A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF REFUGEES ON HOST COUNTRIES: BANGLADESH AND THE ROHINGYA CRISIS OF 2017

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DECLARATION

I, undersigned, declare that this is my original work and has not been submitted to any other college or university other than the United States International University-Africa for academic credit.

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ABSTRACT

The Rohingya Muslims are an ethnic minority group who have been denied citizenship and basic human rights by the government of Myanmar. Following the independence of Myanmar from the British, the Rohingya have been forced to flee to Bangladesh because of their religion and culture. The people of Myanmar and the government have always considered the Rohingya illegal migrants. The August 2017 Rohingya crisis is crucial because of the atrocities the Rohingya Muslims have faced and its intensity. More than one million people crossed into Bangladesh in the subsequent months. This thesis aims to assess the difficulties Bangladesh is facing given the fact that it has been declared a least developed country by the United Nations. This research will evaluate the cost of hosting refugees in terms of the effects of the Rohingya Muslims on Bangladesh’s economy and society, on its security and the difficulties and shortcoming of international organizations and the international community at large.
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ABBREVIATIONS

AQIS – Al-Qaida in the Indian Subcontinent

ARSA – Arakan State Salvation Army

ASEAN – Association of South East Asian States

CIA – Central Intelligence Agency

FPI – Front Pembela Islam

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

HDI – Human Development Index

ICC – International Criminal Court

IDP – Internally Displaced Person

ISIL – Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant

LDC – Least Developed Country

MSF – Medicin Sans Frontieres

OHCHR - Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights

SIPRI – Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

UN – United Nations

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme

UK – United Kingdom

UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNOCHA- United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

UNSC – United Nations Security Council

USA- United States of America

USD- United States Dollars
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Refugees are people who cross internationally recognized borders due to a well-founded fear of persecution. They have been discriminated against and are persecuted based on their race, religion, ethnicity and political and social affiliations. In the contemporary setting, refugees have existed from the holocaust to the proxy wars during the Cold War, the Rwandan genocide and also because of the current and ongoing conflict in the Middle Eastern countries such as Syria and Iraq. Refugees, more often, find themselves in a situation where their countries of origin are not able to protect them forcing them to cross international borders in search of safety, shelter and integration in communities and countries whereby their rights will be protected and upheld.

Refugee crisis has been a major concern for international relations and international politics. The presence of refugees is a pivotal indicator to determine a state’s inability to protect its own citizens and its failure. The movement of refugees is often very controversial as it raises security concerns and creates a burden of hosting refugees for host countries and the international community. Therefore, responding to the growing refugee crisis is a great challenge to the world system that requires international cooperation.

The definition of a refugee according to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) under the Geneva 1951 Refugee Convention and additional protocol of 1967 Relating to the Status of Refugees is:

‘Someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of
a particular social group or political opinion.’ (UNHCR Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, Article A (2): 14).

The Geneva Convention also covers an important principle of non-refoulement. It means “that no one shall expel or return a refugee against his or her will, in any manner whatsoever, to a territory where he or she fears threats to life or freedom.” (UNHCR Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, Article A (1): 4). It is important to know that Bangladesh, which is currently the biggest host of the Rohingya Muslims from Myanmar, is not a signatory the Convention and the Protocol, however the principle is considered as customary international law, therefore it is binding for all States (UNHCR, 2011).

The definition of who a refugee is contested among various scholars who support different schools of thought. For example, Andrew Shacknove (1986) argues that a refugee is one whose basic needs are unprotected by their country of origin and who has no remaining alternative other than to seek help from international bodies and institutions. However, the UNHCR has expanded the definition of refugees with the inclusion of survival migrants, people fleeing from state fragility and internally displaced people (IDPs). Betts and Loescher (2011) argue that even though IDPs are not under international law as they are to be protected by their own governments, UNHCR provides assistance to them in terms of food and healthcare.

According to the UNHCR annual report of the year 2018, there are roughly 25 million men, women and children refugee registered in the world. About two thirds of this refugee population originates from Syria, Afghanistan, South Sudan, Myanmar and Somalia.
This study aims to focus on one of the refugee crisis the world is facing today, the Rohingya Muslim crisis in Myanmar. It has been declared ‘a textbook example of ethnic cleansing’ by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Prince Zeid Raad Al Hussein. The Rohingya Muslims have fled or are still fleeing to Bangladesh from the Rakhine state of Myanmar where they have been persecuted because of their ethnic background and religion.

Bangladesh is situated in Southern Asia bordering India to its west and Myanmar (formerly called Burma) to its east. It covers an area of 148,460 square kilometers and has an estimated population of 157,826,578 as of July 2017. This makes the country one of the most densely populated country in the world (CIA, 2018). Bangladesh gained independence from West Pakistan in 1971 after the Bangladeshi Liberation War which separated East and West.

Shortly after independence, military coups followed. Democracy was restored after the fall of the Berlin Wall. The political scenario has been fragile and the general elections which were held in December 2018 were followed by violent protest as the opposition, the Bangladesh Nationalist Party, claimed the elections were unfair and the results were rigged. The Awami party won by a landslide and Sheikh Hasina became the newly elected Prime minister (BBC, 2018).

According to the United Nations, Bangladesh ranks as one of the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) in the world. This means that the country faces a high risk if an economic shock occurred. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) ranked Bangladesh 139 out of 188 with its Human Development Index (HDI) at 0.579. HDI is a statistical measure which uses life expectancy, education and income of a given country to measure human development (UNDP, 2018).
In conjunction with the political situation of Bangladesh, it faces challenges with good governance and corruption. In these conditions, terrorist groups such as Al-Qaida and Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) thrive and aim to establish an Islamic state in Bangladesh.

The country’s economy is dependent on agriculture and rice farming playing a major role. Bangladesh’s economy has also been strengthened by its garment production and export. Despite all of these, the country has experienced widespread poverty, inequality, poor infrastructure and natural disasters such as cyclones and floods.

In regard to being signatories to International Legal Instruments, Bangladesh is not a signatory of the Refugee Convention of 1951 and its Protocol of 1967 which are vital documents that give legal rights for protecting refugees (Mohammad, 2012). It has also not ratified the Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons of 1954 and the Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness. The domestic law of the country lacks policies of protecting refugees.

The Rohingya crisis of 2017 was a mass exodus of Rohingya Muslims fleeing from Myanmar to Bangladesh. Kipgen (2013) states that the Rohingya people have lived in Myanmar for centuries. They have lived in Myanmar since the 7th century AD. Myanmar gained its independence from the United Kingdom (UK) in 1948 and the government did not recognize the Rohingya Muslims as one of the 135 ethnic minorities. This meant they were denied citizenship and basic rights such as the right to vote and the right to education.

After the signing of the Union Treaty of Burma on 12th February 1947, which entailed promoting of democratic policies and diversity, the government left the Rohingya out of the negotiations denying them rights other citizens would have in decision making (Murshid, 2017).
In 1962, the military government under Ne Win adopted the “Burmanisation Policy” where land, education, businesses and trade were nationalized (Devi, 2017). This forced minority groups to be under the socialist Burmese state. The Rohingya Muslims, as earlier mentioned, were left out as they were not considered citizens of Myanmar. They were unwanted and considered illegal immigrants from Bangladesh (Yue, 2017).

Between 1962 and 1988, the political uprising led to increased levels of persecution against the Rohingya by the military and the government. The Dragon King operation, carried out in 1978 by the military and government forced about 300,000 Rohingya Muslims to flee to Bangladesh who were escaping campaign of rape, intimidation, torture and killings. This was the first influx of Rohingya Muslim refugees into Bangladesh. This led to the formation of the first two refugee camps in Bangladesh; Nayapara and Kutupalong camps.

The August 2017 Rohingya movement into Bangladesh was a result of the atrocities these people faced under the Myanmar military in the Rakhine state. The atrocities included looting and burning down Rohingya villages, mass killings and gang rapes (OHCHR report, 2018). Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF), a Swiss medical humanitarian organization reported that by December 2017, about 10,000 Rohingya Muslims were killed by the Burmese army. On 25th August 2017, Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA), a Rohingya insurgent group claimed responsibility for attacks on a police post killing 12 officers and 71 insurgents. Although these numbers are disputed according to the UN Special Rapporteur to Myanmar, Yanghee Lee. She claims that more than 200 people were killed that night. Soon after the attack, the Myanmar military responded with a heavy response and resumed the “clearance operation.”
According to the OHCHR report of October 2017, the Myanmar military arrested or detained all Rohingya males between the ages of 15 to 40 years, had the Rohingya political and cultural leaders arrested and used means to instill fear through acts of brutal killings, torture and rape. Villages and farms were burnt down in the process.

This forced Rohingya Muslims to flee from Myanmar seeking refuge and protection from the neighboring nations. The Rakhine state shares a 271 km long border with Bangladesh making it the closest location to seek protection from. This led to the mass influx of Rohingya Muslims into Bangladesh.

1.2 OBJECTIVES

The main aim of this study is to examine how hosting refugees is critical to the economy, national security and the society of the host nation.

- To examine the effect of Rohingya refugee influx on the Bangladeshi economy and society;
- To establish the effect of the refugee camps on the national security of Bangladesh;
- To determine to what extent is refugee burden shared by the international community.

1.2.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- What are the socio-economic effects of hosting the Rohingya Muslims in Bangladesh?
- How does the influx of Rohingya Muslims compromise the security of Bangladesh?
- Is hosting these refugees making Bangladesh poorer? If so how is the economy affected?
• How did the international community and the Bangladeshi government respond to the influx?
• Does hosting these refugees make a country deviate from their development goals and visions?

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This research aims to investigate the effects of refugees on host countries as it is important because in many cases refugees stay for a longer period of time in host countries than anticipated. The refugee influx comes with challenges to the host country’s population as well. This study on the Rohingya refugee crisis is important because first the Rohingya Muslims are refugees in Bangladesh and second they are stateless minorities which have never been accepted in Myanmar. This situation calls for the support of the international legal framework to help formulate policies to repatriate the Rohingya Muslims safely back to Myanmar.

This thesis will also focus on the security dilemma of hosting refugees and the economy of Bangladesh after the arrival of the Rohingya Muslims given the fact that Bangladesh is considered a least developed country by the United Nations. This makes the issue complex because as a least developed country, Bangladesh faces its own development problems and the Rohingya crisis affects its developmental policies and goals.

1.4 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

The country of Bangladesh has hosted the refugees while it is not a signatory of the Refugee Convention and its Protocol. The country is a least developed country. This puts pressure on
Bangladeshi resources, capital and manpower in terms of security, movement of people and reliance on the international community by the government to provide financial support.

This research aims to contribute to the academic literature on the Rohingya Muslim crisis assessing the cost of hosting refugees in Bangladesh.

1.5 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The scope of the study will cover the Rohingya refugees from Myanmar who have found refuge and settlement in the eastern part of Bangladesh. Rohingya Muslims have been accepted by other nations such as Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia and India but for ease of gathering statistics and information, this study will look at Bangladesh only as it serves as the biggest host of the Rohingya people. Other host nations will however be discussed generally.
1.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The purpose of this section is to connect the impact of refugees to host countries. Various International Relations theories connecting to forced migration and refugee influx will be used to give a more practical guidance for analysis.

