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Rohingya Refugees in Bangladesh

Impact of Belt and Road Initiative

Highlights

Backdrop of the Sudanese Civil War

Democratisation Process in Nigeria

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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Understanding the Primary Reason (S) Responsible for the Conflict in Darfur under the Larger Backdrop of the Sudanese Civil War

By Sabyasachi Biswal
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Abstract- "Understanding the primary reason(s) responsible for the conflict in Darfur under the larger backdrop of the Sudanese Civil War" is an attempt by the author to understand the ethnic conflict and the subsequent genocide in Darfur as a continuation of the larger Sudanese Civil War. The brutal civil war and genocide with its roots embedded in the post-colonial ethnic division raged in the country for more than fifty years. According to the UN figures, it resulted in more than three hundred thousand casualties. Flowing from the understanding of these religious, tribal, and geographical ethnic complexities in Sudan, which percolated from the divisive conflict between North and South Sudan to Darfur, the research paper also tries to understand the events in terms of comparing and analyzing it through two very prominent Ethnic Conflict Theories - Edward Azar's Protracted Social Conflict Theory, and Fredrik Barth's Boundary Maintenance Theory.

Keywords: *ethnic conflict, divided societies, post-colonialism, conflict theories, sudan.*

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Understanding the Primary Reason(S) Responsible for the Conflict in Darfur under the Larger Backdrop of the Sudanese Civil War

Sabyasachi Biswal

Abstract- **"Understanding the primary reason(s) responsible for the conflict in Darfur under the larger backdrop of the Sudanese Civil War" is an attempt by the author to understand the ethnic conflict and the subsequent genocide in Darfur as a continuation of the larger Sudanese Civil War. The brutal civil war and genocide with its roots embedded in the post-colonial ethnic division raged in the country for more than fifty years. According to the UN figures, it resulted in more than three hundred thousand casualties. Flowing from the understanding of these religious, tribal, and geographical ethnic complexities in Sudan, which percolated from the divisive conflict between North and South Sudan to Darfur, the research paper also tries to understand the events in terms of comparing and analyzing it through two very prominent Ethnic Conflict Theories - Edward Azar's Protracted Social Conflict Theory, and Fredrik Barth's Boundary Maintenance Theory. Laden with chronological details, subsequent ethnic grievances, international intervention, and violent development of the conflict, complemented by the author's analysis, this paper will be an enriching read for everyone, especially those who are experts or have considerable interest in Conflict Management, Ethnic Studies, and Peace Studies.**

Keywords: ethnic conflict, divided societies, post-colonialism, conflict theories, sudan.

I. Introduction

Republic of Sudan, often considered as a gateway between the Middle East and North Africa[1], due to its strategic trade routes, porous borders, intermingling identities (Embassy of the Republic of Sudan, 2008), has often been in a bloody stalemate since its independence from the Anglo-Egyptian Mandate in 1956. The mandate, which came under a heavy nationalistic backlash from both Egyptians and Sudanese in 1952, asked for self-determination of both the provinces, led by Gamal Abdel Nasser and General Naguib of Egypt[2] (Watanabe, 2017). This prospect of self-determination created Africa's third-largest country sans geographical or demographical truth[3], and sowed the seeds of a protracted and prolonged Sudanese crisis, as we experience it today. Termed as one of the world's worst genocides[4] (Modola, 2017), the conflict, ranging for over 50 years, has seen elements of civil war between North and the South Sudan, state-sponsored ethnic massacre, division of resources followed by grievances, dozens of politico-military coups and changing factions of loyalty, all leading to the perpetration of genocide in Darfur from 2001-2004.

While most of Sudan stood on a dividing ground of religion[5], race[6], and clashing concepts of identity (Falola, 2003), intermingling in an albeit fractured community, Darfur came to be known as a very peculiar case of violence, based on identity-related grievances. Divided into three regions – Western, Southern, and Northern, Darfur shared open borders with Chad, Libya, and the Central African Republic (CAR), and had a ruralized population of six million by 2002. Apart from the fact that it shared the same grievances with the South, i.e., Economic, and socio-political neglect from the central government in the North, the religious identity shared by all the tribes in Darfur was derived from Islam. The warring parties in Darfur showed no religious difference at all. The only point of contention, however, was the racial and boundary difference coming from colonial practices. This sharpened hostilities between these religiously homogenous tribes due to lack of resources and state failure, which once again divided the Darfurians into pro-Arab[7] or pro-African[8] (Sikainga, 2009). These factors, added with the gruesome details of near holocaust accounts of the Northern regime on minorities in Black Book (Daly, The Destruction of Darfur, 2010) initiated the conflict in Darfur and its spill-over effect in neighboring Chad.

Therefore, this paper, perplexed by the plethora of prolonged, confusing timelines, a clashing political

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[1] Overlooks one of the vital Middle Eastern trade routes – Red Sea and holds the Nile crossing from North to South as Northern Africa's vital water resource and waterway.

[2] Successfully overthrew British administered King Farouk I.

[3] The independence unified and blurred important boundaries between highly polarised Arab Muslims in North Sudan and African Christians/Animists of South Sudan.

[4] An estimate of 3,83,000-4,00,000 civilian casualty.

[5] Divide between the Islamists in North and Christian/Animists in the south.

[6] Arab and African identity.

[7] Tribes of Rizaiqat, Missairiya, Ta'isha, Beni Halba and Mahamid.

[8] Tribes of Fur, Masalit, Zaghawa, Tunjur and Daju.

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conundrum in Khartoum[9], and changing warring parties in the conflict, will try to simplify and narrow down the understanding of primary reason(s) that are responsible for the events in Darfur. Taking inference from various contradictory literature ranging from environmental degradation, race, religion, division of resources, cultural hegemony, and politics, this paper will try and find the principal factors that will help explain the onset of the conflict. The article, in a first, will also try to connect the different literary backgrounds, and analyze if the factors are exclusive or mutually reinforcing in nature to perpetuate the conflict as its rationale and argument. Darfur, even after gaining its momentum as a separate conflict in the 1990s should not be isolated from the larger picture of the Sudanese Civil War.[10] (Baltrop, 2011). It is this historical backdrop from 1956 that will set the pace for the background of this conflict from 1989 onwards, and its conversion into a full-blown genocide from 2001-2004. In the end, the explanation will try to argue as to what theory of ethnic conflict fits the case-study in Darfur – Barth's Boundary Model or Edward Azar's Protracted Social Conflicts theory.

II. Analysis of the Background: The Whats and Hows of a Conflict that Shook the World

> "…that so long as the social practice continues to be pursued as if ethnicity did hold the key to the structures of inequality, the actions of the dominant and the responses of the dominated alike serve to reproduce an ethnically ordered world" (Bassil, 2004).

Ethnicity, as pursued by Samuel Huntington and Horowitz, has been used to define principal causes of conflict much before the Cold War. According to Holloway, the ethnic characters, when properly analyzed, can lead to a conclusion that acts as a crossroads between hundreds of interrelated political, economic, and social factors as sharp points of division (Holloway & Stedman, 2002). In similar lines, ethnic imageries and ethnicization of Sudan in the context of colonialism and post-colonial development have eventually grown into a toxic power relation, responsible for conflict over resources and behavior of the Sudanese state[11] (Pieterse, 1996). In other words, it can very well be argued that the seed of conflict in Sudan was sown way back when an Anglo-Egyptian collaboration snatched the region in 1899, along with the independent sultanate of Darfur in 1916, from the Ottoman Empire (Daly, Darfur's Sorrow: The forgotten history of a Humanitarian Crisis, 2007). The region then was divided into two parts based on ethnic lines[12], where the Northern part containing Arab Muslims was under Egyptian rule, while colonial power of England controlled the Southern part with non-Arab tribes[13]. However, regardless of England's control over the Southern region, it was financially drawn towards Arabs[14] in the North due to their immense private wealth and merchantry, acquired through years of sheikhdom under the Ottoman Empire (Brosche, 2008). This not only shifted the power of control to the 2% of Arab elite residing in North Sudan[15] but created a huge economic and identity divide, where Arabs looked down upon Africans in the South as Abeed (slaves). With the independence of the region of Sudan and Egypt from the Anglo-Egyptian Mandate in 1956, the entire region, which was technically three separate ethnic boundaries, i.e., North Sudan, South Sudan, and Darfur got muddled up into one state, as the Republic of Sudan (Sikainga, 2009). This change was not only a complete disregard to ethnic and geographical truth but created a highly polarized multi-ethnic country where Arab Muslims residing in North Sudan had ultimate power over the rest of the Southern region containing African Christians[16]/Animists, and African Arab tribes of Islamic descent in Darfur (McCormack, 2008). This divide also saw minimum wealth distribution among the entire country, with elites in Khartoum possessing immense private property[17], whereas the regions in Darfur and South were marginalized and kept poor. It further fueled hatred between African Christians/Animists in the South and Arab Muslims in the North, who used to look at each other as imperialist slaves[18] and jihadis[19] respectively. This factor made Sudan a battleground for many protracted inter-state wars over state grievances, uneven distribution of resources, and ethnic dehumanization. The conflict, that started right from 1956,when rebel group Anya Nya fought for the self-determination of South Sudan, eventually got transferred to more organized Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) in 1983. SPLM/A, and the public demanded for a self-determination of Southern Sudan and asked for a secular and federal Sudanese government (Daly, Darfur's Sorrow: The forgotten history of a Humanitarian Crisis, 2007). However, a question that might come up is where does Darfur, which is the focal point of this paper, lie in this bigger picture? It was

[9] Shifting ideologies among near similar minded Arab Islamic Parties in Khartoum over the years and their overall understanding of the rebellion in Southern region and Darfur.

[10] The events of Darfur were not inclusive factors of Sudanese Civil War, but its flowing consequence perpetuated in a fixed timeline, starting from 1989.

[11] The conflict is traditionally analysed through a lens of ethnic in-groups and role of the state.

[12] With Darfur incorporated as an integral part of Sudan.

[13] These tribes were animists in religion.

[14] Mostly elites settled near the Nile Valley.

[15] Receiving help from English patronage.

[16] A result of missionary conversion during colonial period.

[17] A result of Oil trade with South Asian Countries.

[18] Due to their conversion into Christianity.

[19] Due to North Sudan's initial plan of Islamic revival in Sudan and enaction of Sharia.

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until 1989 that Darfur not only enjoyed a distance from the North-South divide, but also did not feel any direct effect of the conflict. However, the region still functioned as a route for militias, trained and assisted by neighboring Arab tribes of Chad and Libya[20], to fight for the Government in Khartoum and ward off Southern rebels. It was a comprehensive plan designed as a compliment to Sudanisation, by Libya's erstwhile leader Muammar Gaddafi under his plan of Islamic revival or Arabization[21] of North Africa (Ali, 2007).

Nevertheless, before we go to the shifting political conundrum in North, it is very important to understand the history of Darfur and the multiple tribes that reside in it with same religious identity but different geographical ethnicity[22]. Darfur, which is separated from the capital Khartoum by a seven-hundred-kilometer dirt road, is an arbitrary sign of the huge historical divide that both the sides have lived through, much before the construction of colonial boundaries (Bassil, 2004). Bordered with Chad to the West, and with an area approximately the size of Spain, Darfur established its core around Jebel Marra mountains, which are known mostly for its fertile lands. The region, unlike its Northern and Southern counterparts, has an Islamic religious identity, which is transferred from the Ulama[23] of Keira region[24] in the 17th or 18th Century (Mohamed, 2005). Nonetheless, in contrast to complete Islamisation, the internal administration of Darfur never forced Sharia or banned primordial African pagan rituals. With the migration of more Ulama from Arab land, the Islamized traditional Fur[25] elite created a connected aristocracy with pagan African tribes, with negotiable ethnic boundaries, extending into land sharing (O'Fahey, 1980). This inter-connectedness later paved way for competition among Arab migrants opting for pastoralism, and traditional Africans clinging to farming, where under a mutual agreement Arabs were to pay taxes to Africans for cattle grazing in their lands (O'Fahey, 1980). This land law extended well beyond pre-historic times and was left untouched when Sudan reached independence in 1956. It was because of this mutual land law that Darfur, for the greater part of the Sudanese Civil War, kept its near semi-autonomous status[26] with negligent ethnic cleavage. In fact, in times of natural calamities[27] when minor ethnic cleavages began to sprout due to lack of resources and visible demarcation of boundaries[28], i.e., African Muslims protesting Arab pastoralism and migration[29], these rules were not challenged. It is also partly because of the central government in Khartoum before 1989, who even after siding with Arab pastoralists of Darfur, did not challenge the historical law of the land (Flint & De Wall, 2008).

Nonetheless, in 1989 a coup organized by National Islamic Front and led by Omar Hasan al-Bashir successfully scuttled previous peace talks with South[30] to empower Arab-Islamic Sudanisation and put a definite end to historical land laws in Darfur to benefit the Arabs (Daly, Darfur's Sorrow: The forgotten history of a Humanitarian Crisis, 2007). His two-pronged approach, garbed as national reconstruction for an Arab-Islamic state, not only allowed him to establish Sharia throughout the country but also gave him a reason to divide Darfur into three regions, cutting through African Islamic tribes to deplete their power and number[31] (Olsson & Siba, 2010). Bashir was also able to escape international condemnation for his act, since Sudan, by 1989 became a strategic partner of China, trading in oil resources[32] from Southern Sudan[33] (McCormack, 2008). However, the African tribes in Darfur did not revolt against the collaborative Arab nomads backed by Bashir, who by the name of Janjaweed[34] headed by Musa Hilal started taking control of landownership in Darfur. The reasons can be attributed to a lack of leadership in aiding revolution, and negligent military firepower against a much superior government, procuring arms, and equipment from China to protect the oil wells from Southern capture (Daly, The Destruction of Darfur, 2010). But, by the late 2000s, two prominent fronts sprung up in Darfur– The Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) and Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A). Both the fronts had different mandates, where JEM was a mix of African and Chadian[35] Fur tribes, and wanted to fight Arab nomads, and eventually the government for segregating and taking control of land in Darfur. They had no aspirations for the secession of Darfur. SLM/Aon the other hand

[20] Known as the Islamic Legion.
[21] Even if the plan failed in 1988 with African government of Chad defeating the Arab government in Libya in a war for inciting civil unrest in Chad, the soldiers trained and recruited by Gaddafi still stayed with Khartoum, armed.
[22] Maintenance of Boundary.
[23] Holy men in in the fuquras (courts) of Keira sultanate.
[24] An Ottoman region in the pre-historic states of Daju, Tujur and Wadai.
[25] The first men in Darfur; Darfur translates into land of fur.
[26] No government until 1989 propagated its idea of Sudanisation and Arabisation including Sharia in Darfur.
[27] The famine of 1960s and 1980s.
[28] It was the first case in Sudan where environmental degradation created ethnic boundaries.
[29] African Muslims created boundary wall around their farms to keep nomadic Arabs of Darfur from using it.
[30] He ignored the unsigned peace pact between former Sudanese President Mahdi and SPLM/A illegitimate and unconstitutional.
[31] The Fur, Zaghawa and Masalit.
[32] China was guessed to mine and trade in at least 70% of Sudanese Oil reserves.
[33] Whose economic benefit was also not shared with Southern Sudan and Darfur.
[34] It also included members of Libya's abandoned Iron Legion.
[35] Chadian Fur tribes became a part of this movement out of frustration with the Janjaweed, who used to cross into Chad and pillage or take control of land ownership.

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was inspired mostly by the larger SPLM/A[36] in Southern Sudan and wanted self-determination of Darfur and equal representation in government of Sudan. It was constituted mostly with Zaghawa and Masalit African ethnic groups. Despite these differences, both the fronts were the result of frustration among African Darfurians against the government, for prejudiced division of economic resources, which led to underdevelopment, ethnic segregation, violation of traditional laws, Arab appeasement, and atrocities (Daly, Darfur's Sorrow: The forgotten history of a Humanitarian Crisis, 2007). This eventually resulted in violent strife led by government forces and Janjaweed militias against the cadres of JEM and SLM/A in late 2002, when North Sudan and the Southern rebels were undergoing peace talks[37]. These peace talks not only provided a cover for Khartoum to reinforce its Arab Janjaweed tribes on the pretext of retaking traditional Arab land in Darfur lost to African Muslims in boundary segregation, but also facilitated a mass slaughter of African Muslim tribesmen in Darfur from 2002-2003. The Janjaweed, to reinforce Bashir's Sudanisation plan and retake farmlands, helped the Sudanese army to ethnically cleanse the entire Northern Darfur of African Muslims, killing, burning, maiming, raping and sometimes pushing them into neighboring Chad[38] (Hagan & Richmond-Rymond, 2009). This ethnic cleansing, which was termed genocide in 2005 by the US, resulted in the displacement of 1.4 million people, and the death of 3,00,000 to 4,00,000 non-combatants (Copnall, 2013) including women and children, in the world's bloodiest stalemate, which still hasn't allowed Darfur and the international community to recover from.

