



**Department of Culture and Global Studies
Global Refugee Studies, Copenhagen
Denmark**

Master's Thesis

Impact of the Rohingya Refugees on host Country Bangladesh: A Focus on Cox's bazar

Written by: Mashrurah Bintay Zaker

Department of Global Refugee Studies

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Supervisor: Vibeke Andersson

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Abstract

Refugees and forced migration are not a new phenomenon in today's world. Though International Organizations and NGOs try to tackle the refugee problems around the world, there are challenges and a negative attitude of the host countries toward the refugees. In most of the cases of developing countries, the host communities struggle to cope up with both their populations and the refugees. This thesis aims to examine the impact of refugees on a developing country.

Bangladesh is a developing country and is dependent on International aid to manage the Rohingya influx of 2017. Without International help, it would not be able to handle the Rohingya refugee crisis. Through this thesis, I have chosen the case of the Rohingya refugees to explore the impact of them in Bangladesh, especially focusing on Cox's bazar area. This thesis sets out the examination of refugee impacts by guiding the sub research questions: *'How does Bangladesh act as a host community of the Rohingya refugees?'*, *'How does the Rohingya refugees influence Bangladeshi politics and security policies?'* And *'Why is Cox's bazar in risk in terms of impact of the Rohingyas?'*

The data collection of this thesis is based on secondary sources with a connection of informal interviews. The thesis draws on theory of forced migration based on C. Horst and K. Grabska (2015), S. Castles (2003) & Alexander Betts (2009), Amanda Hammar's (2014) Displacement Economies Approach and Migration-Development Nexus (Ninna Nyberg-Sorensen et al,2002) to discuss the reason for the impact of Rohingya refugees on Bangladesh.

The conclusion of this thesis has been drawn by demonstrating that long term stay of the Rohingya refugees can lead to lasting effects on the host community as the effects have begun to show already.

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List of abbreviations:

| | |
|---------|--|
| ACAPS | : Assessment Capacities Project |
| A.D. | : Anno Domini |
| AQIS | : Al Qaeda in Indian Subcontinent |
| ARSA | : Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army |
| BIMSTEC | : Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation |
| B.N.P. | : Bangladesh Nationalist Party |
| GDP | : Gross Domestic Product |
| GOB | : Government of Bangladesh |
| IDP | : Internally Displaced Person |
| IOM | : International Organization for Migration |
| IS | : Islamic State |
| MSF | : Médecins Sans Frontières |
| NGO | : Non-governmental Organization |
| RRRC | : Refugee Relief and Repatriation Commissioner |
| RSO | : Rohingya Solidarity Organization |
| SIM | : Subscriber Identity Module |
| UN | : United Nations |
| UNDP | : United Nations Development Programme |
| UNHCR | : United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees |
| WASH | : Water, Sanitation and Hygiene |

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1. Introduction

The issue of refugees, forced migrations and IDPs are now a much-focused area in research.

Several violence in Myanmar caused the major Rohingya refugee influx who every time have fled to Bangladesh to escape persecution. Until 2017, GOB periodically pushed them back to Myanmar. But the huge influx of Rohingyas in 2017 were welcomed in Bangladesh with public sympathy, assistance from many organizing volunteer groups and the GOB also responded in a welcoming policy. As the time goes by, the situation of Bangladesh and the Rohingyas are getting worse.

With the outset of the Rohingya case in Bangladesh, this paper tries to contribute in understanding the impacts of the refugees on host countries and the continuance of impacts.

As a process of continuing my research, I have formulated a research question and sub-questions. In order to answer the research question, I have gathered information of historical background to understand the Rohingyas and host country. Following the history, I have described the methodology and data collection process and limitations of my research. In continuation of writing, Literature review is done to understand the existing literature about my research topic. This process is further illustrated with the application of theories. In the end, I have included the analysis of the refugee impacts on the host community.

1.1 Problem Formulation:

In today's world, the refugee issue is an increasingly pressing issue and a global concern.

After the second world war in 1945, 30 million people were left uprooted. By 1950, the international community recognized that this refugee problem is not a temporary one. In 1974, UNHCR saw 2.4 million refugees that increased to 10.5 million by the year 1984. UNHCR dealt with 27 million refugees, IDPs and asylum seekers by 1996. (L. Barnett, 2002)

There are various accessible studies about the refugees, causes of forced migration and the impacts of forced migration on the refugees. Comparatively, the impacts of the refugees on the receiving countries are less focused. If the refugee influx is massive, it can put a negative impact upon the host country as well as its population. Prolonged stay of the refugees has an influence on the host communities. It is also important to consider the impact of the refugees on the host countries.

As the Rohingya refugees are considered as the world's largest refugee and most persecuted ethnic minorities, I have chosen to do research on the impact of the Rohingyas on host country Bangladesh especially Cox's bazar.

Since 25 August, 2017, a massive number of Rohingya refugees have fled into Bangladesh. Since then, GOB (Government of Bangladesh) with the help of International Organizations and NGOs have provided the refugees with food, shelter and aid. The Rohingya refugee camps conditions in 2017 showed that those are not designed as a long-term solution while current camp condition shows that the camps are being as permanent one. It makes an impression that Rohingya refugees' lives trapped in the temporary camp conditions are turning into longer-term stay conditions.



Figure 1: A view of Kutupalong expansion camp, 2017 (source: UNHCR/Roger Arnold, UN news)



Figure 2: Kutupalong camp now underway to create more permanent structures (Source: Victoria Milko/CityLab,2019)

Since the impact of the refugees on host communities is a broad phenomenon, I have tried to give an overall impact of the Rohingya refugees on Bangladesh especially Cox's bazar region since Bangladesh is a developing country and has its own development challenges.

1.2 Research Question:

Based on the problem, the following research question has been formulated:

“How is the Rohingya refugee crisis affecting Bangladesh and why is Cox's bazar in risk?”

Sub-Research Questions:

Acknowledging the fact that the impact of the Rohingya refugees on Bangladesh is quite broad, sub-questions are created to narrow down the research.

- How does Bangladesh act as a host community of the Rohingya refugees?
- How does the Rohingya refugees influence Bangladeshi politics and security policies?
- Why is Cox's bazar in risk in terms of impact of the Rohingyas?

2. Historical Background of Rohingya

In this chapter, a short description of historical background is given to understand the Rohingyas as forcefully displaced migrants and Bangladesh as host communities. The Rohingyas are described as the “world’s most persecuted minority”. The persecution on ethnic Rohingya of Myanmar is called slow-burning genocide over the past 35 years.(M.Zarni & A.Cowley, 2014) In Bangladesh, they are considered as Myanmar nationals who are forcefully displaced from Myanmar while in Myanmar, they are considered as illegal citizens as they are Bangalis. (BBC news, 2020)

In the first section, I have tried to describe the history of Rohingyas and their forceful displacement. In the following part, I have explained Bangladesh’s response about the Rohingya crisis and continued to describe the role of the local host community, Cox’s bazar.

2.1 The Rohingyas:

Arakan is the north-western province of Burma (now Myanmar) and it is inhabited by two major ethnic races, the Rohingyas and the Rakhines where the Rohingyas are Muslims and the Rakhines are Buddhists. The Rohingya homeland is of North Arakan and Rakhine homeland is of South Arakan.

According to history, before 788 A.D., Religion Islam reached in Arakan and it attracted the local people all over Burma. Since then Islam had played an important role in Arakan. Arakan was under Muslim’s rule from 1430 to 1784 A.D. until it was absorbed by Burmans in 1784 A.D. Later on, the British occupied Arakan in 1824 A.D. During British rule, the British played divide and rule in Arakan. It resulted in hatred of Buddhist people against the Rohingya Muslims and they treated them as "Kalas" (foreigners). Burma was separated from British India in 1937 while Arakan became a province of independent Burma in 1948. There have been no less than 19 major "operations" against the Rohingyas carried out by the Burma government since 1948, up to 1992.

Due to continued persecution against them, South Arakan turned into non-Muslim territory. (TB Tha, 2007)

The Burma State has adopted policies and plans designed to cause harm and destruction to the Rohingyas. This on-going process has continued to the present day. In 1978, General Ne Win's socialist military dictatorship launched the first large-scale campaign against the Rohingya in Rakhine State with the intent of legalizing the systematic erasure of Rohingya group identity and legitimizing their physical destruction. Under the policy of Operation Nagamin in 1978 in Rakhine state, many Rohingya were falsely accused of being illegal immigrants from Bangladesh and were tortured. This process was the first wave of ethnic cleansing. It was a clear indication of the intent to destroy the Rohingya while it degenerated into a widespread campaign of terror and violence against the Rohingya. For this reason, over 200,000 panic-stricken Rohingya fled into neighboring country Bangladesh. Under a bilateral agreement between the governments of Bangladesh and Burma, 187,250 Rohingya were forcibly repatriated to Burma. (M. Zarni & A. Cowley, 2014)

Furthermore, in 1982, The Citizenship Act drew on a list of 135 ethnic groups, which excluded some minority groups such as the Rohingya. Those 135 ethnic groups are automatically eligible for full citizenship in Myanmar. The 1982 Citizenship Act was the culmination of state-sponsored acts that violated and stripped off the Rohingyas citizenship rights. In Burma, the Rohingyas are the only ethnic group who are barred from having more than two children and they are restricted in marriages. These policies are taken to control Rohingya population. They are subject to arbitrary mass arrests and chronic waves of massacres. That's why The UN considers the Rohingya "*one of the most persecuted groups in the world*". (ibid)

Major ethnic groups in Myanmar

Myanmar officially recognises 135 ethnic groups but Rohingya have been rendered stateless and stripped of their citizenship.

