NORMS, IDENTITY AND INDONESIA’S RESPONSES TO THE MYANMAR CONFLICT: A CONSTRUCTIVIST APPROACH TO FOREIGN POLICY

Hikmatul Azizah¹, Jeny Fortuna², Viki Zulva Najuba³, Anwar Masadi⁴
Prodi International Politics, Fakultas Humaniora, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, Indonesia

Abstract
This research aims to provide information related to Indonesia's norms, identity and response to the Myanmar conflict. The discussion will focus on the causes and role of Indonesia. Indonesia has an interest in this conflict, apart from the 1945 Constitution in maintaining world peace, the issue of this conflict is also within the Southeast Asian region which if not resolved quickly will affect regional security. The problem of Rohingya refugees in surrounding countries will become a new problem for the region, including Indonesia. The number of Rohingyas killed and displaced due to this conflict until 2019 has always shown a significant increase. This research uses a descriptive qualitative research model approach based on constructivism theory in analyzing problems empirically. This theory emphasizes that state identity is shaped by values and norms that exist in structural (international norms) and subsystemic (local norms) areas. The qualitative approach used in this research is a type of literature study whose data sources are analyzed from books and journals related to research on the Indonesian government's diplomacy efforts in mediating humanitarian conflicts in Myanmar. The findings of this study indicate that Indonesia through its diplomatic relations will not remain silent to see this conflict drag on.

Keywords: Indonesian Response, Myanmar Conflict, Constructivism, Diplomacy

A. INTRODUCTION
A country's foreign policy is a reflection of a complex set of factors that include national identity, norms, and responses to international events. In an increasingly connected era of globalization, a country's role in responding to international conflicts is crucial in shaping the dynamics of international relations. Indonesia, as one of the major countries in Southeast Asia, has a significant role to play in the region and at the global level. The conflict in Myanmar, particularly the complex ethnic and religious conflict, has been in the international spotlight. This conflict has raised questions about how surrounding countries, including Indonesia, have responded and played a role in addressing the conflict. This research aims to understand Indonesia's role in the context of the Myanmar conflict by using a constructivist approach to international relations. The constructivist approach emphasizes the role of national identity and norms in shaping a country's foreign policy.

The internal conflict between the Myanmar government and the Rohingya Muslim minority is one of many deadly and grievous tragedies. The United Nations (UN) explicitly states that the Rohingyas are among the most oppressed in the world. A publication by
Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF), a leading organization of humanitarian doctors operating around the world, revealed that in 2017 alone, around 647,000 Rohingya fled to Bangladesh to escape the abuses committed by the Myanmar military. Tragically, around 6,700 people lost their lives in this bloody conflict. Of the 6,700 people who died, 69.4% were killed by gunfire, 8.8% were killed in fires, 5% were attacked to death, 2.6% lost their lives after being victims of sexual violence, and others were beheaded or kidnapped.

Myanmar, a republic with its capital in Yangon, was formerly known as Burma. On June 18, 1989, the Military Junta government changed the name of Burma to Myanmar, a country inhabited by 135 ethnic groups. Myanmar's diverse population is divided into majorities and minorities. One of the minority ethnic groups living in Myanmar is the Rohingya. These ethnic Muslims are believed to receive less attention from the state and are even marginalized. The discrimination against the Rohingya is due to the weak role of the state in providing protection.

This discrimination was then accompanied by overt acts of violence. Support for the violence came from a large section of the military junta government's fanatical mob. Rohingya Muslims have fled Myanmar and sought refuge in other countries to escape the violence. In October 2018, as reported by the leading news organization BBC, the number of people who lost their lives due to acts of violence occurring within Myanmar's borders has reached thousands. The number of refugees fleeing Myanmar has increased, with nearly 1 million people choosing to leave the country before experiencing violence (Indonesia B. N., 2017). This is nothing new, as this oppression has been ongoing since 1948, when Myanmar gained independence from British rule.