III. Rationale and Argument: Comparing and Contrasting the Conflict through Ethnic Theory Models

When the first Arab gathering in Darfur in 1989 sent a botched ethnic complaint to Khartoum accusing Fur and other African tribes of sectarianism, it already warned the world of another genocide in Darfur. In fact, in the 21st century, virulent forms of tribal sectarianism, territorial expansionism, emergent agrarian, and racial crisis have been major individual factors of ethnic conflicts, where the crux of these conflicts is to establish a pure, agrarian utopia on the grave of their traditional victims[39] (Kiernan, 2007). Through the above-mentioned analysis, we can also see a pattern of such ethnic hatred fought from ancient colonial times, where the government in Khartoum, to propagate Arab-Islamic state, have been waging a war against the African tribes in Darfur and Southern Sudan, in a whole. However, the only problem that the researchers and the analysts face while looking at the events is that they stagnate the reason for perpetration to only one of the factors mentioned above. Therefore, to build the rationale of the paper, it is essential to reinforce factors of environmental degradation, ethnic hatred, and state grievances together, as the conflict flows by from 1956-2004. The above argument presented through the analysis of the background states that the conflict, which started as an ethnic hatred from colonial times, turned into a grievance against the state where solidification of boundary lines due to environmental degradation helped mobilize Africans and Arab tribes into their specific side for warfare in Darfur. Thus, it answers the second part of the research question by clarifying that the factors responsible for the perpetuation of the conflict in Darfur are mutually reinforcing, playing out according to the whims of the parties over the years.

Now, to understand the paradigms even better, a comparative study of the conflict, sampling it through two ethnic conflict models is necessary, to denote which one of the two exemplifies the understanding of the conflict better. The two theories in question are – Fredrik Barth's boundary maintenance model and Edward Azar's protracted social conflict model.

Barth's boundary maintenance model proposes that ethnic boundaries are fluid, temporal and highly flexible. The proposal of his model was based upon ethnographies study of Arab and African tribes in Darfur in the 1960s along with his friend Gunner Haaland (Nielsen, 2008). The model elucidates that "categorical ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of mobility, contact, and information, but do entail social processes of exclusion and incorporation whereby discrete categories are maintained despite changing participation" (Barth, 1998). Therefore, this allowance of historical continuity leading to interaction with other groups elucidates the importance of boundary as the ultimate definition of a group and not its culturally ethnic content.

Under similar descriptions, the African and Arab ethnic groups in Darfur used to maintain their boundaries through the utilization of ecological resources, much before colonization. Beyond the factors of death, birth, and intermarriage, boundaries were kept purely on lines of economic symbiosis, where interaction was limited to competition or cooperation. The title of an African and Arab descendant in Darfur therefore, described a person's occupation more than its culture, and thus was highly negotiable. African tribes in the region of Darfur were primarily farmers, led by the hakura land tenure law, where the man was respected for the land he has kept and crops he has grown.

[36] Take into note that the inspiration was only a theoretical perspective as SLM/A like JEM did not want SPLM/A or any Southern ideology to meddle in Darfurian affairs.
[37] Initial stage of Comprehensive Peace Agreement. Due to the Darfur war, leaders from Darfur were kept away from this conflict.
[38] There are also reports of Janjaweed crossing Chad border and indiscriminately killing Chadians and African refugees from Darfur.
[39] A post-modern commercially motivated conflict also refights ancient battles as a method of mobilisation.

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Similarly, the Arab tribes were pastoralists and cow breeders, owing to their historical nomadic pattern. A man's capability in the Arab Darfurian tribe was decided by the number of cattle heads he has reared (Vermeulen, 2000). Livestock had limited importance in African tribes but if an African tribesman, following the loss of his crops, rears cows in significant numbers, he can migrate with the Arab tribesmen and must adopt certain rules of the same (Nielsen, 2008). Surprisingly, this structured boundary negotiation is not even visible in these two tribes when they negotiated with their common religion – Islam. Indeed, boundaries change rapidly in times of conflict, but the current animosity between Arabs and Africans in Darfur was not historical[40]. In fact, until 1989, Barth's theory of boundary maintenance can only be used to understand the consolidation of unity among Darfurians which made it avoid the conflict from 1956.

On the other hand, protracted social conflict (PSC) is a theory developed by Edward Azar. According to him, it generally refers to the conflicts which are mostly inevitable, intractable and stem out from real politics where parties engage in conflicts over scarce goods, the comparative advantage of power, or when a party feels that its historical identity is threatened or frustrated (Azar, 1990). PSC in its evaluation and sampling takes many factors responsible for the genesis, dynamics, and continuation of the conflict. The factors range from external level colonial legacy, domestic historical social formation, needs, linkages from regional or political actors, *etc*. It is only right to sample the conflict in Darfur to understand the situations that will explain the dynamics of the conflict. Ongoing for more than 50 years, the tensions in Darfur and the conflict associated have been divided into many clashing timelines. These timelines, affected by changing leaders, the intensity of international pressure and ecological disasters have repeatedly incited the dormant factors into a PSC. As we all know, the creation of Sudan was the result of the end of a colonial mandate in 1956. The problem arose when the three separate regions of Darfur, South Sudan, and North Sudan, with its polarized legacy, got incorporated into one country, absent ethnic reconsideration. This incorporation not only dumped economic resources in the North, including the capital Khartoum but also incited a social division between Arabs and other African ethnic groups. As years progressed, the Arab sentiment, fueled by Nimeiri's plan for complete Arab-Islamisation of Sudan in 1971[41] (Daly, Darfur's Sorrow: The forgotten history of a Humanitarian Crisis, 2007) deemed credible oppositions useless in Darfur. Followed by Bashir's enactment of Sharia in 1989, it created a sharp division between Arabs and Africans over the division of resources, dissolving negotiable boundaries, and economy. This not only created access and acceptance need among Africans in Darfur, but they also felt the necessity to mobilize for their security. With the formation of JEM and SLM/A in Darfur, the government in Khartoum, led by Bashir and Janjaweed, intervened in Darfur via violent means, killing civilians to stop further recruitment. International linkages played a major role in the conflict of Darfur, where the Sudanese Arab government was supported by Libya post-independence and China[42] post the coup in 1989. This international support also consolidated Khartoum's politico-military linkages, where the arms and soldiers procured from China and Libya[43] respectively were used to militarize rural Arabs to launch offensives against Africans in Darfur. Similarly, Chad which was led by a famous Zaghawa African, President Idris Deby also supported the Africans in Darfur[44], helping the conflict spill beyond the borders into Chad. All these factors supported the genesis and the continuation of the conflict in Darfur from 1989 to 2005. Even after the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005 among North and South Sudan, the conflict remains latent in Darfur with parts of Arab tribes along with government-supported Janjaweed still engaged in tussles with African tribes in Northern Darfur (McCormack, 2008). It also supports Azar's claim that "incorporating conflicting communities into one political entity retards the nation-building process, strains social fabric and breeds fragmentation" (Azar, 1990).

IV. Conclusion

With the above-mentioned arguments and literature, it is difficult to decide from the comparative study as to which model best describes the conflict. Both the studies have their fair share of shortcomings which also cannot be described by any other remaining models of ethnic conflicts. Barth's model fairly focuses on boundary negotiations between African Muslims and Arab Muslims in pre-historic times. It does give us a clear-cut understanding of how these negotiations merged a unity among Arabs and Africans in Darfur before colonial divisions. However, in a long run, it fails to mention what factors led the Arabs to break through the boundary negotiations and consolidate their identity beyond the scope of their occupation to fight a war based on a narrative created by a supporting central government. It also fails to explain as to how other variables such as culture, regional competition, colonial capitalism, and state encroachment affected these

[40] The acute ecological shortage due to famines did not fiddle with the boundary negotiations.
[41] Sudanisation. Out of fear of being overrun by Africans in Sudan and neighbouring countries.
[42] Motivated by its urge to protect its oil supply in Southern Sudan.
[43] Gaddafi's abandoned Islamic Legion.
[44] Mostly frustrated due to Libya's and Sudan's idea of an Islamic North Africa.

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boundaries (Nielsen, 2008). Barth messed his entire theory when he failed to explain that why even after adopting pastoralism and migrating with Arab tribes, an African did not technically turn into an Arab, and later in times of the conflict, conveniently took sides of its African brethren.

In the other hand, the PSC model which successfully describes the genesis, and the continuation of the conflict misses out on factors such as tribal sectarianism, ecological boundary negotiations and forgets to explain as to what led to the breakage of the boundary between Arabs and Africans, due to its tilt towards greater technicality. In fact, in contradiction to its theory that "PSC is mostly seen in fragile, the autocratic government", the government in Khartoum, even if autocratic by the end of 1970, was no way near fragile, with greater support from foreign countries in exchange for oil well rights. Moreover, PSC allows channel for greater conflict negotiations through track two diplomacy (Azar, 1990), but nothing as such happened in Darfur, where conflict was latent much beyond the internationally stipulated period of 2005. This international failure[45] has led to increase in refugees with no means of repatriation, spilling into neighboring Chad with problems such as malnutrition, starvation, increased mortality rate, short-term conflicts leading to mass slaughter, that has affected 4.7 million people in Darfur out of 6 million (UNOCHA, 2004).

In the end, it will be safe to say that it is not only the factors mutually reinforcing each other in the analysis of the background to help understand the onset of the conflicts, but it is equally important to use Barth's boundary model and Azar's PSC model in compliment to each other to better understand the spectrums of the conflict in Darfur, divided into pre-colonial Sudan and post-colonial Sudan. Here, Barth's model will not only reason the historic unification of Arab and Africans but will help Azar's model to look closely at the factors responsible for the breakage of these negotiations. It can also lead to the formation of suitable incubating factors which can lead to the future strengthening of these negotiations again through track two diplomacy to ensure peace and security in the longer run.

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Impact of Belt and Road Initiative on India-South Asia Regional Trade Integration

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Abstract- Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is a standout amongst the latest and remarkable regional economic integration strategies of Chinese government. This initiative incorporates South Asia which is a piece of Asian territory. From past researches we came to know that regional trade intensity among south Asian nations is low. The majority of the analysts finished up by computing the general list at beneath 0.5. Notwithstanding various multilateral and reciprocal Free Trade Agreements (FTA) exchange coordination did not increment attractively. India has reciprocal FTAs with every south Asian nation. Also this sub region is among the significant exchange accomplices of India. There are double suppositions of India about Chinese BRI initiative. In this research we found an answer of an inquiry that, regardless of whether BRI has sway on trade coordination among India and south Asian nations. We utilized a blended gravity model equation from Hayakawa et.al (2015) and Weerehewa (2009) inquire about papers to assess the aftereffects of variables.

Keywords: belt and road initiative (BRI), free trade agreement (FTA), trade integration, strategic outcome, bilateral trade.

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Impact of Belt and Road Initiative on India-South Asia Regional Trade Integration

Mst. Sahiba Mahbub

Abstract- Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is a standout amongst the latest and remarkable regional economic integration strategies of Chinese government. This initiative incorporates South Asia which is a piece of Asian territory. From past researches we came to know that regional trade intensity among south Asian nations is low. The majority of the analysts finished up by computing the general list at beneath 0.5. Notwithstanding various multilateral and reciprocal Free Trade Agreements (FTA) exchange coordination did not increment attractively. India has reciprocal FTAs with every south Asian nation. Also this sub region is among the significant exchange accomplices of India. There are double suppositions of India about Chinese BRI initiative. In this research we found an answer of an inquiry that, regardless of whether BRI has sway on trade coordination among India and south Asian nations. We utilized a blended gravity model equation from Hayakawa et.al (2015) and Weerehewa (2009) inquire about papers to assess the aftereffects of variables. Several databases have been utilized here; in like manner UN comtrade, World Bank open information, World Integrated Trade Solutions, Asia Regional Integration Center, and CEPII database. In our gravity model we had a few factors including, MFN (Most Favored Nations) duty rates, trade rates, shippers and exporters GDP, FTAs, separate provincial understanding fakers (SAPTA, APTA, and BRI), and Distance. From the estimation we can say that all of the regional agreement dummies have positive and huge effect. In particular, SAPTA (South Asian Preferential Trade Agreement) has p-value lower than 5%. Then again the key territorial dummy variable BRI likewise has p-value lower than 5%. Other than the gravity model outcomes we discovered some strategic explanation of India-south Asia exchange upgrade after the flagship of BRI initative. The entire research is clarification of our work.

Keywords: belt and road initiative (BRI), free trade agreement (FTA), trade integration, strategic outcome, bilateral trade.

I. Introduction

South Asian countries have more or less same cultural, economic and social background. To foster the regional economic, social and cultural relationship there are some multilateral, bilateral initiatives among countries. Formation of SAARC (South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation) in 1985 was a flagship initiative of Bangladesh to enhance regional integration among south Asian countries. South Asian Preferential Trade Agreement (SAPTA) in 1995 aiming to promote and sustain aiming to promote aiming to promote and sustain mutual trade and economic cooperation within this region. Afterword, South Asian Free Trade Agreement (SAFTA) came into force on 2006 (Rasul, 2009). This treaty proposed 20% reduction of tariff rates at first place then zero tariff rate for developing countries to liberalize international trade. According to World Trade Organization TAO (Tariff Analysis Online) database China is among the top major trade partners of south Asian countries. Moreover, China is an observer country in SAARC agreement. The most recent noteworthy regional trade enhancement initiative was initiated in 2013 by Chinese Government. South Asian countries and China signed a memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with China about the establishment of Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and Silk Road Fund. This project "Silk Road Fund Company Limited" is funded by Chinas US$4 trillion foreign exchange reserves, the China Investment Cooperation, Export-Import (EXIM) bank, Bank of China and China Development Bank. This initiative is named as Belt and Road Initiative and Maritime Silk Road. This initiative planned to connect south Asia and China with three economic corridors namely Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Economic corridor (BCIM), China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), Trans-Himalayan Economic corridor. BCIM corridor is expected to connect Bangladesh, India (Kolkatta), China (Kunming) and Myanmar in a connected road transportation. CPEC corridor connects Pakistan, China and Afghanistan with Middle East and Europe. Gawder port in Pakistan has become the hub for easing oil transportation from Middle East. Trans-Himalayan economic corridor is expected to connect Nepal and China with some neighboring countries. The main focus of this regional corridor is to expand the power generation capacity. Because Nepal, Bhutan are potential countries to generate power. Among all south Asian countries, India has Free Trade Agreements with all of the south Asian countries (Chung, 2018). The present article, the author uncovered the strategic and economic outcome of Chinese BRI (Belt and Road Initiative) in enhancing intra-regional trade among India and south Asian countries.

a) Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

i. *Regional Trade Analysis*

There are huge regional trade agreements in the world. While discussing about the theoretical aspects of regional trade agreements Bacchetta et al. (2016) mentioned several methods to estimate the

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impacts of regional trade agreements. Some methods are shortly described in the following.

a. *Regional Intensity of Trade*

It lists measure, based on existing exchange streams, to what degree nations exchange with one another more seriously than with different nations, along these lines giving data on the potential welfare impacts of a regional integration agreement.

b. *Trade Complementarity*

Trade Complementarity indices presented by Michaely (1996) measure the degree to which two nations are "common exchanging accomplices" as in what one nation sends out covers with what the other nation imports.

c. *Real Effective exchange rate*

This is a proportion of the local economy's cost intensity opposite its exchanging accomplices. The development of the REER is regularly a decent indicator of approaching parity of-installments emergencies.

d. *Terms of Trade*

Terms of Trade are the relative cost, on world markets, of a nation's fares contrasted with its imports. On the off chance that the cost of a nation's fares rises with respect to that of its imports, the nation improves its buying power on world markets. The two most regular markers are bargain terms of exchange and salary terms of exchange. We should dissect them thus.

e. *Comparative Advantage*

The most famous demonstration of the gains from trade with this concept has appeared in David Ricardo's *Principle of Political Economy and Taxation* book. If two countries have same absolute advantages of producing textiles and clothing product but at the end the country having comparative advantage of that product will gain in trade by producing this product (Navarro, 2019).