1.6.1 CRITICAL THEORY

Theorist Max Horkheimer of the Frankfurt School describes it as the reflective assessment and critique of society and culture applying knowledge from social sciences and humanities. Critical theorist drew on their methods from Karl Marx and Sigmund Feud. They believed that capitalism is the major driving force of International Relation and world politics. Capitalism was viewed as minimizing costs and maximizing profits.

The World System Theory is built around the notion of whereby strong and rich countries exploit other countries in order to develop themselves. Betts (2009) claims that the World System Theory is whereby states are places in a hierarchy based on their influence and wealth. Immanuel Wallerstein divided the world into Core countries, Semi-periphery and Periphery nations.

On the one hand, the Core countries are in the center of the system and are characterized by advanced technology, highly industrialized, financially strong and they control market forces. On the other hand, the Periphery countries are exploited by the core countries. They are less developed and industrialized; development is slower because of legacies of colonialism and weak institutions. Periphery countries are highly dependent on the core countries as they do not have the means of production but possess resources. This leads to them exporting more agricultural products and resources. Due to high technological advancements, the Semi-periphery
play the role of a middle man whereby they exploit the periphery for natural resources and sell these to the core (Wallerstein, 1974).

This theory emphasizes on the idea that individuals do not have a choice in migration because they face either structural or economic constraints which force the movement. Betts (2009) argues that there is a flaw in studying forced migration. He claims that in the analysis of forced migration, non-state actors and transnational actors should not be excluded. He also criticizes the Marxist International Relation approach which is a purely state centric approach and does not consider the role of International Political economy.

Betts (2009) claims that since most of the forced migration still remains in the global South, it is important to analyze the mitigation techniques in terms of the relation between the North and South. He argues that in order to understand the impact of refugees on host nations, it is very critical to analyze the causes of their escape in their home countries. Duffield (2001) finds that the humanitarian responses to such crisis are a part of the core states influential strategies. They aim to contain the crisis within the South in order to contain any form of crisis. This will hinder spill-over to the global North.

The figure above shows the world system theory whereby strong and rich countries, the core, exploit the poor, the periphery. The study and theory does not account for non-state actors in the study of forced migration and refugee studies.

1.6.2 REALISM

Realism is one of the pillars in studying International Relations. The realist believe in practicality and use past events to determine the solutions to present and future problems. The assumption of
the theory explained by Thomas Hobbes, is that human beings are selfish and aggressive. This flawed nature of human beings and anarchy, war and conflict is always a possibility. State security and survival is a core assumption in Realism. Realism has always believed that citizens should give up their sovereignty to the state in return for protection and security. The international relations arena is about struggle of power where competing states main objective is survival through the best security possible. Failure to be prepared militarily leads to a great threat on national security.

Realist tends to focus on what is happening in the international arena rather than focusing on the issues which are domestic. The concern and focus is placed more on the international borders. Moses (2006) claims that survival of states is always based on the control of a state’s borders; the porous the border, then higher chances of compromise in security and the survival of that state. This argument is countered by Haddad (2009) who claims that because of the emphasis on state survival and security; a lot of refugees have been formed. He claims that the realist approach of placing states as the central actor has caused formation of new nationalities leaving out millions of people because of the new political developments. President Trumps initiative of expelling all immigrant out is simply because survival of the people of the United States of America and eventually survival of the state at large.

The Rohingya Muslims have lived in Bangladesh for centuries and because of the drawing of borders by the British, they are now both refugees and stateless. The colonialist did not consider political systems, religions and culture when independence was grated to states around the world.

The flow of refugees is mostly from the South to the North because of protection. However, the global system being anarchic and selfish, the number of refugees who require protection and
resettlement are many yet countries hosting and accepting them are a few. The analysis of realist policy clearly shows that states are only concerned to refugee crisis if it concerns them or benefits them.

The realist approach of non-interference brings about a greater challenge when the aspect of refugee resettlement is put under the realist lens. The South produces the refugees and these refugees tend to migrate or seek to move to the Northern countries because of the protection and care they provide.

The problem arises because not everyone fits the definition of a refugee as provided by the Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951. Developed states use a quota system whereby the dedicate a certain number of refugees they would offer to accept regionally, but this means that a lot of refugees who seek protection will be left out and would continue to suffer in refugee camps such as the Rohingya Muslims in Bangladesh.

1.6.3 SECURITISATION THEORY

This theory revolves around security. The first question that pops in your mind is what is security? Security, in terms of International Relations is the survival of an entity, the state, against any kind of aggression or threat. Hence security is pursuit of freedom from all threats. Security can be politicized whereby and issue which does not affect your security, by securitizing against that issue, it simply becomes a perceived threat. Buzan (1998) claims that security is a socially constructed phenomenon. He claims that what is a security threat to one is not necessarily a security threat to another.
The Copenhagen school looks at threats as socially constructed phenomenon. They claim that once a threat is socially constructed, it becomes a security issue whether it is a security issue or not. This school focuses on what is securitized, why, for whom, with what aim and objective and under what conditions. Bigo (2002) claims that a person in power, when they declare an issue to be a threat to the security, all the policies are aimed to defend and eliminate the threat.

The Copenhagen school looks at the relationship between the securitizing actor and the issue to be securitized. The critical school looks at the securitization as a downfall in the democratic rule of law. They rather insist that instead of securitizing issues, they should be de-securitized reducing the state of emergency and to be governed by regular politics rather than securitized politics. The securitization theory can also be looked at in a different way whereby the people and institution enforcing it and also the same people who are in charge of identifying new threats.

The securitization theory will be used to analyze the issue of migration and refugees in this paper. A country experiencing any kind of war or conflict will have a mass movement of people leaving the state in search of security. The securitization theory looks at forced migration and refugees as a policy that can be enacted to promote the differentiation between us and them. Huysmans (2006) asserts that immigration policies can be securitized without even mentioning that they have been securitized. He claims that securitizing of immigration is important in order to draw boundaries between us and them, protection of human rights, protection of borders and resources and maintaining the solidarity of the community.

He has a realist view whereby the immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees pose a great threat and pressure on the limited resources a country has and pose a greater risk on the security of a
country. For example, the European Union has securitized migration for third party states. In this case, third party states are states who are not members of the Schengen area or do not belong to the European Union. In the treaty of Amsterdam, which allows the movement of people in the European Union, it is clearly stated that only European nationals are allowed and granted free movement yet asylum seekers and refugees are denied movement away from their host countries.

The issue of securitization of migration is oven looked upon by issues of human rights whereby it is considered a breach of human rights but the protection and survival of state is of utmost importance. The European Union has securitized migration by the quota system whereby each European superpower has a metric system whereby it accepts a certain number of immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees from conflict and war torn countries. This system has been put in place because of the rising threat of piracy, drug trafficking and terrorism. The quota system is very strict whereby no more number of people are taken in than what is stated in the state policy. Leonard (2010) stated that Turkey, the biggest refugee host country, started sending back Syrian refugees as they could not accommodate anymore. This is against the international norm of non-refoulment whereby countries cannot send back refugees who are fleeing because of threat of persecution against their will.

In the case of Bangladesh, a country that is poor, natural hazards prone and always under the threat from violent extremism from international terrorist organizations can face a great risk of security because of the ongoing Rohingya Muslim crisis. The Rohingya Muslims have an armed militia group, the ARSA, which has been a involved in many of the armed conflicts in Myanmar, piracy and drug smuggling along the borders between Myanmar and Bangladesh.
When analyzing this theory, it is clear that security will always go against human rights. In the context of the Rohingya, Bangladesh is not a signatory of any legal treaties on refugees but has accepted to cater for over one million people putting its resources, security and border to jeopardy because of the humanitarian aspect and protection of lives (Buofino, 2016)

1.6.4 CONCLUSION

This paper will use the securitization theory and realism to analyze the cost of hosting refugees whether they pose a risk to the national security of a country, the economy and on the resources of that country. The case of Bangladesh is very important to understand as firstly it’s not a signatory of and refugee treaty, the Rohingya Muslims are both stateless and refugees and lastly Bangladesh has been declared a poor country by the UNDP who cannot meet its minimum threshold of survival. So the question is that is survival of state important or survival of the community at large important.
1.7 DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

This section defines important terms and different treaties which have been mentioned in this chapter.

Refugee – According to the UNHCR Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951, a refugee is someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion. The conditions are that a refugee must be outside his or her country having crossed an international border.

Stateless – According to the Convention on the Status of a Stateless Person of 1954, a stateless person is one who is not considered a national of a particular state under the operation of its law.

Non-refoulement – Under the Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951, Non-refoulement means that no refugee should be compelled to return to his or her country of origin without their will and consent.

Burden-sharing – this refers to the need for sharing responsibility for the protection of refugees especially in the aftermath of a mass influx.

1.8 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This thesis will be divided into 7 chapters. Chapter 1 is the introduction with background of the study, statement of the problem, research objectives, justification of the study and theoretical framework. Chapter 2 reviews the literature and Chapter 3 is the data collection methodology. Chapter 4 will look at the history of the Rohingya Muslims as an ethnic minority and human
rights violations they have faced. Chapter 5 will analyze the economic impact and security impact of hosting refugees. Chapter 6 will analyze the role of international community. Lastly chapter 7 will look at the research findings, analysis and recommendations.
2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The essential purpose of this thesis is to evaluate the effect of the Rohingya Muslim influx on Bangladesh and its effects on the local community. A host community faces its own challenges given the fact that Bangladesh is a poor nation. Studies which have been carried out previously give insight on challenges Bangladesh faces.

A study by Maysadt (2009) claims that large refugee influxes have varied social, economic and political ramifications on the host community. The study states that the refugee camps were set up in remote areas where the existing population was already struggling with the precarious living condition and poverty. This puts pressure on the sustainability of lives and because this study is ten years old, there has been dramatic increase in both the number of refugees and the deterioration of the living standards of people.

Gibney (2004) has defined the different types of refugees. He defines them as genuine refugees, asylum seekers and economic migrants. Genuine refugees are those defined by the 1951 Convention on Refugees and are people who are displaced because of fear of persecution. Asylum seekers have the liberty to move to the country of choice to be recognized as refugees while economic migrants are those who migrate to different countries seeking better for opportunities.
2.2 THE ROHINGYA COMMUNITY

Myanmar considers the Rohingya Muslims as illegal immigrants hence not granting them citizenship after their independence from the British. Under the socialist government, headed by Prime Minister U Nu, the Rohingya were never recognized as one of the 135 ethnic groups of Myanmar. This meant that they were denied the status of citizens of Myanmar and their rights violated. Cheesman (2017) asserts that the Nagamin Operation of 1978 was a clearance operation which identified the Rohingya and carried out grave atrocities such as mass rapes and murder in order to terminate their identity.