Today, the Rohingya population has become the most legally recognized stateless community in the world. This stateless status automatically implies the absence of legal guarantees and the denial of basic rights. Not being recognized as Myanmar citizens has been a watershed moment for the Rohingya, resulting in loss of access to healthcare, employment opportunities, and formal education. Therefore, it is not surprising that the illiteracy rate in the Rohingya ethnic community is as high as 80% (Hossain, 2017). Today, the Rohingya population has become the most widespread legally recognized stateless community globally. This stateless status automatically implies the absence of legal guarantees and the denial of basic rights.
In addition, their right to worship is also violated. Due to their religious and ethnic affiliation, the government imposes restrictions on their right to marry and move freely. The restrictions do not stop there, the government also restricts their land and property ownership rights. Meanwhile, the hegemony rooted in the collective memory of Myanmar society creates fear and anxiety towards the Rohingya. Social sanctions, such as restrictions on the number of children, are imposed on Rohingya. Individuals who violate these regulations risk imprisonment. As a result, these regulations drastically reduced the Rohingya population. The government's support of these rules results in the labeling of the children of those who violate these rules. (HRW, 2020)

The Rohingya case has drawn the attention of ASEAN countries, especially Indonesia. In this situation, various efforts have been made to find a solution to resolve the conflict that befell the Rohingya community without deep intervention. As a member of ASEAN, Indonesia attempted to address the conflict through diplomatic messages. The reception of Retno Marsudi, Indonesia’s Minister of Foreign Affairs, signifies Myanmar's trust in Indonesia to resolve this conflict. Indonesia and ASEAN believe that a soft diplomacy approach is the most ideal approach given that Myanmar is still under a military regime. (Bonasir, R. (2021). Myanmar's Coup: Why Indonesia is Expected to Help Solve the Political Crisis of "Old Friends". (Indonesia B. N., 2017)

This conflict has raised international concerns and received attention from various countries and international organizations. One of them is Indonesia, as a country that plays an important role in the Southeast Asian region and international diplomacy. Indonesia, as a democratic country and UN member committed to the principles of democracy, peace and human rights, has responded to the conflict in Myanmar in various ways.

B. RESEARCH METHOD

To understand Indonesia's response to the Myanmar conflict, an analytical approach that uses the concepts of norms, identity, and constructivism in foreign policy is relevant. These concepts describe how states internalize international norms, construct foreign identities, and use constructivist approaches in interpreting and responding to international issues. Constructivists are defined by their emphasis on the socially constructed character of actors' interests and identities, and by their belief in the vulnerability to change of even the most immutable practices and institutions in world politics. (Philips & Bradley, 2007).
In addition to using the constructivism approach, this research also uses a descriptive qualitative research model approach in analyzing problems empirically. The qualitative approach used in this research is a type of literature study whose data sources are analyzed from books, web, and journals related to research on the Indonesian government's diplomacy efforts in mediating humanitarian conflicts in Myanmar. Furthermore, the data is analyzed inductively by collecting various articles relevant to this research. The next stage is to provide conclusions from the research results which are the findings in this study.

There is still a need for in-depth exploration of how the state, especially Indonesia, plays its role in overcoming conflict in Myanmar when viewed from constructivism theory. By understanding more about this phenomenon, it will have implications in several aspects. First, it will provide a better understanding of the norms and responses of Indonesia itself as a neighboring country that has a free and active Indonesia policy towards conflict. Second, this research can provide a clearer picture of Indonesia's diplomacy, especially in responding to the Myanmar conflict. This can help researchers and political observers to better understand how Indonesia's power in responding to this conflict.

Furthermore, exploring the results of this research can help understand more about Indonesia's actions in dealing with this phenomenon. In addition, the benefit of this research is to provide a better understanding of political culture in Indonesia. In a broader context, research on Indonesia's form of diplomacy, especially from a constructivism perspective, in responding to the conflict and provide a better understanding of the political culture in Myanmar and Indonesian society.

This research was conducted in accordance with Beka Ulung's statement and the NU and Muhammadiyah organizations. So it is necessary to conduct further research on how norms, identities and appropriate responses from Indonesia in responding to this conflict. According to Beka Ulung Hapsara from the Wahid Institute, it is said that Indonesia has an important position in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Therefore, the Indonesian government should take the responsibility to spearhead humanitarian aid to Rohingya refugees.