In this present research, researcher conceptualized above concepts to develop the new one. In brief, India-south Asia trade relation would get new dimension after flagship of BRI with several infrastructural renovations (Gawder port, Chittagong port, Hambantota and Colombo port) south Asian countries can improve bilateral trade with India. India is considered as hub nation in south Asia because this country has more FTAs with each south Asian country. Access of China in the Indian Ocean is a matter of worrying for India. To sustain her position in Indian Ocean and south Asian countries recently India initiated several bilateral and multilateral trade agreements.

b) India-South Asia Free Trade Agreements (FTA)

1. South Asian Preferential Trading Agreement (SAPTA) and South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA)

The system concession to SAPTA was finished and marked in 1993 by SAARC member nations (Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka). The SAPTA came into power in December 1995 after finish of first round of exchanges in April 1995. Four rounds of exchange dealings had occurred under the aegis of the SAPTA and it has graduated into South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) in 2004, which happened in 2006 with the target of making a FTA to incorporate eight South Asian nations. Afghanistan was given the participation of SAARC in year 2005. It was concurred that SAPTA is a venturing stone to larger amounts of exchange progression and monetary co-activity among SAARC member nations. The Agreement mirrored the craving of the part states to advance and support common exchange and monetary participation inside the SAARC district through the trading of concessions.

2. Indo-Sri Lanka free Trade Agreement (ISFTA)

The Indo-Sri Lanka Free Trade Agreement was marked in 1998 having the goal of advancing economic relations among India and Sri Lanka through the extension of exchange and the arrangement of reasonable states of rivalry for exchange among India and Sri Lanka. The point was to expel boundaries to exchange accomplishing agreeable improvement and extension of world exchange. The contracting parties additionally consented to build up a Free Trade Area with the end goal of free development of merchandise between their nations through disposal of taxes on the development of products.

3. Bhutan-India Free Trade Agreement

Bhutan India FTA was marked in 2006 with the target of growing two-sided exchange moreover, joint effort in financial improvement of part countries in India and Bhutan. It came into force in July 2006 and plan to stay in power for a time of ten years.

4. India-Afghanistan preferential Trade Agreement

India-Afghanistan PTA was marked in 2003 for fortifying intra-local financial participation through expulsion of obstructions to exchange and the amicable advancement of national economies. It is in power since 2003.

5. India-Bangladesh Trade Agreement

The first reciprocal exchange understanding among India and Bangladesh was marked in 1980 for a multiyear time span. The revised understanding between was marked in 2006, perceiving the need and prerequisite of part countries to investigate all conceivable outcomes, counting monetary and specialized collaboration, for advancement, assistance, extension and enhancement of exchange between the two nations based on correspondence and common advantage.

6. India-Nepal Trade treaty

This PTA was marked in 1991 and in power since 1991. The goal of the understanding was to

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reinforce the financial collaboration between the countries and consequently build up their economies and to be persuaded of the advantages of common sharing of logical and specialized learning and experience to advance common exchange.

7. *Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) Free Trade Area*

BIMSTEC was developed in 1997 as a linkage among South and Southeast Asia. The member nations were Bangladesh, India, Sri Lanka and Thailand. Previously this was known as Bangladesh, India, Sri Lanka, Thailand Economic Cooperation (BIST-EC). Nepal, Bhutan additionally took their enrollment in 2004. The understanding was shaped for strengthening monetary collaboration inside the nations and to completely understand the capability of exchange and improvement for advantage of their countries. BIMSTEC go about as a stimulus to the reinforcing not just monetary collaboration among collaborators yet additionally bring down the costs, increment intra-territorial exchange and venture, increment financial proficiency, make a bigger market with more noteworthy openings and bigger economies of scale for organizations of the gatherings and upgrade the engaging quality of the accomplices to capital and ability.

8. *Asia Pacific Trade Agreement*

APTA was shaped in 1975. Initially it was known as the Bangkok agreement. It is the most seasoned particular exchange agreement among neighboring nations in the Asia Pacific Region. Bangladesh, China, India, Republic of Korea, Lao PDR and Sri Lanka are the members in this understanding. It goes for advancing local exchange through trade of commonly concurred concessions by the member countries.

II. Methodology

In this present research, authors followed the quantitative research methodology. Table 1 summarized all the variables for this present research. The present researcher used gravity model analysis to find the impact of BRI on intra regional trade integration among south Asia and India. We can see that in table 1 there are two articles for variable sources and the last column is database for respective variable. Besides these variables present researcher used some dummies (SAPTA, and APTA) as estimated by Weerehewa (2009). The present researcher added BRI (Belt and Road Initiative) dummy to estimate impact of this noteworthy initiative on trade integration with south Asia and India. For estimating variables author used STATA software.

Table 1: Variables Identification

Variable identification	Variable sources	Databases
Tariffs for traded commodity	Hayakawa et.al (2015)	World Integrated Trade Solutions (WITS)
GDP of importer and exporter country		World Development Indicators database
Real Effective Exchange Rates among Countries		World Bank staff calculations based on DataStream and IMF International Finance Statistics data. Website of Central Banks
Export and Import with South Asian Countries and India	Weerehewa (2009)	UNcomtrade
Distance		CEPII database

Source: Compiled by author

III. Empirical Model Specification

Gravity model equation could be used to find impact of regional trade integration. This model firstly proposed by Tinbergen (1962) and Poyhonen (1963). Ma Jiliang and Balezentis Tomas (2017) used their gravity model to estimate the impact of BRI on trade of central Asian countries with China. Their analysis revealed that one more initiative year will increase agricultural trade with central Asian countries and China by 8.8%. For the present study researcher used two gravity model equations. Equation 1 is developed by Hayakawa et al. (2015). They used this model to estimate impact of RTA dummy on regional trade creation. Their estimated result pointed out tariff reduction by RTA has positive and significant impact on regional trade creation. Equation 2 has developed by Weerehewa (2009). Author estimated trade facilitation measures to analyze the impact on food and agriculture trade among south Asian countries. Researcher concluded by saying bringing down trade costs by over 17% and improvements in LPI (Logistic Performance Indicators) by 0.72%, resulting in an increase in the value of agriculture trade of 18% and 27% respectively.

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$$Imports_{ijpt}=\exp(\beta_1 RTA_{ijt}+\beta_2 \ln(1+MFN_{ijpt})+\beta_3 lnExGDP_{jt}+\beta_4 lnImGDP_{it}+\beta_5 lnExchange_{ijt}+u_{ijp}+u_t).\varepsilon_{ijpt} \quad \text{(Equation 1)}$$

$$lnExports_{ei}=\beta_0+\beta_1 ln(GDP_e.GDP_i)+\beta_2 lnDist_{ei}+\beta_3 LPI_e.LPI_i+\beta_4 lnCost_i+\beta_6 Com_LAN_{ei}+\beta_7 Com_CoL_{ei}+\beta_8 ASEAN+\beta_9 BIMSTEC+\beta_{10} APTA+\beta_{11} SAPTA+\varepsilon_{ei} \quad \text{(Equation 2)}$$

For the present study, research choose the following equation 3to estimate impact of Belt and Road (BRI) initiative on trade integration among India and south Asian countries (Bangladesh, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Maldives, and Sri Lanka).

$$lnImports_{ijt}=\beta_0+\beta_1 lnMFN_{ijt}+\beta_2 logExGDP_{jt}+\beta_3 logImGDP_{it}+\beta_4 lnExchange_{ijt}+\beta_5 logDist_{ij}+\beta_6 APTA+\beta_7 SAPTA+\beta_8 BRI+\varepsilon_{ijt} \quad \text{(Equation 3)}$$

Here, $Imports_{ijt}$ is bilateral trade between India and each of south Asian countries, MFN is the Most Favored Nations tariff rates, $ExGDP_{jt}$ is exporter countries GDP, $ImGDP_{it}$ is importer country's GDP, Dist denotes distance of each countries of south Asia with India, and lastly, APTA (Asia Pacific Trade Agreement), SAPTA (South Asia Preferential Trade Agreement) and BRI (Belt and Road Initiative) are dummy variables.

IV. Data Analysis

Table 2 summarizes the coefficients of estimated variables. In this present research dependent variable is bilateral imports ($Imports_{ijt}$) with south Asian countries and India. The present researcher choose eighteen years data from 2000-2017. According to World Integrated Trade Solutions (WITS) database, raw materials product line is among most traded products among south Asia and India. In this present research we choose this one product. According to the Hausman test p-value (0.0001), we did the fixed effect analysis to estimate variables. From results, we can find that, tariff rates (MFN simple average), distance has negative and significant impact on bilateral imports. These results comply with Weerehewa (2009) and Jiliang (2017). They argued that if countries have long distance from each other then they will trade less because of higher transportation cost. The same is true for tariff rates. Higher tariff rates reduce trade volume and lower tariff rates increase in opposite. Dummy variables, SAPTA (South Asian Association of Free Trade Agreement), and BRI (Belt and Road Initiative) have positive and significant impact on import trade. For these, significance level p-vale falls below 5%. On the other hand APTA (Asia Pacific Trade Agreement) has positive but not significant impact on bilateral imports. Lastly, exchange rate has a positive and significant impact on trade. According to Hayakawa et al. (2015) this variable should have negative and significant impact on trade. Though this result does not comply with the literature but for south Asian countries all of them has depreciated currencies but bilateral trade has very positive trend. So, we can say that this might be true for this sub region. Moreover GDP (Gross Domestic Product) of importer and exporter countries have positive and significant impact on bilateral trade. So, from the results we can say that BRI (Belt and Road Initiative) of China has positive and significant impact on regional international trade creation among India and South Asia.

Table 2: Summary table of estimated variables

Independent Variables	GLS	OLS	OLS
	Importijt	Importijt	Importijt
MFN simple Average	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001
	(0.58)	(0.58)	(0.58)*
logImGDP	0.051	0.051	0.051
	(0.75)	(0.75)	(0.75)**
logExGDP	-0.078	-0.078	
	(0.99)	(0.99)	
logdistance	-0.323		
	(2.14)**		
APTA	0.007	0.007	0.007
	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)
SAPTA	0.080	0.080	0.080
	(2.26)**	(2.26)**	(2.26)**
FTAit	0.008	0.008	0.008
	(0.66)	(0.66)	(0.66)
BRI	0.074	0.074	0.074
	(2.46)**	(2.46)**	(2.46)**
Exchangerate	0.002	0.002	0.002

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	(2.76)**	(2.76)**	(2.76)**
Constant	-1.655	0.448	-0.617
	(2.05)*	(0.69)	(0.96)
Observations	119	119	119
Number of country	7	7	7
R-squared		0.55	0.55
Fixed effects included	Yes	Yes	Yes
Hausman Test p-value	0.0001	0.0001	0.0001

** Significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%*
Source: Calculated by Author

V. Discussion

The aforementioned data analysis and theoretical base show the pathway that regional trade agreements have positive and significant impact on trade. In this research we attempted to estimate the impact of BRI on bilateral regional trade with India and south Asian countries. In this subsection present researcher has discussed the present updates about regional trade and influence of BRI.

- *Infrastructure rebuilt*

Major projects of Chinese government in BRI initiatives are sea ports and airports. Gawder port construction is a notable infrastructure among all of the sea ports. On the other hand Colombo port and Hambantota port in Sri Lanka facilitated this country to be a hub nation among south Asian countries. Restructuring of these ports are costly and some researchers talked about the losses of government of Sri Lanka. But recent initiatives of Sri Lanka to initiate Economic and Technology Cooperation Agreement (ECTA) and Multi- Country Consolidation (MCC) are marks to increase trade among south Asian countries, East Asia and other developed countries as well (The Economic Times, 2018). Recent investment of China in Bangladesh to reconstruct the Chittagong port is also a strategic and economic benefit for Bangladesh and south Asian countries. Now this sub region is formulating the look east policy to enhance inter regional trade connectivity. Maldives is a nation of natural beauty and tourism (Chung, 2018). Previous researchers mentioned that in Maldives every year huge tourists visit. BRI investment in this country focused on rebuilding tourism sectors.

- *Strategic opportunities*

BRI initiative of Chinese government has created more strategic opportunities for south Asian countries. Besides the improvement of infrastructures of this sub region several opportunities opened as well. From literatures we came to know that, India has a very strong influence in all south Asian countries. According to the hub and spoke theory the nation which has more FTAs with the regional countries could be named as hub nation. Furthermore, hub nations are also influential in that sub region also. On the other hand Pakistan and India also has some bilateral disputes with each other. The BRI initiative could reduce the dominance of India over south Asian countries (Chung, 2018). Moreover could ensure several opportunities for international trade as well. Bangladesh is considered as the transit nation for Chinese BRI initiative to enter into the eastern Asia. In this case Bangladesh can be strategically connected with eastern Asia and also collect tolls from the friendship road. Besides all opportunities there are some loopholes also. For protecting national interest nations should decide the best option with optimum national welfare.

- *Strengthening regional FTAs*

BIMSTEC was formed among regional countries during 1997. But the negotiations started in 2014 among countries to rejuvenate the multilateral relationship in this sub region. After the BRI initiative in 2013 this negotiation has started. The major initiator country of this negotiation is India (The Economic Times, 2018). On the other hand several bilateral FTAs also signed among south Asian countries after the BRI initiative.

- *China-India strategic relationship*

Scholars of this field are partitioned in two sections. One section believes it's great in international trade then again this relationship is considered as not excellent. Srikanth Kondapalli, a specialist at the Center for East Asian Studies of India's Jawaharlal Nehru University, believes that China just professes to collaborate with Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Myanmar, and Sri Lanka so as to contain India through the belt and street activity (Chung, 2018). India has played a main remote approach job in South Asia and the northern Indian Ocean area. To keep China from debilitating its impact in the region, Modi promoted 'Project Mausam' in June 2014, which, however still on the planning phase, expects to reinforce participation with the nations in the Indian Ocean area, and covers East Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, Iran, Sri Lanka, and South-East Asia Shiv Shankar Menon, India's National Security Advisor, at that point declared on March 7, 2015, that Seychelles and Mauritius had united India's maritime course of action with Sri Lanka and Maldives in another Indian Ocean security gathering that some have called the 'IO-5' (Rafique, 2015, p. 4). IO-5 will share data and creative capacities to counter oceanic psychological oppression, theft and unlawful angling (Chand, 2014). Notwithstanding, up 'til now, IO-5 is no

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counterpart for China's 'string of pearls' or 'Maritime Silk Road' as far as the size of vision and monetary speculation.

VI. Conclusion

The specific objective of this present study was to estimate the impact of Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) of China on bilateral trade with South Asian countries and India. South Asian countries have huge resemblance with each other. Among all countries India has the largest GDP and population (WITS, 2019). Despite several bilateral disputes this sub region has several multilateral and bilateral trade agreements. In this present research we applied the gravity model equation to estimate variables. According to the estimated results present research came up with the positive and significant impact on bilateral trade between India and south Asian countries. From the elaborate discussion of the findings present researcher included several recent initiatives and opportunities of south Asian countries to enhance trade with India. On the other hand as we know that Chinese BRI initiative will increase the access of China in the Indian Ocean. To regain and rejuvenate trade relationship with south Asian countries Indian government is initiated several projects like BIMSTEC, several bilateral agreements. To fulfill these trade agreements countries of this sub region also utilizing renovated infrastructures by several plans likewise Economic and Technology Cooperation Agreement (ECTA) and Multi- Country Consolidation (MCC). Renovated ports and airports by Chinese investments also contributing to reduce transportation cost as well.

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Rohingya Crisis and the Darkside of Military in Myanmar and International Responses

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Abstract- Rohingyas are one of the several Muslim groups in the Rakhine state of Myanmar and were regarded as the most persecuted minorities in the world. They are ethnic and religious minorities in their province and speak Rohinyalis and Bengalis rather than either Burmese or the Rakhine language and are not from a single race but from various ethnics groups, including the Arabs Moguls, and Bengalis. Sometimes they are also known as Asia's new Palestinians. The Government in Myanmar deny any recognition to them and identified them as illegal Bengali migrants from India and Bangladesh during the colonial ruled in India and Burma. The government in Myanmar also refuse to grant them citizenship status or any local documentation effectively and made them stateless. Under Myanmar's 1982 Citizenship Law, Rohingyas had been declared non-national or foreign residents. Thus, the Rohingyas are an ethnic groups who have been denying citizenship from Bangladesh and Myanmar and live their life as refugees without any security protection in both countries with uncertain future.

