

## **The Rohingya Refugee & Security Dilemma of Minority Groups in Bangladesh.**

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### **Abstract**

*Bangladesh is a rainbow country that is consisted of diverse ethnic groups. It fledged as an independent country in 1971 through a decisive vendetta. After the 42 years of freedom Bangladesh still remains under the title of developing country that is scrapped with numerous tribulations. “Rohingya” is one of such tribulations. Although Bangladesh has already been saturated with hundreds of problems, “Rohingya” has become a venomous bite for Bangladesh for its numerous adverse effects on various aspects of human life. The refugee problem has become very influential for Bangladesh since some after its independence. In the recent past, Bangladesh has experienced two influxes of refugees from Myanmar, the first in 1978 and the second in 1991-92. Around 250,000 people were involved both times.<sup>1</sup>Now it has taken a protracted shape of problem. Undoubtedly, Rohingya people have been a sparkling example of persecution, torture but it also has big impacts on the recipient country. The Aim of this Article is to explore the core problems of Rohingya influx. In this paper the total incidence will be delineated under a well developed theory. Along with this required data will be collected from the field. So, this paper will follow both quantitative and qualitative approach. In that case both the primary and secondary data will be required. The secondary materials of this paper will be collected based on specified books of prominence author, the earlier publication of various NGO’s regarding with this issue and websites of renowned institutions. Most of the ethnic conflicts are deep rooted. The past history of the conflict is most influential fact to understand the conflict properly. The case of Rohingya & Rakhaine is*

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<sup>1</sup> Kiragu Esther, Rosi Angela Li, et. al, “States of denial : A review of UNHCR’s response to the protracted situation of stateless Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh”, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees & Policy Development and Evaluation Service, December 2011, Pg-7, Access on-11/7/2013, Available at- [www.unhcr.org/4ee754c19.pdf](http://www.unhcr.org/4ee754c19.pdf)

*also not an exceptional one. The historical adversity of these two groups has remained dominant to flare up their confrontation. In this part of the paper we are going to discuss the historical phenomena of this conflict chronologically.*

*The first part of this Article deal with the definitional terms and the causes and consequences of Rohingya influx .The Second part explored the Historical Background of Rohingya situation as well as the colonial period. The third part examined the nature of conflict with others likes politics, Language, Land, Environment, Race, Religion and Festival. The fourth dealt with a comparative analysis between Rohingya and Rakhaine conflict in 2012.The Fifth dealt with the Intrusion of “Rohingya” Delineates a Potential Security Threat to\_“Rakhaine” Community.The six dealt with conclusion and recommendation. Finally we tried to draw an attention of the readers with the manipulations and politicization of Rohingya infiltration. Every research paper requires a theoretical basis of its work. That means, it is important for the strength of research to delineate the whole scenario under a well recognized theoretical basis. There are some Theories may attached in these respect such as Civil War & Diffusion of Violence, Ideologies of Antagonism,*

*In this paper the total incidence will be delineated under a well developed theory. Along with this required data will be collected from the field. So, this paper will follow both quantitative and qualitative approach. In that case both the primary and secondary data will be required.*

*Most of the ethnic conflicts in the world are generally very dangerous. Most of these take perpetual shape if these are not resolved in incipient level. Misperception, lack of confidence, past hostility and religious antagonism are the basic causes of this ethnic conflict. The possibility of big scale ethnic conflict is zero here because to construct a big scale ethnic conflict the parities of ethnic conflict need to be strong in case of number or power. The difference of number and power between Rakhaine & local Muslim are huge.*

*So, there have no chance for the Rakhaine people to make any strong agitation against the local ethnic group if conflict rises. There will remain no chance to fight back against the local Muslim for the Rakhaine. So, if any incidence takes place against the Rakhaine people it must be an ethnic cleansing. In this case, to protect the rights of minority positive initiatives should be enforced quickly aiming to diminish the root of ethnic conflict.*

### **Definition, Causes and consequence**

- ❖ The shorter Oxford English Dictionary defines a refugee as ‘one who , owing to religious persecution or political troubles, seeks refuge in a foreign country; orig. applied to the French Huguenots who came to England after the revocation of the Edicts of Nantes in 1685.
- ❖ Since the Second World War, the principle legal definition of refugees has been that incorporated into the 1951 United Nations (UN) Convention Relating to the status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol, which removed the convention’s geographic limitation of refugees as being those displaced by events in Europe before 1951. This definition of refugees was designed to meet the needs of individuals fleeing persecution in the post-war era. Certainly one of the current dilemmas facing the international system today is the inadequacy of this definition to respond to the needs of people uprooted by a different combination of causes than those present in Europe during the 1940s.

The Convention defines a refugee as:

*‘any person who, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside to the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of that country, or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence, is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.’*

(UN 1951)

In contrast to this narrow definition of refugee status, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1969 developed a Convention Governing the specific Aspect of refugee problems in Africa which expanded the UN definition to include those individuals displaced by generalized conditions of violence.

The OAU definition of refugees includes:

*‘every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality’*

(OAU 1969)

### **The most important parts of the refugee definition are:**

- Refugees have to be outside their country of origin;

- The reason for their flight has to be a fear of persecution;
- The fear of persecution has to be well-founded
- The persecution has to result from one or more of the 5 grounds listed in the definition, that is race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion;
- They have to be unwilling or unable to seek the protection of their country.

### **Conceptual Analysis:**

These definitions exclude two major groups-such as

- Several important groups of people uprooted by forces beyond their control. Both the UN and OAU definitions exclude those individuals who have been displaced or persecuted because of violence, but who, for one reason or another, have not left their country of origin.
- A second major group exclude from these definitions are those leaving their countries for economic or environmental reason

Thus, the internationally accepted definition of refugees includes those who have been singled out for persecution for five reasons:

- Religion
- Race
- Nationality
- Membership in a particular social group or
- Political opinion.

The definition excludes those individuals who are displaced by violence and warfare and who have not been singled out for individual persecution: the vast majority of today's refugees.

### **Historical Background**

Most of the ethnic conflicts are deep rooted. The past history of the conflict is most influential fact to understand the conflict properly. The case of Rohingya & Rakhaine is also not an exceptional one. The historical adversity of these two groups has remained dominant to flare up their confrontation. In this part of the paper we are going to discuss the historical phenomena of this conflict chronologically.

### **The Emergence of Buddhism in Arakan**

If we see to the map it will be appeared as disintegrated state from the main territory. 'The Arakan Yoma, a range that forms the eastern boundary of the region, to some extent isolates Arakan from the rest of southern Myanmar' (Arakan: Encyclopadia Britannicca). Before the

Buddhist dominance it was reined by Hindu kings. ‘But, in the 8<sup>th</sup> century the two new dimensions were seen in this new province. One was substitution of Buddha religion in the place of Hindu and the rest one is establishment of one planned city named Wesali’(Khan, 1998: 3). Until the 9<sup>th</sup> century this region remained untouched by other religions.

