

CHAPTER IV

THE EXPLANATION BEHIND THE LIMITATION OF ORGANIZATION OF ISLAMIC COOPERATION IN PROTECTING MUSLIM MINORITIES IN ROHINGYA

On this chapter, the writer will analyze the data to answer the research question. The writer uses theory of institutionalization by Huntington (1968) to measure the level of effectiveness of international organization. So, this chapter will concern on what is mentioned by Huntington (1968) as the criteria to measure level of effectiveness.

According to Meriam Webster dictionary, institution is an act of instituting or establishment. Institution can also be in the form of:

- a. A significant practice, relationship, or organization in a society or culture <*the institution of marriage*>; also: something or someone firmly associated with a place or thing <*she has become an institution in the theater*>
- b. An established organization or corporation (as a bank or university) especially of a public character <*financial institutions*>
- c. A facility or establishment in which people (such as the sick or needy) live and receive care typically in a confined setting and often without individual consent < ... *the testator disinherited her siblings over their*

efforts to have her committed to a mental institution in the wake of several suicide attempts. — William M. McGovern Jr.>

Institutionalization is the process by which organization and procedures acquired value and stability.³⁴ Institutionalization is complex which consists of the actor, rule and roles, and norm that exist as the basic things in an institution. Institution has clear procedures that will be their map on how they work and what they work for.

Organization of Islamic Cooperation can be categorized as an institution, where they emerged in form of an organization and until now exist as the second biggest international organization after United Nation. OIC emerged to represent all Muslim society in the world, to fight for Muslim's right and to express Muslim voice. OIC has 57 member states with specific rules and roles to maintain their member states. The OIC's department formed to help OIC in addressing an issue based on each division.

According to Huntington (1968): *“The level of institutionalization of any political system can be defined by the adaptability, complexity, autonomy and coherence of its organizations and procedures.”*

As mentioned by Huntington above, to know the level of organization in addressing the conflict we can use those criteria. *Adaptability, complexity, autonomy and coherence* already encompass all aspects so that it will be quite in detail in analyzing the level of organization. Adaptability is about the

³⁴ Huntington, *Loc. Cit.*

environmental challenge and age, complexity is about how complex that organization is, autonomy is about the organization relation with political organization and social force and coherence is about the interrelatedness of the issue and organization.

A. Organization of Islamic Cooperation Level of Adaptability to The Rohingya

Adaptability comes from Latin word “adaptō” which means fit to or adjust. Adaptability is the character of a subject which tries to fit in or adjust the object of character. This character exists to synchronize with other situation and condition.

Adaptability is an acquired organizational characteristic or the function of environmental challenge and age. Adaptability of an organization will influence the high institutionalization and the rigidity. The more adaptable an organization, the higher the institutionalization quality and less adaptable organization will produce rigidity.

Adaptability can be measured by accounting the number of environmental challenges and age. More environmental challenge and greater age will increase the stage of adaptability in organization. To know the level of environmental challenges faced by organization, it is shown by the quantity and quality of the challenges. It is not just how much or but how hard the challenges are. Besides, the organization effort and plan in addressing the challenge is also an important part.

Age of an organization is usually commensurable with the experiences of that organization. Old organization's experiences cannot be compared with the young one because in the year of establishment, both are already different. So we can say that the old one is the one who has more experience in it. The possibility for old organization in facing the same problem is supposed to be the old one, even it does not rule out of possibility for the young one. This brings the assumption that the old organization will be more familiar in addressing the same kind of problem than the young one.

To measure the level of adaptability which consists of two factors above, there are three methods. First is counting the age, which means that the older organization can have higher level also. This is because of their experiences in addressing conflict. Second is generational age, which is about structure of organization and the system of work to know how it goes today. Besides, the other factor is as the system runs, how about the way they solve the problem. It might be more in peaceful way or to the contrary. Third is a functional term, which is about the loyalty of an organization. How they stay or keep their function since emerged and also how the way they try to adjust function towards the problem.

Organization of Islamic Cooperation was established in Rabat, Kingdom of Marocco on 12th Rajab 1389 in Islamic calendar or 25th September 1969 (47 years old). Organization of Islamic Cooperation was ensuring to safeguard and protect the interests of the Muslim world in spirit of promoting international peace and harmony among various people of the world.³⁵OIC is led by Secretary

³⁵ Organization of Islamic Cooperation. *History. Loc. Cit.*

General from Saudi Arabia, H.E. Dr. Yousef bin Ahmad Al-Othaimen as the 11th secretary general.

