume that identity is the most prominent fact when people have the same symbol in a particular group. But in some circumstances, this apparently uncomplicated formulation is quite complex in action. When an ethnicity or a group of people is sorted as similar, it is hard to determine for an outside observer. Nor it is clear on what areas such a sorting should be done, given the boundlessness of tracks that individual alter from one another (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004).

To the topic of what culture means for ethnic identity. Like everyday gestures, food, rituals, language, outfits, etc. Especially these become utterly important when ethnicities move away from their countries, and start performing their cultural essence and practice more consciously. Because, their sense of belonging might be triggered in a different environment, even in places that they don't feel discriminated against. These ethnicities use to perform their cultural activities

within their communities naturally, and without thinking. When they are discriminated against by the majority, they will eventually form a sense of belonging upon their differences automatically. But still, this is a natural phenomenon. However, in diaspora, these communities feel that their cultural activities, religious practices, and performances (like outfits) become a matter of existence (Ozkirimli, 2005).

The authors highlighted that the individuals are urged forward not by some pre-existing and identifiable resemblance but by agency and power when they decide to arrange themselves into a group. The authors argued that social grouping is a way not only of gaining knowledge or acknowledging a similarity that follows and establishes identity; but more essentially, of creating resemblance by downplaying difference. Identity might also provide to produce or emphasize differences between in-group members and those outside the group even though identity act often includes obscuring differences among those with a similar identity. The sense of common identity frequently needs as its foil a perception of diversity, of an out-group who can be situated opposite those socially constructed as the similar (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004).

At the core of this scholarly attempt are some measures of identity that are the most politicized and challenged: race, gender, sexuality, and ethnicity. The study of identity has usually been very political, appearing from challenges for equal rights. Although the study of identity has been nearly related with other fields, particularly psychology and sociology, anthropologists have also caught the concept to be a significant tool for getting across local culture processing of and reactions to colonialism, sexism and racism, and other sorts of power connections. The authors emphasized that essentialism captures as its commencing essence that the groupings are natural and inevitable and that they are allocated from one another by caustic boundaries. It might be interpreted as a cultural phenomenon despite essentialism is frequently conceived as biologically based. Some of the identities of people are naturally appeared such as eye color, hair color and style, skin color, and so forth (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004).

3.2.1.5. Homeland

What we can observe today is that a diaspora with strong political activities is being born from a transnational group that had primarily economic and cultural ties with the homeland. Even though the people who are in exile as a diaspora community in host land, the memorial legacy of homeland is the most significant devotion and attraction for the diasporas (Baser, 2014).

Diasporas have appeared, over the last few decades, as one of the most important issues among scholars, and as non-state actors, there is progressing literature analyzing the function of diaspora groups. Diaspora groups all around the world are attracting the concentration of many scholars, journalists, specialists, and policy-makers, widely identified as migrant communities forced to flee from the homeland, which keep certain political connections to the homeland mobilize under a common identity that is either ideological, ethnic or religious. The opportunities expedited by globalization give the way to improve their homelands, as well as to lobby the host country governments for their homeland's advantage. People from the diaspora community can acquire the political and other rights to lobby in the international arena to liberate their community and rebuild the community in the homeland (Baser, 2014).

Many scholars do not suit whether the second generation has as healthy transnational ties as the first generation. The authors Portes and Rumbaut (2001) debate that the second generation has fewer ties with the homeland and that those transnational ties are a "one-generation phenomenon". however, the second generation has devotions and ties with the homeland of their parents, and they do not forget their history when the first generation share with them that is the main important and depends on the elder people. If elder people or parents share with them about the homeland and talk with them about the geographical and historical information of their homeland, then the second and future generations have ties with the homeland properly (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). In addition, Baser has indicated that many other scholars also argue that some second-generation members keep a feeling of possessing towards their receiving country, despite they do not speak the native language, do not visit that imagined homeland, and do not have the intention to move there (Baser, 2014).

3.2.1.6. Language

In different tracks, the research and analysis of linguistic anthropology is the language and identity study. The claim of chain with the linguistic construction of culture needs a claim with the diversity of culturally particular stances that speakers portray via language. Therefore, Bucholtz and Hall (2004) argue that the studies of linguistic anthropology emphasize not solely sorts of speech yet sorts of speakers, who present and represent particular identities from their language practice. The authors describe that language is rather significant and pervasive among the various symbolic approaches attainable for the cultural building of identity (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). In order to identify a person and introduce himself/herself to other people, language plays a prominent and vigorous role in a community. Since the language is unique, any individual can be recognized that from which group he or she belongs and from where as well.

Furthermore, externally enforced identity categories have, however, as much to operate with the own identity position and power of observer stakes as with any kind of impartially portrayable social actuality. When linguistic anthropologists and sociolinguists endeavor to describe the membership of a given speech community, such subjects frequently appear to preference for what numbering as membership in linguistic terms may be different from pertinent social, historical, cultural, and political basis. Bucholtz and Hall highlighted an example of in French-language high school in English-speaking Canada that the ethnic, racial, and linguistic identities of students did not match the inflexible categories enable at the school structured a "multicultural" community that related its identity on ethnoracial diversity and a shared resistant youth manner (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004).

Bucholtz and Hall demonstrated that many languages and identity studies in linguistic anthropology, indeed, mention the strongest structure of social identities in elements of heterogeneity rather than of homogeneity. The author implied that equal status and rights are acquired through bitter struggle in situations of cultural contact. This point is exemplified by continued attempts across the globe to obtain a sort of legal state recognition for the languages of people who have encountered marginalization and persecution under colonial rule, global capitalism, and nationalism. The authors revealed that the strength of unmarkedness is an instance of Zambia, where the 73 languages spoken in the country are hierarchically organized, in which seven influenced languages of the ethnic group carried out in the media are located

above the other languages. While English is the official state language is the unmarked and most eminent code. Eventually, the right status of English remains broadly strong to challenge despite the rhetoric of pluralistic equality, unlike the seven languages of ethnic groups (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004).

Language is central to individual identity that is believed from the perspective of both shape and content in the sense of what an especial person talks or writes. That enrolls the human being within national and other common identities, involving creating the rank of human being within the identity. The author highlighted that the linguists who have confidence in the autonomy of the linguistic mind would question whether language, as it relates to identity, has a system to operate with language (Joseph, 2004).

3.2.2. Citizenship and Identity

A group of people, a specific ethnicity, have been living since the beginning of history are being denied to recognize the citizen of the country. They are treated as a foreigner in their original country by the government; due to the citizenship crises on any group of people, they are not able to have proper education rights, healthcare rights, movement rights, and political rights. The lives of the people who experience sociometric marginality lack the discursive ways for collective identification to employ in prolonged political effort for their identity, rights, and recognition. According to Edmiston, citizenship is conceived founded upon a private, property-owning doctrine that is reflected in the rights, duties, and identity of the common membership (Edmiston).

Citizenship is the privilege of the people to consider their voice, rights, freedom, and justice. It is, therefore, a relationship of people with one another and also with the governance's institutions. Cooper reveals that this twofold connection is an important construct, as opposed to some other track of articulating affinity or another relation to a ruler. Cooper highlighted how citizenship relates to the rulers and the advantage of the people. The requirement of rulers for the loyalty or approval of members enables the claim-making of citizens because citizenship entails membership in a political apparatus, and hence political action and the potential for a

more expensive version of citizenship. The claims of citizens the scope of social benefits along with the legal protections of the life and property in the particular state, eroding the very notions of social well-being and collective motion to preserve it. The author demonstrated the history that has a connection with citizenship and national form that was experienced by most of the world solely in the last half of the twentieth century and negotiated by the multinational federations and confederations, and the citizenship is to differentiate the group (Cooper).

3.2.2.1. Ethnic Identity and Citizenship

A state requires its people to be legally recognized the identity as it is also necessary for the international community to address issues concerning its people. There are cases where people like to identify themselves or to express themselves in a certain way, but they are forced to accept who they are and find it difficult to accept. In addition, there are situations where identification and contestation can lead to tension between groups of people and with the state (KIPGEN, 2019).

According to Joane Nagal's work about constructing ethnicity; how individuals and groups of individuals create and recreate ethnic identity and culture create ethnic identity. Ethnic identity was argued that "it is the result of a dialogue process that involves internal and external views and processes." Moreover, the self-identification of individuals and outsider's ethnic identities, i.e. What you think of your ethnicity is, versus what they think of they think your ethnicity is (Nagel, 1994).

The definition of ethnicity as an umbrella color, language religiously diverse groups are easily accepted. It covers nationalities, caste, races, and tribes. Under normal circumstances, building ethnic identity can lead to peace. In some cases, however, identification can be a traumatic event and can even lead to violence (Horowitz, 1985).

It is a consequence of the state's failure to accommodate the radicalization of identity and the demands of marginalized groups According to the Klandermans. Instead of accepting their demands, the states politicize the collective identity of the group. İn such cases, the group tries

to dominate the state but fails to do so, leading to the group's identity being threatened by the authorities or the majority groups. Citizenship is sometimes considered juxtaposed to identity. However, it is crucial to understand that citizenship itself does not identify itself, but it does. Citizenship is a distinctly political identity; describes membership and expulsion from the political community. In other words, citizenship is not just a category, but also the participation or exclusion of the state's political community. Citizenship is sometimes considered to be related to identity (Klandermans, 2014).

Citizenship is not just about having a state-issued birth certificate or passport. But there are also benefits, duties, rights, and some other responsibilities. Moreover, it is one of the important things for the people because it gives them the most benefits and privileges in the state, as well as certain responsibilities. Recognition of one's identity by the state is often a requirement to take full advantage of the interests of citizens. Conversely, the struggle for identity can become fundamental for conflicts between different ethnic groups and for the state to take repressive measures against a particular ethnic group (Hunt, 1999).