### **The emergence of Islam in Arakan**

At present Myanmar is constitutionally a Buddhist country. Before 9<sup>th</sup> century there was no Muslim in Arakan. The majority people were Buddhist & negligible portion of Hindu were also in existence there. Yegar cited that ‘Probably the first contact which Arakan had with Islam was through Muslim seamen from Arab in the ninth century’ (In Grundy et al, 1997: 79). The Arabs were charmed by the natural beauty & natural resources of Arakan. Subsequently they started to live there. In the British period a great number of Muslim people also migrated to Arakan from Indian sub-continent.

### **How Rohingya People Became Refugee of Bangladesh**

A refugee is a person, as has been said by Harun Ur Rashid, who takes refuge in another country for fear of persecution and threat to life.<sup>2</sup>To become a refugee one must leave his country of origin. It is first and foremost requirement for a person who claim himself a refugee. The fact of persecution must be specific. Rohingya people, took refuge in Bangladesh, are counted as refugee because they fulfill the requirement of being a refugee. Rohingya is an ethnic group who are generally from the Arakan state of Myanmar. The number of Rohingya Muslims is approximately 1.4 million, almost half of the total population.<sup>3</sup>. So being persecuted Rohingya people leave their country of origin and take refuge in the neighbor country named Bangladesh. This problem first sought in 1978. In 1977, the Burmese military government launched an operation called “Naga Min” or Dragon Kings to registrar the citizens and prosecutes the illegal entrance. The nationwide campaign started in Rakhaine state, and the mass arrest and persecution, accompanied by violence and brute force, triggered in exodus in 1978 of approximately 200000 (Two Million) Rohingyas in Bangladesh.<sup>4</sup> Another influx came to Bangladesh in 1991-1992. Almost 270000 (Twenty Seven Million) people were contained in this influx. Most of them took refuge to Bangladesh in different camps.

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<sup>2</sup> Rashid Ur Harun; Pg-243;2005; An Introduction to Peace & Conflict Studies.

<sup>3</sup> PDF; p.g-1; Ten Years for the Rohingya Refugees in Bangladesh.; [www.doctorswithoutborders.org/publications/.../rohingya-report.pdf](http://www.doctorswithoutborders.org/publications/.../rohingya-report.pdf).

<sup>4</sup> IBID; pg-10

## **Theoretical Framework**

Every research paper requires a theoretical basis of its work. That means, it is important for the strength of research to delineate the whole scenario under a well recognized theoretical basis. To make my case evident I used some theories which are described in the next pages-

### **Civil War & Diffusion of Violence**

We know the negative externalities which are generally imposed on the neighboring country of civil war or internal conflict torn country. Through these negative externalities the violence generally diffuses. These negative externalities are massive flow of refugee to neighboring country and bad impact on the economy (Carreras, 2012: 838). To analyze the causes of diffusion of violence Woodwell asserted that ‘Conflict can also spread through transnational ethnic ties when political actors in the neighboring state act in solidarity with their ethnic group in the world torn country’ (In Carreras, 2012: 839). In the same line with Woodwell many other authors named Moores, Davis & Saideman stated that ‘Many civil wars involve ethnic groups seeking secession, and transnational ethnic ties may lead actors in one state to act in solidarity with their ethnic kin in another’ (In Salehyan & Gleditsch, 2006: 336). In many cases the ethnic ties surpass the power of political actors. The multinational ethnic ties may be based on religion, language, race etc. In such cases, conflict may diffuse through the negative externalities mentioned above (Carreras, 2012: 839).

We saw the diffusion of violence through multinational ethnic tie, religion, in 1947 in India & Pakistan. It was one of the worst riots the world have ever seen. The problem with which I am working is also based on the same stage, religion. In Bangladesh the mainstream of population is Muslim. On the other hand Rohingya are also Muslim. This transnational ethnic tie, sometimes, is assumed as the detonator of a big riot against Rakhaine in Bangladesh.

### **Ideologies of Antagonism**

This theory is basically a psychological explanation of delineating a conflict. It emphasizes on historical evidences of ethnic or group conflict as a root of conflict. To define ideologies of antagonism Ervin Staub asserted that ‘a history of conflict, hostility and mutual violence lead to perceiving the “other” as an enemy who represents a danger to one’s existence. At the same time, each group’s identity is partly defined by its enmity to the other. I call this an Ideology of Antagonism (In Richard et al, 2001: 79).

Ideologies of antagonism refer the adverse relationship of one group to another. We have seen this relationship between the Hutu & Tutsi in Rwanda, Tamil & Sinhala in Sri Lanka. This type of relation is also

present in between Rakhaine & Rohingya. This type of ideology is very much responsible to flare up a dangerous riot. It has already been seen in Myanmar. We cannot guarantee it unequivocally that this type of riot will not be taken place in Bangladesh.

### **Evaluation of Rohingya - Rakhaine Conflict: 2012**

The nature of politics of Myanmar is changing. It is likely to follow democracy. The riot was taken place when Myanmar government is busy with the shaping of democracy. I have already said that Myanmar government has been continuing persecution for many years. Examples are also given in above pages. Myanmar government has been continuing persecution on Rakhaine Buddhists Along with Rohingya Muslims from the historical time. It can be proved by the appearance of many rival groups of Rakhaine people who want freedom of Arakan such as ALP (Arakan Liberation Party), ALF (Arakan Liberation Front) etc. They constituted these groups to rescue from the persecution of Burmese government. But one thing is that Rakhaines' are not oppressed as Rohingya. In the last riot occurred between Rakhaine & Rohingya Myanmar government was silent at the first phase but when government saw that riot is going out of control then they interfere into it. So it is clear that it was totally a communal violence rather than political. The riot was cited in the city named "Mongdo". It is Rohingya dominated area. I already said that the amount of Rohingya people in Myanmar is 1.4 million. Most of them live in this city. This riot took place for the murder of one Rakhaine Buddhist girl. She was rapped before her murder by some Rohingya Muslim. After that the agitating Rakhaine Buddhist killed 10 general Rohingya which fomented the riot to take severe shape. Subsequently Rohingya people also torched many houses of Rakhaine. This riot was totally a riot between two general groups not the rival groups. It is also mentionable that the size of Rakhaine people is comparatively negligible than to Rohingya. On the other hand Rakhaine people of this state claimed that Rohingyas used fire arms against Rakhaine. They claimed that any rival group might help Rohingya. This claim also had basis. As like as the claim of Rakhaine people the foreign minister of Bangladesh also said in the parliament that, "Myanmar said Jamaat E Islami is interfering in the issue." Whatever it is, two groups were affected same in amount. People of every group leave their place of origin But Rakhaine became internally displaced person where Rohingya became refugee. Because Rakhaine people had opportunity to move in the own country but Rohingya people did not. In that case displaced Rohingya people crossed their own lands' border and turned into a refugee. This is the reason for what everyone outside the Myanmar thought that Rakhaine people were so brutal that Rohingya people were