There are many challenges in addressing Rohingya problem, and it is all based on the different background between the subject and object. First is different background in term of religion. According to CIA's data in July 2016 the majority of people around 87% are Buddhist. In the other side, the OIC is an organization which focuses on Islamic issue even though in case of Rohingya they already mentioned that they will help in terms of humanitarian issue. It has been proved by the OIC.

The different background among them brought the influence in resolving the conflict. Mindset among two groups is absolutely different such as in Rohingya people's mindset is they do believe that there's no interest instead of staying in Myanmar or they just want to live peacefully without any reason. However, the Myanmar's people believed that Rohingya actually has any reason behind which is in developing Islam in that country so they are afraid that it will develop faster and Myanmar becomes a Muslim majority country likes Indonesia and Malaysia.

Myanmar people also think that OIC is the same with Rohingya. They are all Muslim who want to develop Islam in Myanmar and also OIC in Myanmar is just an intervention from Islamic world. However in the other side, OIC declared that they just want to help Rohingya as they mention in their charter or as their objectives of an organization. OIC also brings the name of humanitarian aid as their reason in helping to solve the problem.

Feeling bad in Muslim people especially Rohingya has been buried in Myanmar's people mindset since long time ago. Then the second challenge for OIC arises as the phenomenon of Islamophobia in Myanmar. Islamophobia prejudices towards or has discrimination against Muslims due to their religion, or perceived religious, national or ethnic identity associated with Islam.³⁶

The factors are historically territorial struggle that happens in Arakan Kingdom between Rohingya and Rakhine people which is in majority is Buddhist. This already made the people of Myanmar rather hate people of Rohingya, then continued their worry about Islamic development that happens in Malaysia and Indonesia. So, they felt threatened by Muslim people and their madness of Rohingya and Muslim was mixed. People of Myanmar prepared for self-defense, while some of them established social movement such as "969 movement".

Third is about non-member state, and Myanmar is not a member state of OIC. Problem arises when the member state itself sometimes does not want to follow the organization. At the outset of its establishment, the OIC was highly conscious not to interfere into any states' affairs when the issues of Muslim minorities were raised.³⁷

Based on the international organization concept by Archer(2002), there are three roles of international organization and there is point of international organization as the actor, which has ability as the autonomous actor and act in

³⁶ Georgetown University. (n.d.). *What Is Islamophobia?* Retrieved January 20, 2017, from BRIDGE: bridge.georgetown.edu

³⁷ Waesahmae, P. (2012). *The Organization of the Islamic Cooperation and the Conflict in Southern Thailand*. Victoria University of Wellington.

their own capacity as international organization and no longer as the executor of member's interests.

Archer (2002) mentioned the role about international organization which has no authority in pressuring the member states interest. So the writer takes the decision that international organization just works in its own capacity and it has limitation, as the international organization does not have enough right to pressure the member states. The writer assumes that the international organization can never disturb its own member states interests so it will work the same towards non-member states also.

In this stage, the writer concluded that the institution of OIC is not a hundred percent. The comparison between greater age and more environmental challenges is imbalance. Why ?because the OIC can be counted as one of the great ages but in the other side the OIC cannot synchronize with the situation of much environmental challenges since the OIC also just has its own capacity and cannot intervene other. This proves the hypothesis of point *a*-the limitation of the OIC which does not give the guarantee that the case will be successful or not and just work in its own capacity, point *b*-the OIC faces the challenges to create peace in Myanmar due to their lack of addressing conflict and point *c*-the OIC with the appointing country has different background that causes them not to unite in solving the problem.

The fact that shows real condition and situation in Myanmar is when the rejection by thousand monks towards the OIC. At that time, OIC wanted to open its official branch to directly monitor the condition of Rohingya in Myanmar.

Then, the President of Myanmar should reject it even though a month before that request has been permitted and the President of Myanmar declared that it was clash with Myanmar's people aspiration. Then Thein Sein as the president of Myanmar at that time also said that OIC can help Rohingya through non-governmental organization.

