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Table of Content: Vol. 7(3), pp. 60-100, May, 2019.

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Review

Armed Force Special Power Act: A Critical Analysis

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This paper will attempt a political analysis of Armed force Special Power Act (AFSPA) in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. More importantly this paper through a shaft of light to the undemocratic side of the law, by discussing the ground zero reality of this act on the basis of various committee reports and by highlighting few major human rights violation cases, thus an attempt is made to reframe the debate that it is not adequate to make alternation in the Armed Force Special Power Act but its annulment is the only way ahead.

Key words: AFSPA, Human Rights Violation, Jammu and Kashmir, Democracy, Law.

INTRODUCTION

Armed Force Special Power act of 1958(AFSPA) is one among the most controversial and disputable act. This law was enacted to curb violence and to restore public order in India's northeast however the act has gradually expanded, since1990, to cover the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir also[1]. Since then much has changed in areas where this act was enforced but not even a minor change in this act has taken place. Eminent people many national and international organization including Amnesty International had overtly criticized this law. But there are many other also who support this law on the reason of state necessity. Naghite (2015) points out doctrine of necessity when involved go unchallenged; however, arguments based on human rights and the rule of the law seems to become in fructuous. In this background, this paper will attempt a political analysis of Armed Force Special Power Act (AFSPA) in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. More importantly this paper through a shaft of light to the undemocratic side of this law, by discussing the ground zero reality of this act on the basis of various committee reports and by highlighting few major human rights violation cases, thus an attempt is made to reframe the debate that it is not adequate to make alternation in the Armed Force Special Power Act but its annulment is the only way ahead.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1.   To study impunity under this Law.
2.   To understand excoriating of AFSPA.
3.   To discuss abuse of law and power that implicates public responsibility.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this paper qualitative method has been followed. In qualitative method historical and analytical methods are used. The data for the present study is collected mainly

through secondary sources. Objectivity of historical writings has been used to develop a frame work of the study and to arrive at an unbiased conclusion.

DESCRIPTION

About Armed Force Special Power Act.

Tracing its history AFSPA is based on colonial law. The starting of this act has been traced to the Quit India movement in 1942, which led the British Indian government to declare Armed Forces Special power ordinance to militarily curb it. While the Quit India movement started on 8 August 1942, the Armed forces (special power) ordinance of 1942 was proclaimed seven days afterwards, on 15 August 1942. It confers extreme power to certain officers of the armed force to kill, under section 72 of the government of India act1935. However, in independent India Nehru's government passed the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (1958) in the Indian parliament? Very few lawmakers spoke in opposition to the law Surendra Mohanty, a dissident member of the parliament from Orissa, told the house. "We want a free India. But, we do not want a free India with barbed wires and concentration camps, where havaldars (sergeants) can shoot at sight any man," (Peer 2014). Though it was first applicable to north eastern states, gradually this act was extended to the state of Jammu and Kashmir following the furnished revolt in 1989[2] and authoritatively came to be known as The Armed Forces (Jammu and Kashmir) Special Powers Act, 1990.

Since its introduction by then home minister, Govind Ballabh Pant AFSPA has been debated and interpreted in different ways. Technically, AFSPA is implemented after an area is declared disturbed under the Disturbed Areas Act (DAA), which facilitates the summoning of armed forces to the aid of civil authorities when they are unable to control armed insurrection. The call can be made by the state government or the centre (Hazarika 2013). This law comprises of eight sections (Ministry of Home Affairs/ ACT NO. 21 OF 1990) of which the most cursing is to be found in the 4th and 6th section, as discussed in detail below. This act provides extensive powers to the armed forces in any area declared 'disturbed' by the central government.

This act allows 'any commissioned officer, warrant officer, non-commissioned officer or any other person of equivalent rank in the armed forces may, in a disturbed area, if he is of opinion that it is necessary so to do for the maintenance of public order, after giving such due warning as he may consider necessary, fire upon or otherwise use force, even to the causing of death, against any person who is acting in contravention of any law or order for the time being in force in the disturbed area prohibiting the assembly of five or more persons or the carrying of weapons or of things capable of being used as weapons or of firearms, ammunition or explosive substances; (MINISTRY OF LAW AND JUSTICE 1990, section 4a).

Secondly, the Act allows armed forces personnel to arrest without warrant, 'any person who has committed a cognizable offence or against whom a reasonable suspicion exists that he has committed or is about to commit a cognizable offence' (MINISTRY OF LAW AND JUSTICE 1990, Section 4c).

Thirdly, the Act allows armed forces personnel to enter and search any premises without a warrant to 'make any such arrest' (MINISTRY OF LAW AND JUSTICE 1990, Section4d)

The most significant part of the Act is Section 7 (MINISTRY OF LAW AND JUSTICE 1990), which states: No prosecution, suit or other legal proceeding shall be instituted, except with the previous sanction of the Central Government, against any person in respect of anything done or purported to be done in exercise of the powers conferred by this Act.

Impunity under AFSPA

No security faculty can be litigated on the off chance that he claims to have acted under AFSPA. To put it plainly, the whole security establishment enjoys cover from prosecution under AFSPA. As Attar Rabbani (2011) explains, this laws renders meaningless the fundamental right of peaceful assembly (Article 19), protection in respect of conviction for offences (Article 20), protection of life and personal liberty (Article 21), protection against arrest and detention (Article 22) and remedies for enforcement of fundamental rights (Article 32) of the people of the area declared to be 'disturbed', besides putting into suspension a host of other human rights and humanitarian laws. It violates, by its very form and application, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (UN 1948), the UN Body of Principles for Protection of All Persons Under any form of Detention (UN 1988) and the UN Principles on Effective Prevention and Investigation of Extra-legal and Summary Executions.

The rights granted in the Indian Constitution: right to life and expression, dignity, etc., are just brutal jokes on a hopeless people. Custodial deaths, fake encounters rape of women, torture, disappearances, thousands of unmarked graves in Kashmir are a horrifying testimony of the state of human right to life and the legality of extrajudicial killings[3]. Since the 1990s noteworthy global human rights associations such Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International,

several other United Nations Agencies and many Indian human rights associations have recorded and released reports on human rights violation committed by the Armed forces under the AFSPA . The list of such acts in Kashmir is long, but to name a few well-known cases, from 1990 onwards, the well-publicized rape case, in May 1990 of Mubina Gani first comes to mind. Although the inquiry concluded that the women had been raped, the security forces were never prosecuted (Amnesty International, 1992) the reported rape on February 23, 1991, of women from the village of Kunan Poshpora[4] The Sopore Massacre On January 6, 1993, where at least 57 persons were killed (Pervaiz 2017). The Machil encounter case of 2010 in which three civilians were killed in Kashmir's Kupwara district[5], As Amit rajan(2015) discusses in regions under AFSPA, the onus to prove that rape has been committed lies with the victim and not on the accused. In regions under AFSPA, the victim can be alleged to be a foreign agent, a militant or a supporter of a terrorist group. And for that reason, she can be killed, as happened in the famous Thangjam Manorama's rape case. A report by Amnesty called "DENIED" documented in 2015 noted down obstacles to justice for victims of human rights violations existing in both law and practice in Jammu and Kashmir, and showed how the government's response to reports of human rights violations has failed to deliver justice for several victims and families.

   Over the 27 years of conflict in Jammu and Kashmir armed forces personnel have hardly even been punished where the cases of human rights violation were clearly seen. Even if they were acted against the punishments were either struck down by the civilian courts or by the army's higher-ups (Bukhari2017). Government's constant denial and its unspeakable crimes against humanity in Kashmir completely shrink the possibilities of that much needed space. It needs to realize and grapple with the fact that anger of the people and their political aspirations are legitimate rights (Jamwal 2016). A restriction since they have witnessed the extraordinary severity by law abiding agencies bringing about negative results and have built up a contempt towards anything identified with Indian patriotism. India is a democracy and a socialist secular republic as well. But one cannot help the feeling that this is a story for mainland India. Kashmir is a region where its citizen has truncated Fundamental Rights and it is forever emergency (Desai 2011).

Excoriating the Act

   Bimol Akoijam (2012) says, the single Act AFSPA has given rise to a plethora of 'acts of horror', like the thousands of murders, rapes, custodial deaths/rapes, disappearances, torture, encirclements, combing operations and genocides. Much recently discovered unmarked graves in Kashmir are a chilling testimony to these hard realities of everyday living in Kashmir[6]. We have to look forward and should scrutinize the central government, what contribution AFSPA had given to the current Kashmir distress? Raina (2010) has rightly pointed out that the existing dominance of Armed forces in Kashmir alienates inhabitants instead of bringing them into the national mainstream. This act greatly fails as a counterinsurgency tool besides giving a bad name to a country like India, After all, India has been perhaps the most successful postcolonial democracy anywhere, and certainly in South Asia. Federalism, the panchayati system of directly elected district-level and village-level governance, reservations aimed at redressing discrimination, and a vibrant civil society have all been lauded, although rarely without qualifiers (Dasgupta 2001; Lijphart 1996/2001). Having a history of reliably stayed against any kind of repression/oppression against civilians in any part of the world. This raises the question of how has such an uncommon law continued to exist in a democratic country like India for about 69 years now? In those 69 years there have been many review committees, interlocutors and mass protests, yet no indications from the government that the Act may be re-examined let alone repealed. Singh (2007) argues existence of this law is even more pertinent when one considers the repeal of other extraordinary laws in India, particularly the Prevention of Terrorism Act 2002 (POTA) and the Terrorism and Destructive Activities Act 1985, and the high-level public and parliamentary debate over the National Security Act 1980, the Preventive Detention Act 1950, and the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act 1967/2004 (UAPA), leading to amendments in certain cases. . A.G Noorani (1997) in one of his articles argued that it is not enough to amend the AFSPA. The entire draconian legislation must be remodelled. While the POTA was overwhelmingly talked about, restricted by the Congress and influenced a national decision to issue in 2004, prompting its removal. Laws like AFSPA governing places like Kashmir and the Northeast was neither contradicted nor been a subject of political debate. AFSPA stays as it seems to be. Any recommendations for its repeal or dilution are readily countered by the seemingly logical national security argument. Duncan McDuie-Ra (2009) discusses possibility of victimization of the people of Northeastern states in terms of their location, cultural, geographical, ethnical, social and territorial alienation from the main land Indians. He writes:

> *While India contains diverse regions and a holistic national polity or even coherent national society is not always identifiable, there is a distance between the Northeast and the rest of India that is qualitatively different to that between other regions in India, and between these regions and the central government. While regions and peoples throughout India are constructed and viewed differently to each other and these differences are pronounced and often*

articulated forcefully at the local level, they still fit into the larger nation, although rarely seamlessly, in ways that the Northeast does not.

Keeping this perception in mind one can simply observe that even the people of Kashmir share less similarities with people from other parts of India. The division between the people of Kashmir and the people of other parts of India is rarely accepted and enunciated by mainstream politics as not much is being done on the political front to bridge this division. Whatever efforts have been put are either by individuals or by through certain networks such as, environmental organizations, women's organizations and human rights activists. As Singh(2007,29) argues, this has meant that struggles for human rights and justice in the face of these laws are themselves 'imputed with extraordinariness' and are quickly juxtaposed to 'notions of national sovereignty, national security, national integrity, and national interest'.

Sebastian (1996) is right when he writes, the problem of Kashmir being presented by the media before general public is that the whole problem in Kashmir has been created by Pakistan in cahoots with the Muslim fundamentalist forces. This shuts out all possibilities for a peaceful solution. The problem has to be represented as one between people of Kashmir on one side and India and Pakistan on the other side. Between the two stakeholders of Kashmir i.e. India and Pakistan respectively it is the inhabitants of the Kashmir who has paid huge prices. Syed Ali Shah Geelani is seen by vast numbers of Kashmiri Muslims as the symbol of their collective resistance to Indian rule, which they regard as illegitimate. Geelani routinely refers to the "people of the state" a term he uses interchangeably with the Kashmiri awam, as being united in their fierce opposition to Indian rule (Sikand 2010). Non-Muslims of the state are wholly invisible in Geelani's representation of the people of the state. This is what legitimized the claim of Delhi based political and media gatherings that Geelani appears to be not interested in the desires of the non-Muslims of Kashmir and the general population of Jammu and Ladakh locale and to their fear about the possibility of living as clearly minimized and extremely oppressed minorities in Pakistan if Kashmir, joined Pakistan, as he demands.

Various committee report's in focus.

AFSPA due to its provision, has drawn in the wrath not only of the members of the many human rights organizations but also by the Indian judiciary and various commissions set up to look into its cases. In 2004, intense agitation was launched by several civil society groups following the death of Thangjam Manorama, while in the custody of Assam Rifles and the indefinite fast undertaken by Irom Sharmila. The central government on November 19, 2004, appointed a five-member committee headed by justice B P Jeevan Reddy to review the provision of the act in the north eastern states. The Reddy committee submitted its report on June 6, 2005. It came up with the following recommendation:

> While providing protection against civil or criminal proceedings in respect of the acts and deeds done by such forces while carrying out the duties entrusted to them, it is equally necessary to ensure that where they knowingly abuse or misuse their powers, they must be held accountable therefore and must be dealt with according to law applicable to them.

The committee recommended that the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958 should be repealed. Therefore, recommending the continuation of this Act, with or without amendments, does not arise (2005: 74–5). The Act was considered too sketchy, too bald and quite inadequate in several particulars. In an article Bhaumik (2014) contends for the revocation of the Act, not only on grounds of human rights violations but also on the grounds that the Act gives India a bad name, brings about languid policy making and is totally inadequate as a counter-insurgency tool. Certain that the security institutions still have the last word on issues related to the Northeast and AFSPA in general, he made it a attention point to say that out of the five members that made up the Justice Jeevan Reddy Committee which recommended the Act's annulment, one was Lt Gen. (Retd) V.R. Raghavan, former Director General (Military Operations) of the Indian Army and another was P.P. Shrivastav, a former bureaucrat in the Home Ministry. Bhaumik(2014) rhetorically asks: 'Why would such hardcore members of the security establishment advocate a repeal of the AFSPA?'

The above argument is further strengthen by Chakravarti(2017), In his representation to the Justice Reddy Committee, a (retired) Major General stated that of the 55,000 cases registered against the armed forces, there have been only three convictions so far

In another committee report submitted to the union Home Ministry on 23 January 2013, Justice Verma committee recommended; the imminent need to review the continuance of Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act (AFSPA) in conflict areas. The Committee also recommended sexual violence against women by members of the armed forces to be brought under the preview of ordinary law. Complainants of sexual violence must be afforded witness protection. Special commissioners should be appointed in conflict areas to monitor and prosecute for sexual offences.

Aftermath of 2010 unrest in the Kashmir valley[7], On September 20, New Delhi sent a group of three interlocutors to

Srinagar in an attempt to diffuse the unrest and to hold managed dialogue with all section of the people of Jammu and Kashmir to comprehend the problem and to graph a course for future. The three-member panel of Daleep Padgaonkar, Radha kumar and MM Ansari proposed various changes in their report. They recommended speedy punishment of those accused of human rights violations. The mechanisms in place for this purpose, especially the state Human right commission, must be strengthened without delay. Their report also suggested for special training for security persons to respect the dignity of people of Jammu and Kashmir[8]. The opinion behind appointing the interlocutors was to have a dialogue with all section of Kashmiri people and to bridge the distance between Centre and the people of Kashmir. Although the idea of appointing interlocutors is neither new nor a sure fire solution, in some sense, the interlocutor's mission was doomed to failure *(*Banerjee 2011*)* Hurriyat conference kept itself at bay from any talk and demanded for the revocation of AFSPA.

Further, a Commission was appointed by the Indian Supreme Court in January 2013 to inquire into allegations of fake encounter killings in Manipur. It found allegations of impunity to be true when it blamed the AFSPA for engendering a sense of impunity in the security forces operating in the state. . The Santhosh Hedge commission appointed by the Supreme Court in response to a public interest litigation seeking investigation (ASA 20/042/2013) into 1,528 cases of extra judicial executions found that all seven deaths in the six cases it investigated were extra judicial executions and said that AFSPA is widely abused by the armed forces. The commission echoed a statement made by the Jeevan Reddy committee, which said that the law has become "a symbol of oppression, an object of hate and an instrument of discrimination and high-handedness" In April 2013, while investigating a case where two Border Security Force (BSF), personnel were engaged in the killing of a Kashmiri teenager in 2010, the Supreme Court held that the provisions of AFSPA could not summarily replace general laws and that all such cases need not be tried in defense services court. It asserted that AFSPA's protection was limited to acts conducted in the line of duty. Rape and murder were 'normal crimes' that should be prosecuted in criminal courts (Sen2013). Even after much recommendations to amend AFSPA by above mentioned committees, the Indian Government seemed reluctant, not only to withdraw but also to amend this law in Kashmir. As AFSPA turned into a symbol of state oppression in regions hit my militancy, it likewise turns into people opens outrage and dissent. It has spurred violent protest and challenges against Men in uniform (Chakravarty 2016).Greater the intensity of state oppression greater is their resonance. Given the rigidity of the government, the space for peaceful resistance doesn't visibly exist.

This law has outlasted its utility, as episodes of militancy are no place close as normal or as rough as they were at the point when the laws were first proclaimed.

Democracy or Dictatorship: AFSPA

At the local level the AFPSA is more than an extraordinary law. The AFSPA is the legal framework for the military occupation of the region and the subsequent militarization of everyday life. Armed personnel are encountered on the roads, in the main towns, in the markets, and in border areas. Stopping, searching and questioning have made everyday life oppressive for most people in 'disturbed areas'. (McDuie-Ra 2009).

AFSPA has alienated people of these states to a second class citizens being deprived of their basic fundamental rights. Exposed to these conditions, a new generation of Kashmiris has experienced childhood in a mobilized situation where they are subjected to mortifying searching, looks, cordon offs and weapon-toting troopers at each niche and corner. I am not going to give the subtle elements of the human rights violation committed by the armed forces in Jammu and Kashmir for the last few years as they have been plentifully recorded by, Asia Watch, Amnesty International and many other Indian human rights associations.[9] No other words can better depict the prevailing condition in Kashmir than the words of a filmmaker interested in resistance politics, the fact is:

> *Kashmiris have lost the protection of their rights to speech, assembly and travel; they have lost all guarantees of their freedom from violence, harassment and unlawful detention. They have seen every single substantive attribute of democracy give way under the pressure of militarization and the attitudes of those who administer Kashmir. The rule of law, the independence of the judiciary, and the civic responsibilities of elected politicians: as each of these protective pillars has been hollowed out, all that remains of democracy is the thin patina of elections. (Kak 2010)*

CONCLUSION

Regular and fair elections are crucial for successful running of a democratic system and democracy in general. However, it is not by any means the only way to assess all dimensions of Democracy. More specifically, the success of democracy is based on the essential basic elements such as the supremacy of civil authority, protection of basic human rights, minority rights,

transparency, accountability and freedom of citizen from violence harassment and unlawful detention. Democracy is based on political freedom. Its main foundation, the holding of free elections, cannot legitimately be used to introduce political conditions of organized violence or state repression that prevent fair and free elections from being held again. In such instances, elections are not signs of democracy, but rather a mask to anti-democratic political structures. No excuse in the grab of National interest' should be accepted as a pretext for violating human rights. Such politics is designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable. (Rabbani 2011). Kashmir has witnessed the worst form of democratic system where murder was legalized under this draconian law. In the state of Jammu and Kashmir violence by the armed forces is not privately-motivated form of abuse but an abuse of power that implicates public responsibility. The fate of the valley remains an intensively divisive issue in modernizing India. There is a trust deficit and the sense of security no more prevails, democracy they know by observing, changes its path once you enter valley. Conflicts must be understood politically and in a civilized manner. The continued deployment of the armed forces with an absolute cover of AFSPA in the state of J&K and elsewhere, strengthen the claim of those forces who accuse India off violating human rights and holding people against their own will. On the other hand conflict management military has cost India immense loss in terms of economy, power, loss of lives of thousands of our military men who do not tally however to oil the state publicity machinery. Beside such a policy of sustaining, conflict kill the underlying soul and motivation of the Indian constitution by butchering its own citizens and building the very basis of the Indian democracy and its cherished values of liberty equality and justice. What New Delhi can do is to strengthen the role and responsibility of state police instead of armed forces for maintaining law and order, restoration of civil liberties, to pursue a dialogue with all sections of Kashmiri people, indeed more transparency and assurance by confining military to its established role of external defense More importantly the state should institute an independent commission of inquiry into the complaints of enforced disappearances, extra-judicial killings, torture, rapes and other human rights violations by state actors and provide a supportive environment to facilitate access to justice for human rights defenders. AFSPA should be nullified-the last nail to the coffin parliamentary democracy in J&K will be the continuation of AFSPA.

End Notes:

1. The Armed Forces (Jammu and Kashmir) Special Powers Act of 1990 has recently come under renewed challenge, as reflected in a report in early July 2015 by Amnesty International (Yasir, 2015).

2. Talveen Singh(1995) had extensively written, how Congress-NC alliance blatantly rigged the elections in 1987in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Opposition Muslim United Front workers were arrested and tortured. Many of them spearheaded the armed insurgency as Yusuf Shah (Syed Salahuddin), who had contested the elections, founded the Hizbul Mujahideen. The rigging was blatant. This simply deepens people feelings against the Government of India. Thus triggered the insurgency along with overbearing presence and manipulative nature of the deep state

3. Basharat peer in his book 'Curfewed night'(2008) has extensively recorded the testimony of many people who were the victims of state forces.

4. 'DO YOU REMEMBER KANUN POSHPORA' a book co-authored by Essar Batool, Ifrah Butt and three others. This book gives the chilling account of rapes committed by the armed forces in the twin villages of Kanun and Poshpora on 22-23 feb.1991.

5. The Machil encounter case of 2010 in which three civilians were killed in Kashmir's Kupwara District, can be seen as a test case. It shows that contrary to the view that the Armed Forces (SpecialPowers) Act gives impunity to the army personnel in conflict areas, see Bhukari (2017).

6. In 2011 over 2,700 unmarked graves have been identified by the 11-member police team of the State Human Rights Commission (SHRC) in four districts of north Kashmir. Despite claims of the local police that the graves contained dead bodies of "unidentified militants", the report points out that 574 bodies have been identified as disappeared locals – 17 of these have already been exhumed and shifted to family or village grave sites, see Govind Acharya (2011).

7. On 30 April 2010, the Indian Army claimed to have foiled an infiltration bid from across the Line of Control, at Machil Sector in Kupwara district of Jammu and Kashmir by killing three armed militants from Pakistan. However, it was subsequently established that the encounter had been staged and that the three alleged militants were in fact civilians of Rafi Abad area, who had been lured to the army camp by promising them jobs as "porters" for the Army, and then shot in cold blood, in order to claim a cash award. See (The Indian Express 29 May 2010.)

8. The text was extracted from http://www.firstpost.com/india/full-text-centres-interlocutors-report-on-jammu-and-kashmir-319954.html.

9. For more details, see Asia Watch, Kashmir Under Siege (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1991) and Human Rights Watch/Asia and Physicians for Human Rights, The Human Rights Crisis in Kashmir: A Pattern of Impunity (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1993), (hereafter A Pattern of Impunity) also Amnesty international, "DENIED" Failures in accountability in Jammu and Kashmir (UK: Amnesty International, 2015).

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Review

Zimbabwe-EU Relations after the New Political Dispensation: Prospects for Re-engagement

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Relations between Zimbabwe and the European Union (EU) turned sour around 2002 after Zimbabwe embarked on the Fast-Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP). Zimbabwe received widespread condemnation from the EU which then imposed sanctions on the country. The sanctions resulted in the deterioration of socio-economic conditions as the country was denied access to lines of credit. Zimbabwe lost over US$42 billion in revenue and the economy contracted by over 40 percent by 2013. The exit of Britain from the EU and the current political dispensation in Zimbabwe provides prospects for re-engagement. The new political dispensation under President Emmerson Mnangagwa is currently reviving the economy and has implemented a number of economic reforms.

Key words: Re-engagement, sanctions, economy, new dispensation, diplomacy

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INTRODUCTION

The study of EU-Zimbabwe relations is very important in understanding international politics and foreign policy from both a global and local perspective. EU-Zimbabwe relations are very important given the fact that there has been contestations and conflict between the EU as a bloc and the Zimbabwean government over the imposition of sanctions. The word 'sanctions' has become a buzzword in the vocabulary of many ordinary Zimbabweans.The sanctions on Zimbabwe were introduced in response to political violence, human rights abuses and rule of law violations, as well as deteriorating democratic standards that followed the violent election processes in 2000 and 2002 (Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition, 2012). Sanctions were intended to respond to human rights abuses and misrule and to press the Zimbabwean government for reforms (Research and Advocacy Unit, 2015). Some countries in the EU, donor agencies and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) have argued that the removal of sanctions is not yet appropriate as the country has not made any meaningful reforms.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to examine EU-Zimbabwe relations in the wake of a new political dispensation in Zimbabwe.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is informed by the utilitarian ethical theory by Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill. Utilitarianism is a term derived from 'utility' which generally refers to something. It is a normative ethical theory that argues that any action has moral worth if it brings about the greatest net happiness among available alternative courses of action to the greatest number of people affected by the given action. Mill popularised utilitarianism through the Greatest Happiness Principle,

which states that "actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness, wrong as they tend to produce the reverse of happiness" (Mill, 1993: 51). Human actions ought to be disposed towards promotion of the total balance of good over wrong for all the people affected by a given action. Utilitarianism is opposed to deontological ethical theory in that while the ethics of deontology conceive of morality as a duty or a moral rule that has to be followed, utilitarianism is a result-oriented ethical theory in that results of a given action are the sole basis for judging the morality of given action (Velasquez, 1997). Therefore an action is considered 'right' if it tends to produce happiness and 'wrong' if it brings about unhappiness to the greatest number of those people affected by a given action. In line with the utilitarian theory, Masaka (2012) argues that there is credibility in the argument that the targeted sanctions on Zimbabwe are targeted at the whole country and not individuals. The economy has suffered as a result of the imposition of sanctions imposed on key individuals who control the levers of the economy and politics. Targeted sanctions can therefore be evaluated on utilitarian grounds as immoral because they brought about net unhappiness to the whole country (Masaka, 2012).However, the economic meltdown in Zimbabwe cannot be blamed solely on targeted economic sanctions because poor economic and political decisions by the former President of Zimbabwe Robert Gabriel Mugabe and his ZANU-PF led government also largely contributed to the country's unprecedented economic meltdown.

THE CONCEPT OF SANCTIONS

According to Chingono, Hove and Danda (2013) sanctions are a foreign policy tool used by States or international organizations to persuade a particular government or group of governments to change their policy by restricting trade, investment or other commercial activities. Sanctions are a penalty imposed to ensure international law whose major aim is to punish the law breaker so as to avoid him from attaining his objectives and to change the rule breaker's policy (Hove, 2012). Therefore sanctions are a form of punishment to a target State in an effort to compel it to change certain unacceptable behaviour. The above arguments contradict EU's view of sanctions. The EU in 2008 indicated that sanctions were 'an instrument of a diplomatic or economic nature which seek to bring about a change in activities or policies such as violations of international law or human rights, or policies that do not respect the rule of law or democratic principles'. Sanctions are meant to bring about 'change of behaviour' and are not supposed to be 'punishment or retribution' (Chipanga and Mude, 2015).

Sanctions can be unilateral and multilateral in nature. Unilateral sanctions are imposed by a single state which resorts to sanctions as a tool of foreign policy with an objective to transform the targeted country's behaviour. Multilateral sanctions are imposed by a group ofstates such as the United Nations (UN). It is widely accepted that sanctions take the form of travel restrictions, foreign aid reductions and cut-offs, trade bans, asset freezes, tariff increases, revocation of most favoured nation, trade status, negative votes in international financial institutions, removal of diplomatic relations. Sanctions can be economic or targeted. While sanctions have a myriad of objectives depending on which actor is sending them, unilaterally or multilaterally, one lucid objective among these is sanctions' bid to isolate the respective state practising objectionable policies (Chingono, Hove and Danda, 2013). The objectives of sanctions include deterring a target from engaging in wrongful behaviour, compelling an offending state to abandon or cease behaviour that the sanctioner considers wrongful, alter the target state's behaviour by subverting the incumbent wrong-doers, play a punitive role or to express a policy position symbolically to one's own public or to other states in the international system (Eriksson, 2007). Targeted sanctions often termed 'smart sanctions' are usually targeted at a small circle within the ruling elite of a given country and are developed as an alternative to comprehensive sanctions that are proven to have a more devastating impact on the broader population than on those whose behaviour the sanctions had intended to influence. Targeted measures are a relatively new form of sanction, intended to constrain and change certain behaviour and promote international norms and standards, as well as meet domestic policy needs (Crisis Group Africa Briefing, 2012).

Chipanga and Mude (2015) argues that the rationale behind the targeted measures is to pressure key decision-makers considered to bear direct or indirect responsibility for a political or economic crisis in a particular regime with the objective of persuading or compelling them tochange their behaviour. Economic sanctions pressurise the intended state into compliance through intentional incapacitation of the economy. Comprehensive sanctions are full restrictive measures, including trade and financial sanctions. Sanctions have been constantly used due to their low costs as compared to war (Eriksson, 2007). This also grew from former President of the United States of America Woodrow Wilson's recommendation that: "A nation that is boycotted is a nation that is in sight of surrender. Apply this economic, peaceful, silent, deadly remedy and there will be no need for force. It is a terrible remedy. It does not cost a life outside the nation boycotted, but it brings pressure upon that nation which, in my judgement, no modern nation could resist" (Chogugudza, 2009).

Targeted sanctions differ from comprehensive sanctions. Targeted sanctions involve the selective use of sanction measures with the intention to minimise unintended negative humanitarian impact by specifically targeting single persons, institutions and business organizations that are specified as contributing to certain kinds of behaviour that are

Targeted sanctions differ from comprehensive sanctions. Targeted sanctions involve the selective use of sanction measures with the intention to minimise unintended negative humanitarian impact by specifically targeting single persons, institutions and business organizations that are specified as contributing to certain kinds of behaviour that are disliked by the senders of sanctions, leaving out innocent people (Grebe, 2010). The concept of targeted measures – as opposed to comprehensive economic embargoes – has emerged since the early 1990s. It includes a range of personal sanctions (visa bans, asset freezes), selective sanctions (arms embargoes) and diplomatic sanctions (withdrawal of diplomatic status) (Portela, 2001).

Comprehensive sanctions are defined as 'the application of the full arsenal of sanction measures, including trade and financial sanctions plus the senders of targeted sanctions intentional withdrawal, or threat of withdrawal, of customary trade or financial relations to force the offending state to toe the line as prescribed by the senders of the comprehensive sanctions (Grebe, 2010: 4). Targeted sanctions are thought to be useful in specifically identifying the culprits for punishment without necessarily dragging the innocent citizenry into bearing the unpleasant consequences of the sanctions regime. Therefore for targeted sanctions to be more effective, they ought not to bundle offenders and non-offenders together but should clinically identify the culprits for punishment while at the same time making sure that innocent people are not made to pay a heavy price for the crimes and misdeeds of selected individuals, institutions, and business organizations in a given state (Masaka, 2012). However, the unfortunate feature of targeted sanctions is that they may cause the deterioration of a situation they were designed to alleviate and are therefore, largely an ineffective tool to effect policy changes with regard to their target (Minter & Schmit, 1988).

EFFECTS OF SANCTIONS ON ZIMBABWE

The imposition of targeted sanctions on Zimbabwe brought with it bad publicity, a record low credit rating, and a pariah state tag (Masaka, 2012). Investors willingly pulled out of the country, avoided making new investments, or were commandeered by their countries not to make new or further investments in Zimbabwe. Targeted sanctions led to sustained disinvestment and de-industrialization in Zimbabwe that severely weakened the economy with negative consequences for the citizens' welfare and well-being (Herald, 7 July 2011). This was meant to make the targeted sanctions more effective in weakening the economy and thus exert significant pressure on the Zimbabwe government to change its behaviour. This led to the collapse of the economy. In 2007 the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ) indicated that "Far from the claim that sanctions in Zimbabwe are ring-fenced and targeted at a few individuals, the reality on the ground is that the tight grip of the declared and undeclared sanctions is being felt throughout the entire economy" (RBZ, 2007: 2). With an unhealthy Balance of Payments (BOP) that predated the imposition of targeted sanctions, the global supremacy of the USA and EU forced Multilateral Financial Institutions (MFIs) such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) to stop advancing bridging finance to the Government of Zimabwe to revitalise its BOP and the economy (RBZ, 2007). Dorussen and Mo (2001) argues that sanctions are more likely to be effective if the target state suffers large costs and if these costs are predictable.