not able to stay in their own land. But the total scenario was not same as people assume. We know that minority is all time defeated by the majority as Rohingya are oppressed by Myanmar. So with the same line in “Mongdo” city, Rohingya is majority and Rakhaine is minority group. So in this communal riot as well as the rule, minority or Rakhaine people were oppressed by the majority or Rohingya people. Some people argue that the military groups help Rakhaine people to persecute Rohingya. But at the same time we must remember that military personnel were implemented 4-5 days after the riot had began. But we can assume that in the conflicting situation 4-5 days is enough to destroy any groups. So it should not be thought that only Rohingya was affected badly in this riot. If comparison is conducted neutrally on the vulnerability of Rohingya and Rakhaine, the second one might be most vulnerable but it was avoided.

### **Rohingya Influx & Policy of Bangladesh**

The greatest influx of Rohingya refugee was cited in 1978 as told before. It contained almost 2 million people. Within 16 months of arrival, most of their forced back after bi-lateral agreements was made between the government of Burma and Bangladesh. Some 10,000 Rohingya Muslims were dead, mostly women and children. Due to severe malnutrition and illness after food rations were cut to compel them to leave.<sup>5</sup>The same thing also happened in 1991. But Bangladesh was unable to repatriate the whole population. So by following the international rules and regulation Bangladesh also gave shelter many refugees. Bangladesh has two camps regarding with Rohingya refugee. These are Kutupalong and Nayapara. The first one contains approximately 10000 refugees and second one contains approximately 16000 refugees. Today only 28000 refugees are recognized by the Bangladesh government and huge numbers of Rohingya refugees are illegally living in Bangladesh. Few services are provided to the people of camps such as-basic health service; primary education and food ration services etc. Many NGOs are working in these two camps to give the facilities. On the other hand as a poor state Bangladesh is also facing problems regarding with this issue. So the Government of Bangladesh has increased restrictions on aid agencies and centralized all decision-making pertaining to both the registered and unregistered refugees at the Dhaka-level, significantly delaying aid operations. In the official camps, government officials abruptly halted refugee resettlement and have closed all income-generating activities, including small shops and tailoring, stating that skills were provided to only help refugees upon their return to Burma.<sup>6</sup>In the present condition

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<sup>5</sup> IBID; p.g-10

<sup>6</sup> Bangladesh: the silent crisis.



Bangladesh is unlikely to receive any influx of refugee. It was also seen in the last conflict occurred in Arakan between Rakhaine Buddhist and Rohingya Muslims. In that case Bangladesh government did not permit refugees to get enter in Bangladesh. Bangladesh government also unwanted to resettle the refugees because the available resources are already very low regarding with the existing population or country men of Bangladesh. Now Bangladesh argues that it is not only a problem of Bangladesh but also it is international concern. So, international community has the responsibility to come forward to promote the issue.

### **Rohingya Refugee & Problems with Bangladesh**

Rohingya is a big headache for Bangladesh because they create many problems in the place where they have taken refuge. The problems which are produced by government are traced below-

#### **Crime**

As a poor state Bangladesh do not able to give them adequate assistance. Bangladesh government is also unable to give shelter under the refugee camp. So they are remaining in very poor condition. So to fulfill the basic needs they try to find out work but most of them fail. Consequently they engage into various crimes. The rural people claim that the amount of crime has been increased to cautious level and they also claim the linkage of Rohingya people with these crimes.

#### **Lessening of Workplace**

There have almost 26000 registered refugees in two refugee camps in Bangladesh. These camps are situated in the Cox's Bazar. Without the registered refugees there have thousands of refugees who remained unregistered. So this huge amount also shares the limited resource of specific area. Consequently it creates feelings of anger to rural people. This process is lessening their scopes of workplace.

#### **Social Unrest**

Rohingya refugee is a byproduct of turmoil which has been taken place in their living place. We all know that in the Arakan state two types of communities live. One is Rakhaine and another is Rohingya. So whenever the Rohingya influx comes into Bangladesh it increases tension of Rakhaine people who are living in Bangladesh from hundreds of year. Because Bangladesh is a Muslim dominated country where Myanmar is Buddhist dominated. So there is a co-relation between Rohingya and Bangali based on religion. Sometime many prelude religious person or parties try to disseminate conflict with Rakhaine in Bangladesh as revenge. As an example- In last conflict of Rohingya and Rakhaine one

of the most influential religious political parties tried to disseminate the communal riot in Bangladesh. In that case they tried to foment general people to agitate against Rakhaine community. To make this possible they spread some horrible videos through internet as a mass killing of Rohingya in Arakan done by Rakhaine. I saw this video and this was not videos of discussed riot. Most probably these videos are taken from Vietnam War. Consequently in most Rakhaine villages they situated vigilance group for their own safety and many Rakhaine people leave their home and displaced to safe place. Although it is not discussed or written in any kind of media it is true. I gave this information from my own sight experience.

### **Intrusion of “Rohingya” Delineates a Potential Security Threat to “Rakhaine” Community**

The minority groups are always deprived and always have to face the wrath of majority group. ‘But the concept minority & majority are always relational & relative. A majority exists only in relation to majority and vice versa, and their relationship contingent on the relevant system boundaries’ (Eriksen, 2002: 122). That is- Hindus are minority group & Muslims are majority in Bangladesh but in India Muslim are minority & Hindus are majority. That means concept of majority and minority vary based on the system boundaries or territory. The same sentences will be appropriate on the relationship between Rakhaine & Rohingya. Rakhaine are Buddhist & they possess the majority of Arakan, Rohingya or Muslims are minority group in there. In that case as I have mentioned above Rohingya has to face the wrath of majority. With the same line in Bangladesh Rakhaine or Buddhist are minority. In that case I do not say Rohingya is majority here but I would like to mention the religious ethnicity, Muslim, as majority. So, as a minority group, the Rakhaine people possess potential security threat from the intrusion of Rohingya in Bangladesh. From the data and information that I have collected from the field in aiming to analyze the situation are being described following.