Ethnic Groups

| | |
|----------|----------------|
| Bamar | Kachin |
| Shan | Chin |
| Karen | Karenni |
| Rakhine* | Mon |
| Rohingya | Wa |
| | Kokang Chinese |

 Ethnic minority states

* Includes other Rakhine Muslim minorities



Sources: Al Jazeera, agencies, Free Burma Rangers, Burma - Insurgency and the Politics of Ethnicity (Martin Smith)



Figure 3: Major ethnic groups in Myanmar, (Source: Asrar, S.; Al Jazeera, Rohingya crisis explained in maps, 2017)

Between May 1991 and March 1992, in 2001 and again in 2012, they have experienced additional waves of violence including arbitrary arrests and execution, enforced disappearances, torture, and rape by the military whose intent was to both remove them from Myanmar and to inflict serious harm.

UNHCR was granted access to Northern Rakhine state in 1994 and mass involuntary repatriation took place. Excessive measurement was taken by Bangladeshi Security forces to make the Rohingyas return.

Thus, it shows that it is an ongoing process and the Rohingya refugee influx is not new. The Rohingyas are dealing with this issue for decades. But most of the time, the repatriation is in failure because their lack of citizenship makes returning nearly impossible and it is changing their temporary displacement into permanent displacement. (M. Zarni & A. Cowley, 2014)

2.2 The Rohingya Exodus in 2017:

How Myanmar expelled the majority of its Rohingya to Bangladesh

After the recent influx of a half-million Rohingya into Bangladesh, the country now hosts more Rohingya than Myanmar.

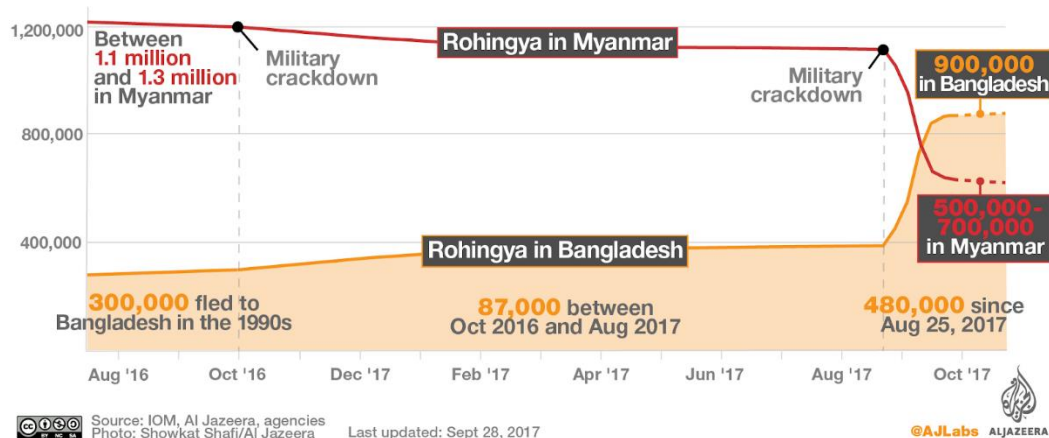


Figure 4: How Myanmar expelled the majority of its Rohingya to Bangladesh, (Source: Asrar, S.; Al Jazeera, Rohingya crisis explained in maps, 2017)

The Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA), launched a series of attacks on 9 October 2016, against 3 police posts in Maungdaw and Rathedaung. Nearly 400 Muslims participated in these attacks and they were armed with knives and slingshots. These attacks resulted in the deaths of at least 10 police and 7 soldiers. The attack fueled the Burmese military who had a responsibility to bring the situation under control. Their formal operations lasted from 9 October 2016 until 9 February 2017, nearly 5 months. On 25 August 2017, The Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) made a second attack against 30 police posts across Maungdaw and a military base in Rathedaung. These attacks were labeled as ‘terrorism’ by the military and they responded with ‘area clearance operations’. Due to the 31 days following the 25 August 2017 attacks, Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) calculate that between 9,430 and 13,750 Muslims died where at least 6,700 directly due to violence. (Anthony Ware, Vicki-Ann Ware, Costas Laoutides ,2018)

Out of fear, the Rohingya started to flee to Bangladesh. In October 2017, the estimated number of people was 1.2 million comprising the preexisting Rohingyas in Bangladesh. (OCHA, 2017)

2.3 Bangladesh as host country:

Bangladesh is a densely populated country in south Asia and its land area is currently at 147,570 km². It shares borders with Myanmar and India. It has been the preferred destination for the majority of the Rohingyas because of close proximity and matching religion. Since 1978 to 1992, there were influx of Rohingya refugees to Bangladesh and majority of them were again repatriated while many sought their way back to Bangladesh. (A.H. Milton et al, 2017)

To provide shelter to the Rohingya refugees, GOB (Government of Bangladesh) constructed twenty camps in 1992. The intent of the government was that the camps would be used as temporary stay. The refugees staying in the camps refused to return and stayed there since then. There are currently two government-led refugee camps for Rohingyas in Cox's Bazar, one of Bangladesh's poorest districts. One is Kutupalong-Balukhali Camp in Ukhia and the other one is Nayapara camp in Teknaf. There were 34,000 registered Rohingya refugees living in the camps until the 2017 exodus (ibid)

Currently, Bangladesh is acting as a host country for refugees from Myanmar. Like many other Asian countries, Bangladesh is not a party to the 1951 Refugee convention or the protocol 1967. Besides, for the protection of refugees in Bangladesh, there is no specific domestic law or national policy. District and sub-district level administration holds the power to grant residential permits. By the provisions of the Foreigners Act of 1946, refugees being considered as foreigners in Bangladesh. As has been mentioned earlier, because of absence of specific law for the protection of refugees, Bangladesh follows some other laws. Such as: Registration of Foreigners Act 1939, Passport Act 1920, Bangladesh Citizenship (Temporary Provision) order 1972, Extradition Act 1974, Naturalization Act 1926 etc. (N. Mohammad, 2012)

The Rohingya asylum seekers from 1978 and the time between 1991 to 1992, were provided refugee status under 'Executive order' by GOB and they were granted prima facie refugee status. During the refugee influx from 1991 to 1992, GOB invited UNHCR to launch their operation in Bangladesh and allowed both national and international NGOs in the refugee operation. (ibid)

2.4 Cox's bazar as a Local host community:

Cox's bazar is located in the southeastern part of Bangladesh and falls under Chittagong division. Cox's bazar is considered as the least developed and one of the poorest areas of Bangladesh. Because of the geographical position of Cox's bazar being near Rakhine state of Myanmar, the Rohingya refugee influx took their way to take shelter in Cox's bazar area. Now there are two Rohingya refugee camps in Cox's bazar area namely Kutupalong Camp and Nayapara camp of which one is in Ukhia and another one is in Teknaf. The figure below shows the close proximity of Cox's bazar and Rakhine state and the camp locations in Cox's bazar:

Refugee settlements in Cox's Bazar

Around **605,000** Rohingya have fled to Bangladesh since August 25, 2017, mostly residing in temporary makeshift settlements.