3.3. Diaspora

Diaspora is an ancient Greek word that first appeared in the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible (known as the Septuagint) in the third century BC; if they disobeyed God's rule, describing the divine retribution Jews would face (i.e., their dispersion over the globe). Until the 1960s, this archaic term was predominantly used in the context of religion. The concept of "religious minority," was most commonly ascribed to Jews, although it was also used to describe Catholics and Protestants. Furthermore, because it was born out of the Jewish experience, it came with a negative connotation: "diaspora" signified exile and persecution (Dufoix, 2008).

According to Rogers Brubaker (2005), the concept of diaspora bridges some of the most fundamental and problematic divisions in the migration field. Among these, it is the distinction between so-called 'voluntary' and 'forced' migration, or, in general terms, between labor or economic migrants and refugees or forced migrants. The emergence of diaspora as a key concept in migration studies can be traced back to several parallel lines of research that began

in the 1990s. The role of migration in the formation, consolidation, and dissolution of diasporas was taken up by those whose perspective on migration was shaped partly by Marxist analyses but tempered by an emphasis on human agency. Since then, there has been a proliferation of literature on diaspora and migration from various disciplinary perspectives, and the concept of diaspora has been subjected to meticulous and often well-targeted critique (Brubaker, 2005).

Diasporas can arise through accretion, which is the outcome of the steady, routine movement, which can be a decision or strategy on the side of households and groups. Dispersal can also be triggered by a crisis, such as coercion, catastrophe, deportation, or another forceful movement as a result of warfare or persecution. Dispersal can also emerge through a mix of coercion and choice, leading to diasporas as a result of both cumulative processes and crises. (Hear Van, 1998).

In contrast to the sometimes ephemeral nature of migration, the concept of diaspora consolidation emphasizes another important element of diaspora — longevity. Before being acknowledged as such, diasporas must persevere — their "reality" is established over time and put to the test. Transnationalism and diaspora, two related notions, recognized that migrants no longer made a clean departure from their homelands Migration was not a simple unilineal movement (if it ever was). Rather, remittances and other types of transfer and trade, as well as return and cyclical travel, kept links to the motherland evident (Knott & McLoughlin, 2010).

The acknowledgment of major transnational relationships and transnational modes of life has spurred a debate over the tensions that exist between such relationships and integration – especially, whether sustaining transnational relationships is consistent with integration in a host country. Transnational relationships now show no symptoms of deterioration and appear to be strengthening. The diasporas developed over the previous twenty or thirty years may be reduced if the present economic crisis affects migratory flows to the global North. Transnational relationships now show no symptoms of deterioration and appear to be strengthening. However, if the present economic crisis limits migratory flows to the global North, the diasporas that have developed over the previous two or three decades may be weakened (Knott & McLoughlin, 2010).

Immigrants, according to Nicholas Van Hear, live in a society where people acknowledge many identities and try to claim them through various organizations throughout the world. Proponents of human rights and environmental agendas in social movements sometimes clash with government approaches. Religious allegiances may take precedence over national allegiances for members of global faith groups. Defendants turn to foreign tribunals when national systems fail to give justice. Furthermore, as diaspora studies so beautifully demonstrates, a growing proportion of migrants preserve links to their home countries while developing roots in the nations where they reside. Understanding how people earn a living, vote in elections, and raise their children across borders is difficult since it is often assumed that the world has always been and will always be structured into sovereign nation-states. The present nation-state system was created after the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. In the early 1900s, there were only around 130 sovereign nations, with the remaining 65 percent of political entities being colonies and protectorates. Three-quarters of the nations recognized today (about 150) were created in the previous century.

A new transnational studies lens based on a variety of epistemological assumptions and objectives, all of which are founded on five intellectual foundations:

1. Transnational events and processes are described, mapped, categorized, and quantified by empirical transnationalism. These transnational dynamics contrast with the local, regional, global, or nation-state system's delimited and bordered units, actors, structures, and processes.
2. In order to uncover transnational processes and interactions, methodological transnationalism requires reclassifying existing data, evidence, and historical and ethnographic narratives that take boundedness and boundaries for granted.
3. Theoretical transnationalism seeks to create explanations and interpretations that either complement or improve present theoretical frameworks and narratives.
4. The metaphysical notion that social environments and lives are essentially transnational underpins philosophical transnationalism. In other words, rather than being the exception, transnational events and dynamics are the norm, the underlying reality rather than a by-product.

5. Public transnationalism offers room for imagining and legitimizing possibilities for social change and transformation by reframing concerns and challenges and therefore bringing creative ways to light.

Transnational methodological, theoretical, and epistemological perspectives can be used to investigate the global, regional, national, and local levels. Transnational and transnationalism are misnomers since they indicate that we are only interested in processes that transcend and go beyond national or state boundaries (Hear, 2010).

In a legal sense, statelessness refers to those who are not recognized citizens of any country. Despite the fact that statelessness is not supported under international law, UNHCR believes that there are as many as 12 million stateless persons worldwide. The presence of stateless peoples undermines some of the most fundamental principles of international law and human rights discourse that has evolved over the last sixty years. Most crucially, the fact of statelessness contradicts the UDHR's explicit recognition of the right to a nationality (BLITZ & LYNCH, 2009).

According to Ms. Marilyn Achiron (2005), as a representation of a country's sovereignty and identity, nationality is a very delicate topic. As one might expect, disagreements about citizenship can, and frequently do, lead to friction and conflict both inside and between States. During the twentieth century, there was a rise in the number of people who were stateless across the world, as well as a rising knowledge of and concern for human rights. As a result, international law on nationality evolved in two directions: to protect and support those persons who were already stateless, and to aim to eradicate, or at least minimize, the circumstance of statelessness (Achiron, 2005).

3.3.1. Diaspora and Citizenship

Diaspora communities occur in different sort of conditions such as victim diasporas, labor diasporas, cultural diasporas, imperial diasporas, and trade diasporas. The victim diasporas, who are forced to flee from the original country into exile due to their political rights and other rights.

Labor diasporas, who are mass migration to seek jobs and economic chances in a foreign country. Cultural diasporas, who shift directly a system of chain migration. Imperial diasporas, who migrate among those keen to serve and maintain empires. Trade diasporas, who migrate for searching to open trade routes, networks, and connections with other countries. Diasporic and migrant communities have the major problem of citizenship status in their original country. When a group of people "nation" is being denied the rights of citizenship, they do not have a significant choice to settle their lives without rights, protection, and security since they have been stateless. Governments have often had to arrange the migration, respond to the effect of international diaspora, or endeavor to co-opt a supranational trading system into their nation-building attempts. Barabantseva and Sutherland demonstrated that as all migrants might not identify with their country of origin, a diaspora is not included all migrants. Also, it is not assured that the diaspora represents a homogenous group. However, the existence of both worldly anti-nationalists and reactionary ethnic-nationalists are perceived within diasporas (Barabantseva & Sutherland, 2011).

Governments embrace the strength of their people, who are living abroad as diaspora communities. The governments can acquire the systems of overwhelming the territorial limitations to their governance by enlarging national membership to their populations abroad when political and economic upheavals challenge the authority. Therefore, Britain uses the dual citizenship process to protect its nationals abroad at the end of its colonial reign and Greece also enhance their idea of Greek diaspora during its struggle for independence (Kalm, 2013). Also, Russia perceived the same way of processing dual citizenship to Russians and Russian speakers with the disintegration of the Soviet Union to save its diaspora residing in the newly independent states. Kalm (2013) also emphasized the same points that in order to protect the nationals abroad, countries embrace the idea of promotion of dual nationality, the inspiration of diaspora investments, the permission of absentee voting, and the official declaration of emigrants as "national heroes" (Kalm, 2013). However, the diaspora communities, who had to settle into other countries due to the fact that their identity and citizenship are being denied in their homeland, do not have the opportunity to be either dual citizens since they have been stateless, or the government of homeland nourish and accept them as their citizens, but they have rather loyalty for home country than host country despite the opportunities, rights, freedom, and justice are provided in the host country (Kalm, 2013; Barabantseva & Sutherland, 2011).

When the context of the relationship between citizenship and diaspora conceives together, the real scenario turns into two parts. Firstly, the relationship with the homeland of loyalty for the country is quite crucial, and the rights of citizenship and political rights in the homeland. Secondly, the relationship with the host country, in which the loyalty needs to expose as it is the current living country where every right can enjoy fully as a citizen of its origin nationals. The tendency has been particularly considerable among immigrant-sending states, among which earlier majority practice was to wind up the nationality of those who naturalize in another state. That practice eliminated the co-extensivity of diaspora and citizenship, to such an extent as emigrants had useful senses for naturalizing in their new state of dominant appearance, even if they employed a homeland identity. It was a way of the prosperity of generations, for whom the attainment or livelihood of diaspora identity correlated with citizenship would have been hard. Current practice increasingly enables emigrant citizens to hold citizenship on naturalization in another state. A chance frequently extended to succeeding emigrant generations. That reveals the possibility of defining diasporas in citizenship terms (Spiro, 2011).

The prospect of an ethnonational relationship between a territorial core and dispersed community, along with growing theoretical and empirical awareness of potential multiple ethnic or cultural identities, has resulted in a divide in the meaning of the term “diaspora”. It could be used about extremely different phenomena from the end of the 1960s. It could refer to the dispersion of a people without a state (the Armenian or Palestinian diaspora), a community of people who share a common ancestor but are not citizens of the state to which they feel connected (the Jewish diaspora), or a broad cultural community that shares the belief in a common ancestor but has no connection to a center at all (the Black or the African diaspora) (Dufoix, 2008).