Albert (2015) states that the Rohingya make up about a third of the population in the Rakhine State of Myanmar. The Rohingya are a minority group in the nation and successive governments have ignored their existence and denied them citizenships. This has made them stateless therefore their needs and rights have been violated. The Myanmar government has considered them illegal because they claim that the Rohingya migrated to present day Myanmar from Bangladesh during the British rule.

Garrie (2017) argues that the situation of Kurds in Iraq and the Rohingya is similar because in both cases a stateless minority group has a historic tie to the region they have been expelled from or fighting to remain there. Both the situations are similar because the conflict is between the government and minority groups.

Salma Yaqoob, a British activist and commentator on human rights, in her interview with Al Jazeera on 19th September 2017, accused the British government planting the seeds of what is today the Rohingya crisis. During the colonial period, the British collaborated with the Muslims.
As the struggle for independence intensified, the divide between the Muslims and the Buddhist grew too. After independence the Buddhist gained power and persecuted Muslims at their own will. This was justified by the Buddhist government by stating that the Rohingya are illegal migrants from Bangladesh who moved and settled during the colonial period. It is clear that the countries that use a “quota” system, whereby they dedicate specific number of people to enter their countries are the very countries responsible for fueling the crisis. This leaves the poor countries to share the burden alone.

2.3 THE REFUGEE CRISIS IN BANGLADESH

Azad (2013) states that the Rohingya are in a very complicated situation. In 1998, the first secretary of Myanmar, General Khin Nyunt wrote to UNHCR that the Rohingya are illegal migrants in Myanmar who moved in search for better opportunities. On the other side, Bangladesh claims that the Rohingya are from Myanmar. This makes the Rohingya the most neglected group and stateless where no state where the live are ready to claim them as their citizens.

There is a major crisis in terms of hosting and excepting refugees. The countries which have hosted the Rohingya Muslims are Bangladesh, Pakistan, India and Malaysia. There is a disjoint in terms of sharing the burden as none of these countries are signatories to the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. As Shivakoti (2017) claims, there is a lack of political and legal will to deal with these refugees that has led to a full blown humanitarian crisis.
The HDI (2018) report ranked Bangladesh at 136 out of 189. The index value was at 0.387. This value proves that the country has a poor quality of health, education and standard of living. Ashikur Rahman, a senior economist of Policy Research Institute argues that Bangladesh cannot sustain these refuges given its economic status. Bangladesh has a GDP per capita of US dollars 1,602 (UNDP, 2018). This means that the country is not able to provide well for its growing population yet it has to look after more than 1,000,000 refugees. This puts heavy pressure on the budget and deviates from the countries policy on development.

The crisis has a great impact on the Bangladeshi economy. According to the World Bank Report of 2018, the GDP of Bangladesh was 221.4 billion USD. According to Ovi (2017), the Bangladeshi government pledged 1 billion USD to provide for the Rohingya refugees. This is a big amount of money from the government revenue. This percentage is worrying because about fifty percent of the Bangladeshi population live below the poverty threshold.

Rahman (2015) contends that the economy of Bangladesh will be affected because of the incoming refugees in terms of the labor market demand and supply forces. The host community will be affected as there is a greater labor force availability which will push the wage rates down affecting the standards of living of the Bangladeshis. This may be a catalyst that will create communal violence and instability.

A host country suffers when there is a sudden influx of refugees into a country. This both affects the economy as seen above but also there is great pressure on the social structures. Lee (2005) claims that the influx has a great impact on the existing settlements in terms of ethnicity, religion, values and practices. The incoming refugees come in with their own values and cultures causing conflicts with the host communities. Gomez (2010) examined the influx of refugees in
Afghanistan and found out that refugees are exploited by host communities in terms of forced labor, drug trafficking and prostitution.

2.4 REFINING AND INSECURITY

After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, the Soviet Union aimed to establish a socialist state leading to a mass movement of Afghans into neighboring nations. Noor (2006) believes that the world’s negligence on the Afghan refugee crisis led to the attack on the twin towers in New York in 2001. After the fall of the Soviet Union, the Taliban government took over and imposed strict Islamic Sharia laws. This was the second wave of refugees fleeing Afghanistan as the cruelty under the Taliban government was unbearable.

The current Rohingya crisis in Bangladesh poses security threat on a larger scale. This ranges from human security, food security, transnational security and environmental security. However, this research we will focus on the internal security, militancy and threat of terrorism.

In Bangladesh, the exodus of the Rohingya Muslims includes ex-combatants who belong to the ARSA militants group. This group has claimed responsibility for a lot of bombings, raids on police posts and army bases. The latest was when the group claimed responsibility on a police post which led the military to clear villages in August 2017.

Kumar (2019) claims that it is quite likely that refugees try to escape from the camps and try to mingle with the local population. It is a threat to Bangladeshi security as the mass inflow of the Rohingya Muslims will lead to an increase in petty crimes for survival. Criminal groups on borders will exploit the incoming refugees as most refugee families do not have males because of detention or murder in Myanmar. Theses gangs will traffic children for slave labor and the
women and girls for prostitution. The Rohingya have suffered under the Buddhist government in Myanmar and this sentiment may backlash on the Buddhist Bangladeshis causing a communal conflict in Bangladesh.

Sharma (2017) argues that the Rohingya may be a threat not just to Bangladesh but to the whole region. In most cases refugees are used to smuggle drugs into nations. Given the geographical proximity of the golden triangle, the Rohingya Muslims can be used or can smuggle in drugs and arms into Bangladesh. This would bring increased security threat to Bangladesh as the drug and arm trade would increase around the border region which would benefit terror organizations such as Al-Qaida in India and also ARSA.

India has hosted about 40,000 Rohingya Muslims from Myanmar. The Indian government under Prime Minister Modi, has taken a rather realist approach on the refugee crisis. India is neither a signatory of the 1951 Convention on Refugees nor to any of its additional protocols. The Indian Ministry of Home affairs released a statement and decided to deport all those who entered India illegally. About 18,000 have been registered as refugees by the UNHCR but the remaining have been declared illegal migrants who pose a threat to the national security. On 7th January 2019, the Home Ministry’s statement by the spokesman Mr. Babu Bhusan was as follows:

The Indian government has an international legal obligation to fully acknowledge the institutionalized discrimination, persecution and gross human rights violations against the Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar. But if someone enters the country illegally, we will send them back and this is applicable to everyone (Source: The Washington Post, 2018.)
Singh (2016) has found out that transnational security groups have used this nature of situation to initiate and propagate their own agenda. On September 3rd 2017, FPI (Front Pembela Islam), a right wing Islamist organization based in India released a video where they were recruiting young jihadists to join in the humanitarian jihad in Myanmar and avenge those who have been persecuted. This will make Bangladesh a terror hot bed for terrorist attacks and activities because of the prolonged conflict in Myanmar. On the other hand, Al- Qaida in the Indian Subcontinent (AQIS) has threatened to attack Myanmar which brings chaos to the whole region.

Bangladesh has faced a border attack by Myanmar armed forces in the 1980s. There was a maritime border dispute between the two nations. This led to a naval conflict between the two states as oil rigs were destroyed and a water blockade was imposed. According to Churchill (2012), given such historical events, Bangladesh has to be vigilant as a border conflict between the two armed forces could occur. For now, Bangladesh has a porous border which Myanmar could take advantage of and launch an attack. Also the incoming Rohingya Muslims have militants who pose as refugees who could give rise to non-state actors of war and promote instability in Bangladesh.

2.5 ROLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

Following August 2017, more than 1,000,000 Rohingya Muslims have crossed into Bangladesh. The Rohingya Muslims have faced decades of discrimination. They have been denied citizenship under Myanmar’s 1982 Citizenship Law which declares them illegal migrants.

Antonio Guterres in his UN Security Council speech of January 2017 pledged that the prevention of conflicts is a major priority rather than responding after a conflict has taken place. Beyrer
(2017) argues that the UN and its major affiliating bodies have failed to prevent this crisis from occurring. He argues that the basic principle of R2P (Right to Protect) was not upheld both by neighboring states and the international community at large. R2P, which was signed by states during the UN World Summit of 2005, which stipulates the primary responsibility of states to protect their citizens against genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and the international community to provide assistance in fulfilling the responsibilities.

China and Russia have been condemned as indirect actors of the Rohingya crisis. This is because both China and Russia are the biggest seller of arms to the Myanmar army. SIPRI’s (2018) report entailed that most of the arms used in the persecution by the Myanmar army were from China and Russia. Nikki Haley, the former US ambassador to the UN, contends that both the arms suppliers to Myanmar should impose arms embargo and economic sanctions. She also urged the Nobel Peace laureate and the Prime Minister of Myanmar, Aung San Suu Kyi to acknowledge the atrocities that have been committed by her army and take action to stop them. In response, the prime minister responded that no such atrocities have been committed.

Fink (2017) in her article titled “Myanmar in 2017” writes that none state actors have played a major role than state actors. Nongovernmental organizations such as Amnesty International stripped off the prestigious human rights award and described her silence as a shameful betrayal. Amnesty argued that Aung San Suu Kyi, who once fought for democracy, rule of law and human rights is no longer a symbol of hope. Conversely, the Nobel Peace Prize committee denied that it would not strip of her award as there are no provisions in their laws of withdrawing the prize.

Trihartono (2017) also condemns the silence of ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations). The organization was formed in 1967 but ratified in 2008 was to facilitate economic,
security, military and educational integration. The organization is powerless as Myanmar has a powerful position and threatened if the organization would take an aggressive stance concerning the Rohingya crisis, it would quit the organization.

Pedersen (2018) stated that the ICC (International Criminal Court) tried to indict army generals involved in carrying of the atrocities but Myanmar accused the ICC of breach of sovereignty as Myanmar is not a signatory to the Rome Statute which established the court. Instead Myanmar accused ICC of breach of international legal norms.

India has played a major role in this crisis. According to Routray (2019), India has played a strategic role in the hindrance of prevention of the Rohingya crisis. India sided with the Myanmar government as it was concerned if it will lose a strategic economic partner with a lot of minerals to China. India has heavily invested in the northern gas fields of Myanmar. India had to maintain a balance between both Myanmar and Bangladesh and took the approach of defining the Rohingya as illegal migrants and decided to deport the unregistered Rohingya Muslims back to Myanmar. The current tensions between Pakistan and India have forced Prime Minister Modi to take a more realist than humanitarian approach securitizing the immigration and borders.

2.6 SUMMARY OF GAPS TO BE FILLED BY THE STUDY

According to many of the academics and authors of the literature which was reviewed, the definition of the status of refugee is contested. The literature reviewed does not clearly elaborate how economy of host countries in terms of GDP, the national budget and the international trade is affected. These changes in the economy will put pressure on the changing demographics of the
host society in terms of employment, access to healthcare and education. This research will try to fill this gap.