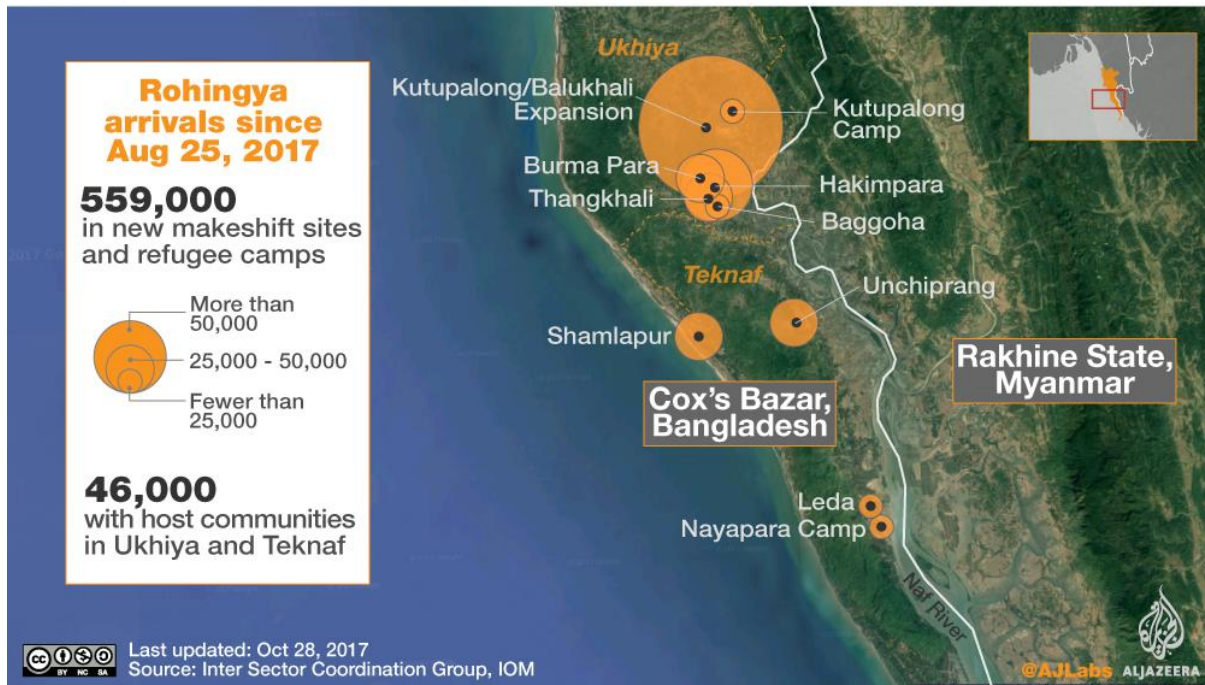


Figure 5: Refugee settlements in Cox's Bazar, (Source: Asrar, S.; Al Jazeera, Rohingya crisis explained in maps, 2017)

Because of the mass exodus of 2017, Cox's bazar turned into the world's largest refugee settlement and the host community of the world's most persecuted refugees. As of the recent Rohingya refugee population factsheet by UNHCR, the total population in both camps is 859161 with household population figure 187620. The refugees living in host communities and out of the camps have not been included in the factsheet. (UNHCR,2020)

3. Methodology

In this chapter, I have introduced the reader the methodology of this research and the methods of data collection. I have tried to explain the approaches used in this work and the factors that influenced the writing.

3.1 Research design:

First of all, I have used Research design to structure my work. Because in social research, a design or structure is needed before data collection and analysis.

Alan Bryman (2012, p:45) describes that *“A research design relates to the criteria that are employed when evaluating social research. It is, therefore, a framework for the generation of evidence that is suited both to a certain set of criteria and to the research question in which the investigator is interested”*.

Marshall, C. og G. B. Rossman (1995) says that a researcher should describe her purpose in conducting the research to tell the reader what the results of the research is likely to accomplish. He further states that methodologists describe three major purposes of the research: to explore, explain or describe the phenomenon of interest.

Similarly, I started my work on the Rohingya refugee crisis. The crisis of 2017 is not new and an ongoing process. As a social researcher, I have used descriptive research to study the current situation answering what is going on. Later, as an explanatory research, I have tried to focus on the impacts of the ongoing crisis on Bangladesh especially, the Cox’s bazar area. Hence my research question is: *“How is the Rohingya refugee crisis affecting Bangladesh and why is Cox's bazar in risk?”* The answer of ‘why’ is created to continue my research work.

3.2 Ethnography:

J. Creswell (2016, p:68) says that *“Ethnography is a qualitative design in which the researcher describes and interprets the shared and learned patterns of values, behaviors, beliefs, and language of a culture-sharing group.”* He further adds that ethnography, as both a process and an outcome, is a way of studying a culture-sharing group as well as the final, written product of the research.

In literal sense, Eriksson and Kovalainen (2008) says that Ethnographic research takes a cultural lens to the study of people's lives within their communities where the researchers lived among the inhabitants with the purpose to understand the culture that these people shared.

Compared to the other researchers, I find myself in an ethnographic position. I am a Bangladeshi citizen and I have spent almost all of my life in Chittagong. The Rohingyas share almost similar language, culture and beliefs like Chittagong' people. So, I have a better understanding of the society and the culture that helped me find better data collection. Moreover, during my time over there I engaged myself in NGOs who were working with the Rohingyas and I have colleagues and friends from other NGOs working in Cox's bazar. So, that's why, the other method I have chosen is Ethnography.

According to Eriksson and Kovalainen (2008), researchers perform virtual ethnography because of the expansion of the Internet and social media. Related to this, ethnography can be global, multi-sited and mobile. It is in the sense that researchers follow people around physical and virtual places". [ibid]

In this sense, as Ethnographic methodology, I have applied a virtual ethnographic strategy because I am unable to do fieldwork. I have interviewed my colleagues on the phone and connected myself with them through social media where I kept myself in touch with them during my research process to get information.

3.3 Data Collection:

I have used some primary data while most of it is secondary data. As I have used ethnography as my method of collecting data, I interviewed my friends and colleagues over the phone as they are active in NGOs working for Rohingya refugees. (I have attached their answers in Appendix). As it would raise questions regarding my personal biasness, I tried to be neutral and professional while talking to them and choose Bengali language as they were comfortable to use that, and it was helpful for me to analyze the interview and the relevant points. Firstly, I contacted them saying I would like to take interviews and scheduled a fixed date to take interview. Later, on the fixed date I conducted the interviews. They helped me in various ways by talking to the locals as well as the

refugees. Every day they confront both people and know about the present ongoing condition there. So, it helped me with my writing though I didn't conduct fieldwork by myself.

Not being able to do my own fieldwork during my thesis writing, my research highly depends on secondary data. I have used inductive method research in my work where I start with condensing data based on articles, journals, reports etc. Some sources are from online databases and search engines like google scholar, different NGO and UN departmental sites. I have also used some Bangla news reports and made summaries in English and established links with research objectives. Besides, I interviewed my colleagues. As they were unwilling to be recorded, that's why I took notes while talking to them. In my research, I have identified the overall impacts of the Rohingya refugees on host communities and tried to categorize them to what they pointed at.

3.4 Ethical Consideration related to research topic:

In social research, there are four main areas of ethical principles: whether there is harm to participants; whether there is a lack of informed consent; whether there is an invasion of privacy and lastly whether deception is involved. (A. Bryman, 2012)

Besides, while interpreting data, researchers should keep in mind that they are not over-interpreting or misinterpreting the data. Moreover, researchers should represent the possible conclusions as closely as possible.

As Ethical research is important to promote trust, real knowledge and to protect people from possible harm, I have tried to carefully avoid personal biases during my research. I made a formal interview with my colleagues and friends to get information about the impact of the Rohingya refugees in the present situation and to match their sayings to my findings. I asked them if our conversation was being recorded. As they showed unwillingness to be recorded, I took notes and didn't mention their names and positions in my writing.

Besides, being a Bangladeshi citizen, there is a possible risk of being biased by my personal belief. In order to avoid it, I have tried to do 'Reflexive' research. Because, in ethnographic research, the researcher is expected to be reflexive. According to Karl Maton (2003),

“Reflexive research often tends to construct reflexivity as an individual effort to overcome one’s own biases”. (Karl Maton, 2003, p:55). As it is the process of being self-aware and so I have tried to reflect upon theoretical considerations upon my ethnographic analysis.

3.5 Methodological limitation:

Due to time constraints, I couldn’t do fieldwork during my writing process. Hence my research mostly depends on secondary data which I have extracted from various reports and journals. Furthermore, had there been more time, I would have visited Bangladesh and done fieldwork to get qualitative data. Ethnography has been set to analyze the data.

On top of that, my research is about the impacts of the Rohingya refugee influx on host communities. I have collected data from the year 2017 to present where the findings show the immediate impact of the influx that the locals face. But the Rohingya issue is not new to Bangladesh. Hence, long term impact might be different than the immediate impact.

4. Literature review

J Rowley & F Slack, (2004, p:32), says that “*A literature review distills the existing literature in a subject field; the objective of the literature review is to summarize the state of the art in that subject field.*”

So, it identifies and organizes the concepts of the research by existing knowledge of the subject area. [ibid]

In fact, literature review helps me as a facilitator in my work by making me understand about the refugees and the possible impact they have on host communities and connecting my finding to the choice of theories. Besides it helps me formulating analysis part according to the theories.

According to Alan Bryman (2012), literature review is the process that helps the researcher to identify a topic, support a methodology, provide a context, or change research direction. The review thus helps me to shape the course of my work.

In this chapter I have tried to identify the existing literature related to the refugees with the definition of refugees according to the 1951 convention and impact of the refugees on host communities when they stay in the host communities. I have used the writings of Chambers (1986), Jacobsen (2002), P. Kirui and J. Mwaruvie (2012), B. Berti (2015), S. Tumen (2016), J. Alix Garcia & D. Saah (2010) to overview the impacts of the refugees from their writings.

Refugees:

According to the 1951 Convention, refugee is defined - “*as a person who is outside his or her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of being persecuted because of his or her race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail him— or herself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution.*”

A more inclusive and intuitive definition of "refugee" includes anyone who escapes from his country of origin or residence for fear of politically motivated harm or direct government persecution. They are usually thought of victims of political violence. Refugees in this context often live in difficult conditions in their countries of destination and are frequently dependent on humanitarian assistance. (Salehyan and Gleditsch,2006)

Betts (2009) also stated that refugees flee from their country of origin due to persecution and conflict and cross international borders and are hosted in the camps or settlements of their neighboring countries.