President Joko Widodo's foreign policy is heavily influenced by national interests and domestic political factors. This is reflected in how the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Retno Marsudi, responded to the Rohingya refugee issue at the national and regional levels. The
purpose of this research is to get an in-depth picture of Indonesia's Norms, Identities, and Responses to the Myanmar Conflict: More specifically, this research will answer three questions. First, how do norms in Indonesian society influence Indonesia's national identity in responding to the conflict in Myanmar? Second, what are the impacts of norms rooted in Indonesian culture on Indonesia's foreign policy in responding to the conflict in Myanmar, with a focus on Indonesia's national identity. Third, why constructivism plays a role in shaping Indonesian norms and national identity in taking a stance on the conflict in Myanmar.

C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Indonesian Community Norms in Responding to the Conflict in Myanmar

National identity is a manifestation of cultural values that grow and develop in various aspects of life with a characteristic that makes it different from other nations. Indonesia is a pluralist country consisting of 1,340 ethnic groups, 300 ethnic groups and 200 regional languages. In addition, the variety of religious adherents in Indonesia is also quite diverse, there are at least six religions that are legally recognized by the state. Among them are Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism (Yasmin, 2020).

This is the main reason why Indonesia can be said to be a pluralistic country, with many differences in ethnicity, customs, race and religion. To maintain unity in these differences, the founding fathers tried to combine them in the motto "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika" which means different but one. This motto is a form of diversity that is integrated into the context of national identity, especially through the Indonesian language as a means of unifying the country. The diversity of tribes, customs, races and religions is characteristic of Indonesia.

Because the majority of religions in Indonesia are Muslim, this makes Indonesia's relationship with Myanmar very close, especially the Rohingya ethnicity. The Rohingya ethnic conflict has long been raging in Myanmar. As a result of this phenomenon, thousands of Rohingya have fled their homes. Many homes and villages that were once dominated by this community have now been destroyed. Humanitarian crises are increasingly common in the region. In fact, Jati (2018) argues that the crisis affecting 4,444 members of the Rohingya ethnicity could be considered the worst humanitarian crisis since the Vietnam crisis in the 1970s.

Since the 1990s, the Rohingya people have been under pressure from their government. With the increasing length and intensity of the conflict, as well as the increasing
number of casualties, it is necessary to resolve this conflict immediately. Not only that, this ethnic and religious sectarian conflict is full of historical controversy. The justification given by the Myanmar government and Myanmar historians is that the Rohingya people are actually an ethnic group of Bengali Muslim descendants, and not the 'indigenous' people of Myanmar. In other words, this treatment indirectly shows the attitude of the Myanmar Government which does not recognize the existence of the Rohingya ethnic group in its country.

This condition was further aggravated and affirmed by a new regulation issued a few years later, in 1982. The Rohingya were not included in the 135 officially recognized ethnicities. The Rohingya were considered illegal immigrants from Bangladesh and, for that reason, were not recognized (Glen, 2020).

The Rohingya Muslim ethnic conflict is rooted in the history of the Rakhine people since the arrival of British colonizers and the Myanmar government declaring the Rohingya as "illegal immigrants". Rohingya refugees decided to leave the country of their birth for security reasons. The violence experienced by Rohingya Muslims has been going on for decades, and until the time this journal was written the violence is still happening because there has been no complete resolution to the problem. The dynamics of the conflict occurred since the coup in 1962, until the peak of the conflict in 2017 which led to the largest humanitarian crisis. This event has affected domestic politics in Indonesia through pressure from Muslim groups demanding the protection of Rohingya Muslims and opening access to humanitarian assistance to Rakhine. On the other hand, Indonesia is committed to sending humanitarian aid to Myanmar. Based on this phenomenon, Indonesia's foreign policy faces a dilemma between addressing domestic and international conditions. (Fajar, 2020)

