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The Impact of Rohingya Refugees on the Local Host Community

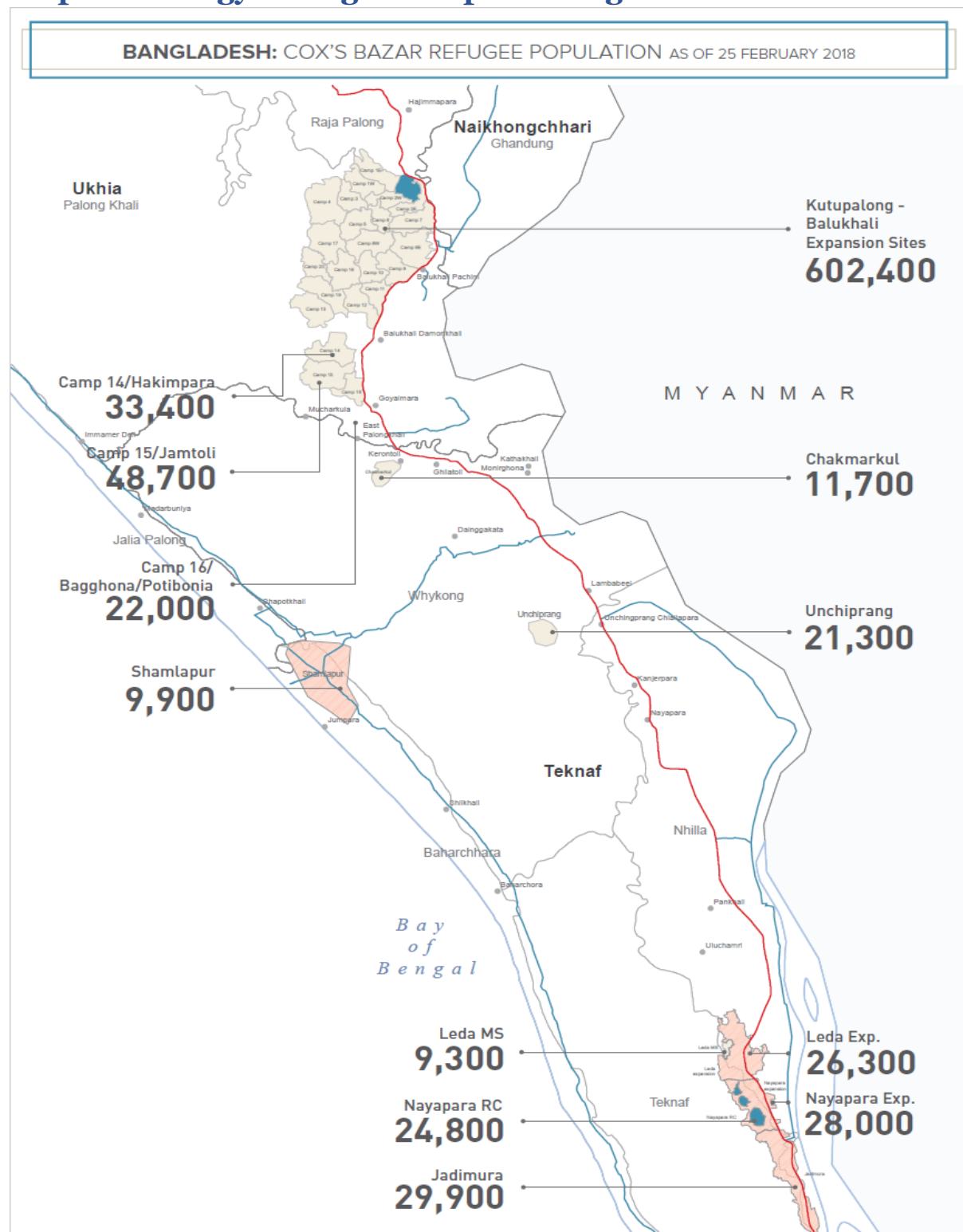
The Case of Cox's Bazar in Bangladesh

Faculty of Social Science

Master's Thesis

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Map of Rohingya refugee camps in Bangladesh



Source: Joint Response Plan for Rohingya Humanitarian Crisis (2018)

Abstract

Wahiduzzaman Siddique: The Impact of Rohingya Refugees on the Local Host Community
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The Rohingya, a Muslim minority group from Myanmar, considered one of the most persecuted minorities in the world. Although the Rohingya's presence in Myanmar can be traced as long as the ninth century, Myanmar government consider them as an illegal immigrant from Bangladesh. They are denied their citizenship in Myanmar and living in statelessness for a long time. Violence first broke out between the Rohingya and Myanmar military in 1978 after the military launched a large scaled operation called Operation Dragon King that resulted in the killing of tens of thousands of people and over 200,000 people were forced to flee to Bangladesh. Following the first operation, the Myanmar army has operated several more operation on the Rohingya that led the exodus of a large number of people in neighboring countries.

The recent exodus of the refugee from Myanmar started in August 2017, after Myanmar security forces started a new operation with the help of Buddhist militia in Rakhine after a militant group calling themselves "The Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army" (ARSA) attacked government forces. This forced estimated 700,000 Rohingya people to flee from Myanmar and seek refuge to neighboring Bangladesh.

The aim of this master's thesis is to evaluate the impact of hosting the Rohingya refugees on the local host community. The study assesses the perception of Rohingya refugees by analyzing qualitative data collected by ethnographic observation. The food price increase, changes in the job sector, house rent increase, movement restriction for local people because of the increase of checkpoints by law enforcement agencies, the inflow of drugs from Myanmar are some of the key impacts that local people are encountering because of the presence of large numbers of refugees.

Refugee hosting has affected the local people in varied ways. Some impacts have affected a certain group of people positively and another group of people very negatively. Besides some impacts have affected all the locals irrespective of their social and economic status.

Keywords: Refugees, the Rohingya refugees, forced migration, refugee host country, impacts of refugee-hosting

The originality of this thesis has been checked using the Turnitin Originality Check service.

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List of Abbreviation

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ARSA	The Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army
GoB	Government of Bangladesh
ID	Identity Document
ILO	International Labour Organization
INGO	International non-governmental organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
NGO	Non-governmental organization
OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
PRIO	Peace Research Institute Oslo
RRRC	Office of the Refugee Relief and Repatriation Commission
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

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Introduction

Migration as a phenomenon is common not only for the human being, almost all the living being migrate from one place to another for a diverse set of reasons (Dingle 1996). Human migration is happening in the world for thousands of years. Arnold (2011, 1) identified the story of Emperor Trajan who built a large bridge over the River Danube to conquer present Romania even in 104 CE. The dimension of migration has shifted significantly though throughout the history of mankind. UNHCR (2018) has reported that there are 68.5 million forcibly displaced people worldwide, among which 40 million are internally displaced people. The remaining 25.4 million are, however called as ‘refugees’ because they have been forced to cross their national boundaries. More than 44,400 people have been forced to flee from their home due to conflict and the threat of persecution. Among these massive number, more than 85 percent are from developing countries.

From total number of refugees, more than two third are from specific five countries. With 6.3 million refugees, Syria remained the highest refugee sending country. Afghanistan, South Sudan Myanmar and Somalia are next major refugee-sending countries in 2017. Turkey, on the other hand, is hosting the highest number of refugees with an exaggerating number of 3.5 million. Pakistan, Uganda, Lebanon, Iran, Germany, Bangladesh, and Sudan are following a major host of refugees (UNHCR 2018, 2-3). Most of the countries name of the list, however, was common in the last few years except Myanmar and Bangladesh.

The name of Myanmar (1.2 million) as a major refugee-sending country and Bangladesh (with 932,200 refugees) as a major refugee-hosting country has been enlisted only after a new conflict broke out in the Rakhine State of Myanmar in August 2017. Approximately 700,000 Rohingya people were forced to flee from Myanmar to seek refuge to neighboring Bangladesh (Dussich 2018, 4). Rohingya is a Muslim minority ethnic group from Myanmar’s Rakhine State. The Rohingya population is being considered as one of the most persecuted minorities in the world. They are denied their citizenship in Myanmar and living in statelessness for quite long time (Milton et al. 2017, 942).

The recent exodus of refugees from Myanmar began in the August 2017, after Myanmar security forces started a new operation with the help of Buddhist militia in Rakhine, after a militant group calling themselves “The Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army” (ARSA) attacked

government forces on 25th August 2017 (Ratcliffe 2017). The UNHCR (2018, 7-9) described the action of the Myanmar security forces and the Buddhist militia as ‘targeted violence’ against the Rohingya community that has forced the people to flee. Majority of whom are women and children. That exodus was referred to as the fastest growing refugee crisis in the world. With the great support of its people, Bangladesh Government opened its borders for the Rohingya refugees and led the humanitarian response in the refugee camps. The humanitarian community rapidly scaled up its activities as well to support the humanitarian response initiatives.

1.1 Research Aim and Relevance

As the refugee issue has been a serious matter of debate all over the world and host country politics has a very big influence on refugee policies. Many countries who have already signed the 1951 ‘Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees’ and the 1967 Protocol, are taking different measures to reduce refugee entries to their countries. However, to date, Bangladesh has not signed neither the 1951 convention nor the 1967 Protocol. Bangladesh even does not have any provision regarding refugees in its constitution. Therefore, the Rohingya Refugees do not have any official legal status in Bangladesh. Even though UN refers the Rohingya population as “refugees” since they have crossed the border and reached Bangladesh. But GoB refers them as “Forcibly Displaced Myanmar Nationals” (UNHCR 2018, p-7). Indeed, the Bangladesh government has clarified its policy of not allowing the Rohingya refugees from the onset of this problem; let alone granting them any legal status. Despite this, the present Awami League-led government has received tremendous support and praise from the international community for accepting the Rohingya refugees in 2017.

The GoB with the help of UNHCR and IOM is leading the humanitarian response in the Rohingya refugee camps. In this situation, role of the local host community has also been very important and supportive from the beginning. However, the life of the host community has also unavoidably been affected by the arrival of this number of Refugees. UNHCR (2018, 16-18) reports host communities are facing difficulties with market access, labour competition, deforestation, and inflation. The Joint Response Plan initiated by the UNHCR (2018) has recognized the necessity of working for Host communities. The Bangladesh government is also advocating strongly to the Donors for including local communities in their plan. Some of the organizations already have started to working with local communities to minimize their difficulties through various means.

The recent exodus of Rohingya refugees is the third big wave of refugees forced to move in Bangladesh starting from 1979. The government of Bangladesh has estimated there are 300000 Rohingyas already in Bangladesh (UNHCR 2018), some of them are from 1992. Despite the presence of mass Rohingyas, there is not enough information in the academia regarding the dynamics of Rohingya host communities.

Numbers of study have contributed to analyze the impact on the host community to date. Chamber (1986), Mogire (2011), Harrell-Bond (1986), Jacobsen (2002), Whitaker (2008) and Porter et al. (2008) are key contributors of refugees impact analysis on hosts, among others. However, refugee hosting has diverse impacts on host depending on each case. Every case might have some similarity as well as each of them might have some uniqueness. Therefore, it is essential to study each case not only to understand them but also to complement the findings with the existing literature. Much of the studies on the Rohingya crisis focused on investigating the crisis itself. The impacts of the Rohingya refugee on the Bangladeshi local hosts still remained unexplored.

The aim of this master's thesis is to evaluate and analyze the impact of hosting the Rohingya refugees on the local host community. Furthermore, this research helps to understand how the local community perceives the idea of having a large number of refugees. The study assesses the perception of Rohingya refugees by analyzing qualitative data collected by ethnographic study. Besides, this thesis aims to explore the relevance of impact study on the host community in protracted refugee situation in peace research.

The study outcome helps to understand the impact of a huge number of refugees on local hosts as well as the perception of Bangladeshi local host community on the Rohingya refugees.

1.2 Research Question

Though the recent development in the forcible displacement of a large number of the Rohingya population has come as surprise to many, the Rohingya issue is not newly created. However, the existing literature mostly focuses on the history and the crisis itself, such as issues related to its development of the crisis is identified in academic literature (Dussich 2018; Khin 2017, 43-54; Ullah 2011, 139-161; Kipgen 2014, 234-247). Few studies have also studied the exploitation and sufferings of the Rohingya refugees now living in Bangladesh (Bashar 2017,

5-7; Riley et al. 2017, 304-331). There is one study by Rahman (2010) particularly related to the impact of Rohingya refugees on Bangladesh. Rahman findings have effectively replicated a various earlier study by Jacobsen (2002, 586), Mutongu (2017, 329), Dako-Gyeke and Adu (2017, 96-112) that linked security concerned with refugee-hosting. Rahman argued Rohingya refugees are a potential threat to the internal security and stability for Bangladesh.

Even though Rahman discussed the security impacts of Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh, a number of other areas are yet to explore related to Rohingya refugees impact in the host community. Moreover, Rahman's research has the focused state as her reference frame for studying security implication of Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh, the article does not clarify if the impact will be identical to the local host community. Apart from Rahman's study, there has not been any mentionable prior research on the relations between Rohingya refugees and the local host communities of Bangladesh.

The impact of hosting refugee on host communities are well studied in academia; however, most of the study is focused on Africa. In contrast, this study will provide an alternative view from a South Asian perspective. Therefore, the main research question of the study is:

How are the local host community is impacting after the arrival of Rohingya Refugee in Bangladesh?

1.2 Background

The terminology “Rohingya” is severely politically charged. In Myanmar, they are referred to as Bengalis, and in Bangladesh, they are referred to as ‘forcefully displaced Myanmar nationals’. The pro-Rohingya blocs within Myanmar argue that Rohingya people are living in Myanmar for hundreds of centuries, whereas the anti-Rohingya bloc argues that Rohingya are an originally illegal migrant from Chittagong (Bangladesh) (Ullah 2016, 286). The topic of this study demands a better understanding of the conflict from the beginning of its birth. The first three sections of the Background chapter are chronologically presented. These three parts help to explain the history of the Rohingya people in Myanmar. The following three parts, however, do not maintain the chronological consistency. Rather, these three parts explain the recent displacement of the Rohingya people, the role of the Bangladeshi host government and local host communities. The latter three parts lay the groundwork on the Bangladeshi local host community to assess the impact of the Rohingya refugees on them.