Keywords: *rohingyalis, stateless, palestinians, migrants, tatmadaw.*

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ROHINGYACRISISANDTHEDARKSIDEOFMILITARYINMYANMARANDINTERNATIONALRESPONSES

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Rohingya Crisis and the Darkside of Military in Myanmar and International Responses

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Abstract- Rohingyas are one of the several Muslim groups in the Rakhine state of Myanmar and were regarded as the most persecuted minorities in the world. They are ethnic and religious minorities in their province and speak Rohinyalis and Bengalis rather than either Burmese or the Rakhine language and are not from a single race but from various ethnics groups, including the Arabs Moguls, and Bengalis. Sometimes they are also known as Asia's new Palestinians. The Government in Myanmar deny any recognition to them and identified them as illegal Bengali migrants from India and Bangladesh during the colonial ruled in India and Burma. The government in Myanmar also refuse to grant them citizenship status or any local documentation effectively and made them stateless. Under Myanmar's 1982 Citizenship Law, Rohingyas had been declared non-national or foreign residents. Thus, the Rohingyas are an ethnic groups who have been denying citizenship from Bangladesh and Myanmar and live their life as refugees without any security protection in both countries with uncertain future.

Objective: This study is to understand the main idea or reason behind the persecution of Rohingyas, the role play by the Myanmar Military in their persecution, and the response from different states and international organizations with the way forward for their security in future.

Methodology: It is an analytical study with multiples reviews from the Post-Independence of Myanmar.

Keywords: rohingyalis, stateless, palestinians, migrants, tatmadaw.

I. Introduction

The Rohingyas are an ethnic Muslim group from the Rakhine state of Myanmar who often been regarded as "the world's most persecuted minority" ever since independence in 1948.[1] They dwelled in the Independent Kingdom in Arakan, now known as Rakhine state in modern-day Myanmar. They came into contact with Islam through Arab traders. In 1974, King Bodawpaya conquered Arankan, and the British also made it their province after the first Anglo-Burmese war in 1826. When the Japanese invaded Burma,[2] pushing out the British, the Burmese nationalist attacked Muslims who was governed by the British East India Company.

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[1] Showkat, Myanmar*: Who are the Rohingya*?, Al Jazeera, 5th Feb.' 2018

[2] C. Peter Chen*, Invasion of Burma,* World War II Database

The Rohingyas are several Muslim groups in the Rakhine state, also known as Arakan, before the Military regime in Myanmar. They speak Rohingyalis and Bengalis, rather than either Burmese or the Rakhine language, and are an ethnic and religious minorities within their province and Myanmar. They were being called Asia's new Palestinians. They are not only from a single race and constituted of various ethnics groups, including the Arabs, Moguls, and Bengalis.

The term Rohingya had been derived from the historical termed Rohang, the old word for Rakhine state. During the 1950s and 1960s U Nu Government recognized them and had the right to vote in Myanmar. When a Military Coup was conducted in 1962 by Ne Win, they had been denied as the citizens of Burma, and their right to vote had been canceled.

The allies of the Rohingya claimed that they settled in Myanmar during the seventh, eighth, or ninth century and practice Sunni Islam. They had been concentrated in the Maungdaw, Buthiduang, and Rathedaung township of Rakhine state, which share a borderline with Bangladesh and Chin state, Magway, and Bago regions. The Rakhine Buddhists and the majority of Burmans believe that Rohingya are illegal immigrants from India and Chittagong during the colonial period as laborers, merchants, and money lenders, particularly during harvest season, and claimed that they made rural farmer impoverished.

II. Genesis of the Rohingya Crisis

The genesis of genocide and persecution of Rohingyas Muslims had begun before Burma achieved Independence in 1948. When the Japanese declared war against the British in 1942 and occupied Rangoon, their Fascist Ideology greatly influenced the heart of the Burmese people and was responsible for the persecution of Rohingya Muslims.[3] After the withdrawal of the British, the Burmese Independence Army, led by Aung Sang, with the help of Rakhine Buddhists organized massacring about 100,000 innocent Rohingya Muslims, driving them out more than 80,000 across the border of East Bengal.[4] All these events result in the division of Arakan at present Rakhine into

[3] Min Ye Paing Hein, *Fighting in the Dark: Ideology and State formation in Post-colonial Burma*, Journal of Historical Sociology, 2016.

[4] Abib Bahar, *Burmese Invasion of Arakan and the rise of non-Bengalees settlements in Bangladesh*, Rohingya International.

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two distinct territories, one occupied by the Rohingya Muslims and the other part by the Buddhist.

After the British re-occupation of Burma, the Mujahid insurgency had been formed under the chairman of Omra Meah. They launched the movement before Burma achieved independence. Even after Burma gained independence, the government of Burma refused to grant a separate Muslim state in the two towns, Buthidaung and Maungdaw.[5] Prime Minister U Nu declared Buddhism as a state religion to dismantle the heritage of colonial order gave equal rights to other religions. Young Buddhist Monks were angry and conducted demonstrations against the construction of the Mosque. They also protested against inter-marriage between Buddhist women and Muslim men; this instigated discrimination and hatred between the two communities. So, the Mujahids insurgent declared Jihad war to absorb the western frontier of Burma into East Pakistan (Present Bangladesh) by carrying the Pakistani flag and killed most of the Rakhine Buddhist, and destroyed villages in the North-Maungdaw region. They even surrounded the towns of Buthiduang and Baw-li-Bazar. The central government declared Martial Law and launched three military operations against the Muslim Mujahid insurgency in Northern Arakan. [6]In March 1950, the first operation had been conducted, the second was the May-yu Operation in October 1952, and the last one was Moat-thone Operation in October 1954.[7]

After a decade, the Rohingya Liberation Party (RPL) came into being under Zaffar Kawal and mobilized various former Mujahideen factions under his command, with their base in Buthiduang jungles and armed with weapon smuggled from Bangladesh. They fled across the border into Bangladesh after the massive military operation by Tatmadaw. In 1974, Muhammed Jaffar Habib, the former Secretary of RLP, founded the Rohingya Protection Force (RPF).[8] The central government forces launched a massive Military Operation named Operation King Dragon in 1978 in Rakhine State against the Rohingya Protection Force, to expel Rohingya Muslim insurgents in the area.[9] It led hundreds of thousands of Rohingyas to cross the border seeking refuge in Bangladesh.

III. Major Cause of Violence and Mass Exodus

It was in June 2012; violence sparked due to raped and murdered of 28-year-old Buddhist woman by three Muslim men in Ramri Township.[10] A large group of Buddhist community gathered in Toungop town stopped the bus and killed Muslims who were on the board. The violence spread in Arakan between the two ethnics, which intensified mob on both sides committing killing and arson. Most of the Rohingya Muslim villages were razed to the ground and had been driven to the detention camp complex beyond Sittwe Bumpy junction.

It has been believed that the conflict had been highly organized and planned by local Rakhine Buddhist Politicians and civil society. They took an active part in arranging transport, coordinating the violence, and providing refreshment for the mobs preparing to attack Rohingya Muslims. The state security force denied any action to stop the conflict between the two ethnic groups, and not a single Rakhine Buddhist perpetrator had been persecuted for their involvement in the massacre and arson attacked against the Rohingya Muslim. This violence and conflict displaced more than a thousand Rohingya to the Internally Displaced Person (IDP) camp.

After a month in October, there was an attack against the Rohingya Kaman Muslim community; at least 70 Rohingyas had been killed, including 28 children, in a daylong massacre in Yan Thei Village in Mrauk-U Township.[11] It was much more organized and planned than the later one. This time even the soldier backed the Buddhist communities along with the politicians and Buddhist civil society. In some instance, they protected or abandoned Rohingya from fleeing and either failed to intervene or participate directly in the violence. The local political party and Buddhist Monks publicly vilified the Rohingya Muslims and instigated communal hatred.

One of the incidents that causes an exodus to Rohingyas Muslims was after the Arakan Salvation Army (ARSA) attacked police and army posts in August 2017.[12] The military conducted a brutal campaign against the Arakan Salvation Army and declared them as terrorists. They destroyed hundreds of villages and forced thousands of Rohingya Muslims to leave Myanmar. Within two months of August and September, around 6,700 Rohingyas were killed.[13] Security forces allegedly opened fire on fleeing civilians and plan land

[5] Chan, Aye. *"Burma's western border as reported by the diplomatic correspondence (1947-1975)".* Kanda University of International Studies.
[6] Angsuman Chakraborty, *Complete Background of Rohingya crisis*, Medium, 2017
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[13] Laura Baron Mendoza, *Myanmar: A Battle for Recognition the War Report 2017,* Geneva Academy, December 2017

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mines near border crossing used by Rohingyas to flee to Bangladesh. Most of the Rohingya Muslim people had faced persecution in Rakhine, where ARSA operated. The Government of Myanmar claimed that they are fighting against the ARSA insurgent. However, the misery and death are upon the people. All these events fear the Rohingya Muslims, felt unsafe in their inhabited land and the mass exodus steadily raises seeking safety in Bangladesh.

IV. 1982 Citizenship Law and their Status

The 1982 Citizenship Law is based on the principle of 'Jus Sanguinis' (Citizenship determined or acquired by the nationality or ethnic of one or both parents) and repealed the Union Citizenship Act of 1948. It was the intention of Burmese officials and Rakhine leader, who often felt that the Muslim population had been growing in western frontier. The government concentrated on race status, tried to ensure that only pure-blooded national would be entitled to citizenship of Burma.[14] The law aimed to exclude Rohingya Muslim people. The law provides three categories of citizenship. The first categories are known as Pink Card Holders/Full Citizenship. Under this category, nationals such as the Kachin, Kayah, Karen, Chin, Burman Mon, and Shan were being recognized as nationals of Burma. The council of state enjoyed unlimited power to decide whether any ethnic group is national or not. They can also revoke any category of citizenship except a citizen by birth. The second category is Blue Cardholder/Associate Citizenship. The Rohingya had been again excluded in this category. Section 23 to 24 of 1982 Citizenship Law deals with Associate Citizenship or Blue Cardholders.[15] If a person cannot give proof of residence of all ancestors or if one grandparent was a citizen of another country before 1823, they had been classified as a Blue Cardholder or Associate Citizen. They enjoyed the right of a citizen under the state's law, except the rights stipulated from time to time by the council of state. The government have unlimited discretion to revoke associate citizenship in the name of disaffection or disloyalty to the state. The third category is Green Cardholder or Naturalised Citizenship. Under this category, naturalized citizenship had been granted to non-nationals who are non-indigenous races. This category specially included the Rohingya Muslims. The criteria for naturalized citizenship are that anyone who can speak well one of the national languages, be of good character and a sound mind. However, the Council of State has full authority to revoke naturalized citizenship if anyone trading or communicating with enemy countries, showing disaffection and disloyalty to the state.

In 2014, the Government of Myanmar conducted a census with assistance from the United Nation Population Fund and did not enumerate people who self-identified as Rohingya,[16] denied their right to vote in the landmark 2015 election. Suu Kyi, who before coming to power said the government should have the "courage to review the law, is now urging Rohingya to accept the National Verification Card, a residency document that falls short of full citizenship.[17] At present, they are living in stateless status in Myanmar and outside the territory of Myanmar.

V. International Response

Though India and China see eye to eye each other in the international affair, both have a strategic interest in Myanmar, little appetite for humanitarian intervention and extended similar support for Myanmar in Rakhine Issue. The two Asian powers wanted to expand their influence in Myanmar to protect their own national interest. India did not want to continue the same mistake that strained the relationship with Myanmar while supporting pro-democracy during a Military Coup in 1962 by General Ne Win. Both countries have infrastructure project in Rakhine, India funded Kaladan Multipurpose project designed to provide a sea-river land link to its remote northeast through Sittwe port and Tri-lateral highway that connect India-Myanmar-Thailand. India knows that Myanmar is the only gateway for India to connect with Southeast Asia Nation. In the Rohingya crisis, India has opposed the displaced community living in its territory, citing "national security" concerns.[18] However, India is sympathetic towards displaced Rohingyas living in Bangladesh and Myanmar and extended assistance to Bangladesh under the umbrella of "Operation Insaniyat." The relief materials had been provided, and divided into multiple consignments.[19] While China-funded Kyauk Phyu Port, which is to be the starting point of the oil & gas pipeline and a railroad link to Yunnan State in China. China is also aware of the strategic importance of Myanmar to access in the Indian Ocean because China has various multipurpose projects in the Indian Ocean.

[14] Md. Mahbubul Haque, *Rohingya Ethnic Muslim Minority and the 1982 Citizenship Law in Burma,* Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs, November 2017

[15] Md. Mahbubul Haque, *Rohingya Ethnic Muslim Minority and the 1982 Citizenship Law in Burma,* Muslim Minority Affairs, volume 37, 2017

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[19] *Operation Insaniyat: Humanitarian assistance to Bangladesh on account of the influx of refugees,* Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 14 September 2017

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United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) passed a resolution condemning Human rights abuse against Rohingya Muslims and other minority groups in Myanmar. UNGA resolution was passed by 134 with nine votes (Belarus, Colombia, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Myanmar, Philippine's, Russian Federation, Vietnam, and Zimbabwe) against and 28 abstaining. The resolution called on the Myanmar government to take urgent measures to combat the incitement of hatred against the Rohingya and other minorities in Rakhine, Kachin, and Shan. It urged the government to protect all people, to expedite efforts to eliminate statelessness, and dismantle camps for Rohingyas and other displaced people in Rakhine. The resolution also called for specific action on the part of Myanmar to address the root cause of the Rohingya crisis, including granting them citizenship and appreciated the government of Bangladesh for the humanitarian act providing shelter to the displaced Rohingyas. UNGA also cited an independent international fact-finding mission's documentation of gross human rights violations and abuses suffered by Rohingya Muslims and other minorities. But, as United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) resolution just reflected world opinion and not legally binding. So, it failed to meet the hope of Rohingya Muslims.

On behalf of a large collective of states, the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), Gambia took a case by bringing genocide allegation before the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in November 2019, under article 9 of the convention, which allows for dispute between parties relating to the responsibility of a state for genocide and related act to be submitted to the ICJ by any party. Case in ICJ is not against an individual but of to state litigation between members' states governed by legal provisions in the United Nations Charter. The Gambia became the first country without any direct connection to the alleged crime has used its membership in the Genocide Convention to bring a case before the ICJ. The Gambia has alleged that Myanmar atrocities against the Rohingya in Rakhine violate a various provisions of the convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of Genocide.[20]

On 23 January 2020, the International Court of Justice(ICJ) based in Hague directed Myanmar to take all measures in its capacity to prevent the commission of genocide acts against the Rohingya; ensure that its Military and allied entities do not commit genocide acts against the Rohingya; ensure that all evidence relating to the allegations of this case had been preserved; and finally, submit compliance within four months and, after that, after every six months until the final verdict is being delivered.[21] This decision is the first step toward changing and ensuring that the Rohingya get some tangible justice. The court also accused Myanmar authorities of committing human rights violations against the Rohingya even after the provisional measures, confining more than 125,000 Rohingya in over 20 internment Camps.[22] Though the measures imposed by ICJ are binding and not subject to appeal, the ICJ has no way of enforcing them. However, Myanmar has always insisted that its military campaign was being waged to tackle an extremist threat in the Rakhine. Aung San Suu Kyi, the de-facto leader of Myanmar, describes the violence as an internal armed conflict at the Hague court. It will file a counter-memorial at the ICJ on July 23, 2021, in response to Gambia Allegation.[23]

VI. Place where they Settle at Present and their Condition

At present, Cox Bazar and Bashan Char Island become a home far away from home for the Rohingya without any other option. Cox Bazar is one of the largest refugee settlements, had 34 Camps; Kutupalong Balukhali "Mega camp" is the largest refugee camp and hosts more than 628,500 people.[24] Rohingya arriving in Cox Bazar was unprecedented and put stress on Bangladesh, with no sign of a return shortly to the country where they were refused citizenship and had limited access to education and health care.[25] The refugees have to dwell in fragilely constructed shelters made of bamboo, brick & mud and, where extreme heat and no ventilation facility make it very unhygienic.[26] They cannot find themselves in a state of security. The refugee did not have adequate access to clean water and health care. After fleeing violence and discrimination in Myanmar, Rohingyas women and girls are now struggling to cope with the loss and trauma they have experienced, to stay safe in the camps, and for basic survival.[27] There is a lack of privacy and proper facilities for women and girls, such as separate bathrooms and toilets. Their children have limited access to education, healthcare and suffer from a high malnutrition rate,