Refugees have been one of the causes of insecurity around the world. This is because of the negative consequence of not protecting refugees or the prevention of causes that lead to refugee crisis. Bangladesh has a porous border with Myanmar. Despite not being a signatory of the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951, it has allowed the Rohingya Muslims to enter and provided shelter and protection. This is both consequential for Bangladesh in terms of on the economy and national security of the nation. This research will try fill on the gap of the economics of securitizing a country and the cost of mass influx of refugees through porous borders.

The literature has extensively discussed the role of the international actors in the crisis. This study shall focus on the voids such as the failures of organizations such as the UN and the UNSC because of interest and alliances with Myanmar. This study aims to fill the gap of how Bangladesh, the region and the international community at large can assist in the burden sharing of these refugees. It is important to also focus on strategies to help share the burden and protection of these refugees.
3.0 METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION

3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The scope of study is Bangladesh where the over one million refugees are residing. The focus of the study is to answer whether hosting these refugees has an effect on the society, economy and security of the nation. Lastly, how has the host community and country, and the international community been present to help the sharing of the refugee burden with Bangladesh. Will Bangladesh be able to host these refugees as they are anticipated to stay longer than expected?

3.2 DATA COLLECTION

This study will collect data through secondary sources such as academic journals, article papers, reports, the news, books and data on the Rohingya crisis. The information collected will be from the independence of Myanmar but the collection of data will mainly focus on the causes which lead to the 2017 crisis. Data from the international organizations operating in Bangladesh in the various camps will be used comparatively to establish facts and figures. Reports and policies from various governments will be to analyze statics on burden sharing.

This study has focused on the South East Asia region, in particular Bangladesh as the host community for the Rohingya Muslims. The conflict which began from the independence of Myanmar and grew and escalated to this large scale magnitude in 2017 has various underlying factors such has hatred from the colonial times.
3.3 RESEARCH FINDINGS

The findings for this study are from secondary sources and data from the literature published on the Rohingya crisis of 2017. The analysis is purely secondary and the data collection will be done in chapters 5 and 6 and analysis of the collected information will be done in chapter 7 providing conclusions and recommendations based on the information gathered.
4.0 ROHINGYA AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The Rohingya Muslims in the Arakan state of Myanmar have lived since the 7th century as documented early. Their ancestral roots have been traced to the Arabs and Pathans. This chapter covers history of how this conflict came to be and the human rights violations the Rohingya have persevered. The first section describes the history of the Rohingya; the second section sheds light on the Burmese policy towards the Rohingya and the overall conditions of them in Myanmar.

4.2 ROHINGYA MUSLIMS IN MYANMAR

The Rohingya Muslims have been marginalized by the Burmese state because they have always been considered as outsiders and invaders who took their lands. Saha (2017) claims that the Bengali Muslim migrants are nothing but a politically constructed identity. The Arakan state was ruled by Rohingya Muslims until the Burmese dynasties took it over. Later on in the year 1824, the British took over the country and colonized it until the late 20th century.

After the Burmese independence, a wave of nationalist movement swept the country which led to the control of the country by the government. The military rule dismantled any social and political organizations which meant the minorities were oppressed and their basic rights were violated (Bahar, 2010).

The military government ceased power in the year 1962 and under the King Dragon operations, which was part of the Burmanization policy, which meant to establish a Buddhist state whereby control of trade, land, education and businesses was nationalized, started systematically
oppressing the Rohingya Muslims. The military operation was carried out along with immigration officials under the order of the socialist rule of Ne Win. General Ne Win ceased power after a successful coup de tat of 1962. The Bangladeshi liberation war to gain independence from Pakistan was feared by the Burmese state. This is because a stable Bangladesh would be a threat as the Rohingya Muslims have been traced to come from Bangladesh (Maudood, 1987).

The Dragon King operation, also called the Nagamin operation was a national effort to register Burmese citizens and screen out the foreigners. This operation was carried out right before the national census. The operation aimed at assimilation to integrate minority group under a Burmese Buddhist umbrella. The chains of events were not supported by the Rohingya Muslims which led to hostilities in the Arakan state as the Muslims wanted to remain with a distinct identity.

The Burmese state deployed military force in the Arakan state to stop the situation from escalating but encouraged anti-muslim riots in the country. The campaign by the military was aimed at killing, raping and mass slaughter of Rohingya civilians. In this period about 200,000 Rohingyas fled the country into Bangladesh setting up the first refugee camps in Cox Bazaar and Teknaf (Alam, 2019).

The inter-community conflict between the Rohingya Muslims and the Burmese even existed before Myanmar’s independence. The Rohingya, allies to the British helped fight the Japanese forces during the Second World War. The Rohingya support for the British Raj made the Burmese view them as collaborators and having anti nationalistic views.
Abrar (1996) found that the British did not keep their promise of giving the Rohingya Muslims an autonomous status and state which left the Rohingya in a dilemma. Independent Burma had strong resentment against the Rohingya but the situation was not as bad as under General Ne Win’s military government. In the newly independent state, Rohingya Muslims were given public offices, worked as government legislators and in the year 1951 the government provided them with national identity cards which allowed them to vote.

In General Ne Win’s government, Rohingya Muslims were forced to register as Bengali’s (from Bangladesh), which was a de facto status of them living and working in Myanmar illegally. Yue & Mensah (2017) stated that roughly two million Rohingya had once occupied the Rakhine state and because of fear of persecution and statelessness, they escaped to Bangladesh. The first flight of Rohingya Muslims into Bangladesh was about 200,000 people. The years to come were even more challenging as different policies were adopted by Myanmar to marginalize and discriminate the Rohingya.

After the end of the Nagamin Operation, in the year 1982, the Citizen Law was created to justify the long mass killings of the Rohingya. The government created a legal framework in attempt to differentiate the different classes of citizens. Documents which were required for a person to register as a citizen of Myanmar were destroyed during the Nagamin operation because of razing villages, mass murders and rapes.

The UN and other international organizations such as Human Rights Watch have tried making repatriation deals between the Bangladeshi and Burmese government but the Rohingya do not find the environment conducive and safe to back to. In the year 1992, 180,000 Rohingya Muslims were repatriated back to Myanmar from Bangladesh but because of instability and
ongoing conflict, the mass influx of Rohingya Muslims into Bangladesh in 2017 was clear that it is not safe for them anymore to continue living under an oppressive government.

4.3 THE BURMESE POLICY TOWARDS THE ROHINGYA MUSLIMS

The Rohingya were not recognized as the 135 ethnic communities living in Myanmar by the citizen act of 1982. The name Rohingya is derived from the Rohang kingdom which ruled the present day Arakan state of Myanmar. The Rohingya described themselves as Bamar Muslims, people who are Muslims and living in Myanmar but respect the Buddhist values and norms. The term Bamar Muslims changed after independence to the Rohingya Muslims and the Burmese people and government has always referred to them as Bengali people, people from Bangladesh (Karin, 2017). The Burmese government has denied using the term Rohingya as it gives them recognition. Scholars such as Chambers (2015) have claimed that the Burmese have adopted and implemented this decision so as to deny the existence of the Rohingya Muslims as people from Myanmar and justify the treatment as they are illegal with no right to remain in that country.

After the enactment of the Citizenship act of 1982 and the end of the Nagamin operation, about 300,000 Rohingya had fled to Bangladesh (Smith, 2013). Bangladesh with its own problems to tackle, they had to seek help from the international community in order to cater for the refugees. The exclusion of Rohingya as part of the 135 ethnic groups was strategic move as automatically they became stateless. They became refugees in their own countries. The presence of a lot of natural resources such as gas, coal and petroleum in the Rakhine state was also strategic for the Burmese government. The evicted villages and farms were converted into military bases and camp. The Rohingya were forced to move from the resource rich lands and moved further north
into the mountainous terrains. The forced eviction made the Rohingya homeless too and no compensation was provided.

Southwick (2013) stated that the situation and standoff between the Rohingya and the Burmese state had escalated as Buddhist nationalist burnt down a Muslim boarding school killing students and teachers. This incident can be a trigger to a bigger conflict. The atrocities have not only been committed by the Burmese state to. The ARSA, a self-claimed armed force of the Rohingya Muslims, have also killed military officials during raids into military camps and security posts to retrieve arms and as acts of arson. The major trigger for the 2017 crisis was because ARSA carried out attacks on a military check post killing 12 officers. The attacks on Rohingya are provoking but the degree of suffrage is higher to a mass of population who have no rights, freedom or nationality.

The attacks on the Burmese officials were used by the government as propaganda riling up people to prove that these illegal citizens in the country need to leave or face the consequences. Buddhist nationalism was fueled by such events which get the youth to arm up and commit the atrocities the Rohingya faced in 2017.

After the transition of the military dictatorial regime to a democratic government, Aung San Suu Kyi, daughter of the first Prime Minister, Aung Suu, won the elections becoming the premier of Myanmar. The Rohingya hoped for a better live as Aung San Suu Kyi, a human right activist and a Nobel Peace Prize laureate would end the suffering, violence and discrimination and grant the rights of the Rohingya. However, it was an unrealistic hope as a wave of rioting and anti-Muslim sentiment grew in the country which later led to the fleeing of over 1,000,000 Rohingya Muslims into Bangladesh.
The Rohingya have been marginalized economically hindering their growth. Employers cannot hire them as they do not have the documents to work hence the stateless status. The Rohingya have tried to make a living through illegal labor for a minimal payment and in most cases they are exploited. The government officials set up road blocks and security checks and extort money from them (Weissbrodt, 2006). This deprives them off basic needs such as clean water, food and shelter.

Safi (2017) described the actions by the Myanmar government as crimes against humanity whose motive was to remove the Rohingya people permanently out of Myanmar. This was backed up by the intensity of events after 2012 had become more violent and had been amplified to a bigger scale. This statement was amplified by the UN Special Investigator on Myanmar, Yanghee Lee who claimed that the fierce attacks on the Rohingya Muslims are evident to force the minority group out of Myanmar.

The most crucial point in the crisis is August 2017. The Arakan Salvation Army (ARSA) conducted an attack on a security post in the Rakhine state which killed 12 officers and arms and artillery stolen from the camp. In retaliation, the state used military force and a crackdown went down clearing villages. The first wave of the crackdown led to about 600,000 Rohingya Muslims fleeing to Bangladesh. The government justified this by claiming that it was in search of the perpetrators who attacked the post and the Rohingya are not an ethnic group of Myanmar and had no claim to the rights of the country. The crackdown was conducted by burning villages and farms, systematic torture, rape and murder. The government did not care about the people nor the international condemnation it will undergo. Below is figure one which shows satellite image of the villages burnt by the Burmese army while clearing the villages.
Figure 1: The photo is a satellite image showing the destruction of villages occupied by Rohingya Muslims between 25th August and 25th September after the extermination started.