1.2.1 Rohingya

The term “Rohingya” is a Muslim Arakanese name that is derived from Rohang which was the ancient name of Rakhine State (Ullah 2016, 286). Arakan was an independent kingdom up to 1784. The official name of Arakan changed to Rakhine State in 1989. Geographically the State is surrounded by a mountain range and separated from other parts of Myanmar. Before 1784, Arakan Kingdom was part of Chittagong (currently part of Bangladesh) to Irrawaddy Delta (Myanmar). The kingdom was only accessible by sea due to its mountain range then. Now, the region got linked through road and air with other parts of Myanmar.

Milton et al. (2017, 942) suggest three categories of Rohingya’s history. Those are pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial times. Milton et al. identify the Muslim sailors from Arab countries as the first comers of Rohingya from 788 to 819 AD. Hein (2018, 366) and Dussich (2018, 7) explained more about the history of Rohingya settlement in Arakan. Hein argues Arakan was first established by the settlers of India and later conquered by Burmans in the eleventh century, who re-established Arakan again in 1238. However, there are other contesting ideas about Rohingya settlement in Myanmar. One suggests Rohingya existence in Myanmar from the ninth century whereas other contesting groups argue Rohingya are Bengali migrants from the Chittagong region (Ullah 2016, 286; Kipgen 2014, 236).

The indigenous people started to live in the northern part of Rakhine from the seventh century. The ancestors of Rohingya ethnic people were mixture of people from eastern part of India which used to know as Bengal and from Tibeto-Burman ethnicity, the northern part of Burma¹. The study by Dussich (2018, 7-8) offers probably the most comprehensive historical timeline documentation of key events in the Rakhine state. Dussich identified the colonies from other areas settled with the local inhabitants in the coastal region of Arakan in between third century-CE to 1406-AD. The local language was Sanskrit² and people used to follow their local religion with beliefs for their life. The early presence of Buddhist, Hindu and Muslim cultures is being traced between fourth to the tenth century in the Anand Chandra Inscription in a Nagari script that is similar to Bengali and also in northeastern Indian languages. Burmese Pagan king

Anwardhta destroyed the Arakan kingdom and made it a province of Burma in between 1044 to 1077. Dussich (2018, 8) reports that Rohingyas including both Arakani Muslims and Hindus left Arakan during that time and went to Chittagong.



Fig 1: Map of Myanmar presenting Arakan (Rakhine State) (Ullah 2016, 288)

¹ Burma is the ancient name of present day Myanmar.

² Sanskrit is the classical language of the then Indian Subcontinent. The religious scripture of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism are written in Sanskrit.

Hein (2018, 366) reports that the Arakan Kingdom re-established by Indian settlers again in 1238 whereas Dussich (2018, 8) claimed the conquerors were from north-central Asia, The Mongols. From the eleventh century to 1430 the region was ruled by Tibeto-Burman with two separate entities, Rohingya Muslim and Rakhine Mogh. The last Arakan kingdom was founded in 1431 by King Noromi Kla and he was well supported by the then Sultan of Bengal. The capital of King Noromi Kla's kingdom was in Mrauk U (Dussich 2018, 8). Hein (2018, 366) suggests Marauk U was an example of secular and liberal capital that accommodated Hindu, Buddhist and Islamic practice with a relative tolerance of its population. The Sandhi Khan Mosque was built in Marauk U in 1433 by a Muslim General named Sandhi Khan who helped the King Noromi Kla³ to regain his kingdom after he got dethroned. The Mosque used to consider a symbol of Muslim presence and integration in ancient Arakan and it was destroyed in 1996 by the Burmese army.

Arakan's kingdom, however, started yielding its freedom to an outsider from 1666 when they first lost their northern territory to the Sultan of Dacca⁴. The Southern part of Arakan was also invaded by Burma and as a result, many fled to Chittagong in 1785. The Burmans then fought against the Arakanese rebels and started a conflict with the British. In 1825, Arakan came under the British Colonial rule and remained under colonial control until 1948 (Hein 2018, 367; Milton et al. 2017, 942; Dussich 2018, 9)

Historic events play a vital role in escalating violence and tension in Myanmar even after its independence. The event started with a large number of internal migration during the British India. British India encouraged internal migration. But the migration was not only limited to internal but also to the attracted migrants from China which eventually changed the demography of Burma over time. Lots of Muslim migrant workers from Bengal were used for rice cultivation in Arakan that immediately increased the number of Muslim community in Arakan (Hein 2018, 367; Dussich 2018, 9). The Muslim population increased in an unprecedented way and within 1871 to 1911, the Muslim population tripled in Arakan.

Hein (2018, 368) accounts two historical episodes to understand the tension and violence of Rohingya people in Myanmar. The first one is the migration of people that eventually changed

³ The name of the King Noromi Kal is spelled differently by different researcher. I have used the version of Dussich (2018, 8) for avoiding any confusion.

⁴ Dacca is currently known as Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh.

the demographic character of Arakan during the British colonial rule. The second event was the British colonial notion of religion and race. Howe (2018, 249) argues a similar claim by presenting that religion played a significant role in communal divisions since the British rule in Myanmar. Hein (2018, 368-369) explains that the British mixed up race with nationality and classified people on the basis of religion and race during their colonial rule. This was evident in the census practice of British in Arakan. The British either recorded the Muslims of Arakan region as Burmese majority race or as the Indian race. Therefore, there is no presence of Rohingya people in the British census records.

1.2.2 Second world war

The breach of harmony between the majority Burmese and minority Rohingya Muslims reached at its peak during the second world war. The Arakanese supported Japanese invasion during the war and actively joined their force and the Rohingyas on the other hand stayed loyal to the British (Ferguson 2018, 478; Steinberg 2013, 37; Milton et al. 2017, 942; Dussich 2018, 9; Howe 2018, 250). The majority Burmese nationalists associated with the Japanese Army as the Burmese nationals were seeking their independence from the British colonial rule. Japanese promised the Burmese nationals their independence and by 1942, the Japanese Army occupied most part of Burma (Ferguson 2018, 478).

Violent conflict broke out between the British supporting Rohingya Muslims and Japanese supporting Buddhist nationalists as well during the early years of second world war (Dussich 2018, 9). The Rohingya population became a target of both Burma Independent Army and Buddhist Rakhine who killed about 100000 Rohingya and additional 50,000 Rohingya fled towards East Bengal (Milton et al. 2017, 942). The violent experience of both parties worked as a sustained incentive of hatred between Rohingya Muslims and Rakhine Buddhists even after its independence (Dussich 2018, 9).

1.2.3 Independence of Myanmar

In 1947, the Union of Burma was founded at the Panglong Conference. The founding document stated that the “citizens of the Frontier Areas shall enjoy rights and privileges which are regarded as fundamental in democratic countries”, affirmed ethnic minorities to have the same rights and treatment as ethnic Burman citizens and granted “full autonomy in internal

administration for the Frontier Areas” thus ensuring all of the Burmese and non-Burmese nationalities the right of self-governance in their own autonomous national states. Soon after gaining independence from the British in 1948 (Kipgen 2014, 234-247), Burma passed the Union Citizenship Act defining which ethnicities could gain citizenship to resolve the longstanding internal conflict. The act considered all persons born on Burmese soil or those who had one parent is Burmese as citizens, but it excluded the Rohingya population.

Evidently, the historical experience of ethnic and religious conflict created severe distrust and impacted the decision making from the beginning of its independence in 1948. Myanmar enjoyed a short-lived parliamentary democratic system before the military took over power in 1962 (Howe 2018, 249-250). Ullah and Chatteraj (2018, 543) reports that the Rohingya and their ethnic identity was initially accepted the state in the 1950s. Sao Shwe Thaik from Shan⁵ ethnicity was the first president of independent Myanmar and he declared the Muslims of Arakan belongs to Burma. The Rohingya people were given citizenship as well as the right to vote. Furthermore, they could work in civil service and one of the official radio broadcasting called ‘The official Burma Broadcasting Service’ relayed a radio program in Rohingya language three times per week. Even the word ‘Rohingya’ used to use in textbooks and other journals until the late 1970s (Ullah and Chatteraj 2018, 543).

Once the military regime took over the power in 1962, the democratic institutions started to break down and the military regime started to use the ethnic and religious conflict as a tool to legitimize their existence. Successive military regimes from 1962 launched to fight against different ethnic militia groups along with general citizens in the name of state interest (Howe 2018, 249-250).

Since the 1960s the term ‘Rohingya’ started to replace by ‘Bengali’⁶ as the government referred them, immigrant. During the democratic parliament system before 1962, the then government led by Prime Minister U. Nu listed total of 144 ethnic groups in Myanmar. However, the military government led by General Ne Win kept only 135 ethnic groups which were officially recognized by the Burma Socialist Programme Party’s constitution in 1974. Ne Win’s

⁵ The Shan are a ethnic group of Southeast Asia. The Shan live primarily in the Shan State of Myanmar

⁶ Bengali refers to people from Bangladesh. Myanmar normally refers them as the immigrant from Chittagong region of Bangladesh.

government deliberately left out ‘Rohingya’ excluded from the officially recognized 135 national ethnic groups. Ne Win’s government argued that Myanmar’s citizenship law only recognizes people who were living in Myanmar and settled down before its independence (Ullah 2016, 286).

The 1982 Myanmar’s Citizenship Law further denied the recognition of the Rohingya people and their ethnicity. In spite of citizenship, they were given the status of “resident foreigner” as the Citizenship Law introduced three different citizenship categories named citizens, associate citizens, and naturalized citizens. Ullah (2016, 286) explains the sixth section of 1982 Law, “persons who were already citizens at the time the law came into force would continue to be so.” The law also explains that the ‘Associate’ citizenship will be applicable for those whose citizenship application was already being possessed and ‘Naturalized’ citizenship is applicable for those who are not an actual citizen but can provide proof of their living before the independence of the country.

Hence, the Rohingyas had a chance to obtain their citizenship under the law. However, the Rohingyas were reluctant for the documentation that could allow them to prove their qualification for citizenship. Although most of the Rohingyas did live in Rakhine, at least, from the British colonial era, they failed to prove their existence. As a result, their citizenship got denied by state. Therefore, the qualified citizens of Rohingya ethnicity under 1948 law were denied by the introduction of the new law (Ullah 2016, 286). Gravers and Ytzen (2014, 44-45) sees the constitution of Myanmar as a fundamental problem and reason for spreading of conflict. They argue that the constitution, “... drafted and brought into force under military dictatorship, fails to provide rights and autonomy for Burma’s ethnic groups” (2014, 44-45).

From the 1990s, the Rohingyas were only able to register as temporary residents with white identification cards that could only provide them a temporary recognition to stay in Myanmar (Ullah 2011, 139-161). These acts resulted in decades-long legal and social discrimination for the Rohingyas as reported by the UNHCR (2018):

The Rohingya have endured attacks on their cultural identity and legal nationality for decades and have been denied access to basic human rights such as education, health care or food. Forced into statelessness, even their freedom of movement within their country of origin has been severely restricted. (pp.8-9)

1.2.4 Forceful Displacement

In 1978, the military along with the immigration officials of Myanmar launched first of its many large scaled operations that they called Operation Dragon King or operation Nagamin. Parnini, Othman, and Ghazali (2013, 135) argue that the main objective of the operation was to destroy the Mujahid rebels who were fighting for an Islamic state in Northern Rakhine. The operation was an effort to screen out and register the Rohingya people who were assumed to violate the nationality law, even though they had been living there for generations. The operation resulted the killing of tens of thousands of people and over 200,000 people were forced to flee to Bangladesh (Parnini, Othman, and Ghazali 2013, 137; Ullah 2016, 287; Howe 2018, 247; Dussich 2018, 10; Kipgen 2014, 236).

The second wave of estimated 250,000 Rohingya refugees fled to Bangladesh in 1991 after the military initiated another harsh operation called Pyi Thaya in Northern Rakhine which also resulted in mass killing, torture, rape and forced labor (Parnini, Othman, and Ghazali 2013, 137; Dussich 2018, 11). The series of conflict and violence broke out again in 2012 when 10 Rohingyas were killed by a mob as a retaliation of raping and killing of one Rohingya Buddhist woman. This violence again led to the killing of hundreds of people, demolition of thousands of houses and forceful displacement of thousands of people (Kipgen 2014, 235-236).

In 2015, more than 150,000 Rohingya people from Myanmar escaped again towards the border of Bangladesh just prior to the first democratic election in Myanmar after a long military rule. In October 2016, the state media of Myanmar reported about 300 Rohingya militants to attack the border police in Rakhine state that killed 9 police officers. In response, the military started a crackdown operation that again led to fleeing of 87000 people to Bangladesh. One insurgent group called themselves as Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) claimed the responsibility of the attack (Dussich 2018, 11).

The latest conflict erupted after the ARSA's killing of 12 border officer in an attack in border post in Rakhine according to Myanmar's state media. The military responded immediately from 25th of August 2017 what they called as 'clearance operation' that led to the burning of houses, killing of people and a mass exodus of about one million Rohingya to nearby Cox's Bazar in Bangladesh (Dussich 2018, 11-12).

1.2.5 Response of Bangladesh

The GoB along with the support of the people and United Nations facilitated the Rohingya refugees hosting in Bangladesh from time to time. In 1978, more than 200,000 Rohingya refugees fled from Myanmar and entered into Bangladesh for the first time. Red Cross and Bangladeshi government started providing immediate supply of emergency relief then. Being overwhelmed, the government asked the United Nations for assistance and with UN's support, the government established thirteen camps near the Bangladesh-Myanmar border. The Bangladeshi government immediately initiated a discussion with Myanmar about repatriation and complained about the economic and social burden it had to endure because of the refugee's presence. The Bangladeshi government further insisted that they would not allow integration of refugees into the local community. With the support of the UN, Myanmar agreed to take back the refugees and Bangladeshi government facilitated the quick repatriation by allowing the camp condition worsened (Human Rights Watch 2000).