Indonesia, as a fellow ASEAN country, and without losing its respect for the sovereign government of Myanmar, has conducted a number of initiatives and diplomacy related to the ethnic conflict that began in Rakhine state. President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) responded to the Rohingya crisis by sending the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Retno Marsudi as the representative of the Indonesian Government in 2017. However, a report from the Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (2018) shows that the Myanmar government rejected Indonesia's request to provide humanitarian assistance. In fact, this report also said that the administration of Aung San Suu Kyi, who has been praised by the world for her struggle for democracy, seems to turn a blind eye to what is happening. Through the steps that have been initiated, the discussion of Indonesia's strategic interests in this issue is a separate concern that needs to be
explored further. Judging from a survey conducted by the Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (2018), it was found that Indonesia's sympathy for the Rohingya did not continue with Indonesia's desire and interest in accommodating the Rohingya as refugees. (Glen, 2020)

Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi extended invitations to representatives from 11 Indonesian Muslim humanitarian groups on January 5, 2017, to discuss a partnership between the government and civil society in supporting aid for Rakhine State. Among these organizations were Muhammadiyah Aid (Muhammadiyah's humanitarian affiliate); Climate Change and Disaster Management Institution of Nahdlatul Ulama (LPBI-NU); Dompet Dhuafa; DPU Daarut Tauhiid; Rumah Zakat; LAZIS Wahdah; PKPU; Forum Zakat, BAZNAS, LAZ Al-Irsyad al-Islamiyah, and Pusat Zakat Umum; and LAZNAS LMI. The meeting resulted in the establishment of the Indonesia Humanitarian Alliance for Myanmar (AKIM). AKIM developed $2 million humanitarian program called Humanitarian Assistance for Sustainable Community, with a focus on developing schools, hospitals, and markets in Rakhine State, especially in Rathedaung, Sittwe, and Maungdaw. (IPAC, 2018)

Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah have called on the Indonesian government to take proactive steps in helping Rohingya Muslim refugees. They state that it is imperative for the Indonesian government to actively engage or exert pressure on the Myanmar government to guarantee the protection of the Rohingya's basic rights. However, it should be noted that, so far, the substantial support shown by various governments and organizations towards the Rohingya has largely been limited to mere verbal expressions. (Singh, 2014)

Indonesia has assumed a strategic leadership role in the Bali Process and Bali Democracy Forum, addressing the Rohingya issue and reaching a regional agreement on managing Rohingya refugees in Southeast Asia. The meetings affirmed that refugees and asylum seekers are shared concerns for numerous countries, emphasizing the need for collective responsibility in addressing the issue. The challenge lies in Third World countries' reluctance to open their immigration policies. Several countries in Europe, Asia, Australia, and the United States are inclined to restrict entry for more immigrants. Conversely, leaders of other nations express a welcoming stance toward refugees. The Prime Minister of Canada stands out as a highly popular government leader who extends a warm welcome to Syrian refugees seeking Canadian citizenship.

The Bali Process serves as an ongoing regional mechanism. The dynamics of refugees
prompt regional states to establish a constructive regional forum known as the Bali Process. Highlighted is the undeniable truth that the Bali Process on People Smuggling, Trafficking in Persons, and Related Transnational Crime, encompassing both refugees and individuals seeking asylum, is a "voluntary and non-binding procedure consisting of 48 participating nations, which includes esteemed organizations such as the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), the International Organization for Migration (IOM), and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)" ("The Bali Process"). (Sholeh, 2019).

The cultural impact on Indonesian foreign policy of the Myanmar conflict

Law plays an important role in promoting social change in a variety of ways, as it can shape social institutions that will have a direct influence on the extent or nature of social change. Laws often provide the institutional framework for certain institutions, specifically designed to accelerate the impact of change, and they establish obligations to create situations that are likely to promote change. National values derive from the values of Pancasila which derive from the culture of Indonesian society, norms, customs applied in the life of society, nation and state in a form or expression that is present statically as the basis of the state. Pancasila, the ideology of the nation and the identity of the nation, as a filter for the younger generation due to the development of technology and information and foreign influences other than that, it cannot be dammed. (Agus, 2021)