Impacts:

Chambers (1986) says about the topic of the impact of refugees and refugee programs on host communities that the earlier Refugee relief organizations and refugee studies focused on the refugees as their first concern while adverse impacts of refugees on hosts are relatively neglected. When impacts are analyzed, they are seen in terms of host country governments, economies and services rather than people or different groups among host populations. He identified the biases of previous researchers where refugee studies centered only on the refugees. He, while arguing about how different host communities are affected by the arrival of refugees, mentions that the poorer among the hosts can be hidden losers.

Adding to that Maystadt and Verwimp (2014) states that the impact of a sudden and mass influx of forced migrants on the hosting economy is understudied and it is not well understood.

According to the IOM & UN publications report (2002, p:16), refugees' impact on host communities in different ways. Among these including positive and negative effects are: -

- “-changes in local markets for food, housing, land, transport, and other goods,*
- services and resources;*
- changes in local labor markets;*
- changes in the local economy and society wrought by the introduction of humanitarian assistance;*
- demands on health care, education and other services;*
- demographic changes, and related influences on health, mortality and morbidity;*
- influences on infrastructure; - ecological and environmental changes.”*

Jacobsen (2002) says that a variety of security, economic and environmental burdens on the host communities can be imposed by refugees themselves.

I have tried to categorize the impacts of refugees on host communities into several factors according to the established research. Those impacts mostly include food, security, labor, wages, economy and environment.

At the initial stage of refugee influx, the demand of food goes high and it negatively impacts on food prices. As demand increases and there is shortage of supply, it results in a higher price of foods that adversely affect the poorer host communities.

In the writing of J. Alix Garcia & D. Saah (2010), the authors describe the case of Tanzania where they focused on the issue of the impact of refugee camps on prices in nearby markets. They say that the first immediate effect of refugee influx is the influence of food aid where the second is the impact of immigrant flows on prices in recipient countries. In relation to that topic they add that- *“The source of the aid—foreign or domestic—is key in determining its effects on the market. Theory suggests that foreign-supplied aid is likely to depress prices, while increases in domestically produced aid could increase prices.”* (p:149)

Furthermore, the refugee influx stirs the local economy to that extent that JE. Taylor et al (2016) about the economic impact of refugees say that the increase in refugee demand raises host-country incomes and spending which, in turn, generate additional rounds of spending impacts in the local economy. (p:7450)

To express that economic impact of refugees on host countries, S. Tumen (2016) focuses on three distinct sets of economic outcomes. Firstly, labor market outcomes (formal employment, informal employment, unemployment, labor force participation, and wages), secondly consumer prices, and lastly housing rents.

In addition, as refugees are seen as vulnerable, the humanitarian aids focus on them and the poorer host communities feel incensed. The refugees' economic resources increase leads to the increased resentment by host communities. (Jacobsen, K. 2002)

Moreover, Jacobsen, K. (2002) says that refugees on the host communities depend on natural resources like water, forest and rangeland to support themselves and to earn money where host communities are less willing to allow the refugees to use those resources. The hostilities increase more when refugees turn out more productive than the locals.

Jacobsen, K. (1997) further points out that environmental impact refers to the negative process of environmental change that occurs with respect to forests, soil and water. Because the refugee influx imposes pressure on the environment which leads to the loss of woodland and rangeland, increases soil erosion and reduces groundwater recharge and deteriorates water sources.

For an example, the case in Africa is showing that soil degradation is one of the major problems facing African settlements. When land is insufficient to meet subsistence needs and the refugees are legally confined to organized settlements and the refugee populations grow, the land shortage and soil degradation escalates. [ibid]

Most importantly, as a security concern impacts of the refugees on host communities, P. Kirui and J. Mwaruvie (2012) says that -

“Refugee and immigrant communities can also pose considerable political and security risks for host governments. They are a political force for their country of residence, and the way they react to the politics of host country, and their political relationship with the country of origin, have become important factors in influencing relations between the sending and receiving countries.” (p:162)

Besides, even though the refugees are welcomed by the host communities, the welcome is qualified by suspicion and cold reception. So, as a result, it leads to mutual avoidance. On top of that, the host community and the refugees always have a mistrust towards each other. [ibid,2012]

As an example, B. Berti (2015) says that in the case of Lebanon, economic and political pressures in host countries have led tensions into the social level that the refugee population and the local residents support opposite sides in the Syrian civil war which results in a general deterioration in social cohesion.

In addition, the author says that refugee camps can present notable security challenges in the host country by providing the breeding ground for organized criminal groups. [ibid]

To sum up, when I started to choose my thesis topic, I picked up the Rohingya issues as it is the prevailing emergency issue in Bangladesh. While searching for literatures for my thesis topic, I have found out numerous researches. However, I have chosen several research materials in Sociology relating to my research topic. Through the above-mentioned literatures on the refugees and their impacts on host communities, I have categorized the key issues into several factors. I have found out that mostly the impacts of the Rohingya refugees are on security, political, social,

economic and environmental sectors of the host communities. A great number of studies show that economic outcomes as accepting the refugees has both positive and negative outcomes where positive outcomes based on the fact that refugees bring resources in the form of international humanitarian assistance and they themselves are also human capital to the host communities. Besides, the camps and the surrounding areas develop through infrastructure development and development of communication systems. As of saying negative outcomes, it shows that the refugee themselves are the cause of security, environment and economic burdens on the host community. (Jacobsen,2002) Much of the previous research show that there is a great environmental impact on the host community because of the refugees.

This major finding relates to my research according to the case of the Rohingyas in Bangladeshi community and leads to the choice of my theories for conducting the research process.

5. Theory

In this chapter, I have tried to connect the forced migration of the Rohingya refugees and the impact of the Rohingya refugees on the host community. After some research of theories, I have used the Displacement economies approach to link between the forced migration and Migration-Development Nexus.

5.1 Forced Migration:

According to the 1951 United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol, the term “refugee” shall apply to any person who:

“...owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.”
(UNHCR, Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees)

S. Castles (2003) says that forced migration is growing in volume and importance. It is a result of endemic violence and human rights violations. Forced (or involuntary) migration includes several legal or political categories. *“All involve people who have been forced to flee their homes and seek refuge elsewhere. Popular speech tends to call them all ‘refugees’, but this is quite a narrow legal category. The majority of forced migrants flee for reasons not recognized by the international refugee regime, and many of them are displaced within their own country of origin”.* (p:173)

C. Horst and K. Grabska (2015) says that conflict and conflict-induced displacement produce both ‘radical’ and ‘protracted’ uncertainty in people’s lives. The protracted situations of displacement create liminal situations for them. The authors further mention that some refugees acquire an official status while many remain in refugee-like situations without access to the limited privileges granted under international refugee law because of displacement. The protracted situations of the conflict induced people stay in permanent impermanence where everyday time *“continues to flow through routinized practices and survival strategies.”* (p: 6) Because, when

their waiting situations for return changes from being short-term to long-term, their emergency mode shifts to a mode where the feeling of ‘permanent impermanence’ is matched with the certainty and predictability of everyday routines. This uncertainty creates space for negotiations between individuals and states which ultimately results in positive innovation and social transformation.

According to Betts (2009), while voluntary migration refers to the economic migrants, forced migration is assumed to have a political basis where people flee their country of origin owing to fear of conflict or persecution. Forced migration refers to a wide range of components where there is a category of people whose own states are unwilling to provide their basic rights and as a result, they are compelled to leave their own home. Now there has been a wide recognition of forced migration that *“there are other groups of people who can legitimately be considered to be forced migrants, even if they have not crossed an international border or may be fleeing for reasons other than those that define refugee status.”* (Betts, 2009)

To speak about the relationship between forced migration and global politics, Betts (2009) further mentions that the underlying cause of forced migration is considered as highly political and is connected with trends in the international system, geopolitics, and the global political economy. [ibid] Internal conflicts due to oppressive regimes lead the people to cross international borders which have an impact on other areas of international politics. Among other variables, there is a great effect on conflict, peacebuilding, state-building, terrorist recruitment, sources of foreign direct investment, trans-national crime, or even interest group formation and voting patterns in domestic politics. Refugees have often been identified as potential “spoilers” in peace where the existence of refugee camps serves as rebel bases. Refugee camps facilitate cross-border smuggling. Besides, refugee camps and the extended duration of refugee situations are potential sources of radicalization and terrorism. [ibid]

Forced migration needs to be analyzed as a social process. In this process, human agency and social networks play a major part. Forced migration gives rise to fears of loss of state control, especially in the context of recent concerns about migration and security. Besides, forced migration is closely connected to current processes of global social transformation. (Castles, S.;2003)

5.2 Displacement Economies Approach:

According to Amanda Hammar (2014), Displacement is categorized into two concepts. Displacement as an operational concept focuses on the formally displaced ones who are recognized and managed in policies and institutions. It is dehistoricized, oversimplified and often policy oriented. It reproduces particular 'logics of belonging, entitlement and exclusion'. While Displacement as a relational concept defines as *enforced changes in interweaving spatial, social and symbolic conditions and relations*. (p:9) It captures paradoxes, historicize and contextualize, capture actors beyond the displaced, capturing how displacement affects authority, asking what displacement produces.