In 1991-91, more than 250,000 Rohingya refugees fled to Bangladesh from Myanmar again. This time, the government of Bangladesh established 20 camps in Bandarban⁷ and Cox's Bazar area to accommodate all the refugees. The camps were funded by UNHCR and supervised by the Bangladeshi government (Parnini, Othman, and Ghazali 2013, 137). The government of Bangladesh reaffirmed its position against providing any legal status of Rohingya refugees to Bangladesh and declared that the refugees have to repatriate. Therefore, the Bangladeshi government seeks a similar treaty like the earlier one of 1978 with the then ruling council of Myanmar in 1992. The repatriation, however, was questioned by Human Rights Watch because of its use of force for sending the refugees back to Myanmar (Human Rights Watch 2000). Nevertheless, the Bangladeshi government continuing the repatriation and officially the repatriation has not ended yet. There are still two remaining camps with 28,000 documented refugees living in those camps from 1991-92. The estimated unregistered refugees in Bangladesh, however, is 220,000 to 330,000 (Parnini, Othman, and Ghazali 2013, 137).

The latest exodus of refugee to Bangladesh started in August 2017, that led more than 700,000 Rohingya refugees to flee from Myanmar. The majority of those refugees were women and children. The UNHCR (2018, 7-9) described the action of the Myanmar security forces and the Buddhist militia as 'targeted violence' against the Rohingya. That exodus was described as the

⁷ Bandarban is another district of Bangladesh that share border with Myanmar.

fastest growing refugee crisis in the world. With the great support of the Bangladeshi people, the government of Bangladesh opened its borders for the Rohingya refugees and then led the humanitarian response. The humanitarian community also scaled up rapidly and initiated its activities of emergency relief. 25 new camps are being set up along with an expansion of the pre-existing camps and the local host community is also sharing their housing facilities. More than 56000 Rohingya refugees are given housing support by the local host and many camps have spread into the surrounding villages as well (UNHCR 2018, 7-9).

1.2.6 The Host Community

Cox's Bazar has always been the preferred destination as hosts for Rohingya refugees because of its geographic location. In addition, the Rohingya refugees have ethnic, linguistic and religious proximity with the people of Cox's Bazar.

The area of Cox's Bazar District is 2491.86 sq km. Cox's Bazar is bounded by Chittagong district on the north, the Bay of Bengal on the south, Bandarban district, Arakan (Myanmar) and the Naf river on the east, the Bay of Bengal on the west. Half of the Cox's Bazar is hilly region and the other half consist of the coastal islands. Since it is a coastal district, the area of Cox's Bazar often changes due to erosion resulting in the formation of islands. Administratively Cox's Bazar is further divided into seven Upazila. Those are Ukhia, Cox's Bazar Sadar, Kutubdia, Chakaria, Teknaf, Pekua, Maheshkhali and Ramu (Banglapedia 2014).

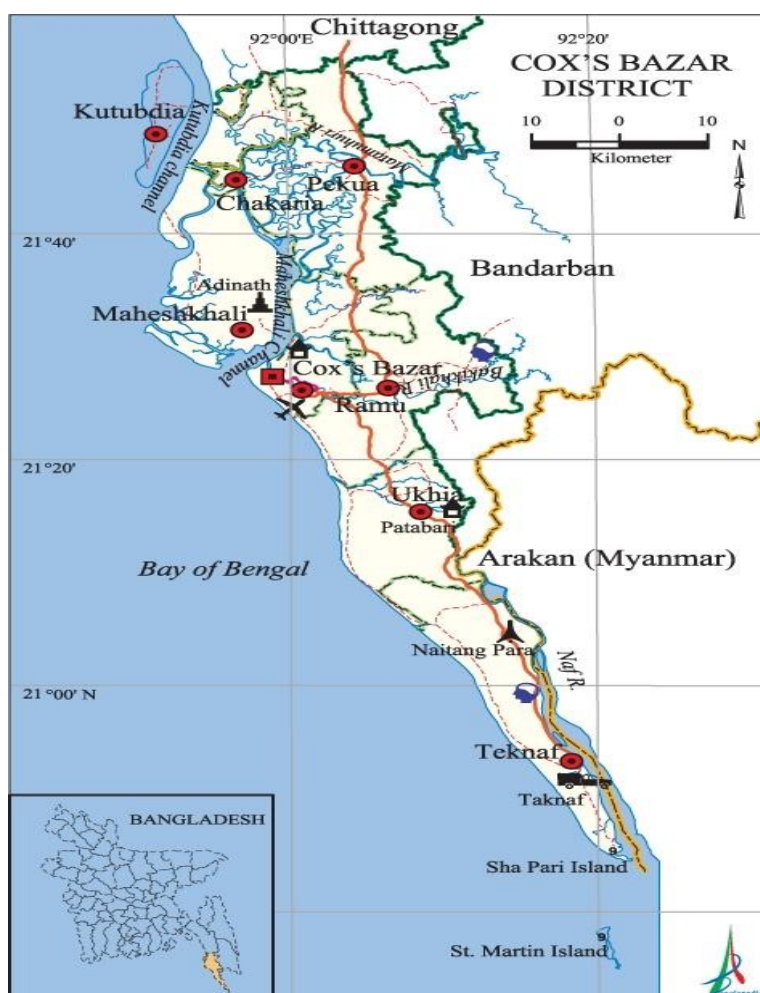


Fig 2: Cox's Bazar District

Source: <http://en.banglapedia.org> (Accessed: April 24, 2019)

At present, all the Rohingya refugee's camps are in Ukhia and Teknaf Upazila. The combined total area of Ukhia and Teknaf is 650.48 square kilometer. The total population of Ukhia and Teknaf is 355,794, whereas the total population of Cox's Bazar district is 1,773,709. The literacy rate of Ukhia and Teknaf is 28.8 and 24.04 percent respectively. Majority population is a follower of the Islamic religion. A religious minority of Hindu, Buddhist and Christian's presence is also there. Currently, more than double Rohingya refugees are living in Ukhia and Teknaf than its own population (Banglapedia 2014). The following map has identified the location of refugee camps in Ukhia and Teknaf.

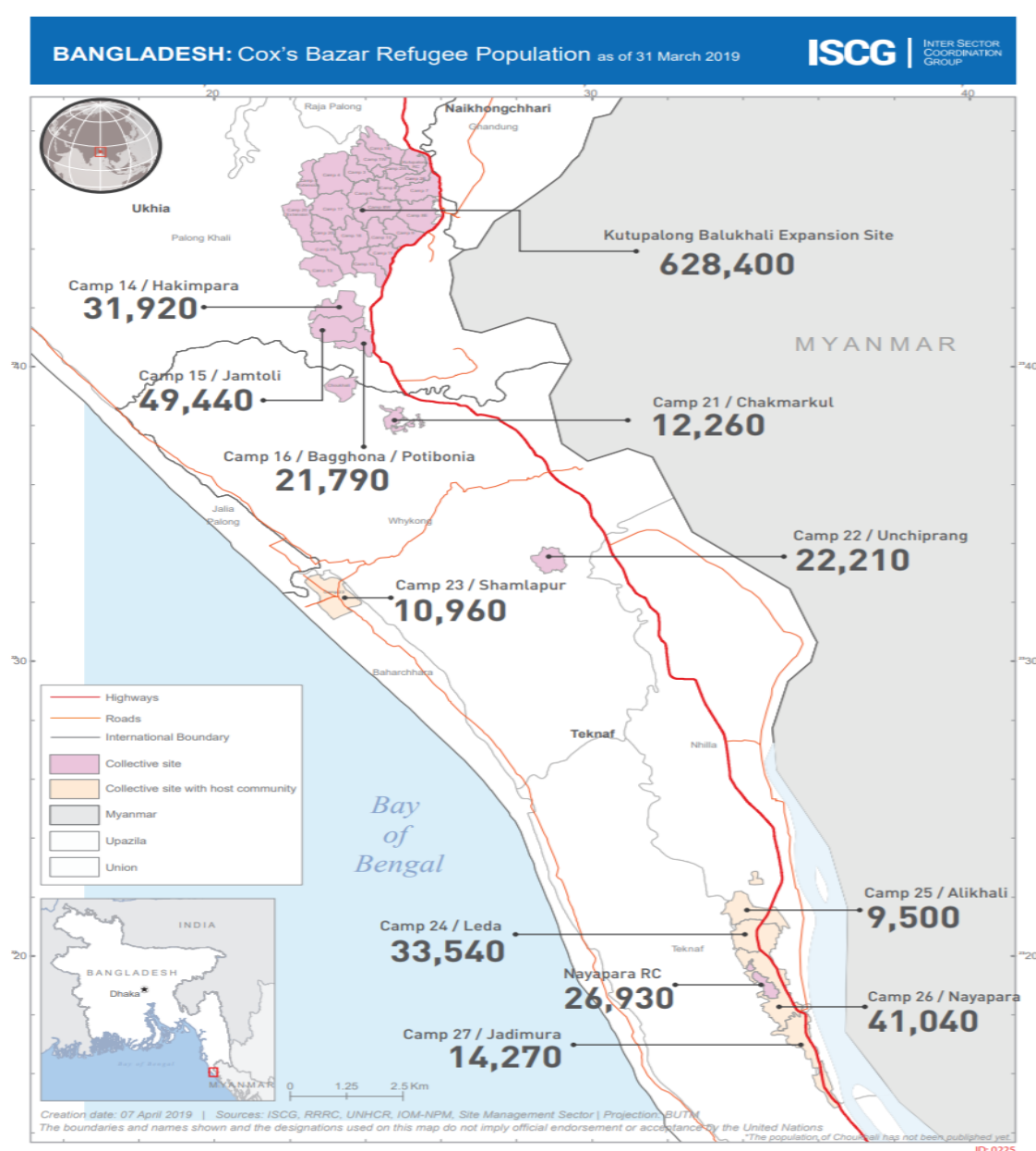


Fig 3: Rohingya Population in Cox's Bazar

Source: www.humanitarianresponse.info (Accessed: April 24, 2019)

As indicated in the map, Cox's Bazar is the southern most district of Bangladesh. Due to the presence of world's largest sea beach, Cox's Bazar is the most famous tourist destination of Bangladesh. Yet, most of the area of Cox's Bazar is rural areas. Most of the people are dependent on agriculture and literacy rate is considerably below than national average. Majority people are follower of Islamic religion and the society is very conservative. Mobile network is not well covered in all parts of Cox's Bazar, therefore, the internet service is quite poor. People speak a slightly different dialect in southern part of Bangladesh than the other region. Pace of life is still quite slow in rural part of Cox's Bazar including the refugee hosting areas in Ukhia and Teknaf.

2.0 Literature Review

The idea of the literature review is to analyze what is already known about the topic as well as identify the arguments of previous researchers to support or oppose any particular viewpoint of the study (Bryman 2012, 98). This chapter identifies the empirical studies of previous literature related to refugee studies and takes a closer look to the various existing debate on refugees, their origin and host countries, as well as the impact refugees, create upon their arrival in the local host community.

2.1 Migration

The definition of migration has been used vividly by different bodies. International Organization for Migration (IOM) is the main inter-governmental organization that works with all the governmental and non-governmental partners within the field of migration. IOM defines migration as

The movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition, and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification. (IOM 2011)

Migration itself is a phenomenon, whereas, the migrant is the main agent for migration. IOM (2011) has defined migrant as “... any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a State away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of the person’s legal status; whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; what the causes for the movement are; or (4) what the length of the stay is”.

The migration phenomenon can be explained by a neoclassical economic theory which hypothesizes supply and demand factor of human labor in the universal market and that is further explained by ‘push-pull factor’ (Triandafyllidou 2015, 26). In analyzing push pull and pull factor of migration, Triandafyllidou (2015, 26) mentioned about some other factors along with economic factor. The author identifies “[...] political oppression, poor living standards and low economic opportunities” (2015, 26) are central among the push factor, whereas, “... demand for labour, the opportunity for higher living standards and political freedom” (2015, 26) are principle reason for pull factor.

The voluntary and involuntary movements, however, have different implication in both sending country and in receiving countries. Majority of the voluntary migration is motivated by economic development (Arnold 2011, 1). Involuntary migration, on the other hand, is rather a form of forced migration. Forced migration is a type of human movement “... in which an element of coercion exists, including threats to life and livelihood, whether arising from natural or man-made causes” (IOM 2011).

2.2 Refugees

Involuntary migration often causes by the forceful displacement of people that results in Refugees as an outcome. Refugees in the migration study have emerged as one of the most important features due to its unprecedented growth in number. Mogire (2011, 13) define refugee “... is someone who has been compelled to abandon their home for a variety of reason, such as natural and human-induced disasters and economic deprivation”. The definition from the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the status of Refugees, however, is considered as the most accepted definition of refugees worldwide. The article 1 of the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and 1967 Protocol defines refugee as

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.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) complement the 1951 UN convention and put forward their own definition of a refugee. UNHCR defines:

A refugee is someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war or violence. A refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group. Most likely, they cannot return home or are afraid to do so. War and ethnic, tribal and religious violence are leading causes of refugees fleeing their countries.

A great number of refugee research has analyzed the security aspect associated with refugees presence in the host country. Byman et al. (2001) among others addressed the relations between the refugee migration and the rebellion that they argued often complement each other. The reasons that originate civil wars and forced people to migrate, that also help to continue the conflict. There are many examples of refugees that played a central part in insurgencies. Such as the formation of organizations like Taliban, Karen rebel group, and PLO. The writers also mentioned the Hutus and Tutsis from Rwanda and seek refuge to Burundi and Congo, eventually, they spread the conflict of Rwanda into those hosting countries as well. The book chapter mainly examined the Taliban case where Afghan refugees from Pakistan played a significant role in their movement.

Whitaker (2003) presented a linkage between refugees and the spread of conflict by studying two opposing cases in Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The research question of the article is a central part of the study where the author seeks to investigate if the movement of the forcefully displaced people originates conflict from their country of origin to their host country. The author further stressed his research question to investigate if the earlier claim of linkage between refugees and conflict is true, what conditions account for that phenomena. The Rwandan refugees who seek refuge in Congo in 1994 had a part in the spreading of war in Tanzania. Whereas, the Rwandan refugees who migrated to Tanzania played a peaceful role and did not initiate any conflict in the host country. The author has put forward several hypotheses after studying two cases and argue that the domestic politics of the host country is often ignored while analyzing these cases. Whitaker used data from his field work to study this cases and in conclusion, he explained that refugees do not bring conflict along with them, rather, the local political and other dynamics originate conflict in the host country.