In reality, the clinical application of targeted sanctions against a select few people, institutions, and business organizations within a state, such as Zimbabwe, and avoiding harm to the rest has proved to be a grossly superficial strategy because there is an intricate interconnectedness between the political leadership and the people, institutions, and business organizations. Targeting the political elite and their business interests may, in fact, prove suicidal because the targeted individuals may hold the economic levers of the country. Weakening these individuals would effectively mean the weakening of a significant chunk of the national economy. Political leaders preside over the affairs of the country in their various aspects, including the economy. Restricting them in any way brings about negative effects that have national implications. The effects of targeted sanctions on Zimbabwe led to economic collapse (Masaka, 2012).

EU-ZIMBABWE RELATIONS

Since independence in 1980, the EU has been Zimbabwe's main source of development assistance (Williams, 2002). There has been a lot of contestation on the issue of EU-Zimbabwe relations from the time sanctions were imposed on Zimbabwe.Zimbabwe's problems with the EU began in February 2001 when the EU began a political dialogue with Zimbabwe in response to concerns about human rights, democracy, and media freedom in the country. In October 2001, in light of escalating human rights violations (and especially those that accompanied the elections in June 2000), and the continuing occupation of white-owned farms, the Cotonou Agreement Council (the CA Council) opened formal consultations with Zimbabwe.

From 29 October 2001, EU Foreign Affairs Ministers unanimously agreed to apply political pressure on Zimbabwe under Article 96 of the Cotonou Agreement. The EU had previously invoked Article 96 in its relations with Haiti (which led to sanctions) and the Ivory Coast (which did not). Signed in June 2000, Article 96 regulates EU relations with the

African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) states. It stipulates that if there is no progress on human rights issues within 75 days after formal consultations began 'appropriate measures' including sanctions, may be implemented. In line with its mechanisms, the EU sent a letter to Zimbabwe seeking political consultations. However, the EU was rebuffed almost immediately when the Zimbabwean government rejected its request to allow its officials to monitor the 2002 presidential elections (Williams, 2002).

The EU's dilemma was that both its ministers and former President Mugabe knew that stopping its £7.35m of development aid would only harm the poorest members of Zimbabwean society (Dempsey, 2002). In addition, by January 2002, the EU admitted that even adopting 'smart sanctions' would have a limited effect without the co-operation of other regional states which was at that stage virtually non-existent. At an EU-Zimbabwe meeting in Brussels on 11 January 2002, Zimbabwe's former Foreign Affairs Minister Stanley Mudenge accused Britain of 'exercising hypnotic powers' over its EU partners. Mudenge argued that the British government was using the EU to renege on its commitments to fund the land reform process in Zimbabwe. In response, the Spanish ambassador to the EU, Javier Conde de Saro, rubbished Mudenge's suggestion stating that the EU member states were 'not the UK's puppets' (Dempsey and Innocenti, 2002).

The Government of Zimbabwe argued that there was no violation of human rights, democratic principles and the rule of law in Zimbabwe. It indicated that the EU was using such allegations as a means to punish the Government for land redistribution. This was inherently implausible given the volume of evidence that human rights, democratic principles, and the rule of law were being extensively violated, and that a very important marker of these fundamental features, the elections in 2000, had led to near-universal opprobrium.

The Cotonou Agreement

On 19 February 2002, the EU made its final decision to impose sanctions on Zimbabwe. It indicated that it had taken the following measures in line with Article 96(2)(c) of the Cotonou Agreement:

(i)   Suspension of the budgetary support under Zimbabwe's 7th and 8th EDF National Indicative Programmes (NIP's);
(ii)   Suspension of financial support for all projects, except those in direct support of the population;
(iii)   Re-orientation of financial support to assist the population;
(iv)   Suspension of the signature of the 9th EDF NIP;
(v)   Suspension of Annex 2 of Article 12 of the Cotonou Agreement insofar as required for the application of restrictive measures adopted on the basis of the Treaty establishing the EC; and
(vi)   Evaluation of regional projects on a case-by-case basis.

In addition to the above measures, the EU further imposed the following sanctions:

(i)   An embargo on the sale, supply or transfer of arms and of technical advice, assistance or training related to military activities, and the sale or supply of equipment which could be used for internal repression; and
(ii)   A travel ban on persons who engage in serious violations of human rights and of the freedom of opinion, of association and of peaceful assembly in Zimbabwe, and a freezing of their funds, other financial assets or economic resources.

Despite the 18 February 2002 Council decision, and the freezing of the signature and implementation of the EDF programme, European Commission assistance to Zimbabwe since the beginning of the crisis has continued. As seen above, the Council's decision resulted in the Commission suspending financial support for all projects, except those in direct support of the population. The key clauses of the Council's decision stated that:

Financial support for all projects is suspended except those in direct support of the population, particularly those in the social sectors. Financing shall be re-oriented in direct support of the population, in particular in the social sectors, democratisation, respect for human rights and the rule of law.

The treatment of projects therefore has depended upon the degree to which they provide direct support to the population and three groups of programs/projects were identified. The bulk of the EDF portfolio in 2002 was already aimed at providing direct support to the population. Projects unaffected by the Council's decision included small-scale irrigation programmes, support to the University of Zimbabwe Veterinary Faculty, health sector support, among others (Research and Advocacy Unit, 2015). Other projects, designed in the late 1990s, which combined direct support to the population with support for capacity-building and policy reform in Government ministries, were terminated, and, in these

cases, the approach was to suspend the capacity-building and policy reform activities and to re-allocate their budgetary allocations to direct support for the population. Some health, educational and agricultural research projects fell under this group. Another group of projects which did not provide direct support to the population were also suspended with the funds earmarked or reallocated to direct support for the population. Therefore apart from the direct 'humanitarian' assistance already being provided to Zimbabwe when the dispute was formalised, other forms of support were not removed, but rather re-aligned to humanitarian or democracy support. Simply put, the overall amount of money that the EU was providing to Zimbabwe did not change at all.

The EU and its Member States have provided more than €1.5 billion in development assistance since 2002. The European Commission has provided €90-100 million per year in development assistance to the people of Zimbabwe in the areas of food security and agriculture, social sectors and the promotion of good governance. Furthermore, the EU is Zimbabwe's second largest trading partner (after South Africa). EU-Zimbabwe trade balance is positive for Zimbabwe. For example in 2012, total trade between the EU Member States and Zimbabwe (exports and imports) amounted to €609 million (around $791 million) with a positive trade balance of €132 million (about $ 171.5 million) in favour of Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe's exports to the EU amounted to €370.85 million (about $482 million) and imports from the EU had a total value of €237.97 million (around $ 309.37 million). Zimbabwe–EU trade in fact doubled during the course of the Government of National Unity (GNU). So it is very hard to claim that the EU is punishing Zimbabwe, and, in fact, is providing assistance when the pending dispute under Article 96 does not require this (Daily News, 9 June 2013).

A review of the literature reveals that there is only limited agreement among researchers on the Zimbabwe-EU sanctions debate. According to Chingono (2010:212) citing Nossal (1999) she argues that "sanctions only amount to a 'rain dance'-in other words, an activity that actually accomplishes very little, but that makes the participants feel good because something is being done about a serious problem". The issue of sanctions in international relations generates much academic contestation even among the effects based perspective scholarly camp.

Although relations have long been strained, the EU resumed direct development cooperation with Harare in November 2014. Since then, with member states, it has engaged in limited senior-level political dialogue. The EU set out a framework for engagement in the National Indicative Program for Zimbabwe 2014-2020, focusing on three sectors: health, agriculture-based economic development, and governance and institution-building. While this framework remains relevant, the ouster of former President Robert Gabriel Mugabe from power provides the EU an opportunity to adjust its approach and offer Zimbabwe the promise of a deeper relationship should certain conditions be met (a promise which is explicit in the 22 January 2018 Foreign Affairs Council Conclusions on Zimbabwe). This would require determining levels of support based on realistic deliverables and deadlines, based partly on timelines set by President Mnangagwa during his presentation to the ZANU-PF's extraordinary Congress, his State of the Nation address and the government's commitments to deliverables within the first 100 days in office.

Zimbabwe's Finance Minister Patrick Chinamasa said that President Emmerson Mnangagwa's led government was pursuing both economic and political re-engagements with international partners to normalise relations with key global economic giants. Officiating at a breakfast meeting organised by Centre for Risk Analytics and Insurance Research, Minister Chinamasa said the re-engagement process was top on the agenda in the new dispensation, to wean off the country from being a pariah State. He stated that:

> "We are going to re-engage in a very serious manner with international partners; not just economic engagement, but also normalising political relations with those countries. We are trying to normalise relations with the European Union, the United States of America and the United Kingdom. We consider normalising relations with United Kingdom as key because our problems are bilateral. At least there is willingness on both sides to put on the table the issues that divided us over the past years."

Minister Chinamasa further said government was intensifying the Lima process with a view to clear the country's debt and unlock fresh funding. The Lima plan was agreed in 2015 with Zimbabwe promising to clear its $1,8 billion debt to the IMF, the World Bank and the African Development Bank. To date, Zimbabwe has cleared the IMF arrears. He said the country would also re-engage the European Investment Bank and bilateral creditors. To assist the political re-engagement, Minister Chinamasa said there was commitment to protect land which falls under Bilateral Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement (BIPPA), adding that government was expediting paying compensation to the affected farmers (The Zimbabwean, 2018).

The EU has made it clear that it is open for re-engagement with the new political administration. The European Council stated that:

> "The EU reaffirms its availability to engage constructively with the new authorities including through a structured political dialogue, with political actors across the spectrum, and with civil society, on the basis of a mutual commitment to shared values focused on human rights, democratic principles and the rule of law. It will do so in coordination with African and International partners."

It further stated that;

> "The EU welcomes the intention of the Zimbabwean authorities to deliver economic reforms in Zimbabwe, aiming at job creation, growth and sustainable long-term development, and reaffirms its willingness to support the planning and implementation of much needed structural changes and the promotion of good governance."

The EU has made commitments to support Zimbabwe in areas such as strengthening economic and political institutions, public sector finance management and macro-economic policies, developing value chains in support of private sector development such as access to finance and quality infrastructure.

AREAS IN NEED OF REFORM IN ZIMBABWE

In his inaugural speech on 24 November 2017, President Mnangagwa confirmed that elections will take place by August 2018 as scheduled. However, he did not address critical issues, notably the security sector, media, and electoral reforms necessary to ensure credible, free, and fair elections.

 Specifically, the EU could link its support to reforms in Zimbabwe in four key areas:

(i)   Security Sector- On November 24, 2017 High Court Judge George Chiweshe ruled that the military intervention that led to the ouster of former President Mugabe was lawful under Zimbabwe's constitution. Whatever the merits of the ruling, the judgment could embolden the military to carry out further incursions in Zimbabwe's political or electoral affairs in the future. The highly partisan stance of Zimbabwe's military leadership, particularly without meaningful security sector reforms, significantly reduces the chances that free, fair and credible elections can be held.
The military has a long history of partisanship with the ruling party, ZANU-PF, interfering in the nation's political and electoral affairs in ways that adversely affected the ability of citizens to vote freely. The partisanship of the security forces' leadership has translated into abuses by these forces against civil society activists, journalists, and members and supporters of the opposition political party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) (Mavhinga, 2017).
  Security sector reforms should also include initiatives to professionalise the police forces and provide for civilian supervision, improve parliamentary oversight of the defence sector and repeal legislation inconsistent with the 2013 constitution such as the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) (which curtails rights such as freedom of assembly) and the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) (which allows the state to severely control the work of the media and limit free speech).These laws were used under former President Mugabe to severely curtail basic rights through vague defamation clauses and draconian penalties. Partisan policing and prosecution has worsened the impact of the repressive provisions in the AIPPA and POSA laws. Failure to repeal or significantly revise these laws and to develop mechanisms to address the partisan conduct of the police leaves little chance of the full enjoyment of rights to freedom of association and peaceful assembly prior to and during the coming elections.

(ii)   Elections- There is need to guarantee greater independence for the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) and credible voters roll for Zimbabweans at home and abroad. The EU also should follow up on the president's recent offer to allow EU and other Observers to monitor the 2018 harmonised elections. There has been no indication that the Mnangagwa administration intends to ensure the independence and enhance the professionalism of ZEC. There is an urgent need ahead of the elections, for Zimbabwe's Constitutional Court to review Judge Chiweshe's ruling, and ensure that members of the security forces observe strict political neutrality. Failure to ensure a professional, independent and non-partisan role for the security forces may make it difficult to deliver the elections needed to put Zimbabwe on a democratic and rights-respecting track (Mavhinga, 2017).

(iii)   Economic sector-There should be a broad dialogue on the government's economic reform strategy to be led by an independent committee, including representatives from the opposition, CSOs, the churches and important commercial   sectors.   Investors   should   be   guaranteed   security   of   their   investments.

(iv)   Strengthening independent commissions-There is need to bolster the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission (NPRC) and extending its mandate for it to be a truly independent body able to deal with past government abuses in terms of the Zimbabwean Constitution and the NPRC Act. The EU should step up support for institutions such as the Auditor General (AG), Zimbabwe Anti-Corruption Commission (ZACC) and Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission (ZHRC) while continuing to engage CSOs, and support their efforts to track government reforms, particularly those related to security, governance, fiscal accountability and anti-corruption.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE NEW POLITICAL DISPENSATION DURING THE FIRST 100 DAYS

1.   Scaling down the indigenisation law to make it only applicable to investments in diamonds and platinum mining.
2.   Calling for the holding of free, fair and credible harmonised elections.
3.   Extending invitation to the EU and other countries and international organisations to observe the 2018 harmonised elections. A nine member EU election exploratory team arrived on 19 March 2018 for pre-election assessment ahead of the July 2018 harmonised elections.
4.   Zero tolerance to corruption backed by action. A number of high ranking officials have been brought before the courts of law to answer charges of corruption.
5.   Three months amnesty to those who had externalised foreign currency- $591,1 million was repatriated during the first 100 days while $826,5 million was still outstanding. Names of individuals and companies who did not return their loot were named in the press.
6.   Declaration of assets by all cabinet ministers.
7.   Re-engaging the international community and promoting investment. The country managed to secure US$3 billion worth of investment commitments.
8.   Scraping of treatment fees to all vulnerable groups –children under the age of 5, pregnant women and senior citizens above 65 years.
9.   Reducing the price of fuel from around $1.42 to $1.38 per litre of petrol.
10.   Removing levies on all bank transactions below US$10.
11.   Facilitating greater use of electronic payments to address the cash shortages.

CONCLUSION

When targeted sanctions are directed against political leaders and Government officials of a particular country, it is usually the vulnerable groups of society who suffer and not the targeted group. Former United Nations, Secretary General, Kofi Annan once bemoaned the adverse effects of sanctions, when he said that:

> 'Sanctions remain a blunt instrument, which hurt large numbers of people who are not their primary targets'.
> Sanctions, whether disguised in any form, ultimately resulted in the deterioration of health services, shortages of drugs, and high infant mortality rates. Innocent civilians were therefore, adversely affected by the sanctions. Sanctions have also had adverse and downstream social and economic effects on the Zimbabwean economy's key sectors. The debilitating effects of sanctions have seen the country experiencing foreign currency shortages. This has seen the country failing to import fuel, hospital drugs, and critical machinery for industry and failing to service its external debt.

The European Union (EU) has shown its willingness to reengage and assist Zimbabwe under the leadership of President Emmerson Mnangagwa. Zimbabwe has been under EU sanctions for close to two decades as punishment for the country's decision to redistribute land to the landless majority which started in 2000. The new political dispensation led by President Emmerson Mnangagwa has since coming into office last November, embarked on a re-engagement programme that has seen Zimbabwe's relations with the EU and the international community at large improving. The EU team leader on Agriculture, Private Sector and Trade, Mr Thomas Opperer, indicated that Zimbabwe was going to benefit immensely from the re-engagement process. The EU team stated that the re-engagement drive would ensure that Zimbabwe would benefit alongside with other African countries from an ambitious external investment plan of the EU. The investment plan is based on the realisation that the traditional development assistance alone cannot address the challenges and opportunities for sustaining economic growth. He further noted that the engine for economic growth was investments in the private sector and thus the EU was adopting a paradigm shift with a view to promote economic growth among African countries through its external investment plan. President Mnangagwa indicated that Zimbabwe was open for business and efforts are therefore underway to attract foreign direct investment from across the globe in sectors such as mining, tourism, agriculture and manufacturing. This has seen Zimbabwe approving investment proposals worth more than $7 billion between December 2017 and April 2018.

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Full Length Research

The Effectiveness of State and Non-State Actors in Combating Human Trafficking and Ensuring Safe Migration Concerns of Zimbabwean Women

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This study focuses on the effectiveness of State and Non-state actors in combating human trafficking and ensuring safe migration of Zimbabwean women. The study relied on qualitative research methodology while data was gathered through primary and documentary search. Respondents were purposively selected from victims of human trafficking and organisations that deal with combating human trafficking. These included IOM, Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) Human Trafficking Desk, Ministry of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs. The study revealed that human trafficking in Zimbabwe thrives under conditions of vulnerability which are caused by various factors ranging from poverty, limited educational opportunities, poor economic conditions, gender and age. A strong relationship between Government and NGOs' inadequate adherence to the Palermo Protocol standards and escalation of human trafficking was also exposed. Though Zimbabwean has several laws that deals with human trafficking, implementation of these laws still remains a challenge. This has contributed to the escalation of human trafficking cases from Zimbabwe to neighbouring countries, particularly South Africa.

Key words: Human trafficking, International Organisation for Migration, Migration, Palermo Protocol

INTRODUCTION

Human trafficking is by nature a transnational issue and a form of modern day slavery. Research and documentary evidence have indicated that, other than forced labour, sexual exploitation of women claims the most profitable segment of the human trafficking industry (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime Report, 2015). The International Labor Organisation (ILO) Report (2008) also confirms that ninety eight percent of those trafficked for the purposes of sexual exploitation are women and children. This has been attributed to the fact that human trafficking has more economic benefits that motivate perpetrators to continue engaging in the crime. According to Davey (2005) human trafficking has globally turned into a multi-billion dollar industry where a few individuals are benefitting from violating vulnerable groups. Every year the industry generates thirty two billion Dollars. Fifteen point five billion United State Dollars is generated in industrialised countries. Other scholars have argued that human trafficking is closely tied to terrorist organisations such as ISIS and Boko Haram (Mapuranga, 2016).

Shelly (2010) asserts that approximately 600 000 to 800 000 people are trafficked across international borders each

year. On average, an estimated number of about 2.5 million people from 127 countries have been trafficked to 137 countries for purposes such as forced labour, sexual exploitation, the removal of organs and body parts, forced marriages, child adoption and begging (UN Report, 2008). Although statistics regarding the average number of victims in Africa is unknown, human trafficking has become a very common trend in African countries. Anti-human trafficking measures are either virtually non-existent, weak and inapplicable (Shu-Acquaye, 2013). For example, national legislations on anti-human trafficking in most of West and Central African countries such as Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and the Gambia, and Mauritania were passed recently. Currently, there are no anti-trafficking laws in Chad, Cote d'Ivoire and Niger. However, Africa has regional instruments that specifically fight against human trafficking. These The Protocol to the African Charter on Women and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child and Trafficking in Human Beings Especially Women and Children (Shu-Acquaye, 2013).

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study relied on the economic and victimology theories to explain human trafficking of women. It is important to note that a combination of criminal justice and crime prevention measures be considered to prevent, protect victims, and prosecute human traffickers. This study proposes for an integrated framework for explaining and describing human trafficking given that there is no single explanation for the causes of human trafficking as it involves a high contingent of role players from a variety of backgrounds.

Economic Theory

Economic theory can be used to explain crimes, actions and behaviours which calculate the gains and benefits accrued from participating in a certain task. Witt and Witte (2002) postulates that economic theory of crime suggests that people make decisions to offend in ways that resemble their decisions made about other non-criminal activities. The underlying principle of the economic theory is that criminals commit crime because they have perceived the benefits from the crime to outweigh the possibility of being prosecuted and incurring costs (Eagle and Betters, 2007; Persson and Siven, 2007). Therefore, traffickers commit crime if the expected profits from legal work are less than those from illegal activities. Pratt (2008) and Witte and Witt (2002) indicated that individuals apply legal or illegal actions because of the expected utility from those acts and are influenced by the fact that the possibility of the expected gains from crime relative to earnings from legal work accentuates trafficking endeavours. Another component of this theory is that the lesser the punishment the more human trafficking progresses. The probability of being apprehended, prosecuted and sentenced and the value of the expected punishment will determine the extent of the crime. In support of this, McCray (2006) argues that certainty is more important than severity.

The theory of Victimology

The theory of Victimology argues that certain women might be at greater risk of being victimised than others. According to Lutya and Lanier (2012) victim-offender interaction, repeat victimisation and lifestyles are key factors in describing the nature of escalation of human trafficking. Interactions with traffickers, lifestyles and number of times women have been trafficked form an essential part of the process of human trafficking of women for purposes of sexual exploitation. Van de Hoven and Maree (2005) asserts that there are three categories of victims that could be prone to victimization. These are innocent, precipitating and provocative victims. By interacting with criminals innocently through no fault of their own or by walking alone in the dark some individuals can be seen as precipitating their own victimisation. In addition, by exhibiting certain traits that can be perceived as provocative by traffickers, some people become prone to human trafficking. Precisely, the distance between the trafficker and the victim and the intentions of the trafficker and the nature of victim-trafficker interaction may increase the chances of trafficking.

Van Den Hoven and Maree (2005) pointed out that victims and the offender can interact closely before victimisation occur and during that time, victim's weaknesses that led to victimisation can be easily identified. Chances are that the victim can instigate or precipitate the victimisation incident. Women and children are more likely to be victimised by a known person than by strangers. Hence, victim proneness, precipitation and provocation will be used as the three factors which create vulnerability of women and girls to human trafficking for prostitution purposes. Perpetual victimisation entails that victims of crimes are likely to be victimised either by different perpetrators or the same assailant during a limited period of time. Van den Hoven and Maree (2005) further argued that repeat victimisation is likely to manifest into a cycle of violence and in turn, victims are likely to become abusers by replicating or modelling behaviour and actions perpetrated against them by human traffickers and recruit other women and girls for sexual exploitation. Van den Hoven and Maree (2005) outlined target vulnerability (which is illustrated by victim's weakness and psychological

distress), target gratifiability (which entails traits that are attractive to the perpetrator) and target antagonism (which is trauma experienced through the process of first victimisation) as characteristics that make people more prone to repeat victimisation than others. Hence, unaddressed traumatic experiences, future plans constrained by the sexual exploitation and financial gains that could have been generated from prostitution, are likely to motivate former victims to either work independently as prostitutes or replicate the process by recruiting trafficking victims for monetary gains.

On the other hand, lifestyle activities such as substance abuse, internet use and equivalent groups are key factors explaining human trafficking of young women for sexual exploitation. It is possible for human traffickers to draw into the human trafficking ring with full knowledge of victims whose lifestyles intersect with theirs instead of selecting women from unfamiliar places. Such victims are unlikely to report the perpetrators to the authorities thus rendering themselves easy prey to human traffickers (Van den Hoven, 2005).

The Global Scale of Human Trafficking

According to Dube (2012) human trafficking is a terrible crime involving the trade of human beings and is usually referred to as modern day slavery. Human beings are moved from one place to another whether within the same country, from one country to another or even from one continent to another. Upon their arrival at their final destination the individuals transported will be exploited for different purposes. Forms of trafficking includes; forced labour, servitude and sexual exploitation. Morrissey (2006) pointed out that human trafficking is ranked the third largest profiting transnational organised crime after drugs and weapons trafficking and $32 billion is generated annually from human trafficking worldwide (ILO, 2008). According to U.S State Department Report (2011), an approximate of 600,000 to 800,000 human trafficking victims mainly women and children are trafficked across international borders worldwide every year. These statistics shows that human trafficking has become one of the world's greatest socio-economic challenge. The statistics also shows that most governments in the developing countries have failed to effectively control the escalation of human trafficking mainly due to lack of expert knowledge, inadequate financial resources and gaps in anti-human trafficking laws. The socio-cultural context also affects victims' ability to use the protective measures of the law as they fear being castigated by the community. This results in most cases going unreported.

Push-Pull Factors as Causes of Human Trafficking

The factors that enable human trafficking to occur vary and are interdependent and interconnected (Stop Violence Against Women (SVAW), 2008; Truong, 2001; Van Impe, 2000).Universal factors that contribute to trafficking of women can be divided into push and pull factors (Jones, Engstrom, Hilliard and Diaz,2007). The push factors comprise of poverty, socio-economic instability, natural disasters like earthquakes and floods leading to virtual destitution of some people, lack of education, skill and income opportunities for women in rural areas, absence of public awareness about the activities of traffickers, pressure to collect money for dowries which leads to sending daughters to distant places for work, dysfunctional family life, domestic violence against women, low status of girl children among others (Shelley, 2010).

Cho (2012) asserted that pull factors include; lucrative employment propositions in big cities, easy money, promise of better pay and a comfortable life by the trafficking touts and agents, demand of young girls for marriage in other regions, demand for low-paid shop labour, government officials' corruption and the growing demand of young kids for adoption, an increase in the demand for women and girls in the rapidly expanding sex industry and exploitation as a result of the misconception that sexual intimacy with young girls reduces chances of contracting HIV/ AIDS or myth that sex with a virgin cure HIV/ AIDS, demand for young women in places of military concentration (Waghamode and Angadi, 2014).

It is important to note that push factors do not only make victims vulnerable to traffickers but they also create conducive environments and incentives for trafficking. For example, prostitutes who have no option to come out of the exploitative environment, gradually develop intimate bond with the traffickers and follow in their footsteps (Tremblay, 2010).

According to Gumbo (2008) it is difficult to assess the prevalence and nature of human trafficking because of a variety of reasons. Waghamode, Kalyan and Angadi (2014) argued that human trafficking is a complex, multi-dimensional phenomenon that requires multidisciplinary approach and therefore any analysis of the root causes of human trafficking must take into account factors that are specific to a certain country or region, its socio-economic conditions and its poverty levels.

Human Trafficking in China

Gertz (2010) indicated that sophisticated and well-orchestrated syndicates like 'Triad' play a major role in fuelling human tracking in China by deceiving victims into believing that they will further their education overseas as well as

better job opportunities. However, victims are later handed over to hair salons, massage parlors, bathhouses, and labour and sex industries. In some poverty-stricken areas, trafficked victims are sold to old, mentally impaired or disabled unmarried men (Jiang, Li and Sanchez, 2011). Other famous Chinese criminal groups such as She' To'u or Snakeheads are also known for specialising in human trafficking and are active in exploiting people into prostitution (Rankin, 2012).

According to United Nations Inter-Agency Project (UNIAP) (2013) China is a source, transit, and destination country for women, aged between 17-25 years, from countries like Burma, Vietnam, Laos, Mongolia, Russia, Myanmar and North Korea, Romania, Democratic Republic of Congo, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe who are subjected to commercial sexual exploitation, servitude and forced labour. The United Nations Inter-Agency Project on Human Trafficking Report (2014) claimed that approximately 600,000 migrant workers also leave China to work overseas every year and this figure 1 accounts for only those tracked by the Ministry of Labour and Social Security and does not include illegal immigrants (Tiantian, 2014). This indicates the high levels of human trafficking in China.

June (2014) asserts that massive human trafficking has been fueled by China's one-child policy that resulted in gender imbalances and a universal expectation to marry as men are experiencing severe shortage of women to marry. Other factors such as lack of employment opportunities in conjunction with country's boom in manufacturing and construction industries and the traditional culture where women are subordinate to men also immensely contributed to massive rural-urban migration and played a major role in exposing women to traffickers.

The Chinese government has taken the issue of combating human trafficking seriously by ratifying every international human trafficking law has also put in place harsh domestic laws. Under the Criminal Code of Republic of China (1979), anyone who abducts or traffics women or children is subjected to a jail sentence of 5 to 10 years and a fine. This is a clear indication that the Chinese government is committed in prosecuting the perpetrators of human trafficking though the crime's prevalent rate has remained high. Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) have also collaborated with the government in trying to fight against the crime. In 2000, the United Nations Inter-Agency Project (UNIAP) on Human Trafficking in Greater Mekong Sub Region was established. Six government, thirteen UN agencies and eight International NGOs were brought together to fight against human trafficking (Best, 2005). Furthermore, NGOs awareness campaigns were increased. In 2007, USAID and AusAID in partnership with MTV Europe Foundation and MTV Networks Asia Pacific also carried out an anti-trafficking campaign throughout Asia where anti-trafficking materials were provided through media, public service announcements, concerts and MTV events in China, India, Malaysia and many other Asian countries.

Human Trafficking in Kuwait

According to McGeehan (2012) the GCC countries employ the 'kafala' or sponsorship system so as to contain the influx of migrant workers through which the demand of labour is determined by employers (kafeels) and meet their employees either by direct recruitment or private employment agencies (PEAs). An approximate of 25 million semi-skilled or unskilled migrant workers from Asia and Africa are prone to human trafficking in the Middle East (Harroff-Tavel and Nasri, 2013). A migrant worker's status is tied to an individual sponsor for their contract period and therefore making the workers vulnerable to forced labour. In this regard countries in the Middle East have ratified the Palermo Protocol and the ILO Conventions on forced labour. All the States in the region have adopted national legislations to combat trafficking (Harroff-Tavel and Nasri, 2013). The penalties prescribed for violations vary, but all provide for terms of imprisonment and, in some cases, fines. The Kuwait government, social partners and other key stakeholders in the region have also made some significant efforts to respond to various forms of human trafficking (Mattar, 2011). These responses include training programmes on identification of trafficking victims in order to enhance awareness, detection and response. CSOs have played a direct role providing relief and legal support to the victims of human trafficking. Harroff-Tavel and Nasri (2013) suggested that there is need to broaden the prism through which human trafficking is perceived, taking into consideration the close relationship between human trafficking and labour migration and the loop-holes in the current labour migration governance systems that allows human trafficking to persist in the region. The discovery of oil, trade, tourism and wars are the major factors that have caused labour migration in the Middle East and the most favourable destinations are the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) Countries, particularly Kuwait, due to their societal transformation in the wake of their emergence as economically prosperous states (Baldwin-Edwards, 2010).

Human Trafficking in South Africa (Africa)

According to the United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF) (2003) Report, South Africa is both a source and a transit country for the international market of human traffickers and has provided a safe harbour of human trafficking activities especially of victims from regional and international locations. Well organised syndicates of both international and local traffickers exploit the victims, especially from Zimbabwe, in agricultural and industrial labour, sex industry and organ

harvesting. Due to its strategic position within Africa, South Africa also offers direct shipping and flights of trafficked victims to Europe and Asia. Evidence has shown that majority of trafficked African victims to Europe and Middle East are from South Africa and Zimbabwe (UNESCO, 2009).

UNIDOC (2012) cited the primary causes of human trafficking in Africa as poverty and lack of viable economic opportunities. Lack of awareness on recruitment channels has also been identified as one of the major causes of trafficking of African women to various nations, especially Middle East (Wakgari, 2014). Human traffickers in Africa are now comprised of well-orchestrated syndicates throughout the continent. Traffickers have extended their network from the lower calibre level to the bigger cities through which they can track potential victims and brainwashes poor girls and women through false promises of better life opportunities in Asia, Middle East and Europe. Pressure from families, friends and neighbours are some reasons that influence women's decision to migrate in general and trafficking in particular. The government of South Africa has made efforts to combat human trafficking through training of border officials and police officers in counter-trafficking courses, provision of shelter and the IOM's Southern African Counter Trafficking Assistance Project (SACTAP) (UNODC and SADC Report, 2007).

The United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organised Crime (UNCTOC)

According to UNCTOC (2000), the convention, seeks to prevent and apprehend perpetrators of international crimes including human trafficking, drug trafficking and arms trafficking. These crimes occur across borders hence a coordinated effort to foster international cooperation among states is necessary. Zimbabwe signed the Convention on 12 December 2000 and ratified it on 12 December 2007 but has not fully domesticated its provisions.