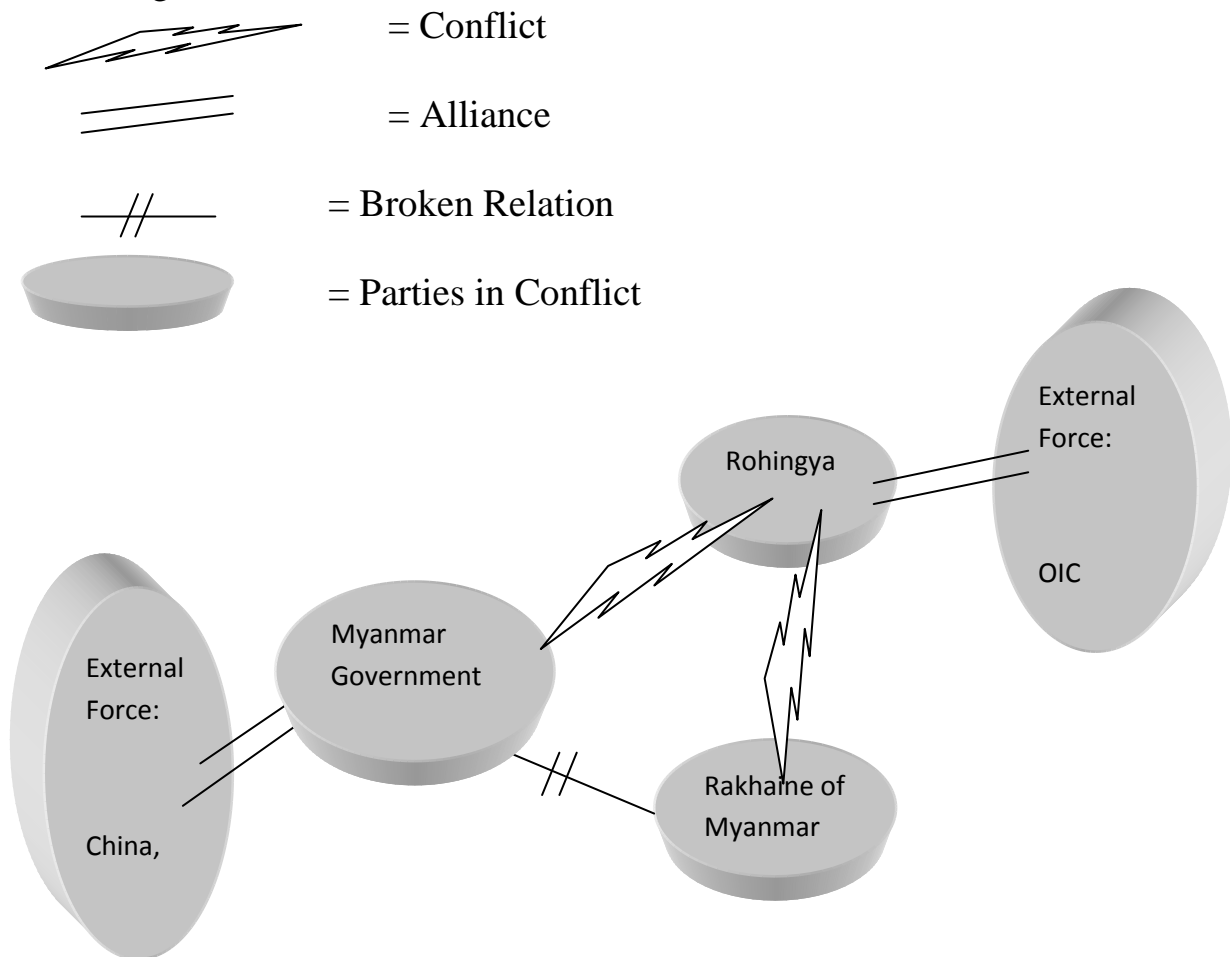
### **Conflict Mapping**

By using the theoretical tools we can easily find the root & connections of problem. ‘Conflict mapping is such kind of theoretical tool that means a technique used to represent a conflict graphically, placing the parties in relation both to the problem and to each other’ (Fisher et al, 2007: 22).

I personalized the conflict map to integrate the conceptual framework of civil war diffusion & ideologies of antagonism as a part of the contributing factors for the current situation. I have also tried to include all parties that

## The Rohingya Refugee & Security Dilemma of Minority Groups

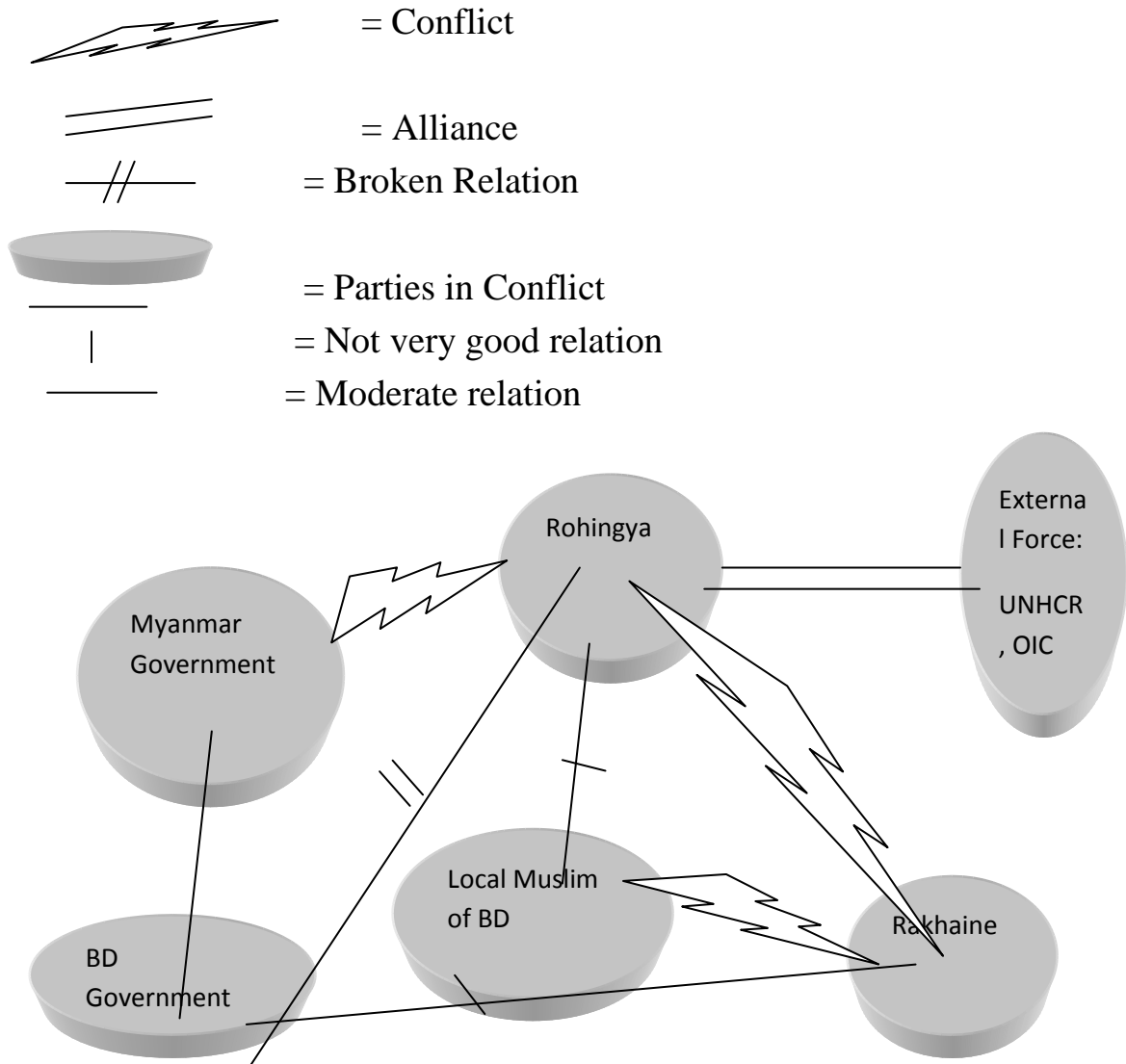
have minimal influence or participation to the conflict. The maps is following-