Salehyan and Gleditsch (2006) explained how the internal conflict from one country often intensify the probability of originating conflict in other neighboring countries. The authors have identified the shortcoming of earlier literature where the literature did not explain how exactly this spillover reaction takes place. The article claimed to unfold the cause of conflict that contributes to the spillover effect in conflict and mention the role of refugees who migrate from one country to another as an important ingredient. The vast majority of the refugees remain unengaged with any kind of conflict, however, some refugees create rebel network and influence the violence in their country of origin as well as in their host country. The refugees contribute by providing arms, soldier, conflict favoring ideologies, and also by changing

demography. Furthermore, the refugees increase the competition in the economy that in effect increase the probability of originating conflict. The authors have analyzed data from Uppsala/PRIO conflict data set and the population data unit of the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) for this research. Their results also support their claim and suggest that along with some other effects, the movement of refugees as well can increase the chance of intrastate conflict.

A broader perspective has been adopted by Fisk (2018) who have effectively challenged the existing notion of security threat that refugees pose to the host country and also to their sending country. He argues that previous literature on conflict research supports the conventional view of the state-centric security concept. The study, however, examined the "... human security framework ..." (2018) that focuses individual to study the refugee's security issues they face while living in their host country. According to the study, the number of forcefully displaced people has a close link with the recurrence of conflict in a certain area. Fisk argues that embracing the human security framework in place of state focused security framework would reduce the threat of attack on a larger group of refugees. The study result predicted that a large number of refugee settlement would suffer more violence by the belligerents.

Many other refugee research, however, focused very different features related to refugees. Humanitarian aid is widely accepted as a pivotal component of any refugee response. Harrell-Bonds (1986) 'Imposing Aid' is the first most comprehensive study of humanitarian aid to Sudan. The writer alone studied the entire humanitarian aid operation for Ugandan refugees in Sudan from the planning phase to the delivery phase and analyzed the impact of that aid as well. Harrell-Bond has questioned the role of humanitarian aid organizations at a time when those organizations were otherwise enjoying total impunity from any kind of criticism regarding their work ethics. The book dealt with the settlement of refugees in the host country and analyzed the role of humanitarian aid organizations in doing so.

Mutongu (2017) examined the difficulties of humanitarian response associated with refugees in Africa. He presents the definition of 'Refugee' based on the 1951 UN convention relating to the status of refugees which is also expanded by the Organization of African Unity to adopt the African reality within the definition. The author briefly explains the dependency of refugees on international aid and also unfold the economic and security impact of refugees on the host community. Before concluding, the article also reflects the role of the United Nations and its

effect in refugee and host community management. The author concludes by urging to find out the root causes of conflict that driving the people to other countries for providing a better response to that conflict.

Thus far, several previous studies have explored the impact of refugees on the host community. Chamber (1986) was among the very first writers who focused host communities in refugee research. The earlier literature in refugee studies, as well as humanitarian relief organizations, only focused on refugees as their primary concern. Moreover, while analyzing the impacts in earlier researches, the focus had been given to host country governments and on overall economy. The class dynamics that interplay differential impacts among the local host communities have always been overlooked in previous literature. Chamber correctly identified the biases of refugee studies centered on refugees only. The author challenged the pre-existing notion of identifying host community as a singular entity in studying impacts of refugees on them and explained how different groups of host communities affected differently with the arrival of a large number of refugees in their community. Chamber analyzed both benefits and costs that the poorer hosts endure during the presence of refugees in their rural locality. In analyzing the benefits and cost of hosts, the author used five dimensions: a) food, b) land, labor, and wages, c) services, d) common property resources and e) economic development.

Alix-Garcia and Saah (2010) analyzed the effect of a large number of refugees from Burundi and Rwanda to Tanzania. The authors examined the price increase of food product and nonfood product in host community markets due to the arrival of refugees. The authors argued that a large number of refugees arrival bring aid along with them and both refugees and aid have an effect on the market due to demand and supply of the product. The increase of population after refugees arrival increase the demand as well as the price for products, whereas, relief aid increases the availability of certain products in the market that reduces the demand and price. The article concluded with the assumption that the large number of refugee escalation influences the increase of the price of goods.

Jaji (2014) presented two specific arguments in his article on religious and ethnic politics in refugee-hosting. First, the author challenges the widespread notion of refugee-hosting under the legal instrument of the 1951 Geneva Convention and the 1969 African Union Convention that the refugee-hosting is not political and it is fully humanitarian. The author examined the Somali refugee's case in Kenya and argued that hosting of refugees is political which is often formed by the refugees understanding of conflict they run from and the apprehended political

association for the host country. Second, the article also argued that the Somali refugees have the capability to refute the general presentation of refugees as a victim and involve in repelling the existing "... stereotypes that enable them to de-legitimize host country stereotypes and negotiate their problematic religious and ethnic affiliations" (Jaji 2014, 635). The author has used ethnographic research for this study. He has used participant observation, in-depth interview, and focus group discussion to collect data for this research.

Ruist (2015) examined the fiscal cost of refugee immigration considering the case of Sweden during the recent exodus of refugees to Europe in 2015. The article studied the apprehension of the impact that would fall on various welfare sectors negatively with the arrival of more refugees in Sweden. Ruist has investigated the refugee population, their origin, types of assistance they receive from the state and compared their use of social benefit with other groups of people in Sweden. The author has used quantitative method and data to report the refugee's contribution in the revenue generation is minimum. In case of using social assistance, refugees are the highest recipient, however, social assistance budget is much lower than the budget of pension. Only a very small portion of refugees receive pension benefit, therefore, the actual cost on refugees are often exaggerated. Although the cost on refugees is presented in the article, the author argued that the fiscal impact of refugee immigrant has not significantly changed compared to previous years with the sudden arrival of more refugees in 2015.

While Chamber (1986), Alix-Garcia and Saah (2010), Jaji (2014) and Ruist (2015) focuses costs that host country and community had to embrace, Jacobsen (2002) advocated the state building process of the refugees host country with the help of refugees. His focus was on the resources that refugees bring to the host country regardless of the fact that refugees also pose a different kind of economic, security and environmental threat to their host country. In support of his claim, Jacobsen (2002) brought up international aid assistance, human capital and economic asset that refugees bring to host community along with them. Relief aid, transportation, and vehicle, employment for local people, labor and remittance are some of the resources that refugees add to the host community. The protracted nature of the refugee situation keeps flowing resources to a host country for a longer period of time. Along with that, the refugee issue brings media attention of local host areas to a national and international level which the author considers as a political resource of refugees. The author argues that these resources of refugees act as an important part of the state building of the host country.

Much of the available literature on the impact of refugees on host community deals with the question of the material impact associated with host people. However, Mbakem (2017) is much more concerned with the environmental impacts of refugee-hosting that also have a severe consequence. Mbakem investigated the impacts in the environmental and socioeconomic sphere between the local host communities of Congo and forcibly displaced people. The article emphasized to uncover the hostile relationship between refugees and local host communities living in Congo. Make used a mixed method that involved questionnaire, in-depth interview and field notes, video footage and photographs while investigating the study. After investigation, the author presented that the ongoing continuous political violence in the host country, as well as the uncertainty of livelihood resources, led intensification of bitterness towards forcibly displaced people, even though, they did have certain input in achieving some community projects. Mbakem offered an in-depth understanding of the interdependent relationship between livelihood resources and environmental sustainability. Although refugees initiatives in the livelihood sector is very sustainable and environmentally friendly, often those initiatives are wrongly interpreted and overlooked. For a better outcome, the article suggested that a sustainable environment would be key in the host and refugee relationship

Up to now, it has been demonstrated in the number of previous researches that refugees impact in several factors that are associated with the local host community. Those impacts include food, labor, and wage, common resources, economy, security, development and environment. Numerous studies (For example, Alix-Garcia and Saah 2010; UNHCR 1996; Martin 2005; Porter et al. 2008; Ruist 2015; Taylor et al. 2016; Chambers 1986; Mogire 2011) have explained those impacts.

2.2.1 Food

Food plays one of the most important roles in the refugee-hosting event. In the initial period of a large number of refugees arriving, refugees usually consume food from the local supply. A big number of refugees demand a large amount of food supply. The high demand for food products creates a shortage of supply and as a result, the price goes high. Higher price effect most to the vulnerable groups of people from the local community as well. On the other hand, the higher price benefits that local businessman and owners who have additional supplies of food (Chambers 1986, 249). Porter et al. (2008, 237) further reconfirmed about the difficulties

of managing livelihood because of the additional food price in the absence of relief aid to refugees.

The effect, however, can also be different when the relief food product come in assistance to refugees. When the relief products come plentifully, the demand for local food product reduces as well as the price of local food goes down. The local poor people can benefit from the situation as Chamber (1986, 250) argues that the impact of refugees can vary on food and it's highly situational. Mogire (2011, 75) on the other hand, argue that sometimes local people consider themselves as an equally eligible recipient of aid along with the refugees. That consideration can lead to origin a sense of tension between refugees and local people.

2.2.2 Labor and wages

In most cases, refugees offer labor in very cheap wages than the regular wage in the host country (Porter et al. 2008, 237; Whitaker 2008, 248; Chambers 1986, 250). Porter et al. (2008, 237) report that only one-tenth of refugees of a camp in Ghana are were working in the service sector and other informal economic activities. Two tenth population were dependent on remittance from their family members of other countries. Both positive and negative impacts can be identified on poorer hosts due to availability of cheap labor by refugees. Where the amount of land is plentiful, refugees labor support benefits the local hosts at least temporarily as those refugees help the hosts to grow more products. On the other hand, the poorer host who is labor themselves find more competition in their job market and forced to lower their wage to survive (Chambers 1986, 250-251).

2.2.3 Common Resources

Some research has also assessed the perception by host communities of the refugees. The host community might have a perception of injustice due to the distribution of resources (Milner 2000; Dako-Gyeke and Adu 2017, 96-112). Sometimes refugees are considered as the privileged group among the host communities when the resources are scarce in the local community, as refugees receive aid for their daily lives. (Steputat 2004; Milner 2000; Dako-Gyeke and Adu 2017, 96-112). The scarce resource in the local host community leads to competition between refugees and local people and that competition specifically impact negatively to the poorer group of the local community (Chamber 1986, 253-254; Dako-Gyeke

and Adu 2017, 103). Poorer people often dependent on the common resources for their livelihood and once those resources are shared with refugees, they require more effort for managing their livelihood. Porter et al. (2008, 237) further supplemented that refugees face an identical obstacle in managing livelihood when they do not get relief aid support.

2.2.4 Economy

A great number of studies has been done on the impacts and effects of refugees on host communities. These studies have commonly involved economic outcomes as accepting refugees has both positive and negative economic outcomes (Jacobsen 2002, 580-586; Mutongu 2017, 326-333; Betts, Omata, and Bloom 2017, 716-743; Mogire 2011, 74). On the positive side, refugees bring a heavy flow of resources to the host country in the form of international humanitarian assistance. Refugee camp areas also develop through communication and infrastructure development. To maintain the smooth flow of aid, communication systems are developed and other infrastructures are built to benefit the relief work. The refugees themselves also bring human capital in the form of labor and skills. Remittance flow is another form of positive economic activity in the host community. New jobs are created in the host community in international aid organizations and also a new school, hospital, and housing facilities are contractor acted which would not be possible otherwise (Jacobsen 2002, 580-586). Local wholesale businessmen can benefit from a newly arrived large number of refugee customer groups (Mogire 2011, 74). However, there are negative economic outcomes as well with the excessive arrival of refugees in any host communities. The host community fears of needing extra pressure on resources. Environmental degradation and the availability of cheap labor heavily affect the poorer groups among host communities (Porter et al. 2008, 230-252). Refugees also sell their relief aid in a very cheap price which negatively affects the local small retailer businessmen as they cannot compete with refugees who have less spending in terms of paying taxes or rents (Mogire 2011, 74).

2.2.5 Security

Security concerns are another big debate in hosting refugees and host communities often raise their suspicion about the possible breach of domestic security due to the engagement of refugees in different illegal activities. Many carry illegal firearms and get involved with crimes (Jacobsen 2002, 586; Mutongu 2017, 329; Dako-Gyeke and Adu 2017, 96-112). Refugees

sometimes involve direct conflict with the local people by abandoning the local law and order and constitute a direct threat to local people (Mogire 2011, 69). This happens more when the refugee state remains for a longer period of time; which is often likely to happen. Worldwide refugee state has grown a trend to be protracted. Refugees are forced to live in a host country far longer than the initial expectation (Betts, Omata, and Bloom 2017, 716-743; Dako-Gyeke and Adu 2017, 96-112).

Mogire (2011, 71-77) offers six factors to explain the conflict that bring the security debate between refugees and the local host community. First, the competition between refugees and local host over resources including land water and firewood. In the absence of the scarcity of the resources, the relation can be even positive between these two groups. Secondly, misuse of the environment by refugees such as deforestation and pollution cause conflict between refugees and host communities. Thirdly, the fierce competition over resources and opportunities is an important source of conflict. Fourthly, when refugees involve in the internal conflict of the host country and take an e side in that conflict. The fifth source is the local people's perceives injustice about the aid support what refugees get from the different international organization and local people considers them equally worthy candidates of getting similar aid. The last source of conflict is the misunderstanding about each other's cultural difference between local people and refugees.

2.2.6 Development

The abrupt arrival of refugees in the early 1990s in Tanzania brought numbers of aid organizations and workers as well. The immediate existence of refugees, aid workers and organizations both benefited and cost to the local host communities (Whitaker 2008, 248). The early impact of a mass exodus of refugees and aid workers are negative of local hosts as they are not the primary concern at that time. However, after the initial phase, the local hosts started getting some benefits in the means of nonfood aid such as infrastructure development in the sectors of health, roads, and water (Jacobsen 2002, 581; Whitaker 2008, 248)

2.2.7 Environment

Large refugee influx put a significant negative impact on the environment and other natural resources (UNHCR 1996; Martin 2005, 332). The newly arrived refugees require a big amount

of resources in the form of lands, woods, waters, and firewood for creating their camps and initial living. The UNHCR (1996, 5) presents some impacts on environment by refugees and those are: a) degradation of natural resources, b) irreversible damages on the environment, c) health impact, d) effect on the social situation, e) social impact on host population and f) economic impacts. UNHCR explains that the environmental impacts also affect other social and economic impacts as well and often local population gets affected equally with refugees. The most popular debate about the refugee's role in environmental degradation is the number of refugees. The sudden increase of population necessitate cutting of wood for housing construction and cooking fuel in large numbers and that as a result creates deforestation (Martin 2005, 332; Mogire 2011, 71-72).

