



### *Abstract*

The discrimination happens in Rohingya has been systematically started since their citizenship status was abolished through the Burmese constitution (1972) and the Citizenship Act (1982). This study is aimed to analyze the Rohingya phenomenon of exclusion as a nation-building problem in the context of creating a sovereign identity of the nation-state. Since its independence, Myanmar has experienced various ethnic rebellious conflicts; including ethnic Karen, Kachin, and Rohingya. Further, British decolonialization policies played a top major role in the independence process and inter-ethnic relations in Myanmar. This research then analyzes the post-colonial political transformation process which affects Myanmar's national identity and its impact on the Rohingya minority. This study showed that the post-colonial political transformation has formed Myanmar into an ethno-nationalist state. The State's ability in removing the citizenship status lies in its ethno-historical use of identifying Rohingya as non-Myanmar. This is a political consequence of ethnic integration, where the Rohingya are not a national ethnic representation in the process of state formation. Rohingya conflict and separatism only served as a catalyst which pushed the Ne Win regime to overcome North Arakan instability by means of politicizing Rohingya ethnic citizenship status.

### *Intisari*

Diskriminasi Rohingya secara sistematis dimulai sejak status kewarganegaraannya dihapuskan melalui konstitusi Burma (1972) dan Undang-undang kewarganegaraan (1982). Penelitian ini menganalisis fenomena eksklusi Rohingya sebagai masalah bina bangsa dalam konteks penciptaan identitas kedaulatan negara-bangsa. Sejak kemerdekaan, Myanmar mengalami berbagai konflik pemberontakan etnik ; diantaranya etnik Karen, Kachin, dan Rohingya. Politik dekolonialisasi Inggris berperan penting dalam proses kemerdekaan dan hubungan antar etnikitas di Myanmar. Penelitian ini kemudian menganalisis proses tranformasi politik paska kolonialisme yang memengaruhi identitas kebangsaan Myanmar dan dampaknya terhadap minoritas Rohingya. Tesis ini menunjukkan bahwa tranformasi politik paska kolonial membentuk Myanmar menjadi negara etno-nasionaslime. Kemampuan Negara menghapus status kewarganegaraan terletak pada penggunaan etno-historis untuk mengidentifikasi Rohingya sebagai non-Myanmar. Hal ini merupakan konsekuensi politik integrasi etnik, dimana Rohingya bukan representasi etnik nasional dalam proses pembentukan negara. Konflik dan separatisme Rohingya hanya sebagai katalisator yang mendorong rezim Ne Win untuk mengatasi instabilitas Arakan Utara dengan cara politisasi etnik status kewarganeraan Rohingya.