3.3.2. Diaspora, Ethnic Identity and Nationalism

The notion of diaspora is now quite widespread, and it has progressively become a crucial concept for both humanities and the social sciences. The fundamental components of this traditional diaspora paradigm, according to William Safran's often used formulation, are the

collective memory of the homeland, dispersal from a homeland, lack of integration in the host country, and a 'myth' of return and a persistent link with the homeland (Safran, 1991).

The important features of diaspora according to Robin Cohen (1997) as follows:

1. A shared memory and idealization of the homeland, as well as a shared dedication to its conservation, restoration, safety, and prosperity, if not even its construction;
2. Dispersion from one's native country to two or more other places, which is sometimes traumatic or spread from a homeland for seeking a job/for trade/colonial anticipations;
3. The emergence of a widespread acceptance of a return movement;
4. With host societies, a worried association;
5. A powerful ethnic group awareness based on a sense of individuality, a shared past, and the belief in a shared fate that has lasted for a long period;
6. Sense solidarity and sympathy with co-ethnic members in other settlement nations;
7. The possibility of a uniquely creative and rewarding existence in host nations where diversity is tolerated (Cohen, 1997).

The classical diaspora paradigm includes two main tenets: a focus on a group's connection to a specific region, or homeland, and a dependence on an essentialist identity paradigm of the nation-state (Toninato, 2009).

When the discourse of nationalism is raised, it is establishing a line between Us and Them, with the nation being a shared circle of territory, people, and history surrounded by all the other territories, peoples, and histories. For a long time, national people residing outside the borders would not be considered worthy of much concern when the concept of the true nation was not at stake. In the nineteenth century, the national territory served as the nation's container, citizenship was still forming as a matter of international law, and immigrants were regarded as "lost citizens" by their home country. The acknowledgment that diplomatic protection of nationals residing abroad was a component of the state's responsibilities started in the late 19th century, although it has seldom given birth to actual policies oriented toward them. From the 1960s to the 1970s, there was a transition from apathy or abstention to the execution of a strategy of concern for expatriates (Dufoix, 2008).

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Methodology

The meaning of qualitative research is that a design of inquiry managed to develop insight on human behavior that ties with the aim of exploring the way people think and feel (Neuman, 2014). According to the qualitative research method, I conducted in-depth personal interviews to acquire a deep understanding of the case Rohingya identity through the experiences of diaspora Rohingya, and some data used from the books, journals, and newspapers as the secondary source to cover the conceptual framework. The ethnographic data collection requires ethics committee approval. Therefore, the start of the interviews relies on the data after the research design gets the committee's approval.

The data gathered by using both primary and secondary sources on the basis of the qualitative research method. For the analysis of the research, the narrative research design is used along with phenomenology. First, the participants were asked their opinions about citizenship and ethnicity in Rohingya and their expectations from the study. These expectations helped to categorize and codify the data. Then, the participants were reminded of the right of leaving the study any time they want and asked of signing the interview protocol with an informed consent form.

The phenomenology is a part of qualitative research that focuses on the study of the lived experiences of an individual within the world (Neubauer, Witkop, & Varpio, 2019). The goal of a phenomenological approach is to uncover and identify specific occurrences by looking at how they are seen by the actors in a scene. In the human realm, this usually translates into gathering 'deep' knowledge and perspectives using inductive, qualitative methods like interviews, discussions, and participant observation and expressing it from the view of the research participant(s). Phenomenological methods are epistemologically built on a paradigm of personal knowledge and subjectivity, emphasizing the relevance of personal perspective and interpretation. As a result, they're useful for understanding subjective experience and learning about people's motivations and behaviors (Lester, 1999). Other inherently qualitative methodologies, such as ethnography, hermeneutics, and symbolic interactionism, have common

points with phenomenological research. Pure phenomenological research aims to describe rather than explain, and to begin without any assumptions or preconceived notions (Husserl & Findlay, 1970).

4.1. Research Design

The study examined the narrative of the Rohingya identity in diaspora based on personal experiences, and citizenship and identity politics. The original people of Arakan, who have been calling "Rohingya" themselves for centuries, and had been identified with their name Rohingya officially until the 1962 military coup. Due to the citizenship policies of the government, they have lost their rights and real identity as they do not have the right to call their name "Rohingya" and to practice their culture, language, and even religion. In these consequences, the citizenship crisis caused a humanitarian crisis in their homeland, and people who survived are dispersed throughout the world and the diaspora is recently packing up, still moving and experiencing refuge. Thereby, it is a clear case for an examination of the citizenship law together with its identity dynamics.

Overall, 18 people from different countries were interviewed, including male and female participants, who are Rohingya activists and leaders living in the diaspora. As the diaspora Rohingyas have migrated to different countries, the participants have been collected from Europe, UK, Canada, the USA, Australia, and New Zealand.

Moreover, the interviewees have participated from a variety of professional backgrounds (such as professor, professional doctors, Engineers, and so forth, who are elites of the Rohingya community lobbying at the international arena) from different countries to have different perspectives and personal and social experiences regarding their identity. Also, acquiring their various stories in diaspora conditions in particular host countries is a sort of the main strategy of this research.

In order to categorize and analyze the data, the field study was conducted qualitative method in the collection of the entire data. I use narrative research designs for exploring the experiences of individuals of diaspora Rohingyas and collect their stories by conducting in-depth personal

interviews through the “Zoom” application; because of the ongoing circumstances given by the COVID-19 pandemic, the online platform had to be used to conduct the interview in a virtual meeting with every respondent. After collecting the primary data, the discussion and interpretation were elucidated significantly in terms of the stories and experiences of participants in the finding chapter.

The data were organized according to gender by allocating male and female, and then according to the status by allocating citizens and asylum seekers after conducting all interviews separately on different days from every participant.

While the interview was conducted from the diaspora Rohingya, the experiences of every individual and their stories were used for the thesis as a primary source, which is the most popular method of collecting data in narrative research.

4.2. Limits of the Research

In this study, only one woman participant was reached out among a total of 18 participants from the diaspora community. There are two main reasons why I have only one woman participant. Firstly, educated women are rare in the Rohingya community, so it would be impossible to seek their individual life experience and historical background of the community if uneducated women participated. As Rohingyas are quite enthusiastic about their religious faith, parents control their daughters. Especially in Arakan, when the Rohingya girls mature, they do not go outside for doing the job that they stay indoors to maintain the family and take care of them. Even in the diaspora, parents who allow their daughters to study, most of them prefer to study a religious subject like theology. Secondly, being a male researcher, it was difficult to reach out to more female participants. In the Rohingya culture which is tied with Islamic culture, females do not speak with unfamiliar males and also, they do not come in front of them.

There are certain limitations to phenomenology by its nature. Numerous sources would explain the problems with phenomenology – like it is being subjective. Human experiences may end up distracting worldly reality. Moreover, there is another issue that the written language of

Rohingya is under construction – it was become illegal to use inside the country since it has been erased by the government. Therefore, we had to acquire written consent in English, and it was not possible to get informed consent in the Rohingya language. Also, the data is translated into English from the Rohingya language. However, I aware of these limitations but still I find it beneficial to conduct the narrative of the Rohingya identity.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. FINDINGS

5.1. The idea of Being Rohingya: Narrative Identity

Narrative Ethnic Identity is built on the dichotomy of "us" and "them". The experiences of Rohingya identity, how Rohingya people define themselves with the help of certain keywords, help to inquire the feeling and the idea of being Rohingya.

Both citizens and asylum seekers take pride in being Rohingya while they differentiate themselves from other ethnicities in terms of culture. They emphasize the homeland, language, and shared historical past to keep them tied while speaking for the rest of the community, calling "we" and "us". Plus, some participants draw attention to Islam and kinship. Nevertheless, what is striking about the feeling of being Rohingya is that grasping one's ethnic Rohingya identity is a matter of existence. This feeling derives from the resilience Rohingya people assure on the contrary of the oppression and persecution they encountered. *Participant 7* put it well with the words:

> **We**, Rohingyas, are human beings, and sometimes I feel positive to be a Rohingya as we have **our** own culture, tradition, language, and homeland. But sometimes I feel sorry for being a Rohingya as **we** are under persecution. However, because there are many refugee people and some oppressive communities, I do not feel inferior myself. **We**, Rohingya, have struggled with our identity along with our existence…When we look at identity in our society in our country, it is very important to carry out as it is pride and source of life in the area. If **we** do not have **our** particular ethnic identity, the government will try to drive us out of the country.

Another significant unit of Rohingya identity that becomes prominent is language. Language is an inevitable tool for nations and ethnicities to inherit their both oral and written legacy, expand emotional ties and shares. Accordingly, *participant 8* states that "I sense my identity by the language that is extremely important to introduce myself as a Rohingya."

Religion is a kind of political dimension that refers to the most prominent aspect to identify the individuals. As it is a sort of identity of an ethnic group, religion plays a significant role for a group of people that it indicates where and which ethnic they belong to. In this respect, *participant 12* describes that "The Islam religion reached in Arakan within 8th Century as we have proof with documentations. Rohingya existed in Arakan before reaching Islam, and when Arab merchants brought Islam religion in AD 8th Century to Rohingya people in Arakan, as there is historical evidence in the international areas as well as even in the history of Myanmar."

> Participant 12 also added "We, Rohingya people, are a peaceful community, and have never crimes between us and with other ethnic groups from generations to generation and since the period of our forefather. I am proud to be a Rohingya as we, Rohingya people are honest and sincere, and believe to everybody and at anything so that our every right has been taken away by our government, and we have been betrayed".

The discriminations carry out where multi-ethnicity exists. The oppression is encountered by the minority group by the majority group that is merely based on ethnic identity. Moreover, when minority Rohingya people have been taken away their rights, they have been marginalized in their homeland.