Displacement contexts exhibit both causes and effects of displacement in multiple sites. It does not simply focus on economic elements. It has much larger scales of significance that are interconnected socially, economically and politically. It addresses evenly how the value (commodification and consumption) of things, bodies, spaces, natural resources and even money itself change (or continue) in times of severe and sustained crisis and displacement, and with what effects. Displacement economies approach focuses in new ways to people who are more indirectly affected by displacement.

It considers to those benefiting directly or indirectly from displacement and how they affect both informal and formal economies. Such as political parties, state agents, new and old entrepreneurs and investors, new and old gatekeepers or brokers, as well as those among the displaced who might, in fact, find ways to benefit differentially from the condition of displacement. Besides, displacement, among its many effects, disrupts and dislodges not only people but social orders, physical infrastructure, ecosystems, political and administrative systems, and economic relations and practices. At the same time, it generates new ones on different terms. She further mentions that displacement repositions the economy, reshape economic sectors, markets and investment.

5.3 Migration-Development Nexus:

To discuss the impact of refugees, it is popular to use the term ‘Migration- Development Nexus’. It highlights the process of migration with development where impact of development on migration or effects of migration on development is denoted. (Ninna Nyberg-Sorensen et al,2002) Conventionally, displacement is considered as a temporary phenomenon in the form of temporary residence in the refugee camps. Temporary status is not supposed to last long where either the conditions that forced flight should be resolved, or the displaced should be incorporated permanently into their place of refuge. So, *the displaced often find themselves in a state of protracted limbo.* (p:15)

Moreover, the refugees do not have the resources or opportunities to move beyond their neighboring areas. They remain internally displaced or move across borders to first countries of asylum in the region. The impact of migrant and refugee diasporas on conflict varies between situations and over time. In developing countries (receiving large inflows of refugees), aid is poverty-oriented to the extent that they need international support for local settlement of refugees. The author further states that the long-term approaches and instruments of development aid are more effective than the short-term humanitarian assistance in preventing violent conflicts. (ibid, p: 37-38)

While talking about the refugee impacts, the author further states that each stage of forced displacement has development implications as it has short-term damaging effects, particularly in terms of strains on resources hosts must provide. But in the longer term the impacts of mass refugee arrivals may be more beneficial, particularly in terms of the economic, human and social capital newcomers bring with them. [ibid, p:15]

Besides, the author describes that the presence of refugees in the places of settlement does have impacts especially during and after resettlement in a third country, and during and after repatriation to their country of origin. “Among these effects, positive and negative, are:

- 1) *Changes in local markets for food, housing, land, transport, and other goods, services and resources;*
- 2) *Changes in local labor markets;*

- 3) *Changes in the local economy and society wrought by the introduction of humanitarian assistance;*
- 4) *Demands on health care, education and other services;*
- 5) *Demographic changes, and related influences on health, mortality and morbidity;*
- 6) *Influences on infrastructure;*
- 7) *Ecological and environmental changes”*. [ibid, p:16]

6. Analysis and Discussion

In this section, I have followed my choice of theories to analyze the impacts of the refugees to the host communities. I have tried to answer the research question by analyzing the main factors contribute to negatively effect of the Rohingya refugees to the host community. The five different perspectives are political, security, social, economic and environmental. At the same time, I have tried to find out the positive impacts of the Rohingyas to the host community as Hammar (2014) says that displacement and its effects has multiple sites including both positive and negative.

According to C. Horst and K. Grabska's (2015) sayings, when speaking about the Rohingyas, I have found out that they are forced migrants from their country due to ethnic cleansing of the Myanmar government and living in permanent impermanence situation in the camps in Cox's bazar. As forced migration is considered as a social process (Betts,2009), this uncertainty creates the space of social transformation both in positive and negative ways.

6.1 Rohingya refugees as a burden:

The massive number of refugees by the past two years is straining Bangladesh in various ways. Bangladesh is greatly affected by hosting them for a long term and mainly Cox's bazar is in great potential risk in different ways. In this chapter I have tried to explain the topics for a better understanding of the impacts that the host community especially the locals are experiencing.

6.1.1 Political Impingement:

To begin with, according to Amanda Hammar (2014), the refugees and its effect has much larger scales of significance on the host community that are interconnected socially, economically and politically. In the political sense, it changes the political relations. Hammar (2014) with a focus on the case of Africa addresses displacement contributes in internal political crises and severe governance failures. Political parties and state agents benefit differently because of the displacement. In the case of the Rohingya refugees, if we see the political situation of Bangladesh after the Rohingya influx, we can observe a great problematic situation there. When the Rohingya

genocide started in the late August of 2017, Bangladesh Government was uneager to open the border for them. But under International pressure, it opened the border and hosted the refugees till now. Since then, the Government has been ineffective in organizing international diplomatic support to decisively end the crisis. (Alam, M. 2018) Here, I have categorized the political problem of Bangladesh in two sections: regional impacts and religious extremism respectively.

6.1.1.1 Impact on regional relations:

According to Hammar (2014), Displacement may also precipitate a changed relationship to time: to the past, and even more so to the future, each affecting relationships with the present. (p:10) Here, the worries that the present Rohingya crisis creates political impact between Bangladesh-Myanmar and other countries most notably India. Decade's long Rohingya issue and their periodic influxes into Bangladesh has long overshadowed the bilateral relationship between Bangladesh and Myanmar. In fact, there are some already existing historic sources of conflicts like, disputes over maritime boundaries, arms trafficking and cross-border movement of armed insurgents. (HAQUE, E. 2018)

However, from 2011 to the following years, there were signs of bilateral improvement between Bangladesh-Myanmar. But with the recent Rohingya exodus, the relation with Myanmar looks extremely tense. (Iffat Idris,2017) Besides, it has greatly influenced Bangladesh-Myanmar discussions concerning region-wide infrastructure projects. These projects such as the Asian Highway, the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC), and the Kunming connection. Besides, it restricts bilateral trade which is likely to be enhanced by introducing new items like pharmaceuticals, jute, cosmetics, consumer ware especially white goods, leather products, computer and IT ware. Because of the Rohingya issue the ties between both countries have been interrupted. (Syeda Naushin Parnini et al; 2013)

Moreover, Bangladesh finds that it's key allies like China and India realign their position and take side with Myanmar because of their huge strategic and economic interest in Myanmar. This new game of power realignment is becoming harmful to Bangladesh. (BIPSS Special report)

Same goes with Bangladesh-India relationship. Because of strong economic and strategic interests in Myanmar, India strongly supports the government of Myanmar. It has created anti-India sentiment in Bangladesh. (Iffat Idris,2017)

6.1.1.2 Religious Extremism:

Through Displacement economies approach, Hammar (2014) says that displacement disrupts the political systems and creates space to manage or manipulate the sites and subjects of displacement. The Rohingya refugees has shaken the Bangladeshi politics to the core where the Rohingya issue fuels the political disorder. Since 1971, the power always was between the nominally secular Awami League (now the ruling party) and the gently pro-Islamic Bangladesh Nationalist Party (B.N.P.). Besides, Hefazat-e-Islam, the most influential Islamist movement of Bangladesh always has had more say over laws and policies regarding the representation of secular justice.

Moreover, the ruling party Awami League and its leader Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina's decision to shelter the refugees upset the unstable balance between secularism and religion in Bangladeshi politics. Hefazat-e-Islam, Bangladesh's most influential Islamist movement, has threatened to wage '*Jihad*' in response to torturing Rohingya Muslims. Such postures have made the situation much harder for the government of Bangladesh. (Joehnk, T.F.,2017) So it can be said that the Rohingya crisis benefitting Hefazat-e-Islam greatly in Bangladeshi national politics and putting liberalism under threat. (Iffat Idris,2017)

Moreover, B.N.P., the opposing party leaders have criticized the government for its '*Diplomatic failure*' to bring China and India in mitigating the Rohingya crisis. Tom Felix Joehnk says that the Rohingya refugee crisis is shaking Bangladesh's body politic to the core and in ways that may hasten the country's ongoing slide toward authoritarianism. (Joehnk, T.F.,2017)

Such attitude contributes to a harder role in Bangladeshi national politics and puts the government near impossible problems. Besides, liberalism in Bangladesh is coming under the threat where extremism is finding a new fodder. (ibid,2017)

6.1.2 Security Challenges:

With a focus on Kenya and Tanzania, Mogire (2011, p:2) analyzed the extent of the refugee threat on the host-state security of Africa. In Africa, refugees are viewed as zones of organized criminal activities. Those activities include drug smuggling, human trafficking, rear bases of armed rebel groups. Besides, Jacobsen (2002) says that protracted refugee situations give rise to

problems for the host community. *“The most significant are the security problems including military incursions from the sending country, increased local crime and violence, predation on refugees and the local community by warlords and bandits, and often an increase in organized crime including gun running, drug smuggling and human smuggling”*.(Jacobsen,2002; p:81) As in the case of the Rohingyas on host community Bangladesh, the Rohingya exodus puts security challenges in the country in various ways. The long term Rohingya stay creates security threats for the whole region. The big concerns can be divided into two ways as a threat in the Cox’s bazar area and in the whole country, such as: Border security and Internal security.