The armed conflict in Rakhine in 2017 had an impact on the emergence of criticism of the Myanmar government for its rejection of offers of humanitarian assistance for victims of the conflict. The Myanmar government actually closed access for foreign parties in humanitarian assistance. However, Indonesia was accepted by Myanmar to discuss the settlement of this case. In response to Myanmar's blocking of foreign access, Indonesia made a diplomatic visit to Myanmar. This visit was specifically made to work with the Myanmar authorities to discuss solutions to this problem. Indonesia's visit to Myanmar after the Rakhine conflict in 2017 was highly appreciated by the international community because Indonesia became the first country to visit Myanmar after the conflict. Indonesia's diplomatic visit to Myanmar to interact with the Myanmar government would not have been possible if the Myanmar government did not provide access to Indonesia. This access would not have been granted without the Myanmar government's trust in Indonesia. The diplomatic steps taken by Indonesia in resolving the Rohingya refugee crisis due to the conflict in Rakhine in 2017 and the achievements of Indonesian diplomacy in resolving the Rohingya refugee crisis in 2017.
The interest in foreign policy shown by Indonesia through diplomacy and foreign aid also focuses on the humanitarian aspects for the researchers themselves, which cannot be separated from problems such as the large population of Muslims in the world. Indonesia seeks to help the Rohingya community or ethnic groups from difficult circumstances. Repressive and repressive actions carried out by the government and other groups in Myanmar and the existence of human rights values that are highly protected by Indonesia. Then another benefit for Indonesia is to continue to improve bilateral relations that have been established between the governments of Indonesia and Myanmar, as well as other interests such as protecting the country. ASEAN intervention is said to be insufficient/weak so that Indonesia needs to do this. Using its diplomacy is one of the 4,444 influential countries in the world. In Southeast Asia, there is international pressure on ASEAN countries regarding the conflict in Myanmar as well as elements of President Jokowi's policy decisions.

Jokowi gave a speech at Merdeka Palace, Jakarta, in response to the Rohingya conflict. Jokowi expressed Indonesia's stance by saying that Indonesia encourages Myanmar to stop the violence. He also stated that Indonesia remains committed to resolving humanitarian issues in Rakhine by working with domestic and international parties, and will accept Rohingya refugees. (Indonesia H. S., 3 September 2017).

The Role of Constructivism on National Identity and National Norms

The constructivism approach in the study of international relations emphasizes the central role of ideas, norms, and identities in shaping state action (Tirto, 2023). In the context of this research, constructivism plays a very significant role in shaping Indonesia's social norms and national identity, especially in responding to the conflict in Myanmar. Constructivism is a theory that emphasizes the role of social construction in shaping political reality and national identity. Constructivism argues that norms are not static or fixed, but can change over time. We will discuss the role of constructivism in shaping Indonesia's national norms and identity regarding the conflict in Myanmar, as well as its impact on Indonesia's foreign policy.

In this regard, we can observe how the norm of diversity in Indonesia has developed since the time of the country’s independence, and has become one of the crucial characteristics that portrays Indonesia in the eyes of the world. The conflict in Myanmar can thus be considered a test of Indonesia's national identity shaped by the norm of diversity, and
Indonesia's response reflects its ongoing adaptation to these evolving norms.

The Impact of National Identity on Indonesia's Foreign Policy

The conflict in Myanmar has great potential to impact Indonesia's national identity formation through several relevant factors. The national identity that develops in Indonesia has a major impact on the country's foreign policy. A national identity based on humanitarian values, Muslim solidarity and moral norms will influence how Indonesia takes a stance on the conflict in Myanmar. This identity forms the moral basis for Indonesia's foreign policy.

In the case of the conflict in Myanmar, Indonesia's national identity based on humanitarian values leads to a stance that favors the victims of the conflict, especially the Rohingya who are predominantly Muslim. Indonesia has actively supported conflict resolution efforts in Myanmar and championed human rights and humanitarianism in international forums. A national identity that emphasizes Muslim solidarity has also influenced Indonesia's stance in this regard, by providing humanitarian aid to Rohingya refugees and urging Myanmar to stop discriminatory policies against them.