According to *participant 13,* "I would encounter different sorts of suffering, some time I feel that what I would feel these difficulties is only for being a Rohingya."

In theory, an ethnicity has its historical background that how long they have been residing in a state, in which it is called homeland. In order to categorize and classify, culture and language are the prominent factors of ethnic identity which are unique elements of a particular group. *Participant 14* emphasize that "Being a Rohingya by birth, I thank the God even though we are struggling with the identity of Rohingya. And I always represent myself a Rohingya proudly, as I have community, culture, language, and motherland. I sense my identity by expressing our homeland, history, and culture."

Furthermore, every ethnic group is unique culturally, linguistically, and historically. And even though Rohingya people are an original ethnic group of Myanmar, they are being struggled for equality, justice, and freedom in their land which is vital for every individual.

Participant 17 mentions that "Rohingyas are a unique people in Burma (also known as Myanmar). Our distinguished shared ancestry, culture, history, language, religion, and struggle for equality, justice, and freedom have made what we are today."

> Participant 17 comes up with the book's indication that Gordon H. Luce's description of Rohingya perfectly reflects what meant to be a Rohingya. He wrote in his "Phases of Pre-Pagan Burma: Language and History" that Rohingyas "are a fine type of devout and scholarly-minded Muslims."
>
> The participant continues expresses that "as a Rohingya who follows Islam, it is essential to devout ourselves to knowledge which is the building blocks of the community and individuals' successes and prosperity. It is more crucial when the community as a whole is under the existential threat from oppressors in Burma."

Citizenship is the cornerstone of being a certain influential people and of every right including social, civic, and political rights. When an ethnic group or individuals have been taken away from their citizenship right, they are being oppressed and have been stateless.

Participant 17 shares her feeling that "When I hear a word Rohingya which is my ethnic name, I feel the emotion and some time I cannot control my tears because of the fact that being a Rohingya does not have value in front of others since we have lost our rights in our own country and have been stateless." She continually added that "we Rohingya are very emotional, honest, and religious people." we have a strong faith for Islam, loyalty for our country, and have humanity.

Although they were not discriminated against in receiving countries, Rohingya people in diaspora agree on the points that they differ from their new societies. Even though participants live in different countries, their emphasis on what makes them different in these places is almost the same.

The hate speech "Kallar" for males and "Kallarma" for females are inevitably used for foreigners and Muslims particularly, in which the word is used solely for hate speech. Therefore, it is not only being used in the Rakhine state for minority Rohingya Muslims and minority Hindus even sometimes it is used for ethnic minority Kaman Muslims who are officially recognized as a descendent group of the Rakhine ethnic group, but it also used the other parts of entire Myanmar solely for ethnic minority groups or individuals discriminately by the Buddhist.

Since ethnic Rohingya people have been taken away their citizenship rights and are being treated as foreigners, they do not have rights, freedom, and equality including basic rights and even human rights. They have been marginalized in every sector and every position.

Building a counter other identity out of oppression. No equal access to health services, unfair. Rebuilding identity in diaspora: dresscodes, food, language, hospitality.

Participant 1 states that "I would hear "Kallar" which is the most hated word for Muslims from Rakhine Buddhist. I have faced many sorts of discrimination from birth. As a Rohingya Muslim admit to the hospital during when delivery period, nurses and other staff in the hospital discriminate as they do not treat them well as human beings. When I grew up, I have faced many discriminations not only from Buddhist Rakhine but also from the government."

With the unique dressing and language of ethnic Rohingya, the diaspora Rohingya people prefer to use their ethnic identity even though they have equal rights in different countries.

Participant 1 also added the points when the indication of the difference between Rohingya people and other people, "the dresses are very different; we have to wear a western dress outside, but we wear our dress indoor. Language is different as we have our own Rohingya language."

As Myanmar is a multi-ethnic and multi-religious country, there are hundreds of ethnic groups in which most the ethnicities are non-Muslim; Among them, the Buddhist Rakhine ethnic group and Buddhist Barma ethnic group who are particularly in the government position discriminate and oppress Rohingyas that they do not want to see a single Rohingya with the equal right, even they want to drive out all Rohingyas from Myanmar indirectly.

Participant 17 claims that "I have experienced discrimination from the non-Muslim and non-Muslim government of Myanmar; it was made me force migration indirectly."

Participant 4 describes the same point that "I have experienced discrimination from the ethnic Rakhine, they use the word Kallar for Rohingyas that is a hate word, particularly for foreigners. However, I did not experience discrimination from my Rakhine friends and teachers who were very close to me in my school life. I experienced many kinds of discrimination from my Buddhist government and Buddhist monks."

Plus, media mediates the hate speech as a discourse. Counter other is expressed this way: Buddhist monks, Buddhist Government.

Participant 4 added also "The Myanmar national TV (MRTV) used to broadcast the news against Muslims, and they have brainwash extremists Buddhist into the non-Muslim organization in Myanmar."

In order to be a Rohingya student, there are different sorts of discriminations in the school where most of the teachers are of Rakhine ethnicity.

Participant 6 also has experienced the same discrimination with the hate speech "Kallar" that he expresses "I have experienced discrimination from Buddhist Rakhine ethnic and Buddhist government that they use the word "Kallar" which is a hate speech, particularly for foreigners. Moreover, I was marginalized at school not only by Rakhine teacher but also by the Rakhine students."

Participant 7 indicates that he has experienced discrimination with the hate speech "Kallar" and Bengali as the Rohingya people are being treated as illegal immigrants from Bangladesh. He

exposes his experience that “I have been called “Kallar” and Bengali that Rakhine and government accuse us illegal immigrants from Bangladesh.”

With the identity of ethnic Rohingya Muslims, a variety of discriminations, bully and oppression are encountered by the Buddhist government and Buddhist Rakhine ethnic group. In this respect, it is transparent that there is not only racism between two ethnic groups, but also Islamophobia in Myanmar, in which they discriminate the ethnic and religious identity deliberately.

Participant 8 claimed the same experience “I have experienced many discriminations from Buddhist government and Buddhist Rakhine ethnic group that they use the speech “Kallar" which is a hate speech particular for foreigners, we are discriminately being treated with the term “Bengali” which means we have migrated illegally from Bangladesh. What I have to experience the discrimination from the government is that in every sector, I would experience discrimination as a Rohingya while I was in Arakan, Myanmar. For instance, we cannot acquire any job after graduation discriminately, we cannot go to another city discriminately, we do not have citizen rights discriminately, and so forth.”

When an ethnic group or individuals have been lost their rights from the citizenship status and become stateless, there are no justice, freedom, and equality for them.

He indicates that for being a Rohingya there are several discriminations that we need to face by both sides, the Rakhine ethnic group and the government of Myanmar. For instance, I was treated inhumanly by the people of Rakhine and its students during my study in my ancestral land, and even they used to call me a derogatory word as “Kallar” which we utterly dislike and treat us as sub-human. Another predominant fact is that, when we have a problem between Rakhine and Rohingya, Myanmar governments are deliberately taking the side of the Rakhine people despite the fact that, Rohingyas are able to prove as innocent of the problem and also there is no justice for them from any government officials as all the governments are Buddhist and every government had the same discriminatory policies and sick ideologies toward Rohingya who were living for centuries, that is how they have been experiencing in the country even though they were by birth and by-laws citizens. Therefore, these sorts of discriminatory

had forced us to leave the country because as a human, we have a right to live in a country where we could get all the basic needs such as education, proper medical treatment, citizenship rights, political rights, human rights and so forth. Moreover, all the government which existed till today, there is a little percentage of the politicians who are standing for truth, justice, and equal human rights when it concerns Rohingya matter. As a result, we Rohingya have many challenges as long as the apartheid laws and policies exist in the constitution of Myanmar under the category of stateless.

Participant 9 mentions that "I used to experience different sorts of discriminations from Rakhine ethnic group that they use the word "Kallar" discriminately solely for foreigners, and they treated us in an inferior manner. Other ways of discriminations that I used to face is that when we have problems with Buddhists Rakhine and Bamar, we never get justice from the court discriminately because every government official is Buddhist. Also, I have experienced discrimination at hospitals that we, Rohingyas are not provided proper treatment where Rakhine people acquire proper treatment. While I was attending university, I used to experience discrimination from Rakhine students that we could not sit in the front line at the class, and we had fear of Rakhine and government at the same time. The discriminations force me to leave the country in seeking of a better life with human rights and other rights including citizenship rights and political rights." Having no citizenship status means there is no guarantee for the property along with other discriminations.

To say an overview, I have experienced not only discrimination but also there are many restrictions from many sides that we have been through during our life in the Rakhine state of Myanmar. For instance, after I pass the matriculation exam with such a decent grade when compare to other students but I was not able to attend the university just because for being a Rohingya student and have seen many of our people were not able to travel from one village to another village even in the same township because we had to take permission from district administrator and immigration office by giving bribe which is so hard for our people to provide such amount of money. Furthermore, the properties that belong our forefather has been confiscated by GOM and provided to the Rakhine people discriminately as it has been going on for decades on Rohingya people. The Myanmar military government thinks that to be truly Myanmarese Rohingya have to be Buddhist. Anyone from a different ethnic group or religion

is not seen as truly from Myanmar. In addition, the Burmese government disregard and reject the Rohingya alongside other communities who they have persecuted. They do not want them to be part of the fabric of Burmese society. Myanmar is showing hate/fascism and xenophobia through its ongoing genocide of the Rohingya community. They are justifying this by using terrorism and community issues to persecute the Rohingya community. Targeted religious nationalism and ideologies of hate.

Participant 11 mentions that "As a Rohingya, I have experienced different sorts of discrimination from the Buddhist Rakhine people and Buddhist government. First of all, our property (land) has been confiscated by the government and provided to the Buddhist ethnic Bamar and Rakhine discriminately. I used to be called "Kallar" discriminately, which is a hate word solely for foreigners and Muslims. After I pass the matriculation exam, I was not able to go to Sittway township to attend university easily, so we had to take permission from the immigration by giving bribe."