6.1.2.1 Border security:

In the 1980s, Bangladesh had already encountered a border incursion by Myanmar armed forces. Besides this, there was a Bangladesh-Myanmar maritime boundary dispute in November 2008 over disputed territory in the Bay of Bengal. (BIPSS Special report)

Because of the Rohingya exodus, there is potential for nasty cross-border incidents between Myanmar and Bangladesh forces. With given history, it clearly indicates that Bangladesh has to remain watchful all time. On top of that, Bangladesh's nearness to the *Golden triangle* put a number of transnational security threats to itself and Cox’s bazar region. International gangs can destroy the population by using the Rohingyas as couriers for drugs and small arms smuggling. [ibid] lack of economic opportunities already leading the Rohingyas into illegitimate activities like developing networks of smuggling and drug distribution specially “*Ya ba*” which is produced in Myanmar’s ungoverned spaces. The biggest possible threat for Bangladesh is that the Rohingya community can be a passage for drugs dealing that can destabilize the community. (Brewster, D. 2019)

Adding to that it can be said that there is potential to fuel militancy and terrorism regarding the long stay of the Rohingyas. Bangladesh security establishment fears that the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) militant group will use the camps as cross-border fighting against Myanmar border security posts. (Alam, M. 2018)

This stems from the previous experiences. If we rewind the history, we see that in January 1998, armed refugees from Rohingya Solidarity Organization (RSO) took over the Nayapara refugee camp and three were killed in encounters with Myanmar security forces near the Bangladesh border. (Iffat Idris,2017)

In relation to the militancy potential of refugees, Utpala Rahman (2010) said,

“The Rohingya camps in Cox’s Bazaar District are fertile grounds for recruitment by Islamic militants. With little love for Myanmar, and alienated from Bangladesh, the stateless Rohingyas are vulnerable and desperate, and likely become militant in an effort to uphold their interests”.

Moreover, as a result of religious extremism, the Rohingya crisis fuels ‘jihadist’ sentiments. It can be a security threat for Bangladesh as other states notably Indonesia and Malaysia are also fueling this sentiment. When in 2012, the Rohingya refugee influx was in Bangladesh, the extremists in the other countries gave a call for ‘jihad’ in Myanmar. (Iffat Idris,2017)

On top of that, following the incident of 2017, Al Qaeda in Indian Subcontinent (AQIS) as well as Islamic state (IS) both threaten to attack on Myanmar's interest in ‘Ethnic cleansing’ of Rohingya Muslim. (BIPSS Special report)

6.1.2.2 Internal Security:

Since the 1990s, many host governments, particularly in Africa, cited security concerns to refugee settlement with the host community. They showed security problems and resource burdens are the reasons. Within the host community, initial sympathy and willingness to help the refugees often turns into resentment with the passage of time. The resulting resentment increase when refugee numbers continue to grow or with new waves of arrivals. (Jacobsen,2001; p:11)

In the case of the Bangladesh, the Rohingya refugees outnumber the locals two into one. This created disorderliness in the lives of the Cox’s bazar’s residents in various ways. As many as two thirds of the respondents of UNDP survey 2018 in Cox’s bazar said that they had been directly affected by the refugee influx, with the most affected areas are Teknaf and Ukhiya. (UNDP report 2018)

Besides, The Rohingyas are contributing to the deterioration of the law and order situation in the local community. The office of the Refugee Relief and Repatriation Commissioner (RRRC) at Cox’s Bazar has reported that in Bandarban and Cox’s Bazar areas, the Rohingyas have been creating various social problems like illicit arms and drug trafficking. (Syeda Naushin Parnini et al; 2013)

Another cause of threat is considered to be the use of Myanmar SIMs in the Rohingya camps in Cox’s bazar and Bandarban area. Myanmar’s state telecommunication network allows the country to use the country's intelligence access through mobile networks inside the camps which is a

security threat for Bangladesh. It is creating a national security concern for Bangladesh. (Chowdhury, S.I.;2019)

6.1.3 Social Strains:

Hammar (2014) says that living conditions in the camps were dire, with extreme levels of poverty and overcrowding and cash income opportunities in the camps were minimal, which creates ‘a violent life-world of inactivity. (p:23) It forces people to make a living at the very margins of existence. They engage in activities whatever brings them money. Besides, she focuses on the displacement case of Africa where the critical engagement of alternative economies often considered as ‘illegal’, such as illicit trade and smuggling, challenge the legal economic practices. Here, I have found that the Rohingya influx and their activities for money making is making social strains in the Cox's bazar area to such an extent that it makes the lives of the locals miserable. The notable issues that concerns the society are as follows:

6.1.3.1 Networks of drug smuggling and distribution:

Refugees are often unable to gain access to available resources in the host community. It creates refugee networks which enables the refugees gain economic advantage (which often are translated as commodities for trade). Through semi-illicit movement across the border and back, they gain access to these resources. Many of these resources are traded or exchanged in the local community to gain access to local resources of the host community. (Jacobsen, 2002; p:76) Besides, most refugees live in the border zones as *prima facie*. Many refugees involve in any sort of activities. Because, the local communities see the value of their activities and benefit from them. Moreover, the authorities turn a blind eye because of bribes. (ibid; p: 80)

Hence, in the case of the Rohingya refugees, The Rohingyas live in dire conditions and have no legitimate source of income here in the camps. It leads to them being involved in various crime activities like drug dealing and distribution. Myanmar produced *Ya ba* is now becoming handy in Cox's bazar areas which can potentially destabilize the society. Hundreds of thousands of Bangladeshi people are now becoming hooked on *Ya ba*. With the Rohingya refugee influx in

2017, dealers are now successful in turning some of them into mules, especially women, who smuggle packages of pills inside their vaginas. (Pressly, L. 2019) "A" one of the Rohingya refugee carrier of *Ya ba* said that - *"I carry yaba to survive. I am compelled to do this job because I have to provide for my family."* He further added that there are some 400 to 500 yaba carriers in the Rohingya camps. (Alsaafin, L.;2018)

Md Saiful Hasan, senior assistant to the special commissioner, Cox's bazar district said-

"some of the Rohingya involved in drug-peddling are working under the banner of some NGOs or independent workers" [ibid]

For example, it can be noted that, during my interview with one of my colleagues, she said that a Rohingya girl (aged 16) was living with her in-law's family as a house helper in Cox's bazar. They have been living in Bangladesh since before the 2017 refugee influx. They came in Bangladesh when she was at the age of four. She said after the influx, security became tight in Cox's bazar and she was afraid of her father being caught. She said that they needed money to feed themselves. Her mom and sisters work as house helpers in Cox's bazar while her father stays at home and secretly sells drugs. Because, drug selling brings easy money though there is risk of being caught. After the influx, this activity bloomed to a great extent among the Rohingya refugees. So, it can be easily assumed how available drugs become in the region reaching all over the country gradually after the Rohingya refugee influx in 2017.

6.1.3.2 Trafficking:

People smugglers wrongfully exploit the vulnerable migrants. They help needy migrants for the wrong reasons, such as profit-seeking rather than other-regarding concern for the welfare of these migrants. (Hidalgo,2016) Scarcity of work and unemployment make the Rohingya refugees vulnerable to be victims of persuasion. Or they can accept an offer to a better life which in turn makes themselves trapped in trafficking. IOM counter trafficking specialist Emmy Nurmila Sjarijono said that Rohingya children, women and men are targeted by traffickers who seek to exploit them in various situations including the sex industry, as unpaid domestic help, and in other forms of bonded labour. She further added that trafficking was already a prevailing problem in Cox's Bazar before latest influx of refugees from August,

2017. Now it has become severe with many people who are at risk of becoming victims of trafficking. (IOM press release, 2018)

6.1.3.3 Prostitution:

Brennan, D. (2001) describes how the sex trade make the new migration pattern in motion with the case of sex trade of Dominican Republic. Sosúa, a small town on the north coast of the Dominican Republic is a popular vacation site for German male sex tourists. The male sex tourists travel to Sosúa to fulfill fantasies while Many women look to these relationships to provide much needed money. These women might also hope for romance and love, but their fantasies are generally about resources and an easier life, rather than romantic bliss (p: 623) The author further explains how it is popular to earn more money than the other jobs, and fewer hours. It provides enough earnings to save money beyond daily survival.

In the context of Cox's bazar, due to Rohingya refugee influx, sex industry blooms in Cox's bazar area. As there is a struggle to access basic needs, out of desperation women in refugee camps engage in sex trade. A flourishing sex trade offers cash that they are in dire need. In the camps, there were many longer-term sex workers before the 2017 influx as Cox's bazar is a tourist area. It is always full of national and foreign tourists. But now, after the refugee influx, tens of thousands more vulnerable women and girls are fueling the trade. In the report of Stefanie Glinski, a girl named Noor said- "The girls meet their clients outside the camps. They don't sleep with other Rohingya." (Glinski, S.; 2017)

Most of the Bangladeshi people are followers of Islamic religion and to their point of view, it is religiously a great sin and morally degradable act. It makes is apparent that people in Cox's bazar and the society are now in vulnerable position because of the sex trade and they express great concern on this matter. Though it started as a primary threat, it may affect in the long run and put Cox's bazar in high risk of under development especially Ukhiya and Teknaf.