[20] *Gambia Genocide case against Mynamr before ICJ*, Human Right Watch, 5December 2019

[21] Angshuman Choudhury, *What does the ICJ Preliminary Ruling mean for the Rohingya,* The Diplomat, February 04, 2020

[22] SM Najmus Sakib, *Rohingya: Gambia files case against Myanmar at ICJ,* WORLD, ASIA-PACIFIC, 24-10-20 33320

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[27] *Life for Rohingya women, the real and hidden crisis,* INDEPENDENT, 21 October 2019

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which increases the likeliness of outbreaks of infectious diseases in the refugee camps. Without proper education, their future is uncertain and can easily fall prey to exploitation and abuses. The Rohingyas did not have any other income sources and are essentially dependent on rations or aid from any other organization. They are not allowed to cross the camp; if they had been caught outside the camp, they will be cut off from their family book.[28]

Bangladesh had first proposed Bashan Char Island in 2015 as an option for some of the hundreds of thousands who have been housed for years in camps since fleeing brutal crackdowns by the military in neighboring Myanmar.[29] The United Nations said any relocation plan should involve the safety, feasibility, sustainability, and full consent of the Rohingya. Bashan Char is an uninhabited Island formed out of Himalayan silt flowing into the Meghna Estuary in the Bay of Bengal. The island is prone to cyclones and floods and used to be regularly submerged by monsoon rains. On 4 December 2020, Bangladesh started relocating Rohingyas Muslims to Bashan Char Island. They were being taken to Bashan Char Island from the refugees' camp in Cox's Bazar without their consent. On 28 December 2020, despite the objection of moving to flood-prone Island from International and local humanitarian agencies, Bangladesh relocated a second group of Rohingya refugees from crammed camps in Cox's Bazar to a remote Island in the Bay of Bengal,[30] says that they were transferring people who are willing to go, and the move will ease chronic overcrowding in camps. However, some refugees complained that they were being coerced into registering for relocation; they were surprised to see their names on the list of those willing to go to the island as it had not been discussed with them before. The refugees who agreed to move were reportedly promised that they would receive priority to go back to Myanmar if repatriation takes place, or alternatively get priority resettlement in third countries.[31] The United Nations has said it has not been allowed to carry out a technical and safety assessment of Bashan Char, a flood-prone island in the Bay of Bengal, and was not involved in the transfer of refugees.[32]

VII. Conclusion

The Rohingya are the most persecuted minorities who could not enjoy their right to an adequate living standard and find themselves run for their lives. The draconian 1982 Citizenship Law of Myanmar denied their citizenship and lives in Myanmar or other countries with stateless. At present stateless status aggravates their condition of suffering, and they are in the face of extinction and the number of Rohingya Muslims living inside Myanmar is far less than living outside the territory of Myanmar. The only way to solve the problems of Rohingya is to grant them Citizenship status and ensure that they get protection from any kind of threats by the Myanmar Government. Myanmar should also understand and acknowledge that the only way forward to become a fully democratic state first needs to ensure that it protects the rights and freedom of minorities. So, it is not too late for the Government of Myanmar to repeal its citizenship law, get assistance from the United Nations to amend the citizenship law to meet international standards, and provide Rohingya full citizenship on a non-discriminatory basis.

[28] *Ten years for the Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh: Past, Present, and Future,* Medecins Sans Frontieres-Holland, March 2002

[29] Jaclyn Diaz, *Bangladesh begins moving Displaced Rohingya Muslims to Island,* National Public Radio, 4 December 2020

[30] Veena Throopkrajae, *Bangladesh moves more Rohingya to remote Island despite rights concern,* The Guardian, 28 December 2020

[31] *Bangladesh Rohingya relocation to isolated island criticized by rights groups,* Deutsche Welle (DW), 04 December 2020

[32] Ruma Paul, *Bangladesh set to move the second batch of Rohingya refugees to remote Island,* Reuters, 27 December 2020

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Influx of Rohingya Refugees in Bangladesh

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Abstract- The Rohingya crisis has ascended as a potential threat to Bangladesh's inside steadiness. Strangely, Bangladesh is currently facilitating around a million displaced Rohingya people which outcomes in genuine worry of national security. Although the repatriation of Rohingya to their homeland will be ambiguous in coming days and at the same time, their stay in Bangladesh might be continuing for a longer period of time. Bangladesh government is struggling as well to control and manage migration risks undermining public confidence in the integrity of government policy. Bangladesh government has been making diplomatic efforts in persuading Myanmar to repatriate the refugees over months but in reality, it is highly unlikely the Bangladesh government will succeed in sending the refugees back to Myanmar in any shortest possible time. Apart from keeping diplomatic efforts continue for their repatriation to Myanmar, Bangladesh government should have appropriate security strategy for addressing the concern of security until arriving in an amicable solution of this prolonged crisis. The paper attempts to discover the potential threat of Rohingya refugees towards the national security as well as to understand the progress Bangladesh has made so far for their repatriation to Myanmar.

Keywords: *rohingya, stateless community, livelihood, national security and repatriation.*

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Influx of Rohingya Refugees in Bangladesh

Dilemma of Security and Repatriation

A.S.M. Firoz-Ul-Hassan

Abstract- The Rohingya crisis has ascended as a potential threat to Bangladesh's inside steadiness. Strangely, Bangladesh is currently facilitating around a million displaced Rohingya people which outcomes in genuine worry of national security. Although the repatriation of Rohingya to their homeland will be ambiguous in coming days and at the same time, their stay in Bangladesh might be continuing for a longer period of time. Bangladesh government is struggling as well to control and manage migration risks undermining public confidence in the integrity of government policy. Bangladesh government has been making diplomatic efforts in persuading Myanmar to repatriate the refugees over months but in reality, it is highly unlikely the Bangladesh government will succeed in sending the refugees back to Myanmar in any shortest possible time. Apart from keeping diplomatic efforts continue for their repatriation to Myanmar, Bangladesh government should have appropriate security strategy for addressing the concern of security until arriving in an amicable solution of this prolonged crisis. The paper attempts to discover the potential threat of Rohingya refugees towards the national security as well as to understand the progress Bangladesh has made so far for their repatriation to Myanmar.

Keywords: rohingya, stateless community, livelihood, national security and repatriation.

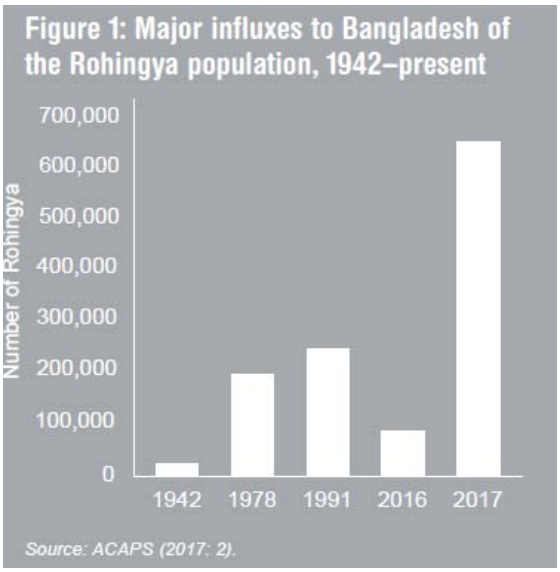
I. Introduction

Influx of Rohingya displaced people has been in Bangladesh since the 1970s and their number has outperformed 700,000. Strangely, Bangladesh is presently facilitating around a million Rohingya displaced people those outcomes in genuine worry of national security. Myanmar government from the soonest beginning stage was especially reluctant to recover their nationals, the Rohingya regardless of the energetic placating endeavor of Bangladesh government across level (Islam 2017).

The Rohingya is an ethnic minority group in Myanmar that has crossed into neighboring Bangladesh over the decades, laying uneven pressure on the scarce resources of Bangladesh. The Rohingya crisis has ascended as likely risk to Bangladesh's inside constancy. Bangladesh, along these lines, has been in a fantastic fix endeavoring to comprehend the national interests of the country, and keep up human security issues of Rohingya simultaneously. Rohingya refugees staying in Bangladesh (evicted from Myanmar and/or took shelter voluntarily) since late 1980s and early 1990s has become a severe concern for Bangladesh politically, economically, environmentally and internationally.

Rohingya community resembles the mainstream Bangladeshi physically, speaks Bengali and mostly lives in Arakan Province of Myanmar. For centuries they have been facing discriminations by mainstream Myanmar population and many of them have taken refuge in southeast Bangladesh for decades (Islam 2018). A lot of the refuges have merged with Bangladeshis, took false citizenship, passport and even created problems abroad.

Experience suggests that the Myanmar government has been very reluctant to take back their nationals, the Rohingya, despite the robust diplomatic endeavor of Bangladesh government across level (UNDP 2018). It gives the impression that the repatriation of Rohingya to their homeland will be ambiguous in coming days and at the same time, their stay in Bangladesh might be continuing for a longer period of time. Ensuring essential provisions of their life like food, sanctuary, and human services have been the most extreme needs right now and furthermore for the remainder of the period until the arrival of Rohingya exiles from Bangladesh to Myanmar.



Source: ACAPS (2017:2).

Figure 1: Major Influxes to Bangladesh of the Rohingya Population, 1948-present.

Given their living space mostly located in Teknaf-Cox's Bazar areas, the refugee earmarked areas

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are adjacent to the settlements of the local citizens. Many problematic incidences happened between them causing law and order situations. In the future, with increasing number of the refugees and sheltered close to the native citizens' settlements there is the likelihood of increasing the ratio of such incidences and aggravating the local socio-cultural harmony among the local citizens and the Rohingya refugees.

The paper intends to examine whether prolonged stay of Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh poses serious threat to the national security of the country as well as status of the repatriation efforts of the government of Bangladesh. This paper is based on literature review consulting relevant published scholarly works and different reports of the government of Bangladesh, UN agencies, Donor Communities, INGOs and NGOs working with Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh.

II. Milieu of the Rohingya Refugee Crisis

Historical evidence suggests that, crisis started when the state Peace and Development Council (SPDC), supreme body of the regime, had rejected the existence of a separate ethnic group called Rohingya. They are not recognized as one of the 135 national races by Myanmar government. As per the rules stated in section 3 of the 1982 citizenship Law, the Rohingyas are not considered to be a National ethnic group and therefore, they are not qualified to obtain full citizenship. However, the family list only indicates names of family members and date of birth (Karim 2000).

The Rohingyas are one of the most persecuted communities in the world. Although, they have been living in the state of Arakan since the 8th century (which is now part of Burma), the Rohingyas have been under extreme scrutiny by the Burmese government. They haven't been recognized as citizens of The Union of Burma since the 1962 coup d'etat by General Ne Win. After decades of oppression and marginalization, the passing of the 1982 Citizenship Law deemed them officially stateless (Imtiaz 2010). The Rohingya people practice Islam and speak Rohingya, an Indo-European language of the Eastern India branch, closely related to Chittagong and more distantly to Bengali.

It may not indicate place of birth, which in-effect prevents people from furnishing conclusive evidence of birth in Myanmar as required by the 1982 Law (Asiatic Society of Bangladesh 2002). Thus the theoretical entitlement to citizenship for Rohingyas becomes meaningless in practice. In fact, the 1982 act was specially designed effectively to deny the Rohingyas the right to a nationality because the promulgation of this law took place soon after the Rohingyas who fled to Bangladesh during 1978 had been repatriated.

The circumstance in Burma had not changed upon their arrival as they have been constrained on access to instruction, work, and open administrations, and limitations on the opportunity of development. 1988 saw the bleeding crackdown of professional popular government exhibits across the nation by the re-named State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC). 1990 brought races, in which the Muslims really casted a ballot and were spoken to, yet which the SLORC would not perceive. The violence, impoverishment, and religious intolerance all conspired to again drive out approximately 250,000 Rohingya Muslims into Bangladesh from mid-1991 to early 1992 (Philip 1992).

The 2012 Rakhine State riots are a series of ongoing conflicts between Rohingya Muslims and ethnic Rakhine in northern Rakhine State, Myanmar. The riots came after weeks of sectarian disputes and have been condemned by most people from both sides of the conflict[1]. The immediate cause of the riots is unclear, with many commentators citing the killing of ten Burmese Muslims by ethnic Rakhine after the rape and murder of a Rakhine woman as the main cause[2].

Whole villages have been "decimated". Over three hundred houses and a number of public buildings have been razed. According to Tun Khin, the President of the Burmese Rohingya Organization UK (BROUK), as of 28 June, 650 Rohingyas has been killed, 1,200 are missing, and more than 80,000 have been displaced[3]. According to the Myanmar authorities, the violence, between ethnic Rakhine Buddhists and Rohingya Muslims, left 78 people dead, 87 injured, and thousands of homes destroyed. It also displaced more than 52,000 people[4].

The government has responded to this chaos by imposing curfews and by deploying troops in the region. On 10 June, a state of emergency was declared in Rakhine, allowing the military to participate in the administration of the region. The Burmese army and police have been accused of targeting Rohingya Muslims through mass arrests and arbitrary violence. A number of monks' organizations that played a vital role in Burma's struggle for democracy have taken measures to block any humanitarian assistance to the Rohingya community (UNDP 1994).

In July 2012, the Myanmar Government did not include the Rohingya minority group—classified as stateless Bengali Muslims from Bangladesh since 1982-

[1] "Four killed as Rohingya Muslims riot in Myanmar: government". Reuters. 8 June 2012. Retrieved 9 June 2012.
[2] Lauras, Didier (15 September 2012). "Myanmar stung by global censure over unrest". *Agence France-Presse in the Philippine Daily Inquirer*. Retrieved 15 September 2012.
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on the government's list of more than 130 ethnic races and therefore the government says that they have no claim to Myanmar citizenship[5]. The United Nations has called the Rohingyas "the world's most persecuted minority group" and described the atrocities by Myanmar's authorities as "ethnic cleansing" and Amnesty International has described it as a "crime against humanity".

III. Influx of Rohingya Refugees in Bangladesh and Impact on National Security

Given such outcomes, it merits asking whether, and if so when, relocation truly represents a danger to national security. Normal reactions to this inquiry are that relocation can be a vehicle for bringing in psychological oppressors and lawbreakers, or for spreading different type of diseases. Unfortunately, health services providing for the refugees in the camps are inadequate. To begin with, there is next to no proof from any nation on the planet that there is a more noteworthy centralization of psychological oppressors, potential fear mongers, or lawbreakers among vagrant populaces than among neighborhood populaces.

Basically, just in amazing conditions have transients been viewed as bearers of diseases that find a way to pollute critical amounts of people. Second, attributing homeless people with undermined points without validation dangers further offending open viewpoints towards/about them. Third, to focus just on these cutoff points threats diverting thought from conditions where movement can truly speak to a hazard to national security.

Unpredictable relocation, for instance, can really be seen as subverting the activity of state sway, as any state has the option to control who crosses its fringes and is occupant on its region. It merits seeing that most of unpredictable vagrants around the world (Rohingya exiles is the applicable model) have not crossed a fringe without approval, yet rather remain or work without approval. Still, failing to control and manage migration risks undermining public confidence in the integrity of government policy. The burgeoning migrant smuggling and human trafficking industries can pose a genuine threat to law and order, especially where they are related to organized crime and intersect with the movement of illicit goods, including weapons and drugs. In this case, it is not the migrants, but those who take advantage of them, who are criminals.

The stateless Rohingya may transform into progressively frantic and aggressive to defend their inclinations. The militancy of the Rohingya Solidarity Organization and expanding interaction of the stateless and jobless Rohingya in a wide range of crimes, including murder, racketeering, bootlegging, prostitution and opiates is notable. Previously their exercises were confined to Myanmar however with arrangement of pushes and no break by method for looking for asylum in Bangladesh, all things considered, they would grow their tasks well past the Arakan district and into Bangladesh. Truth be told, a great part of the militancy and violations in outcast camps have been accused on them (Islam 2019).

There is no guarantee that such weapons, small or exotic, would not be used to promote or contain militancy in the Bangladesh-Myanmar border areas. Myanmar has already earned a reputation of being a 'narco-state.' If this is the scenario, there is bound to be a sharp increase in illicit drug trafficking, particularly to neighboring countries and beyond, with frustrated groups acting as 'intermediaries' or traffickers in this super profitable business. There are already reports that drug addiction has increased sharply in the Myanmar-Bangladesh border regions, predictably in collusion with the Rohingyas. Should such a scenario materialize, it could potentially trigger a non-traditional security threats to the local, regional and international communities.