Like the Rohingya, we have been through so many discriminations by the government of Myanmar and the Rakhine people. We did not experience any discrimination from other ethnicities in Arakan State. In Myanmar, the government does not allow the Rohingya people to be part of Myanmar is because they belong to Islam. For example, there are many ethnics groups with a diverse background in the country where they can stay peacefully with full-fledged-right is because they belong to Buddhists, Christians, Hindus, and so forth. For being a Rohingya, Life has so many challenges and difficulties due to their religious belief and faith.

Participant 12 indicate that "As I am a Rohingya, I felt discrimination from Rakhine ethnicity and government. I did not experience any discrimination from other ethnicities in Arakan state."

Rohingya students are being discriminated against by the teachers and besides this, they were excluded from any sports program and other social activities at school is because of their religion. Despite the fact that Rohingya is one of the most persecuted minorities but they have the ability and capacity in order to explorer thing and acquire the higher education of any particular subject as they were many students who passed with the higher grade when compare other Rakhine students. Due to the discriminatory policy at school, they were excluded and

unable to participate in any award function which is annually held by the education ministry for topper students.

Participant 13 "At any sports program in school, Rohingya students were excluded discriminately. Beyond these, there were many restrictions in and out of school life. I can feel now those things were discriminated against us, at that time, I was not able to make sense of human rights, as I thought those are simple treatments. In addition, I experienced another discrimination from my Rakhine teachers in that they did not pass a Rohingya student who does not or was not able to pay money. In addition, I and my friends who work hard did not get any prizes of first, second, and third, all were given to Rakhine students. Therefore, according to that discrimination, we have lost our self-confidence; for instance, if I needed to do something, I had always negativity originally appear due to discrimination. I would feel inferior myself for being Rohingya that no matter how much I am an active and a genius is, I thought I am a weak and stateless person. The discriminations also made me that I fear to give a speech in front of people, and to ask questions in any meeting." "When I compare our Rohingya culture with others, I would indicate that we Rohingya people are religious, and we are not open-minded and we are an integrated society that we do not across our faith, community, and cultural beliefs, also we Rohingya are different by language, food, and clothing."

According to our experiences what we have seen and faced during our school life, the Rohingya students were not allowed to sit in front of the bench as the Rakhine students are intimidating them after the class and the teacher was not serious to take action against them that is what we have experienced along with my other Rohingya friends during my early life at school. As a Rohingya student, physical violence is experienced by the Rakhine ethnic students.

Participant 14 "The Rohingya students including me cannot sit at the front bench at school and cannot participate in any activities. Moreover, the majority of Rakhine students used to beat us after the class."

In Arakan State, Rohingya have been experiencing racial discrimination, religious hatred and subjected to institutionalized and systematic persecution, ethnic cleansing, and forcefully expel the entire population from the Arakan, even those Rohingyas who remain inside of the country have to live in the apartheid-like condition in the villages as well as other displacement camps

without basic freedoms, access to health-care and food shelter. Above all, they used to call illegal immigrants which is not historically factual and against according in the history of its people. Even the Rohingyas who were graduated with their respective subject could not able to do a job despite having a degree in a related field. This kind of discrimination and injustice has become intolerant and had forced us to leave the country in search of a better life.

Participant 15 "I have experienced many discriminations at school and I used to call "Kallar" rather than calling my name, which is a hate speech only for foreigner and Muslims. After graduation, different kinds of discriminations became intolerance that the situation forced me to leave the country."

As a Rohingya student, different sorts of discrimination are carried out not only in the life of education but also in every stage of life. In addition, the other minorities are marginalized in seeking a job in Myanmar. Particularly, Rohingyas do not have the privilege to do government jobs, so even NOGs jobs are very tough to get for them.

Participant 16 "Rakhine students used to discriminate at school that we, Rohingya students could not participate at any activity and also, they would bully us always. when I was studying Medicine at Magway University, I have experienced many discriminations for the ethnic majority Bamar. Moreover, I have experienced discrimination in the job; when we, minorities, apply for an NGO's job, they marginalize us."

"Burma is a diverse country made up of hundreds of big or small communities. The country is torn apart by the power-hungry military institution which creates fear and discrimination towards the ethnic minorities.

When it comes to discrimination and persecution, the Rohingya community suffers the most brutal ones. The community faces discrimination in every level and aspect of life – schools, universities, hospitals, workplaces, neighborhoods, streets, and even on social media platforms.

The intolerance towards the community is witnessed on Facebook where the racist sections of Burmese society including the extremist Buddhist organizations, the proxy military-political parties, and the news media outlets openly spread intolerance, prejudice, and racial bias which led to the campaigns of genocide in June 2012, October 2016 and August 2017."

Reunion of divided Rohingya is very important to rebuild their community as they have been marginalized and persecuted minority in the world. The military regime has made them uneducated and deprives movement rights so that they have problems and discrimination among them, which is utterly seen as an identity crisis.

Participant 17 "It is equally important to highlight discrimination among the members of Rohingya community themselves. Decades of persecutions, denial of identity, and impoverished poverty at the hands of military regimes and government resulted in the identity crisis among the Rohingya community. There is a widespread bias and discriminations in the community between townships such as Maungdaw versus Buthidaung, Rich Rohingya versus Poor Rohingya, Literate Rohingya versus Illiterate Rohingya."

"Religion factors the most. In Asia such as Bangladesh, Malaysia, and Indonesia, the Rohingya community finds a bond through Islam. So does in the Middle East. However, in the West where Christianity is dominant, it is rather through humanity or human-bond or solidarity as a persecuted community."

The hate speech is used upon the entire community of Rohingya that starts from school life in different shapes; the females of Rohingya are called "Kallarma" and for males, the term is used "Kallar". Due to the usage of hate speech and persecution of government, they feel depressed which is intolerable that forces them to leave the country.

Participant 18 "When I was a child and a student, I would encounter discrimination from my Rakhine teachers and friends that they used to call me "Kallarma", it is a hate word particularly for foreigners, and as a Rohingya, I would be marginalized everywhere. Moreover, we (our family) were facing many difficulties, injustice, and torture from the non-Muslim government discriminately. I did not have movement rights, and other basic rights discriminately. The discrimination made my family forced migration."

The loyalty of Rohingya women to their husbands and family is extremely different from other people, as they maintain the entire responsibility of the home.

"Rohingyas are different from other people that first of all, we, Rohingyas respect and love people and carry out extraordinary hospitality to the guest. Secondly, Rohingya people have

tremendous resilience that is unique from other people. The loyalty of Rohingya women is extremely different from other people."

The powerful build its identity over dominance through a set of practices. These practices may involve discursive strategies, fingering with hate speech, or physical violence. Discriminative strategies often lead to ethnic cleansing, forced migration, or genocides. For the Rohingya case, this study underscores the experiences of the discriminated in multiple levels.

First of all, participants cite the labeling strategies both at the institutional level and societal level. They were called Kallar (for men) and Kallarma (for women), which is an offensive call used for the foreigners by the Buddhist government and sometimes Buddhist Rakhine. Some were called Bengalis… etc.

Rohingyas were marginalized in the occupational and educational realm, public services, and recreational realm. Participant 13 states that "While I was going to school, they (Rakhine student and teacher) used to call me "Kallar" which is a hate word, especially for the alien. At any sports program in school, Rohingya students were excluded discriminately."

5.2. The Narrative of a Collective Political History

As a Rohingya student, different sorts of tortures are encountered in the field of education from Rakhine students and teachers, and even while the study of higher education, as a university student, the physical violence would be carried out by the government by accusing the involvement in politics against the military government that is traumatic violence for the students of Rohingya. Hereby, the cornerstone of incidences was initiated by the military coup in 1962 led by Gen Nay Win, and a constitution was introduced in 1982 in which all Rohingya rights were deprived and made them stateless in their land by denying their legal identity. The Rohingya people are being treated as aliens and accused as "Bengali" who have migrated from Bangladesh illegally, and have issued a temporary card only to Rohingya by seizing NRC (National Registration Card) that other ethnic groups had the same card, but they have been issued citizenship card.

Participant 1 “I went to primary school and middle school in Maungdaw township, and I went to high school in Yangon. While I was studying in Yangon, I have been tortured by Myanmar military intelligence. After some days, they released me, and I fled to Bangladesh into Malaysia. I have graduated with my Bachelor’s degree in Malaysia in International Economics. I have been encountered many oppressions and persecution by our Myanmar government.

the coup in 1962 by general Nay Win and came to power, he constructed a constitution in 1982. According to the constitution, the citizenship law, which he applied was unfair as the whole constitution is not appropriated by the international norm. By the 1982 citizenship law, we Rohingya were targeted to be excluded from the right of the citizen of Burma, and every right was deprived of us.

Gen Nay Win targeted some other minorities of Burma as well, however, Rohingyas are the most persecuted not only in the country but also in the world. What I had faced due to the 1982 citizenship law is, I didn't have citizenship and nationality in my own country where my parents, my grandparents, and my generations have lived there for centuries. Since I was treated as an illegal immigrant from Bangladesh, I was called “Bengali” and issued a temporary card which was called also “White Card” which mentioned “Bengali” in the gap of Race. By holding that card, I did not have any right in the country.”

Before the 1962 military coup, Rohingya had been an official ethnic group of Burma with the term “Rohingya” where they had equal rights, freedom of speech, and self-determination. Since they have been recognized foreigners as “Bengali”, the term “Rohingya” has been illegal which means there is no right to express their own ethnic name in the homeland. Even though the Rohingya diasporas can express their ethnic name “Rohingya” outside Myanmar along with enjoying every right and freedom, they have strong loyalty and devotion for their homeland.