B. Organization of Islamic Cooperation Level of Complexity to The Rohingya

The complexity of an organization could influence the quality of the organization. The more complicated the organization the higher institutionalization is. Then, on the contrary it will produce simple characteristic. The complexity or simplicity of an organization can be measured by organization subunits, hierarchically and functionally.

Complexity of organization consists of purpose, variety of sub-units, ability to secure and to maintain loyalties. Those aspects show the comprehensiveness of an organization. All aspects are interrelated to each other, where every sub-unit can be bi-functional or even multifunctional because it relates to each other. Meanwhile, the purpose of an organization will be better if there is more than one because it shows the scope they work for and the clarity of the functional term. The complexity will produce stability in organization.

According to the Organization of Islamic Cooperation charter made on 14th March 2008 that replaced the Charter of the Organization of the Islamic Conference which was registered in conformity with Article 102 of the Charter of

the United Nations on 1st February 1974, article 1 mentions the objectives of the Organization of the Islamic Conference.³⁸ All the objectives mentioned in its charter concern on Muslim right and Muslim protection.

The OIC has General Secretariat that is led by Secretary General. The OIC's secretary general comes from Saudi Arabia who is H.E. Dr. Yousef bin Ahmad Al-Othaimeen, who shall be the Chief Administrative Officer of the Organization and such staff as the Organization requires. The General Secretariat is composed of several departments that enhance the day-to-day operations of the OIC.

To advance issues of critical importance to the organization and its member states, the organization has formed the following Standing Committees.³⁹The OIC also has specialized institutions which were established within the framework of the organization in accordance with the decisions of the Islamic Summit or Council of Foreign Ministers. Another structure is affiliated institutions and Islamic Summit that still takes an important place in OIC.

All organs work based on their objectives. In case of Rohingya, several organs of OIC took a part in helping to solve the problem. Such as when OIC provided humanitarian aid through Islamic Solidarity Fund which is also part of subsidiary organ of OIC. At that time all member states agreed to give around \$200.000 to Rohingya that was spread through the NGO as the facilitator.

³⁸ Organization of Islamic Cooperation. *Charter of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Loc. Cit.*

³⁹ Organization of Islamic Cooperation. *Standing Committees. Loc. Cit.*

IPHRC (Independent Permanent Human Right Commission) as an expert organ of OIC specializing on human right issues put Rohingya problem in their depth discussion on the 5th regular session June 2014. IPHRC at that time discussed the situation of the Muslim minorities which is Rohingya and they called upon the government of Myanmar to cooperate with them in handling the issue. At this regular session, IPHRC decided to cooperate with the Islamic Development Bank in assisting human right issue.

Besides having complex organs, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation also has some achievement and awards in their effort of media problem solving. There are some examples of cases handled by OIC such as Syrian crisis, which are successful in taking a part in political transition of Somalia, Afghanistan, Sudan, Guinea, Mauritania and others that were mentioned in OIC journal as the achievement since 2005-2012.

Taking a look at the objectives and the structure of OIC as the tools to measure the complexity of the OIC, the writer may say that OIC is complex enough. The OIC has some organs that are interrelated to each other which can also fulfill each other. The organs of OIC have been placed in almost every aspect such as social, economic, religion and other. Then, as mentioned in their chapter, OIC is actually clear enough about their objectives as to protect Muslim right and it has been approved by the member states.

The writer concluded that in this stage the OIC is highly institutionalized. It is because all the criteria have been fulfilled by the OIC, and legally written in their chapter and has been proved in their action. Another proof is the

implementation of “solidarity in action” when the OIC introduced the concept of preventive diplomacy and stressed on mediation technique mostly in the form of utilizing the good offices of the Secretary General on 2005.⁴⁰ In 2006, the OIC was successful in holding meeting between Iraqi Sunni and Shiite religious leaders and the signing of the Makkah Document in Iraq to stop shedding Iraqi blood.

C. Organization of Islamic Cooperation Level of Autonomy to The Rohingya

Autonomy is the extent to which political organizations and procedures exist independently as other social groupings and method of behavior. Autonomy involves the relation between social force and political organization. Lack of autonomy will affect corruption in international organization or the decreasing quality in international organization.