Much of the previous research on refugees impacts on local host community has been exploratory in nature. The vast majority of the refugee researches have been qualitative. Many researchers relied on field works (for example, Porter et al. 2008, 230-252; Mogire 2011; Harrell-Bond 1986; Chambers 1986, 245-263). Data collection from field works included ethnographic field notes, in-depth interview and focus group discussion. However, some researchers have used quantitative research method as well in investigating the impacts of refugees on host community (for example Ruist 2015, 567-581; Taylor et al. 2016, 7449-7453).

3. Methodology

This chapter explains the approach I have employed to collect data and analyze them for this study. I have employed ethnographic observation as the principle method for data collection. The access in the field areas, detailed process of data collection, ethical consideration as well as personal biases of the researcher and limitations of the study is covered in this chapter.

3.1 Ethnography

In the literal sense, the term “ethnography” means “ ‘writing’ about the culture of a group of people in their particularity”(Rose 2016, 110). Indeed, in the early, the term ethnography was connected with the discipline of anthropology. However, the method is now used in qualitative research across various discipline.

Ethnography is usually used as a methodology where researchers immerse themselves within the society and culture to study them for an extended period of time. (Eriksson and Kovalainen 2019, 138; Herbert 2000, 551). Ethnography can be used both as a method and also as an outcome to the research (Rose 2016, 110). In this study, ethnography refers to the method for this research.

In Peace and Conflict research, Ethnography as a method has been used widely “for understanding dynamics of conflict and peace, and the processes of transition between the two” (Millar and Millar 2018, 1-5).

Many previous studies related to refugees and hosts have employed a qualitative research design. For example, Porter et al. (2008, 230-252) employed focus group discussion, participant observation and ethnographic diary in their article “Linkages between Livelihood Opportunities and Refugee–host Relations: Learning from the Experiences of Liberian Camp-Based Refugees in Ghana”. For their part, Dako-Gyeke and Adu (2017, 96-112) in researching the Challenges and coping strategies of the Liberian residual refugees also used focus group discussion as well as in-depth interviews as the data collection strategy.

One of the main reasons I chose this method was the understanding of society and culture I already possessed about Bangladesh. In order to collect better data in ethnography, the researcher needs to immerse themselves with society. The more understanding the researcher

has the better data they can collect. As I am a Bangladeshi citizen and I have spent almost all of my life in Bangladesh, I already had profound knowledge and understanding of Bangladeshi society. Furthermore, my previous engagement in different organizations in different capacities during my undergraduate studies also helped me to be in touch with a varied network of NGO and INGO workers, which has also helped me to establish my initial contacts in field areas.

3.2 Data

The data I collected was the primary data. As I have employed ethnography as my method of data collection, I started communicating with possible contacts well before my intended field visit schedule. My initial plan was to visit the field area in the middle of December. However, one thing I did not take into account during my initial planning was the Bangladesh national election. Bangladesh National Election was scheduled to be in 25th of December 2018 which was unknown during my research plan. Electoral violence in Bangladesh is very common, and the Bangladeshi Government asked everyone who are not permanent resident of Cox's Bazar region to leave the area during national election including the international aid workers. The law enforcement agencies were busy with maintaining electoral security issues and for that the mobile network was of during election days. As a result, I rescheduled my visit and went to Bangladesh at the beginning of December. In total, I have spent 22 days in the field within December 2018 and January 2019.

“The idea behind qualitative research is to purposefully select participants or sites (or documents or visual material) that will best help the researcher understand the problem and the research question” (Creswell 2014, 209). I was very open in choosing the field areas. I did not predetermine any areas for collecting the data. I decided to keep the options open and let things direct me according to their own progress. When I started communicating with people from Teknaf locality, I asked them to suggest me areas where I would obtain more detail information. One government official suggested me to visit a local college to know more about the engagement of local students in NGOs and INGOs. Another local businessman suggested visiting all the local hotels and restaurants to gather data about how Rohingya children are given jobs with less salary. This approach has helped me to understand the different dynamics of the impacts of the local community after the arrival of the Rohingya refugees.



Fig 4: Rohingya Camps in Kutupalong, Ukhiya, Cox's Bazar (Photo taken during the field visit)

Previously I had data collection experience of two different settings in Bangladesh. Even though the research topic and data collection method were different, those experiences have helped greatly in my data collection. One example would be the decision of not taking notes immediately in the field. Bryman (2016, 448) explains that “It can be very useful to take your notes down straight away—that is, as soon as something interesting happens. However, wandering around with a notebook and pencil in hand and scribbling notes down on a continuous basis runs the risk of making people self-conscious” (Bryman 2016, 448). Strategies for taking field notes varies and ethnographers tend to focus more on observing events towards their research focus. Ethnographers use various types of equipment for taking field notes, for example, notepad and pen, voice recorder and camera (Bryman 2016, 448). In my previous experience, I have seen that people don't feel comfortable to talk once they see that their words are documented in front of them. Some people proactively mentioned that they do not want their interview or their comment on any issues to be recorded, even though I was not going to do so. However, they consented to my use of those data without mentioning their names afterward.

The ability to build trust with the local people is often the key to success in field research. (Sriram and others 2009, 3; Jenkins 2018, 148). Trust became another sensitive issue in my fieldwork. Bangladeshi people like to talk. This is in their culture, therefore, it is much easier to build trust with people by means of verbal communication, in order to avoid any suspicion. Recording or documenting while communicating often considered suspicious and also a violation of trust. Therefore, I avoided recording or documenting notes in the field altogether. Rather, I took very brief notes on my phone when I found something very important or something which I felt, I might forget later on. This strategy very much helped me to collect data. People in Bangladesh are usually welcoming to strangers and initiate small talk on their own. A similar tendency is also observed in some other cultures as well where human contacts are vital. (Sriram and others 2009, 4)

Therefore, it is not difficult to communicate with local people if the strategy is known. I tried to employ this strategy as much as possible. I initiated conversations with different kinds of people from passers-by to government officials. In most cases, the conversation turned into some valuable data related to my study. Initially, I was hesitant to do so, however, with time I felt more confident with this strategy.



Fig 5: Local people in Teknaf taking advantage of local community clinic that is established after refugees arrival (Children's faces are hidden from the picture)

There are different steps of taking field notes in the ethnographic method. Bryman (2016, 450) explains mental notes and jotted notes as techniques for taking field notes. Mental notes are very helpful when people do not want to see the research taking notes. Jotted notes, on the other hand, consist of writing very brief notes in notebooks that would be elaborated later on and would be used to remember the full details. Full field notes are the main data source of this research, which is detailed in nature. I have written the full field note by the end of the day or as soon as possible. Employing these steps were very effective in my data collection.

During the data collection, I have travelled different areas of Teknaf and Ukhia to meet local people and engaging in conversation with them. I have talked with almost everyone I came across during my field visit in Cox's Bazar about the issues they are facing after the arrival of the Rohingya refugees in their locality. Although my role during the field visit was as a researcher, I have enjoyed the benefit of doing research in already familiar surroundings. I have talked with people like rickshaw puller while traveling from one place to another, the seller in tea stall while ordering tea, barber while having a haircut, co-passengers while taking local transportations and I/NGO workers while playing cards in the evening. My Bangladeshi identity has played an important role in employing a strategy which would otherwise not be possible for a researcher who is not familiar with the local culture and people.

After talking with various groups of people for the first week, some topic started to keep emerging in many conversations. Another phenomenon I have started to observe is a different group of people was talking about a different perspective. Drivers and passengers were mostly concerned with the security check posts on the road, whereas, many other jobholders were more concerned about the increase in house rent. After the first week of my data collection, I was noting down the repeating points that kept emerging during my everyday encounter with local people. After completing my fieldwork, I have reassessed and re-organized the data several times that I have collected in the form of field notes and separated those data into different repeating points. At this point, some large themes emerged as impacts that the local people are experiencing in Cox's Bazar. Those themes are explained in the following chapter.

3.3 Access and Data Collection

Before starting fieldwork in a complex setting, using local contacts is essential for many studies (Jenkins 2018, 146). Researchers from outside usually face much greater challenges in building

trust with the local community as well as in gaining access to the field than someone from the local community (Jenkins 2018, 148). This is also true for people of the same country but from a different locality. Although Cox's Bazar is the most common tourist destination in Bangladesh and people from different areas usually visit there, as I have done, this does not mean that casual visitor has sufficient knowledge and understanding about the different local dynamics. Therefore, Before traveling to Cox's Bazar field area, I communicated with everyone I knew from Cox's Bazar area.

Fortunately, I found a friend who was working in Teknaf⁸, an Upazila of Cox's Bazar District, and thus would be able to introduce me to the local community to help me build my initial rapport with them. I contacted that friend in October about the possibility of conducting my study in that area. He described the situation of the Host community from his point of view and informed me that he was also working with Host Community's primary health. He asked me about my plan and suggested how to execute those smoothly. He also offered me accommodation well in advance in Teknaf. Therefore, I finalized my plan and decided to visit the field in early December.

I went to Bangladesh at the beginning of December 2018 and started communicating with my field contact person immediately. He suggested Me to apply for official permission from the local officials to work for my study. The fact is that Researchers when doing ethnographic research in difficult settings can be viewed as spies and that has happened with a great number of anthropologists (Nordstrom and Robben, Antonius C. G. M. 1995, 283; Jenkins 2018, 149). As I naturally did not want to raise any kind of suspicion during my fieldwork, I started to communicate in all the channels I knew to find a suitable contact who would be helpful for obtaining a legal permit to collect the data in the Cox's Bazar district. A friend from my previous university in Bangladesh informed me that one of our university alumni was working in the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh Office of the Refugee Relief & Repatriation Commissioner (RRRC), Cox's Bazar. I also knew him as he lived in the same student housing where I lived as well during our study in University of Dhaka, Bangladesh. I also contacted some of the NGO/INGO workers who were working in Cox's Bazar on

⁸ Bangladesh has 64 administrative district and Cox's Bazar is one of them. Every district is further consist of some Upazila for providing better administrative services to people. Teknaf is a Upazila of Cox's Bazar.

Rohingya related issues. Some of them agreed to meet with me and provided me with practical information on Cox's Bazar and Rohingya camps.

After establishing initial contacts, I went to the field. Initially, I went directly to Teknaf, where my primary contact, as well as my friend, welcomed me. I spent some times in understanding the local way of life in Teknaf and also in gathering practical information about Cox's Bazar, Ukhia and Teknaf. Before starting the data collection in full earnest, I wanted to make sure that I would have legal permission to work in Cox's Bazar. Therefore, I set up a meeting with the RRRC official I knew from my university alumni. This was vital as researchers have emphasized the importance of having someone from inside who makes the data collection process much easier. Some insiders even vouch for the researcher and the researcher's work (Jacobs 2019, 159). This was exactly the case for me as well.

The RRRC official not only helped me apply for my legal permission for data collection but also he called his superior officials in person to inform about me and my study well in advance so that I can take their interviews and also seek support in case I got into any trouble while visiting the field areas. In addition, he called four of his fellow colleagues to arrange a refugee camp visit for me. Finally, he found someone who agreed to take me to the camp along with her in an official vehicle. As people's perception is that a friend of a friend is someone they can trust (Sixsmith, Boneham, and Goldring 2003, 584), this initial introduction opened a great number of new data sources by gaining reliability and trust among the respondents in the camp areas.

Although local contacts can open up new possibilities and scope in data collection, it also can close down some other possibilities as well (Jenkins 2018, 151). My initial contacts through the RRRC official was extremely helpful, however, there were some downsides of this as well. His understanding of my research fieldwork was different than my actual intended field work. My thesis topic required more data from the local host community to answer my research question. However, my contact from the RRRC suggested spending more time in camp areas and arranged a few other contact persons in the camps and also in the RRRC office. Though I think his intention was well-meant, I did some reflection on my overall aim of the thesis and finally decided to focus more on the host community.

Bryman (2016, 151) warns about the role of gatekeepers and their possible influence in selecting field areas. He states that, "access is usually mediated by gatekeepers, who are

concerned about the researcher's motives: what the organization can gain from the investigation, what it will lose by participating in the research in terms of staff time and other costs, and potential risks to its image" (2016, 151). My selection of location during my data collection was not free of influence from gatekeepers. The reason I chose to stay in Teknaf was based on the suggestions from the friend I knew. Although I tried to select the field areas mostly based on the suggestions I received from respondents I met during the initial period of my field visit, many of the initial respondents were accessed with the help of the gatekeepers. Therefore, the influence of gatekeepers in my data collection is worthy of mention.

The sample size for qualitative research design depends on the specific design chosen for the study. Even though there is no clear answer for the appropriate number of sites or participants one needs to study, Cresswell (2014, 209) suggests two approaches for qualitative research. In the first one, the researcher needs to study 'numerous' interviews, observations and case studies if the method is ethnography. In another approach, the researcher should stop collecting data when the data does not provide any new information about the phenomena. Knowing when to put an end to ethnographic research is not easy. The research can be ended for various practical reasons, such as career, personal or family life (Bryman 2016, 452). It can be a student submission deadline, expiry of funds, or illness. As an international student of a Finnish university, I had a time limit to complete my master's thesis. The Bangladesh national elections also forced me to cut short my fieldwork somewhat. Therefore, my data collection method was more micro-ethnography in nature.

3.4 Ethics and Researcher Biases

During the data collection of qualitative research, it is significantly important for the researcher that they are well aware of the ethical principles throughout the full course of the study. The Beliefs, norms, and behaviors of a particular culture studied come into effect along with the participants during the data collection from the field. People from many cultures are unaware of the norms and rights of participating in research and their rights have to be respected (Mertens 2018, 33).