Source: Human Rights Watch 2017

Figure 1 shows the intensity of the escalation of the violence against the Rohingya Muslim after the attacks and cleansing operation taken up by the Burmese government. Each village and its proximity to the border of Bangladesh and Myanmar forced the people to flee to Bangladesh for security.
4.4 CONCLUSION

By the end of 2018, about 1,000,000 Rohingya had crossed into Bangladesh. The Rohingya live in the poor country that has a growing population and problems of its own. The Rohingya live in impoverished refugee camp with poor living conditions. Bangladesh faces natural hazards such as heavy monsoon floods and the low lying camps are at high risk for floods and waterborne diseases. The huge refugee influx of 2017 and 2018 led to congested camps as shown in the figure below:

Figure 2: The map shows the heavily populated areas in Bangladesh placing Cox bazaar and Kutapalong camps with high density of people.

Figure 2 explains the size of various camps situated along the Bangladesh and Myanmar border. The location of these camps is very crucial as they are located on the low lying areas of Bangladesh alongside the river banks and flood plains of river Ganges. In a short span of time, more than a million Rohingya refugees crossed into Bangladesh.

The following chapters will access the effects of the influx. The influx also brings great pressure on the people of Bangladesh. Bangladesh is not a signatory to any of the legal instruments so it is not a legal obligation to host refugees.

The Bangladeshi government has currently signed an Memorandum of understanding with the UNHCR to host and shelter the Rohingya refugees until Myanmar is safe for them to return. Hosting refugees has its own challenges especially hosting the Rohingya whereby there are members of Al Qaeda and the ARSA. There is great pressure on the resources of the country and there is a security predicament present.

The human rights of the Rohingya Muslims have been violated and the people have suffered greatly. The UN ambassador termed the crisis as a textbook example of genocide whereby the minority has been exterminated based on their ethnicity, religion and existence. Bangladesh as a host country for this people is suffering because it has development plans which will be affected in the long run. The following chapters will shed more light on how the security has been affected, how the country has suffered in terms of its economy and the response of the international community to the crisis.
5.0 IMPACT OF HOSTING REFUGEES ON ECONOMY, SOCIETY AND SECURITY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will analyze the economic and security burden a country faces when a sudden influx of people takes place in your country. This chapter will analyze the current economic state of Bangladesh. As a host nation to more than one million refugees, the country also faces social and environmental pressures. The influx also destabilizes the security structure which may lead to a breach. Furthermore, this chapter will portray how Bangladesh is a periphery country, according to the World System theory and it is exploited by the core countries.

5.2 IMPACT OF THE INFLUX ON THE ECONOMY

As mentioned earlier, according to the UNDP, Bangladesh has been listed as one of the least developed and poor countries in the world. The GDP of Bangladesh in 2018 stood at 226.2 billion USD (The World Bank, 2018). The total trade surplus which was generated in 2017 was 28.77 billion USD. According to Ovi (2007), the Bangladeshi government has placed one billion USD in aid for the Rohingya refugees. This is clear that a country with a small economy spending a huge chunk of its revenue will put pressure on other sectors of the country. Harmachi (2017) found out that the argument was backed up by the finance minister of Bangladesh in the year 2017 when he claimed that the Myanmar crisis on the Rohingya Muslims will damage the Bangladeshi economy.

Byron (2017) found out that Bangladesh had spent roughly 7 million USD in the initial stages of the influx on rehabilitation of the Rohingya refugees, safe clean water and sewage systems in the camps, and setting and deploying police and immigration personnel along the border of
Myanmar and Bangladesh. The first response plan and action strategy was funded by developed nations through the UNHCR but it also cost Bangladesh a 90 million USD to facilitate the refugees and accommodate them in the camps.

Bangladesh received funding from the following countries to cater for the refugee influx. The total crisis response plan cost roughly about 430 million USD. Major contributors were developed states from the western world which included Canada, Australia, US, Sweden, Denmark and the United Kingdom. The following chart retrieved from the UNOCHA website indicates how much each country contributed. This proves the world system theory’s notion that periphery countries, Bangladesh, are always dependent on the core countries for aid and funds.
Figure 3: The share of the total funding (Source: FTS)
Figure 3 explains the variances between each donor country towards the crisis. Bangladesh, in comparison has a fair amount given its financial capability and economic status. A country that is suffering to provide for its own nationals and population, they will require assistance from the international community to meet the needs of the Rohingya Muslims.

The US government gave in the highest share while the lowest percentage was contributed by the Danish government. The aid was contributed to first cover for the basic needs of the Rohingya Muslims in Bangladesh. This included settling up camps, provision of food and clean drinking water, provision of medication and sanitary supplies, setting up camp classes and schools, security in the camp and the overall management of the refugee campsite. The percentage given in by the Bangladeshi government was to cover up for any outstanding financial need. This meant that the money was to come from the national budget of the country. Hence this would cut down on funding for the development goals of Bangladesh.

The Bangladeshi government had signed an MOU with the UNHCR that it would host the Rohingya Muslims for a short period of time and there after start preparations on repatriation of these people back to the Rakhine state of Myanmar. The repatriation process was to commence in January 2018 but because of no assurance of safety in Myanmar, the Rohingya Muslims disagreed to go back. The non-refoulment rule applied here because the Bangladeshi government cannot force repatriation against the will of the people.

The World Bank report of 2018 on Bangladesh stated that until the crisis does not end and a durable solution is not found, the cost of hosting the Rohingya Muslims is going to be severe on the Bangladeshi national budget. In the long term, the Bangladeshi budget will have to incur about 0.5% of deficit as that amount will be used to provide for the refugees. Refugees tend to
live in their host countries longer than anticipated which leads to a great budget deficit and reliance of the host nation on the international community making them prone to exploitation.

The continuous reliance on aid will have negative effects on the currency of Bangladesh as it will drop making their exports cheaper and imports expensive which will have a negative impact on the national balance of trade account.

Baldwin (2018) also shed light on the employment sector. Rohingya Muslims and the local Bangladeshi population share an identity in terms of language, culture and religion. The location of camps makes the local population and the refugees to indulge in a social conflict. The race for employment opportunities for unskilled labor would be tough as locals will have to face tough competition from the Rohingya.

As refugees in a country, they are not legally allowed to work in the host nations until and unless the host nation provides for such an event or they gain citizenship of the host nations and are able to pay taxes. The problem arises in the Bangladeshi case as the Rohingya can hide their identity and work for a cheaper wage rate making the locals suffer as employers would benefit out of this. The refugees are not allowed to leave their camps and this is ensured through deploying the police and the military. However, Niebuhr (2016) found out that policemen are extorting money from the illegal labor force in return for a safe passage in the industry. Secondly, the Rohingya women are being exploited as sex workers by the policemen to extort money from them.

The influx has led to change in prices of food and other basic commodities such as water and medication. There is now a higher demand for such products which make the prices to be forced
to rise. The Rohingya Muslims get most of the essentials from the various non-governmental organizations present but this makes the local population suffer from the hike of prices.

Bangladesh has suffered greatly in terms of its international trade. The country has run on a trade deficit since its independence in 1976. As a poor, low income country, it has always relied on imports to cater for its needs. Bangladesh imports more than its exports proving the World System theory of reliance on the core countries which continues to deprive them.
Figure 4: Balance of Trade Deficit account of Bangladesh before and after the influx of the Rohingya Muslims

Source: Trading Economics

Figure 4 shows an increase in the trade deficit of Bangladesh since the genesis of the crisis in August 2017. The increase in the deficit is because of many factors including importation of raw materials for the upcoming dam projects, flood drain mechanisms and the protection of the coastal area from high winds and waves. According to Harmachi (2018), Bangladesh’s staple food is rice yet it imported rice on a large scale because of the destruction caused by the monsoon rains and floods during the harvest season. The influx also meant that a higher number of people are to be fed with the limited resources hence the importation of rice.

Cookson (2017) argues that the influx is a burden to the Bangladeshi economy as a poor country with a high population and low GDP per capita, land which could be used to farm and cultivate and put up industries is now being used to host the Rohingya Muslims. Given the high birthrate of the country, the near future is fuzzy as high population will also increase the demand for resources.

Alma (2018) has also shared a similar sentiment whereby hosting these refugees is a great cost to the country. He states that the Cox Bazaar, one of the biggest refugee campsite was also one of the most populous tourist destination of Bangladesh. The presence of camps and the refugee has led to a significant fall in tourists leading to loss of a lot of money and livelihoods. The Bangladeshi government has also banned cross border trade with Myanmar as a move to stance in solidarity with the Rohingya crisis. This has cost a fortune for the locals who relied on trade across the border with the Burmese. Although Khatun (2018) has a different view about the crisis
and explains how the influx has led to opportunities. The influx has made a lot of nationals to have job opportunities in the various non-governmental organizations working there.

The camps have been congested and crowded. Prime minister Sheikh Hazina suggested relocating the Rohingya Muslims from the Cox Bazaar to a low lying island off the coast of Bangladesh in the Bay of Bengal. She claimed this resettlement is a temporary arrangement yet scholars such as Sattar (2017) claimed this was a strategy to decongest the Cox Bazaar because of it economic importance.

5.3 IMPACT OF THE REFUGEE INFUX ON SOCIETY

Sudden flow of people into a country always disrupts the flow causing social changes. These changes can be both positive and negative. The presence of refugees in the host community causes disruption in terms of security as petty crimes will be on the rise. This has a domino effect on the employment sector whereby they would offer to work for cheaper rates creating pressure in the job market.

Zetter (2010) noted that the Rohingya refugee influx will negatively impact the community. One of the biggest tourist attraction destinations was Cox Bazaar before the arrival of the Rohingya Muslims. In any given society, tourist hot spots are always lucrative markets for prostitution. The Rohingya women have been jailed for indulging in prostitution which is both morally wrong in the Islamic society and economically challenging to the local prostitutes creating a conflict. Although the Cox Bazaar refugee campsite has led to a significant fall in the number of tourist arriving in the city.
The UNHCR in conjunction with the Bangladeshi health authority are working to reduce diseases in the camp. Their aim is to eliminate and contain these diseases whilst in the camp. The country is on a low lying altitude prone to heavy rains and floods. The nature of camps being very congested means the people are prone to killer waterborne diseases. Humanitarian aid observers predicted that by the end of 2019, about 48,000 babies would be born in the camp which puts pressure on the reproductive health and rights, transmission and spread of sexually transmitted diseases too. The intermarriages between the refugees and the locals make the spread of these diseases a pandemic costing millions to the state.

The integration and intermarriage between the Rohingya Muslims and the local has been denied by law. It is hard to differentiate between the locals and the refugees so the Rohingya have taken advantage of this situation. Rohingya men and women bribe the locals in form of money and drugs to get married to them in order to acquire Bangladeshi citizenship to make a better life outside of the camps (Luetz, 2018). The authorities have tried to curb this problem but it has rather created animosity and hatred in the hearts of the Rohingya as denial of survival.

Rohingya women are at great risk as they may suffer under gender based violence. The Rohingya Muslim community is patriarchal, rough and uneducated and Alam (2018) claims that the women will suffer his from both the host and their own community. Women and children suffer the most in any conflict and the men’s aggression and frustrations will be expressed through acts of violence.