Participant 2 “I was born in Maungdaw township, Arakan, and I grew up in a Rohingya society in Maungdaw. However, I was not able to use my Rohingya identity, even I could not express that I am a Rohingya. We do not have the right to express our name “Rohingya”. I did not feel any freedom in Myanmar as a Rohingya. However, I can express my identity as a Rohingya freely in foreign countries, but I have a strong feeling for my motherland Arakan, for my

community, and my parents, siblings, and relatives since we are living in different places with each other."

The violence on 25th August 2017 was horrific and UN Human Rights Council declared it a "textbook example of ethnic cleansing" (UN human rights chief points to 'textbook example of ethnic cleansing in Myanmar, 2017). Moreover, in 1978, there were many operations against Rohingya to eliminate and decrease the population from the territory; the King Dragon operation was one of them that was an exclusively proper population maintenance policy in which the government systematically identified illegal residents. Thereby, the Rohingya people were recognized as illegal residents, in which thousands of Rohingyas were forced to flee into Bangladesh and hundreds of Rohingyas were arrested arbitrarily in Rakhine state.

"Particularly, the most robust violence on Rohingya is in 2017, in which hundreds of thousands of people were forced to flee into Bangladesh, thousands of people have been killed, and hundreds of villages were burnt down. Before my birth, there were many sorts of main historical events that I study from history and heard from elderly people. In 1978, there was an operation of King Dragon, which was utterly targeted Rohingya people, and there were some operations against Rohingyas."

Citizenship is quite important to have different sorts of privileges in the political and social sectors. It also plays the role in the education sector that there are many restrictions in terms of citizenship to pursue a degree from a public university. Without having a citizenship card, the students cannot acquire some specialization subjects including professional subjects at a university in Myanmar.

"First of all, I have lost the right of citizenship in my motherland; in this regard, what I had faced big problem for the absence of citizenship status is that after the graduation from medicine study, we had to show citizenship card to hold degree certificate. Since I did not have it, I had to face many difficulties and it was almost impossible to acquire the certificate after doing hard work for 6 to 7 years. Eventually, I was able to find out an opportunity to make an ID card by

offering a bribe that was not an authentic one because it was not in the name of Rohingya, it was in the name of another ethnicity."

Without citizenship rights, there is no bright future and implemented dream. Freedom, equality, justice, and self-determination are extremely related to citizenship rights.

"If I had citizenship status, I was able to open either a clinic in my hometown that was my dream to develop my life and to assist my community, or get a job easily. Moreover, I had to leave my country and migrate to another country while I was not able to implement my dream and plan in my hometown. Due to the lack of a citizenship card, I have lost these privileges in my life."

When the individuals and group of people dispute to provide citizenship right in their homeland, the circumstance of residing with the identity of other people in their country is almost impossible since culture and language are extremely important and unique identity of every group of people as people can be categorized by their unique identity.

Participant 3 "When I was in Bangladesh, I was facing many problems with my documents as I was not Bengali, then I had to flee to Pakistan and I held its passport by giving money, however, I had to face many problems also there due to the fact that I was not able to speak the Urdu language fluently. So, the Pakistani government has mentioned to me that I am not Pakistani so that I could not hold the passport long time, and I had very identity problems there before coming to Canada. therefore, I acquired a privilege to come to Canada, and here, my life became easier and independent, and I have full citizenship right, every right and freedom here."

The violence in 1942 was carried out between Buddhist Rakhine and Rohingya Muslims by the contradiction of religious and racial matters.

"In the 1942 Rohingya massacre, while Japan invades Arakan, Buddhist Rakhine was with the support of Japan, and with their guns, Rakhine killed many Rohingya people at the violence. After WWII, we cooperated with Buddhists and got independence from the British. After the independence of Burma, the Rohingya people had Member of Parliament MP, Ministers, and other government officials in the first government. Gen Nay Win government came to the power in 1962, and he launches an operation called Nagamin (King Dragon) against Rohingya in 1978. In the operation, there were many Rohingyas have been jailed, killed, and over 200,000 people

forced to flee to Bangladesh. And he constructed a constitution and applied a citizenship law, which utterly against Rohingya, all sorts of rights have been revoked by the 1982 citizenship law. The law is illegal and is totally against the international norm."

"Again in 2016, violence on Rohingya people by the government appeared, and many villages burnt down, many people forced to flee to Bangladesh, many women have been raped, and many people have been slaughtered. Finally, the big violence in 2017 on Rohingya people is the last stage of genocide, in which 700,000 people escaped their lives from the persecution, thousands of people have been killed brutally including toddlers and elderly, and hundreds of villages have been burnt down and thousands of women have been raped by the Myanmar government forces."

In 1978 the operation of King Dragon, the government has seized the property of Rohingya and offer them to the other Buddhist ethnic groups. Due to the different sorts of discriminations and persecutions encounter, the situation forces the Rohingya people to leave the country, and they remain alone in another country for seeking asylum.

"As I am a Rohingya, the Military Coup and the Citizenship Law have an impact that I have lost my family, relatives, and property of my grandfather and parents in Sittway, Myanmar. By the 1982 citizenship law, I have lost my civil rights, movement rights, education rights, and so forth."

The name Rakhine has become a fearful and traumatic voice for the children of Rohingya since they observe how the danger and oppressor Rakhine people for Rohingya.

Participant 4 "since my childhood, I grew up with the fear of Buddhist Rakhine people because of the fact that they torture us everywhere. Some parents maintain their children by mentioning the Rakhine name when they cry or do not listen to their parents.

As there are no movement rights for Rohingya, they cannot go from a village to another village without any recommendation letter from the village administrator.

"By giving money to the administrator, I could get the recommendation, however, I had to inform the village administrator where I stay in the downtown."

Rohingya students do not have the opportunity to pursue higher education in the homeland; however, they can study independently in the host country, where they can enjoy every right including citizenship rights.

“Therefore, I flee to Bangladesh and studied for my Bachelor's degree there, I moved to Norway and finished my Master’s degree here. Even though Myanmar is my motherland, I could not acquire the opportunity to study there.”

Since education is restricted for Rohingya students, they have a very small number of educated people that is the main intention of the government.

Even though the diaspora Rohingyas have citizenship rights along with freedom and justice in the host country, they do not feel it as their homeland because the homeland is a very crucial memory and legacy of every individual.

Participant 18 “Despite I have every right, freedom, self-determination, and everything here in Germany, I cannot forget my motherland Arakan, Myanmar. In addition, my parents supported and encouraged us to be an educated people to serve the very vulnerable community, and to maintain our Rohingya identity, they used to support us (three sisters). Today, I have citizenship rights, luxurious life, and everything here in Germany, but I feel always like I remain stateless since I have lost my homeland.”

After the military coup in 1962 by Gen Nay Win, every positive event, right, and prosperity have been lost gradually, and different kinds of operations, violence, and persecution have been carried out against Rohingyas.

“Rohingya people have many historical events before 1982, but we have dark historical events after 1982 as we have been killed thousands of people in many operations in Arakan particularly in 2012, 2016, and 2017.”

“Due to the citizenship law which was created by authoritarian leader Nay Win after 1962 military coup, I have lost my motherland, and we have destroyed for being stateless and refuge in many countries. Not only me and my family but also my entire Rohingya community became a victim of human trafficking and many tragedies. Moreover, we encountered a textbook

example of ethnic cleansing and the last stage of genocide in 2012, 2016, and 2017, we have been traumatized by the operations and violence."

5.3. The Discursive Construction of a Common Culture: Religion, community

Most of the diaspora Rohingya prefer to live close to each other to maintain their language and culture and to rebuild the community. Moreover, they have confidence and trust in each other by having common thoughts and feelings.

Participant 1 "as it is a nature of living being, every creature wants to stay beside own community, so it is very important to me to have friends from hometown particularly from Rohingya community because we have same behavior, culture, language, religion, and thoughts which is very crucial for me so that I want to go back to Arakan to live with my community though I have everything in Norway. On the other hand, I want to bring our Rohingya people here to Norway if it is possible to establish a strong community. The countries like Norway would grant opportunity to the migrants to reside; unfortunately, they stop offering asylum and resettlement now."

The diaspora Rohingyas believe that when they live together, they can have a better condition and can be a strong community. Moreover, they have a fear and trauma of oppression since their homeland, so living together is a sort of strength.

Participant 2 "It is important to me to live close to other Rohingya people, so we are serious to be integrated with each other in a place."

The consideration of diaspora Rohingyas is to live together to maintain cultural ties and language. In order to preserve an ethnic group, maintaining both culture and language is extremely important politically and socially.

Participant 3 "as I am living in Canada, we have rights to choose what we want so that in my opinion, it depends on individual's desire of living whether with own people or with other

cultural people. However, we Rohingya should live together to maintain our culture, traditions, language, and understanding to each other."

The diaspora Rohingyas believe that if they live close to other Rohingyas, then they are able to share their proper feelings and ideas by having a common language. As it is their mother tongue, they can share anything exactly to the feeling of each other. Moreover, individuals have common thoughts and feelings under the same ethnic concept rather than other ethnic groups' individual. In addition, they also believe that if they live together, they can maintain their culture and language, and the future generation may not be mixed with other cultures and languages in the host country; they concern often to rebuild the community by living together integrated, which is a highly important element for the Rohingya community.

Participant 4 "it is extremely important to me to live close to other Rohingya people because we can share our feelings and ideas with each other by the same language, and it is compatible culturally and traditionally. Even though I have friends from different countries, I prefer to live with Rohingya friends. A Rohingya can understand the feeling of another Rohingya rather than other people. By living together, we can rebuild our community and find a sustainable solution for the next generation."