One of the most important issues in ethnography is to ensure that the people involved with the data collection process do not get hurt (Buscatto 2018, 340). In the ethnographic method, ethical responsibility is similar to other qualitative research methods which involve fieldwork.

Present ethical guidelines urge ensuring a safeguard for both the researcher and the people involved with the study in the field. The safety and security of both the researcher and others involved in the field area have to be ensured (Jenkins 2018, 154). The possible solution of ensuring the safeguard of people is ensuring absolute anonymity not only by removing or changing their personal information but also by ensuring that any individual cannot be traced after publishing the research (Buscatto 2018, 340). I have ensured total anonymity during my data collection. I have not written the actual names of any respondents even in my field notes. Furthermore, I have deleted all the contacts from my cell phone which I saved during the field work.

Another important ethical issue is agreeing on consent before collecting data. However, in ethnography one important question remain regarding agreeing on consent while observing people. Buscatto (2018, 340) stated that agreeing consent during the observation is difficult to do. He clarified that informed consent has to agree with people in case they are being observed on a regular basis. However, for occasional observation in outdoor locations, informed consent may not be required. I tried to take informed consent whenever I talked with a respondent from the field. However, I could not ensure informed consent from certain people especially when they were involved for a very short period of time. For example, I was using local transport to go to Cox's Bazar from Teknaf, and during a regular security check by police one passenger expressed his dissatisfaction about the security checkup for local people. He got off the vehicle almost immediately after that incident and it was not possible for me to take his consent to use the information as data for my study. In other cases, when I was able to talk to people where I had the time to explain my reason for collecting data, I made sure that they were well informed and consented to my use of the information I collected from them.

The positionality of the researcher is another very important aspect of the whole research process. Social researchers have to conduct the research investigation without compromising the ethical principles throughout the whole research process to avoid any possible biases. (Bryman 2016, 149-150). As a Bangladeshi citizen, working on this topic has brought both positive and negative ethical implications. On the positive side, I knew society and culture very well. I was born and spent a considerable amount of time in rural areas of Bangladesh. In addition, I have previously worked in data collection in some other rural parts of Bangladesh on some sensitive topic. Therefore, I knew how to start and continue a conversation with an unknown person in Bangladesh. I did not have to face a language barrier and I could gain the trust of the respondents ranging from local people and NGO workers to government officials.

I could establish initial contacts very easily using my personal networks in the field area. I also enjoyed the benefit of knowing all the practical issues related to transport, accommodation, and food. More importantly, I knew what not to ask people and what the things that need to be avoided.

On the negative side, my personal belief and possible biases were the significant risks in studying the topic. Being a citizen of Bangladesh, studying the impacts of Rohingya refugee on the host community poses a serious concern with regard to my personal biases which have significant implications in collecting, analyzing and presenting the data. In order to avoid our personal biases, we have to reflect our approach continuously. Jenkins (2018, 145) particularly emphasized a reflexive approach to avoid the trap of personal biases. He stated that,

We must interrogate the realities of how our knowledge has been produced, who has been involved in its construction, in what ways, how this affects the stories we tell in our writing, and what ethical and methodological implications it might have for carrying out field research in difficult or dangerous settings. Scholars have been increasingly concerned with the importance of researcher positionality and subjectivity in the construction of ethnographic knowledge, recognizing that the researcher's presence, identity, and emotionality can influence the story that is told. They must be considered in a reflexive approach. (Jenkins 2018, 145)

Throughout the whole research process, I have been very careful about the possible biases I might bring into the study. One of the best ways to avoid personal biases in qualitative research is to reflect on the study and methods to conduct the study time and again. The issue of personal biases becomes more important during field work when the researcher is in a sensitive setting. In order to avoid my personal biases, I have reflected on my progress on a continuous basis from the very beginning of my study. I have tried to reach people from economic classes, different institutions, and locations. Nevertheless, my gender identity limited my access to women from the community significantly because of the cultural and religious norms of Bangladesh. Women are predominantly working in their households whereas the male members of the family take the responsibility of earning for their living. Although I tried to communicate with women as much as possible, most of the participants, however, were men.

3.5 Limitations of the study

The limitations of any research are well understood after completing the study. This study has some limitations as well. Firstly, the impacts this study have identified among the hosts after the arrival of Rohingya refugees may not reflect similarly in all areas of Cox's Bazar. The data collected for the study predominantly covered Teknaf and Ukhia area only.

Besides, the impacts analyzed in this study was focused on the refugees those arrived after August 2017. The data was collected for the study from December 2018 to January 2019. Therefore, the findings represent only the rudimentary impacts that the locals face due to a large number of refugees presence. However, the long term effect of a large number of refugees presence might be different than the immediate impacts. Considering the study design and schedule, this study has explored the available data that I could gather during my fieldwork.

The methodology of this study was set ethnography for both data collection and data analysis. However, the data collection method was more of micro-ethnography in practice. Considering the duration of the master's thesis, availability of funds for the fieldwork and emergence of unforeseen events⁹ during the fieldwork, the data collection period was rather short for a full-length ethnographic method.

The absence of local interpreter has caused be some difficulty in communication as the local language of Cox's Bazar is quite different than the regular Bangla Language. Although I understood more than seventy percent of the local language, a local interpreter would be very handy in communication with Rohingya refugees. The local people communicate with a moderated language that is more understandable for other Bangla speaking people, however, the Rohingya refugees language is quite difficult even for a Bangladeshi who do not speak the Chittagonian language (local language of Chittagong area that includes Cox's Bazar as well).

Furthermore, a woman interpreter or any women along with me would allow me to reach more local women. The research data would be inclusive and the outcome of my data analysis would

⁹ Bangladesh National Election was scheduled to be in 25th of December 2018 which was unknown during my research plan. Furthermore, December 2018 was the only suitable time for my fieldwork considering my university's schedule. Therefore, I went through my planned activity and started my field work in the beginning of December 2018. However, on 22nd of December, I was asked to leave the area along with everyone else who were not from the locality for ensuring the safely and security of the area during election. I had to cut short my intended field work from 30 days to 22 days.

be better represented in terms of gender. Religious sensitivity, as well as very conservative nature of the society, implied women to remain in their households more than outside. As my field areas mostly comprised of common areas like markets, schools, and hotels, my data has been fewer representatives of women. Additional resource and duration of fieldwork would be useful for overcoming these draw backs.

4. Findings and discussion

The host community in Cox's Bazar has affected in various means after the arrival of a big number of Rohingya Refugees. This impact has been both positive and negative in nature. Considering the impacts I have organized the data in some large thematic categories and analyzed it accordingly. The food price increase, changes in the job sector, house rent increase, movement restriction for local people because of the increase of checkpoints by law enforcement agencies, the inflow of drugs from Myanmar are some of the key impacts that local people are encountering because of the presence of large numbers of refugees in Cox's Bazar. In this chapter, I have explained the themes to get a better understanding of impacts, that the local community is experiencing.

4.1 Food Price

The food price of some food products in the local market has gone high. However, this phenomena is not applicable to all the food products. Price has increased to those products which demand have increased significantly after the arrival of Rohingya Refugees. Example of two of those products is be sea fish and potato. This phenomenon was particularly visible at the beginning of refugee arrival. Food price hike in the local market is not a unique incident though. Robert Chamber (1986, 249) was the first to describe the impact of refugees in increasing food price, and reported that "in the early stages of an emergency influx, refugees are likely to deplete local food supplies and to drive up food price".

This happens because of the higher demands of products with a lower amount of supply. In a large number of refugee influx increase the demand of different kind of food products. In the case of the Rohingya refugee crisis, the initial demands of food products were extremely high comparing to supply. The emergency relief activity took some time to get started and refugees were forced to buy food products from the local market. The relief and emergency workers from different NGOs and INGOs also hurried to be in Cox's Bazar area for responding immediately after the exodus. The number of relief workers was also large and they increased the demand of some food products as well in the local market. Those in effect increased the price of that product.

Because of the sudden increase in food products, some businessmen from the host community got benefited financially. On the contrary, people of the lower income group from the host

community were affected badly. Many of them couldn't afford to keep up with the increased price of some foods. That sudden increase in food product created some temporary business in host communities. Some temporary hotels and restaurants were opened during the initial stages of an emergency, which is eventually closing as the businesses are not profitable anymore. The situation got better after the first few months, however, the price of sea fish remained high.

4.2 Job Sector

The impacts in the job sector with the arrival of Rohingya Refugees are mixed in nature. In one hand, there are lots of jobs which have been created after refugee arrival. On the other hand, many jobs from the host community are now taken over by Rohingya Refugees. There are both beneficiary and losers who are affected very differently after the arrival of the Rohingya refugees. Data from earlier sources have identified the similar impact of refugees hosting on the local host communities in Kenya (Mogire 2011, 74).

4.2.1 New Job Creation

Thousands of new job is created in Cox's Bazar region after the arrival of Rohingya refugees. Most of the jobs are created in national and international NGOs. According to the Joint Response plan for Rohingya Humanitarian Crisis (OCHA 2019, 20), 50 national and international organizations (8 UN agencies, 14 National NGOs and 28 international NGOs) are working as partners in managing the Rohingya camps. Furthermore, 39 (5 UN agencies, 11 national NGOs and 23 international NGOs) organizations are partnering to work in host communities interventions. Overall, the joint response plan (OCHA 2018, 19) reported to bring together 130 partner organization (13 local, 45 national, 69 international and some government organization of Bangladesh) in their 2018 reports. Similar experience of job creation after the arrival of a large number of refugees is also observed in the case of Afghan refugee settlement in Pakistan in the 1980s (Centlivres and Centlivres-Demont 1988, 90).

Thousands of job created for the Pakistani nationals in various organizations. Even though thousands of job has been created, not all the jobs were suitable for the people of host communities. Many foreign humanitarian workers are working in various International NGOs, yet, the majority of the jobs are taken by Bangladeshi citizens. However, these Bangladeshi

citizens are from different parts of the country, which means the benefit of job creation was not fully enjoyed by the local host community. Even then, the host community members have enjoyed a sense of preference in recruitments due to their language similarity with Rohingya people. Again, the language benefit in jobs was not limited to the local host community people of Cox's Bazar. People from nearby areas also speak a similar language and they have also taken the opportunity when new jobs started to create in Cox's Bazar.

These trends in job creation can be viewed very positively once we consider the level of job creation in the national level of Bangladesh. Getting a job in Bangladesh has become a very difficult task even after completing graduation. The arrival of Rohingya refugees has opened a good opportunity for many graduates to get a job.

4.2.2 People from lower economic class lost a job

Even though job creation has been one of the most positive impacts in the local host community, there are some exceptions. The jobs which have been created in different organizations are most suitable for people who already have some kind of academic education. Therefore, people who do not have any formal education, did not get benefited from the new job creation. In addition to that, local people who were already in lower economic class lost jobs to newly arrived Rohingya refugees. Farmers and contract based day laborer is the examples of profession where Rohingya refugees are offering their services with less money. Chamber (1986, 251) as well reported that the refugee settlement often lower the wage and increase competition in jobs that require physical labor and that also hurt the local workforce who are dependent on those jobs. Similar experience is also reported by Centlivres and Centlivres-Demont (1988, 89-90) in case of Afghan refugee settlement in Pakistan.

The local workers of Bangladesh charge much higher than the Rohingya refugees for similar jobs so employers are now hiring Rohingya refugees whenever possible in many informal working sectors. In one instance, while visiting in a temporary medical workstation of an INGO in Teknaf, I saw some people were working to install a deep tube well in front of that medical center. They were setting up that tube well to ensure safe drinking water to the medical center. Five workers were working there and all of them were Rohingya refugees. One of the villagers who knew the employer of those workers informed me that previously they used to take only Bangladeshi workers but now the situation changed fully. An employer who had to spend more

than double amount of money to hire a Bangladeshi worker, can hire a Rohingya worker with a cheap cost. In this case, the employer is benefiting much more because of the availability of cheap labor from Rohingya refugees and Bangladeshi day laborer losing their jobs.

4.2.3 Transformation of Occupation

One more interesting phenomena have taken place in the job sector after Rohingya refugee arrival. Many people from the local host community have changed their profession considering new opportunities. House renting in certain areas has become very profitable due to its higher demand and increased rent. Besides the refugee camps, some new markets and business opportunities have been created. Some local people are working in providing logistical support to camps and local areas. One of the government officials from a refugee camp informed that many people have started housing construction work and managed to get some contract from some organization who had no experience in construction work previously. The demand for construction work was particularly higher at the beginning of refugees arrival. Cox's Bazar was the fastest growing refugee area at that time which required thousands of housing within days as refugees didn't even have any roof over their head. Therefore, some local people utilized the opportunity and managed some contract which was economically very beneficial to them. The transformation of occupation was temporary for many, however, some people have changed their occupation from then on.

With the arrival of refugees, new roads were being built in camp areas with the increased movement in those roads necessitate vehicle movement. Therefore, some local people introduced new local transportation services on those roads. Hotel business boomed and some new hotels and restaurants were opened. In the rural areas of Bangladesh, people prefer preparing their own meal rather than going to restaurants. However, with the arrival of a large number of refugees many NGO and INGO workers have come as well. Those NGO and INGO workers often preferred to eat in restaurants as many of them did not have any cooking facility. Some local people took the opportunity and opened up new restaurants. In case of a large number of Afghan refugee arrival in Pakistan in the 1980s led to the creation of new markets as the demand was very high (Centlivres and Centlivres-Demont 1988, 90). The experience of job transformation by local people after Rohingya refugee settlement in Bangladesh resemblance the case of Afghan refugee settlement in Pakistan.

4.3 Education Sector

Higher Secondary Schools and colleges in Cox's Bazar district were facing a very different kind of challenge due to the arrival of Rohingya refugees. Lots of job opportunities were created in various NGOs and INGOs. Those NGOs and INGOs were in need of lots of workers. Jobs which required verbal communication with Rohingya refugees required the language skills the same as Rohingya's language. As locals spoke the same language, people who had some formal education managed to find a job quite easily. Unemployment problem for the after education is quite common in Bangladesh. ILO reports (Paul 2018) 4.4 percent of unemployment rate in 2017 in Bangladesh although the report does not reflect the actual scenario as ILO's definition of unemployment is not reflective of the job market. The unemployment rate is highest among the educated youth and each year new two million educated youth job seekers are entering into the market. Therefore, students from higher secondary schools and colleges found a good option to earn some quick money. They took the opportunity with both hands.