**Map 1:** Conflict regarding Rohingya in Myanmar

### Explanation

From the figure we see that how the parties in conflict are involved. It is clear in the map that the main parties of the conflict are Myanmar government, Rohingya & Rakhaine of Myanmar. Here the Rohingya as a Muslim ethnic group is counted as minority. Although the relation of Buddhist Rakhaine community with the Myanmar government is broken, in that case, for the same religious ethnicity, Buddhism, Rakhaine people are some extent immune from the wrath of Myanmar government. So, here we see that Rohingya is a one opposition confronting with two. In this case we also see some interference of external forces. But these forces cannot play strong role in favor with Rohingya. As a result being tortured in the country of origin the Rohingya take refuge in Bangladesh and termed as refugee. This product of human made disaster also influences the condition in Bangladesh. In the next conflict map we will discuss it.



**Map 2:** Conflict regarding Rohingya in Bangladesh

**Explanation**

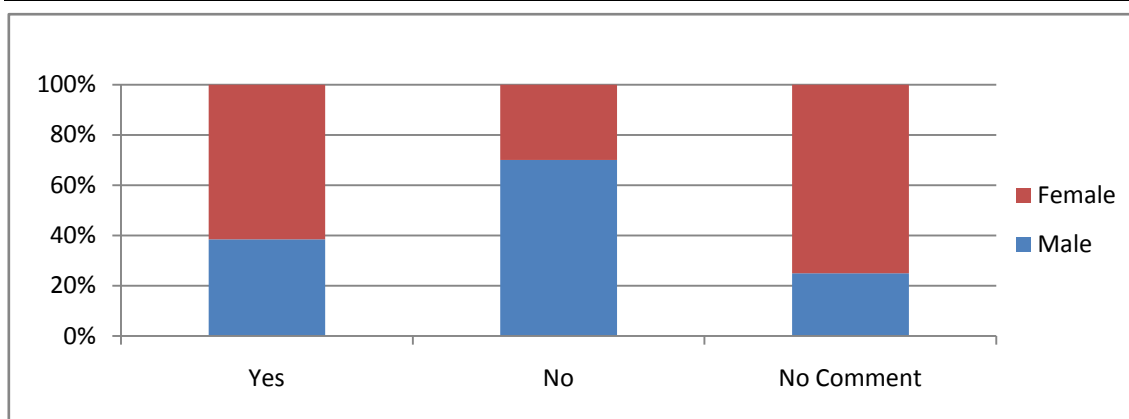
After the intrusion of Rohingya in Bangladesh take refuge in Bangladesh. In the past Bangladesh government used to give shelter to them for the humanitarian reason. But now it has become difficult to give them more assistance. On the other hand for the economic reason Bangladesh government wants to make a good relationship with the Myanmar government. So, the relationship with the Bangladesh government & Rohingya has been broken. On the other hand the relationship of Rohingya and local people is also not good because they have to share the scarce resource. But the local people, the erstwhile friend of Rakhaine in Bangladesh, feel that Rakhaine is their enemy. The reason of their thought is multinational ethnicity. They think that Rakhaine are the enemy of Islam. So the potentiality of conflict remains there.

**Possessing Threat to Observe Religious Festival**

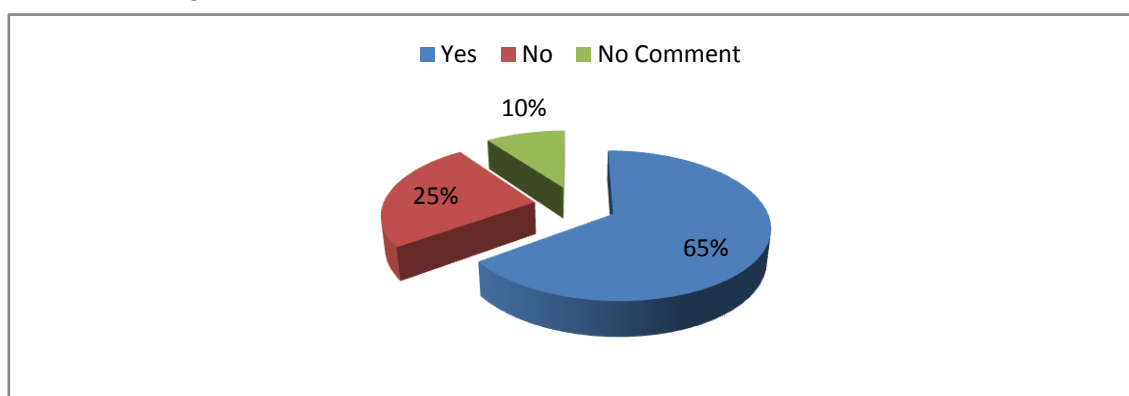
In 2012, at the time of insurgency in Arakan, Rakhaine people were in a great uncertainty on the observation of their 2<sup>nd</sup> largest religious festival

“Probarona Purnima” or “Wa Kyaw”. The total population of Harbang, Rakhaine, was divided into two groups. One group was in support to observe the outside activities of festival. Another group mainly was consisted of young people who wanted to observe both indoor & outdoor activities of the festival. The main reason of this paradoxical situation was the insurgency in Arakan of Myanmar” and the news of insurgency in Myanmar at this time. In other Rakhaine villages in Cox’s Bazaar there were also found quietly same scenario.

Yes		No		No Comment	
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
16	10	3	7	3	1



**Figure 1:** Opinion of Male & Female in regards of Possessing threat to observe religious festival.



**Figure 2:** Opinion of total people in regards of Possessing threat to observe religious festival.

From the figure 1 we see that almost 40% of male respondents & 60% of Female respondents feel that to observe the outdoor religious activities is not safe. If we serve the data as total we see that, from figure 2, 65% people perceive that it is threatening. Only 25% people think it is not a matter of threat & 10% of total population refused to give any opinion.