Arakan was an independent sovereign territory before it was conquered by the Burmese kings in 1784, where solely the dynasty of Rakhine and Rohingya had existed peacefully. When the rule of Burmese has reached Arakan, the "divide and role" policy is being mobilized between two major ethnic groups Rakhine and Rohingya by the Burmese rulers. To bring peace and freedom to the ancestral land Arakan again, the common goal of Rakhine and Rohingya should be endured as there are two major ethnicities in Arakan.

Participant 17 "Whether we like it or not, Rohingya and Rakhine are two sides of the coin. We have to live which requires building relationships and trust. The international community and its friendship crucial to fight for the freedom and rights to return to our ancestral home.

The hospitality of Rohingya is rather unique and generous than other people. It is a part of their culture. Rohingya people comfort to live together as they can share their feelings and respect each other.

Participant 18 “It is very important for me to live close to other Rohingya people because I feel special while I meet with my people, having conversation, and sharing ideas. Unfortunately, the place where I live and work in Germany is that I am single, so I feel happy when I call other Rohingya people and visit other places where Rohingyas exist. The respect and love are achieved for me from my community, I did not get any like this from other communities. Rohingyas are very generous people; even though they do not have enough things to do hospitality, they try to complete their duty when someone visits them. For instance, when I visited refugee camps in Bangladesh in 2019, much respect and love for me were exposed from my vulnerable community. They would try to feed different sort of foods, like hospitality, and compassion and love for younger persons and respect for elders are the cultures of Rohingya.”

Diaspora Rohingyas feel safer and freer in their practice in the receiving countries. Most of the participants mention that their cultural heritage, ethnic identity, and religious identity are equally important to them. Some participants state the other way around either in favor of religion or culture. However, there is a special emphasis on the verbal legacy of the culture. This is either about the teaching of the language of the tales, rituals, songs, etc…

One of the main ways to inherit the cultural legacy is not getting mixed with another culture (kinship and blood tie)

No matter the government denies the Rohingya as an official ethnic group of Myanmar, the ethnic Rohingya is an original ethnic group of the country that they have been living for centuries since the beginning of the history of Arakan. Since Rohingyas have been disputed from an official ethnic group to alien, their every right and freedom has been taken away by the military junta. As the existing citizenship law was introduced by the military government, it is not congruent with the international norm.

The military government used a "divide and role” policy among ethnic groups and use some extremists to be unstable in the country to control the power persistently.

Participant 2 “first of all, whether Myanmar government accepted us as the people of Myanmar or not, we are the people of the country. We are trying to be one of the official ethnicities of Myanmar, and our rights to be restored in the country. We are being persecuted because of the

fact that we are solely demanding our rights. In addition, the existing citizenship law of Myanmar has to be changed to be an international standard. There are many ethnicities in Myanmar, they have their own language, different dress, and everything is different, however, we Rohingya respect other ethnicities in Myanmar. some of them accept us as we were an official ethnic group of the country, but some are not so that we are trying to integrate with them, and we explain to them that the government is trying to divide us by mobilizing "divide and role" policy. In Myanmar, the power of the military is regulating and they are spreading wrong information about us to the other ethnic groups. We are trying to change the constitution and bring true democracy and rule of law, then we can store our rights which were deprived."

Culture, language, and history are the cornerstone of an ethnic group in order to maintain the future generation in the host country, particularly in the condition of diaspora where individuals reside along with multi-cultural people.

Participant 4 "first of all, in order to maintain Rohingya generation, we need to teach our Rohingya language to the next generation. Then we need to share our authentic history and geographical information of Rohingya's existence in Arakan. Our clothing, food style, and lifestyle are needed to introduce to them."

As the government of Myanmar is regulating by the military government, there is no democracy and other's rights. Therefore, some civil societies, other ethnic political parties, and some insurgent groups have been endeavoring to bring democracy to the country for decades, yet they did not succeed. The military government use variety of strategies to control the power.

"The authoritarian leaders in Myanmar mobilize the Terawada Buddhist religion and its monk to spread hate speech to be unstable state for getting political gain in order to control the country's resources and trading with China and Russia. The government is not democratic as there are no rights for minorities. Since the 1962 Military coup, the government's power of Myanmar remains on the hand of authoritarian leader."

The Muslim religious festival "Eid" is an occasion of the happiness and cultural legacy of Rohingya. Basically, it is a part of religious culture, but visiting relatives and having traditional

foods are a part of Rohingya ethnic culture. Even though other people believe Islam has the same culture, Rohingya people celebrate it with their unique ethnic culture.

Participant 5 “First of all, I carry my cultural heritage by teaching our Rohingya language to them since it is a legacy of identity. Secondly, we need to share the geographical information and historical events of Rohingya. Thirdly, we need to introduce some of our Rohingya especial traditional foods, and our clothing style. Fourthly, we have a culture that we visit relatives in the occasion of Eid.”

Shomaz is part of the Rohingya culture which means they have a group in every block of a village. Literally, they have religious activities with the group of *Shomaz,* they figure out the problems among families, many sorts of religious problems which are occurred between husband and wife with Islamic law *Sharia,* and it is a kind of civil society to live with harmony in the society.

Participant 7 “my cultural heritage is extremely important on fact that we need to maintain our future generation and grow our community by our cultural heritage, in which we have scopes to stay along with society each other so-called “*Shomaz*”. Both religion and cultural heritage are important for me.

Culture is very important in the context of ethnicity, so cultural heritage maintains an ethnic group's existence. And religion is also very important for people to conceive bad or good things.

Participant 8 “for me, my cultural heritage is a part of faith, which very important for me because it introduces me to who I am and where is our community belongs to. Therefore, we have to maintain it significantly and adhere it to our future generation, as it is our cornerstone for the presence of the entire community. As I follow the Islam religion, my Islamic identity is of first importance for me. As I am a Muslim, I have to maintain and follow my Islamic identity. My cultural heritage is of secondary importance; in order to represent my community, I have to keep it up properly.”

“Myanmar government has been regulating by the military junta for decades, and their policy is Burmanization which is in favor of solely Bamar ethnic majority. Moreover, they follow the rules of Buddhism in their politics, as they do not separate state and religion. Therefore, there

are no minority rights and they launch many operations against minorities such as Rohingya, Kachin, Shan, Kayin, and Rakhine to operate ethnic cleansing. The citizenship law which was made by the military government is utterly unfair, not legitimate, and not international standard. In the ethnic-cultural practice, any ethnic minority is not able to carry out their cultural practice properly, but they have more rights than Rohingya."

Almost entire the Rohingya group believe in Islam, some sort of Rohingya ethnic culture tie with the religious culture so that it is, somehow, relevant to each other.

Participant 9 "my cultural heritage is extremely important for me, as it introduces me to who I am and where I belong to. For me, religion is important, however, cultural heritage and religion is something relevant in some aspects, especially in our Rohingya culture."

"I carry my cultural heritage to the next generations by introducing our Rohingya language, and we have cultural tales, songs, and rituals that I carry those things to our next generations. In our culture, we visit our relatives, friends, and elderly people on the occasion of Eid festival, and we eat our traditional foods and we pay allowance to children."

As Myanmar is not a democratic country, there is no minority right and systematic rule in favor of self-determination, equality, freedom, and justice. The military government often mobilizes Burmanization policy since the government has been dominated by the majority of ethnic Bamar.

Participant 10 states that "Myanmar has been governing by the military junta since 1962, and there is no democracy for the rights of minorities. Also, they have a Burmanization policy and are nationalist, in which they have priority only for the Bamar ethnic. The citizenship law, which was designed by the military government, is utterly unfair and is not an international standard. The other minorities are not able to practice the culture properly."

Rohingya people wear longi which is being used instead of trousers, and they have their own traditional dress. Moreover, they have cultural sport – *Boli* that play like boxing, and they have special foods and dishes. Moreover, they have *Meela* in which they invite people, and feed meat and rice. They also have the culture to eat their traditional foods on the occasion of Eid festival.

In the Rohingya culture, they have various sorts of foods for a different type of relatives. These are the most important culture of Rohingya as their identity to share with the new generation.

Participant 12 "I carry our Rohingya cultural heritage to the next generations by giving historical information of Arakan that Rohingyas have been living in Arakan for centuries and had been governed for centuries. For ritual, Rohingyas have unique dress style as we wear *Longi* and shirt, we have particular sports so-called "*Boli*" game, we have several sorts of traditional foods, we have many ceremonies such as wedding ceremonies (Rohingya language "*Meela*") by calling environment and the whole villagers. For Eids (festival), we, Rohingya visit relatives' homes and bring curry and foods (Rohingya language "*Luri fera, Dunn fera, Saimay, Shotki*, and so forth") for one family to another family. Rohingyas have special meals for different kinds of relatives; for example, the special meal for son-in-law is called *Durus Kura* (whole chicken fried)"

The cultural heritage is extremely important to maintain an ethnic culture to share it with the future generation as it is a core identity of ethnicity to recognize. Therefore, every diaspora Rohingya emphasize cultural heritage by making concerns in order not to diminish future generations.

Participant 14 "my cultural heritage is extremely important for me because if we do not consider and practice it properly, our future generation will be lost."

The Rohingya who live in Ireland enjoy full support for their human rights and religious rights; Irish understands the feelings of other persecuted minority as they were oppressed by the British colonial rules. They commemorate the annual Genocide Remembrance Day on 25th August. The government of Ireland has called the Rohingya refugees from Bangladesh camps and offer citizenship status. Moreover, the Irish people and government support them, in which they can study, live peacefully and even they have many social activities such as exhibition of Rohingya past events, football club, cricket club and so many privileges they are enjoying in Ireland.