Bangladesh is a flood prone country and experiences heavy flooding during each of its monsoon seasons. The influx has caused to clear roughly 4,000 acres of forest which are naturally water catchment areas. Ahmed (2018) asserts that the clearing of forests will leave the country to face a
drastic risk during the rains and the forest is home to thousands of animals. Elephants are the majority of the animal population in the cleared forest which leads to human-wildlife conflict as the animals will be forced to migrate elsewhere.

The camp has a poor drainage and sewage system. Most of the human waste and garbage is thrown in lakes and rivers leading to pollution and change in the biodiversity of the river and lake profiles. The WHO has warned the authorities if strict measures and proper duping systems are not implemented, the influx will seriously have a grave effect on the environment of Bangladesh. This is a very crucial issue for a country whose 70 percent of GDP is contributed by agriculture.

The influx of Rohingya from Myanmar, the center of the golden triangle of drug trade means that the use and smuggling in the drugs will be high. The refugees will sell these drugs to the locals to make money. High usage of drugs has a negative effect on the society as it leads to other problems such as addiction, robberies, murders and prostitution.

5.4 IMPACT ON NATIONAL SECURITY

When analyzing the security of a state, the theory of realism plays a great role. The tenets of realism suggest that the state is the unitary actor in the international system and its security should be paramount. The survival of the state should be the most important agenda by the policy makers of the state. Refugee influx may cause a breach in the national security of a country if not handled well. Realists believe in the territorial integrity and protection but tend to focus less on the domestic matters.
The securitization theory somewhat agrees with the realist whereby securitizing immigration and migration has been an important phenomenon in the international system. A breach in security may be caused by the immigration policies and laws.

Rahman (2010) observed that Bangladesh as the host to the Rohingya Muslim refugees is obligated to protect the refugees but it has its own growing population it has responsibility over. Most studies in the past have focused on how insecurity, in this case he security of the Rohingya in Myanmar, is the root cause of forced migration and refugees but if you change the dynamic of the lens, you can also study how refugees have caused in security and conflict in their host countries. This section will look at how the Rohingya crisis is just not a humanitarian issue but could be a root cause to a cross border conflict between Bangladesh and Myanmar.

In December 2017, four months after the crisis, initially Bangladesh opened its arms and borders for the Rohingya Muslims but later declared it could not take any more people in. it asked for assistance from the United Nations. A repatriation deal was signed between the two states mediated by the UNHCR but the Rohingya rejected the deal as they claimed it wasn’t safe to return yet.

Moni (2009) asserted that the influx is likely to cause a security dilemma in Bangladesh. Cox Bazaar, the biggest camp is a potential brewing point for Islamist militants as the Rohingya are desperate and vulnerable. This is because the two armed organizations of the Rohingya, Rohingya Solidarity Organisation (RSO) and ARSA are fighting for autonomy and independence from Myanmar. They have founded their camps and operations in the Southeast part of Bangladesh in the forests.
According to Lintner’s (2009) Asian Security service report, members and militants of the Jemmah Islamiah, a terrorist organization which has pledged its allegiance to the Al-Qaeda are living in the Rohingya refugee camps. Al-Qaeda has provided them with the necessary information, finances and arms to conduct their operations. The Bangladeshi political sphere is also compromised as Bangladesh’s opposition party, Jammati Islam has been known to fund the operations of RSO which has been held responsible for bomb blasts, rigging and burning of ballot boxes during elections. In 2012, the Bangladeshi intelligence and army arrested RSOs master planner in the capital, Dhaka. After his interrogation, it was found that the RSO has been active since 1992 when the first influx of Rohingya Muslims came into Bangladesh. Many of the trainers and sleeper cell members are Rohingya Muslims.

Because of the porous borders and corruption, the flow of SALW is a great security risk. The long 129km border consists of highlands, thick forests and flood plains of river Ganges. It is tough for the Bangladeshi authority to guard the border give its geographical constraints. Islam (2004) in a report wrote that the border force has come across heavy firing as the Rohingya separatist try to smuggle arms, women and drugs into and out of the country. This is a threat to the internal security of Bangladesh.

Myanmar has been a drug state since its independence and it is the gateway to the golden triangle of drug trade. The geopolitical position of Myanmar makes it a gateway between South Asia and South East Asia. The Rohingya Muslims have been used or work as drug couriers who travel from the Rakhine state all the way till Thailand. The Bangladeshi agencies are also worried for the welfare of the health of their own given the fact that they have drug traffickers who live
among them. The Rohingya may pose a great health and drug related violence risk to its host country and community (Huq, 2008).

Bangladesh has been caught up in a very complex scenario. Bangladesh gets its oil and petroleum from the north of Myanmar. Recognizing the Rohingya as their own citizens would mean that the relations with Myanmar will be sour. Economically, Bangladesh has a strong trading relationship with Myanmar so it has to be very strategic and diplomatic while dealing with the Rohingya. Globally, not recognizing and helping the Rohingya Muslim means that Bangladesh will have a bad image globally and also in the Islamic world. In this regard, Bangladesh takes the Rohingya as refugees only and they have no concern with the identity and citizenship of them (Palma, 2009).

The failure of the Burmese government to uphold the agreement of the repatriation of the Rohingya Muslims back to Myanmar has led to a conflict around the border. The Rohingya are ready to work at cheaper wages compared to the Bangladeshi locals. This means employers are hiring the Rohingya over the Bangladeshi which deprives the locals off their living standard and day to day livelihood. There has been a general unrest between the two communities which has forced the Bangladeshi authorities to deploy more military and security personnel around that area which is a cost to the government.

Bangladesh has no formal policy on regulating the confinement of refugees and asylum seekers. Through the sale of drugs and prostitution, the Rohingya bribe officials and get Bangladeshi rights and papers. Because of corruption a lot of them pose as native Bangladeshi citizens, get the passports and travel documents to flee abroad. In the year 2018, 700 Rohingya Muslims were arrested and deported from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia who posed as Bangladeshi (Azad,
2009). This in turn had an effect of the recruitment of Bangladeshi citizens abroad as no
government would want to hire refugees who have posed as citizens and this would have an
impact on the foreign income on the treasury of Bangladesh damaging the economic stability of
the country.

Because of poverty and limited resources, the two communities are in constant conflict in terms
of land use, supply of clean water, labor market share and run a health risk of sexually
transmitted infections. Large forest covers have been cleared to accommodate for the influx and
the growing population of the country. Lee (2005) claimed that a huge area of forest and water
catchment area has been destroyed because the refugees use the trees for source of energy.

Due to the great demand of women as sex workers, gang wars have erupted in terms of control of
the various camps where by the women are kidnapped and sold in the black market as sex slaves
around the world. This has brought hostility between the gangs, the locals and the authorities.

Cookson (2017) found that militant and Islamist groups will find the helpless Rohingya camps as
potential recruiting places and radicalization zones. The RSO has been funded by Jihad-Islam, a
terrorist organization in Bangladesh who pledged to avenge the tears of the Rohingya against the
Burmese people and government. They also promised attacks in India because of its position in
the crisis. Also, Islamic State members will try to manipulate, radicalize and corrupt the
alienated Rohingya to serve a purpose which they do not know about.

5.5 CONCLUSION

The influx of over one million Rohingya Muslim has compromised and changed the various
structures in society, economy and the security structures. Hosting more people means the
country has more mouths to feed, more resources at disposal and more security apparatuses and personals required to meet the growing demand of the people. There will be conflict between the locals and the refugees resulting from disputes over land, resources, food and safety. Lastly, a country with their own development issues, a growing population and poverty will mean that it will be more dependent on aid and international support to meet needs as the statics show that Bangladesh has never achieved a surplus in its balance of trade since its independence from Pakistan.
CHAPTER 6.0 THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IN SHARING THE REFUGEE BURDEN

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will analyze to what extent refugee burden is shared by the international community. It will also analyze on how different countries and organization had a stance and response on this crisis. The UDHR adopted by the UN in 1948 gave all states to protect its citizen’s rights and obligations. Numerous treaties and documents have been signed and ratified by states on the status of a refugee, convention on reducing stateless person yet states violate these documents and are not held responsible. There is a big mismatch between adoption of these treaties and the application of them in real life situations. This chapter will conclude by how some of these treaties have been looked down by states who are not signatories or as signatories violate them.

6.2 THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE ROHINGYA CRISIS

The United Nations was formed right after the Second World War in order to prevent another major conflict from occurring and to maintain peace and stability globally. After the independence of Myanmar, the Rohingya Muslims have never been considered Burmese, have never been given the basic rights of a citizen and have suffered under their government.

After the crisis of August 2017, certain agencies declared this crisis as a textbook example of systematic termination of the Rohingya and genocide against the Rohingya Muslims whereby villages were burned down, killings and murder against the minority and use of torture and rape to create and instill fear. The United Nations Security Council refused to act because it lacked
consensus from the UN General Assembly in December 2017. It passed a non-binding resolution urging the Myanmar military force and the government to stop the killing and allow nongovernmental organization workers, journalists and UN officials safe passage.

The independent review published a report on how the current secretary-general of the UN, Antonio Guterres is one of the reasons the crisis was never stopped. Senior UN officials and crisis groups have been accused of avoiding early signs and warnings. An independent report published by Ambassador Gert Rosenthal, the former Foreign Minister and UN ambassador from Guatemala accused the current UN leadership of systemic failure (Source: UN News).

The report entailed the specific of Antonio Guterre’s failure as a High Commissioner of the UNHCR too. The report claimed that as the High Commissioner of the UNHCR, the Burmese government had approached the UN and the UNHCR to make plans and accommodation for the illegal migrants, the Rohingya Muslims, living in Myanmar. The threat was down played and was not given much focus as it was not an area of major focus as the European refugee crisis was at its peak. The ambassador also blamed and condemned Russia and China’s role in the crisis as they were against placing sanctions and embargoes on Myanmar and deployment of peace keeping forces in the country. He also related the failure of the UN in the Sri Lankan civil war which was the longest civil war in Asia lasting 22 years and the Rwandan genocide of 1994. He criticized how the UN has multiple ways to engage during crisis but it did not take any action when international norms and laws were violated, a humanitarian crisis was brewing and deaths of thousands of innocent people were executed.
Aung San Suu Kyi, the Burmese democracy leader and a Nobel peace prize laureate who fought for promotion of human rights, rule of law, and a democratic regime where everyone was free to air their views and be able to criticize the government. Her 21 year struggle against the military junta paid off when the general decided to step down and hand over the power to the democratically elected government. She left her family in the United Kingdom to come back home and restore justice in her country. Her efforts in striking against the government put her under house arrest. In 1990 she won the Nobel Peace Prize for her civil strife. After 15 year of house arrest, she won the first democratic election in 2012. After a fifty yearlong military rule, political prisoners were freed, media freedom was promoted and cease-fire deals were signed with the rebels (Lintner, 2011).

But now comes the dawn of august 2017. The Aung San Suu Kyi (ASSK) who was once the liberator of the oppressed is now and the face of democracy and the fighter for human right, justice and equality fails to save over one million refugees from persecution.