The Palermo Protocol (The Protocol To Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children)

The Palermo Protocol which is a supplement to the Convention against Transnational Organised Crime came into existence on 12 December 2000 but entered into force in 25 December 2003. Article 3 (a) of the Palermo Protocol outlines that Trafficking in Persons entails the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons through the use of force, threat, coercion, abduction, fraud, deception or giving and receiving of payments to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person for the purpose of exploitation. However, there are mixed perceptions over the effectiveness of the Palermo Protocol. Dube (2012) posits that the Protocol marked the international community's most comprehensive effort to deal with trafficking in persons in its modern forms. According to Marie (2004), the inclusion of NGOs and Inter-Governmental Organisations (IGOs) in the draft process of the Protocol assisted in the realisation of human trafficking victim's rights as NGOs maintained that the protocol should include the right of trafficked persons to remain in the Destination State. Kamala (2005) indicated that in the Palermo Protocol, human trafficking was placed under the heading of international criminal activity and states were requested to combat trafficking especially against women and children, protect and assist victims of trafficking, promote international cooperation aiming at preventing trafficking and prosecuting traffickers, provide physical, psychological and social recovery for victims, provide physical safety for the victims and strengthen border controls.

On the contrary, Louise (2007) views the definition of human trafficking, in the Palermo Protocol only as a problem of transnational organised crime rather than a migration or human rights issue. Therefore, the existence of the Protocol is contested and this might render it ineffective and there is need for non-state actors, like IOM, to intervene in fighting the crime.

Nevertheless, if strictly adhered to, the Protocol is one of the international conventions that can reduce the escalation of human trafficking. Article 2 of the Palermo Protocol states that its purpose is to prevent and combat human trafficking paying particular attention to women and children, to protect and assist the victims of such trafficking with full respect to their human rights and to promote cooperation among State Parties in order to meet its objectives. In addition, Article 9 of the Protocol requires states parties to establish policies and programmes to prevent trafficking in persons, such as awareness raising campaigns, research and data collection. The Protocol does not only cater for women and children despite its particular specification for them, it even caters for men and hence its existence is important.

Though Zimbabwe has acceded to the 2000 Palermo Protocol and is making some significant efforts to do so, it fails to adhere to the least principles which are meant to eradicate trafficking. According to US Department of State (2014), the Zimbabwean government efforts to investigate, prosecute trafficking offenses and convict traffickers remained weak because it does not have law enforcement statistics on investigations of suspected forced labour and sex trafficking crimes. There is continued lack of laws that criminalise all forms of trafficking. This has resulted in the escalation of human trafficking in the country.

The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights of Women in Africa

The Protocol is a legally binding multilateral supplement to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (African Charter). It was adopted in 2003 by African Heads of States. By 2009, it had been ratified by 27 out of 53 members of the African Union (Viljoen, 2009). The Protocol provides various rights to women such as the right to freedom from discrimination, the right to dignity, the right to life, integrity and security of the person, the right not to be subjected to harmful practices, rights relating to marriage, separation, divorce and annulment of marriage, access to justice and equal protection before the law, right to participation in the political and decision-making process, right to peace, rights of women in armed conflicts. The above rights are in accordance to Article 5 (g), which prevents and condemns trafficking in women as well as prosecutes the perpetrators of such trafficking and protects those women most at risk.

The Protocol further requires states parties to provide remedies to women whose rights have been violated. Article 11 calls for the protection of women in armed conflict from all forms of abuse including sexual exploitation. These include widow's rights, right to inheritance the special protection of elderly women, special protection of women with disabilities and special protection of women in distress. However, the adoption and entry into force by state parties and domestication of the Protocol is incomplete. The potential effect of the Protocol depends largely on the knowledge and awareness of its content and the possibilities of its use in advocacy, legal reform and litigation. As such, the role of the Protocol remain limited.

The Trafficking in Persons Act of Zimbabwe

The Trafficking in Persons Act, which was passed in June 2014, seeks to impose a punishment ranging from life imprisonment or imprisonment of not less than 10 years for human traffickers. The Trafficking in Persons Act Chapter 10:20 deals with the prohibition, prevention and prosecution of crimes of trafficking and protection of victims. This implies that the Act closes loopholes that allow many sex predators to walk free unlike before when migration laws and sex offenses were used as basis to prosecute perpetrators of human trafficking. The Trafficking in Persons Act also seeks to criminalise the hosting of adverts or any material on the Internet that is linked to human trafficking, any person who advertises or assists in the advertising, printing, publication, broadcasting or distribution by any means, material that promotes the trafficking in persons shall be guilty of the crime of trafficking in person. It also seeks to appoint a committee on trafficking in persons with a mandate to formulate and implement a national plan of action against trafficking in persons and to create centres for victims of trafficking in every province (Mbiba, 2014). The Act gives the courts powers to order the confiscation of all proceeds derived from or property used in connection with trafficking and provides for the establishment of programmes and centres for victims of human trafficking.

The law is however, considered to be vague and cannot effectively curb the escalation of the crime. According to the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Forced Labour and Human Trafficking Report (2015), the Trafficking in Persons Act does not comply with the international definition of trafficking in persons under the Palermo Protocol. In fact, the Act serves to prohibit transportation-based crimes (TIP Report, 2015). Furthermore, no centre has yet been established. The Zimbabwean government has made some efforts to implement the Anti-Human Trafficking Act. The government established an inter-ministerial anti-trafficking committee, under the leadership of the Ministry of Home Affairs. However, the committee appears to be idle, since its establishment the committee has not yet met or undertaken anti-trafficking activities. This means NGOs need to lobby the government to amend the Anti-Human Trafficking Act in order to fully comply with the Palermo Protocol standards.

Non-State Actors Involved in Combating Human Trafficking

Although the Palermo Protocol has gathered momentum, human trafficking remains a serious crime, with grave human rights violations, that are largely overlooked by both governmental and non-governmental actors. Curbing human trafficking has been hampered by definitional difficulties of the phenomenon, a lack of knowledge and the existence of grey areas between trafficking and other forms of exploitation and lack of resources to fight against the crime on the part of various States (IOM, 2015). Furthermore, Counter-Trafficking efforts are not necessarily viewed as immediate life-saving in an emergency situation, hence, several international organizations like IOM, ILO, OSCE, UNODC and UNGIFT have developed approaches to address human trafficking.

International Organisation for Migration (IOM)

IOM has created more than four hundred partnerships with both state and non-state actors and implemented almost 500 counter-trafficking projects in more than 85 countries since 1994. Furthermore, IOM has provided assistance to over

15,000 trafficked persons. IOM's primary aims are to prevent human trafficking and protect victims of the trade through offering them options of safe and sustainable reintegration and return (Sanchez, 2012). IOM has extensively empowered and protected victims of human trafficking. For example in 2007 it was involved in a two-year USD 2.3 million joint programme with Indonesia which was supported by the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security. IOM has joined forces with the Government of Indonesia in fighting against human trafficking by strengthening the capacity of public authorities and civil society to both protect and empower victims of trafficking and to prevent persons in situations of vulnerability from being trafficked. The Protecting and Empowering Victims of Trafficking in Indonesia (EMPOWER) project aimed at strengthening the capacity of key State and non-State actors in Indonesia and main countries of destination and transit to protect and empower victims of trafficking; provide victims with comprehensive assistance; strengthen the capacity of key government agencies to address public and individual health risks associated with trafficking in persons; and prevent human trafficking in targeted high-risk villages through awareness-raising and capacity-building (Sanchez and Nguyen, 2012).

Under IOM's Southern African Regional Counter-trafficking programme, the organization has assisted 307 victims of trafficking between January 2004 and April 2010, including 60 minors and Zimbabweans comprised some 10 percent of the total beneficiaries (Muzulu, 2010). IOM Zimbabwe is working with Ministry of Home Affairs and Cultural Heritage to raise awareness among the community through schools, national platforms such as the annual Harare Agricultural Show as well as the Zimbabwe International Trade Fair. It has contributed to the ratification and subsequent domestication of the Palermo protocol by the Government of Zimbabwe, drafting and subsequent enactment of the Trafficking in Persons Act in Zimbabwe, facilitated the capacity building through training of over 50 parliamentarians on human trafficking dynamics and the importance of criminalising the crime through legislation and improved police investigations processes for cases of trafficking through the training of 30 Training of Trainers (ToT) law enforcement agents (IOM, 2015).

International Labour Organisation (ILO)

ILO's mandate is to protect the interests of workers when employed in foreign countries. ILO conventions relevant to human trafficking focuses on issues to do with forced labour, child labour and migrant workers (Harroff-Tavel and Nasri, 2013). The formulation of labour conventions by the ILO led to an extension of the scope of trafficking in persons beyond the sole focus on prostitution and sexual exploitation. Accordingly, ILO considers trafficking as a degrading misuse of human resources resulting in undignified and unproductive work where forced labour is referred to all work or service extracted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the person has not offered himself or herself voluntarily (Human Trafficking Working Group, 2015).

ILO initiatives are part of attempts to prevent compulsory labour from degenerating into working conditions similar to slavery and deals with the recruitment, placing, and conditions of migrant workers that are favourable. The Forced Labour Convention of 1930 requires States Parties to take additional measures to suppress forced labour, recognising that the contemporary labour market place is unrecognisable from the one that existed when the Convention was initially drafted (Mudimu, 2016). The Zimbabwean government is in the process of finalising its labour migration policy because it provides the framework for managing migration issues in the country and has also engaged the ILO to address human trafficking in Kuwait following the abuse of trafficked Zimbabwean women in Kuwait.

The Four 'Ps' Dimensional Approach to Human Trafficking Combating

The response at national, regional and international levels should be coordinated and coherent, following the 'four Ps' approach: prevention, protection, prosecution and partnerships (US Department of State, 2011). (Figure 1)

The State and non-state actors must show efforts in *protecting* both national and foreign human trafficking victims, of which the majority of them were previously unqualified to receive assistance from the host government. *Protection* efforts are centered around, the establishment of CSOs and Referral Networks of civil service providers for the purpose of providing victims of trafficking with sufficient psycho-social support and reintegration assistance (US Department of State, 2011). The provision of direct assistance to survivors of human trafficking in the form of temporary shelter, medical treatment, counselling, legal aid support and reintegration support should be regarded as a basic right. For instance, Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) ensures that US Government issues T-Visas to foreign victims of human trafficking and provide ways of ensuring that trafficking victims get assistance in investigations
and prosecutions of traffickers.

On the other hand, *prosecution* entails that there is strong need for governments to strengthen efforts to prosecute traffickers through creation of a series of new crime laws on trafficking, forced labour and be aware of the fact that human trafficking takes place in various forms which include fraud, coercion and force (IOM, 2015). For example formulation of the Palermo Protocol clearly defines 'sex' and 'labour' trafficking. In Zimbabwe, IOM works with the government in collecting their statements towards ensuring that legal recourse is sort, in line with the international
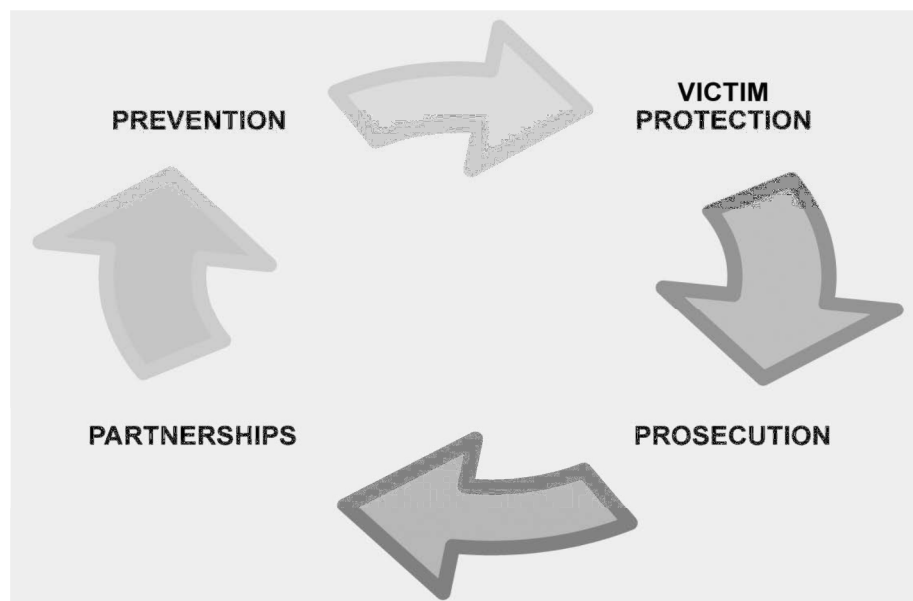
Source: Sanchez (2012)
Figure 1: Four 'Ps' in combating human trafficking

minimum requirements. The organisation also supports different stakeholder consultations, meetings and seminars on the TiP Act Chapter 9:25 of 2014. On that regards, victim identity and confidentiality is considered to be of utmost importance.

Prevention measures ensures that there is cooperation among various States in efforts to combat trafficking, as well as to address trafficking within the country through awareness campaigns, provision of assistance in drafting anti-human trafficking laws and creation of programmes meant to provide assistance to trafficking victims, especially the implementation of effective investigation of trafficking cases (Atest Guide, 2004). In other words, prevention involves the exclusive capacity building and sensatisation workshops for government and CSOs where there is identification and assistance to survivors of human trafficking and comparative assessment of national anti-trafficking legislation to other countries especially within the SADC region. The use of mass media, like newspapers, radio, and television and mobile telephone platforms to ensure that information on human trafficking reaches a wider audience is essential.

In 2009, United States of America Secretary of State, Hillary Rodham Clinton came up with a fourth 'P' *partnership* which serves as a conduit to the advancement of efforts in fighting against modern-day slavery (U.S Department of State, 2011). This means that there is no single actor that can lonely fight against human trafficking. There is need for cooperation of both State and non-state actors. Zimbabwe has a Legal and Constitutional Affairs Cluster which seeks to fight human trafficking. The Cluster is led by the Women and Law in Southern Africa and Zimbabwe Women Lawyers Association and IOM is part of the cluster.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The research relied on qualitative methodology. A case study of Zimbabwe was used to understand the role of State and Non-state actors in combating human trafficking. A total of 10 respondents were chosen for the study. Respondents for the study were selected from Harare, the capital city while key informants were purposively selected from IOM, Home Affairs Ministry (ZRP Human Trafficking Desk), and Ministry of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs. The key informants were chosen because of their expertise in the area of human trafficking. Key informant interviews were used to gather data from respondents while documentary search was used to supplement the interviews.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This section presents and analyses the findings of the research. Data was analysed using thematic analysis. Findings of

the study clearly indicate that human trafficking, especially of women and young girls from Zimbabwe to other countries for purposes of prostitution and forced labour is a real problem. Factors contributing to the escalation of human trafficking include poverty, high unemployment rate and lack of understanding of the human trafficking phenomenon.

The Effectiveness of IOM and ZRP in Assisting of Human Trafficking Victims

Findings from the interviewees who once fell victim of human trafficking, mostly in South Africa and Botswana indicated that they had received assistance from either the ZRP or IOM. This assistance was in the form of counselling, shelter or legal assistance and attempts to bring perpetrators to book. Respondents indicated that the assistance received from the above organisations was effective as they had managed to safely reunite with their families. Some respondents felt that neither IOM nor the ZRP had the capacity to combat human trafficking. The respondents indicated that even though IOM had managed to assist victims to reunite with their families, victims were still grieved with the fact that the perpetrators of human trafficking were not brought to book.

Prevalence of Human Trafficking in Zimbabwe

Responses from key informants showed that human trafficking from Zimbabwe to other countries such as South Africa for the purposes of prostitution and forced labour was a reality. Other source and destination countries for trafficking activities were identified as Botswana, Mozambique, Kuwait and China. South Africa was mentioned to be the main destination country for regional and extra regional trafficking activities. Zimbabwe was also cited as a transit country for trafficking activities. However, it was difficult to assess the prevalence of the problem since there were no official statistics of trafficked persons from both IOM and the ZRP. One of the major challenges cited was the unwillingness of the victims to come forward and report their cases to the police. The IOM respondent attributed the unwillingness to a number of factors such as fear of re-victimisation by the traffickers, stigmatization from

families and friends, and criminal prosecution. The IOM official stated that:

> Statistics on human trafficking victims from Zimbabwe to neighbouring countries is scarce because the crime is still regarded as a new and modern phenomenon. However, information on trafficking is starting to trickle in through media and some organisations like IOM and Msasa Project which are making efforts to curb the escalation of the crime by raising awareness on the problem through sensitisation and awareness campaign workshops.

Statistical crisis was also highlighted in a documentary known as *Human Trafficking in South Africa* by Tom Malitz, which postulated that South Africa is a major outlet and destination for human trafficking. One of the reasons advanced for lack of statistics was a result of inadequate awareness of the problem by law enforcement authorities, NGOs and the public in general. From the above literature, and also from the majority of the respondent's opinions, one can deduce that statistical crisis is a major problem that is being faced by many countries and this makes it difficult for relevant stakeholders to assess the prevalence of the crime.

A respondent from the ZRP indicated that it was not easy to assess the magnitude of human trafficking victims because they did not have much data on the trafficking victims. He said that there was so much trafficking taking place especially due to the victims' vulnerability since there is a large number of people who illegally migrate to neighbouring countries like South Africa. The respondent also stated that trafficking is very difficult to dictate because the traffickers use different tricks and work as a team to avoid police detection.

An ENCA documentary titled *The Dark and Scourge of Human Trafficking in South Africa,* a human trafficking expert mentioned that it was difficult to get statistical data on human trafficking due to its close link to prostitution and drug abuse despite the fact that it is a major problem in South Africa (Subban, 2016). She indicated that:

> Monitoring human trafficking is a major problem, experts says there is lack of data because of its links to prostitution and drug abuse. But it's clear that human trafficking can happen to anyone, anywhere and anytime.

According to *Social Development Notes: Conflict, Crime and Violence (2009),* The United States Government Accountability Office (GAO) reports that there is a considerable discrepancy between the numbers of estimated victims of human trafficking across various agencies because each organisation uses its own methodology to collect data and analyses the problem based on its own mandate. Differences in definition and methodology, together with a general lack of reliable data, result in an immense variation in global estimates of the number of trafficked victims and the global estimates given by the US government are focused on transnational human trafficking which does not include the number of victims who are trafficked internally.

Causes of Human Trafficking

Key respondents mentioned that human trafficking in Zimbabwe thrives under conditions of vulnerability which are caused by various factors ranging from poverty, limited educational opportunities, poor economic conditions, gender and age. Another matter of concern that emerged from the study was the lack of full compliancy to legislation aiming specifically at criminalising trafficking, particularly the Trafficking in Persons Act. A respondent from the Ministry of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs stated that;

> *Lack of cooperation on the part of relevant stakeholders to fully comply with laws that criminalise trafficking is one of the problems when dealing with trafficking because traffickers take advantage of that ambiguity. On that regards, there is need the policy makers to tighten anti-human trafficking   laws because even if perpetrators are apprehended, they easily get away   with it or they can be charged with light offences.*

It was also revealed that the police and prosecutors were being obstructed from investigating and charging the perpetrators of human trafficking because of the vagueness of the legislations that criminalise trafficking in persons. The IOM official indicated that the only case that was brought before the courts was of a Kuwait embassy official in 2016. Lack of full compliancy, implementation and enforcement of human trafficking laws in South Africa has also contributed to the escalation of human trafficking. According to eNCA documentary *The Dark and Unseen Scourge of Human Trafficking in South Africa*, South Africa has ratified United Nations Palermo Protocol which aims to tackle human trafficking in 2004 and this demands South Africa to prosecute traffickers, implement preventative measures and most importantly adopt its laws to deal with the crime. However, legal experts believe that South Africa has been slow in implementing the provisions of the Palermo Protocol.

The IOM respondent highlighted that people become more vulnerable to trafficking due to poverty and unemployment. Although the source of data was not statistical, the IOM respondent further confirmed that due to high rate of unemployment and poverty, trafficking in persons was likely to intensify in Zimbabwe. Therefore, people were tempted to either legally or illegally migrate to neighboring countries like South Africa seeking for better opportunities where they become vulnerable to forms of human trafficking like forced labour and prostitution. The respondent highlighted that:

> *Many people are betrayed with promises of job opportunities in foreign countries, particularly in Botswana and South Africa. Both women and men have been enticed with employment opportunities where jobs are publicized in newspapers, on the internet and sometimes personal approaches to potential victims are also made. Without considering the nature or conditions of their potential employment, most trafficking victims would just agree to take any type of job offered by the traffickers. Resultantly, the victims would be confined in a foreign setting where they are forced into bonded labour or prostitution. In Gauteng, the commercial sexual exploitation of children is highly organised in a local sense in that, although traffickers operate their own child prostitutes, they are interlinked with other trafficking rings run by Nigerians. Many child victims were exchanged between groups in Rosettenville, Germiston, Benoni, Pretoria and Durban. NGOs like IOM and Government departments are very active in carrying out awareness campaigns both in electronic and print media where human trafficking cases seem to be getting a fair share of time and space.*

Findings also concur with UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre Report (2003) which asserts that most people are lured by promises of a good education or a greener pastures and smuggled across borders and far from home or in a foreign country, trafficked people disoriented, without papers, and excluded from any protective environment can be forced to endure prostitution, servitude, early and involuntary marriage, or hazardous and punishing labour.

The findings also revealed that most women were falling victims to human trafficking because traffickers take advantage of them since they were considered to be a weaker sex. Another reason why women were vulnerable to trafficking was detrimental traditional practices like forced marriages of minors or young women. The ZRP officer cited places which are closer to the South African border like Beitbridge and Chiredzi, as examples where women trafficking was taking place after parents marry off their daughters to traffickers in exchange for money or grain. According to ZRP respondent, the tendency of parents marrying off their daughters to aliens was rife in Zimbabwe and this was attributed to poverty. The respondent also stated that women or young girls were denied equal access to education and other resources as compared to their male counterparts and this was because of the patriarchal nature of our culture. Having subjected to such unjust situation, the majority of women ended up without any other choice of survival and they are prompted to seek for greener pastures outside the country, thus exposing themselves trafficking. Respondent from IOM stated that the women were the most vulnerable to trafficking compared men because of the socialisation instinct which create some societal expectations of what should be done by men, children and women. However, the respondent also elaborated that trafficking does not only affect women or girls citing that men and boys can all be victims of trafficking.

On the issue why the women were most vulnerable to either internal or external trafficking, the IOM respondent noted that women are at greater risk because traffickers can make a lot of money by forcing them into prostitution. The respondent stated the following:

You know the problem when it comes to trafficking is our culture. Society does not really value the welfare of the women but also expects them to support their parents or elders despite the fact that they had been segregated, especially their denial to educational rights. Resultantly, the women would resort to prostitution in order to fulfill societal obligations and in the end some become vulnerable to trafficking.

The research findings revealed that widows, divorced and orphans were vulnerable to trafficking because of their social status. An official from IOM stated that women often take the burden of taking care of HIV and AIDS sick relatives and after the death of their husbands they were taking care of, in some instances the widowed women would be left to take care of their young children. These women would be exposed to high risk of trafficking because of their desperate need for employment. The respondent indicated that the perpetrators of trafficking would take advantage of the desperation to trap the vulnerable women through false promises or deceptive means such as offers of employment. He indicated that:

Usually trafficked victims are women who had been divorced or widowed after the passing on of their husbands due HIV/AIDS related ailments. You can see by the records that majority of trafficking cases that we have dealt with, most of the victims were widows, divorced or vulnerable children.

The Role of IOM in Combating Human Trafficking and Assisting Vulnerable Immigrants

The IOM respondent indicated that his organisation is a 'migration agency' that has been active in the promotion of cooperation between sending and receiving countries on migration related issues and effective cooperation is important in addressing the issue of human trafficking. He indicated that while trafficking in persons may also occur within a country or region, IOM also focuses on the exploitation of individuals across international borders. The respondent highlighted that the organisation was active in countering human trafficking since the end of the 1990s and its approach, within the wider context of migration management, is based on the respect for human rights, physical, mental and social well-being of the individual and his or her community and sustainability through institutional capacity building of governments and civil society. The respondent further mentioned that they have complemented the Zimbabwean government efforts to protect trafficking victims through identifying and assisting victims of human trafficking. He mentioned that:

IOM identifies and assist trafficking victims, providing them initial shelter and resources as well as counseling about options for further assistance. Government-run shelters and programmes are in place to offer counseling and long-term shelter to vulnerable and orphaned children, including child trafficking victims. At Beitbridge border crossings, trained government staff work closely with IOM to ensure the protection of vulnerable children and immigrants. In most cases Immigration officers refer trafficked victims intercepted by South African authorities after crossing the border at Beitbridge to Zimbabwean government authorities and IOM who assist the victims in returning to their families.

In response to the question on what interventions IOM had put in place to curb the escalation of human trafficking, the respondent stated that the organisation was conducting awareness raising campaigns through joint-workshops with the government and the media was playing a significant role in sensitising people on the consequences of human trafficking and the need to report suspected trafficking cases to the police. However, the respondent expressed much concern on the fact that the campaigns were not reaching some people, especially the rural population. According to the respondent, the media coverage in rural areas was still low since some people do not own televisions or radios and only few officials have attended anti-trafficking campaign workshops, hence cannot be in a position to disseminate the message countrywide. He mentioned that:

Between November 2012 and March 2013 the government and IOM modestly increased their efforts to prevent trafficking through anti-trafficking media campaigns. In November 2012, the deputy prime minister launched an anti-trafficking awareness campaign in cooperation with IOM, through a donor-funded project; attended by the deputy minister of justice, the minister of labor and social services, immigration and   police officers, NGOs, and international organizations, the launch event allowed officials and NGO-stakeholders to jointly discuss the

trafficking problem affecting Zimbabwe and served to raise awareness among Zimbabweans. In March 2013, the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Home Affairs, in partnership with UNODC, organised a workshop to increase the understanding of trafficking and coordination among the inter-ministerial working group, established in March 2013."

CONCLUSION

Human trafficking remains a big challenge as indicated by the study. According to United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF) Report (2003), South Africa is both a source and a transit country for the international market of human traffickers and has provided a safe harbour of human trafficking activities especially of victims from regional and international locations. Due to its strategic position within Africa, South Africa also offers direct shipping and flights of trafficked victims to Europe and Asia and evidence has shown that the majority of trafficked African victims to Europe and Middle East are from South Africa and Zimbabwe (UNESCO, 2009).

Human trafficking in Zimbabwe thrives under conditions of vulnerability which are caused by various factors ranging from poverty, limited educational opportunities, poor economic conditions, gender and age. As outlined by Shelley (2010), the push factors comprise of poverty, socio-economic instability, natural disasters like earthquakes and floods leading to virtual destitution of some people, lack of education, skill and income opportunities for women in rural areas, absence of public awareness about the activities of traffickers, pressure to collect money for dowries which leads to sending daughters to distant places for work, dysfunctional family life, domestic violence against women, low status of girl children among others.

A strong relationship between the Government and NGOs' inadequate adherence to the Palermo Protocol standards and escalation of human trafficking was also exposed in the study. Despite Zimbabwe and the South African governments making several law enforcement

efforts, implementation of these TIP laws still remains a challenge. In Zimbabwe, the TIP Act is considered to be vague and cannot effectively curb the escalation of the crime. According to the SADC report on Forced Labour and Human Trafficking (2015), the TIP Act does not comply with the international definition of TIP under the Palermo Protocol. In fact, the Act serves to prohibit transportation-based crimes while rehabilitation and re-integration centres are not yet established (TIP Report, 2015). Zimbabwe and South Africa have played a minimum role in terms of implementing measures aimed at curbing the escalation of human trafficking or console measures that offer protection to victims of trafficking. However, NGOs and IOM are playing a pivotal role in terms of offering assistance to victims of human trafficking and vulnerable immigrants. NGOs also collaborate with the government in trying to fight against the crime.

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Full Length Research

Human Rights Violation in India with Special Reference to Sexual Harassment of Women Folk

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Human rights are the basic entitlements, bestowed upon each and every human being by virtue of birth. Human rights are moral principles or norms, which describe certain standards of human behavior, and are regularly protected as legal rights in both national and international law' as they are usually known as inalienable fundamental rights "to which a person is inherently entitled simply because she or he is a human being," and which are "inherent in all human beings" regardless of their nation, location, language, religion, ethnic origin or any other status. Human Rights may include freedom from unlawful imprisonment, torture, and execution. Every person in this world has its own rights like as right to life, liberty and equality in his society. Human rights are universal values and legal guarantees that serves and gives protection to all individuals and groups against actions and omissions primarily by the state agents that interfere with fundamental freedoms, entitlements and human dignity. Human right law obliges Governments (principally) and other duty bearers to do certain things prevent them from doing others. Human rights are (law) any basic right or freedom to which all human beings are entitled and in whose exercise a Government may not interfere (including rights to life and liberty as well as freedom of thought and expression and equality before the law). In Indian context Human Rights were related to the concept of Sarvodaya means "Universal upliftment of man" as called by M.K Gandhi and also J.L Nehru's concept of human rights was "an unbroken continuity between the most modern and the most ancient phases of Hindu thought extending over three thousand years". The rights of man have been the concern of all civilizations from the time immemorial.

Keywords: *Human rights, Sexual harassment, Violence, Women.*

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INTRODUCTION

Human Rights Violation in India is happened in every part of India. In Indian context Human rights in India were discussed on the concept of "Sarvodaya" which means "Universal upliftment of man". This concept of Sarvodaya was forwarded by M.K Gandhi. India constitution also provides 6 fundamental rights to its citizens like as (i) Right to equality (ii) Right to freedom (iii) Cultural and educational rights (iv) Right against exploitation (v) Right to freedom of religion (vi) Right to Constitutional remedies. These all concepts are asked on the basis of international law of Human Rights.
Human Rights concept is very old in Indian society.
These are the claims and demands of a person or a group of persons in a society which are accepted by the community or society as his basic norms of life. Human Rights are commonly bestowed upon each and every Individual by virtue of birth. These rights are like as all men, women and children are treated with respect to dignity, honor and status like as

Human beings in our community or society, it is our birth right that all of us should be given equal attention and treatment and should not be discriminated on the basis of sex, religion, caste, color, gender or any other thing else.

Human Rights violation is defined as when state agents like as (Police men, Bureaucrats, Forest or Armed Officers) or any other person who is acting on behalf of state, does anything to reduce, disrespect or interfere with another person's Human rights then it becomes a Violation. Human Rights are claimed against private person's violation. Nevertheless, if a private person violates someone's rights relating to life, liberty, equality and dignity, then victim can approach to the court for redressal. If the court/ state fails to stop and punish the violator then it also becomes a human rights violation e.g. as Physical torture of suspects of crime or convicts by the police, this is a violation of the right to Human dignity and physical security. FIR refusal by the Police officer of a women being harassed by a group of persons in a train. This type of violation is the fight to equal protection of law. It is also a case of Human Rights violation if the upper caste people denied to allow Dalit's to worship in a temple or drink water in a public well. "The concept of the rights of man and other fundamental rights was not unknown to the people of earlier periods" again M.K Gandhi said "I do not want to think in terms of the whole world. My patriotism includes the good of mankind in general. Therefore, my service to India includes the services of Humanity"

Sexual harassment of women in India is the most critical Human Rights violation from the very Ancient periods. Sexual harassment constitutes a total violation or assault of women's right to equality and dignity. Violence against women in India is increased day by day. The violence cases against women in 2008 were 195585, in 2009- 203804, in 2010- 213585, in 2011- 213585, in 2012- 244 270. In 2012 the crime incidents against women has increased 6.4% and a crime against women is committed in every three minutes.[1]

OBJECTIVES

a)   To understand and analyze the Human Rights Violation in India with special reference to women folk.
b)   To understand and analyze the effects and impacts of Human rights violation on modern Indian society.
c)   Role of different agencies in highlighting the Human Rights violation in India.
d)   To understand and analyze the constitutional remedies in controlling the Human Rights violation in Indian society.
e)   Women sexual harassment on work places.
f)   Different acts against the Human Rights Violation in India.

Sexual Harassment as defined by Dzeich ET. Al has divided Harassers into two classes

1)   Private Harassers carefully cultivate a restrained and respectable image on the surface, but when alone with their target, their behavior changes.
2)   Those Harassers who violated rules in Public are flagrant in their seductive or sexist attitudes towards students, colleagues, subordinates, servants etc.

Another Philosopher Langelan described Sexual Harassers into four classes like as: [2]

1)   **Strategic or territorial Harasser:** those harasser persons who seek to maintain privilege in jobs or physical locations.
2)   **Street harasser:** it includes verbal and non- verbal behavior, signs that are frequently sexual in nature and comment on physical appearance or a person's presence in jail.[3]
3)   **Dominance Harasser:** those persons who engages in harassing behavior as an ego boost.
4)   **Predatory Harasser**: those persons who gets sexual thrills from humiliating others.