6.1.4 Economic effects:

Jacobsen (2002), in Migration- Development nexus, describes that a related set of problems of the impact of refugees are economic. The local host community's micro-economic system is often destroyed by refugee influx. Besides that, Ninna Nyberg-Sorensen et al, (2002) describe the refugees have a negative impact on the economies of the host community, including change of local market, change of labor market and change of economy and local resources. According to that basis, I have categorized the economic impact of the Rohingya refugees on host community (especially Cox's bazar) into three main categories though there are other prevailing impacts like change in education system, health system and other services. The main notable economic changes in Bangladesh (Cox's bazar region) are: price hike on goods, wage changes and tourism declining.

As of talking to the change in economy, it shows that, according to the world bank data per capita, Bangladesh's GDP per capita is 1,698.3 US\$ in 2018. (World Bank, 2019) The country's a great part of the economy depended on Cox's Bazar because the coastal town and beaches of Cox's Bazar used to be its main tourist destination. With the Rohingya refugee influx in 2017, the area is now awash with the refugees and foreign aid workers creating negative economic effects. (Alam, M.;2018) Besides, the arrival of Rohingyas has caused social disturbance and economic burdens for the local community in Cox's Bazar because Cox's bazar is one of the poverty-stricken areas of Bangladesh. (Syeda Naushin Parnini et al; 2013)

With this refugee influx, the economic condition is deteriorating in the whole country especially in the sub districts of Ukhiya and Teknaf in Cox's bazar area. As I earlier mentioned, the people in Cox's bazar area are comparatively poorer than that of other regions of the country. According to ACAPS, a Geneva-based think-tank, -

“Residents of Ukhiya and Teknaf were already among Bangladesh's poorest and by some measures as deprived as the refugees. Seven in 10 families – both Bangladeshi and Rohingya – struggled to get enough to eat.” (Baldwin C.& Marshall A.R.C.; 2018)

6.1.4.1 Price hike on goods:

After the arrival of Rohingya refugees, the price on local goods has risen. The price hike is applicable to those foods which have a significant demand. Compared to food supply, the

demand for food is much higher and because of this, price of foods in local markets has gone high. This affected the lower income group of people of host communities. As they are unable to afford the keep up with the food price increase.

6.1.4.2 Wage changes:

As I earlier said most of the people of this region are poorer than other regions, the Rohingya refugee influx put a negative impact on job sectors in the host community. Most of the local people are farmers or fishermen by profession. Farming and fishing have an adverse effect after the Refugee influx. Local farmers and contract-based day laborers are losing jobs because of the refugees as they are ready to offer their service with less money.

The employers are hiring the Rohingya workers instead of Bangladeshi workers because the employer is benefitting much more. For an example, I can say my hometown is in Chittagong district and near Cox's bazar. When writing my thesis, one day I talked to my dad over the phone, he said he is renovating our village house and hired some Rohingya workers along with Bangladeshi workers. While Bangladeshi workers are demanding 600 Bangladeshi takas, the Rohingya workers are ready to work in only 300-400 taka on a daily basis.

6.1.4.3 Tourism declining:

Cox's bazar is the main tourist destination in Bangladesh. During winter many domestic and foreign tourists come to visit the world largest sea beach and Saint Martin's island. Many hotels businesses bloom around the area. But due to the Rohingya refugee influx, the tourism sector is affected in two ways. Firstly, the hotel business is not flourishing as many humanitarian workers are staying in the hotels and there is not enough accommodation for tourists. Secondly, tourists are concerned about their safety issues during their travel. According to the report of The Financial express (2017), -

“Due to the presence of thousands of miserably battered refugees in Teknaf, tourists are also reportedly dropping their plans to visit the St Martin's Island in the Bay. In effect, this amounts to a double whammy for the tour operators.”

6.1.5 Environmental Destruction:

Jacobsen (2002) in Migration -Development Nexus, describes that livelihood activities of the refugees depend on access on land and common resources which creates environmental problems. He further states that deforestation, water pollution, loss of water courses, overburdened water supplies, destruction of the rangeland are the widespread problems of the refugee impacts on the environment. The worst environmental impact occurs soon after a major refugee influx in the host country. (p:83-84) Ninna Nyberg-Sorensen et al (2002) describes the same that the presence of refugees in the places of settlement does have impacts, where one of these is ecological and environmental change.

Same goes here with the environmental impact of the Rohingya exodus. It is difficult to amplify. Environmental destruction is the key concern from the beginning of the Rohingya refugee settlement in Cox's bazar area. Besides, Bangladesh is extremely susceptible to climate change because of soil erosion, rising sea levels and frequent natural disasters like cyclones and floods. The Rohingya refugee exodus accelerates the process even more. Environmental degradation can be categorized in several ways like deforestation, water pollution, air pollution etc.

Since the beginning of Rohingya settlement, thousands of acres of national forests were cleared. The areas and forests were inhabited by wild elephants and now it has become barren. Earlier, many local Bangladeshis used the forests to collect honey, dead branches and leaves as firewood. Mehdi Chowdhury, author of The Conversation journal (2018), interviewed a local forest officer where the officer said, - *“...the site upon which the Kutupalong camp now stands was a protected forest. Now, not a single large tree can be seen.”*

The Forest Department of Cox's Bazar reported that following the influx of the Rohingyas, forest resources worth BDT 13.05 crore (around US\$130 million) had been destroyed and the degradation of 2,021 acres of natural forest resources and 91.1 acres of new plantations had been degraded.(Syeda Naushin Parnini et al; 2013)

For example, from my personal experience, I can state that as an inhabitant of Chittagong, my family mostly went to Cox's bazar to spend our holidays. After the Rohingya exodus, as an NGO worker, I went for relief distribution. So, as a comparison, I find that there was much greener scenery of Cox's bazar before. Besides, when I interviewed my colleagues, they also mentioned environmental destruction is the acute one.

Moreover, because of the Rohingya influx, groundwater sources in Cox's bazar are running out while freshwater streams are being contaminated. Air is also getting polluted because of excessive use of vehicles bringing people and goods into the camps. The Rohingyas use firewood in their cooking which also creates smoke and thus pollutes the air. (Alam, M.;2018)

6.2 Rohingya refugees as a benefit:

Displacement economies approach shows that displacement causes the growth of the aid industry. This aid industry assists many displacees, temporarily boosts and reshapes local economies. (Hammar, 2014; p:19)

Though the Rohingya refugee influx creates a burden on host communities, especially in Cox's bazar, there are some positive impacts on the host communities that I have categorized below:

6.2.1 New job opportunities:

The arrival of Rohingya refugees creates thousands of job opportunities in the host communities. Mostly in national NGOs and international NGOs. Many local NGOs and international NGOs are recruiting people from host communities where most of them are from different parts of the country. As Hammar (2014) said that aid industries help the local economies on a temporary basis, The national graduates and postgraduates are getting full time jobs where undergraduates are working as volunteers. The locals in Cox's bazar are given priority due to the language similarity with the Rohingyas. The job opportunities are for those who have some formal academic qualification. The local students also appreciated such opportunities as it increases their professional capabilities as well as it becomes their source of income. With this income, they supplement their educational expenses as well as contribute to their families.

6.2.2 Income through house rents and other professions:

After the Influx, house rents in the Cox's bazar area especially in Ukhiya and Teknaf have gone high. Because of the influx, many NGO workers came to Cox's bazar because of job. They needed accommodation to continue their job in the area. It increased the rents of the houses as the house owners find it profitable to increase rents. Humanitarian workers also stay in the hotels on contractual basis which lead the hoteliers to increase the rent. Many people live in the town or other cities for a better lifestyle while their houses in villages remain locked up. Now people grab the opportunity to earn without much effort. They rent their village houses and earn money.

Besides, due to the crisis, many NGOs came with humanitarian help and they needed laborers for various purposes like construction workers. Many people changed their profession as those works were economically beneficial. Many people introduced new transport services. New hotels and restaurants opening show the experience of job transformation by local people.

To sum up the process of the analysis and discussion part, the use of the theories of refugee effects on host community is reflected on the host community Bangladesh because of the Rohingya refugee influx. Through Displacement economies approach and Migration-development Nexus, it is visible that refugee influx impacts negatively on the host community's economy, environment, social structure and become the cause of security reasons. Considering the main research question *"How is the Rohingya refugee crisis affecting Bangladesh and why is Cox's bazar in risk?"*, it can be said that the host country Bangladesh is negatively affected in political and security matters while especially Cox's bazar region has an adverse impact on economic, environmental and social conditions due to the Rohingya refugee influx of 2017. Border security, internal security problem because of various crimes and political instability is seen as the effect of mass Rohingya refugees. Besides, Economic adverse impact is seen as price hike on daily goods, wage changes and tourism decline. On top of that, Cox's bazar area is in high risk of environmental pollution and social stress.