In addition, Indonesia's national identity, which has strong moral norms, also has an impact on Indonesia's diplomatic actions regarding the conflict in Myanmar. Indonesia seeks to act as a mediator in this conflict and support peace efforts. This identity also influences Indonesia's stance towards Myanmar in international forums such as the UN, where Indonesia consistently urges Myanmar to comply with international norms related to human rights.

Constructivism is a constructive theory, which involves building skills and understanding through a process of comprehension (Suparlan, 2019). Within the framework of constructivism theory, social, cultural and political factors play a key role in shaping Indonesia's national views and attitudes towards the conflict. First, social, cultural and ideological factors had a significant influence. Constructivism theory states that a country's national identity, norms and political views can be formed through these factors. The conflict in Myanmar became one of the factors that influenced the formation of Indonesia's national identity, especially because Indonesia felt involved in the conflict as a neighboring country that has a long history of bilateral relations with Myanmar. In addition, religious factors also play an important role in the Indonesian context. With a majority Muslim population, humanitarian values and inter-Muslim solidarity have had a major influence on shaping...
national norms and identities in relation to the conflict in Myanmar.

Mass media and statements by government officials also play a role in shaping national views and attitudes. Constructivism emphasizes the role of political actors and the media in shaping national norms and identities. The mass media in Indonesia plays an important role in disseminating information and communicating moral norms related to the conflict in Myanmar. Statements from Indonesian government officials, particularly the president and foreign minister, also have a major impact in shaping national attitudes towards the conflict in Myanmar. Finally, Indonesia's emerging national identity strongly influences the country's foreign policy. Indonesia's national identity based on humanitarian values, Muslim solidarity and moral norms will play a role in determining Indonesia's stance on the conflict in Myanmar. This identity becomes the moral basis for Indonesia's foreign policy in dealing with international issues, including the conflict in Myanmar.

It is important to remember that Indonesia's national identity is not a static entity, and Indonesia's foreign policy is also influenced by other factors such as national interests and bilateral relations. Although Indonesia's national identity has a major impact on attitudes towards the conflict in Myanmar, Indonesia's foreign policy must also consider the realpolitik factors that influence relations between countries.

The Impact of Constructivism and National Identity on Indonesia-Myanmar Bilateral Relations

Constructivism and Indonesia's national identity also have a significant impact on bilateral relations with Myanmar. The conflict in Myanmar has become one of the central issues in relations between the two countries, and Indonesia's national identity plays an important role in this dynamic. First, Indonesia's national identity based on moral norms and humanitarian values has led Indonesia to urge Myanmar to end its discriminatory policies towards the Rohingya. This has created tension in bilateral relations between the two countries, with Myanmar responding defensively to Indonesian pressures. Nonetheless, Indonesia's national identity does not allow it to ignore the human rights violations taking place in Myanmar, and this continues to influence the dynamics of bilateral relations.

Second, Indonesia's national identity that emphasizes Muslim solidarity has created opportunities for cooperation between Indonesia and Myanmar in conflict resolution efforts. Despite tensions in bilateral relations, Indonesia has tried to act as a mediator and facilitate
dialogue between Myanmar and the parties involved in the conflict. This identity allows Indonesia to play a constructive role in finding a peaceful solution in Myanmar.

Third, constructivism has also influenced Indonesians' perceptions of Myanmar. A national identity based on humanitarian values and Muslim solidarity has created strong sympathy and support from Indonesians for the Rohingya and conflict resolution efforts in Myanmar. This support is reflected in various solidarity actions, humanitarian aid, and demonstrations carried out by the Indonesian people.