Types of Human Rights Violation in India

1)   The most highlighted Haman rights problem involved police, and security force abuses along with extrajudicial killings.
2)   Rape
3)   Torture
4)   Corruption.
5)   Sexual Harassment at the Workplace
6)   Death Penalty
7)   Fake Encounters

8)   Involuntary disappearances
9)   Extraordinary Laws
10)   Sati
11)   Child Marriage
12)   Child Labour
13)   Prostitution
14)   Prisons
15)   Wages to Prisoners
16)   Sexuality
17)   Custodial Violence
18)   Project displacement
19)   The internally displaced due to conflicts
20)   The 'unwanted' girl child
21)   Freedom of Expression
22)   Dalit's
23)   The 'neglected' child
24)   Child Abuse
25)   Medical Research
26)   Population Policies
27)   Organ Transplant
28)   Tourism
29)   Right to Information
30)   Bhopal gas tragedy compensation of victims
31)   Environment and Pollution
32)   Refugees
33)   Land Alienation
34)   Right over Resources
35)   Preventive Detention
36)   Detention
37)   Missing Women
38)   Clamping down on protest
39)   Disability
40)   Corruption and Criminalisation of Politics
41)   'Natural' Disasters
42)   HIV and AIDS
43)   Denotified Tribes
44)   Political violence by non-state actors
45)   Urban Shelter and Demolition
46)   Livelihood
47)   Bonded Labour
48)   Anti-liquor Movements
49)   Domestic Violence
50)   Trafficking
51)   Homicide in the Matrimonial Home

The Human Rights violation in India is increased day by day. All sects in Indian society are almost influenced by these crimes. However Indian Constitution under Article 21 provides us right to life and like with dignity, which is equally for women also. All crimes like as child marriage, Gas rape, extrajudicial killings, sexual harassment of women at work place are increasing day by day and society is also degrading with these humiliating crimes. Government or states should be now active on maintaining and should control these things as soon as possible. Another barbaric thing such as dowry Harassment and bride burning should be controlled immediately as thousands of young married women in India are routinely tortured and murdered by Husband and who also want more and more dowries from the bride's parents. The surveys showed that around 5000 women die every year due to heavy dowry load and at least dozen die each day in kitchen fires.[4] another crime like as Rape, almost 255 of rapes are of girls under 16 years of age and almost 24000 rape cases were reported in India in the year 2012.

These all problems remained widespread and contributed to ineffective responses to crimes. Sexual harassment of women is domineering or coercion of sexual nature, or the unwillingness or unwelcome or inappropriate promise of

rewards in exchange for sexual favors.[5] sexual Harassment is illegal as defined by USEE (equal employment opportunity commission) as "it is unlawful to harass a person (an applicant or employee) because of that person's sex. "Harassment can include "sexual Harassment" or unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors or verbal or Physical Harassment of a sexual nature.

Sexual Crimes

Rape is one of the most common crimes against women in India grouping and touching inappropriately obviously against sexual Harassment, but that is lower type of crime of Sexual Harassment.

The Act of 2013 in which sexual Harassment include the following

a)   Any type of physical contact and advances (means you can't touch anybody unsuitably.
b)   A call or request for sexual favors.
c)   Showing pornography.
d)   Making sexually colored remarks (nor sexist jokes or Human hater humor.
e)   Any other unwelcome, verbal, physical or nor- verbal conduct of sexual nature.

Under the Act, the below five also count as sexual harassment

1)   Explicit or implied promise of preferential treatment in her employment.
2)   Undignified treatment likely to affect her health or safety.
3)   Explicit or implied threat about her present or future employment status.
4)   Explicit or implied threat of detrimental treatment in her employment.
5)   Offensive work employment for a woman like as (St. Stephens college sexual harassment case).

CONCLUSION

India should control Human rights violation in every part of its territory. It is almost essential for every country to control and maintain its law and order situation so that the country will develop and prosper perfectly. The most highlighted reason of sexual crime is late marriage and dowry system in Indian society. Another reason of sexual crime is dress code of women folk. Also, late night clubs and night parties in which wine is used as an entertainer in functions are another reason of sexual crime in India.

Almost 90 percent of women folk don't complaint against their sexual harassment in police stations as they think they will not receive any good response or any help from these law enforcing agencies. Another cause of not reporting is they were afraid of public humiliation

The top most reason for the increase of sexual harassment in India is "absence of fear of law". It is believed that harsh punishment such as Death penalty would decrease the sexual crimes against women and also life imprisonment is an effective step to stop such barbaric crimes. Fast tract courts would be set up to track crimes immediately.

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Full Length Research

Role of al-Qaeda in Global War on Terror in Pakistan

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Al-Qaeda is responsible for destruction of peaceful atmosphere and spread of militancy & terrorism not only in Pakistan but also in across the world after 9/11 incident. Their supporters challenged the authority of Pakistan and destroyed the peaceful image of the country in the world. In this reaction, the State authority of the country took military action and ordered Pakistan military forces for operation against al-Qaeda terrorists. The military forces successfully destroyed the strong network of al-Qaeda, Tahrik-e-Taliban Pakistan and other regional militant organizations in the country. Pakistan is top list countries of the world that has suffered from terrorism after brutal attacks on Washington in September 2001 from al-Qaeda. How the terrorists of AQ manipulated the innocents' people and its effects on young generation, economy crisis and political instability of the country on international level? The role of al-Qaeda in spread terrorism with the co-operation of regional militant organizations in consequential the government has paid its heavy price in term of security besides, economy, political strife and social disruption. Al-Qaeda militants not only destroyed the economy of the State but also responsible of thousands causalities in the brutal attacks on military forces and crowd places in the world.

Key Words: al-Qaeda, Pakistan Military Forces, Osama Bin Laden, Inter-Services Intelligence, Federal Administered Tribal Area and Northern Atlantic Treaty Organization

INTRODUCTION

United States of America (USA) started global war on terror after 9/11 incident against al-Qaeda and Tahrik-e-Taliban in Afghanistan. The United States and its alliance called AQ as a "Terrorist Organization" in the United Nation Security Council meeting, which was hold in October 2001 (Manzar Abbas, 2010). They attacked on Afghanistan in search of Osama Bin Laden, Amir of Tahrik-i-Taliban. As a neighbor country, Pakistan affected much directly and indirectly in this war. After heavy bombing from NATO forces, Osama Bin Laden along with others top-level militants of AQ make their stay in Federal Administered Tribal Area (FATA) Pakistan (William and Alexandar, 2017). They increased their relations with other local and foreign organizations like as Hezbollah, Egyptian Islamic Jihad, Taliban and Haqqani Network etc. for finance assistance and militant strength (Arshi and Saqib, 2017). They manipulated especially young generation and innocent people of Pakistan, Middle East countries, Lebanon, Afghanistan and Sudan for own interests. They destroyed not only the peace structure of the government machinery but also affected much the ethical values of young generation.

Some foreign countries threatened for cut off their foreign trades and relations and implemented gigantic economically sanctioned interim coordination of Global war on terror interim of cooperation with American forces. After seeking bad circumstances, the Government of Pakistan placed a ban on militancy and its facilitators owing to the pressure exert from the United States. AQ and its facilitators started anti-state activities like as bomb blasts and suicide attacks on security forces and innocent people. The government took military actions against them. As resulted, 30,000 above AQ

supporters killed injured and arrested in military operations in across the country. As revenge, 162,096 people killed from the brutal attacks of militants from 2003 to 2017. In FATA, 895 innocents killed and 1523 injured in suicide attacks from 2010 to 2017(SATP). From 2006-2016, 11,072 attacks, in which 216,915 innocent people killed by terrorists attacks in the world (Statically, 202871).

History of Al-Qaeda in Pakistan

Al-Qaeda (AQ) is an Islamist multi-national organization originated in 1988 by Osama bin Laden, Abdullah Azzam and several other Arab volunteers for protection of the Muslim Ummah and establishment of Khilafat in Afghanistan (Lauren and Marvin, 2016). Jimmy Carter, the President of U.S and Zbigniew Brzezinski, National Security Advisor granted permission to Zia's government for the establishment of nuclear program interim coordination for the support of AQ against United Soviet Sovereign Republics (USSR) forces in Afghanistan. Both Jimmy Carter and Zia introduce Osama Bin Laden and other local and foreign warriors from Arab and Asian countries under the shadows of wage Jihad against Red forces (Douglas, 2002). Zia agreed and introduced Pakistan as an Islamization country in the world. He increased 7000 Madrassa in three years from 1882-85. Numerous training camps constructed for the training of Mujahedeen along with Pak-Afghan border (Durand Line) under the finance assistance of United States and Saudi Arab. An ISI Officer claimed that 100,000 above Mujahedeen took training from different training camps in Pakistan and Afghanistan. After 9/11 incident, some of these camps used for the training of militants against NATO and Afghan forces.

Bin Laden had closed links with the Prince of Turkey and Nauf, Saudi Interior Minister; Mohammad Yousaf, Maulana Ghazi Abdullah, Khatib of Lal-Masjid Islamabad and some other people in Pakistan (Hussain et al, 2012). He has also closed contacts with foreign Chief of different militant organizations like as Ayman al-Zawahiri, Ramzi Ahmed Yousef, Doku Umarov, Khalid Sheikh Mohammad, Mohammad Omar, Mohammad Atta, Saif al-Adel, Muhammad Atef, Ahmad Shah Masoud and Anwar al-Awlaki etc. in the world. He issued a fatwa against the U.S forces that deputed in Saudi Arabia in 1992. He requested to his government to excluded U.S security forces and deputed the forces from Muslim countries for security purpose. Saudi government took serious note of his statement and expelled him to Sudan in 1992. He moved to Sudan, where established the new center of al-Qaeda (Surinder and Anshuman, 2014). The government of Sudan blamed the assassination of Hosni Mubarak to him under the influence of U.S and issued orders to expel the country. He left Sudan and moved to Afghanistan in 1996, where Taliban Government welcomed him warmly. During stay in Afghanistan, he again issued fatwa against U.S forces to vacate from Saudi Arabia. In this reaction, Saudi Government took action against him and banned his entrance in Saudi Arabia due to the pressure of U.S.

After 9/11 incident, circumstances of the Central Asia completely changes. United States held responsible of 9/11 attack to Bin Laden and pressurized Mullah Omer's government to hand over for him. Mullah Omer, Chief of Tahrik-e-Taliban refused to accept their demands and ready for the consequences. United Stated attacked on Afghanistan in late 2001. In heavy bombing from NATO forces, Bin Laden along with other top commanders moved to Pakistan and stayed in Federal Administered Tribal Area (FATA). After seeing bad circumstances and control crossing Pak-Afghan border, Pakistan military forces started military operations against AQ and its alliances in FATA. In which thousands of militants killed and injured in military operations. Pakistan military forces have controlled all Agencies of FATA and PATA. They have also established the writ of State. Currently this organization is working in some areas of Pakistan, Afghanistan, India, Bangladesh, United States, European and other Gulf countries (Surinder, 2014).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- What did the involvement of **religious political parties** such as Jammat-e-Islami (JI), Muthida Majlas-e-Amal **supported al-Qaeda** and other militant organizations for their **political interests**?

- What role played from the terrorist's of al-Qaeda in Pakistan with the collaboration of militant organizations **in militant activities** in the form of bomb blasts, target killing and suicide attacks on securities forces in Pakistan after 9/11 incident?

- How did the terrorists of al-Qaeda **destroy the peace structure** of the country in the world and the government is paying its heavy price in loss of economy, political instability, foreign relations and causalities?

- What did military forces **play vital role in destruction of heaven places** of al-Qaeda and

other militant organizations in military operations from 2002-2016 for the sovereignty of Pakistan?

Whereas the main objective of the study is -
➢   To assess the role of al-Qaeda is supporting terrorism and its effects on Pakistani nation directly/indirectly on national/International level.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Intelligence Committee meeting attended by ISI Director Lt. General Mehmood Ahmed, Director ISI Pakistan along with other ambassadors of House and Senate Intelligence Committee on September 11, 2001. They were informed about bomb blast on Pentagon building and World Trade Center in Washington DC. The Indian and United States newspapers took blamed on Pakistani Inter-Services-Intelligence Agency (ISI), for financial support of hijackers. They claimed that $100,000/- transferred in the account of Mohammad Atta under the orders of Mr. Mehmood Director of ISI, with the assistance of Saeed Sheikh in Florida. The government of Pakistan rejected their blames and requested for evidences. However, they could not provide evidence against ISI in the international Security Council. After that incident, Richard Armitage Summons, Deputy Secretary of the U.S called ISI Director and Maleeha Lodhi, appointed Ambassador of Pakistan in the United States. He also warned them either to cooperate with the world community or to prepare themselves to live in the Stone Age (Rashid, 2008).

Mr. Mehmood arranged a meeting with Pervez Musharraf, President of Pakistan after returned. He informed him about the alarming situation from the U.S. Musharraf emphasized on mandatory security for the country in core commander meeting. He arranged a meeting with Wendy Chamberlin, Ambassador of U.S in Pakistan. He demanded 400 million dollars for the support and development of FATA like Schools, Hospitals, Job Opportunities and border protection interim cooperation in Afghanistan in December 2001.The government Pakistan was not able to seal Pak-Afghan border due to poor financial conditions at that time. The government United States (George W. Bush) and Congress refused to accept the demands of Musharraf (Manzar, 2010).

Therefore, top leaders of AQ including Bin Laden, Al-Zawahiri, and Sheikh Saeed al Mirsi moved to Pakistan after heavy bombing from NATO forces in Afghanistan. They possibly fled to Pakistan (Chitral and Bajaur Agency) from Afghanistan (Nuristan, Konar). After seeing unfavorable circumstances, U.S. government release an emergency fund 600 million dollars for the support of FATA and 500 million dollars for other projects in Pakistan. The government of Pakistan also provided full support to the U.S for military operation in Afghanistan. The government provided air space; logistic support at Dabandi, Pasni, Zhob, Jacobabad, Shamsi and Khot; naval support and intelligence support as well (Saima Kiyani, 2011).

After 9/11 scenario, Musharraf Government took action against militancy and banned on militant organizations and their facilitators in 2002. He started military operation Azam Warsak in South Waziristan against al-Qaeda and Taliban on June 22, 2002.The government started military operation in different region of Federal Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Provincial Administered Tribal Areas (PATA). The Security forces demanded from the Zalikhel and Karrikhel and other tribes of FATA for the possibly cooperation and hand over AQ militants. However, they refused to accept their demands. Military forces started action and killed 24 people including tribesmen. Pak-Army decided another military operation (Operation Mountain Lion) in October 2003 against al-Qaeda in different agencies of FATA in which number of militants killed & arrested during conflict. The government also took military action in Shawal region of South Waziristan Agency (SWA) hills that was the paradise of al-Qaida supporters. Pakistan military forces destroyed a training camp of the militant, which constructed by Osama Bin Laden in Shawal hills. In this operation, Indian and Russian originated heavy weapons found from militants (Gunartana, 2008).

Approximately 97 top-level militants arrested in which Mr. Farooq Bhatti Deputy Chief of al-Qaeda arrested by Pakistan Ranger in February 2016 from Karachi. Pakistan military forces restored the writ of the State in FATA, PATA and all other provinces of the country and destroyed the heaven places of militants (European, 2016). After the military operations in FATA, Zawahiri wrote a letter to Abu Musab in Iraq about the resistance from Pakistan military forces on July 09, 2005. In this letter, he also requested 100,000/- $ for the re-establishment of a new line of militancy. The old line of financial support from Arab peninsula has cut off due from Pakistan Army. After the death of Bin Laden, Ayman al Zawahiri assumed charge as the commander of al-Qaeda by Majlis-e-Shora Council of AQ in Pakistan (Christopher, 2008).

Maulana Abdul Aziz and Maulana Abdul Rashid Ghazi had links with AQ and Taliban militants. According to report, 12,000 above students have admitted in the Lal Mosque in July 2007. Musharraf took the decision of military action against Ghazi brothers. In Operation Silence, 140 students, teacher killed and 10 security personnel were martyred. Al-Zawahiri condemned on this military action in Islamabad. In Radio sermons, he warned and announced revolts in Pakistan on July 11, 2007. In September 2007, Bin Laden releases a taped sermon to kill Musharraf from the support of JEWs lobby, agenda of Hindus that attacked on Mosques and students (Schanzer, 2004).

Zakat and donations from rich businesspersons of local and Gulf countries have the main financial source for support of this organization. Smuggling of drugs, heroin, highjacking of airplanes and kidnapping of rich people are the others source of income. Some others local and foreign militant organizations provide funds for the support of Mujahedeen under the shadows of Jihad. For the promotion of this organization and recruitment, al-Qaeda experts published manual in different languages and promoted Jihadi literature on different websites. Al-Qaida militants have operated 5600 websites just in the year 2007 (Saima et al, 2012).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this research, study Qualitative, Quantitative and Geographical methods used for the analysis of the data. Research survey conducted in different regions in seeking the real picture of affected residents.

Population and Sample

In this study, 260 respondents 191 (73.5 %) Male and 69 (26.5 %) Female) were participated. In which 157 (60.4%) people participated from urban and 103 (39.6 %) belonged to rural areas. In which, 158 respondents belonged to Punjab and others 102 (39.6 %) from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. For better results details of age groups with percentage is 12.3 % (16-20), 35.8 % (21-25), 14.2 % (26-30), 6.9 % (31-35), 16.5 % (36-40), 16.5 % (41-45), 5.4 % (41-45), 5.4 % (46-50) and 3.5 % (51-above).

Research Instrument

In this study, the questionnaire survey form used as a tool of research instrument. The reason for choosing survey questionnaire is that, in comparison to interviews, it is more cost-effective and suitable for studies having a large sample size. By using questionnaire survey, the researcher can analyze and interpret responses easily and the responses can analyzed through different statistical software. Research Performa formulated in two variables "Yes" and "No" as per choice. Questions selected according to the parameters and titled of study. All the domains used in the study i.e questionnaire have vital importance in the Global War on Terror in Pakistan. In the past many research studies conducted in Pakistan regarding increasing terrorism after 9/11 incident, but no such study conducted directly in relation to this national issue. It will also highlight how Ayman al-Zawahiri and his followers used the innocents' people under the shadows of Islamic values for their own prospects.

Data Collection

In this study, 350 questionnaire forms distributed for the collection of data. Research self-administered by the researcher to the respondents of modern educational institutions and pass out students. Data was collected from current, and pass out students from different universities, in which 7.3 % from The University of Lahore, 25.8 % Minhaj University of Lahore, 19.2 % University of the Punjab, 24.2 % Al-Khair University Azad Jammu & Kashmir, Bhimber, 22.7 % University of Sargodha and 0.8 % Government College University of Faisalabad. For good results, 21.5 % undergraduates, 33.5 % Graduation, 27.3 % Master degree and 17.7 % M. Phil/PhD program. Above population enrolled. interlink with different of Programs 10.4 % International Relations, 34,2 % Political Science, 25.8 % Pakistan Studies, 11.2 % Mass Communication, 11.2 % Islamic Studies and 7.3 % History. They belonged to different occupations like as 37.7 % Students, 5.8 % Journalist/Media persons, 33.1 % College/University Teachers, 15 % Political workers, 5.8 % Government Officers and 2.7 % Social worker of civil society and a Non-governmental organizational worker from KPK and Punjab. Research data collected from the students of different regions such as Punjab, Khyber Pakhtunkhawa, Federal Administered Tribal Areas and Provincial Administered Tribal Areas in July-November, 2017.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

President Zia-ul-Haq emphasized on religious education system and increased the strength of Madrassa in his regime. He sanctioned aids for Madrassa and salaries for religious teachers. Many religious leaders supported his act like as Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman, Maulana Sami-ul-Haq, Maulana Sufi Mohammad and Maulana Abdullah etc. After his sudden death, numerous radical people used some of these Madrassa for the support of militancy and terrorism especially in Northern Areas and FATA (Manzar, 2013). They increased their links with al-Qaeda terrorists for financial assistance. Al-Qaeda supporters and their followers provided them all facilities and provide them training with the cooperation of tribal leaders of FATA (Christopher, 2008). They increased their militant activities in across the country. They trained their supporters for militant conflict against security forces in Pakistan and Afghanistan. They promoted their activities, manipulated the people of

foreign countries, and trained them for bomb blast, suicide attacks in different training camps in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Abu Faraj and Hamza Rabia both had British citizenship took training from AQ terrorists at Dhiren Barot, in Shakai valley South Waziristan Agency in April 2004. Some others 12 members took militant training from Abu Talaha for attacks in United Kingdom (U.K), U.S and other places like as New Stock Exchange Market, International Monterey Fund's (IMF) headquarters in Washington DC. The British national holders used in U.K bombing attacks on July 07, 2005 and on July 21, 2007. In these brutal attacks and firing on innocents' people, foreign countries decreased relations with Pakistan and others Muslim countries.

Religious political parties, such as Jammat-e-Islami (JI), Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam-Fazal-ur-Rehman and Sami-ul-Haq (JUI-F&S), supported of al-Qaeda and other militant organizations in Tribal areas, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan for their political benefits (Manzar, 2010). These political parties increased their effects on young generation and established student unions like as Islami Jamiat Taliba Islam at colleges and University level for own interests. These students used for the political strives in support of their party. The leaders of these political parties have contacts with Bin Laden, Zawahiri, Mullah Omer, Fazalullah, Mehsud group and Haq Nawaz Jhangvi. They provided them political support in their areas. Some religious leaders protested against the decision of Musharraf for the participation of Global war on terror in Afghanistan and some other policies. They supported the residents of FATA and Baluchistan for illegal trades with Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asian countries. The natives of these regions supported them in elections and other protests against elected governments in several occasions. The militant organizations worked as pressurize group for these political parties. In these political strives, government institutions could not work smoothly as resulted loss of billion dollars has suffered in response of shutting down markets.

After operation silence, Mullah Fazalullah along with other militant supporters refused to accept the sovereignty of the State and announced war against security forces. Mullah Fazalullah with the collaboration of Mehsud group and AQ members used the innocents' people against military forces and suicide attacks. Some radical Madrassa teacher used their students in bombing and radical activities not only against security forces in Pakistan but also involved in different attacks in foreign countries like as London, Washington and other European countries Lakhani, 2010). In late 2006, a suicide bomber attacked on government building in Kabul who trained in Madrassa Masjad-e-Noori in Karachi and he was a member of Harkat-ul-Mujahadeen (HuM) (Qandeel, 2008). Raja Muhammad Tahir hit car with bomb blast on U.S consulate building and he was the member of Jaish Mohammad. Qari Muhammad Zafar was the main Planner of this attack. He was interacting with Mati-ur-Rehman before the death of Amjad Farooqui in September 2004. In December 2007, AQ leader Mustafa Abu-al-Yazid took responsibility for the assassination of Benazir Bhutto former Prime Minister of Pakistan by the order of AQ authority Aymn-al-Zawahiri. Some aggressor people such as Deobandi and Wahhabi sects supported militant organizations like as TTP, TNSM, JEM, and LeJ in across the country. Anyone who supports militancy and terrorism has no connection with religion Islam. Like other religions, Islam is a peace religion and condemn on such thing, which destroy humanity. Some Deobandi and Wahhabi supporters participated along with militants' followers in GWOT under the umbrella of al-Qaeda against American forces (Umbreen and Mariam, 2015).

According to several reports in 103 attacks from the militants on the Mosques in which 1368 people have been killed and 2748 injured from 2002-2017. In AQ militant attacks, 116 foreigners have killed and 410 injured in 28 incidents in GWOT. From 2005-2016, 149 tribal elders were killed and 69 injured in 102 suicide attacks from the AQ militants in all agencies of FATA. From 2004-2017, 22 incidents happened in which 54 Lawyers killed and 160 were injured. In this war, 102 Journalists killed during performing duties in different cities of the country from 2005 to 2017 (Nation, 2016). As per figure-II, militant organizations increased their militants' activities in July 2007. Tahrik-e-Taliban Pakistan with the
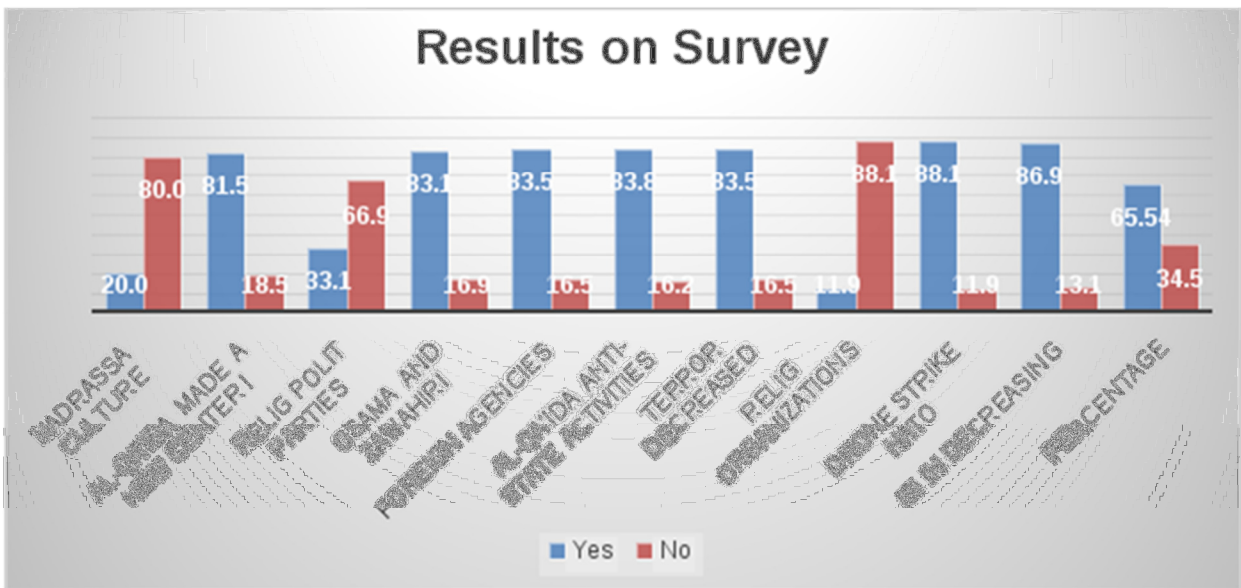
Figure-I
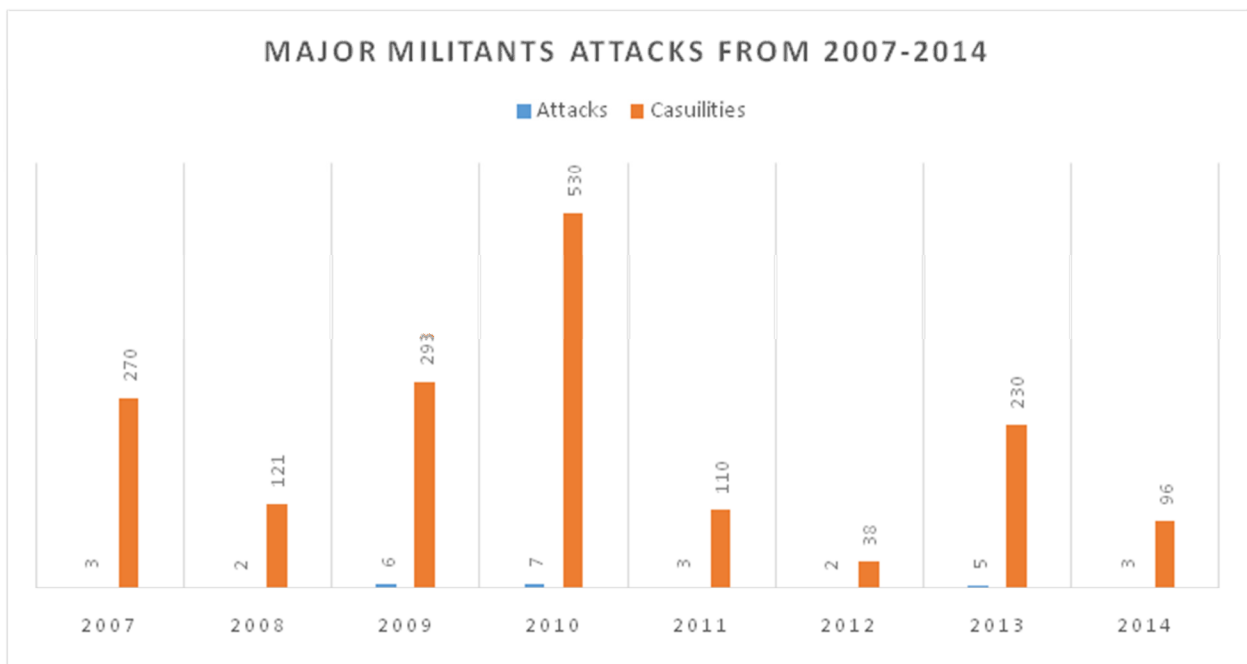
Figure-II

collaboration of al-Qaeda closed the door of modern education for females in FATA and PATA. As result, 80,000 above female students confined them home from the threat of Mullah Fazalullah in Swat (William, 2016). The militants destroyed 1,030 schools and colleges with heavy bombing in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa from 2009 to 2013 (Nation, 2013). They destroyed the health facilities in KPK and FATA. They destroyed the infrastructure of many hospitals and dispensaries with heavy bombing and some of them used for their check posts and Offices. They killed 52 doctors and 05 injured. In different military operations, 02 million people migrated to different Internal Displaced Persons (IDPs) camps that established by security forces and local government of KPK. In operation Zarb-e-Azb, 95,000 families migrated to IDPs camps in Bannu, with some moving to DI Khan, Lakki Marwat, Kohat Karak, Hangu and Charsadda in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Aljazeera, 2014). In this war, 50,000 civilian, 6000 security personnel martyred and 40,792

injured from 2001-2017 (Tribune, 2018). America is fighting in 76 countries directly & indirectly against different militant and terrorism organizations from 2001 (Daniel, 2018). In these countries, thousands of their soldiers have killed and injured during conflicts. The United State is also bearing 04 billion dollars annually in global war on terror (Jones, 2017).

Northern Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces targeted the heavenly places of al-Qaeda and other militant organizations with Drone strike in FATA and other areas of Pakistan. In these strikes, thousand innocents have also been killed from 2005-2016. This thing created bad effects and made a big hindrance in creating peaceful environment in tribal areas. They attacked on religious places several times such as attacked on Madrassa and Mosques in targeting on terrorist. As results, thousands of innocents' children and teachers martyred. In these strikes, thousands of religious Islami holly books (Quran and Tafseer) have burnt. This thing provided a chance to AQ militants for sympathy of the natives against the military forces. They assured the natives that all drone strike from NATO forces with the collaboration of elected governments of Pakistan, specially allowed Musharraf. As reaction, native people manipulated easily and ready for fight against security forces. These strikes increased terrorism and militancy in the country. The U.S and its alliance used the government of Pakistan in Afghanistan for own interests. The government of Pakistan failed to stop drone strikes in tribal areas. In these 430 strikes, 966 innocent people have killed and 1500 serious injured from 2004 to April 2018 (Statistics, 2004-17). The number of Pakistani nationals has been lost their lives in drone jet terrorist attacks against al-Qaeda in tribal areas (Danial, 2012)(Samir, 2012). International community has made 715 billion dollars in this war on terror from 2001 to 2016 (Statistics). United States sanction 33.4 billion dollars to Pakistan for support in global war on terror. On the other hands, the government of Pakistan has made 123.13 billion dollars in this war against AQ and other militant organization in security besides and IDPs development from 2002 to 2017 (Shahbaz, 2017).

Pakistan authority allowed U.S to use drone attacks on AQ militants in January 2008 according to Washington (New York Times, 2008). CIA and NATO force several attacks on January 29, 2008, February 02, 2008 and March 03, 2008. After these attacks, militants increased their attacks on military forces in FATA region. U.S killed AQ leader Abu Hamza Rabia in Waziristan in Drone strike on December 01, 2005. May 2008 Damadola Drone strike on a missile from the US, AQ leader Abu Suleiman and 15 other militants killed in a housing village of Damadola in tribal region. From 2006-2008, 68 above drone attacks took place in tribal areas. From the reaction of the provisional and federal government, U.S/CIA Official said that no more official approval of these drone strike was required from Pakistan authority (Los Angles Times, 2009). NATO, Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and U.S forces attacks in South Waziristan agency with drone jets several times, which resulted in the death of civilians and militants. These drone strikes made a big cause of creating peace talks between government and militant organizations. After the death of Baitullah Mehsud in drone strike, both groups never ready to come on table talk. The United States is responsible of that entire scenario; otherwise, militants had ready to come on table talk for the creation of peaceful environment. All these drone attacks were against the sovereignty of any democratic country. In GWOT, mistrust increased between both countries Pakistan and India from the pressure of U.S. U.S has own interests in both countries differently (Nadeem, 2012). This depicts shows the policies of U.S is different from the countries in the world for own interests (Iram, 2015). According to latest reports, U.S is one of the top list countries that export-heavy weapons in the world, which is resulted in nuclear war in future.