Autonomy discusses leadership or the form of structure and also development of the organization. It discusses how the organization goes now since the day it emerged and how the structure was formed. To measure it, the interest and value of dislike with the other party, how the systematic leadership and how the competition in the social force can be the tools for that. Relationship between two or more organization will influence the quality and the power of an organization because it can be the link for them if one day they need each other.

⁴⁰ Organization of Islamic Cooperation. (2005). Major Achievements and Initiatives of the OIC. *ISUU*, 11-12.

OIC is led by Secretary General from Saudi Arabia, H.E. Dr. Yousef bin Ahmad Al-Othaimeen, who shall be the Chief Administrative Officer of the Organization and such staff as the organization requires. The secretary general of OIC always shows good response towards the case of Rohingya. Some actions by the secretary general which is good to be examples are when the secretary general was appointed special envoy for Myanmar, called upon the representative government of Myanmar and directly visiting the refugees of Rohingya.

The OIC also cooperates with some of their observer especially international organization in addressing the conflict. Like Myanmar which has joined UN, OIC and UN kept strength of their relationship to face the problem. Both sides conducted Annual Coordinating Meeting in concern of the case of Rohingya.

Besides, OIC also cooperates with the international NGO. Meanwhile, the OIC needs them in term of humanitarian assistance. Especially since Myanmar reject them to open branch in Myanmar, which means that OIC is more straitened in monitoring the problem. In 2012, OIC held meeting with 30 INGOs in the world and UN representative to push government of Myanmar and help Rohingya with humanitarian assistance.

All the outside effort has been run by OIC, and another challenge is how they coordinate with internal political organization. This must be hard, since the government of Myanmar closes their door in addressing Rohingya problem. Even in some riots that happened in Myanmar, it was also supported by the government and done by militant Myanmar. The OIC cannot influence the government of

Myanmar even though they already call upon the representative of Myanmar through and without UN.

The third stage of effective institution has been passed well by the OIC with the outer actors. In the other side, all the efforts cannot undermine the consistency of Myanmar government which stands firm to preserve their domestic politics. The writer analyzes that OIC truly tries to cooperate with other organization. OIC already tried in every aspect such as UN and also INGO. Even though in the side of Myanmar, it is quite hard for them to influence but at least OIC already tried to push in many ways. Based on the efforts mentioned above, the writer sees that the level of institutionalization of OIC in this stage is high. However the result is rather unexpected which cannot influence government policy to give their citizenship. It proves the hypothesis of point *d* which is the political organization in Myanmar did not fully support the OIC.

D. Organization of Islamic Cooperation Level of Coherency to The Rohingya

The more unified and coherent an international organization is the higher the institutionalization quality it produces. In the other side, the greater the disunity, the less institutional it produces. Basically, coherency and autonomy influenced one another, although theoretically they can stand alone. However, the autonomy can invite the spirit and style for the coherency.

The minimum standard to know the effectiveness of international organization is by the substantial consensus on the functional boundaries in solving the dispute. Three key words to measure coherency are unity, spirit and morale. So, it concerns on how deep the organization in addressing the problem.

The coherency between OIC and Rohingya problem is in a line with the main object which is Islam. OIC as their name and their objective works to protect Muslim right and for Muslim minorities while Rohingya is a Muslim minority group in Myanmar which got discrimination and being unrecognized. The line is Rohingya is a part of OIC object, so OIC should take a part and responsibilities in this problem.

After seeing the coherency between two sides, the other important part is also in unity. Do two sides unite in addressing the conflict? The answer might be yes and no. Yes, because the main actor is Rohingya and OIC which both look cohesive to end the conflict and find the better solution. The OIC kept their contact with the Rohingya people through humanitarian assistance, visiting the refugees and push another related actor to help Myanmar. The Rohingya also try to keep the relation still in a line, whereas they make their representative as known as Arakan Rohingya Union becomes media and represents their voice. The relation is going on until now.

In the opposite, the answer might also be NO. Rohingya stays in Rakhine state, a part of Myanmar national territorial, Myanmar Government does not want to recognize Rohingya, but they still recognize the territory. This becomes a dilemma, so government of Myanmar just wants the territory and pushes out the

people of Rohingya. So where should the Rohingya people belong to? They are stateless.