Not only that, constructivism also highlights the role of individual and group actors in the process of shaping social norms and national identity. Political leaders, advocacy groups, and the media all have significant contributions to make in shaping people's perceptions of the conflict in Myanmar, as well as in influencing views on the appropriate approach to responding to the situation. Furthermore, constructivism strongly emphasizes the importance of dialogue and diplomacy as the main tools in resolving conflicts. Indonesia's national identity, shaped by the norm of diversity, motivates the country to play the role of mediator and peacemaker in conflict resolution (Nurcholish & Ahmad., 2015). The constructivist view emphasizes that diplomacy and negotiation are more effective approaches in resolving conflicts, and this is consistent with Indonesia's identity that promotes peace and tolerance as core principles in foreign relations (Djatmiko & Achmad., 2023).

In other words, the constructivist approach not only provides a useful theoretical framework in understanding the relationship between norms, national identity and Indonesia's response to the Myanmar conflict, but also illustrates how the dynamic interaction between these factors continues to shape Indonesia's evolving response to geopolitical challenges and regional conflicts.

D. CONCLUSIONS

Social norms in Indonesia play an important role in shaping its national identity and influencing its response to the conflict in Myanmar. Indonesia is a diverse country with many ethnic groups, languages and religions. To maintain unity and harmony amidst these differences, Indonesia's founding fathers emphasized the principle of "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika," meaning unity in diversity. This principle is embedded in Indonesia's national identity and reflected in its cultural values.

Most Indonesians practice Islam, which has created close ties between Indonesia and
Myanmar, particularly with the Rohingya ethnic group. The Rohingya ethnic conflict in Myanmar has led to the expulsion of thousands of Rohingyas, causing a humanitarian crisis. Given Indonesia's diverse religious landscape and its commitment to human rights, social norms in Indonesia encourage empathy and a sense of responsibility towards the Rohingya crisis.

Furthermore, social norms embedded in Indonesian culture, such as the values of compassion, tolerance, and respect for human dignity, shaped the country's foreign policy in response to the conflict in Myanmar. These norms influenced Indonesia's commitment to providing humanitarian aid and advocating for the rights of the Rohingya people. Indonesia's response to the crisis is driven by its national identity, which values inclusivity and upholding human rights. In summary, Indonesia's social norms, characterized by diversity, religious pluralism and cultural values, shape its national identity and influence its response to the conflict in Myanmar. These norms encourage empathy, compassion and commitment to human rights, guiding Indonesia's diplomatic efforts and humanitarian assistance in addressing the Rohingya crisis.

Constructivism played an important role in shaping Indonesia's national norms and identity in taking a stance on the conflict in Myanmar. Constructivism emphasizes the central role of ideas, norms and identities in shaping state action. In the context of this research, constructivism is highly relevant in shaping social norms and national identity in Indonesia, particularly in responding to the conflict in Myanmar.

Constructivism is a theory that highlights the role of social construction in shaping political reality and national identity. It suggests that norms are not static or fixed, but can change over time. In the case of Indonesia, we can see how the norm of diversity has evolved since the country's independence and become an important defining characteristic of Indonesia in the eyes of the world. The conflict in Myanmar can be considered a test of Indonesia's national identity shaped by the norm of diversity, and Indonesia's response reflects an ongoing adaptation to the evolving norm.

Constructivism has also influenced Indonesians' perceptions of Myanmar. National identity based on humanitarian values and solidarity with the Muslim community has created strong sympathy and support from the Indonesian people towards the Rohingyas and efforts to resolve the conflict in Myanmar. This support is reflected in various forms of solidarity,
humanitarian aid, and demonstrations by Indonesians.

Furthermore, constructivism highlights the role of individual actors and groups in shaping social norms and national identities. Political leaders, advocacy groups and the media all have significant contributions to make in shaping public perceptions of the conflict in Myanmar and influencing views on the appropriate approach to addressing the situation. Constructivism emphasizes the importance of dialogue and diplomacy as key tools in conflict resolution. Indonesia's national identity, shaped by the norm of diversity, motivates the state to play the role of mediator and arbiter in conflict resolution efforts.

In summary, constructivism contributes to the formation of norms and Indonesia's national identity in taking a stance on the conflict in Myanmar. It highlights the role of evolving norms, the influence of societal perceptions, and the importance of dialogue and diplomacy in shaping Indonesia's response to the conflict.

**DAFTAR PUSTAKA**