That trend has affected the schools and colleges in a shocking way. Students are not going to schools anymore. The teachers go to classes for teaching but students do not attend classes regularly. As a result, many students are failing in their exams and some students were on the verge of losing their study rights. I took the opportunity to visit one college in Teknaf during my field visit and talked with 2 teachers. Both of them informed that students are not coming to classes and college authority is organizing additional classes on weekends to encourage students to continue their studies. One of the teachers also showed the transcript of one of their latest exam and indicated the higher ratio of failing grade in the exam.

4.4 Security

The conflict between local host community people and refugees are quite common (Chamber 1986, 254). Concern about the security issue of Cox's Bazar is expressed by lots of people during my field visit. Presence of law enforcement force is much more in numbers at Cox's Bazar than another region of Bangladesh at this moment. Even though there is various aspects of security insurance for the presence of a big number of Rohingya refugees in Cox's Bazar, I found movement restriction, prostitution, and drugs issues much prevalent.

4.4.1 Restricted movement

Movement restriction is the first security concern I came across during my field visit. This restriction is specifically applicable to the local people who travel within Cox's Bazar district. Local people travel internally for their daily activities. However, often they are asked to present their National identity card to confirm their nationality. As Rohingya people resemble similar ethnic trait in physical appearance and language, law enforcement agencies often ask for confirmation of nationality. Rohingya refugees are not permitted to travel other areas and they are instructed to remain within the camp area all the time. Nonetheless, many refugees get tired and hopeless about their camp life and want to try their luck in Bangladesh. Therefore, some of them always try to escape the camp and try to find some job and settle down in some other place of Bangladesh. Some of them even succeed and many get caught during the process. As a result, the law enforcement agencies have installed numbers of checkpoints on the roads.

The first day in my fieldwork, I was traveling to Cox's Bazar from Teknaf which is about 80 kilometers far away, I was asked to show my national identity card for 9 times within the road. I was traveling with local transportation and many of my co-passengers got angry with the process. They were complaining about the restriction of movement in their own areas. Local people suffer most for this movement restriction as NGO and INGO workers usually use their own transportation which has their own organization logo. Therefore, their vehicles are not checked. Local people from earlier generation find this more difficult as most of them are not used to carry any legal documents. In rural areas of Bangladesh, people are very reluctant to keep their identity cards or any legal documents with them as these documents are not required in their regular way of life. Many of them do not even bother collecting those documents from appropriate authority unless these are absolutely necessary. People of Cox's Bazar are no different, and many straggling in their daily movements after the introduction of the new system in movement. Local people do not like this restriction.

4.4.2 Prostitution

To understand the effects and reaction prostitution on the local community, Mogire (2011, 76) studied the case of Dadaab in Kenya, where local people held the refugees from Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda responsible for socially unacceptable activities like rape, prostitution and

spreading of AIDS. I have found a similar trend of accusing Rohingya refugees of various socially ill activities.

Many respondents reported increasing incidents of prostitution after the arrival of Rohingya refugees. Bangladeshi national newspapers, as well as many international newspapers, have already published news regarding prostitution of Rohingya women and underaged girls. Since Cox's Bazar is one of the most popular tourist destination because of the existence of the world largest sea beach, the hotel business is a vital part of the place. Prostitution industry in Cox's Bazar is also somewhat affiliated with some hotels in Cox's Bazar. All the government officials I have talked during my field visit have mentioned about prostitution problem. Tourists and the local men are the main customer groups among others. Many local people have also expressed their concern regarding the prostitution issue. Majority of people from the local Bangladeshi community are a follower of Islamic religion, and they consider prostitution as religiously and morally damaging practice. The Rohingya refugees share an identical religious belief as well, yet the local people consider them different in culture and habits. Local people are not surprised by the increasing inclination of prostitution since this phenomenon is not new. The Rohingya refugees are coming to Bangladesh from the 1970s and this time a large number of refugees have created confusion and uncertainty among the locals.

Majority of refugees are women and children and many of them do not have any family anymore. When they initially entered to Bangladesh, the relief activities took some time to get started with. In the meantime, women or young girls those did not have any family member were in extremely vulnerable condition as they didn't have any money of food to survive. That led many of them to get involved with prostitution. In some other refugee experiences as well, local people blamed refugees for unsocial activities which they consider unacceptable in their community.

4.4.3 Drugs

Drugs, locally called as 'Yaba' (Yaba is a combination of methamphetamine and caffeine) is not only a local problem in Cox's Bazar, this has become the most used drugs in all over Bangladesh for last few years. The government has taken some desperate measure to control the spread of drugs used in Bangladesh. However, the use of yaba is reportedly increasing in Bangladesh (Thompson 2017). Yaba is not only popular in Bangladesh, but it's also widely used in some other East Asian countries like Thailand. Myanmar is, however, the main source

of origin where produce these drugs and export to neighboring countries. Law enforcing agencies of Bangladesh were trying to control the spreading of this drug well before the arrival of the latest exodus of Rohingya refugees in 2017. Despite the fact, the general perception of local people has influenced and they consider Rohingya refugees has increased importing of yaba drugs. The government officials I met also mentioned the drug issue and

4.5 Demography

The total population of Cox's Bazar is 2,290,000 and the population of Teknaf and Ukhia thana of Cox's Bazar district where the Rohingya refugees are settled is approximately 500000 (OCHA 2018, 16). The number of Rohingya refugees in Teknaf and Ukhia district is double of local people. Even though the number of Rohingya refugees have increased significantly, their presence in Cox's Bazar is not new. Before the latest big surge, about 300000 Rohingya refugees were living in Teknaf and Ukhia which was already a very big number. This demographic character of Teknaf and Ukhia has created a new reality within the local community.

Many Rohingya refugees are continuously trying to integrate themselves in Bangladesh although Bangladesh does not have any legal process for refugees to integrate. Nonetheless, some refugees from the earlier settlement have managed to integrate and also managed to collect some kind of legal status in Bangladesh. Marriage with some Bangladeshi is an easier way to manage a legal status. Other options involve giving bribe to get either Bangladeshi birth certificate or a National identity card and finally a Bangladeshi passport.

During my field visit, one Rohingya refugee informed me that they need to spend 30000 BDT (around 300 Euros) to get a Bangladeshi Passport illegally. Many Rohingya also managed to migrate to some other countries with Bangladeshi passport. However, many Rohingya just integrated with the local community in Cox's Bazar and as a result, they are making some demographic changes in the community. Almost all the people I talked from the local community during my field visit expressed their severe concern about their future under the suspicion of long term presence of a big number of Rohingya people. Local people are feeling threatened about Rohingya refugees presence and many fear that local people might be forced to leave their own area if Rohingya refugees are allowed to remain there for long by integrating informally.

The changing nature of demography was further evident during the Bangladesh National Election 2018 when local politicians came up with an unprecedented idea of employing a very new campaign strategy before the election. For the first time in Bangladesh, politicians have used Arakanese language in their poster to attract the voters who are originally from Myanmar and informally integrated to Bangladesh and managed to get a national ID card from Bangladesh. The local politicians are now aware of the presence of informally integrated Rohingya refugees and the politicians are now trying to cash in their support during the election. This news was reported in all the Bangladeshi local newspaper prior to the Bangladesh National Election in December 2018.



¹⁰ **Fig 6:** A poster of one of the candidates of Bangladeshi Parliament Election 2018

4.6 Unsettling local market

Refugees may cause higher prices for various goods in the local market (Taylor et al. 2016, 7450; Centlivres and Centlivres-Demont 1988, 89). The arrival of a very big number of Rohingya refugees has made a vital impact on the local market. Refugees have access to the nearby local market where they buy their necessary products which affects local markets in Ukhia and Teknaf. A sudden access of a big number of refugees in the local market has created two noteworthy impacts. First, the price of many food products has increased. As a result,

¹⁰ The picture is taken from a Bangladeshi local newspaper. Source: <http://bangladeshpress.com.bd/election/article/18121185/> (Accessed: 23 April 2019)

people of the low-income group from the local community finds it very difficult to buy necessary food products for themselves. Initial phase after the refugee's arrival was most difficult as no one was prepared for that. The demand for food products in the local market was extremely high compared to supply. However, after the first few months, the situation got relatively better as supply started to grow more. Yet, the price of some food products like sea fish and meat is still high and that is affecting local people.

Second, most of the refugees sell a portion of their goods they get from relief with a very low price (Taylor et al. 2016, 7450). Rohingya refugees are also selling some of their relief products in the local market with a very low price, small grocery shop owners are losing their income due to this phenomena. Among the relief products Rohingya refugees are selling oil, rice, dal, and soap in the local market as they are getting more products than their actual requirements. In addition to that, their food habit is also different and they sell the relief food products to buy their preferred food from the market. As a consequence, local people are buying the refugee's relief product with very low prices and local grocery shops are forced to lower the price of those products or stop selling that product at all. These two phenomena have destabilized the local market in Teknaf and Ukhia.

4.7 Environmental Degradation

The environmental impacts in the refugee hosting area are often related to deforestation, that happens during camp settlement. Woods are used for housing construction and further used as cooking firewood (Mogire 2011, 72). Environmental degradation in refugee camp areas has been a key concern from the beginning of the Rohingya refugees settlement in Cox's Bazar. Before the latest exodus, there were three pre-existing refugee camps in Bangladesh for Rohingya people. All the pre-existing camps were in the forestry departments reserve area and the majority of new camps have also installed in the reserved forestry areas.

More than 2500 acres of forest had been deforested for collecting firewood and building camps (OCHA 2018, 17). Firewood is also collected by the local Bangladeshi people and the addition of a large group of Rohingya refugees have confirmed that the reserve forest area will fall short of the supply. This has eventually increased the chance of cyclone, flood, and landslide during monsoon season. Environmental degradation due to refugee camp settlement has been reported in many previous kinds of literature as well. One of such example is the deforestation by

refugees in The Republic of Congo as a result of excessive use of woods (Mbakem 2017, 371). Mogire (2011, 72) findings are also very similar in Kenyan and Tanzanian case. The settlement of large numbers of the Rohingya refugees in Cox's Bazar poses a similar threat to the environment.

4.8 House rent and living

House rent has grown super high in Cox's Bazar after Rohingya refugees arrival in August 2017. Cox's Bazar city and Ukhia among the highest increased house rent areas. Primarily, the demand for a house increased because many wealthy Rohingya refugees were renting houses in local areas. Moreover, immediately after the refugee arrival, humanitarian workers started their activities and most of them required housing in local areas to continue their job. This higher demand for houses has increased the rent so high that many complained about it during my field visit. One college teacher mentioned that house rent in Ukhia would be highest among Bangladesh. The super demand for houses also led NGO and INGO workers to rent hotel rooms on contractual basis and the rent of hotel rooms have also increased because of the demand. Housing business boomed within short time and I saw many new house construction work is going on in Ukhia which would never happen otherwise.

The increase in house rent has created a new kind of problem for people who were already living in a rented house in those areas. There were some people who were not local, rather they were from some other parts of Bangladesh and living in Cox's Bazar, Ukhia or Teknaf for job or business purpose. As house rent contracts are not well regulated in Bangladesh, many house owners broke their previous contract and increased the house rent for their current tenants. Many tenants could not afford the newly imposed rent and forced to end their contract. This was particularly difficult for most of the earlier tenants as their income was usually lower than the newly arrived INGO and NGO workers. On the other hand, house owners benefited tremendously from the situation and some people invested a good amount of money to build new housing for possible profits in the future.

4.9 Tourism Sector

Cox's Bazar is the most popular tourist destination in Bangladesh. It is the longest sea beach in the world. The total tourism sector has destabilized due to the presence of a large number of refugees. Mainly two things affecting the tourism sector under the new circumstance. The first

one is, most of the hotels of Cox's Bazar is already occupied by the humanitarian workers from various organizations. Hotel occupancy by humanitarian workers were benefitting the hotel owners at least temporarily. However, tourists are getting discouraged to travel Cox's Bazar as they are not finding appropriate accommodation.

Apart from the accommodation issue, tourists are also seriously concerned about their safety and security issues during their travel. In Bangladesh, winter is considered as the prime tourism season. Beside Cox's Bazar, Saint Martins Island is another very popular tourist destination. Saint Martins is only open in winter for tourists. In order to travel Saint Martins, tourists have to take a ship from Teknaf. While traveling from Cox's Bazar to Teknaf, even the tourists often asked to provide a national identity card or some kind of legal documents by the law enforcement force. In addition to that, some Rohingya refugee camps can be viewed just beside the place from where people get into the ship to travel Saint Martins. Some news report about a robbery by a group of Rohingya refugee has also created a negative impression. The government also introduced an 80-kilometer long marine drive road beside the sea beach from Cox's Bazar to Teknaf to attract more tourist. However, tourists are questioned several times in different check posts by law enforcement teams if they try to drive in that road.

4.10 Other Impacts

Apart from the above mentioned impacts, few other impacts of Rohingya refugees settlement can be identified on the local people. However, the magnitude of those impacts is not as intense as the above. I have briefly explained four other impacts that the local hosts have experienced after the settlement of the Rohingya refugees.

4.10.1 Cultural Misunderstanding

Cultural misunderstanding can cause conflict between refugees and local people. Mogire (2011, 76-77) reported that the local people of Kenya accused the Somali refugees as violent, disrespectful, arrogant and abusive. Some local people during my field visit reported very similar arguments about Rohingya refugees. The local people called the Rohingya refugees as uneducated, aggressive and disrespectful to the local people although both refugees and hosts share a common religion, similar language, and food. One group of students reported that Rohingya refugees tease the local girls and keep calling in their cell phones if any refugees ever get any contact of any local girls. Many accused refugees as very disrespectful towards

the local people. However, the locals do not have any complaint towards refugees who are living there for a long period of times. Locals complain are mostly dedicated to the newly arrived refugees.