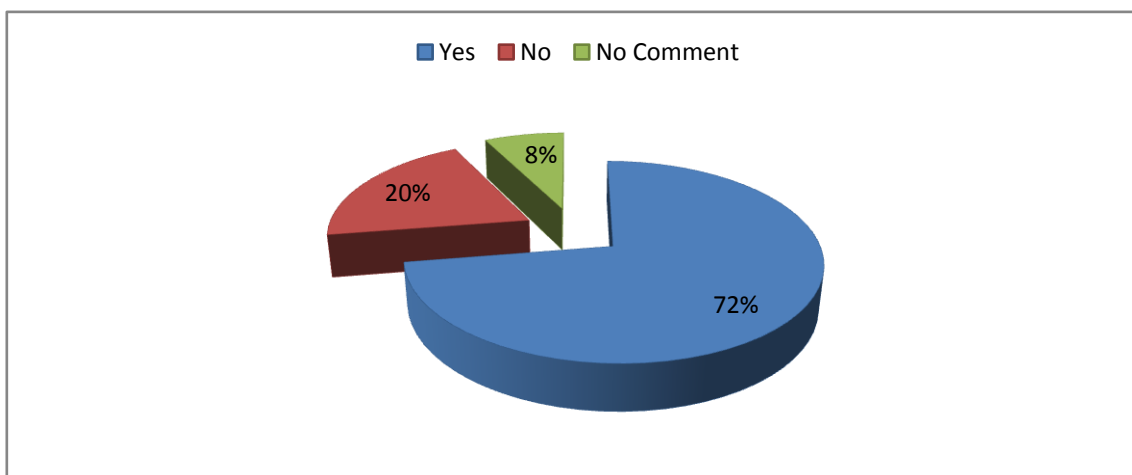
### **Fear of Sudden Attack**

Whenever the tension arises in Arakan it becomes a crucial matter of great headache in Rakhaine society. Most of the people of the Rakhaine

society think that the Muslims can attack them any time. Nothing will be done if once they attack.

In many Rakhaine villages including my research area, at the time of insurgency in Arakan, the people use to guard their own villages. It was also seen in 2012. They used to conduct surveillance at the entrance gates of the village. In 2012 the surveillance was crucial because the local Muslim people, a small portion, gave slogan against the Rakhaine people as the culprit of Rohingya-Rakhaine conflict in Myanmar. There was also a rumor existed that the local Muslim can attack the villages of Rakhaine at any moment.

Yes	No	No Comment
29	8	3

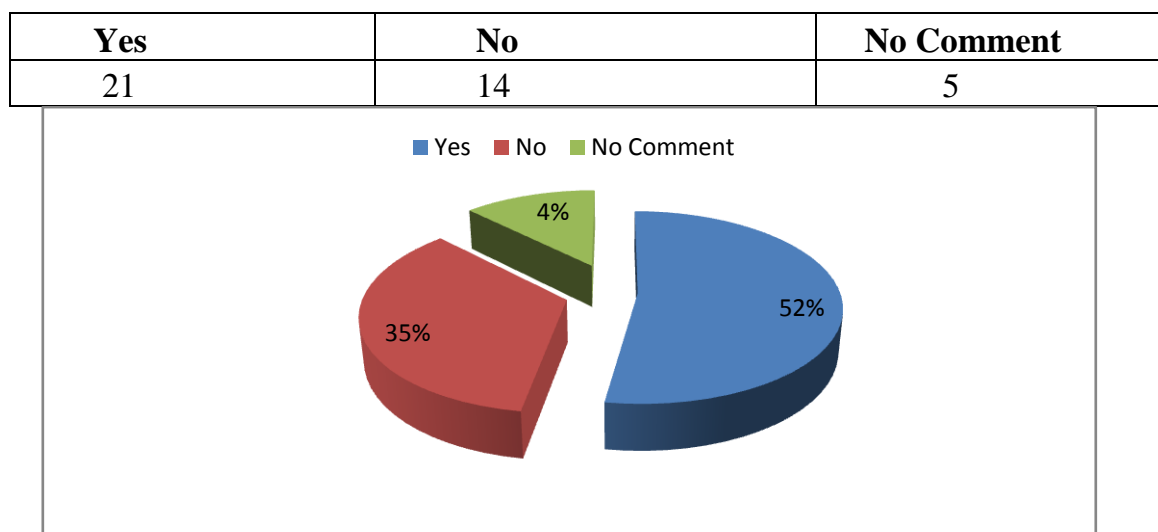


**Figure 3:** Opinions regarding fear of sudden attack.

As I have told at earlier discussion that most of the Rakhaine people fear that they can be attacked suddenly by the some portion of the local Muslim people. From the data of my field work I have found that 72% people consider that there is huge possibility of being attacked. Only 20% people assume that possibility of being attacked is absent or zero & 8% people defied giving any opinion.

### **Displacement & Uncertainty about Future Existence**

Displacement generally means to leave the place of inhabitant. Most of the time displacement occurs because of fear of persecution, threat, environmental degradation etc. When the displacements leads a person to cross the border of state & bound the person to refrain to come back to the past place he or she will become a refugee. Displacement has not been in action in Rakhaine societies in full swing. Although the rate of displacement is almost zero, without some exceptional cases, most of the people fear that in the near future the displacement is prerequisite. I found only 3 families who has displaced from their place of origin by perceiving the fear of being attack. The Rakahine people are in a perpetual uncertainty about their future existence in Bangladesh.

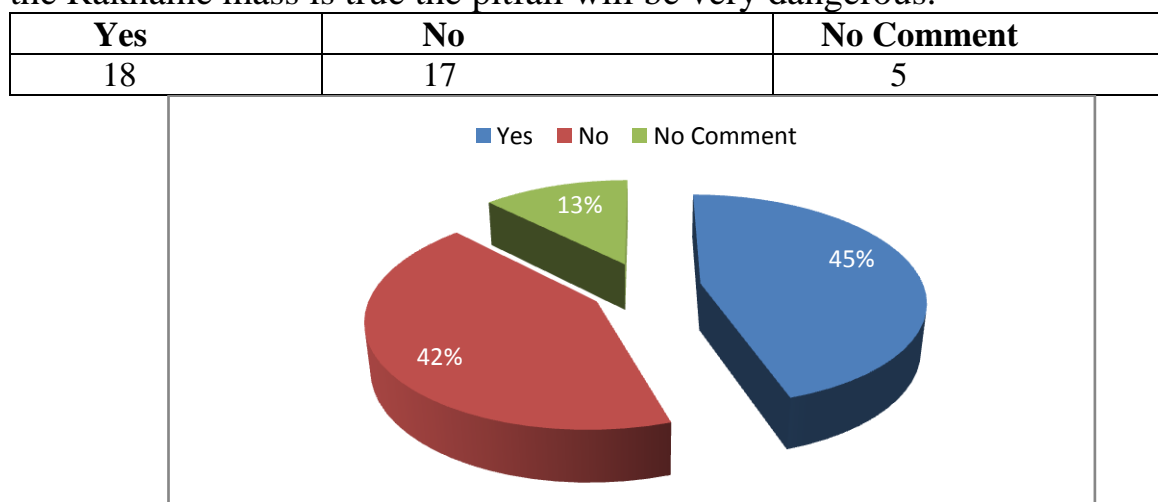


**Figure 4:** Perception on displacement & fear of sudden attack.

From the figure 4 we see that most of the people, 58%, perceive that in the near future it will not possible for the Rakhaine people to live peacefully as they do now. Only 38% people consider that there will be no problem in the near future to live peacefully. 4% people do not think the question should be answered.