Myanmar is amongst the poorest countries in Asia (UNDP, 2018). The long military junta rule left cracks in the countries in terms of civil wars, rebel groups, exploitation and civil unrests. The Rohingya Muslims have fought for autonomy since the Nagamin Operation of 1972. When ASSK was interviewed by the BBC and was asked to justify the acts of violence by the Burmese military on the Rohingya Muslim, she claimed that:

*The Rohingya Muslim have not been targeted by the Buddhist but the Buddhist have also been subject to violence. The fear is what is leading to trouble and climate of fear. This is*
the result of our long suffering under a dictatorial regime. If you live long enough under dictatorship, distrust is always created. I am not saying there aren’t difficulties but difficulties when they are exaggerated than what they really are and I don’t think any ethnic cleansing is going on as we make sure everyone’s rights are protected. (Source: The BBC, Jan 2018).

The speech is the complete opposite of the real situation. ASSK was also stripped off many of her decorations and global awards. They include her honorary citizenship of Canada, The Amnesty award for human rights. On the contrary, when the Nobel peace prize committee was approached for the same they claimed that they did not have any law in the constitution to strip off an award for an awarded laureate.

Nongovernmental organizations such as Amnesty international, Human Rights Watch and International Rescue Committee urged the International Court of Justice to indict and issue an arrest warrant for all the military generals in the Burmese army responsible for commanding the attacks on the Rohingya Muslims and ASSK, the court’s hands were tied because of the strong backing Russia and China have given the Burmese government.

The great leader who once fought for equality and justice fell into the hands of tyranny and kept quiet and watched millions of people being slaughtered and tortured.

6.4 INDIA, CHINA AND BANGLADESH

The neighbors of both Myanmar and Bangladesh trading partners had a strategic role in the crisis. Russia is the biggest supplier of arms to the Burmese and trains a lot of the Special Forces in Russia.
India and China have also been of the same block and supported the Burmese government strongly. India has stronger ties with Myanmar as the North Eastern separatist movements in India who hide and seek refuge in the northern part of Myanmar have been apprehended by Burmese forces and handed them over to India. Secondly, India backed with the Burmese because the Rohingya refugees fleeing to Bangladesh would later then move to India which is a cost India was not ready to bear (Alam, 2017).

Lintner (2017) found out that India has invested in Myanmar’s sea-river-land project which seeks to link the remote north with the sea. This means it is also going to use the same routes to transport its own goods to Myanmar and the rest of South East Asia. The visit by the Indian prime minister in late 2017 was a state visit to help aid and fight the terrorist and extremist organization in the Rakhine state, which meant that the Indian Prime minister supported the view that ARSA was a terrorist organization. India also expelled and deported roughly 40,000 Rohingya Muslim refugees after a decision from the Supreme Court that entailed that these refugees were a threat to the national security of India. Only about 15,000 received a refugee status through the UNHCR, a move that was strongly condemned by the UN.

These actions raged anti-India sentiments in Bangladesh. The labeling of the Rohingya as terrorist was a move that was condemned by Dhaka which wanted India, as a strong economy and a military power of the region to use their dominance and power to emphasize and recognize the refugee crisis and that the Rohingya were Burmese and Myanmar’s responsibility. This sentiment made India send humanitarian aid and assistance to the refugee camps in Bangladesh as a response.
Alma (2018) also noted that the Bangladesh has always viewed India as a great ally and big brother who helped them during their liberation war from Pakistan. India is now seen as shying away from Bangladesh because of its business and strategic foreign policies towards Myanmar. Refugees are a huge problem especially Bangladesh given its economic conditions and Bangladesh is looking up to the strong economies of the region to help share the burden. As realists claim, state survival is important so states such as India tend to focus on their national security by containing the situation in Bangladesh to avoid spillover effect in their own country.

The growing tensions between the two states have led Bangladesh to incline more towards Islamic states. The non-recognition of the Rohingya as refugees has led to an anti-Islamic rhetoric whereby the Indian ruling party, which is a pro-Hinduistic party, declined to claim them as refugees because of their religion, Islam.

China has downplayed the issue in the Security Council because of its geopolitical interests. China is funding a construction of a port which will take goods to the sea from China which is relatively cheaper as you don’t have to transport them to east China shortening routes to US and Middle East.

China, through the Belt and Road initiative depends on Myanmar. Myanmar is also a huge market for Chinese goods and a special economic zone. China also vetoed the cote against Myanmar on deploying peace keepers in Myanmar and economic sanctions and embargoes too. Lintner (2017) argues that this wills strengthen Chinas strength in the region. The move was also made to impose as a greater power undermining India’s position in Myanmar and region.
The military and political figures have asked for India’s assistance to solve the possible problem of radicalization in the camps as they believe that these camps will serve as potential recruitment centers. Attacks on Bangladesh by jihadist will have a spillover effect on India so it is better to cooperate and share the burden.

The Bangladesh government, despite a non-signatory of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees let over a million Rohingya refugees in and provided them with shelter.

6.5 EUROPEAN QUOTA SYSTEM

The European quota system was established after the peak of the 2015 European migration crisis. This is when thousands of people were crossing into Europe through the Mediterranean Sea, crossing through various European countries to get to their country of choice in order to acquire asylum or refugee status.

The European Parliament passed the law in 2015 whereby each country was assigned a number of people it must take in based on the GDP and welfare index. The low GDP countries of Europe, such as Greece, got a lower figure of people to accept because of the economic crisis Greece faced earlier that year.

Asylum seekers were from the Sub-Saharan region of Africa especially from conflicting countries such as Nigeria, Mali, Libya, Sudan, South Sudan, Eritrea, Uganda, Tunisia, Central African Republic. People also crossed into Europe from Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Iran, Syria, Jordan, Yemen and Lebanon.
On the contrary, eastern European countries such as Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia and Hungary are against the quota system as they believe they have their own hardships and acquiring more people from conflict zones is a breach in their security and economic growth. They tend to be more realist than liberals where the survival of the state is the most important aspect.

Traynor (2015) asserted that the European Commission had to take tough measures against these countries who did not want to accept the quota system. The opposing bloc of countries wrote to the European Commission and the European Court of justice claiming that the imposing of the quota system is an infringement of sovereignty. Hungary, as the leader of the bloc also suggested that non-lethal military force should be used against the incoming refugees to prevent them from either crossing into their countries or seek asylum and refuge.

Germany argued that the commission can use the German formula to release the burden on states by using their sophisticated formula whereby they use local wealth, unemployment rates, and population density within the German state to distribute the refugees. Germany is also using the migrants into their industries whereby an induction program takes teaches about the German culture and lifestyle and absorbing them into the industries as many of the migrants are engineers and doctors.

In 2016, the European Court passed a law that it is mandatory for all states to take in refugees as per the quota system. As members of the European Union, each member has a responsibility to protect any human being who is fleeing their home and country because of persecution. The first 120,000 refugees, who came into Europe in 2016, were shared by various countries whereby Germany took the lead and accepted about 30 percent.
The Rohingya Muslims have been a minority, stateless and marginalized group of people who have lived in Myanmar as unwanted since its independence. No European or no European country has a mechanism whereby it can help a poor developing nation of Bangladesh to help share the burden.

Many European nongovernmental organizations and states have aided in the Rohingya crisis by giving funds. But critics such as Fink (2017) have claimed the Rohingya have not been considered in the European quota system because the European states do not have interest in Myanmar or Bangladesh. The other reason they have not been included in the quota system as most European countries want to contain the situation at its origin in order to prevent a trickledown effect into Europe. They are trying to avoid the spillover of the crisis in to Europe whereby they will have thousands of Rohingya Muslims migrating to Europe as asylum seekers and refugees.

After the crisis of 2017, Donald Tusk, the European Council president has urged member states to include and amend the quota system in order to accommodate for stateless people such as the Kurds in turkey, the Rohingya Muslims and the Sahrawi people of Western Sahara. The question is can states put aside their selfish interests to serve the humanity and help these people who are suffering.

6.6 CONCLUSION

The security dilemma, as put by Lintner (2011), in Bangladesh and the region as a whole is complex. The different agencies, the neighboring nations and the international community as large has participated positively or negatively based on their selfish interests. The quota system
by the western nations over hosting and accepting refugees from various conflict areas around the world has led to countries like Bangladesh, who are least developed suffer carrying this heavy burden. World leaders have condemned the moves and actions of Aung San Suu Kyi, India, China and Russia but no country has agreed to accept the Rohingya Muslims because the quota system does not cater for the needs of the Rohingya yet.
CHAPTER 7.0 RESEARCH FINDINGS, ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will look at the gathered information on each of the objectives of this study. It will thereafter analyze the collected data on the effects on economy, security and the burden sharing of refugees. The last section will provide a conclusion, recommendations on the cost of hosting refugees.

7.2 COST OF REFUGEES ON ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

Through the data collected in chapter 6 on the cost of hosting refugees on the economy and society, the GDP which was examined is from August 2017. As mentioned in chapter 6, the hosting of the refugees will cost about 3.5 percent of the annual Bangladeshi budget. The first and initial donation toward the refugee crisis, costing up to 434 million USD, came from the international community as aid to help the refugees. This resulted to roughly seventy-five percent of the whole aid budget.

A huge budget of 500 million dollars is a clear indication that Bangladesh is heavily relied on the international community and aid to create and accommodate for the Rohingya Muslims. Reports have shown that the influx has caused mass differences in the labor wage market in Bangladesh whereby the refugees have accepted to work for lower wages than the local population. Although as Rohingya are not permitted to leave their camps, the kind of sectors they are employed or work in are the informal sectors.

The Bangladeshi national statistics bureau showed that the cost of living in the camp areas has gone up as businesses view the influx as an opportunity to make extra income. The cost of food,
in particular rice and fish, being the staple meal of both the Bangladeshis and the Rohingya Muslims, has gone up too. In regard to international trade, Bangladesh has incurred a bigger deficit in the balance of trade accounts as Bangladesh has borrowed more and received aid due to the influx. The aid given reflects as a borrowing in the international trade account which results to a deficit in the country.

Figure 5: The variance of price hike during and after the crisis of 2017.

Source: www.cedata.com
Figure 5 explains the raise of consumer product after the crisis on August 2017. In any crisis, there are always winners and losers and the businesses saw the crisis as an opportunity. The rise in consumer products was also brought in by the World Food Program. World Food Program provides for the food needs in conflict and crisis zones. They partner with local producers and farmers in order to provide for the needs of the people in crisis. The World Food Program is an agency of the UN and the local businesses hiked the price as they well know they would be the first choice to acquire all the necessities from. Secondly, a lot of nongovernmental organizations are present in the various camps of Cox Bazaar district. This hikes the prices as the humanitarian personal also need food and supplies pushing the prices upwards.
Figure 6: The line graph shows how the inflow of the tourist in the Cox bazaar has significantly fallen because of the influx.