Narinder Modi, Indian Prime Minister admitted for the involvement and destabilized Pakistan in internal affairs during his visit in Bangladesh in June 2015 (Sherbaz, 2017). Research Analysis Wing (RAW) Agency of India is providing financial assistance to various tribes and natives of FATA, PATA and Baluchistan for the support of terrorism and militancy in the country. They used them for illegal and anti-state activities in the form of kidnapping, cultivation of heroin, smuggling, import non-custom vehicles etc. These things made bad effects from the health on young generation. Numbers of Indian RAW agents have been arrested in across the country after 9/11 incidents. After investigation, they admitted for the support of terrorism and militancy under the shadows of

Indian government. Kalbhashun Ja Dhave is one of them, who admitted that he is RAW agent and current Navy commissioned Officer of Indian Force. Some others RAW agents from Indian government like as Ramraj, (2004) and Sunil (April 2011) have arrested by Pakistani security forces (Baaghi). They admitted for the support of militant activities and promoted terrorism for the interest of India. Another RAW agent Hussain Mubarak Patel convicted in Baluchistan for the support of Bloch tribes and Tahrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (Aashia at el, 2017). They supported Baitullah Mehsud, Mullah Fazalullah and other top leaders of militant organizations for own interests. These things show the involvement of Indian government in internal affairs of Pakistan.

AQ leadership destroyed the peaceful atmosphere of the country with the support of regional militant organizations. They involved in anti-state activities after military operations in FATA. These militants' kidnapped innocents' children, trained them, and assured them for the ticket of heaven after carrying the bomb attacks. They also utilized female for

creating hated and spoil the innocents for their interests (Wilkens, 2011). The government of Pakistan banned on militancy and sectarianism organizations after 9/11 incident. After the observation of such brutal circumstances, the government of Pakistan decided to freeze their assets and activities. The government took action and arrested numerous supporters of AQ and other militant activist in different districts of Punjab, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Baluchistan and Sindh. Al-Qaeda authority appointed Khalid Sheikh Mohammad as internal head of attacks in Pakistan. In military operations, top level of AQ terrorists arrested in across the country. Ahmed Ghulam Rabbani arrested in Karachi on September 10, 2002. He was member of AQ and involved in terrorist attacks in Karachi. Pakistan military forces arrested 3000 above AQ arrested under the presidential orders of Musharraf, in which many of them were set free without proving allegation and approximately 425 of them sent to America for further investigation in Guantanamo bay Jail as cash reward from United States. However, the U.S government failed to achieve expected results in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

The role of Inter-Services-Intelligence (ISI) is much appreciates able in decreasing terrorism and militancy in Pakistan. They have increased their intelligence network in across the country for the protection of the people and country peace. ISI is one of the top-level intelligence "Spy Agency" of the world in their activities and resources (Karachi Times). Their officers provide intelligence reports to the higher authority about militants and activists. They are also checked & balance on the natives so that militant organizations could not be made harm for the natives of Pakistan. The role of ISI is no doubt good but some other factors help out for decreasing terrorism after 9/11 incident like as political influences, new check posts along with Pak-Afghan border, new developments in FATA and etc. Some foreign countries blamed on ISI for the support of AQ and Taliban in Pakistan and Afghanistan in and after 9/11 scenario. The government of Pakistan rejected their blames on ISI and condemned on such fake news and propagandas. A number of top-level militants of different organizations and others foreign agencies have arrested by ISI Officers. Due to the efforts of ISI, terrorists failed to acquire the nuclear weapons and provide assistance to stop terrorism and militancy in Pakistan (Robert, 2008).

The results of military operation are proving good in reducing militancy and creating harmony and peaceful environment. After successful military operation Rah-e-Raast in Swat, Mullah Fazalullah escaped in Afghanistan. The provincial government with the cooperation of Federal government re-established educational structure and health facilities. A number of new schools constructed in Northern areas and reconstruct destructed building of schools and colleges in Swat. People ready to pay tax again and government appointed new doctors for better health facilities centers. Military forces constructed new check posts and provided them security services for their protection of the natives of PATA. After the successful Operation Zarb-e-Azb, government of Pakistan implemented new reforms for the development of FATA. The government is working on different project for the betterment of the natives like as China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC).

CONCLUSION

Al-Qaeda is a terrorist organization in the world. Some AQ terrorists' took shelter in Pakistan with the assistance of local militants in FATA. They played brutal role in spreading militancy and terrorism in across the country for own interests. Some local militant organizations of the country supported al-Qaeda against security forces. The government faced gigantic problems such economic crisis, Inter Displaced Persons (IDPs) settlement and restrictions from international community. Some neighboring countries like as India, Afghanistan and Iran blamed on Pakistan government specially ISI for the support of AQ and Taliban. On the other hand, Pakistan military forces destroyed the grass roots (militant organizations) of AQ in across the country without any religious discrimination and pressure. The government of Pakistan supported NATO forces in Afghanistan against AQ and provided them air base and land routes for logistic support. It has been expended billion dollars directly & directly by Pakistan government in this war on terror. AQ and Tahrik-e-Taliban Pakistan with the support of regional militant organizations destroyed the mentality of young generation, economic conditions and political stability of the country. For the protection of the country, government tried to start peace dialogue with militants of AQ and TTP but all efforts ended after initiated drone attacks by the CIA and NATO forces. Numerous innocents' residents killed and injured in these attacks. AQ attacked on religious places like Temple, Church and Sufi Shrine, Buddhist sites, Western hotels and Military Personnel. Al-Qaeda militants' manipulated young generational from the slogan of wage Jihad against Pakistan military forces with the collaboration of regional militant organizers. All these non-state actors created bad impressions on ethical values of new generation. They destroyed the soft image of the country in international community. They closed the door for the investment of the foreign investors, even in national investors transferred their investment in foreign countries such as UAE, Saudi Arab, UK and USA etc. They destroyed the message of Islam in non-Muslim community. This thing created a bad impression on young generation and female.

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Full Length Research

People only Live Full Lives in the Light of Human Rights

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This paper offers a brief overview of human rights and its importance. The concept of human rights implies that basic rights belong to every member of the human race. Human rights are a set of individual and collective rights that have been formally promoted and protected through international and domestic law since the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). This paper also sets out to establish the logical and operational connection between human rights concepts and human rights indicators, the combination of which is essential for human rights measurement. The international human rights, policy, and donor community has long sought to establish the full content of human rights that ought to be promoted and protected, while less progress has been made on providing meaningful, valid, and reliable measures of human rights.

Key Words: Human Rights, United Nation, Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Human Beings

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INTRODUCTION

"*Spread love everywhere you go: first of all in your own house. Give love to your children, to your wife or husband, to a next door neighbor... Let no one ever come to you without leaving better and happier. Be the living expression of God's kindness; kindness in your face, kindness in your eyes, kindness in your smile, kindness in your warm greeting.*" (Mother Theresa)

Human rights are those rights that all human beings derive from the dignity and worth natural in them and that the human being is the central subject of human rights. The concept of human rights is based on the best guess that human beings are born equal in dignity and rights. Human rights are basic to humanity. Human rights are applied to all people everywhere. Human right is an important part of our personality as human beings and of our collective status as members of the global community of humankind. Human rights are rights natural to all human beings, despite of gender, nationality, place of residency, sex, ethnicity, religion, colour or any other categorization. Quran Commands: *"O you who believe! Stand out firmly for justice, as witnesses to Allah, even if it be against yourselves, your parents, and your relatives, or whether it is against the rich or the poor. .."* (Quran 4:135), the right of all to be treated with fairness and justice seems implied. Similarly, in the broader sphere of human rights, the right to life in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)*; ("Everyone has the right to life, liberty, and the security of person;"* Art. 3). Thus, human rights are non-discriminatory, meaning that all human beings are entitled to them and cannot be excluded from them. Of course, while all human beings are entitled to human rights, not all human beings experience them equally throughout the world. Many governments and individuals ignore human rights and grossly exploit other human beings. Human

rights are broadly classified into civil and political rights on the one hand and socio-economic and cultural rights on the other. The object of both sets of rights is, to make an individual an effective participant in the affairs of the society. Unless both sets of rights are available, neither full development of the human personality can be achieved nor can true democracy be said to exit.

❖ **Importance of Human Rights:** Human rights are held by all persons equally, universally and forever.

1) Human rights are universal: They are always the same for all human beings everywhere in the world. We do not have human rights because we are a citizen of any country but because we are a member of the human family. This means children have human rights as well as adults.

2) Human rights are unchallengeable*:* We cannot lose these rights any more than we can cease to be a human being.

3) Human rights are indivisible: No one can take away a right because it is *'less important'* or *'non-essential'*.

4) Human rights are interdependent*:* Together human rights form a complementary framework. For example, our ability to participate in local decision making is directly affected by our right to express our self, to associate with others, to get an education and even to obtain the necessities of life.

5) Human rights reflect basic human needs: They establish basic standards without which people cannot live in dignity. To violate someone's human rights is to treat that person as though he or she were not a human being. To advocate human rights is to demand that the human dignity of all people be respected.

6) In claiming these human rights, everyone also accepts responsibilities: To respect the rights of others and to protect and support people whose rights are abused or denied. Meeting these responsibilities means claiming solidarity with all other human beings.

There are a Variety of Human Rights, including: (i) Civil rights (such as the rights to life, liberty and security),

ii) Political rights (like rights to the protection of the law and equality before the law),
iii) Economic rights (including rights to work, to own property and to receive equal pay),

iv) Social rights (like rights to education and consenting marriages),

v) Cultural rights (including the right to freely participate in their cultural community), and

vi) Collective rights (like the right to self-determination).

EVOLUTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The idea of human right is as old as social life. Even from the ancient time, it was recognized that the values are essential for human life. Without these values, life of the man becomes meaningless. Rights are the most important values which a man cherishes. He enjoyed this for his fullest development. In the recorded history of mankind; he has fought for these rights whenever they have been challenged.

Many people regard the development of human rights law as one of the greatest accomplishments of the twentieth century. However, human rights did not begin with law or the United Nations (UNs). Throughout human history societies have developed systems of justice and propriety that sought the welfare of society as a whole. References to justice, fairness and humanity are common to all world religions: Islam, Buddhism, Christianity and Hinduism. However, formal principles usually differ from common practice. Until the 18th century no society, civilization or culture, in either the Western or other sides of the world, had a widely endorsed practice or vision of inalienable human rights. Documents asserting individual rights, such as the Magna Carta (1215), the English Bill of Rights (1689), the French Declaration on the Rights of Man and Citizen (1789) and the US Constitution and Bill of Right (1791) are the written precursors to many of today's human rights instruments. Yet most of these influential landmarks excluded women, many minorities and members of certain social, religious, political and economic groups. None reflects the fundamental concept that everyone is entitled to certain rights only by virtue of their humanity.

Other important factor for the evolution of human rights lies in 19th century efforts to prohibit the slave trade and to limit the horrors of war. For example, the Geneva Conventions established bases of international humanitarian law, which covers the way that wars should be fought and the protection of individuals during armed conflict. They specifically protect people who do not take part in the fighting and those who can no longer fight (e.g. wounded, sick and stranded troops, prisoners of war). Concern over the protection of certain vulnerable groups was raised by the League of Nations at the end of the First World War. For example, the International Labour Organization (ILO, originally a body of the League of Nations and now a UN agency) established many important conventions setting standards to protect working people, such as the Minimum Age Convention (1919), the Forced Labour Convention (1930) and the Forty-hour Week Convention (1935).

Two major influences in the mid-twentieth century propelled human rights onto the global arena and the awareness of people around the world. The first was struggles of colonial people to assert their independence from foreign powers, claiming their human equality and right to self-determination. The second catalyst was the Second World War. The extermination by Nazi Germany of over six million Jews, Roma people, homosexuals and persons with disabilities horrified the world. Calls came from across the globe for human rights standards to bolster international peace and protect citizens from abuses by governments. These voices played a critical role in the establishment of the United Nations in 1945, human rights in 1948 and are echoed in its founding document, the UN Charter.

Although the international human rights framework builds on these earlier documents, it is principally based on UNs documents. The first documentary use of the expression '*human rights*' is to be found in the charter of the UNs, which was adopted (after the second world war) at San Francisco on June 25, 1945. At the inaugural conference of the UNs held in April 1946, the representatives of many countries had proposed that the conference should adopt a declaration on the essential rights of man. However, there was insufficient time available to discuss the proposal, and at the first session of the UN General Assembly, Panama submitted a draft declaration on fundamental human rights and freedoms. The General Assembly decided to refer the draft to the Economic and Social Council for detailed consideration by its Commission on human rights. The Commission spent two years working on a draft, with the instruction that the bill should be acceptable to all, short, simple and easy to understand. This precarious situation faced by the humans in their life world has ultimately leaded to the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Hum Rights (UDHR) on *"10th of December, 1948"* for the benefit and the furtherance of human race on the globe. Thus, Universal Declaration is the singular most important foundation for modern human rights.

UDHR as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all countries, to the end that every individual and every organization of society, keeping this declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of member states.

Rights for all members of the human family were first articulated in the UDHR, one of the first initiatives of the newly established UN's. Its thirty articles together form a comprehensive statement covering economic, social, cultural, political, and civil rights. The declaration is both universal (it applies to all people everywhere) and indivisible (all rights are equally important to the full realization of one's humanity).

Some Important Articles of UDHR are discussed as under:

❖   **Article 1**

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

❖   **Article 2**

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

❖   **Article 7**

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

❖ **Article 8**

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

❖ **Article 10**

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

❖ **Article 11**

    a) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

b) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

❖ **Article 16**

a) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.
 b) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.
c) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.
During the first few decades after its adoption, the development of human rights law was slowed by several historical realities. First, the Cold War, which pitted the Soviet Union and its satellite states against the United States and its western allies, dominated international politics and overwhelmed concern for human rights. Second, from the late 1940s through the 1960s, many new nations emerged from colonial rule. These countries joined the UN and brought their own concerns for self-determination and development. Many of these nations also drifted toward one-party or one-man dictatorships that did not honor individuals' human rights. Despite these obstacles, in the six decades that have followed its adoption, the UDHR has provided the foundation for many UN human rights conventions, regional human rights systems, and mechanisms for advancing and enforcing human rights.

MODERN HUMAN RIGHTS

The collection of human rights protected by international law draws on a longer of tradition of rights from philosophy, history and normative political theory and now includes three sets or categories of rights that have become useful shortcuts for talking about human rights among scholars and practitioners in the field and will be used throughout the remainder of this paper. These three categories are: **(i)** civil and political rights, **(ii)** economic, social, and cultural rights, and **(iii)** solidarity rights. These three categories of human rights are discussed as under:

i)   **Civil and Political Rights** uphold the sanctity of the individual before the law and guarantee his or her ability to participate freely in civil, economic, and political society. *Civil rights* include such rights as the right to life, liberty, and personal security; the right to equality before the law; the right of protection from arbitrary arrest; the right to the due process of law; the right to a fair trial; and the right to religious freedom and worship. Political rights include such rights as the right to speech and expression; the rights to assembly and association; and the right to vote and political participation. Political rights thus guarantee individual rights to involvement in public affairs and the affairs of state.

ii) Social and Economic Rights include such rights as the right to a family; the right to education; the right to health and well being; the right to work and fair remuneration; the right to form trade unions and free associations; the right to leisure time; and the right to social security. When protected, these rights help promote individual flourishing, social and economic development, and self-esteem. *Cultural rights*, on the other hand, include such rights as the right to the benefits of culture; the right to indigenous land, rituals, and shared cultural practices; and the right to speak one's own language and 'mother tongue' education. Cultural rights are meant to maintain and promote sub-national cultural affiliations and collective identities, and protect minority communities against the incursions of national assimilations and

nation-building projects. In contrast to the first set of rights, this second set of social, economic, and cultural rights is often seen as an aspirational and programmatic set of rights that national governments ought to strive to achieve through progressive implementation.

iii) Solidarity Rights, which include rights to public goods such as development and the environment, seek to guarantee that all individuals and groups have the right to share in the benefits of the earth's natural resources, as well as those goods and products that are made through processes of economic growth, expansion, and innovation. Many of these rights are transnational in that they make claims against wealthy nations to redistribute wealth to poor nations, cancel or reduce international debt obligations, pay compensation for past imperial and colonial adventures, reduce environmental degradation, and help promote policies for sustainable development.

Of the three sets of rights, this final set is the newest and most progressive and reflects a certain reaction against the worst effects of globalization, as well as the relative effectiveness of '*green'* political ideology and social mobilization around concerns for the health of the planet.

❖   **The Modern Human Right**

Consists of Six Major Sections:

Section I; on the universality of human rights, discusses the moral foundations of human rights, the challenge of cultural relativism, and the relationship between human rights and duties.

Section II; Offers a summary of the United Nations system of human rights as it has developed from the founding of the United Nations in 1945 to the present. This section, the longest of the six, includes descriptions of the drafting of the UDHR, the major United Nations conventions and declarations, and the major U.N. operational mechanisms for advancing human rights. This section concludes with short overviews of the International Criminal Court, the Responsibility to Protect, the Millennium Development Goals, and the new Sustainable Development Goals.

Section III; Describes the development of international humanitarian law, the laws governing the conduct of war. While international humanitarian law predates human rights law, it is now seen as a part of human rights law, due largely to its modern emphasis upon the rights of civilians during wartime.

Section IV; Reviews the human rights systems of the five regional organizations, from the first European system to the most recent Association of Southeast Asian Nations Human Rights Declaration.

Section V; Describes the non-governmental human rights movement and its vital role in advancing human rights.

Section VI; Examines the United States' role within the international legal system of human rights.

Today, there are literally hundreds of human rights organizations worldwide. Some focus on all human rights concerns, while others address specific kinds of rights (e.g., Center for Economic and Social Rights), specific rights issues (e.g., International Association for Religious Freedom) or the rights of specific groups (e.g., Disability Rights International). Many are global, while others address human rights in particular regions or countries.

OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH WORK

➢   The main objective of the study is to highlight the role and importance of human rights in present era.
➢   To highlight the role of U.N.O in human rights since 1948.
➢   To highlight the enjoyment of these human rights entails responsibilities and duties with regard to other persons, to the human community and to future generations.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study is mainly based upon the collection of secondary data. Secondary data have been collected from various books. In addition to this, data have been collected from various journals, articles, research papers etc. The research is also based on the referred sources- published, unpublished and electronic.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, human rights are those rights which are inherent in our nature and without which we cannot live as a living as a human being. Human rights and fundamental freedoms allow us to fully develop and use our human qualities, our intelligence, our talents and our conscience and to satisfy our spiritual and other needs. They are based on mankind's increasing demand for a life in which the inherent dignity and worth of human being will receive respect and protection. Human rights are sometimes called fundamental rights or basic rights or natural rights. As fundamental or basic rights they are those which must not be taken away by any legislature or any act of the government and which are often set out in a constitution. As natural rights they are seen as belonging to men and women by their very nature. In short, whatever the rights add to the dignified and free existence of a human being should be regarded as human rights. These are the rights which serve as a necessary prelude for the well-being of human beings for they are universally applicable to all human beings irrespective of colour, race, religion, region, and so on. Human right is equally applicable to the people of east or west.

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Full Length Research

UTILIZING THE SKILLS OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS IN A RECESSED ECONOMY

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This study is an evaluation of effective utilization of the skills of internally displaced persons in Nigeria as a way of addressing the challenges of insurgency and economic recession. The objectives were to examine areas of interest of the IDPs in Bauchi and Gombe states in terms of means of livelihood and intervention requirements and how they could be supported. The descriptive survey method was used and the instrument of questionnaire was applied for data collection. 503 respondents representing twenty percent of the IDPs population in 13 LGAs in the two states were selected through random sampling technique and issued with questionnaires. A total of 447 questionnaires were returned, out of which 414 (92.6%) were found suitable and coded into Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 23 for the analysis. Upon further observation, 12 (2.7%) cases were found with an issue of unengaged responses with a zero standard deviation. These were deleted. Thus, 402(89.9%) were used as valid responses for the analysis. The study discovered that most of the IDPs residing in camps and households have skills and only need support to resuscitate their businesses. Those without skills are willing to acquire new one to help themselves. The study recommends that there should be rapid response to the need of IDPs in terms of financial support and rehabilitation to help rebuild their economies.

Keywords: IDPs, Economic Recession, Insurgency, Intervention

INTRODUCTION

Background of the study

The origin of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Nigeria can be directly linked to internal conflicts that bedeviled the nation after independence, beginning with the civil war of 1967-1970. Today internal conflicts have devastated different parts of the country particularly the Northeast and North-west geo-political zones, the Benue – Plateau axis of the North-central area and Niger Delta region, with attendant consequences in loss of lives, destruction of properties, and displacement of millions of people (Otite & Alber 2004; Yinka, 2013; Abdullahi, 2016). Changes in the social environment, such as contestable access to new political positions, or perception of new resources arising from development in the physical environment, are seen as fertile grounds for conflicts involving individuals and groups who are interested in using these new resources to achieve their goals (Yusuf – Sadiq & Abdullahi 2011).

In the northern part of the country internal conflicts have in recent time resulted in mass displacement of people from

their homes in states like Borno, Yobe, Adamawa, Bauchi, Gombe, Kaduna, Plateau, Benue, Nasarawa, Taraba and Zamfara. In some of these states there was hardly a year without an incidence of ethnic or religious crisis since the return to civilian rule in 1999. In all the places mentioned, years of protracted conflicts have led to the lingering problems of IDPs. Thus, since the inception of the forth republic there has been an unprecedented upsurge of various forms of explosive conflicts and crises across Nigeria that have not only overheated the polity, but have also threatened to destroy the very foundations and pillars of our nationhood due to these perceived differences. The most prominent of these crises are ethnic and communal conflicts as well as those connected with religious intolerance or extremism. Furthermore incidences of religious crises and communal conflicts occurred between Muslim and Christians, Muslims and Traditional Worshippers, or Christians and Traditional Worshippers as well as the recurring crisis between farmers and cattle breeders. A look at some of the examples cited above will further, reveal the destructive consequences of conflicts in Nigeria. In Kaduna and Bauchi states for example, the adoption of Shariah system of law in 2002 was met with opposition by those who were not favorably disposed to it. This led to killings and destructions in towns and villages like Zangon Kataf in Kaduna and Tafawa Balewa in Bauchi. The Jos crisis beginning from 2001 was protracted and embedded in primordial feelings by some ethnic groups. In the ethno-religious crisis that broke out in May, 2004 in Shimkar and Yelwan Shandam of Pleteau state, and spread to the neighboring communities of Zomo, Dokar, Lupidi, Laraba and Unguwar Adam, a total of 735 families including 1,543 displaced children lost their homes and took shelters in school compounds, while another 2, 770 people took refuge in five camps in Bauchi state. About 2,000 people were reported displaced in various parts of Plateau States, while another 8,000 displaced people took refuge in the remains of their burnt houses based on estimates by the Nigeria Red Cross Society (Zakaree and Egwai 2012)

The insurgency launched by Boko Haram in the Northeast surpassed all due to its intensity, criminality and causalities, recording the highest cases of displacements in the country. At the time he assumed office in 2015, President Muhammadu Buhari decried the situation of IDPs in the country, referring to it as frightening. Thus, by 2015, when the insurgency was at its peak in the Northeast, over eight hundred thousand (800,000) IDPs were sheltered in 22 camps and neighborhoods in Borno state alone (NEMA 2015; Abdullahi, 2017). In-fact, the UN office for the coordinator of humanitarian affair (UNOCHAR) reported that since 2009 when Boko Haram insurgency began, the number of IDPs in the region was on the increase. For instance, in 2010 the figure was only 100,000, but increases to 130,000 in 2011; 200,000 in 2012; 290,000 in 2013; 436,608 in 2014;1.4m in 2015 and over 2million in 2016. As at the time of this research, the population of IDPs in the country exceeds 3 million people based on estimates by NEMA and other NGOs.

Owing to the insurgency, several markets were closed down while farmlands were destroyed by the Boko Haram through coordinated attacks in the northeast. That made thousands of people lost their means of livelihood in markets, farms, trades and businesses (DTM 2015; Abdullahi, 2016). Many people became traumatized as some were wounded while others were forced to live on the streets especially children that were on their own having lost both parents. Among the displaced persons, women and children were estimated to have constituted over 80% (Abdullahi, 2016). Many women were widowed and many more children have been orphaned. Some young girls among them became prostitutes or domestic servants. Most children who lived for more than two years in camps had no access t education. Even those camped within the precincts of public schools, can – not have normal access to education. In other words, in some of the IDPs camps your girls of about 13 and 15 years have been forced into prostitution due to hunger and the inability of their parents to cater for their needs. Estimates have also shown that only about 20-30% of the IDPs live in camps while the rest are sheltered in neighbor-hood. Some of the girls have fallen victims of rape by young men who were also among IDPs.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The well over 3 million IDPs in Nigeria could hardly sustain themselves economically, while in their relief camps. They tend to grapple with challenges which include that of feeding, clothing, healthcare and the education of their children. The relief materials provided are rarely sufficient given their teeming population vis-à-vis the scare resources.

These persons rely heavily on economic interventions which can-not cater even for their immediate needs. This tendency poses huge threat to the society. The vast population of most IDPs is constituted by unemployed youth. This is a great danger to the entire region and even beyond.

The protest by some IDPs in two camps in Maiduguri, in 2017 was a pointer to the fact that the IDPs lacked skills for self-reliance and this necessitate immediate response by all stake holders. In their protests they claimed that lack of basic amenities is causing a lot of hardship to them. The terrible situation of the IDPs has to do with the economic melt-down in the country (even though the government claimed to have overcome recession, yet the condition of living of IDPs is not better). This therefore necessitated the search for alternative ways to convert the situation and improve the well-being of the IDPs.

The effort of international groups and donor agencies in the war against terror and provision of relief materials to

reduce suffering among IDPs should be complemented with skills acquisition training in the camps or in IDPs located areas, hence the need for this study to identify areas of interest and needs of the IDPs for immediate intervention to achieve a sustained human capital development among IDPs. This research focused on the situation in IDP camps in Bauchi and Gombe states, which are under reported. It is believed that if the entrepreneurial skills of the over 3 million Nigeria IDPs were properly harnessed, Nigerian economy would be better for it.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The main objective of the study is to investigate areas of interests of the IDPs in the Northeast (Bauchi and Gombe states) and recommend how they could be supported.
Specifically the study intends to:

(i)   Identify alternative means of livelihood for the IDPs in relation to their skills.
(ii)   To determine the types of interventions required by the IDPs.
(iii)   To find out possible challenges that could hinder the IDPs' desired businesses.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Conceptual Framework

In Nigeria, like many other countries, population displacements were frequently caused by armed conflicts. Other causes include political oppression, desperate poverty, environmental degradation and disasters, and economic underdevelopment. These have combined to create a class of displaced persons within and outside the country putting a lot of pressure on the economy and resources of the nation.

According to the analytical report of the United Nations Secretary General on IDPs of February 1992 as cited by Abdullahi (2016) Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) refer to "persons who have been forced to flee their homes suddenly or unexpected in large numbers, as a result of armed conflict, internal strife, systematic violation of human rights or natural or man- made disasters; and who are within the territory of their own country" (p3). Thus an internally displaced person is someone who is forced to flee his or her home but remains within the country's borders. The difference is that whilst refugee refers to displaced person that was forced to cross borders IDPs refer to persons displaced within the country and whose reasons or plight are not similar to those of refugees. Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) are those people sent out of their homes and have been forced to take temporary shelter in places other than their own because of violence or a disaster.

Although not a new phenomenon, because it was earlier linked to the issue of Refugees, the IDPs have been described as people displaced within their own country for different reasons ranging from armed conflicts, human rights violations or because of natural and man-made disasters. Therefore an IDP is described as a forced migrant who left his or her home because of political, ethnic and religious persecution or violence, but did not cross an international border (Yusuf-Sadiq & Abdullahi, 2011). Thus an IDP is a refugee in his or her own country.

Several reports including the work of Clark, (1988); World refugee survey (2014); OCHA, (2014); and Abdullahi, (2016) have indicated that the first statistics of IDPs became available in 1989 when about 5 million persons were discovered to have been displaced world –wide. By 2014, about 38.2 million IDPs were said to have been discovered. Countries with the largest IDPs population were Syria (7.6million IDPs), Colombia (6 million IDPs), Iraq (3.6 million IDPs), the Democratic Republic of Congo (2.8 million IDPs), Sudan (2.2 million IDPs), South Sudan (1.6 million IDPs), Pakistan (1.4 million IDPs), Nigeria (1.2 million IDPs) and Somalia (1.1million IDPs). By the end of 2015 an estimated 40.8 million IDPs were displaced as a result of conflict and violence, while a total of 19.2 million were displaced of man – made and natural disasters (GRIP 2016). It has also been estimated that about 80% of all IDPs were women and children. The responsibility for protection and assistance of IDPs was shared among the UN agencies, i.e. UNHCR, UNICEF, WFP, UNDP, Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, the inter-governmental organization IOM, the ICRC and home government.

While Nigeria's GDP stands at 9.50 per cent in the third quarter of 2018, those of USA and China are 35.6% and 49.5% respectively. As lamented by Manufacturing Association of Nigeria (MAN), manufacturing cost is twice that of Ghana, four times of South Africa and Europe and nine times that of China and Malaysia. This indicates the difficulties being faced by many people as the unemployment rate continue to rise, while prices and cost of goods and services are unbearable.

Forced Displacement

According to UNHCR report forced displacement or forced immigration is the coerced movement of people from their home or home region and it often connotes violent coercion. Someone who has experienced forced displacement is a "forced immigrant" a "displaced person" (DP), or if it is within the same country, an internally displaced person (IDP). In some cases the forced immigrant can also become a refugee. Example include population transfer (to move unwanted groups) or ethnic cleansing. Another form is deportation. The report further indicates that in 2017, the total population of displaced persons in the world has reached sixty five million and six hundred thousand. This comprised thirty six million, six hundred and twenty seven IDPs; seventeen million, one hundred and eighty seven refugees; two million, eight hundred and twenty six asylum seekers; and eight hundred and three thousand, one hundred and thirty four people in refugee like situation (UNHCR, 2017).

Economic Recession

Both developed and developing countries are witnessing recession in their economy at different levels. Today economic recession is a global phenomenon affecting many countries. In Nigeria, our economic woes are as result of many factors the first being corruption by government officials; the dwindling oil revenue (of the mono-economic state) is another factor while civil unrest like the insurgency in the northeast, militant activities in the south-south, farmers and herdsmen clashes, cattle rustlers and kidnappers in the north-west are contributing factors. All these have combined to put a lot of stress on the economy and invariably the Nigerian people. Among those who are worst hit by this situation is the internally displaced persons (IDPs) scattered across the country. Studies have shown that among the IDPs who live in camps are people with different skills such as farmers, traders, businessmen and civil servants as well as students that cut across all levels of education (Imaseun, 2014; Abdullahi, 2016). These people have lost their sources of income and livelihood. Thus, the problem of IDPs, is closely related the dwindling economic fortunes of the country. Nigeria economic GDP per capital growth rate has fluctuated in recent years and at present grossly declining. This situation is indicated by the high exchange rate, inflation, interest rate of commercial banks and consumer price index. These indicators suggest economic recession in a nation (Sola, Iyioma and Okaima, 2009; Azike, 2001; Odebunmi & Orayemi, 2004; and Bilonu, 2006).

Providing Relief for IDPs

Various relief potentials have been provided for IDPs both at camp and in the neighborhood to support and improve their well-being. The potentials differs in-terms of their target beneficiaries and the intended impact. Some efforts were directed toward controlling the spread of diseases, education of children, provision of water and sanitation and reproductive health. Yet some efforts were directed towards skills acquisition among IDPs. In 2015 an analysis of the HIV/AIDS counselling and screening among IDPs in host communities in three states, Adamawa Yobe and Borno was conducted by the Community Links and Human Empowerment Initiative (CHLEI) and Business and Professional Women (BPW) (Teghet & Adamu, 2015), aimed to increase awareness and mitigate the impact of the disease among IDPs. In addition, individuals, groups and organizations in different places where there are IDP camps are intervening to see how IDPs can be helped to earn some income through the utilization of their economic skills and in some cases learning new skills (UNHR, 2015).

Theoretical Framework

In social sciences theory is used to provide analytical frameworks through which to examine social phenomena. In this line, two theories have been used to guide this study as follows – human needs theory; structural theory of aggression/structural conflict theory.