### Change in Conduct of Local Muslim People

In Bangladesh the Rakhaine people have been living with peace and harmony from the historical time. Hardly there has any example of big scale conflict or tension with the local Muslims or vice versa. But in the present situation they, the Rakhaine people, are not in a situation to say confidently that we are safe here. Because of the multinational ethnicity and the manifestation of many groups against the Rakhaine, the mind set up of friendly local Muslims have been changing gradually. Most of them started to think the Rakhaine as an opposite nation to the Islam. I was unable to contact with any local Muslim people for my limitations to make conversation with this concerning issue. But, if the assumption of the Rakhaine mass is true the pitfall will be very dangerous.



**Figure 5:** Perception of changing conduct of local Muslim people.

From the figure 5 we see that 49% said “yes” & 47% said “no” in relation to the changing behavior of local Muslim people. 4% people ignored to give any opinion. Although 47% said “no” the bigger portion said “Yes”. So, we also see here the same potential threat that Rakhaine people are being perceived.

**Factors that Intensifying the Threats**

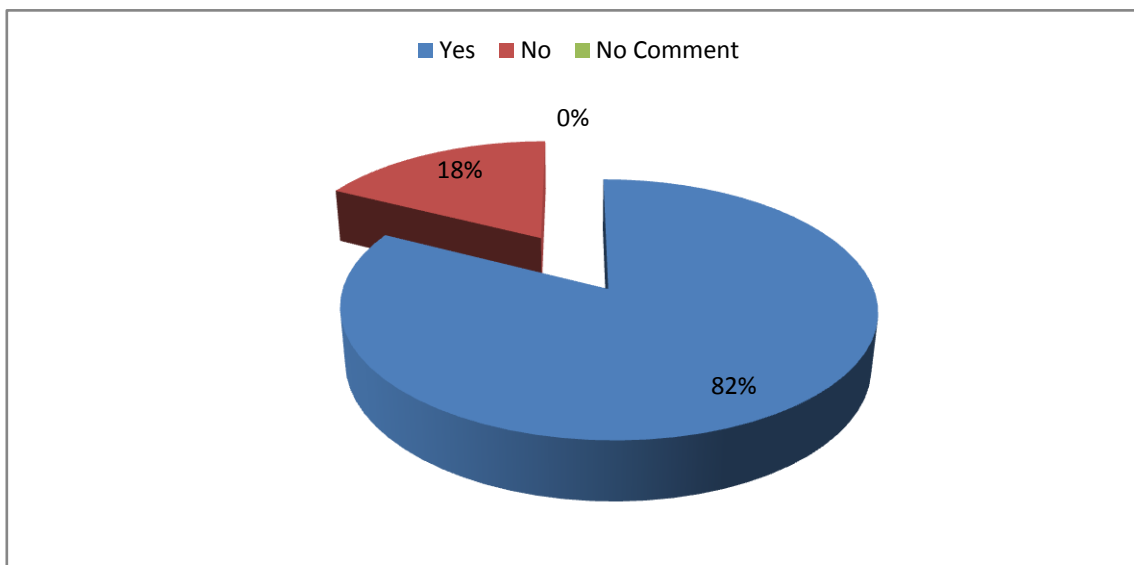
As I have mentioned above, the paradoxical relation with local Muslim was not prevailed in the past. Many factors have been playing crucial rule in constructing the present situation. Now in this section of my paper I am going to explain those factors which I have attained from the data or opinions of my respondents from the field in following-

**Social Sites: Facebook**

In this modern era of science social sites have a great impact on the social issues. It has massive constructive sides but along with this the social sites are also being misused. This misusing of social sites is basically entitled as “Cyber Crime”.

In various social sites facebook is most popular in Bangladesh. The facebook users of Bangladesh are huge in number. So, if any matter is posted in facebook it spreads very fast all around. It also does not require any justification to share the opinion. By taking this advantages many wrong opinions, information are being shared in facebook which kindle the local Muslims people’s against the Rakhaine. Many of my respondents shared that at the time of insurgency many video clips are shared through the facebook that containing very dreadful images. But the images are hardly link with the real conflict.

Yes	No	No Comment
33	7	0



**Figure 6:** Opinions on Facebook as a detonator of conflict



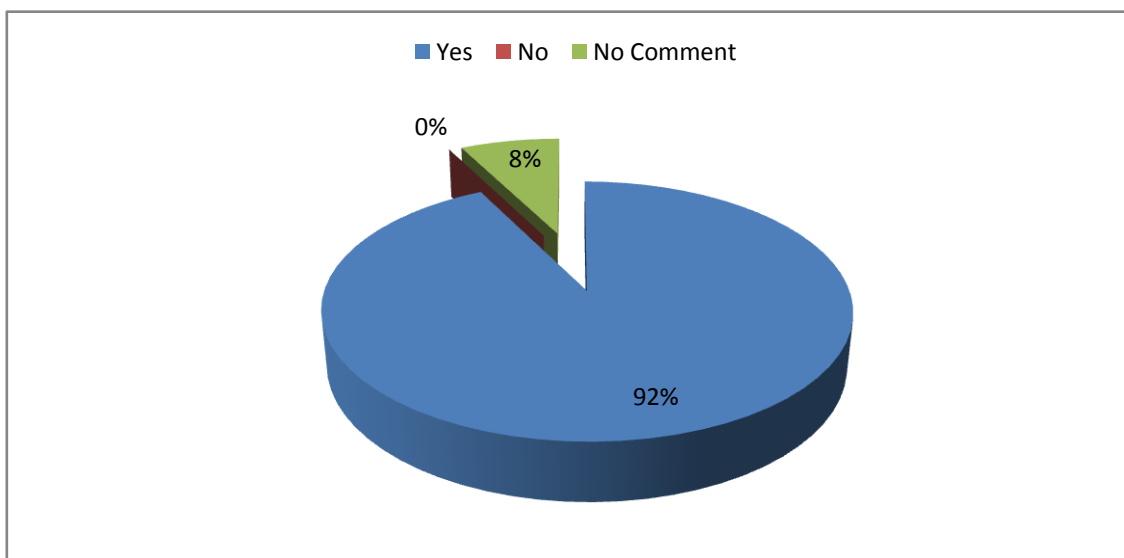
Facebook is a very recent advent of science which has very lucrative sides to say about. Along with this the rebellious side of Facebook is also massive as we have seen in many places of the world. In the present crisis we are discussing here is also being influenced massively. 80% of the total population assumes that Facebook is one of the most influential matters that help the local people to be agitated against the Rakhaine people easily. Only a few portions of the people, 17%, do not think facebook play any responsibility in kindling the situation. 3% did not think it is necessary to tell about anything regarding with this issue.