Adding to that, the positive impact of the Rohingya refugee influx is also drawn through the Displacement economies approach where new job sectors and new sources of income is generated in the Cox's bazar area.

At last, it can be said that the findings and analysis show how the Rohingya refugee had altered the situation of the host country in mostly negative ways where some positive results are also seen.

7. Conclusion

Throughout this research, I have tried to gain some realistic information about the impacts of the refugees on the host communities. Reflecting on the research question and answering the question, I believe I am at least successful in drawing a picture of impacts of the refugees on host communities. The findings and analysis can be a primary tool to conduct further research on this topic. My research is based on the Rohingya refugee influx of 2017 and its ongoing impacts and I have tried to focus on the impacts of them in both the initial level and deeper level. Initially the Rohingyas were considered as temporary residents of Bangladesh. Several failures of several attempts of their repatriation, creates an insecurity among GOB and the locals that their stay is going to be permanent. Besides, Bangladesh is dependent on the International donors and without their aid, it wouldn't be able to handle the refugee crisis. Still with all assistance it is struggling to manage the locals and the refugees.

Assuming the stay as permanent, the attitudes of the locals and the authorities are becoming hostile where sympathy is turning into hatred. This crisis is still present, and the applied theories confirm the impacts of the refugees.

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Appendix 1-Interview Guide

1. Where do you live?
2. Where is your hometown?
3. What do you have to do as an employee in an NGO?
4. Are you a Project based contract employee in an NGO or full-time employee?
5. What is the NGO's ongoing project for Rohingyas now?
6. Is the GOB trying to improve the condition of Cox's Bazar?
7. What is the current condition of The Rohingyas?
8. Are there any development projects for the locals at present?
9. Describe your work life in Cox's bazar.
10. Do you face any challenges working there?
11. Do you have to deal with the locals?
12. What is your opinion about the Rohingya refugees? Do you feel any negative or positive impacts of the refugees on Bangladesh? What do you think about the condition of the country as well as Cox's bazar before and after the Rohingya influx?
13. What do you think about the impact of the Rohingya refugees if they are going to stay for a long term?
14. What is your opinion about the Government's decision of shifting them to the Bhasan Char island?
15. What do you think if they should be repatriated or not?
16. What is the current condition of the country and Cox's bazar due to the Covid-19 pandemic? Is there any measurement taken for both the locals and refugees?

Appendix 2- Interview Notes

Interview 1

Interview Date : 26 March, 2020
Name : Fouad (Fake name)
Workplace : ActionAid Bangladesh
Duration of Work: 5 years
Language : Bangla
Time : 30 minutes
No Audio clip (Notes taken)

Fouad (40) is working in ActionAid Bangladesh. He is one of the high officials of Rohingya camp management. He has moved to Cox's Bazar due to his job. In response to the questions he said that the Rohingya refugee crisis had turned into a protected crisis. All NGOs are now running sustainable and development projects in the camps. He stated that as a humanitarian worker he has to face both locals and the refugees. The locals are hostile towards the Rohingyas as they think all development works and facilities are only given to the Rohingyas and they are getting deprived of the facilities that the Rohingyas enjoy. It creates tension between host community and the Rohingyas. Besides, it results in an anti-NGO mentality in the attitude of the locals. When asked about the impacts of the Rohingyas in Cox's bazar, Bangladesh, he answered that the positive impacts are availability of jobs, new creation of job and business sectors. He mentioned that environmental and geographical damage is the most adverse. He further added that the GOB is now initiating various programs to make Cox's bazar greener. The Rohingyas' stay is not permanent and that's why there is restriction in making permanent infrastructure and NGOs are trying to turn the Rohingyas' temporary makeshifts into durable and sustainable makeshifts. Shifting them into Bhasan char is not a good idea, as it needed a new start of everything. Their stay in the camps are being congested day by day because of their rapid population growth. UNHCR and GOB both continue to work on their safe and dignified repatriation. GOB now made a new policy that 25% from the development works for the Rohingyas should be done for the locals. Due to Covid 19 pandemic, all NGO workers are prohibited to enter camps and their

developmental activities are put on hold. Only basic aid and help are ongoing by the camp volunteers. The government is providing basic aid to the locals and in the camps.

Interview 2

Interview Date : 25 March, 2020
Name : Adil Alahi
Workplace : Cox's Bazar International University
Duration of Work: 7 months
Language : Bangla
Time : 20 minutes
No Audio clip (Notes taken)

Adil Alahi (29) is working as a full time Lecturer in Cox's bazar International University, Cox's bazar Upazila for seven months and lives there in his working days and goes back to his family during weekends. His hometown is in Chittagong. Because of his work, he came to Cox's Bazar. As a teacher, he has to meet lots of students daily who are mostly from Ukhiya and Teknaf area. When I asked him about his opinion about the impacts of the Rohingyas, he answered that there is economic impact prevailing as prices of all goods have gone high. He further mentioned that from November to March, food prices, transport fare and hotel rents used to be high as it is a tourist area. But now it becomes permanent all year round as all the NGO worker's live in the hotels in Cox's bazar town. Moreover, Covid-19 influences the price hike at present making the locals depressed. Environmental effect is also negative as acres of land were destroyed and the wild animals living that areas are endangered. He further noticed that security conditions were worse after the Rohingya influx, but now it has improved and there is more security prevailing in Cox's bazar area. As security is tight, stealing, robbery and other petty crimes is significantly reduced. He added that the Rohingyas are getting all international aid and facilities, they are now unwilling to go back to Myanmar, and it is an indication that it is going to be permanent. He said that the Government should take action to make Myanmar convinced to take refugees back to their country. Earlier, the locals welcomed the Rohingyas emotionally. At present, their attitude to the Rohingyas are hostile, when they see they are going to stay permanently. Because of Covid -19 pandemic, all

NGO workers who frequently travel internationally, are prohibited to go near the camps and provide any service to Rohingyas and they are encouraged to stay in the hotels.

Interview 3

Interview Date : 10 March, 2020 (Re-interview on 25 March)

Name : Farzana (Fake name)

Workplace : Mukti Cox's Bazar Branch

Duration of Work: 3 and half years

Language : Bangla

Time : 25 minutes

No Audio clip (Notes taken)

Farzana (34) is working in Mukti Cox's Bazar, an NGO running some projects for Rohingyas. She has been working there since the Rohingya refugee influx. Her hometown is Cox's Bazar. She moved to Chittagong city for her education and came back to Cox's Bazar because of her work. She stays in Cox's Bazar during weekdays. Most of the NGOs under International organizations are now continuing health, education, GBV programs in the Rohingya camps. Some NGOs like Mukti Cox's Bazar are working for the developments of the locals also. Mukti runs 'Livelihood Project' for the locals for their development. She said the Rohingyas are violent in nature and they stay in control under NGO and Security supervision till morning to 5 pm in the evening. When NGOs go back to hotels from camps, they again become unstable and try to involve in many criminal behaviors. Security forces in Rohingya camps are always busy trying to keep their behavior and actions under control. In answering the impacts of the Rohingyas she said it is of course negative though there are some positive impacts. She mentioned that because of Rohingya's violent nature, there is always a security threat. The Rohingya population growth rate is alarming. They don't follow the rules and regulations. They violate the rules and get involved in crimes as long as they are not in supervision. Bangladesh army always has to be alert. Cox's bazar is environmentally and economically affected to a great extent. Cox's bazar became a channel for *Ya ba* smuggling and many of the refugees are involved in it. As a positive impact she mentioned that the locals are now getting jobs in various NGOs if they have their graduation completed. She

further added that it would be better if the Rohingyas are repatriated to Myanmar as it is not a solution to shift them to Bhasan char. When asked about the recent Covid-19 situation, she said all activities are put in halt and most of the national and International NGO workers are on leave. The local NGO workers assigned for the camp supervision are active only. It is assumed that it will have a much more drastic effect in the economy of the Cox's bazar area as it is already suffering.

Interview 4

Interview Date : 5 March, 2020

Name : Furkan

Workplace : Cox's bazar under Christian Aid's WASH programme

Duration of Work: 6 months

Language : Bangla

Time : 25 minutes

No Audio clip (Notes taken)

Furkan (37) worked in 2018 as a Community Mobilizer in WASH programme Under Christian Aid. He worked in the initial stages of the Refugee influx as a contract based temporary employee. As a resident of Cox's bazar, he also is aware of the present condition and gave his opinion. He expressed a great concern about the negative impact of the Rohingyas. He said the Rohingyas are getting all international aid and now is unwilling to go back. When GOB took initiative to send some Rohingya families back, those families fled from the camp. It is justified that they fear to go back besides it shows that they have intention to stay here permanently. There are various incidents between locals and the Rohingyas happening almost every other day. They are outnumbering in population and are posing a threat to the whole area because of their aggressive nature. Besides environment is degrading day by day. He said though jobs are now available, and it brings money, the losses are much greater for the country. Bangladesh cannot recover its loss. Government should take initiative to send them back to their country.