The maritime boundary dispute between Bangladesh and Myanmar has been resolved peacefully by international arbitration on 14 March 2012 with the victory of Bangladesh to fulfill its claim over the resource-rich Bay of Bengal. This is essentially a precedent for other disputes in resolving crisis between Bangladesh and Myanmar including the Rohingya problem. For decades, thousands of Rohingya, an ethnic and religious minority from Myanmar, have sought refuge in Bangladesh. No matter how rapidly the Bangladesh government needs the repatriation, a more drawn out term plan with proper strategies is currently required to help the Rohingya populace (Nasir 2018).

Any desire for an early emergency goals would be lost, in light of the fact that the Rohingya emergency has numerous parts to determine—for instance, their rights to come back with citizenship, fitting conditions in Rakhine for a protected return, preparation by the Rohingyas, geo-political power battles among neighboring nations, and the job of the universal network. It might take years, even as long as 10 years, to locate an equitable and practical arrangement. The present state of affairs encompassing the emergency shows the necessity of a long view requiring concurrent and extended commitment on numerous fronts for a feasible arrangement, including further help to the dislodged Rohingyas in the camps (UNICEF 2018).

In other words, migration can be a threat to national security, but not usually for the reasons normally assumed. The threat is not systematic, but instead arises in particular circumstances. This could be where migration is irregular, occurs on a large scale, brings together groups of people with very different

[5] "Rohingyas are not citizens: Myanmar minister". Retrieved 1 August 2012

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backgrounds or little previous contact, takes place during a period of recession, and so on. The other pertinent issue is the danger of environmental security as there is likelihood of widespread environmental degradation due to the settlement of the refugees in areas close to hills and forest lands.

Bangladesh's tourism industry has been facing several challenges due to the Rohingya crisis. There are four main perspectives of the challenges: environment, health, society and economy. The extent of impact of such challenges will depend on how long they stay in Bangladesh. In addition to regular tourists, a large number of others stay at Cox's Bazar before travelling to St. Martin's Island. Losing about more than a million tourists this season due to this risk is a great loss for the tourism industry. The other impacts are related to jobs in the tourism industry.

Currently they are under significant health risks and it has become a challenge to address their health needs. Due to the increasing number of Rohingya refugees and their congested living conditions in camps, there has been an overwhelming increase in their health risks. There is an inadequate supply of essential reproductive along with maternal, child and new-born health services. Furthermore, there is insufficient clinical management of rape survivors, family planning as well as adolescent friendly health services, especially in the provision of these services in hard-to-reach areas. Moreover, there are no extensive HIV and TB services, although there have been cases of HIV reported among the refugees.

In the midst of COVID-19, this refugee people are in a dire state of stress, many of them have a range of underlying health conditions and nutritional deficiencies. All these risk factors may suppress their immune systems to fight against COVID-19, and as a result, the current community-level transmission of COVID-19 puts them at risk of getting infected (Mashura, Mushfiqur and Tareq 2020). To address the risks of a potential outbreak of coronavirus in the camps, the Government of Bangladesh, together with UNHCR and partners, has ensured the inclusion of Rohingya refugees in its national response.

UNHCR and partners have launched construction of isolation and treatment facilities, with the goal of ensuring the availability of 1,900 hospital beds to serve both refugees and host communities. Information-sharing has been expanded through a network of more than 2,000 community volunteers, religious leaders and humanitarian workers (Islam 2020).

IV. Repatriation Efforts of the Government of Bangladesh: Challenges and Opportunities

Bangladesh has been bending backward in an expert manner to tackle local and worldwide capacity to end this rising emergency in friendly arrangement in spite of the situation of China and India in favor of Myanmar on Rohingya issue. We have seen the two nations having tremendous vital and financial enthusiasm towards Myanmar. In spite of the fact that Myanmar holds no significance in Russian approach – no geopolitical interests are in question there, Moscow's disposition to the issue in the UN might be to agitate its Muslim partners, for example Iran. Surprisingly, At least 1,300 Rohingya Muslims had crossed into Bangladesh from India since the start of this current year as fears of expelling to Myanmar sparkle a departure.

New Delhi has confronted sharp analysis for surrendering individuals from the mistreated minority to Myanmar notwithstanding the military there being blamed for barbarities against the Rohingya (David 2018). On the other hand, the international partners lack adequate initiatives for repatriation. China, India and Japan have a very important role in putting pressure to Myanmar to resolve the Rohingya crisis. Although these three countries are also known as friends of Bangladesh, they have played their roles in favor of Myanmar out of their own interests. Moreover, there is a delay in the listing and joint verification process of the Rohingya family. Although this process started on 24 June 2018, till 30 September 2019 data collection of 660,887 has been completed (TIB 2019). Moreover, the expenditure of the government has increased for providing administrative and programmatic support to the Rohingyas. According to the financial data received from the Ministry of Finance, Bangladesh government has so far disbursed BDT 23.08 billion (from 2017 to 2019) from own fund through different ministries and departments for Rohingya management.

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Table 1: Showing the amount disbursed by Bangladesh Government for Rohingya Management (2017-2019)

Ministry/ Division/ Department	Disbursed amount (million BDT)	Sector/issue
Ministry of Disaster Management and Relief	32	To build cut wire fence
Directorate General of Health Services	24.5	To Build Male and female ward in two Upazila Health complex
Security Services Division	45.5	Purchase logistics for ID card
Ministry of Social Welfare	13.2	Program for protection of orphan children
Local Government Division	296.8	Road maintenance, supply of drinking water and sanitation
Prime Minister's office	22,659.1	To build infrastructure for Shelter
Public Security Division	9.097	Daily allowance and contingency for Army personnel
Total	23,080.2	

(Source: Finance Division, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, 3 November 2019)

The Bangladesh government has been making diplomatic efforts in persuading Myanmar to repatriate the refugees over the months but in reality, it is highly unlikely the Bangladesh government will succeed in sending the refugees back to Myanmar in a shortest possible time. Myanmar and Bangladesh agreed in late 2017 to complete the return of hundreds of thousands of Rohingya refugees within two years, despite international doubts that they will be held in forbidden detention camps that may result in another round of cruelty both physically and psychologically (UNHCR 2019). Apart from keeping diplomatic efforts continue for their repatriation to Myanmar, Bangladesh government should focus on the following action plan to consider until amicable solution.

Unequivocal set of working responsibilities and occupation particular for the diverse law implementing offices i.e., police, Bangladesh Army, BGB, RAB should be set so that there exists no covering of administrations. It will likewise reduce the contention and coordination hole among the organizations. A police substation, RAB office or Ansar troop should be set up under the influence and direction of the CIC that will for the most part lessen the aggravations and scatters made by the displaced people and a few on-screen characters in the camps.

It is useful to confine and control the exercises of the ARSA (Al Yakein) gathering, particularly around evening time. It will likewise assist with combatting the dealing, tranquilized dealings by them and limit the development of illegal activities by the displaced people inside the camp limit. Covering of the activities of administrations and superfluous administrations should be halted. As to, need examination ought to be lifted up from the evacuees following base up approach and this evaluation ought to be settled through conversation with nearby displaced people, Camp in Charge (CIC), on-screen characters and different partners.

The donor agencies should visit the needs of the refugees regularly and formulate action plans accordingly. Then they should provide fund to the partner agencies on the basis of the assessment so that the refugees can get their required services and there can be no overlapping of services (UNHCR 2018). Coordination between DC Office and RRRC Office need to be enhanced for better crisis management. In this regard, Prime Minister's Office, Ministry of Public Administration and Ministry of Disaster Management and Relief might prepare the SOP collaboratively. Electricity and internet connections followed by networking coverage need to be ensured in all camps for smooth and accountable management. This sort of provision will help to stop illegal affairs, to a great extent. Bilateral negotiations between Bangladesh and Myanmar could leverage the persistent efforts towards repatriation in a peaceful manner.

V. Conclusion

We know, Bangladesh government along with UNHCR is committed to draw a peaceful solution to Rohingya crisis. Until then they need to be managed and coordinated in an effective way so that the risks derived from the refugee issues would turn into opportunities. Effective coordination comprises of an important baseline for a necessary response. Bangladesh Government has set Camp in Charge (CIC) in the camps through the Ministry of Disaster Management and Relief for effective and sustainable management of risks, opportunities, refugees and other actors engaged under respective jurisdiction. Besides this, still there is a lack of coordination in the camp arena which were attempted to identify and the ways to overcome this were endeavored through this study.

No one but Myanmar can fathom the longstanding emergency assailing their Muslim minority Rohingya populace. The International people groups are also ought to likewise apply pressure strongly on Myanmar to stop the decades old mistreatment on Rohingyas. Shockingly some worldwide quarters are pressurizing Bangladesh to open its outskirt for Rohingyas and orchestrate their safe shielding. When there was an emergency in Rakhine territory of Myanmar

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following conflicts between Buddhist Rakhine and Muslim Rohingya, Myanmar's popular government symbol Aung San Suu Kyi was visiting Europe to get her Nobel Peace Prize granted 20 years back.

UN at the same time must enforce the recommendation of Annan Commission by imposing diplomatic force on Myanmar. In this regard, UN Security Council must bring the resolution to facilitate investigation on violation of human rights and thus ensure an international supervision for safe repatriation as well as initiating visits to the Rohingya refugee camps by the Security Council again to force the government of Myanmar for setting up "safe zones" for people of all backgrounds in conflict-torn parts of Myanmar as proposed by our Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina. We also urge for the repatriation of Rohingya people to Myanmar in a secured environment where they will not be haunted by their traumas and fear of persecution again.

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Electoral Management Bodies, Information and Communications Technology and Democratization Process in Nigeria

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Abstract- One of the basic features of democracy is the presence of periodic elections, and Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) saddled with the responsibility are faced with dynamic and multi-faceted challenges. However, comparative analyses of experiences, processes, performance delivery across developing and developed nations have shown consistent engagement with modern technologies. Nigeria, the black nation's world biggest democracy currently in the fourth republic that has spanned a record time of almost twenty years, still records negative elections reports at the pre-election, election, and post-election stages ranging from disenfranchisement, apathy, violence, vote-rigging (ballot box snatching, stuffing, vote-buying), militarization among others. Of note, the total sum of the length of the previous republics barely was ten years. However, this study examines the operational environment in which the Electoral Commission operated since the beginning of the republic in 1999 and the role technology has and can play in aiding the democratization process in the country. The work relies on secondary source of data gathering and content analytical approach was adopted.

Keywords: electoral management bodies, information and communications technology, democracy, democratization, nigeria.

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Electoral Management Bodies, Information and Communications Technology and Democratization Process in Nigeria

Tunde A. Abioro [α] & Olatunji Moshood Abiodun [σ]

Abstract- One of the basic features of democracy is the presence of periodic elections, and Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) saddled with the responsibility are faced with dynamic and multi-faceted challenges. However, comparative analyses of experiences, processes, performance delivery across developing and developed nations have shown consistent engagement with modern technologies. Nigeria, the black nation's world biggest democracy currently in the fourth republic that has spanned a record time of almost twenty years, still records negative elections reports at the pre-election, election, and post-election stages ranging from disenfranchisement, apathy, violence, vote-rigging (ballot box snatching, stuffing, vote-buying), militarization among others. Of note, the total sum of the length of the previous republics barely was ten years. However, this study examines the operational environment in which the Electoral Commission operated since the beginning of the republic in 1999 and the role technology has and can play in aiding the democratization process in the country. The work relies on secondary source of data gathering and content analytical approach was adopted. The findings revealed that the preparation, conduct and performance of Electoral Management Bodies are major determinants of power legitimization in electoral governance that strengthens democracy. However, the work advocates for a conscious and deliberate drive towards full adoption of technology at all stages of the electoral process in the country.

Keywords: electoral management bodies, information and communications technology, democracy, democratization, nigeria.

I. Introduction

> …the establishment of a viable democracy in a nation is no longer seen as the product of higher levels of modernization, illustrated by wealth, bourgeois class structure, tolerant cultural values, and economic independence from external actors. Instead, it is seen more as a product of strategic interactions and arrangements among political elites, conscious choices among various types of democratic constitutions, and electoral party systems (Colomer, 2000).

The basic assumption subsists that the Nigerian state is already erected on some of the fundamentals of democracy, namely: freedom, processes of periodic elections to guarantee peaceful leadership succession and constitutional stability which serves as a fulcrum of societal and governmental stability as well as opportunities for equality, justice and fair play. However, it must be pointed out that democracy is essentially based on fulfillment of conditions which are not similar in all cases but profoundly noticeable. As noted by Mohammed (2009), it is not an event but a development from various practices and not just concrete attribute especially to periodic elections.

Meanwhile, elections have become a major factor in the stabilization and democratization of emerging democracies. Universally in democratic states, it represents the lifeblood of modern democracy and the frequency, fairness and openness of such elections are crucial to the political stability of the polity. Thus, the extent to which election advances democratic order depends largely on the existing electoral system. Animasaun (2010) opines that consolidating democracy in Nigeria through credible elections has remained albatross. Due to the importance attached to elections in democracy, its conduct is accorded utmost attention and importance, especially in developing democracies (Dode, 2013). To this extent, the discourse on the establishment, conduct and performance of Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) in Nigeria is necessary. Meanwhile as regards the conduct of credible election and naturally democratization, Hague and Harrop (2001) express it implies high respect for human rights and freedoms, including: freedom of speech; freedom of association; freedom to register as an elector; a party or a candidate; freedom from coercion; freedom of access to the polls; freedom to vote in secret; and freedom to complain.

However, the operational environment in which the Electoral Commissions have operated since the beginning of the republic in 1999 and the role technology has and can play in aiding the democratization process in the country are thus examined. The study undoubtedly recognizes the role of election in democratic process; it further aims to dissect the effects of ICT in ensuring and enhancing better capacity and output of the EMBs. It is thus limited to the EMB of the fourth republic, that is, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and the use of ICT in galvanizing the electioneering process. The study

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is structured to discuss elections; election managers; and technology especially in the fourth republic. Based on the research findings, recommendations are made and conclusion drawn.

II. Elections: Nigeria's Fourth Republic Experience

The Nigerian electoral system is replete with several experiments since 1922 on how best to make the votes count. From the traditional Direct Open Ballot System (DOBS), to the Modified Open Ballot System (MOBS), and the present Open Secret Ballot System (OSBS). Currently, the country runs a single-member constituency type with competitive multi-parties and the first past-post winner system (INEC, 2008). The present voting method requires the voter to have been formally registered, accredited, presented with a ballot paper, proceed to confidential thumb impression, and then cast a vote before manual sorting and counting of votes cast which will precede the announcement of winner.

In perspective, Obiyan and Olutola (2013) consider the 1999, 2003 and 2007 general elections as epoch-making events in the political history of Nigeria. As the 1999 elections provided opportunity towards democratization in Nigeria after the failed democratic process that followed the annulment of the June 12, 1993 presidential election, while the 2003 election provided the platform for an uninterrupted eight-year civil rule. The 2007 elections produced for the first time, a seemingly peaceful transition from one democratically elected civilian government to another for the first time since the political independence of the most populous black Africa nation in 1960. After the demise of Umaru Musa Yaradua as sitting President, on the 10th May 2010, the erstwhile deputy became the President, ran for an election and won in 2011 and significantly in 2015 after losing at the general elections to the candidate of the opposition party transited government to another civilian regime.

The conduct of elections through democratization is a continuous and repetitive process. Within this cycle, the electoral process consists of several phases, in all of which technology can play a key role. These include the design and drafting of legislation, the recruitment and training of electoral staff, electoral planning, voter registration, polling, counting, tabulation of results, declaration of results and the resolution of electoral disputes and reporting, auditing and archiving.

However, Aeneas Chuma, *the UNDP Resident Representative from Kenya, while addressing the ICT Thematic Workshop on 5 March 2012* states that supporters believe technology can solve most elections related problems while critics believe it can dilute the core essence of democracy. The drive of this study is to lay a basis for the consideration that appropriate technology can not only promote free, fair and credible elections, but also strengthen power legitimization and relation to enhance democracy.