Basic Needs Approach/Human Needs Theory

The basic needs approach or human needs theory was popularized by Abraham Maslow, John Burton, Marshal Rosenberg and Manfred Max-Neef (Coat &Rosati, 1988; Shodeide, 2018). Human needs are universal needs of individuals and meeting them is essential to human survival and well-being. The theory believed that the individual is in collective pursuit of needs and values which forms the core of their social and international behavior. They served as a primary element of individual survival. Therefore, individual could go to any length in the struggle for his survival within the social system.

The Structural Theory of Aggression/Structural Conflict Theory

This theory or approach talks about structural defects in the society that leads to conflicts and displacements. The main thrust of the theory attempts to explain conflict as a product of the tension that arises when groups must compete for scarce resources. Sudha, (2013), observed that these structural defects affect the life of IDPs in various ways. For instance, economic structures of exclusion deny them access to education and jobs, as well as business opportunities in the place of residence. Legal structures affects their right to property or protection of their property rights (or properties left behind in their hometowns); mechanisms for land restoration, and overall system of justice to IDPs. Then political structures like policies that affect the provision of social services, housing, the right of return, and state censorship of IDPs. Brown, (1996) observed that the structural theory is remarkable in bringing out the factors that lead to the emergence of conflict, its escalation and the attendant consequences of destructions and displacements.

Empirical review

It is empirically observed by many researchers that the humanitarian condition of IDPs has remained a source of concern in Nigeria. A study conducted by Kasali (2015) set out a model that sought among other things to: (i) establish and implement livelihood promoting activities; and (ii) implement framework for training adults and youths through agriculture and agricultural extension services and vocational skills and introduce strategies and programs that address the needs of IDPs.

An almost similar model but directed toward immigrant skill building program is that developed by Bergson Shilcock in 2016, that involves skills acquisition training for middle-skill employment in order to provide family sustaining wages to workers in aeronautics industry, LEED certified buildings. Similarly, Wa-Mbaleka (2014) also proposed an instructional design model that targeted refugees as well as IDPs educational support in Central Africa. Also, Ajiola (2015) introduced an organizational capacity building support that renders post-settlement services among IDPs and migrants.

Abdullahi (2006) studied the impact of insurgency on education of children of IDPs in the Northeast. The study discovered that for most children and parents, lack of proper education is the worst aspect of living in the camp. School activities were organized on temporary basis and handled mostly by voluntary groups and donor agencies. The UNICEF provided a leading role in terms of funding of the education of IDPs' children by distributing free books and other educational facilities in the camps. The Red Cross society of Nigeria is also supporting by organizing temporary lessons for both children and grown – ups in some of the camps located at Maiduguri, Damaturu, Yola as well as the FCT, Abuja.

Today, as the government is grappling with the need to safeguard the psycho-social and economic well-being of its teaming IDPs coupled with the attempt to alleviate the plights of women and girls in the IDPs camps, a number of NGOs are collaborating to pull resources together to reach out to the IDPs across Nigeria. In this direction, the National Centre for Women Development (NCWD) in partnership with the Nigeria Stability and Reconciliation Program (NSRP) together with Civil Society Groups and other stake holders pledged (in 2015) to support initiatives to alleviate the plight of women and girls among the IDPs. Similarly, the National Institute for Hospitality pledged to train 50 women in hospitality service to empower them with marketable skills that would facilitate their financial independence (www.nsrp-nigeria.org).

In another situation, a Lagos based organization called SESOR, embarked on the registration exercise of 50 women IDPs for SESSOR's Economic Empowerment Program. The empowerment initiative was part of the rehabilitation of women who have been struggling to sustain a means of livelihood in an unfamiliar host community, SESSOR in partnership with Grooming Centre, a microfinance NGO worked towards enabling women access funds to start or scale up micro businesses (sesorafrica.org).

The importance of supporting IDPs to sustain peace cannot be overemphasized in this troubled world. In this direction, a report by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) in collaboration with the International Trade Centre (ITC) noted that, "building the economic potential and creating job opportunities for refugee communities is an investment in peace, security and dignity". It further noted that, when refugees are linked to markets, the communities would be assisted in retaining and using their traditional skills in a way that provides economic opportunities and therefore build market for their goods and services. Thus, the cooperation between UNHCR and ITC was aimed to place special focus on intervention to integrate refugees into the value chains of the private sector companies that are targeting export markets, especially sector linked to information technology and agricultural business and hand craft (www.unhcr.org).

In some other places like Jordan, women in refugee camps were noted for seeking economic empowerment through handicraft projects such as traditional Palestinian Cross-stitching, crochet and sewing. In order to assist and encourage these women, the Human right task force in Jordan supported the women refugees to buy the materials needed to carry out the handicraft (www.fawco.org.peace.security).

There were some efforts among the IDPs themselves as Premium Times (2016) reported that some inhabitants of

IDPs camps in Maiduguri had taken to some form of trade to earn some income. Specifically those engaged in the vacation of cap-knitting are pleased with their earning so much that they were not too willing to go back to their home of origin.

At Popomari IDPs camp in Damaturu, Yobe state, women IDPs were reported to have engaged in animal fattening. They fed the animals using left-over food provided in the camp. While some women bought animals to fatten in the camp (guardian.ng.news.economic-empower---).

From the forgoing review it is obvious that in Nigeria like in other countries, displaced persons need timely intervention in various ways including capacity building, skills acquisition and educational support. Reports have shown that, in the various IDP camps across the country, there are people with skills among whom were women and girls. However, because of the circumstances that led the IDPs to camp they are in dire need for assistance to help them recover from their bad economic situation. While those with skills are in need of capital to develop their businesses some are ready to acquire or learn new skills so as to help themselves. Unfortunately, the presence of NGOs, especially the international organizations, is mostly felt by IDPs in camps located in the important cities like Maiduguri, Lagos and the FCT, Abuja. However, the current rise in the number of IDPs as a result of insurgency and communal conflicts coupled with the economic down turn in Nigeria suggests a new approach in addressing the plight of IDPs. The current study hoped to bring a new model in harnessing skills among IDPs in Bauchi and Gombe states with a view to change the economic fortune of the country.

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

The study uses the survey method. Surveys were conducted to obtain first-hand information about IDPs and their needs within the study area. Target population comprises IDPs in Bauchi and Gombe states with an adequate sample size of 20% of the entire population. This was based on a stratified sampling technique.

Sources of Data

The research adopted the use of both primary and secondary sources of data. The primary data were obtained through the distribution of structured questionnaire to the selected leaders of IDPs, women IDPs and youths among the IDPs in Bauchi and Gombe states. The secondary sources comprises textbooks, journals, newspapers, magazines, research reports as well as the internet.

Population of the Study

The population of this study comprises of the IDPs in 100 host communities across 31 local government areas (LGAs) in Bauchi and Gombe states.

Sample size and sampling technique

A total of 503 respondents representing twenty percent of the IDPs population in the 31LGAs in the two states were selected through random sampling technique and issued with questionnaires. A total of 447 questionnaires were returned, out of which 414(92.6%) were found suitable and coded into Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 23 for the analysis. There maining 33(7.4%) were not duly filled.

Afterward, 12(2.7%) cases were found with an issue of unengaged responses with a zero standard deviation, as such they were deleted. There maining 402(89.9%) are used as valid responses for the analysis.

Method of Data Analysis

Simple percentage, mean and standard deviation are used to analyze the data. The results are presented based on general information, IDPs means of livelihood, intervention requirements, and perceived challenges as contain in the tables attached respectively.

Presentation and Interpretation of Results

The data which was generated from the field through the distribution and instrumentality of questionnaires across IDPs in Bauchi and Gombe states was analyzed using SPSS version 23 present the following result.

Table 1: General Information

Information	Option	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Camp Location or Settlement Area	Bauchi	294	73.1
	Gombe	108	26.9
	Total	**402**	**100**
Gender	Male	169	42.0
	Female	230	57.2
	Not Disclose	3	0.7
	Total	**402**	**100**
Age	Below 30 years	181	46.8
	Above 30 years	187	48.3
	Child	19	4.9
	Not Disclose	15	3.7
	Total	**402**	**100**
State of Origin	Borno	175	43.5
	Yobe	97	24.1
	Adamawa	106	26.4
	Others	24	6.0
	Total	**402**	**100**

Table 2: IDPs Means of Livelihood

Statement	SD	D	U	A	SA	ND	M	Std.
I had better means of livelihood before becoming an IDP	10 (2.5%)	106 (26.4%)	7 (1.7%)	139 (34.6%)	140 (34.8%)	-	3.7289	1.2549
My present standard of living is worse than the previous time	4 (1.0%)	7 (1.7%)	109 (27.1%)	175 (43.5%)	104 (25.9%)	3 (0.7%)	3.9223	0.8306
The crisis affected my means of livelihood negatively	2 (0.5%)	6 (1.5%)	3 (0.7%)	319 (79.4%)	72 (17.9%)	-	4.1269	0.5250
I am prepared to take up new skills	-	4 (1.0%)	10 (2.5%)	306 (76.1%)	81 (20.1%)	1 (0.2%)	4.1571	0.4927
I can manage the skill effectively	4 (1.0%)	2 (0.5%)	9 (2.2%)	291 (72.4%)	95 (23.6%)	1 (0.2%)	4.1746	0.5826
Grand Total							**4.0229**	**0.5554**

Key: SD= Strongly Agree, D= Disagree, U= Undecided, A= Agree, SA= Strongly Disagree, ND = Not Disclose, M = Mean, Std. = standard deviation

Demographic Data

In the presentation, the main objective variables of the study were analyzed using descriptive statistics package based on simple percentage, frequency and mean. The results are discussed on the basis of utilizing the skills of IDPs in Bauchi and Gombe states. (Table 1)

IDPs Means of Livelihood

According to Table 2: IDPs 'means of livelihood, the analysis shows that 139, representing 34.6% agreed that they had better means of livelihood before they became displaced. Another 140 representing 34.8 percent strongly agreed that they were better off

Table 3: IDPs Intervention Requirements

Statement	SD	D	U	A	SA	ND	M	Std.
IDPs require assistance now	2 (0.5%)	3 (0.7%)	3 (0.7%)	91 (22.6%)	303 (75.4%)	-	4.7164	0.5687
I will be comfortable taking a bank loan	35 (8.7%)	4 (1.0%)	213 (53.0%)	95 (23.6%)	54 (13.4%)	1 (0.2%)	3.3217	1.0167
I have never benefited from a credit facility	19 (4.7%)	108 (26.9%)	16 (4.0%)	203 (50.5%)	56 (13.9%)	-	3.4204	1.1604
The future of my project depends on taking loan	22 (5.5%)	19 (4.7%)	82 (20.4%)	226 (56.2%)	53 (13.2%)	-	3.6692	0.9541
A little amount is enough to start my business	7 (1.7%)	3 (0.7%)	29 (7.2%)	166 (41.3%)	197 (49.0%)	-	4.3507	0.7920
Grand Total							**3.8960**	**0.5916**

Key: SD= Strongly Agree, D= Disagree, U= Undecided, A= Agree, SA= Strongly Disagree, ND = Not Disclose, M= Mean, Std. = standard deviation

before they became IDPs. This represents 69.4%. While a total of 116 respondents representing 27.06% did not have better means of livelihood before becoming displaced.

According to the same table 2, 175 respondents representing 43.5% agreed and another 104 representing 25.9 percent strongly agreed that their current standard of living is worse than previous times. This represents 69.4% believing that they are worse off now as IDPs.

On how the crisis negatively affected means of living of the IDPs, the analysis from table 2, shows that 319 respondents representing 79.5% strongly agreed while another 72 respondents 17.9% agreed that the crisis affected their livelihood negatively.

On readiness to take up new skills, 306 respondents representing 76.1% agreed that they are ready for new skills and another 81 respondents representing 20.1% strongly agreed they need new skills. This translates into 96.2% readiness for a new start.

On the ability to manage new skills (businesses) effectively, 291 respondents representing 72.4% agreed and 95 respondents representing 23.6% strongly agreed, representing 96% in support of readiness to manage new business.

IDPs Intervention Requirements

From table 3, 91 respondents representing 22.6% agreed that they require assistance while another 303 respondents representing 75.4% strongly agreed that they need assistance. This represents 98% agreement that assistance is required to enable them start a new life.

On taking bank loans, 149 respondents representing 37% agreed to take bank loan if it is available, while 213 representing 53% are undecided on taking bank loan.

On previous credit facility, according to Table 3, about 127 respondents representing 31.6% claimed that they have benefited from credit facility before. 259 respondents representing 64.4% have no previous experience of credit facility while16 respondents representing 4% are undecided.

On whether of future project depending on loan, 41 respondents representing 10.2% disagree, 82 respondents representing 20.4% were undecided while 279 respondents representing 63.7% agreed that they would need loans for their proposed future projects.

On whether rr a small amount is enough to start a new business, 363 respondents representing 90.3% agreed, 29 respondents representing 7.2% were undecided while 10 respondents representing 2.4% disagreed.

IDPs Perceived Challenges

From Table 4, 133 respondents representing 33% of respondents disagreed with possibility of failure of proposed business, 4 respondents representing 1.0% were undecided, while 131 respondents representing 32.6% of the respondents disagreed that their

Table 4: IDPs Perceived Challenges

Statement	SD	D	U	A	SA	ND	M	Std.
Failure in business and other socio-cultural factors are foreseeable challenges	122 (30.3%)	11 (2.7%)	4 (1.0%)	134 (33.3%)	103 (25.6%)	28 (7.0%)	3.2273	1.6583
Selling on credit is a major cause of business failure	104 (25.9%)	28 (7.0%)	33 (8.2%)	167 (41.5%)	69 (17.2%)	1 (0.2%)	3.1721	1.4791
Pressure from dependents may cripple a business	6 (1.5%)	16 (4.0%)	42 (10.4%)	277 (68.9%)	60 (14.9%)	1 (0.2%)	3.9202	0.7373
Family demands could affect the future of my business	7 (1.7%)	23 (5.7%)	45 (11.2%)	168 (41.8%)	159 (39.6%)	-	4.1169	0.9389
My spouse may not like the business	20 (5.0%)	195 (48.5%)	79 (19.7%)	67 (16.7%)	41 (10.2%)	-	2.7861	1.1027
Grand Total							**3.4575**	**0.7672**

Key: SD= Strongly Agree, D= Disagree, U= Undecided, A= Agree, SA= Strongly Disagree, ND = Not Disclose, M= Mean, Std. = standard deviation

business would fail.

132 respondents representing 32.9% disagreed that selling on credit could kill their new business. 33 respondents representing 8.2% were undecided, while 236 respondents representing 50.7% agreed that credit buying is a major threat to their proposed business.

On whether pressure from family members and dependent might cripple their business, 22 respondents representing 5.5% disagreed, 42 respondents representing 10.4% were undecided while 337 respondents representing 83.8% agreed that pressure from dependent could cripple their businesses.

On whether family demands could affect the future of their proposed businesses, 30 respondents representing 7.4% disagreed 45 respondents representing 11.2% were undecided and 327 respondents representing 81.4% agreed that demands from family members could threaten the future of their businesses.

215 respondents representing 53.5% disagreed that their spouses may not support their business, 97 respondents representing 19.7% were undecided, while 108 respondents representing 26.9% agreed that their spouses may not support their new businesses.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

From table 2 of this study, the research found out that most of the IDPs had reliable means of living, they own some businesses of their own and were doing well before they were displaced as indicated by 69.4% of the respondents. Their displacement following the insurgency, affected their lives negatively, as most of them were forced out of their ancestral homes leaving their farms and businesses behind. This is the condition of about 69.4% of the respondents in this research. However, most of the IDPs were ready and willing to take up a new skill as indicated by 96.2% of respondents and they indicated great deal of confidence in ability to manage such very well.

Analysis of Table 3 indicated that the IDPs are in dire need of interventions from government in the form of loans and other assistance to enable them start life all over again and be productive and self-reliant as against their current situation, where they depend on government and related humanitarian bodies for food and other daily and basic needs. About 96.2% of respondents agreed that they required assistance to become self-reliant. However, most of the IDPs were not comfortable taking loans from commercial banks as they have preference for nonprofit loans or interventions from government and other humanitarian bodies. Only 37% of IDPs were willing to take loan from the bank. Similarly, only 31.6% had benefited from bank loan before now, 63.7% agreed they will require loan to start a new business while 90.3% are ready to start a business with little amount of money.

Table 4 showed that IDPs were sure of support from their spouses and family member in taking up new businesses, with about 53% support, but were also afraid that pressure from dependents and family members could negatively affect their proposed businesses as indicated by 50.7% respondents who agreed that selling on credit could negatively affect their business and another 81.4% are in agreement on the possibility of family demands to impede the success of their business.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

From the findings of this research, it is clear that IDPs are negatively affected by the insurgency in the Northeast, many of them faced a life of uncertainty and dependency owing to the fact that they depended on government and other humanitarian bodies for assistance in terms of food and other needs. However, what the IDPs required is a more sustainable intervention in the form of news kills and start up packs that would enable them become self-reliant and less dependent. Most of them have demonstrated the zeal to embrace new skill if provided, willingness to accept financial interventions to enable them restart their previous businesses and vocations in which they have some experience, although, majority of IDPs have preference for non interest loans as sources of funding. This is not unconnected with the high interest rates charged by the commercial banks and the unfavorable economic atmosphere which threaten the survival chances of small scale businesses in Nigeria. This has made repayment of loans with high interest rate problematic to beneficiaries.

Similarly, most of the IDPs are family men with children and many dependents. As such whatever intervention given by government and humanitarian agencies, only serve to provide temporary succor and are not sufficient in most cases. Hence the need to empower them and make them self-reliant either through new skills and empowerment program or soft or interest free loans. This is more sustainable and this gives confidence and sense of fulfillment to the IDPs and ensures that they are well taken care of.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In the light of the findings, the following recommendations are proper:
i.   Government is encouraged to work harder at putting an end to insurgency so as not to create more IDPs.
ii.   As a result of the lingering plight of IDPs, Government should raise and send a Bill on special needs and intervention for IDPs to the National Assembly.
iii.   Government and other relevant organs are to provide the needed support for those who already have the skills. In this direction, Federal Government should take the IDPs into cognizance in her socio – economic intervention packages.
iv.   The few IDPs who are without skills could be provided with the skills relevant to the identified potentialities. After all they indicated willingness to take up new skills.
v.   IDPs are to be provided with financial support as most seem to require only little amount of money to start their own businesses. IDPs should be encouraged and trained on how to form groups and associations so that they can enjoy interventions or assistance from either governmental bodies or NGOs.

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Ilisan Remo Ogun State Nigeria and Igbo Migration, 1959-2016

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Ilisan Remo is a town in Remo land of Ogun State. There are different versions of the tradition of origin of the Remo people, most of those stories are linked to Ijebu-Ode and Ile-Ife. Since 1959, Ilisan Remo has witnessed a gradual migration Igbo and Ibibio people who migrated and eventually settled in Ilisan Remo. Among these settlers, the Igbo are more in number and have lived cordially with their Youruba host. The Igbo have contributed to the economic development of Ilisan. Conflicts are amicably resolved and no record of any major confrontation between the settlers and their host. Culture is not left out in their interaction as inter-marriages have occurred between the two groups. This paper examines issues on Igbo migration to Ilisan Remo, Ogun State since 1959, the causes of this migration and their contribution to the development of the community. In order to have a clearer understanding of the subject matter, the paper has been segmented into sub-headings, clearly stating the content analysis of the study. The objective of this paper is to carefully examine Igbo migration to Ilisan Remo and the reasons for this migration. Careful assessment of these facts reveals that the Igbo setters have developed the vegetable business and are happy settling in Ilisan Remo. This study has used secondary and primary sources. It has suggested that the government at different levels should support the Igbo farmers in their farming business.

Key Words: Igbo, Migration, Development and Culture

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INTRODUCTION

Ilisan Remo is a *Remo* community in Ogun state Nigeria. There are different versions of their traditions of origin but popular tradition of origin says the *Remo* migrated from *Iremo* quarters in *Ile-Ife* to settle in groups each with its *Oba* in the Western part of *Ijebu* province. Before 1959 this community was relatively known to the *Igbo*, but with the establishment of the Adventist College of West Africa (ACWA) in 1959 by the Seventh day Adventist church with the aim of training missionaries for the church and educating men for Nigeria, *Ilisan* gradually became popular among Seventh day Adventist church members all over Nigeria and across West Africa.

Most of the early students admitted into this seminary were married, therefore the institution built married students quarters to accommodate such students and their families. In a bid to raise money for the training of

their husbands and to support their families, such married students wives engaged in farming. The institution allocated land to such interested women and later the women began to acquire land in the community to augment their land requirements. These women planted different crops in their farms but focused more on *ugu* (pumpkin), this they planted in a commercial quantity and sold in Lagos. The quest for education, job and farming attracted so many *Igbo* to *Ilisan Remo*. Few of these people returned back to the East while others remained in *Ilisan*. This paper discusses *Igbo* migration to *Ilisan Remo* beginning from 1959 to 2016, it examines the causes of this migration and its impact on the host community.

A Brief History of Ilisan Remo

Ilisan Remo is located in Ikenne local Government Area of Ogun State. Remo is the Western part of *Ijebu* land also known as *Ijebu Remo*. *Sagamu*, the capital of Remo was established in 1872, when thirteen towns decided to amalgamate for security reasons.[1] There was no united Remo kingdom headed by a single ruler before the coming of the British. Remo land was occupied by a number of independent political entities each with its own traditional ruler. Some of the Remo polities might have been more prominent than the others because of their strategic location on important trade routes but there was no *Remo* Kingdom over which a single potentate ruled in the pre-colonial era. It only existed as a geographical expression.[2] This means that it may be misleading to talk of the origin of a single Remo Kingdom. Each town has an account of where and how it came to be at its present location. It is so complex that even within a town, sections or groups have different traditions of origin. For example, in the *Remo* town of *Ikenne*, a group that claimed to have come from *Ijebu*, the *Onafowokan* family has their *oriki* as "*omo a fidipote mole…*". *Afidipote* is a ruling house in Ijebu Ode, so they probably have something in common.[3] Yet within the same Ikenne, a section claimed to have paid homage to or accepted the authority of the *Akarigbo of Ofin*. [4]

Meanwhile, some Remo towns such as *Ofin, Epe, Ilara* and *Ode* claimed direct descent from Ile-Ife, others such as *Ilisan, Irolu, Ogere* said on their way from Ile-Ife they stayed for a while in *Ijebu-Ode* before proceeding to *Remo* land. On the other hand, *Iperu, Ikenne* and *Ipara* while claiming direct descent from Ile-Ife accepted the over lordship of the *Awujale*.[5] These two latter groups continued to demonstrate allegiance to the *Awujale* even into the colonial period. These traditions of origin played significant role in the relations between Ijebu and Remo towns.

However, the popular tradition of origin says the Remo migrated from *Iremo* quarters in *Ile-Ife* to settle in groups each with its Oba in the Western part of *Ijebu* province.[6] Tradition claims that the settlement were thirty-three in number and included *Ofin*, *Makun* and *Ikenne*, *Ilishan*, *Irolu*, *Akaka*, *Ode-Remo* and others. Of these *Remo* villages, eight migrated in circa 1000 B. C under the *Akarigbo* from *Ile- Ife* while the remaining such as *Iperu, Ogere, Isara* and *Makun* migrated under the leadership of the *Awujale*. According to this tradition it was not until 1872 that *Ofin*, the seat of the *Akarigbo* became the capital of Sagamu.[7] *Sagamu* included the following quarters: *Ijagba, Makun, Soyindo, Epe, Oko, Batoro, Latawa, Ijoku, Ofin* and others.

Related to the above tradition is the one that says that the *Remo* first settled at *Ijebu-Ode* and that they were given land by the *Awujale*. From *Ijebu-Ode*, these Remo towns dispersed to establish new settlements either on the order of the *Awujale* or on account of some other circumstances.[8] The *Awujale* subsequently exercised authority on the *Remo* towns. These *Remo* towns include *Iperu, Ogere, Isara* and *Makun*.

According to another tradition of origin it was the *Awujale* who dispatched the *Akarigbo* to settle at *Ofin* in *Sagamu*.[9] It says that during the journey that took Obanta from *Ile-Ife* to *Ijebu* land, he fought and killed *Olu-Igbo* who was the king of a village named *Igbo*. *Obanta* took *Aka*, the pregnant wife of *Olu-Igbo* and made her to carry the head of her late husband until they reached Ijebu-Ode where she delivered a male child. The child was named *Akarigbo* meaning "*Aka* carried the head of *Igbo*". According to this tradition, this child eventually became the eponymous ancestor of all subsequent *Akarigbo* because when he became of age, *Awujale* dispatched him to found *Ofin* in *Sagamu* by which time the *Makun* people had already settled in *Remo*. Olubomehin O. O, faulted this tradition of origin arguing that this tradition looks more like a myth and myths are not necessarily history. *Aka* must have been so courageous to have carried the head of her deceased husband (perhaps for weeks or months) before giving birth to a son. The practical impossibility of carrying an unembalmed corpse casts aspersion on the authenticity of this tradition.[10]

A variant of this account which is popular in Ijebu-Ode says that *Olofin Ogbolu* left Ile-Ife and proceeded to establish the town of *Odogbolu*.[11] Here the first *Akarigbo* was born by one of the wives of the *Olofin*. Later "the *Akarigbo* offended his father and was banished to Remo where he met the *Alara* and *Elepe*".[12] He subsequently settled in *Remo* land. These last two traditions of origin cannot be substantiated by the ancient and recent history of *Remo*.

Considering these traditions of origin, one can come to some conclusions that there was no single common *Remo* tradition of origin. This is because there was no single *Remo* kingdom from the beginning. However, all the *Remo* towns accepted the traditions which linked them either directly or indirectly to *Ile-Ife*. Even the *Remo* towns which claimed to have come from Ijebu-Ode still traced their original home to *Ile-Ife*. Indeed, there is evidence in support of the centrality of *Ife* in *Remo* traditions of origin. For example, even in contemporary time there exist special links between Ile-Ife and

Ijebu-Remo.[13] There is a similarity in the language of the *Ijebu-Remo* people and thee inhabitants of the *Iremo* quarters of Ile-Ife. All these possibly reinforce the *Remo's* claim to an *Ile-Ife* ancestry.[14]

Igbo Migration to Ilisan Remo

The *Ijebu* were known during the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods to have carved out good opportunities for themselves outside Ijebu land, they were aggressive business men and displayed a unique disposition for economic acquisition. Their geographical advantages include their location close to the Atlantic which put other Yoruba groups at their mercy during this period and their early contact with the Europeans made them have so much value for money. These resulted to a good opportunity for capital formation. They served as middle men and were less interested in farming than other Yoruba communities. But the *Remo* were more devoted farmers.[15]

The movement of the *Remo* people from one particular area to a vacant area or to an existing area sometimes or most times in agreement with the earlier settlers usually led to the emergence of settlements.[16] From the beginning of the twentieth century, the traces of Igbo communities had been established in *Sagamu* a *Remo* community. *Sagamu* people then referred to the Igbo as "Ibo or Yibo".[17] They believed that anybody from the Eastern part of Nigeria was Igbo. This perception lingered on for many years. The early Igbo migrants in *Sagamu* were men. These men were seasonal workers like their Hausa counterparts who assisted the local farmers in their farms as labourers. They lived within *Sagamu*. Some of the Igbo were palm wine tappers. They also helped in harvesting the palm trees for the production of palm oil. Unlike the Hausa, the Igbo did not migrate in group but singly and at any period of the year. More Igbo were attracted to *Sagamu* when *Sabo* was created and became a transit point for drivers from other parts of Nigeria. Hotels, brothels, bear parlors and other businesses were established by the Igbo.[18] *Ilisan Remo* during the same period was not as attractive as *Sagamu* but this changed with the establishment of the Adventist seminary of West Africa in *Ilisan* in 1959.

Agricultural potentials of the states in the Southern part of Nigeria are much more as they are thickly wooded.[19] From the dawn of their history, the primary basis of the economic development of the Yoruba people was agriculture. This was a logical development from several factors including the geographical location of their country. The area is located in the tropics where rainfall and soil fertility are adequate for the growth of a number of subsistence and cash crops. But the fertility of the soil alone without adequate labour force could not bring about a meaningful economy.[20]

Ilisan Remo is not known for the possession of any solid mineral but fertile land is an important natural resource that has attracted people to the town particularly the Igbo. But the story of this town changed on September 17, 1959, when the Seventh day Adventist Church worldwide established the Adventist College of West Africa (ACWA) to carter for the needs of the church in training church leaders for the West African sub-region.[21] This institution became the cradle of the Seventh day Adventist higher education in Nigeria. This institution which began in 1959 as Adventist College of West Africa later changed its name to Adventist Seminary of West Africa (ASWA) and eventually became one of Nigeria's first private Universities in 1999. This institution later in 1999 took her name after D. C. Babcock, the first Seventh day Adventist missionary from the United States of America that began his missionary work in Western Nigeria in 1914.[22]

The institution ACWA began in 1959 with seven young men for ministerial education. The first students were Joel Awoniyi, Benjamin Oferen, Daniel Magaji, David Izima, James Okwandu, Isaac Nwobia and Luke Anosike.[23] The composition of this institution showed that it had students from all over Nigeria and West Africa. The institution made adequate plan to recruit, support, train and employ those who opted for ministerial education. The students were to study either theology or religion with a minor in other available fields such as English Language, Biology, Health Science, History and Business Administration.[24] As a result of its affiliation with Andrews University, United States, ASWA graduates gained recognition and were allowed to join graduates of Nigerian Universities in the National Youth Service programme. This privilege continued until 1981 when it was replaced with letters of exemption for its graduates, while the degree still remained recognized. This boosted the desire of Adventist youth to receive ministerial education. As a result of this, graduates were turned out every year from the seminary and these graduates who returned to their respective fields became mouth piece and agents of further recruitment for the seminary.

The relevance of the institution's certificate attracted many youths both members and non-members of the church to *Ilisan Remo*. The establishment of this institution in 1959 in *Ilisan Remo* had a great impact on the life and people of the town. As a result of the interest generated by the activities of these young graduates from this institution across West Africa and in their respective fields, people from different regions in Nigeria came to *Ilisan Remo* either in search of job or admission into the seminary. Among these groups, the *Igbo* were more in number.

Before the establishment of ACWA in 1959, Lazarus Chinyere believes that some *Igbo* had already migrated to *Remo* land. Such *Igbo* maintained their *Igbo* names and language (in some cases adulterated) but claimed *Yoruba* origin. According to him such individuals through their grandparents acquired or bought large expanses of unoccupied land in *Remo* land.[25] Assessing the migration and contribution of the *Igbo* to *Ilisan Remo*, Emma Njoku who was transferred in 1965 from Seventh day Adventist College, *Ihie, Isiala Ngwa* in the present day Abia State to ACWA as a carpenter

posits that some married women who came to the institution with their husbands started the commercial *ugu* (pumpkin) planting in *Ilisan Remo* in 1966. This was done in order to support their husband in school and provide for their families.[26] The three women that started *ugu* planting in *Ilisan Remo* are: Mrs. Ugwuka (*Igbo*), Mrs. Ihioma (*Igbo*) and Mrs. Nkwa (*Ibibio*). With the outbreak of the Nigeria-Biafra war in 1967, they returned home (Eastern Nigeria) in July of that year, with their husbands and children. At the end of the war in 1970, these women returned back to *Ilisan Remo* and continued with their farming activities. Apart from these three women no other person including indigenes were planting *ugu* in *Ilisan Remo*. At the end of the war in 1970, Mrs. Emma Njoku joined these three women in this business.

This thriving business became attractive to other *Igbo* women in ACWA and in the South East. After the civil war, more *Igbo* women gradually moved from the South East to *Ilisan Remo* either in search of job or to join the farming business. Farming and education became forces that pulled so many *Igbo* to *Ilisan Remo*. During this period the *Yoruba* (*Ilisan Remo* people) gave their land free to these farmers irrespective of the size of the land. At the end of the year, the farmers individually took maize, any other farm produce or gin to the *Baba* (Elderly Yoruba man) that gave them the land in appreciation. In the 1980's when *Ilisan* people began to sell farm land, a plot of land was only sold for five or ten naira. This was not compulsory as some indigenes still gave their land free to the farmers.[27]

Between 1970 and 1980, a bundle of *ugu*, weighed between 300 kg to 350kg but farmers began to reduce such bundles as from 1990. From 1975 to early 1990's, *molue* trucks (Mercedes Benz lorry) moved from house to house to carry farmers and their vegetable. The business was so organized that a union was formed by the farmers after the civil war that helped in organizing the business. There was restriction on non-members but intending members were made to register with money before they were allowed to carry their vegetable to Lagos. The vegetable of those who did not register but were carried to Lagos market were cease.[28]

There were different market groups led by different market leaders. Initially there were three groups namely: Mrs. Ugwuka's group and Mrs. Ihioma's group (*Ottor* market leaders), Mrs. Mark's and Mrs. E. Njoku's group (cemetery market after *Ajegunle* in Lagos) and later Mrs. Ochingwa's group (*Ajegunle* market leader) joined also in the 1970's. People from 1970 were given the number of times and days to carry vegetable to Lagos. When the *ugu* or vegetable matures it was harvested, and taken to Lagos by the women **(**farmers). In Lagos as mentioned, there were different locations or markets where the *ugu* was sold, they include *Ajegunle*, *Mushin*, *Oyingbo* (established in 970), *Ottor* or *Iddo*) (white sand) also established in 1970. *Ugu* was only sold to *Igbo* women in Lagos such women will buy and resell either in Lagos or outside Lagos. Between 1967 and late 1980, there were no touts in Lagos markets. Touting by the Yoruba youths began in these vegetable markets in the 1990's.[29] An attempt by the Yoruba youths (touts) in the 1980's to extort money from these vegetable traders led to relocation of the traders to *Oyingbo* from *Ottor* market.