The writer analyzes that Rohingya can be considered as a part of Myanmar in this case. Because in accessing Rohingya, OIC is should come through government of Myanmar. This is caused by the territory occupied by Rohingya which legally belongs to Myanmar which is also as the sovereign state. The point is government of Myanmar is un-cooperative in addressing the conflict. That is why they show the disunity value. This shows the OIC with the appointing country which has different background that cause them not to be united in solving the problem.

In this stage, the writer analyzes that OIC cannot be considered as highly institutionalized. Even though the OIC reached high coherency it still cannot be united. The explanation above mentions the unity between OIC and Rohingya but then the OIC and government cannot unite. Legally, OIC just can reach Rohingya through government of Myanmar because they stay in Myanmar territory.

E. Limitation Factors of Organization of Islamic Cooperation in Solving Rohingya Problem

Over all, the writer found obstacles that hamper the smooth relation of the OIC in solving the Rohingya problem. All aspects have been analyzed by the writer using the theory and concept mentioned in Chapter I. The writer mixes between concept of international organization and theory of institutionalization in

answering the research question. The writer also uses “Give and Get” way in finishing the analysis, so it is not just the process but also the result that they get.

According to Huntington(1968), theory of institutionalization consists of 4 aspects that must be analyzed to know the level of an organization which are adaptability, complexity, autonomy and coherency. All aspects are not running well except stage of complexity. The obstacles are not just in the process of their action but sometimes the result that is shown is not as the expectation.

Stage of complexity is the one which does not have any problems. This stage concerns on the aspect of quality of that organization. This is related to their purpose, sub-units, ability to secure and the loyalties. In the OIC, those show good result while their purpose is clearly mentioned in their charter. Their sub-units are complete enough and can fulfil each other. Their ability is worth enough proven by their experience in solving some problems. Then the last is their loyalty which has been recognized.

The other three aspects show different kind of obstacles. First is adaptability or the function of environmental challenge and age. There is no problem in the age of OIC where the OIC is quite old regarding to their experiences also in addressing the problem. The environmental challenge in case of Rohingya is not successful at all, such as the differences of religion background between people of Myanmar-majority Buddhist and the OIC-concern on Muslim. The mindset of Myanmar people about Islamophobia that has been embedded since the era of kingdom, also becomes the point that Myanmar is not member-

states of OIC which is strengthened by the concept of international organization according to Archer (2002).

Secondly is autonomy or the relation between social forces and political organization. In this stage basically the OIC already shows well preparedness, such as through the relationship with international actors like UN, NGO or even their own organs. This is what the writer called “get” or what will be the result it is. Because all the efforts have been passed well by the OIC, but got unexpected response from the domestic. This is shown by the pressure of UN being ignored by the government of Myanmar.

Thirdly is coherency and unity of the organization or about the cooperativeness and interrelatedness with the issue and related actor. The coherency between the subject and object is in a line with the OIC objective to cover up Muslim right, and the Rohingya problem is Muslim minorities discrimination. The obstacle found on the unity between the subject and the object which the writer categorizes Rohingya as part of Myanmar regarding to the fact that to access Rohingya is supposed through the government of Myanmar. Then the problem is, government of Myanmar closes their door for others and decide to be un-cooperative in addressing the conflict.

Those obstacles have been strengthened with the concept of international organization which is mentioned by Holsti (1992) and Archer (2002). Archer (2002) mentioned the role of international organization as the instrument (tools) to get the deal, push the conflict intensity and coordination of actions, as the arena to

compile, consult and initiate decision maker and formulate international agreement and as the actor, international organization which has ability as the autonomous actor and act in their own capacity as international organization and no longer as the executor of member's interests. Whereas, Holsti (1992) defines the role of international organization which is minimum in addressing conflict and create peace.

Holsti and Archer's concept about international organization clarifies the reason why OIC faced some obstacles in addressing the conflict. All the obstacles head for the sovereignty of Myanmar that prefers to close their door for their internal issue and head for the international organization which has no right to press the internal issue. It all shows the minimum capacity of an international organization.

So, the writer concludes that the answer why OIC cannot implementing their job to protect Muslim right in solving case of Rohingya Myanmar is because of there are many obstacles in adaptability, autonomy and coherency of the OIC in addressing the conflict of Rohingya in Myanmar. Those obstacles also head to the capacity of an international organization which is minimum and cannot intervene the state. The result is 75:25 out of 100 say that OIC is ineffective in solving Rohingya problem.