This study adopts the framework ideology of Acemoglu and Robinson (2006), they contend that democracy is thought of as a situation of political equality and characterized by its relatively more pro-majority policies capable of strengthening participation, transparency and accountability. Often, pro-majority policies coincide with pro-poor policies, especially a greater tendency to redistribute income away from the rich towards the poor. Meanwhile democratic elections have proved to be a window to understanding how those in power treat citizens and respect citizens' right to participate in government and public affairs. As elections depend on the exercise of political rights by citizens and political competitors, they are an important test of the integrity of democratic institutions just as genuine and credible elections are a prerequisite for achieving democratic governance.

In a concise disposition, Obiyan and Olutola (2013) observed that elections serve at least two purposes: first, it serves as an instrument of legitimization for the state and those who manage the position of the state power; second, it is capable of ensuring political accountability and stewardship. Following Johnston (2001) that electoral system matter because of the outputs they deliver which are first and foremost a party system enshrined and out of that party system, a pattern of government formation subsist. Notably, the reason for political contestation is either the struggle to retain power by a group on the one hand or the struggle to take such from another, however, with the purpose of controlling the affairs of the state and delivering on responsibilities that will have impact in the lives of the citizenry.

Observably, the quality of any election is determined largely by the appropriateness of the overall electoral process: the quality and possibility of all players (electoral managers, political parties, other governmental and nongovernmental institutions and interest as well as the people) to follow the electoral law with total commitment and compliance; and the institutional preparedness by election managers in the areas of the voters' register as well as free, fair and credible voting system. In order to be effective and efficient in the discharge of the responsibilities, national electoral commission has introduced varying degrees of technology to enhance improved service delivery.

Globally, the past two decades have witnessed competitive elections that became the norm in many African countries. However, in nations such as Ghana, Mauritius, and South Africa, successful elections have helped consolidate nascent democratic institutions and enhanced prospects for greater economic and political development. In other countries, such as Liberia and Sierra Leone, credible elections have paved the way for national reconciliation and a return to democratic rule

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after decades of armed conflict and civil war. On the other hand, flawed elections in countries such as Kenya and Zimbabwe have led to violence, loss of lives, and destruction of property, and have further polarized political discourse (NDI, ACSS, IFES, OSIWA, and UNDP: 2009). Meanwhile, in developed nations like the United States of America, advanced use of technology have aided the voting method that evolved from Lever Machines to Punch Cards, Optical Scanning and now Direct Recording Electronic (DRE) machines (Cranor, 2001).

III. Understanding the Election Management Body in Nigeria

The responsibility of election managers and the importance of the choice of voting systems go a long way in determining the conduct and performance of any election (Ozoh, 2006). Mohammed and Bashir (2010) further express that election managers strive to uphold voter intent, thus, the manner of actual authentication of registered voter, balloting, vote tabulation, collation and transmission of results is of paramount concern to any election administrative body. On another hand, Tlakula (2007) observes that over the years, there has been growing consensus on what features constitute an acceptable legal framework for elections. However, much of these generally acceptable frameworks are based on international standards such as the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; the 1981 African Charter on Human and People's Rights; the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance; and New Partnership for Africa Development all of which Nigeria is a partner.

Meanwhile, IDEA (2006) lists the likely components of the term legal framework for elections to reflect all legislation and pertinent material or documents which have a bearing on elections. The legal framework for the conduct of elections will typically include; the Constitution, peace agreement, electoral law, other legislative acts dealing with other aspects of elections, rules and regulations, instructions and directives; and codes of conduct for political parties, for election officials and for election observers.

However, Nigeria's electoral managers of the fourth republic which is the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) has its spine strengthened in two major and encompassing national instruments: the 1999 Constitution and the Electoral Acts as amended by the nation's federal legislature. These two documents contain rules and regulations that drive electoral governance in Nigeria. INEC was established by Section 153 (1) (f) as elaborated by Part 1 of the Third Schedule, Section F of the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria (as amended). The Commission is composed of a Chairman, who is the Chief Electoral Commissioner and 12 other members, who are National Electoral Commissioners drawn representatively from the six geo-political zones of the country. Also, there are 37 Resident Electoral Commissioners (RECs) for each of the 36 States and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) of Abuja. INEC maintains a national office in Abuja, 37 State offices and offices in the 774 Local Government Areas (LGAs) of the country. Each of these offices is operated by staff, which constitutes the bureaucracy of the Commission.

IV. INEC, Technology and the Challenges of Credible Elections

Dode (2013) maintains that a critical element in maintaining election integrity is sound management of elections by a credible election management body. Having previously organized four General Elections in 1999, 2003, 2007 and 2011, the nations' election managers admitted it has not met the minimum standards of organizing national elections (INEC, 2011).

> The general observation is that conducting elections that are free, fair, peaceful and credible in a country such as Nigeria given its size, large population, terrain, and ethnoreligious diversity is a difficult assignment even under normal circumstances. But under the far from normal circumstances in which the new INEC had to conduct the 2011 voter registration and the elections - it was a challenging experience. The encouragement, support and assistance received from stakeholders in Nigeria and friends of Nigeria abroad and in particular Nigeria's development partners motivated the commission to do its best despite the difficult circumstances. *We knew that it would be difficult to do a perfect job and there were many imperfections with the 2011 elections,* but there is a general acknowledgment of the progress that we made.

Though poised for improvement, the perception of Nigerians and the international partners placed a burden on the Commission and the erstwhile Chairman acknowledged this in a presentation at the Chatham house, where he expressed that:

> Our painstaking approach to the 2015 general elections is informed by our perception that the 2011 polls, though qualitatively better than many previous elections, was by no means perfect. We have repeatedly promised Nigerians that we shall continue to strengthen our systems and processes to ensure continuously improving management of elections in Nigeria. Our commitment to that promise remains unshaken and so is our commitment to ensure that the 2015 elections are free, fair and credible based on the best global standards (Jega: 2011).

After that, biometric registration that involved the deployment of laptop computers at the registration center which is the defining characteristic of high-tech voter-registration methodology was introduced. To allow for a technology direct data, voter registration officials were dedicated to ensuring proper voter registration detail in a database of the Commission, as the acceptability of the outcome of any election either local

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or national is quite dependent on the programme and execution of the electoral process. Notably, the previous exercises were conducted using Manual Data Entry method, and certain problems like underage registration, multiple registration, registration of fake persons, lack of or short supply of registration materials, hoarding/stealing and buying of registration materials; and violence in the registration centers had largely bedeviled the exercise thereby jeopardizing the authenticity and credibility of the register. (Mohammed and Bashir: 2006). Bearing in mind the globally acceptable practices such as independence, impartiality, integrity, transparency, efficiency and effectiveness, service-mindedness, professionalism and accountability, that serve as the guiding principles expected to be domiciled in any national electoral manager INEC certainly has its hands filled and the adoption of technology is a *sine qua non* in achieving credible, transparent and reliable electoral outcome that will not only guarantee peoples' trust but effective for power legitimization.

Universally, election managers have readily adopted two main types of technology in the electoral process which are: Database Systems (to support Voter Registration Systems) and Geographical Information Systems (GIS, for re-districting and logistics planning). The introduction of technology therefore extinguishes human elements in election management or at least reduces it to the barest minimum. Nigeria's experience with paper-based balloting has produced challenges to election that witnessed vices such as the snatching of ballot boxes and alteration of election results. This led to the introduction of technology-based election especially the use of Plastic Permanent Voters' Card (PVC) and Card Reader Machines (CRM).

Having established that the conduct of elections world over in the last two decades or thereabout has changed in many ways (KAIPTC: 2008) identifies three main aspects of elections affected by modern technology to be: i) boundary delimitation, mapping systems, and public outreach; ii) voters registration and iii) electronic voting and publication of results.

Generally, some recently introduced technologies include:

i. *Geographic Information System (GIS):* This is used by electoral institutions in modern elections globally with Global Positioning System (GPS) and other satellite-based information that allows for the combining and analyzing of geographically referenced information;

ii. *Data Recognition:* Usually through Optical Mark Recognition (OMR) that allows for detecting the marks of the voters during voter registration as well as ballot papers. And Optical Character Recognition (OCR) which enables the computer to read handwritten characters. Also, Punch Card Systems (PCS) that store data by using hole-codes punched on cards. After which computers and scanners can recognize the information automatically;

iii. *Data Recording:* This technology allows for data recording from paper records to provided printed records of the voters action to Direct Record Electronic (DRE) systems where voters use a keyboard, touch screen, or digital pen to record the voting action; and

iv. *Data Collection and Transfer:* The technology enhances the collection, entry and transfer of data in elections. Where computers are used to collect and compile data. In this, the internet serves dual purpose of voting and transferring of data, and websites are used to inform required units of adequate information from voters' lists to election results. Land lines, mobile phones, short messaging services (SMS) and Very Small Aperture Terminals (VSAT) are also used for the collection and quick transfer of data (KAIPTC: 2009).

It is expedient that through the various motives, stages and capabilities of technology abound, the submission of GAO (2005) that the Information Technology revolution has affected election management in a number of ways is instructive, as electoral authorities use computer systems to make their internal management and communications more effective, to systematize voter registration records, and to communicate with voters, among other tasks. Though, Nigeria is among the developing nations on the globe, thus, presents a high level of complexities among which are barriers of religion and low literacy level that can hinder the full adoption of technology in its electoral process, however, the adoption and introduction can come in phases that will go in line with the nation's growth plan.

According to Umonbong (2006) the Nigeria electoral system pre-fourth republic was a single-member constituency type with competitive multiparty and the first- past-the-post winner system. The method of voting used was the Open Ballot System (OSBS) in which the prospective voter goes through a process of accreditation, receives a ballot paper from the appropriate poll official and thereafter makes the confidential thumb impression. The 2011 election was not so different except for the biometric data capturing that was introduced. Meanwhile, the 2015 elections witnessed the introduction of Temporary Voters' Card (TVC) which was later replaced with Permanent Voters' Card (PVC). Simultaneously, Card Reader Machines (CRM) was introduced to verify the authenticity of cards presented by voters. The initiative of the introduction of the PVC and CRM was to curb the ever arising electoral challenge faced by electoral managers in ensuring credible and acceptable polls. The PVCs and the CRMs however address to an extent the challenge of voters'

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number inflation in polling units, voting by proxy, and fake and multiple registrations of voters. Although met with a great deal of skepticism, misconceptions and even mistrusts in the use of new technologies, during the 2015 election, hybrid form of voting technology combines the controlled environment of the polling station with digitalized authentication and manual vote cast was initiated.

V. Issues and Challenges with Technology in Nigeria's General Election of 2015

A critical element of any election technology be it low tech, medium-tech or high tech is the extent to which it is regarded as appropriate and relevant to the context in which it is applied. Also, the identification of election technology that meets the public acceptance is as important as the election itself (Burmester & Magkos, 2003). However, most ICT development projects and initiatives in developing countries are greeted with implementation lag owing to lack of critical evaluation of social and environmental processes within which the projects are framed (Avgerou & Walsham, 2001). Within the framework of the expression here, it is not difficult to ascertain that poor ICT infrastructure is an inherent characteristic of Nigeria, as in many developing nations which pose serious challenge to the use of modern or new technology in election administration. Coupled with difficult topographical terrain of some communities, the challenges of the existing traditional voting system in Nigeria is established in that effective distribution of electoral materials is not only difficult but also challenging (LeVan & Ukata, 2012). Literacy level and religion are among the variables that determine the success or otherwise of such intervention.

There were also the initial issues of the position of the law as regards the CRM as Section 52 of the Electoral Act, 2010 (as amended) proscribes electronic voting (e-voting). Also, there was identifiable ineffective means of national identification, inadequate voters' database, inadequate trial of the technology in non-public election, inadequate requisite ICT infrastructure including electric power supply among others. However, electorates showed apprehension over the motives behind the proposed initiative as low-level computer literacy and technology phobia exist among the electorates, there were also the fears of security and reliability of the technology as there was obvious lack of adequate information on the procedures involved in the e-voting system. Technically as well, the managerial capacity to handle sophisticated technology was in doubt (Ahmad, Bt Abdullah and Arshaf; 2015). The process witnessed slow process of accreditation (procedures to be reduced to save time) and Card Reader's inability to capture thumbprints of some eligible voters who had their PVCs. At the end of the process, doubts were high as to the credibility and acceptability of the newly introduced technology owing to the failure of the CRM in some areas. The use in some quarters experienced hitches in its functionality, thereby leading to manual accreditation of voters that later exposed the election managers to negative reactions from the people.

VI. Technology to the Rescue of Challenges of Credible Election in Nigeria

In this regard, Information and Communications Technology is the set of tools used to store information and also provide the right people with the right information at the right time while also addressing issues of eliminating ghost voters, underage voting and multiple voting. Tlakula (2007) further advanced that in the modern-day of advanced technology; Information and Communications Technology (ICT) can be used beyond providing support to business processes and can also provide environments and technologies that would enable an electoral manager to deliver services professionally, efficiently and effectively at all levels.

As Nigeria is a signatory to many regional and global instruments that promote democratic principles, including the AU Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance; ECOWAS protocol on democracy and good governance, it is expected that the nation should create an accommodating environment for the election managers to ensure progress in the democratic electoral processes that will be inclusive, transparent, accountable and designed to promote public confidence in the outcome of the process.

Animasaun (2010) identifies two major elements that have dominated electoral politics in Nigeria since the post-colonial era; i) trenchant disputation of official elections results; and ii) which is a direct consequence of the first to be, electoral violence. In the light of this, Orji and Iwuamadi (2015) opine that the necessity for the introduction and advancement in the use of technology in the electoral process is necessary, urgent and crucial, especially, considering that the level of political distrust is very high.

Also, Kagara (2004) observes that several Election Management Bodies have had to discard manual data entry method and adopt some form of automation in order to make the voters roll more credible and the introduction of technology can in no small means bring about electoral credibility which is indispensable in any democracy. Computer application is expected not only to make the process more efficient, but also to avoid having a bloated register. Conversely but with the adequate and appropriate technology, abilities of the election administrator and the people which are the most important parts of any good electoral system can be advanced. Technology has the potential

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of an ever-increasing dynamism that keeps on improving because even our needs and demands for technology keep on changing. It however should contain features that can enhance election process, maintain utmost secrecy, vote integrity and results, equality of the vote, universality of the vote, transparency, accountability and utmost public confidence (OSCE: 2013).

VII. Prospects of Technology in Election

Elections in Nigeria have been marred by the ugly incidents of electoral malpractice (Ezeani, 2004:144). Essentially, the introduction of technologies by itself would not transform the electoral process in Nigeria though it will bring about effective election administration. Currently, the Nigerian electronic voting system as proposed is an image-based integrated programme which consists of electronic voter register; eligible voters' authentication, manual-paper balloting via voting machines; and electronic transmission of results.

The ability and capacity of the system to correctly determine the voter's intent is the superior technology inherent in the e-voting methodology. According to Iwu (2008), Electronic Voting System is one of several forms of automated voting methods that employ computer technology devices, to improve several aspects of the electoral process. In most cases, it allows the conduct of elections without using the traditional ballot paper and box for choosing at an election. It incorporates largely paperless voting methods prominent among which are Electronic Voting Machines (EVM), Internet Voting, Digital TV Voting, Electronic Kiosk Voting, etc. The system provides for increased efficiency, anonymity, scalability, speed, audit and accuracy, which are major attributes of a good electoral system.

The attractiveness of e-voting to the potential voter, his acceptance of this technology as a convenient method of casting his vote are all important factors in the effectiveness of the electoral process. These issues contribute to the fairness or otherwise of the electoral process. The numerous potential benefits of e-voting adoption and the technology is of less importance if voters are not willing to accept or use it. Thus, in planning for adopting of new technology in election administration in Nigeria, the robust nature of the technology is not as important as the risk of accepting it. However, the role of biometric voting technology in improving free, fair and credible elections has not attracted much attention in the literature. Still, it has been widely acknowledged by officials of EMBs and pro-democracy activists as it emboldens many disenchanted voters to exercise their franchise because of the assurance and confidence that the new system brought as recent innovations in Information and Communications Technology is attractive because many decision-makers as well as citizens believe that it can solve major problems associated with elections or assist election managers in overcoming public doubts and lack of confidence in the electoral process.

VIII. Recommendations

Major obstacles to the practice of democracy in Nigeria include the incidence of an intolerable political culture to the e-voting proposal (Idike: 2014). It is expedient that a country that follows democratic principle accepts elections as a backbone of democratic processes that should ideally be trusted by everyone through the instrument of modern technology. Bearing in mind that the performance of any electoral manager in the modern state is closely tied to the application of technology, thus, to achieve the desired electoral transparency and trust, the recruitment and training of the members of staff of INEC should cut across all Departments and not the Information and Communications Technology (ICT) Department alone.