At the end of the civil war in 1970, one bundle of *ugu* or vegetable was sold in Lagos for five naira or ten naira and twenty naira during scarcity. Farmers paid twenty naira for a full load of pick-up van to Lagos. In 2016 and 2017, ten pieces or a bag of vegetable, an equivalent of 250 kg costs two thousand to transport to Lagos. Initially, only women were involved in this business until the 1990's when men began to join. Planting every year began early in March and ended early in May.[30]

As a result of the availability of virgin, fertile and free land (forest), agriculture became attractive to more women, men, students and non-students who came from various parts of Eastern Nigeria particularly *Ngwa* land. They enjoyed the financial benefits of agriculture and *ugu* planting. As from the late 1970's, more Igbo gradually moved to *Ilisan Remo* either in search of admission, job in ACWA or to join *ugu* planting. These new *Igbo* farmers lived with those that brought them from the East to *Ilisan*. On arrival from the East, one may need to work for the person that brought him or her for a period of time before starting his or her own independent farm. In some cases some worked for their master and also owned their own farm. However, one does not need to have money to start the farming business as *Ilisan* (*Yoruba*) farmers who later joined the *ugu* planting willingly sold their vegetable farm on credit to these newcomers.[31] Some of the farm lands given or sold to the *Igbo* by the *Yoruba* in the 1990's most times contained left over cassava and cocoyam, bitter cola, cola nut trees and other economic trees that sustained these *Igbo* farmers until they began to harvest their own crops. Lazrus Chinyere said he brought six people from the East (Igbo land) that worked for him in his farms in the 1990's, that later established their own farms. These individuals lived with him in his house for some years. [32]

From 1966 to 1990, the *Igbo* paid little or nothing for accommodation.[33] According to Chinyere Lazrus, *Ilishan Remo* people were very receptive and friendly, they received *Igbo* and non-*Igbo* visitors, gave them land free where they planted vegetable, accommodated them either free or collected little rent as low as five naira per room in the 1980's. Before then indigenes that collected rent collected almost nothing.[34] They even gave their ancestral lands to some Igbo men to manage for them.[35] From 1970 to 1990 as earlier mentioned, a bundle of *ugu* (pumpkin leaf) weighed higher than what it is today. This quantity was later reduced to what they now call pieces. During the same period, one person was allowed to carry five bags (10 bundles), small vehicles carried 10 bags while big ones carried 25 bags. In the evening the transporters went round and collected their fare.[36]

Ilisan indigenes also provided herbs for *Igbo* farmers for the treatment of different ailments even in the farm (*Abule*).

They were happy with Igbo settlers and exhibited no bad feelings against them. They only hated or sent away those that were involved in dubious activities such as stealing, dishonesty and diabolism. Most of those suspected of these bad practices either relocated to *Ikorodu* in Lagos or returned to the East.[37] It is important to note that the Yoruba farmers were not allowed to carry vegetable to Lagos, therefore they were forced to sell their vegetable to the Igbo farmers.[38]

In the migration of the *Igbo* to *Ilishan Remo*, Alice Nwaeji, posits that some *Igbo* migrated to *Ilisan* in search of greener pastures.[39] Some of them were *ugu* (pumpkin) seed traders who bought the seed from *Ngwa* (in Abia State), Portharcourt (in Rivers State), *Itu*, *Ikot Ekpene*, *Uyo*, *Ikom* (in *Akwa Ibom*), *Calabar* and wherever the seed could be found in Eastern Nigeria. This was a viable business to those who engaged in it. However some of these traders later settled in *Ilisan* and became farmers. They settled according to their area of origin or where their people settled. Most of the *Igbo* settlers came from *Obingwa* and few from *Osisioma Ngwa, Isiala Ngwa* and *Umuahia* all in Abia State. Few farmers came from *Owerri* in Imo State.[40] It is important to note that *Igbo* farmers in *Ilisan* also participated in *ugu* (pumpkin) seed business, such farmers from 1966 to early 2000 returned to the East in the year and bought *ugu* seeds. During such trips, these farmers came back to *Ilisan* with other *Igbo* men and women who they either introduced or used in their farming business.[41]

In *Ikenne Remo* the local government headquarters, there are few Igbo settlers who initially settled in *Ilisan* but later moved to *Ikenne*. However, *Ikenne* is where many *Ibibio* indigenes reside. According to Nwaeji Alice, *Ibibio* people are found more in *Ikenne* the home town of Chief Obafemi Awolowo because it is believed that Mrs. Awolowo brought the *Ibibio* to *Ikenne* before the Nigeria Biafra war in 1967 in order to pay them back for saving the life of her husband.[42] Meanwhile, most of these settlers settled where they have majority of their people, where they can interact freely with their people and where the person that brought them is living. Majority of *Igbo* farmers are found in *Ilisan Remo* while their *Ibibio* counterparts live mainly in *Ikenne*. However, *Ikenne* and *Ilisan* do the ugu (vegetable) business together.[43]

Apart from *Ilisan Remo* and *Ikenne*, other communities that supply *ugu* to Lagos include: *Ijebu Igbo, Ijebu Ode, Sango Otta, Agege, Orile* in Lagos and *Ikorodu* also in Lagos. All these farmers and traders are *Igbo* and *Ibibio* as non-*Igbo* are not allowed by the *Igbo* to either sell or buy directly from the farmers in Lagos.[44] According to Lazrus Chinyere, the *Igbo* have been in-charge of *ugu* business since 1966. This is so because it is believed that *ugu* is a major vegetable for the *Igbo* people. They are also in-charge of sliced *ugu* sold to Republic of Benin, Ghanaian, European and American traders etc. The sliced one was sold to Delta, Edo and Calabar women involved in international trade.[45]

The Giant Farmers Association (Motto: No food for a lazy man) was an umbrella body that united farmers from *Ikorodu*, *Orile, Ikenne* and *Ilisan*. Mrs. Ugwuka (Mama Ekele), Mrs Efuribe, Mrs Ochingwa and Mrs. Mathias Ihioma were at one time leaders of this association. However this association had different branches and leaders. *Ilisan* branch was known as United Farmers Union. Members of this union were given identity card which they used whenever they went to Lagos to sell as a form of identification by the checkers. People without identity card were not allowed to sell in Lagos. These associations since the beginning of 2017 are no longer active.[46] The business was well organized that when vehicles arrived Lagos, they lined up according to the way they arrived and the checkers went through them to ascertain the identity of the farmers and the quantity they brought to the market. [47]

Ilisan indigenes who joined *ugu* planting as earlier mentioned sold their vegetable farms to the Igbo settlers in *Ilisan* on credit, on the agreement that the Igbo farmer will sell the crops and pay them. This arrangement remained until late 1990 when Igbo farmers had a meeting and stopped buying vegetable farms from the *Yoruba*. This consequently forced the *Yoruba* (*Ilisan* people) out of vegetable farming business as they no longer plant *ugu*. This enabled Igbo farmers to be in control of the vegetable business in *Ilisan* and Lagos. At the selling points in Lagos, *Igbo* vegetable farmers from *Agege, Ikorodu, Ilishan* and *Ikenne* (*Ibibio*) sold their vegetable here to Igbo traders from Lagos, Republic of Benin, Ghana and non-Igbo traders that exported it to the United States, Europe and beyond to be sold in African shops in those countries. Vegetable that was sold overseas, went through the international airport in Lagos.[48]

The presence of touts in *Ottor* (White Sand) market from late 1980's, affected business in that market. These touts collected levies from the traders, sometimes, they confiscated and sold the vegetable themselves and returned whatever amount they wished to the farmers. As a result of this these traders moved to *Oyingbo* also in Lagos. Here they created so many zones owned by established Igbo women farmers (the "god mothers" of the business). Such zones included: free zone, *Ahia* Sunday, Mama Monday and others outside *Oyingbo*, there are up to twenty zones in all. Owners of these zones were collecting money as market leaders until mid-2000 when touts took over the collection of such monies and have remained in-charge till today. The market leaders owned these zones and introduced new farmers to such zones. Before a new farmer or trader joined the vegetable business somebody must introduce the new trader to the market, such a person is required to pay the person that introduced her and also pay the touts.[49]

Before 1980, only Igbo men and women were used as labourers in the farms. Such Igbo labourers came from *Umuahia, Owerri* and *Ngwa*. But from 1980, Hausa labourers became visible and prominent in farming activities in *Ilisan*. In the 1990's *Hausa* labourers were paid three hundred naira per day.[50] Today 95% of the labour force is *Hausa*. The *Igbo* use labourers to enable them meet up with the demand of the market.[51]

In 1986, when Lazrus Chinyere came to *Ilisan Remo* in search of job in the Adventist Seminary of West Africa, the farm manager in ASWA Mr. Ukpong (an *Ibibio*) was allocating plots of land to student's pastor's wives and workers to use as farm inside the school environment. Such women farmers included Mrs. Amanze, Mrs. Dike, Mrs. Eti, women from Cameroun, Ghana, Sierra Leon and other interested individuals. During this period the institution encouraged people to farm in order to reduce the forest within the school environment. A plot of land in school then was sold for ten naira while in the community it was rented by the *Alojo* (visitor) for five naira, ten naira or free (with a bottle of hot drink). In these plots of land, people planted *ugu* (pumpkin), maize and cassava. Cassava was sold in *Ilisan* market, maize was either sold in *Ilisan* or Lagos. In the 1980's, there was no restriction on the use of land. No *Ilisan Remo* youth had right to allocate land to any farmer, if such happens, the Elders will put palm frond (*omu*) on the land and will only remove it when the farmer buys a bottle of hot drink for the *Baba* in-charge of the family/land.[52]

From 1966 to late 1970's farmers were not applying fertilizer to their crops, but by early 1980 they began to use fertilizer. The local government at Ikenne (farm house) provided fertilizers for the farmers at a subsidized price. In the 1980's and 1990's, a bag of fertilizer was sold for ten naira and there was no manipulation, farmers queued and got bags of fertilizers as they required. Farmers preferred or used only NPK fertilizer and 15-15 fertilizer in their farms. Today, a bag of fertilizer is sold for ten thousand naira. Transport to Lagos in 1992 for a pick-up van was four handed naira and the *Yoruba* were in-charge of transportation. Prominent *Yoruba* transporters during this period included *Baba* Bedford, *Taju* and *Fumilowo*. These transporters used Mercedes Benz 911 Lorry, Pick-up van (*pompom*) and Bedford Lorry (*Bolekaja*) to carry *ugu* to Lagos. From 1970 to 1990 the farmers loaded a minimum of ten vehicles per day during peak period but reduced to four or five during scarcity. These vehicles left *Ilisa*n between 11:00 pm and 12:00 mid-night for Lagos and arrived 1:00 am or 2:00 am and completed their transaction before 6:00 am. The transporters only collected their money when they returned from Lagos. From 1990 to 2016 the number of vehicles increased to fifteen per day and six during scarcity.[53]

In order to sustain a regular supply of *ugu* to Lagos irrespective of the season, *Igbo* farmers began dry season farming. In this case vegetable is planted near the river for proper and easy irrigation by the farmers. For *Ilisan* farmers, bush clearing begins in September while planting starts on October 15 and ends in December. *Ikorodu* farmers begin bush clearing in October while actual planting starts on November 15 and planting ends in January. New harvest (vegetable) from *Ilisan* is brought to the market on January 1. *Ikorodu* starts supplying in February. Dry season in *Ilisan* ends between February and March. Between May and June, vegetable planted during the rainy season appear in the market. But activities of the newcomers from the East have affected some of the regulations guiding *ugu* planting.[54]

In 2014, some Ogun State government officials visited *Ilisan Remo* and interviewed the farmers. As a result of their interaction with the farmers, they gave them six pumping machines for dry season farming and promised to give them six more machines later. The farmers were required to buy the accessories such as pipes (one roll of pipe equals one hundred yards). They also promised the farmers loan from the government and official identity card. This proposal from the government was sabotaged by some *Igbo* farmers who went behind to negotiate a different arrangement with the government officials. Therefore Ogun State government abandoned this arrangement with the Igbo farmers.[55]

These Igbo farmers have benefited so much from this business. Those that started this business and those that joined later have been able to train their children in Europe, America, Babcock University, other Universities and high institutions in and outside Nigeria. This trend has continued till date. They have also built houses in and outside *Ilisan* and bought motto bikes, cars, buses and vans. In 2014 and 2015, one bundle of *ugu* cost between five thousand and six thousand. The quests for job in ACWA, ASWA, Babcock University and greener pasture through farming have contributed so much to the migration of the *Igbo* to *Ilisan Remo.*[56]

The major crop production operation in *Ilisan Remo* like in other Nigerian communities include land clearing, tilling, sowing, weeding, harvesting and transporting.

Beginning from land clearing to harvesting, traditional hand tools are the principal farm equipment.[57] Machetes or cutlasses are tools used mostly for land clearing.[58] The principal hand-operated tillage implement is the hoe. This is used for digging, planting and weeding and these Igbo farmers over the years have depended on these traditional implements.[59]

Contribution of the Igbo to the Development of Ilisan Remo

Since 1959 when ACWA was established till date there has been continues migration of *Igbo* people to *Ilisan Remo* and as a result of the migration and settlement of the Igbo in *Ilisan Remo*, today over seventy per cent of houses owned by the local people have Igbo tenants in them. This has encouraged the indigenes to build more houses and this has become a source of regular income to the indigenes who receive house rents from these settlers.

In the town today, new areas have developed through the effort of these *Igbo* settlers who buy land from these indigenes and build their own houses. In *Ilisan Remo* there is an area called the Igbo quarters behind *Ilisan Remo* new

market controlled by Elder Rowland Anyatonwu an *Igbo* man (*Ngwa*) from Abia State popularly called *Bale*. He is in charge of sale of land and affairs of the area So many other *Igbo* have also built houses in other parts of *Ilisan Remo* outside the *Igbo* quarters. This has brought enormous economic and physical development to the community. The indigenes through the sale of land have generated income. Regular farming activities have opened up heavily forested areas in the community. These *Igbo* settlers also live in the midst of the local people and so many of them now speak the *Yoruba* language while some of their *Yoruba* counterparts also speak *Igbo* language and this has enhanced co-existence and interaction.[60]

Due to the role played by Yoruba vehicle owners in transporting *Igbo* farmers and their vegetable to Lagos, it became a source of income for the vehicle owners. As earlier pointed out, these vehicle owners had regular (daily) goods to take to Lagos. Many of them as a result of the demand for vehicles bought more vehicles for the business. Some *Ilisan Remo* indigenes also bought bicycles and rented such bicycles to these *Igbo* farmers who used them go to the farm and *Ikenne* farm house.[61]

As a result of migration of the *Igbo* to *Ilisan Remo*, they have contributed enormously to the economic and physical development of the town. Apart from the vegetable farmers, there are also *Igbo* traders, transporters, auto and motto cycle spare parts dealers, commercial motto cycle rider and artisans in *Ilisan Remo*. Few *Igbo* made effort to harvest palm trees in *Ilisan Remo* but this did not yield much result as very few people were interested in this and the palm fruits are not high yield species. These groups of people have contributed to the development of the town. The activities of these *Igbo* in the area of agriculture has brought economic prominence to *Ilisan Remo* as it is today known for its role in the cultivation of *ugu* in Ogun state. Other crops produced by these farmers include garden egg, water melon, cassava, paw-paw and other types of vegetables. Igbo farmers have extended their farming activities to other communities around *Ilisan Remo* such as *Iperu, Ogere, Ilara, Irolu, Akaka, Ogere, Odogbolu, Ayepe* etc The Yoruba are also farmers but plant other crops while some engage in cola nut business and the sell of other products.[62]

With the presence of the Igbo and other ethnic nationalities in *Ilisan Remo* there are ethnic churches in the community among the Seventh day Adventist church members, there is a Yoruba Seventh day Adventist church, an *Igbo* Seventh day Adventist church, an *Ibibio/Efik* Seventh day Adventist church and an *Hausa* Seventh day Adventist church. Among the non-Seventh day Adventists there are other churches like the Apostolic Christian church. Most of these ethnic based churches use their native language in conducting their services.

Challenges faced by these farmers

In spite of the economic benefits of *ugu* planting, these farmers are facing some challenges and this section examines these challenges. One key problem among these farmers/traders is betrayal. Before now some Igbo farmers betrayed their fellow farmers because when they felt that a fellow farmer's portion of land was more fertile than his own portion, some of them went to the land owner to take over such a portion. Again some of the farmers made their *ugu* bundle bigger than that of others to enable them sell faster in Lagos. A clear example was the 2014 incident when some farmers betrayed others in the hands of the Ogun State government officials.[63]

Sometimes farm boundaries caused disagreement among some Igbo farmers but such disputes were resolved by the same farmers involved in it. Such issues were not allowed to escalate into serious disputes. Stealing of pumpkin seeds (*ugu* seeds) and the vegetable leaf gradually crept in among the farmers. But this was quickly dealt with by the *Ilisan* community who killed some of those criminals while some relocated to *Ikorodu* in Lagos or the South East.[64]

On few occasions the farmers had been involved in motor accident, some of the farmers have also lost their lives through such incidents. However, such incidents rarely occur. Sometimes the farmers were rubbed of their valuables on their way to Lagos. Sabotage and disagreement among the farmers led to the collapse of their union in 2017. For example sometime in the past couples were given the quantity of bags of *ugu* to plant but some people abused this policy. Some planted for themselves and also planted for their children. Although they used the union and the task force that visited and inspected people's farms to control it. Those that planted more than required had their *ugu* seeds removed from the ground. That was in when the constitution was active and assisted in regulating the activities of the farmers until 2017. Sometimes when these farmers were given the number of times that they will carry their vegetable to Lagos, maybe twice and one has to take only ten pieces, some farmers tried to take more through other farmers who had less or no vegetable to carry to Lagos.[65]

The union eventually collapsed at the beginning of 2017 due to power tussle and disagreement among the members. This has affected the regulations guiding these farmers and their profit margin as there is no regulation presently on the number of pieces a farmer can take to Lagos. Even with the non-existence of the union, non-registered members are presently not allowed to carry *ugu* to Lagos.[66]

Relations between the Igbo and Yoruba

The Yoruba engagement in any economic activity has a wider objective in view than merely to create wealth or to make money.[67] The Yoruba welcomed the Igbo in *Ilisan Remo* and this has facilitated a cordial and harmonious relationship among the two groups. Because of the friendly relationship the Igbo settlers do not entertain fear of going to the forest to farm. There has never been an incidence of abduction, killing, attack in the farm or along the road to the farm.[68] The Igbo over the years have lived cordially with the Yoruba, this does not mean that there are no infractions and conflicts between the *Yoruba* and *Igbo* but such situations are amicably resolved by the people involved, friends, the elders from both communities or the *Oba*.

Today in *Ilisan Remo* one will find some *Yoruba* people who married *Igbo* women and *Igbo* men that married *Yoruba* .women Inter-marriages now take place between these groups and this has fostered unity among them. Most *Igbo* settlers and those born and brought up in *Ilisan Remo* now speak *Yoruba* language fluently such individuals mix freely with the people. Because of the population of the *Igbo* in *Ilisan Remo*, some of them conduct their *Igbo* traditional marriage in *Ilisan Remo* instead of returning back to the East as the *Igbo* custom demands. They now see *Ilisan* as their home. Religion particularly Christianity has helped in cementing the relationship between the *Igbo* and *Ilisan Remo* indigenes. Both have contributed in the building and development of churches in *Ilisan Remo*.

CONCLUSION

The establishment of ACWA in 1959 in a *Remo* community of *Ilisan*, led to the migration of *Igbo* people who came to school, work in the institution or farm in *Ilisan Remo*. Student's wives in their bid to support their husband financially and provide for their families began farming business in *Ilisan*. They turned the forests in the community into farm lands. Their success in agriculture encouraged other *Igbo* women, workers in (ACWA) and attracted more from the East to join in the farming business. Since 1966, that *ugu* planting began in *Ilisan Remo*, it has become a big enterprise that it has attracted Igbo people to settle in *Ilisan Remo*. *Ugu* planting in *Ilisan Remo* has contributed to the economic and physical development of the town. The relationship between the settlers and the indigenes has remained cordial, intermarriages have occurred between them and the Igbo are fully recognized and integrated into *Ilisan Remo* community. In *Ilisan* presently, there are *Igbo* farmers, artisans, commercial motto cycle riders, builders and traders and these people have also contributed to the economic and physical development the town.

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Full Length Research

The Role of Amateur theatre Clubs in Promoting Community Development in Wolkite Town: The Case of Tesfa Fana and Yejoka Aberus Theatre Group

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This study investigated the role of Amateur Theatre Clubs' in promoting community development in terms of Cultural and Social perspective in Wolkite town. The objective of the study was to explore and analyze the roles and activities of theatre clubs in community development. The researcher has employed qualitative research method with a descriptive aim. The respondents were selected by using purposive and dimensional sampling techniques. Moreover, the study adopts referring books, the internet, various PhD dissertation and MA thesis and guiding principles and rules and regulations, reports of international organizations and other researchers and articles which are written on it and its related activities as a source of secondary data. The researcher mainly employed thematic data analysis technique while dealing with the gathered qualitative data. The findings from the study revealed that, amateur theatre clubs have involved in community development, cultural values and heritages preservation, and health education promotion. Furthermore, the study has sorted out that theatre has multiple functions but it also once again assured that the theatre clubs are facing multiple challenges. The issue under this study capitalizes on issues, which focus on the interaction between the person and the environment, so it clearly contributes to the enhancement of theatre arts studies practice, research, and education and service delivery systems. But, it needs an all rounded, realistic and participatory intervention in order to solve the challenges faced by amateur theatre clubs of the study area.

Key words: Amateur theatre clubs, community development, Cultural values preservation, Health service promotion

INTRODUCTION

Since the introduction of modern theatre in Ethiopia in the 20th century by Russia educated *Bejrond* Teklehawariat Teklemariam, dramatic genre and form shifts have largely been influenced by religion, politics, or economic condition (Aron, 2010: 2). Most of the plays presented during the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie I, whether they deal with the issue of family, society or history tend to be moralistic and preach good manner of

the monarchical kingdom. The influence of church and royal court still haunts the acting style in "realistic" plays of modern stage. Following the overthrow of Haile Selassie I in September 1974, the newly established Ministry of Culture made sure that socialist agitprop dramas got most of professional or amateur stages (Aron, 2010: 4). After the fall of "socialist" Derg in July 1991, the theater scene has increasingly grown to be commercially driven owing and motivated by the changes taken place in the socio-economic terrains and within the economic and media strategies happened in Ethiopia (Aron, 2010: 2). The contemporary Ethiopian drama mainly tries to project the everyday happenings of life with more affiliation to romantic and comedy features. Previously, the content of the dram has been inclined towards patriotism, education and the promotion political ideologies, but at the recent times most of the drama plays are predominantly characterized by romantic and comedy contents. Typical Ethiopian drama, that is the dramas which are associated with the historical contexts, indigenous values and daily routines of Ethiopians gives priority to spoken performance (performances which are dominated by dialogue/conversation)which leaves nothing to be expressed physically or visually (Ibd, 2010: 2).

The United Nations (2000:4) defines Community development as "*a process where community members come together to take collective action and generate solutions to common problems.*" It is a broad term given to the practices of civic leaders, activists, involved citizens and professionals to improve various aspects of communities, typically aiming to build stronger and more resilient (resilient to external imposition of programs, societal problems and personal problems)local communities. Community development seeks to empower individuals and groups of people by providing them with the skills they need to effect change within their communities (Magee, Liam, and et al., 2012: 3).

The existence of multiple assets within amateur theater clubs assures the sustainability of community development by exploiting different artistic forms like music, theater and education. Their role is not only limited to entertainment but also dealing with education, health and community mobilization related issues. Thus, it is believed that the involvement of the amateur theatre clubs on influencing and implementing the community development effort of the community living in Wolkite Town are highly important.

Amateur theatre clubs are also one among the plenty assets of the community. Hence, both community development and amateur theatre clubs are interrelated for the many reason that those amateur theatre clubs use dart (theatre and music), informal education as a tool to achieve common goals for the community.

Like other communities or societies, the Wolkite town community has different amateur theater clubs which are used to address different problems related within the community (reproductive health, drug abuse, unemployment and generally industriousness and motivational related problems). These amateur theater clubs play a significant role on initiating the community to involve on relevant activities that helps them to solve their problems by using the available resources within the community itself. Hence, amateur theatre clubs are becoming a source of productive citizens which are more focused on contributing to community development by using creative and innovative approaches and the community members are also both a source of resources and consumers of the services provided by the amateur theatre clubs. So, the researcher has discovered the extent of contribution of amateur theater clubs on promoting theater arts and community development in the case of Wolkite town, Ethiopia.

Background of Wolkite Town

The town has an altitude average of 1710 and 1950ms above sea level which demonstrated that this town has subtropical climate. The rain period of the town is from March to September with the period of intrusive rain going from June to August. The annual average rainfall was 1137.4 mm of the town (Harmod Magazine, 2005:19).

The total extension of the town is 7260 hectare. The town has three sub cities and seven localities. In this town a lot of nation and nationalities from different parts of the country lived together. Among these ethnic groups Guraghe and Kebena are the dominant ethnic communities' residents of the town. According to the 2005 Ethiopian population statistics, the total number of the people living in the town is 43195. Among this number, males are 21,232 and 21963 are females (Solomon, 2005:19).To evaluate the relation between the size of population and the number of houses in the town, we can employ the crude density. Regarding the architecture of the dwellers, the houses are traditional and were made of weed and mud. Some of the residents of the town practiced extensive agricultural activities as the most important means for their livelihood. Their agricultural practices mainly encompass Teff, Chat and Enset. In this town there are also civil servants, merchants and students are lived.

Wolkite town has continued its growth and eventually become one of the main commercial centers in the surrounding area and nowadays the town is the capital of Guraghe zone. Being the capital of the Guraghe Zone, about twenty different governmental offices are founded which in turn, lead to the encouragement of different social activities emerged such as social service institutions, schools, hospitals, shops, restaurants, bars, hotels, CBOs, NGOs and entertainment institutions like amateur theatre clubs.

Theatre

Cassady (1984: 17) defines theatre as *'imagination, emotions and intellects… (Which) embraces all the world cultures and perspective, answers questions, predicts our tomorrows and mirrors our today'*. Bernard (2006: 14) offered a broader definition when he said that '*theatre occurs when one or more persons, isolated in time or space, present themselves to another or others'* (Ibid). For Shakespeare, '*theatre is a mirror for highlighting man's humanity and also a tool for understanding why man also finds it so easy to transgress that same humanity'*(Yerima, 2007: 23). In his own view, Oduneye (1996: 6) asserts that theatre is '*the stepping stone through which anthropologist, sociologists, historian, ethnographers and other fields of study have given identity, meaning and interpretations to people, period or dates and societies.'*

It is good to have various definitions for a given term [in this case of theatre], but the researcher prefers the first definition which was given by Cassady. Because in order to realize community development; the amateur theatre clubs need to address problems within the cultures and perspectives to answer various unsolved questions. Once again the amateur theatre clubs need to analyze the ongoing activities and predict the socio-economic conditions of the community in the near future. The contents of the performances and shows of the amateur theater clubs should include the world perspectives, cultural values and the essence of the existing problems. They [amateur theatre clubs] also need to include farsighted solutions that eventually help the community members to realize the goals of community development.

Development

This is one of the different terms that have become very difficult to define. The various attempts at defining the concept have left the definers at the door step of subjectivity and or political and ideological coloration. The Collins English Dictionary - Complete and unabridged (2003: 76) gives three definitions of development as the act or process of growing, progressing, or developing; the product or result of developing and a fact, event, or happening, especially one that changes a situation. Development involves change new ways of doing things. It can mean growth of ideas, methods and positive change in circumstances.

As a concept that is broad, the term development as observed by Adesiyan and Arulogun (2005:12), has not subjected itself to a single definition. The authors, with these lines of thought, seem to have alluded that because development covers a wide spectrum of human endeavor, it has largely been difficult to offer an objective definition of the concept. Indeed, what exist as we have identified earlier are basic differences of opinion about the goals of development. While some scholars see development as a state or condition that is static, others see it as process or course of change (Adesiyan and Arulogun, 2005: 13). Economists, politicians and others freely use the term especially when discussion of borders on state of growth of a given society, place or thing. The term which is somewhat closely bound with the evolution of capitalism and the demise of feudalism has many meanings such as there are numerous clashing perspectives, theories and deep differences of opinion (Ibid). Indeed contradictions and ambiguity have characterized the many attempts to define the concept. The meaning a particular person attaches to the term depends on his or her subjective view of the word.

These are no doubt considerable and significant definitions of development. Common to all these definitions however are the desire for changes that will affect citizens welfare positively and or liberate them from poverty and inequality. This makes development an act of freedom, just like the theatre. In the context of this research development is linked with community development, thus the meaning and context of community development in this research is presented in the following section.

Community Development

According to Oketch (2006: iii), comments that, the concept of community development is founded on the premise that changes in the living conditions of people are best effected by the people themselves. Thus, development in this sense consists of processes in which various groups are stimulated to improve aspects of their lives particularly by people from outside of their community. Ibd (2006:76) goes on to say" *community development refers to the long- term process whereby people who are marginalized or living in poverty work together to identify their needs, exert more influence in the decisions which affect their lives and work to improve the quality of their lives, the communities in which they live, and the society of which they are a part*. The primary outcome of community development is to improve the quality of life of its dwellers. Effective community development results in mutual benefit and shared responsibility among community members and recognizes the connection between social, cultural, and economic matters (Frank and Smith, 1999: 8).

Community development stems from the belief that the community itself becomes able to develop solutions to issues and opportunities within the communities.

The socio cultural spectrum has the following categories of indicators; the first indicator is related to direct socio cultural effect of the amateur theatre clubs. It is manifested in terms of creating socially valuable leisure activities, elevating people's thinking improving the psychological and social welfare of the community and enhancing sensitivity towards different issues (Frank and Smith, 1999: 17). The second indicator is related to the indirect socio-cultural effect of the amateur theatre clubs. This indicator was evaluated in terms of their capacity to enrich the social environment with stimulating or pleasing public amenities. The other dimension of evaluation is to evaluate whether the amateur theater clubs serve as a means of sustaining civilizing impacts of social organizations. The third point of evaluation was to check whether they [amateur theatre clubs] enhance innovation and create collective memory to the community or not. The fourth dimension of evaluation emphasizes on whether the amateur theatre clubs serve as a reservoir of creative and intellectual ideas to the future generations and manages to improve quality of life of the community or not. The fifth dimension of evaluation focused on the capacity of the amateur theatre clubs to enhance personal security (especially in urban areas) and to reduce the incidence of crime and hooliganism (Todaro, 1997: 37).

In general, community cultural development is a philosophy that is concerned with fostering an environment in which cultural democracy can occur. It values community expression through the arts as ways in which communities can create a sense of place, affirm their values, assert their differences and communicate their aspirations (Todaro, 1997: 36).

Community-driven development efforts are not new in Ethiopia. Farmers have used their social networks for support. Traditional institutions like *iddir*, *mahber*, *senbete*, *debo(debiat), wonfel*, and *iqqub* have been useful during social and financial crises (Dercon, Bold, De Weerdt, & Pankhurst 2004: 21) Specifically, *mahbers* and *debo,* member-led inclusive development institutions, were organized around socio-cultural values related to social control, reciprocated assistance, divine gratification, and conflict resolution (Mequanent, 1998: 505).