Source: www.ceodata.com

Figure 6 confirms that the raise influx of the Rohingya Muslims into the Cox Bazaar district, which is known for its history of architecture and the nature, a significant fall in tourist has taken place. A low income country such as Bangladesh, which relies on the agricultural exports and external debt, tourism, is a major source of income as it provides employment and income. Because of the influx, tourist around the world refrain from visiting Bangladesh which is going to cost people jobs and living standards will fall further. Unemployment also leads to social ills such as a rise in crime rates, prostitution which is a way to make an extra income for survival, drug smuggling and gang related violence.

Figure 7: Unemployment rates in the Cox Bazaar district.

On the contrary, the influx has made a lot of Bangladeshis gain employment as translators, local suppliers, medics and nurses, teachers and drivers in the various nongovernmental operations in the refugee camps as shown in figure 7. The unemployment rate has slightly fallen in the Cox
Bazaar district where most refugee camps are located. But with careful examination, it is clear that the influx has had a more negative impact on the economy than positive.

The fall in unemployment has been significantly high after the year 2017 into 2018. This is due to the mass movement has Bangladesh by the end of 2018 has received over one million Rohingya refugees. The numbers are changing as the movement of people is still ongoing in and out of Bangladesh.

Figure 8 shows the relationship between the national debt and total import. Import in the country increased such as food supplies, shelter materials such as tarpaulins, cooking elements, clothing and medication. This is all accounted as national imports. The national debt has increased as Bangladesh has received an aid of 434 million USD for the ongoing crisis. The Bangladeshi authorities and the various nongovernmental agencies such as the UNHCR are coordinating together in terms of usage of the resources provided. In the long term, Bangladesh may not have to pay the money back to the various donors but it will bring a huge deficit in its debts.

A country with debt also triggers other problems such as high inflation rates making the prices of all goods and services to hike and reducing purchasing power. The Bangladeshi Taka will be exposed to high deflation which reduces its net value against the international currencies such as the dollar. This also has an effect on imports as a low value currency leads to make imports more expensive and exports cheaper bring a huge difference in the balance of trade account.
Figure 8: National debt and imports
7.3 EFFECTS OF THE INFLUX ON THE NATIONAL SECURITY

The security dynamics of the country has changed as more security personnel have been required on the border of Bangladesh and Myanmar to contain the conflict. The refugee camps consist of ex-combatants who are members of the RSO, ASRA and the various terrorist organizations operating in Bangladesh such as AQIS.

The CIA (2018) report found out that more SALW have been smuggled into Bangladesh after the crisis in 2017 than any other year. The reason behind this is the long border between the two states which has enabled migration from all available points. The borders are not controlled as the borderline includes thick forests, river basin and mountains. The low paid border forces allow packages to pass through into Bangladesh without checks. The CIA report also entails that the various refugee camps are also lucrative places to recruit and radicalize people. AQIS has also pledged to avenge the Rohingya Muslims and that they will make the Burmese people pay for it.

Jammati Islam, a right wing religious political party has involved itself into politics of Bangladesh. The National Labor Party, which has been accused of funding the RSO has been actively accusing the government for not helping their fellow Rohingya Muslims. The organization has been international accused of funding terrorist attacks in Bangladesh and India. This active involvement has cost the Bangladeshi state and a great budget has been put into the crisis fund.

The other risk Bangladesh may face is the Rohingya posing as Bangladeshis abroad. 700 Rohingya were caught and deported from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia who posed to be Bangladeshi. If a Rohingya who poses to be an Bangladesh and commits a crime, it is the
Bangladeshi government who may suffer and the millions living in the country. Certain acts of violence may cause the international community to impose sanctions and embargoes on Bangladesh depriving it more than its current state.

A social conflict may occur because of religion, race of resources and unemployment. There is a huge number of Bangladeshi who are Buddhists. Religious standoffs may occur because the Rohingya have suffered under an extremist Buddhist government and the Rohingya and its armed groups such as RSO and ARSA may attack the Bangladeshi Buddhists. The scarcity of resources will force communal conflict in the camp regions forcing the government to put more resources, manpower and intelligence.

The Rohingya have been accused of working at cheaper rates by the locals as they sneak out of the camps and pose as locals. The drop in wage rate is damaging the living standards of the locals which may cause communal conflict. The locals have taxes to pay, rent and school fees, health care fees but the refugees are taken care of by the state and yet work for an extra low income illegally. The camps have been heavily guarded to avoid and hinder the movement of people in and out of the camps.

7.4 THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

The international community has aided Bangladesh in this crisis. The aid will be debt to Bangladesh and an economy which is still trying to recover from its recession that will be huge debt to pay. The presence of Rohingya in the country means a percentage of the national GDP will be dedicated to them. This cost will be incurred by Bangladesh until the refugees go back to Myanmar.
Figure 9: The unmet requirements of the total aid budget to be met from the Bangladeshi Budget.

Source: FTS

The unmet budget was retrieved from the Bangladeshi national budget. Refugees are not tax payers and a country’s budget relies on the tax revenue, balance of trade revenue and reduced debt. In this case all three aspects were affected as refugees cannot legally work so they cannot be taxed, the balance of trade of Bangladesh has been running on a deficit since its independence and the crisis has caused aid to be given to Bangladesh which will have an immense effect on the exports, imports and currency devaluation.

Bangladesh is not a signatory of the Convention Relating to the Status of a Refugee but it has signed a memorandum of understanding with the UN in order to accommodate the Rohingya for a short time. The irony is that refugees always stay longer than anticipated. The state of
Myanmar is not ready to accept them at any cost and the forceful return of these refugees back there is against humanity. The refugees will try to find home in the various refugee camps in Bangladesh.

The neighbors of Bangladesh and Myanmar, China and India have supported the Burmese state because of various strategic interests they have in the state. India had received 40,000 Rohingya refugees but it only considered 18,000 of them as refugees granting them the status through UNHCR and the rest were deported by to Myanmar. The Indian government claimed that they were illegal migrants, labeled them terrorist and threat to the national security of India.

According to the SIPRI report, Myanmar buys all its arms from Russia. China is a development partner to Myanmar as it has invested in infrastructure projects such as roads, dams and ports. When the UN General Assembly urged state to vote for deploying peacekeepers in Myanmar, China and Russia were against it and vetoed it. If peacekeepers or international intervention would have taken place, the mass murder of the Rohingya would have not taken place.

World leaders such as Nikki Haley, US ambassador to the UN, Desmond Tutu, Angela Merkel, Emmanuel Macron condemned the move by the Burmese army and the premier leader of Myanmar, Aung San Suu Kyi. Condemnation did not help over one million Rohingya Muslims who had to cross over to become refugees. The international community failed to take action against the state. In comparison, if western democracy or sovereignty would be at stake, the western world and superpowers would have had a different approach for the crisis. Example when the US had strategic interest in the Middle East, the twin tower attacks were used to move people and bring havoc and destroy the whole of Iraq to debris.
The Bangladeshi government accused the Burmese government of fake promises and having obstructionist approaches. In January 2018, both countries signed a repatriation deal but not a single Rohingya has moved back voluntarily as the environment is still not conducive. the UN and the international community has been silent about the situation on the lack of action by the Burmese government. China’s ambassador to the UN stated that this is an internal matter and the international community should not be involved in solving this issue.

The international community, the International Court of Justice and the International Criminal Court have failed at large to bring firstly Aung San Suu Kyi, the military generals and all the officials involved in the Rohingya Genocide to justice. This is strong powers such as China and Russia have inclined towards the Burmese moves.
7.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

Refugee resettlement into camps will not solve the refugee crisis as poor countries have to walk with the burden of hosting them. The following are durable solutions the Bangladeshi government and the international community through the UN can use to resolve the displaced people back to safety to lead normal lives.

The first is local integration. This option is viable because voluntary repatriation is not the most suitable given the situation in Myanmar. Local integration is whereby the country where refugees are living offer permanent residences with the possibility of eventual citizenship. It is also one of the ways the 1951 Convention has adopted to resolve refugee issues around the world. Many states have laws whereby when refugees live in that country for a long period they automatically become citizens of that country. The only risk with local integration is as mentioned above, security risks, competition because of scarce resources and hatred towards refugees.

Local integration takes a longer period and is a gradual process. First the refugees need to know their rights in the host country whereby they should be able to enjoy the same liberties as any other citizen of the host nation. Secondly, refugees cannot rely on international and humanitarian aid as in the long run it is damaging the host nation’s economy. They need to seek ways in which they can be self-reliant and self-sufficient whereby they contribute in to the country’s economy. Lastly, the integration should be done through social organizations whereby the differences in cultures and languages should not be a reason for conflict. The differences should be a diversification aspect and not a divisional aspect.
The second viable option is third country resettlement. The third country resettlement is a process whereby, especially western countries have a number of refugees through the quota system they would allow to settle in their countries. This mechanism addresses the last objective of this study which is burden sharing by the international community. This option is ideal when local integration and voluntary repatriation has failed. The main idea behind the third country resettlement is to help the poor host countries from the heavy load. The UNHCR determines the criteria under which a refugee is resettled in a different host nation.
7.6 CONCLUSION

The international community and all the states in the world have to change their view on the refugee crisis in the world. Firstly, states, through the various international bodies such as the UN, European Union have to change the perspective. The international community should not be addressing mitigation to a refugee crisis but they should be focusing on prevention of a refugee crisis from occurring. However due to the lack of legal framework and cooperation from states around the world, this will not be possible if a global government and superpowers impose certain humanitarian laws, such as the 1951 Convention, Convention to reduce statelessness, the humanitarian crisis will keep on occurring.

This thesis sought to identify the economic, social, security and international burden sharing of the Rohingya refugee influx into Bangladesh. The effect of the influx is both positive and negative but the latter being in a bigger scale. The negative consequences especially on the economy and the national security outweigh the various positive impacts such as creation of employment through the various agencies operating in the camps.

The Rohingya crisis is the biggest refugee movement of a people in the 21st century. This issue is has been growing since Myanmar got its independence. The colonial masters did not consider the different groups of people living in various regions when drawing the artificial boundaries. Bangladesh is a poor country with a lot of challenges. The influx of over one million people, its own growing population and the increasing gap in the balance of trade, the international community needs to act fast in order to prevent a spill over into the region.
As the thesis has investigated on how the refugee influx affects the economy, national security and the society at large, it is concluded that a poor host nation such as Bangladesh has suffered greatly hosting the refugees. It has also soured its relations with countries such as India yet it helped them in their liberation war from Pakistan in 1972. Bangladesh and Myanmar are also trading partners but because of the crisis and the fragility along the border, trade relations have been affected which at the end affects the economic status.

For as long as ethnic conflicts are not resolved, many such crises will take place. In that case the blame would be on the various international organizations which have the power and muscle to hinder from such crisis to occur. The occurrence of such mass plight of people is strong evidence to prove that democratic nations, humanitarian agencies and the UN have failed drastically.

All in all, the thesis concluded with recommendations but they will not be possible unless there is cooperation between various states and parties. In the meantime, the Rohingya Muslims will remain a huge burden over the people and the state of Bangladesh. The challenge is to contain the situation to prevent escalation.
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