Also, the introduction of new technology should be accompanied with adequate voter education. Resources and qualified personnel should be tested as a pilot before nation-wide replication. At the same time, governments should build and upgrade institutional and academic infrastructure to ensure and accommodate familiarity with technology among the people while human and financial resources should be provided for such. Lastly, the dynamic, quality, affordability, maintenance and sustainability of to-be-procured technology should be held high in the mind of government and election managers while international partners from advanced nations to support in supply of modern technologies should be encouraged, it must not jeopardize the economy and security of the needy state. Most importantly, any technology proposed must comply with political, social, legal and institutional establishment of the country.

IX. Concluding Remarks

This study contends that democratization in the fourth republic has been confronted by institutional challenges such that has made democratization processes a herculean task with distrust in the electoral process. Thus, the increasing urge and relevance of the need to introduce technology in electoral process is daily and widely gaining currency globally irrespective of the status of nations either developed or developing and this could partly be as a result of population growth and modernization as well as improved way of conducting the business of elections.

As technology is introduced in Nigeria's election, without doubt, it will be used even more broadly in future elections and the integrity of elections will increasingly depend on their proper functioning.

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Notably, systems are not perfect anywhere in the world as even the most advanced democracies have their issues to contend with, for instance, in the US state of Florida during the 2004 elections, there were voting machines that started counting backward once a specific number of votes had been cast. In North Carolina, election officials had over-estimated the storage capacity of voting machines which led to several election having to be re-run because the margins between the top candidates was less than the number of voter that may not have been recorded. However, it must be noted that in any environment that technology is to be introduced in future elections, adequate knowledge of the machine should be known by both the election manager and the voters so as to ensure public confidence in the electoral process which cannot be achieved automatically. In fact, one may be right to say a way of comprise and malpractice during the process of election can come through "technology gimmick" that can easily confuse the voters.

In all, election remains one of the most important pillars of democracy. Indeed, it is a necessary condition for democracy because it provides the medium for expressing the core principles and purposes of democracy such as the sovereignty of the citizens, freedom, choice and accountability of political leaders. To serve these purposes of democracy, elections must be seen to be free, fair and credible and as ACE and CLEEN (2014) opined, the notion of free and fair election expresses several conditions including absence of manipulation, violence and fraud as well as impartiality of election management authority which technology can further enhance.

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Acknowledgments

Contributors to the research other than authors credited should be mentioned in Acknowledgments. The source of funding for the research can be included. Suppliers of resources may be mentioned along with their addresses.

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Authors can submit papers and articles in an acceptable file format: MS Word (doc, docx), LaTeX (.tex, .zip or .rar including all of your files), Adobe PDF (.pdf), rich text format (.rtf), simple text document (.txt), Open Document Text (.odt), and Apple Pages (.pages). Our professional layout editors will format the entire paper according to our official guidelines. This is one of the highlights of publishing with Global Journals—authors should not be concerned about the formatting of their paper. Global Journals accepts articles and manuscripts in every major language, be it Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Russian, French, German, Dutch, Italian, Greek, or any other national language, but the title, subtitle, and abstract should be in English. This will facilitate indexing and the pre-peer review process.

The following is the official style and template developed for publication of a research paper. Authors are not required to follow this style during the submission of the paper. It is just for reference purposes.

Manuscript Style Instruction (Optional)

- Microsoft Word Document Setting Instructions.
- Font type of all text should be Swis721 Lt BT.
- Page size: 8.27" x 11'", left margin: 0.65, right margin: 0.65, bottom margin: 0.75.
- Paper title should be in one column of font size 24.
- Author name in font size of 11 in one column.
- Abstract: font size 9 with the word "Abstract" in bold italics.
- Main text: font size 10 with two justified columns.
- Two columns with equal column width of 3.38 and spacing of 0.2.
- First character must be three lines drop-capped.
- The paragraph before spacing of 1 pt and after of 0 pt.
- Line spacing of 1 pt.
- Large images must be in one column.
- The names of first main headings (Heading 1) must be in Roman font, capital letters, and font size of 10.
- The names of second main headings (Heading 2) must not include numbers and must be in italics with a font size of 10.

Structure and Format of Manuscript

The recommended size of an original research paper is under 15,000 words and review papers under 7,000 words. Research articles should be less than 10,000 words. Research papers are usually longer than review papers. Review papers are reports of significant research (typically less than 7,000 words, including tables, figures, and references)

A research paper must include:

a) A title which should be relevant to the theme of the paper.
b) A summary, known as an abstract (less than 150 words), containing the major results and conclusions.
c) Up to 10 keywords that precisely identify the paper's subject, purpose, and focus.
d) An introduction, giving fundamental background objectives.
e) Resources and techniques with sufficient complete experimental details (wherever possible by reference) to permit repetition, sources of information must be given, and numerical methods must be specified by reference.
f) Results which should be presented concisely by well-designed tables and figures.
g) Suitable statistical data should also be given.
h) All data must have been gathered with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage.

Design has been recognized to be essential to experiments for a considerable time, and the editor has decided that any paper that appears not to have adequate numerical treatments of the data will be returned unrefereed.

i) Discussion should cover implications and consequences and not just recapitulate the results; conclusions should also be summarized.
j) There should be brief acknowledgments.
k) There ought to be references in the conventional format. Global Journals recommends APA format.

Authors should carefully consider the preparation of papers to ensure that they communicate effectively. Papers are much more likely to be accepted if they are carefully designed and laid out, contain few or no errors, are summarizing, and follow instructions. They will also be published with much fewer delays than those that require much technical and editorial correction.

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Author details

The full postal address of any related author(s) must be specified.

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The abstract is the foundation of the research paper. It should be clear and concise and must contain the objective of the paper and inferences drawn. It is advised to not include big mathematical equations or complicated jargon.

Many researchers searching for information online will use search engines such as Google, Yahoo or others. By optimizing your paper for search engines, you will amplify the chance of someone finding it. In turn, this will make it more likely to be viewed and cited in further works. Global Journals has compiled these guidelines to facilitate you to maximize the web-friendliness of the most public part of your paper.

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A major lynchpin of research work for the writing of research papers is the keyword search, which one will employ to find both library and internet resources. Up to eleven keywords or very brief phrases have to be given to help data retrieval, mining, and indexing.

One must be persistent and creative in using keywords. An effective keyword search requires a strategy: planning of a list of possible keywords and phrases to try.

Choice of the main keywords is the first tool of writing a research paper. Research paper writing is an art. Keyword search should be as strategic as possible.

One should start brainstorming lists of potential keywords before even beginning searching. Think about the most important concepts related to research work. Ask, “What words would a source have to include to be truly valuable in a research paper?” Then consider synonyms for the important words.

It may take the discovery of only one important paper to steer in the right keyword direction because, in most databases, the keywords under which a research paper is abstracted are listed with the paper.

Numerical Methods

Numerical methods used should be transparent and, where appropriate, supported by references.

Abbreviations

Authors must list all the abbreviations used in the paper at the end of the paper or in a separate table before using them.

Formulas and equations

Authors are advised to submit any mathematical equation using either MathJax, KaTeX, or LaTeX, or in a very high-quality image.

Tables, Figures, and Figure Legends

Tables: Tables should be cautiously designed, uncrowned, and include only essential data. Each must have an Arabic number, e.g., Table 4, a self-explanatory caption, and be on a separate sheet. Authors must submit tables in an editable format and not as images. References to these tables (if any) must be mentioned accurately.

Figures

Figures are supposed to be submitted as separate files. Always include a citation in the text for each figure using Arabic numbers, e.g., Fig. 4. Artwork must be submitted online in vector electronic form or by emailing it.

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Although low-quality images are sufficient for review purposes, print publication requires high-quality images to prevent the final product being blurred or fuzzy. Submit (possibly by e-mail) EPS (line art) or TIFF (halftone/ photographs) files only. MS PowerPoint and Word Graphics are unsuitable for printed pictures. Avoid using pixel-oriented software. Scans (TIFF only) should have a resolution of at least 350 dpi (halftone) or 700 to 1100 dpi (line drawings). Please give the data for figures in black and white or submit a Color Work Agreement form. EPS files must be saved with fonts embedded (and with a TIFF preview, if possible).

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Tips for writing a good quality Social Science Research Paper

Techniques for writing a good quality homan social science research paper:

1. Choosing the topic: In most cases, the topic is selected by the interests of the author, but it can also be suggested by the guides. You can have several topics, and then judge which you are most comfortable with. This may be done by asking several questions of yourself, like "Will I be able to carry out a search in this area? Will I find all necessary resources to accomplish the search? Will I be able to find all information in this field area?" If the answer to this type of question is "yes," then you ought to choose that topic. In most cases, you may have to conduct surveys and visit several places. Also, you might have to do a lot of work to find all the rises and falls of the various data on that subject. Sometimes, detailed information plays a vital role, instead of short information. Evaluators are human: The first thing to remember is that evaluators are also human beings. They are not only meant for rejecting a paper. They are here to evaluate your paper. So present your best aspect.

2. Think like evaluators: If you are in confusion or getting demotivated because your paper may not be accepted by the evaluators, then think, and try to evaluate your paper like an evaluator. Try to understand what an evaluator wants in your research paper, and you will automatically have your answer. Make blueprints of paper: The outline is the plan or framework that will help you to arrange your thoughts. It will make your paper logical. But remember that all points of your outline must be related to the topic you have chosen.

3. Ask your guides: If you are having any difficulty with your research, then do not hesitate to share your difficulty with your guide (if you have one). They will surely help you out and resolve your doubts. If you can't clarify what exactly you require for your work, then ask your supervisor to help you with an alternative. He or she might also provide you with a list of essential readings.

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6. Bookmarks are useful: When you read any book or magazine, you generally use bookmarks, right? It is a good habit which helps to not lose your continuity. You should always use bookmarks while searching on the internet also, which will make your search easier.

7. Revise what you wrote: When you write anything, always read it, summarize it, and then finalize it.

8. Make every effort: Make every effort to mention what you are going to write in your paper. That means always have a good start. Try to mention everything in the introduction—what is the need for a particular research paper. Polish your work with good writing skills and always give an evaluator what he wants. Make backups: When you are going to do any important thing like making a research paper, you should always have backup copies of it either on your computer or on paper. This protects you from losing any portion of your important data.

9. Produce good diagrams of your own: Always try to include good charts or diagrams in your paper to improve quality. Using several unnecessary diagrams will degrade the quality of your paper by creating a hodgepodge. So always try to include diagrams which were made by you to improve the readability of your paper. Use of direct quotes: When you do research relevant to literature, history, or current affairs, then use of quotes becomes essential, but if the study is relevant to science, use of quotes is not preferable.

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11. Pick a good study spot: Always try to pick a spot for your research which is quiet. Not every spot is good for studying.

12. Know what you know: Always try to know what you know by making objectives, otherwise you will be confused and unable to achieve your target.

13. Use good grammar: Always use good grammar and words that will have a positive impact on the evaluator; use of good vocabulary does not mean using tough words which the evaluator has to find in a dictionary. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Do not ever use a big word when a smaller one would suffice.

Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. In a research paper, do not start sentences with conjunctions or finish them with prepositions. When writing formally, it is advisable to never split an infinitive because someone will (wrongly) complain. Avoid clichés like a disease. Always shun irritating alliteration. Use language which is simple and straightforward. Put together a neat summary.

14. Arrangement of information: Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence, and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments for your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

15. Never start at the last minute: Always allow enough time for research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

16. Multitasking in research is not good: Doing several things at the same time is a bad habit in the case of research activity. Research is an area where everything has a particular time slot. Divide your research work into parts, and do a particular part in a particular time slot.

17. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if the evaluator has seen it anywhere, you will be in trouble. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend on your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health, then all your efforts will have been in vain. For quality research, take proper rest and food.

18. Go to seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.
Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give your mind a rest by listening to soft music or sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory. Acquire colleagues: Always try to acquire colleagues. No matter how sharp you are, if you acquire colleagues, they can give you ideas which will be helpful to your research.

19. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, search for its reasons, benefits, and demerits. Think and then print: When you go to print your paper, check that tables are not split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.

20. Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information like "I have used MS Excel to draw graphs." Irrelevant and inappropriate material is superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should never take a broad view. Analogy is like feathers on a snake. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Never oversimplify: When adding material to your research paper, never go for oversimplification; this will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be specific. Never use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions shouldn't be used in a research paper. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands, abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas that are not necessary. Parenthetical words should be between brackets or commas. Understatement is always the best way to put forward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.

21. Report concluded results: Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results, and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. An appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibited here. Proofread carefully at the final stage. At the end, give an outline to your arguments. Spot perspectives of further study of the subject. Justify your conclusion at the bottom sufficiently, which will probably include examples.

22. Upon conclusion: Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium though which your research is going to be in print for the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects of your research.

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Informal Guidelines of Research Paper Writing

Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criteria peer reviewers will use for grading the final paper.

Final points:

One purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people interpret your efforts selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, with each section starting on a new page:

The introduction: This will be compiled from reference matter and reflect the design processes or outline of basis that directed you to make a study. As you carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed like that. The results segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and direct reviewers to similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you gathered to carry out your study.

The discussion section:

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To make a paper clear: Adhere to recommended page limits.



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- In every section of your document, use standard writing style, including articles ("a" and "the").
- Keep paying attention to the topic of the paper.
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding the abstract).
- Align the primary line of each section.
- Present your points in sound order.
- Use present tense to report well-accepted matters.
- Use past tense to describe specific results.
- Do not use familiar wording; don't address the reviewer directly. Don't use slang or superlatives.
- Avoid use of extra pictures—include only those figures essential to presenting results.

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Choose a revealing title. It should be short and include the name(s) and address(es) of all authors. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations or exceed two printed lines.

Abstract: This summary should be two hundred words or less. It should clearly and briefly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript and must have precise statistics. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Do not cite references at this point.

An abstract is a brief, distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less, a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approaches to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Use comprehensive sentences, and do not sacrifice readability for brevity; you can maintain it succinctly by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than a lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to limit the initial two items to no more than one line each.

Reason for writing the article—theory, overall issue, purpose.

- Fundamental goal.
- To-the-point depiction of the research.
- Consequences, including definite statistics—if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account for this; results of any numerical analysis should be reported. Significant conclusions or questions that emerge from the research.

Approach:

- Single section and succinct.
- An outline of the job done is always written in past tense.
- Concentrate on shortening results—limit background information to a verdict or two.
- Exact spelling, clarity of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else.

Introduction:

The introduction should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable of comprehending and calculating the purpose of your study without having to refer to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give the most important references, but avoid making a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. Describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will give no attention to your results. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here.

The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study.
- Defend the model—why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? Remark upon its appropriateness from an abstract point of view as well as pointing out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. State your particular theory(-ies) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Briefly explain the study's tentative purpose and how it meets the declared objectives.

Approach:

Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done. Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point for every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need at least four paragraphs. Present surrounding information only when it is necessary to support a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read everything you know about a topic. Shape the theory specifically—do not take a broad view.

As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity, and correctness of sentences and phrases.

Procedures (methods and materials):

This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A soundly written procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replicate your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order, but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt to give the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to replicate your outcome, but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section.

When a technique is used that has been well-described in another section, mention the specific item describing the way, but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to show all particular resources and broad procedures so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step-by-step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

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Materials may be reported in part of a section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- Report the method and not the particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology.
- Describe the method entirely.
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures.
- Simplify—detail how procedures were completed, not how they were performed on a particular day.
- If well-known procedures were used, account for the procedure by name, possibly with a reference, and that's all.

Approach:

It is embarrassing to use vigorous voice when documenting methods without using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result, when writing up the methods, most authors use third person passive voice.

Use standard style in this and every other part of the paper—avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from:

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- Skip all descriptive information and surroundings—save it for the argument.
- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.



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Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part as entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Use statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.

You must clearly differentiate material which would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matters should not be submitted at all except if requested by the instructor.

Content:

- Sum up your conclusions in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In the manuscript, explain each of your consequences, and point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation of an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and give remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or manuscript.

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- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surrounding information, or try to explain anything.
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- Do not present similar data more than once.
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Approach:

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- Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
- Make a decision as to whether the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory and whether or not it was correctly restricted. Try to present substitute explanations if they are sensible alternatives.
- One piece of research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind. Where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

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Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

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