Participant 17 "As a Rohingya Muslim living in a predominantly Catholic Christian country, I find there is much more freedom of religion than in my birthplace in Burma. Places are worship is allowed for every religious group including the Rohingya community. The community attends

the five-time compulsory daily prayers in the mosques until the Covid-19 lockdown which has restricted every religion and community. Catholics were oppressed in Ireland by the British colonial rules. For Ireland, it is important to give freedom to every religion. As oppressed Rohingya Muslims, we find the common ground in our struggle and journey."

Participant 17 implied that cultural heritage is very crucial particularly for Rohingya who are living in the diaspora. As they did not have the right to practice their culture in the homeland, it is very important to maintain it in order not to lose their identity in the host country. Rohingya had their own written language before 1784 when Arakan was an independent state. After the king of Buma conquered Arakan in 1784, the *Mrauk U* capital of Arakan was devastated during the invasion, and all libraries were burnt down into ash. The original script of Rohingya erase and not allowed to use in the country. Therefore, there is no written language in the Rohingya ethnic group, unfortunately. Participant 17 emphasized the written language that is extremely important for Rohingya, and some Rohingya intellectuals are trying to revive the written language but it will take time. Moreover, the cultural heritage is a milestone to maintain future generations in the diaspora Rohingya. Participant 17 continues:

> "Communities or societies cease to exist when they fail to carry on their cultural heritage. Since the Rohingya people are spread across the world after culturally suppressed in their homeland land, it is easy for members of the community to lose their identity and culture. It is more fearful due to the lack of widely accepted or uniformed written language to record, restore and share the Rohingya cultural heritage. Although there are some recent advancements to revive the written language, it is still too slow and effective. It needs a generation to lose an entire cultural heritage or a generation to revive it. The diaspora Rohingya community should take steps to open centers, workshops, training, events or cultural or social sports competitions to connect the members connected to their heritage and transmit from one generation to another."

Participant 17 came up with the argument of the Myanmar government that is dominated by the Bamar ethnic majority. He also pointed out a crucial factor toward religious discrimination that

in Myanmar, the Buddhist religion is the dominant religion. There are many restrictions to practice other religions properly, particularly for Islam. He also described his opinion on the future of Myanmar that its government needs to change its existing policies and laws which are unfair and not suit with the international norm: "Burma is now divided on the line of ethnicity and religion. Buddhists enjoy freedom. Other religious minorities suffer.

Burma was founded on the basis of freedom, equality, justice, and prosperity. The pre-independence cabinet before their assassinations was the most diverse in the history of Burma. The powerful Bamar ethnic group which controls everything – power, economics, resources, military institutions, and among others need to understand that their dominant policies on ethnic and religious minorities are not long-term solutions if they are to move the country forwards with social, cultural, and religious prosperities. Participant 17 continues:

> The future government needs to abandon the policies and laws which discrimination all group particularly Rohingya on the grounds of race and religion. It needs to embrace the founding values and principles of inclusion, diversity, and tolerance which guarantee different ethnic and religious people to practice their culture, religion, and heritage freely and openly."

Every diaspora Rohingya have the right to practice religion independently in their host country. However, the religion of Rohingya is Islam so that in some countries where Islamophobia exists, they have some difficulties practicing properly.

Participant 18 "now, in Germany, I do not have any restriction to practice religion properly, so I practice it regularly. 5 years date back, we have fear to practice religion as Islamophobia existed in Germany."

The 2008 constitution was established upon the constitution of 1974, in which both constitutions were designed by the military government. Thereby, it is not compatible with the international norm. The military government is quite close to the China, Russia, India, and Israel to have different ideas and to control the power in Myanmar.

Participant 18 states:

> "When I share my thought regarding the Myanmar government, I would say that they are very weak and there are many things to be changed in their constitution. Moreover, the government is being dominated by other governments such as China, Russia, India, and Israel. Due to the domination of the Military in power, it takes time to develop the country. I do not see Myanmar will be a democratic country until the 2008 constitution is amended, it should be international standard, and military need to leave from the parliament, and religious people who extremists need to leave from politics of Myanmar. The citizenship of Myanmar is utterly unfair and it is not international standard, as it was constructed by the military government."

The circumstance of diaspora Rohingyas has the same experience that they have encountered discrimination by the citizenship policy. The participants sense their identity with their name "Rohingya", language, culture, hometown, and historical past. They also prefer to live together in diaspora conditions to maintain their culture and language and introduce their identity to the next generation who can be aware in order not to mix with other cultures and languages.

Conclusion

The primary theme of this research was to examine the citizenship status and identity of the Rohingya ethnic group from the perspectives of the diaspora community. The study endeavored to examine and assess how citizenship plays a significant role and what factors conceive in the context of the identity of an ethnic group. The study ultimately came up with the following conclusions and recommendations based on the results of the research question and analysis.

Rohingya people have been taken away their citizenship rights along with their other rights and identity that the term "Rohingya" has become illegal inside the country. Since the military coup which was led by the junta, Gen Nay Win in 1962, the ethnic minority Rohingya and some other minorities were targeted in Myanmar, in which ethnic indigenous Rohingya have been deprived of their original status and identity into aliens. Since then, the military government progressively change the policy that according to the 1982 citizenship law that was constructed by the military junta, the ethnic Rohingya have been eliminated from the officially recognized ethnic groups of Myanmar and have been deprived of their citizenship rights. So far, they are being called "Bengali" who are recognized and accused illegal immigrants that they have migrated from Bangladesh after Burma be independent in 1948.

This research was carried out with the findings of gathering the individual experiences of diaspora Rohingya communities through the in-depth personal interview from different countries including male and female, and asylum seekers and citizens from various backgrounds. All participants have experienced discrimination starting from their school life from the Buddhist government and Rakhine ethnic group, and they have been called "Kallar" which is a hate speech. Beyond these, since they have been deprived of their citizenship rights, they never enjoy proper education rights that some participants could not attend university, some participants could not get their diploma certificate after finishing their university's program, and some participants encountered many difficulties on the way to reach to their university that the discriminations were intolerable for them and the situation forced them to leave the country.

As the ethnic Rohingya is an original ethnic group of Arakan, they have their own history, historical events, and homeland. The expression of all participants from the diaspora

communities is that they feel proud and expose their pride to be Rohingya by emphasizing their own language, culture, religion, homeland, and historical past. It is an extremely important fact that the identity of every ethnicity is their own language, culture, religion, and homeland. Every individual is identified and categorized with their language and culture that where is they belong to.

Since Rohingya people do not have citizenship rights, their maximum population had to leave the country to seek asylum from another country. According to participants, diaspora Rohingyas both asylum seekers and citizens enjoy their full rights in the host countries. They are able to pursue higher education as they have education rights and every right. Moreover, they have the right to practice their religion freely, and freedom, justice, and equality are facilitating in the host country where they could not sense in their homeland.

On the one hand, diaspora Rohingyas have loyalty for the host country and have full freedom and rights in the current country, they have, on the other hand, devotion for their homeland where they have left their soul, nation, territory, historical events, and legacy. The first generation has more ties with their homeland than the second generation. As the second generation live together with a multi-cultural environment in the host country, they might mix with another language, culture, and behavior that lead them distance from their original background.

The study analyzed from the participants that Rohingyas, who live in diaspora, prefer to stay close to other Rohingyas to maintain language and cultural ties in order not to annihilate future generations and blend with others. The new generation may become less effective or valuable to their own ethnic culture, language, and history about the homeland for being tangible experiences with other communities. Therefore, the diaspora Rohingya emphasize maintaining their language and culture, and they often attempt to share the historical and geographical information with their new generation.

In this study, the research has elaborated and discussed all crucial issues that how the citizenship law impacts the identity of Rohingya. The study has generated answers based on the citizenship law that is utterly against the ethnic identity of the Rohingya evaluated in the thesis such as discrimination, marginalization, and persecution which are intolerable and forced migration.

The study was concluded that both the government and the existing citizenship law of Myanmar should change and focus on authentic democracy.

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Appendix

1.GENERAL: Please introduce yourself briefly.

a. Demographic Information: age, gender, income, working field, membership, residence country, religion, birthplace, parents' birthplace?

b. Nationality? Citizenship status? Residence status?

c. What in your opinion makes you a Rohingya? What has it meant you to be a Rohingya? How do you sense your identity?

2. FAMILY: How long have you been residing in your current country? Do you have family with you (extended family- nuclear family/ single- married)?

3. MILESTONES:

a. Tell me about milestones in your life and their effects on your Rohingya identity? (Before fleeing/After fleeing)

b. What are the main historical events that Rohingya people went through? (good or/and bad)

c. Did the Military Coup and the Citizenship Law have an impact on what makes you a Rohingya? (Eg. Emotional, formal, corporate, etc.

4. SOCIAL: Describe your community of friends. How important or unimportant is it to you to have friends that are from hometown, or to live close to other Rohingya people?

5. DISCRIMINATION:

a. Back in Myanmar, how did non-Rohingyas, non-Muslims respond to you? Have you experienced discrimination either from a Rohingya Muslims or a non-Rohingya Muslim? Share any experiences you have had with any of the following: intolerance, prejudice, unpleasantness, forced migration, physical violence, in relation to another person.

b. Today, Rohingya people in diaspora lives in countries with people of different cultures and ethnic origin. Which of these people do you think are entirely different from Rohingyas?

6. RELIGIOUS PRACTICE and CULTURAL HERITAGE:

a. How much do you practice religion? For example; how often do you go to services? To what extent do you identify with the oppressed, do good deeds etc.

b. How important is your cultural heritage? Is one important for you or these equally balanced: religion and cultural heritage?

c. How do you carry your cultural heritage to the next generations? (Ex. Written/Oral? Tales, songs, rituals, eids etc.)

d. What are your thoughts about Myanmar Government and their citizenship and ethnic-cultural practices?