### Fundamental Religious Groups

Most of the ethnic conflicts generally take place because of the dogmatic characteristics of the ethnic groups. Theoretically these are known as theories of antagonism. These dogmatic groups always try to construct an insurgency to show up their power. The potential conflict of Rakhaine & local Muslim people in Bangladesh is not also an exceptional case.

Although Bangladesh is a Muslim dominated country the policies of country are quite secular. So, the fundamentals groups are comparatively weaker than to other power. But in the current years there presence is become a matter of wary. Most of my respondents blame one political party named “Jamaet-e-Islam” & its student wing “Shibir” in kindling the situation.

Yes	No	No Comment
37	0	3



**Figure 7:** Estimation on dogmatic religious group as intense factor.

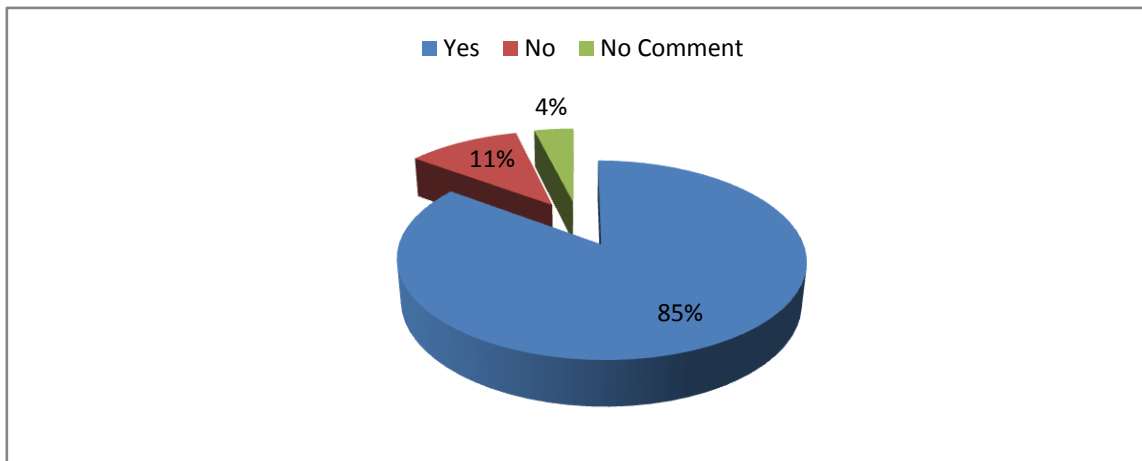
From the figure we see that 96% of the total population thinks that the dogmatic religious group, Jamaat-Shibir, is responsible to make the condition such intolerable or threatening. Here 4% did not give any opinion regarding with this question. In this case one thing which is very

much important to give concern is no people think Jamaat-Shibir is not responsible for the present situation.

**Weak Administrative System**

As a developing country it is not unacceptable that the administrative system of Bangladesh is weak. I do not say that the administrative system play no role in controlling the situation. Certainly plays but it is not adequate to control any emergency. At the time of Arakan insurgency of 2012, 5-6 police personnel were deployed at every Rakhaine villages of Cox’s Bazaar. But this number was thought inadequate by the local Rakhaine people. To evaluate the role of Police most of them referred to the Ramu incidence. On the other hand some people also complained the deployment of police. They argued that the deployment of police may hamper the regular activities with local Muslims. They also told that local Muslims asked them why they have deployed the police at their area. So, here, the Rakhaine people also faced the dilemma with taking the help of legal institution.

Yes	No	No Comment
31	4	5



**Figure 8:** Perceptions on the ability of administration system.

As I have said about the dilemma of deploying police personnel, for which, most of the person thought it was not right or inadequate to deploy the police personnel. So the majority of the person or 85% do not support the strength of police system existing in Bangladesh. 11% gave the support of initiatives that have been tried in making surveillance in 2012 at many villages of Cox’s Bazaar by police forces. 4% people did not want to answer this question because they might not think this question as answerable one.

**Recommendations**

Through my whole research I have tried to make clear the present situation from the perspective of Rakhaine people. Some may not count

this is a conflict because it has not taken the obvious shape. But it should not be a wise work if we give the decision so early. Because we the academicians of conflict analysis know that conflict crosses many stages to become an obvious one. So, it might be the astute work to identify & find the possible solutions of the conflict when it belongs to the incipient level. To do this I would like to suggest some plausible recommendations to mitigate the problem before taking the fierce shape. The recommendations are following-

- The manifestation of dogmatic groups should be prevented through a planned way.
- Most of the local people think that the Rakhaine people of Bangladesh have link with the Rakhaine who are the residence of Myanmar. So, these misperceptions should be removed.
- Special committee should be formed to overlook the situation.
- The punishment should be severe in case of the person who kindles the situation against the minority.
- Religion is very touchy issue for all. So, the comments on religious belief in facebook or any other social sites should be conducted thoughtfully. It will be very good not to share any kind of criticism relating to religious activities in public or social sites.
- Everybody should be respectful to the religious belief of other.
- Special force of Police should be constituted to handle any kind of emergency.
- Confidence building mechanisms should be continued to remove all misperceptions.

### **Conclusion**

Most of the ethnic conflicts in the world are generally very dangerous. Most of these take perpetual shape if these are not resolved in incipient level. Misperception, lack of confidence, past hostility and religious antagonism are the basic causes of this ethnic conflict. The possibility of big scale ethnic conflict is zero here because to construct a big scale ethnic conflict the parities of ethnic conflict need to be strong in case of number or power. The difference of number and power between Rakhaine & local Muslim are huge.

So, there have no chance for the Rakhaine people to make any strong agitation against the local ethnic group if conflict rises. There will remain no chance to fight back against the local Muslim for the Rakhaine. So, if any incidence takes place against the Rakhaine people it must be an ethnic cleansing. In this case, to protect the rights of minority positive initiatives should be enforced quickly aiming to diminish the root of ethnic conflict.

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