4.10.2 New development projects in Cox's Bazar

The government of Bangladesh has initiated lots of new development projects in Cox's Bazar to mitigate the negative impacts of local people due to the arrival of a large number of Rohingya refugees. The RRRC officials I talked with during my field visit have mentioned about the initiatives of the government. They mentioned some projects related to road and communication and establishments of other infrastructures. Some UN agencies also expressed their interest in engaging with the development projects of Cox's Bazar so that the local people's loss can be lessened.

4.10.3 Medical services for local people

Along with the Rohingya refugees emergency response, many international and national organizations have initiated some program solely dedicated to the host communities. The GoB also suggested all the organizations involving Rohingya refugees support to spend at least 20 percent of their budget for the vulnerable group of people among the host community. One of those project directed to the host communities is the establishment of a community health center in Teknaf and Ukhia region. The local people were getting preliminary medical support in their own neighborhood from the community health center. This service was unique considering the overall medical services of Bangladesh as the people of other areas do not get any similar benefit from qualified doctors.

4.10.4 Common property resource

Common property resource can originate competition between refugees and local people. However, the impact of that competition is more damaging for the poorer groups of local people. Chamber (1986, 253-254) argues that the poorer group of local people are more dependent on the common property resources. In Teknaf and Ukhia. The new camp settlements required the acquisition of lots of land area. Although almost all the land areas were government property, some of those land areas were occupied by the local farmers who used

to cultivate crops throughout the year. I met one such farmer who was extremely unhappy with the government decisions to take back the land and let the refugees settle there.

The finding themes, as well as the analysis of the findings from collected data, reveal both benefits and losses of the host community for Rohingya refugees for hosting them in their community. Some impacts have affected a certain group of people positively and another group of people very negatively. Such as, the increase in food price have benefitted some businessmen, whereas the low-income people have suffered in maintaining their daily lives. On the other hand, some impacts have affected everyone irrespective of the social and economic status among the hosts. One such example would be movement restriction within Cox's Bazar. This chapter has summarized various impacts that local hosts have endured so far after the arrival of Rohingya refugees. Moreover, the analyzed themes have further explained the research question, the answer lies within these themes.

5. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to evaluate the impacts of a large number of Rohingya Refugees presence on the local host community. Although my preliminary idea was to study the relations between the Rohingya refugees and the local host community, considering the practical difficulties of collecting data and sensitivity of the studies among the two groups, I with the supervision of my supervisor decided to keep the study focus solely on the host community. Studying the entire host society could be comprehensive, however, the host communities are the most impacted people who also represent a certain portion of the society as well. Issues like jobs and movement restriction impact all the communities within the society and some other issues like local market access and changes in demography impact much more to the refugee-hosting communities. In this study, I have focused on the community rather than society.

After collecting qualitative data by utilizing ethnographic method during my fieldwork in Bangladesh, I have now analyzed the data and explained the outcome in the previous chapter. The findings of this study suggest local people of Cox's Bazar are impacted both positively and negatively upon the arrival of Rohingya refugees. Some businessmen, hotel managers, students who received job and house owners are among the positively impacted groups of people. Low-income laborers and educational institutions are among the negatively impacted areas of the Rohingya refugee hosting.

In this chapter, I have reviewed the findings, limitations of the study and scope for further research on this topic. In addition, I have explained and reflected my personal experience of my fieldwork in Cox's Bazar.

5.1 Study Outcome and discussion

The impacts of refugee-hosting on the local host community are vivid. In addition, the impacts of refugee-hosting affect differently on different groups of people from the local host community. Some people benefit from the rise of refugees situation in their community, in contrast, refugee hosting costs some people severely from the same community. Chamber's (1986, 249) analysis identified five themes that affect the host community during refugee hosting: a) food, b) land, labor, and wages, c) services, d) common property resources and e) economic development. This study has revealed similar outcomes with some exception, which is also understandable considering the difference of host areas and varied approach by the

emergency aid organizations. Aside from Chamber's five themes, these study findings have identified a few other impacts after analyzing the data. Such as transformation of occupation, student's abandonment of schools, restriction in internal movement, drugs, prostitution, informal integration, deforestation, house rent hike and destabilization of the tourism sector, among others.

The food price of few food products has gone high in the local market. Such as sea fish and potato. This was evident especially during the early phase of refugee settlement. The demands of products went super high with a lower amount of supply. The relief activity from different organizations took some time to get started and refugees were forced to buy food products from the local market. Because of the sudden increase in food products, some businessmen from the host community benefitted financially. On the contrary, people of the lower income group from the host community were affected badly. Many of them couldn't afford to keep up with the increased price of some foods.

Lots of new jobs have created in Cox's Bazar region by different national and international NGOs. UNHCR has reported the presence of more than 130 organizations in emergency response work (OCHA 2018, 19). Centlivres and Centlivres-Demont (1988, 90) reported identical outcomes of Afghan refugee settlement in Pakistan in the 1980s. The benefit of job creation is not fully enjoyed by the local host community as these Bangladeshi job holders are from different parts of the country. Even though job creation has been one of the most positive impacts, it has some setbacks as well. The jobs which are created are mostly suitable for people with a higher academic qualification. People without formal education, could not benefit from the new job creation. In contrast, local people from lower economic class, lost jobs to newly arrived Rohingya refugees as refugees offered service with a much lower wage. Some locals have changed their profession as well, considering new opportunities.

Schools and colleges in Cox's Bazar district are facing a very different kind of challenges. Students are not coming to schools anymore as local students with some kind of formal education managed to find jobs in various organizations quite easily. Teachers are very unhappy with the outcomes. Students are failing in their exams and some students are on the verge of losing their study rights.

Local people are being affected in their regular movement within Cox's Bazar as they are asked to present their national identity card to confirm their nationality while traveling. For an 80 kilometers one way journey from Teknaf to Cox's Bazar, I was asked to show my national

identity card for nine times within the road. Local people are not happy about this restriction. Prostitution and smuggling of drugs are two other things locals have complained about. Many locals reported increasing incidents of prostitution after the arrival of Rohingya refugees. Myanmar is the producer of the drugs what is locally known as ‘Yaba’ (a mixture of methamphetamine and caffeine). The drug is exported to neighboring countries including Bangladesh. Law enforcing agencies, as well as local people, consider Rohingya refugees are involved with importing yaba drugs.

The number of Rohingya refugees in Teknaf and Ukhia Upazila is more than double of local people at this moment. The first group of Rohingya refugees arrived in Bangladesh as long as 30 years ago. Even though Bangladesh does not have any instrument for legalizing refugees to integrate into society, many Rohingya refugees have managed to collect Bangladeshi ID card and passport. Locals feel threatened with the increasing presence and informal integration of Rohingya refugees in the community.

The Rohingya refugees settlement has endangered the environmental equilibrium in Cox’s Bazar. Most of the camps are installed in the forestry departments reserve. More than 2500 acres of forest had been deforested for collecting firewood and building camps (OCHA 2018, 17). Firewood is collected by locals and refugees, therefore, the reserve forest area is falling short of supply. As a result, it has increased the chance of cyclone, flood, and landslide during monsoon season. House rent has grown super high in Cox’s Bazar because of the limited supply in comparison to higher demand. Housing business has boomed as well as the hotel business. The increase in house rent has created difficulty for people who were already living in a rented house. Many existing tenants could not afford the newly imposed rent and forced to end their contract.

Cox’s Bazar is the most important tourist destination in Bangladesh and the tourism sector has affected because of the presence of a large number of Rohingya refugees presence. Hotels of Cox’s Bazar area are already occupied by the aid workers and tourists are also concerned about their security issues. Tourists are also questioned in different check posts by law enforcement agencies which is discouraging the travelers. Besides, there are few other impacts that the local hosts are facing. Those are conflicts due to the cultural misunderstanding and use of common property rights such as agricultural land. New development projects in Cox’s Bazar and the medical services targeted for the local hosts provided by some humanitarian organizations are benefiting local people.

From the analyzed outcome, it is evident that the local hosts are being affected in certain sectors, such as food, labor, and wages, common property resources, economic development, transformation of occupation, student's abandonment of schools, restricted movement, security, informal integration, deforestation, house rent hike and destabilization of the tourism sector. The ultimate aim of this thesis is to assess the impacts of refugees hosting on the locals and these themes have identified those impacts. These themes explain the impacts as well as connects to the impact analysis of mass movement in terms of protracted forced displacement that connect with peace research as well. Peace studies investigate, "...the reasons for and outcomes of large- and small-scale conflicts, as well as the precondition for peace ..." (Barash and Webel 2018, 24). Furthermore, the background part of this thesis explains the history of the Rohingya conflict to provide the basis of this study. The conflict history and the impact of the mass movement in a protracted refugee situation, both connect well with the larger theme of peace research.

Peace research is usually theoretical or fieldwork-based research. Barash and Webel (2018, 27) explain theoretical Peace research "aims to uncover the roots of conflict and cooperation by examining and proposing theoretical models to explain violent and nonviolent individual and collective behavior ...". Whereas, "Fieldwork is often an important part of peace studies, with students taking extended internships in conflict zones where they can learn and apply dialogue, negotiation and mediation skills." This thesis has followed the later to obtain the locally generated knowledge that people face in their daily life. The study has helped to reassess the value of evaluating issues locally in Peace research.

5.2 Limitations

Although I have tried to make this study as comprehensive as possible, the study has its own limitations due to various practical reasons. Firstly, the impacts this study on the hosts might be nonreflective in all areas of Cox's Bazar as the data is collected from Teknaf and Ukhia only. The findings represent the primary impacts on the locals face, the long term effects might be different which can only be studied after a period of time. The data collection method was micro-ethnography rather than long term full-length ethnography. A long term ethnography could allow the study to bring more comprehensive outcomes.

Besides, a local interpreter preferably a woman interpreter could not only be very useful for my data collection but also would allow me to reach to local women a lot more than I have otherwise been able. More resource and duration of fieldwork would be necessary for overcoming these limitations.

5.3 Scope for Further Research

The study limitations rightly indicate further room for improvements as well as new scope for future research on this topic. Considering the limited resource available in addition to the scope of the study as a master's thesis, there is considerable room for further study on the topic. Conducting a long term ethnography rather than a micro-ethnography would provide much-improved data. The long duration of fieldwork would further allow the researcher to cover surrounding areas besides Ukhia and Teknaf that will bring out an outcome more representative of the whole of Cox's Bazar district.

Long term ethnographic observation would allow for more extensive and objective understanding of the topic, the context of the Rohingya refugees both in Myanmar and in Bangladesh, existing relationship between local communities and Rohingya refugees, the roles of Bangladeshi government and other organizations within the refugees camp areas as well as the host communities, that is explained already as part of this thesis. However, the tight schedule for master's thesis (especially for non-European students who are liable to pay tuition fees from 2017 onward in Finnish universities), the scope of the master's thesis and the limited source of funding for conducting fieldwork in Bangladesh had setbacks for conducting a long term and full length ethnography in data collection. For conducting the micro-ethnography for this study it already required more than one-month-long stay in Cox's Bazar and a considerable amount of expenditure.

In-depth interview of both local people and the Rohingya refugees and some focus group discussion along with the ethnographic observation would allow researchers to comprehensively study the local dynamics, individual impacts on the local hosts as well as the perception about the presence of a large number of Rohingya refugees. Comparing the findings of this study with the existing literature would allow the researcher to identify comprehensive outcomes in terms of similarities and differences of refugee-hosting in other areas.

In addition, there are lots of other areas worthy of study related to refugees and hosts topics. The Rohingya refugee crisis is quite unexplored areas in academia, even though the crisis has existed for decades. Only recently, with the mass exodus of Rohingya refugees, the issue got wide attention.

5.4 Personal experience and reflection on data collection

Research like many other skills improves with practice. Learning by doing is what I found most helpful for me. I had some previous experience of data collection in Bangladesh. Although the research topic and data collection method were different, my earlier experience saved lots of my time and energy during the data collection. In Bangladesh, people don't feel comfortable in giving formal interviews or to be recorded in any sorts. However, they are okay with engaging in verbal communication. Once trust gets built, they even give consent to be a part of a research study. This knowledge helped me to choose my methodology and I have found it quite useful during my fieldwork.

As suggested by many other researchers, I also found communication and establishing right contact is the key to collect data from field areas. In Bangladesh like many other developing countries, working on sensitive issues quite challenging. Obtaining permission is tricky if appropriate contacts are unknown. In contrast, a seemingly difficult task can be done with ease, if the approach is known. I was really worried about obtaining permission for data collection in camp and related areas. However, I could establish contact with one of the RRRC officials who was an alumnus from my bachelor's university and program. The RRRC official helped me to get my permission and also introduced with other government officials who were working in the camps.

In field areas, researchers need to be ready for any situation all the time. This is good learning not only for data collection but also for any other kind of jobs in an emergency setting. In one instant, I had to travel to Cox's Bazar from Teknaf for a sudden meeting with one RRRC official. After meeting the contact person, I was advised to spend the night in Cox's Bazar. I was unprepared and did not bring any clothes or fixed in any place to stay. Yet, I could not say no, as I got an opportunity to visit the refugee camps with a government official with a government vehicle. I could not ask for a reschedule, therefore, I decided to take the opportunity. Finding accommodation for that night was very difficult but I am glad I took the

chance. That camp visit was a great help as it made my data collection lot easier and helped me to understand different dynamics of field areas which I could not be able to do otherwise.

Different people perceive research work very differently. Some people I met during the fieldwork were very skeptical about the objective of my research. Some government officials, as well as some NGO/INGO workers, asked me to not use their names or even their organization's name in this study.

Data collection in an emergency setting can be exhaustive sometimes. Often, it challenges our nerves. Life is uncertain for so many people and it really hurts when the way out is unknown. This feeling was constantly coming to my mind as I was meeting people who were in need of lots of basic things on a daily basis. The data collection from refugee hosting further mentally and physically demanding task. I found the foods are usually unhealthy in restaurants. Food poisoning was common and I got sick three times within the first two weeks and it was really difficult to keep going with sickness. Water was also not safe either, therefore, I was dependent on a bottle bought from the shop during my entire fieldwork. Salty and sticky water was the only option for daily activities. I have struggled to keep up my motivation.

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