Theater for Development

Theatre for Development aims to offer an alternative approach and medium by which theatre can be used for the direct service to the marginalized urban and rural peasant masses. It stresses community and inter-personal participation in self-realization and uses existing and familiar performance forms in the various communities such as songs, dances, music, storytelling, puppetry and mime to either validate those cultural forms or serve as an adequate instrument to bring about social change in those communities. According to Pammenter (2003:18) theatre for development is expressed as follows: "*Theatre for development is a way to sharpen the contradictions in our societies. It allows us to communicate about what we want to transform. It also has its roots in the best of dialogical education, which can help identify different perspectives and purposes around change. It can help us to identify what we are and what we choose to become.*" Within a certain community there exist multiple realities. Among these realities some of them are more essential than others and these more important elements of life (elements of life related with basic needs and development of the community) can be performed in terms of theater. Hence, theatre for development can be used as a forum to exchange ideas, to transfer community development missions and to mobilize the community members to involve in community development initiatives. Thus, theatre for development can produce positive changes if it is supported by policy reforms and active commitment of the community members in creating a scenario that better meets the communal needs of all community members.

As we are saying theater for development is the best way for development, we mean that it is democratic (it is democratic because it encourage the participation of the mass or audience in theatre) compared to other artistic option that exists in the world. Because it entirely permit its audience to be proprietor of the issue raised in the performance and be able to speak what he or she feels on the time without any precondition. Once we stand for sustainable national or community development, we need to maintain full participation of members of the society. To this end, there must be a perfect way to completely engage our society without any reservation. Mavrocordatos (2004: 69) said that "*all sorts of stuff will emerge if you let people tell stories. This is a way to open up discussion on closed situations. For example, in some settings, women can't speak in public meetings, but they have used the theater concept to raise issues.*

Since, 1994 E.C. it has been performing in many parts of Ethiopia. There are some efforts in the government owned national theatre studios of Ethiopia and these efforts are being supported in at least five educational programs opened in five national universities (Addis Ababa University, Wolkite University, Wollo University, Mekelle University and University of Gonder) (In-depth interview [Mr. Abate Mekuria, on Monday 23, Jan 2015) . The various performances and works produced and presented by theatre practitioners are the result of the general work produced by the amateur theatre club as a whole. It is the presence of the institutional or organizational entity (theatre club) with its specific goals, resources, organizational systems and activities that gives life to the performances of the theatre practitioners. So, it is logical to evaluate the efforts of the theatre practitioners (components of the big entity or the amateur theatre clubs) in order to evaluate some of the activities and achievements of the amateur theatre clubs in Wolkite town. Therefore the above reviewed literatures mostly based on research paper works shows the multiple roles of the theatre in different

dimensions of life. However, in line with the objectives of this research, the researcher has focused on evaluating the role of amateur theatre clubs on community development with a specific association with their effect on health education and cultural values preservation. The additional areas of emphasis also includes; community development and the comparative functions (amateur theatre clubs are involved in different alternative aspects of life for instance they can engaged in community development or entertainment) that they have on different aspects of life on the community members of Wolkite town.

In Wolkite town, there are two targeted amateur theatre clubs named Tesfa Fana and Yejoka Aberus amateur theatre clubs which are carrying out different activities in helping the community. The researcher has employed the socio-cultural perspective while evaluating the performances and activities of these amateur theatre clubs in relation to the contribution in expanding health education, cultural values preservation, community development and their different functions in satisfying the service demands of the community members. As it is stated earlier, the educational program is also delivered at Wolkite University. Then, the professional insights and their collaborative engagement (if there exists any) with the amateur theatre clubs has been evaluated. With regards to the foundation date of the two amateur theatre clubs; Tesfa Fana and Ye Jeko Aberus were founded in 1993 E.C. and 1994 E.C. respectively. The size of the members of TesfaFana amateur theatre club has 46 members (27 male and 19 female) and Ye Joka Aberus has 28 members (18 male and 10 female). Both Tesfa Fana and Ye Joka Aberus were more focused on reproductive health education (family planning, condom dissemination, training for commercial sex workers, personal hygiene and sanitation and peer education), environmental protection, economic empowerment and the reduction of harmful traditional practices. In line with this the health sector and the education sector were the main beneficiaries among the social sector.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In this section, the researcher present the outcomes of the various dimensions of the contribution of the amateur theatre clubs based on the review of individual case studies, which were purposely selected from the individuals who are either engaged in theatre related tasks, different activities of basic sectors or consuming the services of the amateur theatre clubs and the sectors (the community) who are purposely selected from Wolkite town. Efforts were exerted to present individual amateur theatre clubs members, representatives of different sectors, experts and community members own assessment of their personal contribution and observation on the roles of amateur theatre clubs in community development and other related domains of social development. The contribution of amateur theatre clubs in enhancing community development, the preservation of cultural values and promotion of health education was analyzed and considered. Accordingly, the functions and challenges of the amateur theatre clubs are presented. The researcher tried to present and analyze the data collected on separate cases since the study employed a case study method.

Enhancing Community Development

As it is clearly stated in different literatures, theatre is used as an essential tool for community development. It has been used as a mechanism of solving community problems in different nations of South America, Asia and Africa. As we can recall from the literature section, it was used in addressing different social issues like the problems of unemployment, administrative errors, health related limitations, sanitation related irregularities and it was also used as a means of empowering the community members or people living within a given society.

The major role of the amateur theatre clubs should be serving as a development agents which involves community members and addresses the problems at grass root level. Amateur theatre clubs have huge potential in terms of building the capacity of youths and other segment of population of the community in different dimensions such as psychologically, socially and culturally. The amateur theatre clubs which are found at Wolkite town were integrated not only with the community members but most of their activities and plays were directed in solving community problems. For instance; a play entitled as "Hulum Be'eejachin" in Amharic which is equivalently translated in to English version as 'Everything is within our Hand' indicates that the community have multiple resources and potential that can be implemented with a proactive and reactive approaches. Most of the health problems can be prevented by employing appropriate preventive mechanisms. For example, maintaining an appropriate sanitation and hygiene status helps to prevent different communicable diseases and others as well.

Similarly the works of Muansa and Bergman (200: 35) identified the theater as a useful media for development. They contend that theater serves a social function by educating community members. Besides theater, they have added that it helps to mobilize groups within the community or society, and in the case of Africa she has a rich and vibrant performing tradition. Theater as he further assets, also helps to depict social reality and encourages audience participation, a reason he maintained that there exist a strong relationship between theater and national or community development. Hence,

in order to adequately evaluate the role of theater clubs in community development; it is essential to understand the nature of theater and the concept of community development. There were several plays and performances presented by the two amateur clubs for instance; Tesfa Fana amateur theatre club has produced a play with a title of "Sira Seriwun Yasadigal" in Amharic which is translated in to English as "Work Benefits the Worker himself/herself" which focuses on the importance of developing the habit of industriousness. The play emphasizes on the life conditions of two youths who have two life characteristics. One among the two characters of the play was represented by pseudo-name "Teshale"- which means 'the better one' in English version. The contents of his character deals about the values that Mr. Teshale attaches to industriousness and the remarkable impact of his habit in leading a successful life .The other character who was named as "Kebede"-which means 'the heavy one' in English version; his character demonstrates the life experience of the person who did not his time wisely and who eventually happen to lead a miserable life. Thus, the works of the amateur theatre clubs were centered on different issues that directly or indirectly enhance community development in the area.

Community mobilization

One among the essential components of community development is community mobilization for the reason that without community participation it is difficult to achieve the goals of sustainable and comprehensive community development in a given community which is also applicable for the community members of Wolkite town. It is worth mentioning the fact that the probability of realizing community development, increases as the role and participation of the community members on community development. Regarding to this, the active involvement of the amateur theatre clubs or the theatre practitioners in community sensitization and participation are one of their major tasks. This fact is also reflected when the researcher collects data about the activities of the amateur theatre clubs.

So, according to the collected data theatre practitioners are contributing enough and helping both the various sectors and the community to manage the various resources which are found at different levels of interventions. These resources could be tangible or intangible (the resources are manifested in terms of material and non-material aspects) which are found at macro (at large community and society level), mezzo (at middle level of intervention or at institutional and organizational level) and micro level of intervention (at individual, family and small group level). It has a dual benefit. Because, in one hand, the amateur theatre clubs are working on developing the awareness of art and theatre within the community members. On the other hand, they are also working on different activities that help to deal with problems related to community mobilization and community development in the study area.

In line with the above point, Oketch (2003: 91) refers to theatre as a communication tool stems from the belief that with the help of theatre messages reach a larger number of people and though theatre is an inherent entertainment value it is better suited to convey sensitive messages than present a series of lectures. He also argued that theatre for development as the use of performed arts in initiating and promoting active and collective communal participation is essential in addressing societal concerns (Oketch, 2003: 92).
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Social solidarity: Prevent exclusion and promote diversity of participation

Among others social solidarity of the community member's involvement are vital in order to be triumphant on the battle of community development. Above all, the presence of common consensus and mutual understanding within the community members helps to mobilize resources and commitment towards one direction to enhance the community development itself. The amateur theatre clubs are working on different dimensions of life like fostering and advocating the culture of tolerance and developing the habit of collaborative engagement which goes in line to the classic saying that "*many hands makes work lighter.*" Thus, the theatre practitioners are concerned and engaged in promoting social solidarity within the community.

The poems and plays presented by Tesfa Fana amateur theatre club focuses on the relevance of solidarity in materializing community development. The poem with a title of "Edget Behbret"-in Amharic version means 'Communal Effort for Development' in English. The content of message of the poem reflects on the importance of critical thinking on discovering common asset and social networks of the community that boosts the community's endeavor to realize development. It also preaches about the role of economic development and increased productivity in enhancing social solidarity within the whole community members. It finally narrates about maintaining unity in harmony with social diversity. In additions to that, here were also different community sensitization programs that advocates about the importance of communal participation in a way that promotes community's involvement on different government owned initiatives that assures the benefit of the community. The campaigns were presented on the implementation of health care programs, environmental protection intervention, construction of road and bridges at Wolkite town.

Social support: Support the action necessary to achieve community goals

The major mechanisms of filling the institutional gaps (gaps left by family, health, education, and politics, economy, sport, and entertainment and media institutions) are by establishing an appropriate and responsive social support mechanism. The social support should consider all the possible elements which help to meet the community goals in general and the interest and demands of the disadvantaged and systematically discriminated segment of population. We consider disadvantaged segment of population to include the people with disabilities, commercial sex workers, street children, children, Orphan and Vulnerable Children (OVC), elderly people, women, single headed families, drivers, women headed families, people living in a distant place than the service area, ethnic minorities and people living with HIV/AIDS in particular.

The contribution of the amateur theatre clubs is also reflected in terms of providing social support. The dramas presented by Ye Joka Aberus, illustrates about the critical value of the youths involvement in voluntary community based interventions and service delivery schemes. The drama which was presented under the title of "Metegagez Le Biltsigina" in Amharic version which means 'Collaboration for the Development of the Community' in English. The drama displays facts about the role of the community members on helping each other without compromising their regular activities. The drama also has portrayed the use of allocating some time, labor and financial resources in filling e institutional and organizational gaps.

Preserving cultural values

Community cultural development is a philosophy that is concerned with fostering an environment in which cultural democracy can occur. It values community expression through the arts as ways in which communities create a sense of place, affirm their values, assert their differences and communicate their aspirations. As a result, amateur theatre clubs and theatre practitioners are capable of working on transmitting the needed message about cultural values preservation and they are also have the responsibility of studying the cultural values and heritages of people living in Wolkite town and its surrounding area so as to prepare films, drama, conversation, theatre, music and other possible way of demonstrating the cultural values and practices. One among the components of theatre is conducting investigation in order to convey the facts related with the cultural values of the community that is the contents of the plays or dramas should transmit valid information.

A stakeholder can be defined as any person, group, or institution that positively or negatively affects or is affected by a particular issue or outcome (World Wildlife Fund, 2000). Thus, like other actors who play a crucial role in cultural preservation, the amateur theatre clubs and the theatre practitioners are useful in teaching and documenting cultural values of the Guraghea community. But, in this context the role of the amateur theatre clubs and the theatre practitioners is considered from the point of view of contributing to the preservation of the cultural values of the community.

Producing shows and films on cultural values

There are various approaches employed in promoting the cultural values of the community. One among the approved approaches and appropriate responsibility of amateur amateur theatre clubs is producing shows and films on various cultural values.   Some of the problems which are observed while producing shows and films is the works are either focused on cultural preservation or tourism. Thus, producing work by amateur theatre clubs that harmonizes cultural preservation and tourism for a given community or in this case of Wolkite town. Though much is left to be improved, the amateur theatre clubs are directing and guiding their works to be focused on the cultural preservation and tourism. What the researcher wanted to indicate here is that most of the shows and films are focused on promoting tourism rather than cultural preservation. As a result; needs to make a paradigm shift from only focusing on tourism to emphasizing on both tourism and cultural preservation.

The research respondent interviews indicated that there are some efforts which are made to preserve the cultural values of Guraghe people. The cultural preservation tasks are carried out in different forms, in terms of show, film, literature and performing shows. But, much works are expected to be accomplished because the community has infinite cultural values. Above all, more attention should be given to the cultural values which are approaching to extinction or which are not frequently practiced by the current generation. The other important point here is the need of collaborative engagement of different stakeholders. Especially, the office for tourism and culture needs to work on cultural preservation in a more advanced manner. Otherwise, there will be some cultural values which will cease to be practiced if they are not filmed and documented properly.

Inspiring community and the government to involve in cultural preservation

Community takes the lions share in implementing the strategies of cultural values for the fact that the community has many eyes to see, many ears to hear, many mouth to speak and many hands to work. This is because, without an active participation of the community members and the government the effort of other stakeholders is meaningless. Community members can work to the best or to the worst of the efforts of the cultural preservation endeavors. Thus, the amateur theatre clubs and the theatre practitioners are expected to work in mobilizing the community members and the government. In doing so; they are supposed to use different mechanisms like; theatre performance, poem, drama, dance, songs, conversations, monolog and literature events. This is one way of contributing their share in the endeavor of cultural preservation.

The government officials are entrusted with multiple responsibilities. Some of the responsibilities are not clearly stated, for instance the Kebele chairman is not directly expected to involve in culture preservation related works provided the fact that he/she is engaged with administrative and political tasks. But, the amateur theatre clubs can show the government officials that they can simultaneously work within political and administrative matters in one hand and culture preservation related tasks on the other hand. Thus, the amateur theatre clubs are involved in refreshing and reminding the government officials to involve in cultural preservation related initiatives.

They are expected to consider the cultural values of a given community and the government while preparing theatre, songs, storytelling, drama, monolog, conservation, poems and poetry. The amateur theatre clubs are also actively engaged in arranging a discussion platform with the community; involve different stakeholders like the cultural bureau, the elders, influential personalities, professionals in the areas of cultural preservation and promotion.

Working on resources mobilization and leverage

Like in other communities, in Wolkite town there exists plenty resources that ranges from resources possessed by individuals to the resources that are owned by organizational and institutional establishments. At personal level there are resources like; personal talents, creativity and industriousness. At group level; there exists different resources like; social capital, cooperation, social support mechanisms including, *Iqqub*, *Iddir*and *Mahber*. At organizational and institutional level there exist resources like; GOs, NGOs, CBOs and Faith Based Organizations (HBOs). In additions to the mentioned organizational settings there are also institutional organizations like; health institution, educational institution, economic institution, political institution, mass-media institution, water supply institution, electric power institution, transportation institution, sport institution, cultural institutions and entertainment institutions (Wolkite town Trade and Industry Office, 2007). These resources are instrumental in achieving the community development goals of the community. Hence, needs to be mobilized for the purpose of promoting cultural preservation and community development.

In fact, the key issue to consider here is why the stakeholder collaboration is so important especially in relation to the activities related to resources mobilization and leverage tasks that helps to achieve the goals of the cultural values preservation. This is equally reflected on the resources mobilization and leverage tasks, because the presence of smooth communication and common understanding on communal issues like cultural values and heritage preservation is essential. Developing a symbiotic harmonization between heritage originality and conservation requires the involvement of all stakeholders in both tourism and conservation related issues by using all possible resources which are found at different level of intervention of the social fabrics of the community. Therefore, the issue of integrating heritage originality (preserving the originality of the heritage) and conservation through stakeholder involvement and collaboration should warrant more research.

Promoting Health Education

One among the socio cultural perspective of evaluating the contribution of the amateur theatre clubs and the theatre practitioners is their valuable input in promoting the health and wellbeing of the community. The amateur theatre clubs are essential in facilitating conditions (information and resources dissemination, discussion forum, human and resources mobilization, peer education and advocacy) and resources that helps to deal with the health problems of the youth segment of population. They are also in a position to deal with any health problems at different times; because the several health problems had occurred and continue to occur at different times. For instance, Tesfa Fana and Ye Joka Aberus were established in 1993 E.C and 1994 E.C respectively. At that time the spread of HIV/AIDS were found on its peak, hence the intention of the establishment of the amateur theatre clubs were to provide short term solutions or prevention campaigns to such kinds of health problems. But, later the goals of Tesfa Fana were modified to and then expanded its emphasis on dealing with reproductive health and human sexuality. In the case of Ye Jika Aberus it is

expanded to include community development and cultural values related goals. To be fair enough both amateur theatre clubs are often times involved in community development related tasks.

According to the research participant information we can understand that within the early stages of the establishments of the amateur theatre clubs, their mission has been delimited to the promotion of health education. Both TesfaFana and Ye Joka Aberus has been emphasizing on reproductive health, HIV/AIDS, communicable disease, FGM, the health aspects of early marriage and abduction and personal hygiene and sanitation. The crucial point here is that, the amateur theatre clubs have partially contributed in improving the health seeking behavior of the community members. Thus, their [Tesfa Fana and Ye Joka Aberus] remarkable achievement has contributed to the promotion of some aspects of community development goals of Wolkite town.

The health service delivery mechanism of health institution is showing improvements in recent times. The health institutions are providing services for different health problems of the community and there have been different measures taken to improve health service delivery packages. But, there are always gaps and there exists a practical problem within the health care service delivery in Wolkite town. The amateur theatre clubs are expected to fill the gaps by Producing plays about health related issues; family planning, reproductive health, nutrition, prenatal and antenatal care, children immunization, HIV, sexually transmitted infections, FGM, early marriage, communicable disease and sanitation.

Health promotion is a structured, systematic approach to achieving widespread uptake of health, hand washing and faces disposal practices that are likely to limit the transmission of intestinal pathogens and parasites. There are different types of activities and different areas of emphasis of the actors while dealing with health problems. The activities includes; reproductive health education, campaigns about personal hygiene and sanitation, education about FGM, education about nutrition and children immunization and education about disease prevention mechanisms. The areas of emphasis may range from dealing with family planning related issues to addressing sanitation and hygiene related problems. So in line with the above statement the role of the amateur theatre clubs are very high.

The role of amateur theatre clubs for the improvement of the social life of the different socially vulnerable and marginalized populations

Among others, amateur theatre clubs are expected to serve as a voice of the voiceless. The disadvantaged segment of population like; children, youth, women, person with disabilities, commercial sex workers, drivers, elderly people, poor of the poor and street children needs more attention and support. When we see the ordinary functioning mechanisms of the social service delivering organizations and institutions; we came to know that they are more focused on the means (bureaucratic procedures) rather than the real problems. Hence, the amateur theatre clubs need to remind and sensitize the various institutions to go an extra mile in providing services to the marginalized group of people.

With TFD, those clubs are succeeding in attracting theater tension of the authorities to give more emphasis and to invest more resources in providing health services to the segment of population. In previous times, the health institutions were already there but providing health service with a different approach and coverage. Following the active involvement of the amateur theatre clubs, the officials have got a chance to identify the major gaps in health service delivery mechanisms. For instance, in previous times health institutions were only focused to provide services when the beneficiaries visit the institutions themselves. Latter, the efforts of the amateur theatre clubs in disseminating condoms and providing home to home education influenced the health institutions to shape their activities and hence improved accessibility. The services were delivered to individuals and groups which are exposed to health risks and this in turn has increasing people's confidence in the in ability to control their social and material environment more effectively than they did before.

Enhancing the knowledge and exposure of the community

When we evaluate the major missions of the amateur theatre clubs we discover the fact that the clubs are expected to work on improve the knowledge ad exposure of the community members. This can be realized by focusing on behavior centered and skill-based tasks. Some of the works of the amateur theatre clubs presented to audience includes plays and theatres that focus on behavior change communication (for instance in relation to sexual intercourse and reproductive health). The other approaches focus on involving the community members in skill based tasks like community asset mapping and advocacy related works.

Health education is the transfer of knowledge and understanding of health practices and their associated health risks. Health education activities are thus one subset of possible health promotion activities (Wills, 2000:171). On the other hand 'theatre can articulate and transmit new information and new values; they can provide alternative ways of being human and so provide us with choice and a sense of potential' (Horne, 1988, 74).

Challenges of the theater clubs

There are plenty challenges which are faced by amateur theatre clubs right from the time of their establishment. The absence of well-organized organizational and institutional arrangement left them to encounter problems within the existing setting of interaction. Their challenges ranges from absence of office and hall, lack of financial resources, material shortage, lack of professional trainings, high turnover level of practitioners, lack of recognition from government and other stakeholders up to discontinuity of the theatre club itself.

CONCLUSION

This paper examined a major issue that had been rarely discussed in the existing literature which attempted to assed if the role of amateur theatre clubs was authenticated in enhancing community development endeavors of the community. The paper tinted many of the contributions that have fluently managed the community development endeavor which mainly emanates from the efforts of the amateur theatre clubs or theatre practitioners. Working within community development, health education promotion and cultural heritage conservation task was very delicate one. These institutions did not recognize the contribution of the amateur theatre clubs and they are not in a position to allocate resources or institutional setting that facilitates and integrates the works of amateur theatre clubs with their organizational functions and activities

Finally, it should also be noted that fulfilling what is lacking in the cooperation of different local sectors and absence of appropriate planning and executing activities is the major preconditions to the authentication of the community development, health education, cultural heritage conservation related goals and the development of amateur theatre clubs. The governmental and institutional setting are poor in creating an umbrella forum that integrates and monitors the various activities executed by different bureaus and tasks performed by the amateur theatre clubs.

In general, motivating and supporting amateur theatre clubs efforts appear to be one of the most important and an active resource for the awareness creation or implementation of development, while the tendency of weak support efforts may lead to marginalization of the amateur theatre clubs and their potential and practical role in community development. The source of weak support emanates from the policy directions and organizational functioning mechanisms of the education, health and culture sector bureaus. A synergy between characteristics and assets of amateur theatre clubs and community development agenda can be realized when the available resources across different sectors and different stakeholders are properly managed. Hence, the effort made by the amateur theatre clubs or the theatre practitioners of Wolkite town is good but there should be a comprehensive, consistent and institutionalized mechanism addressing the problems of these artistic oriented clubs which in turn helps them to contribute their share in community development, cultural values preservation and health education related problems by making sense of the existing realities.

RECOMMENDATION

If amateur theatre clubs are to flourish, the government should pursue a balanced policy direction towards the various sectors, and priority of one sector over the other must end. Because, offering much attention to one sector and ignoring another sector results on losing some assets like the contribution of amateur theatre clubs in community development. Hence, if amateur theatre clubs are to remain sustainable within a community framework, there must be community-wide participation as well as continuous assessment of resident perceptions to ensure their role in community development, cultural heritage conservation development and health education remains consistent with the local culture. The culture and tourism bureau should be responsible and accountable for the sustainable development of the amateur theatre clubs.

Developing a symbiotic harmonization between supports provided to the amateur theatre clubs and their contribution to community development requires the involvement of all stakeholders in amateur theatre clubs related-related issues. The support can be gathered from governmental offices (health, education and cultural bureaus), NGOs, civil society organizations and community members. Therefore, the issue of integrating the supports presented to amateur theatre clubs and their expected roles through stakeholder involvement and collaboration should necessitate more research. An improvement is needed from planners, NGOs, government sectors, urban development experts, administrative personnel, community members, local institutions, private sector and international organizations.

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Full Length Research

Operation Silence Cultivated the Grounds of Militancy in Pakistan

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The seminary of Lal-Masjid (Jamia Faradia and Jamia Hafsa) wanted for fiercely implement Islamic Shariah Law system under the influence of foreign and local militant organizations. To implement this plan, they used their students and started crackdown in federal city Islamabad by shutting down movie shops, attacks on police forces and Chinese Massage center etc. The government warned Ghazi brothers to avoid such incidents. After the failure of peace dialogues and warnings with seminary and government nominations, Pakistani military forces started "Operation Silence" on July 3-11, 2007.The results of this operation were not satisfactory for the solution of this problem. Later on, it was proved that the decision taken by® General Pervez Musharraf, the then President of Pakistan was the worst political decision in the history of Pakistan. Final survey results of the study are 77.64 % respondents commented that militancy increased after this operation across the country but, while 22.36 % commented that militancy increased after North Atlantic Treaty Organization forces attacked on Afghanistan in search of Osama Bin Laden and some other elements. The government of Pakistan has lost 118.3 billion dollars in extremist violence directly and indirectly from 2007-2016. In these strikes, 7000 military officials 'martyred and over 150,000 civilians 'people killed by suicide and targeted attacks from the militants as revenge of this operation. In the past no such study was conducted directly related to this national issue.

Key words: Maulana Abdul Aziz Ghazi, Militant Organizations, Pakistan Military Forces, Pervez Musharraf and Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid

INTRODUCTION

Lal-Masjid is an old institution of bestowing religious education in capital city of Islamabad, Pakistan. In this institution (Jamia Faradia and Jamia Hafsa) more than 14,000 students (8000 Male and 6000 female) were getting religious education since April 2007. Both institutions were authorized independently, Jamia Hafsa for female and Jamia Faradia for male education. Male students were restricted from entering in female institution exception of seminary teachers. Military operation was started under the Presidential orders of General ® Pervez Musharraf in July 2007. In this operation, military forces demolished few section of Lal-Mosque building. In the consequences of this operation, more

than 150 students, teachers, military soldiers and civilians died and 500 above injured. As indicated by them, Mosque/Madrassa is a holy place for all the Muslims and considers as the home of Allah. Be that as it may, the political leaders and bureaucratese overlooked the estimations of religion and issued orders for devastation of the mosque by overwhelming barrage.

The results of this operation were not in favor for the country, economically, politically and religiously. Top militant leaders emphasized on their followers for attacks on security forces and other crowd places in the country. All orders issued from tribal areas which considered the hub of militancy and terrorism in Pakistan since United Soviet Sovereign Republics (USSR).Some local militant organizations like as Tahrik-e-Taliban Pakistan, al-Qa'ida, Tahrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi Swat, Jaish-e-Mohammadi, Lashkar-e-Jhangvi and others regional organizations were the main cause of unrest in the form of bomb blasts, suicide attacks and target killing. After this operation, daily newspapers were filled with news of bomb-blasts and suicide attacks, targeting killings of military personnel and other innocent natives. This operation consider as one of the most important cause of Pakistan Muslim League, Quaid (PML-Q) defeat in the national elections of 2008.

History of Lal-Masjid

Lal-Masjid was constructed by Capital Development Authority (CDA), from the financial assistance ministry of finance Pakistan in 1966.MaulanaQari Abdullah was appointed first Khatib (Imam) by President Ayub Khan. He taught the students about extremism during Soviet scenario in Afghanistan. This mosque was used for the radicalism among both genders (Male and Female). Mr. Abdullah played a key role in the protest against Prime Minister Zulifqar Ali Bhutto in favor of Zia. He had close links with President Zia-ul-Haq and other militant's leaders such as Osama Bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri, Haq Nawaz Jhangvi etc. Zia-ul-Haq released a grant of Rs. 7.225 million to Abdullah for his support of Mujahedeen in soviet war in 1981. He was also rewarded a plot for Jamia Hafsa near Jamia Faradia for female Madrassain 1988. Mr. Abdullah ordered the construction of Jamia Hafsa in 1992. Ms.Umm-e-Hassan led Jamia Hafsaas Principal of this institution. Most of the students (male and female) belonged to North Western Federal Province (NWFP) and Tribal areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan.

After the death of Zia, Benazir Bhutto was elected as Prime Minister of Pakistan. She tried to remove Abdullah from Masjid in her 1st tenure of politics but failed. Religious lobby and military forces supported him against Benazir actions. Qari Abdullah was assassinated in 1998.

Maulana Abdul Aziz Ghazi and Maulana Abdul Rashid Ghazi both brothers took charge of this institution after the death of father. They continued the mission of father and increase relations with top level militants.

Lal-Masjid seminary was condemned by Musharraf for the participation in United States camp in Afghanistan after 9/11 incident. Musharraf took placed a ban on militancy and its facilitators in 2002. Both brothers tried to interfere in state affairs. They challenged the writ of state. They supported al-Qaeda and Tahrik-Taliban in Pakistan and Afghanistan, increased militant activities in 2004 (Animesh Roul). The government tried to raid Lal-Mosque after London bombing in July 07, 2005 under pressure from United Kingdom (UK). Mr. Shahzad Tanveer a bomber of 7/7 attacks in London 2005 was suspected militant and had links with Lal-Masjid (Muhammad Hussain, Zafar Ali, Ashraf Iqbal and M Riaz Raza, 2013). The government issued warrants for both Ghazi brothers for suspected attempted attacks on Musharraf. They used their students and demanded for the implementation of Nifaz-e-Shariah in Federal City Islamabad, Pakistan on April 6, 2007. Musharraf had announced both Ghazi brothers and Lal-Masjid seminaries pro-Taliban (Zafar Iqbal, 2012).

Capital Development Authority (CDA) issued orders for demolition all illegally occupied buildings in Islamabad. The workers of CDA destroyed 07 Mosques and issued notice to 80 others for being illegally constructed in2006-2007. Some students of Lal-Masjid seized four policemen as revenge of the demolition of the mosques on May 18, 2007.The government took notice of the actions conducted by the students of Lal-Masjid. The government also exchanged two police men with several students whom were detained. Abdul Aziz Ghazi blamed the government for supporting of western culture in Pakistan.

On July 02, 2007, 2000 Security Officials (1500 Rangers and 500 police commandos) were participated in operation silence. On first day of operation, 12 students killed and 100 above were injured. As per reports, Ghazi was ready for dialogue with government and ready for surrender in 3rdday of operation and demanded some conditions. The government rejected his possibly demands. The government offered the male students for surrender of Rs. 5000 (83 dollars) and free education to all those whom were in Mosque and female were insured for safe passage to their home on July 04, 2007. After arrest of Abdul Aziz Ghazi, most of the students had surrendered to the military forces. Operation continued along with dialogues. Musharraf again rejected all his possible demands and ordered military forces for final action. It was completed on July 11, 2007 as resulted 150 students including seminary officials were killed and 10 security Officers Martyred. In this operation, 1700 students male and female surrendered including Ghazi Abdul Aziz who was arrested by security forces. They also used most

dangerous chemicals and gases including Phosphorus in this operation (Saqib Riaz, 2009).[i] The dead bodies of Abdul Rashid Ghazi and his sons were sent to their native town Rajanpure.

RESEARCH PROBLEM

After the "Operation Silence," militancy increased in the form of bomb blasts and suicide attacks on security forces and public places without any discrimination of religious across the country. Students of Lal-Masjid along with different militant organizations like as Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, Sipah-e-Sahaba, Tahrik-e-Taliban Pakistan and Tahrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi etc, destroyed the infrastructure of the government institution in their areas especially in Swat and Tribal areas. The government conducted this operation due to constant pressure from China and United States. Both governments pressurized Musharraf for strong action against the students and seminary of Lal-Masjid. This action was proved the blackish decision in the history of Pakistan.
What factors were responsible in promoting of militancy in Pakistan after this brutal action from military forces?

1.   What was the role of militant organizations in public unrest after this operation and its effects on national and international level?
2.   What did the involvement from foreign countries like as China and United State made a big cause of this operation for own interests?
3.   What did the students of Lal-Masjid used for militant activities under the shadow of Islam from Ghazi brothers for own interests before military action?

Whereas the main objective of the study is:-

➢   To assess the role of militancy and its effects on national/International level.

SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH

The scope of this study is wide to respondents approached for the collection of data who belonged to Madrassa and modern educational institutions (students & teachers). However, some political workers, Lal-Masjid seminary, Journalists and NGO's workers were also respondents across the country.

LITERATURE REVIEW

   In this article, "The Militant Saga: Has Musharraf finally Triumphed Ever Extremism in Pakistan," author revealed on the activist state of mind of Rashid Ghazi. He said that Abdul Rashid Ghazi and his 80 students threatened publically from the enforcement of weapons. He commended the endeavors of para-military forces that captured 1700 students (male and female) in this operation. He uncovered that Ghazi Abdul Rashid declined to surrender until the execution of Shariah Law in the country. He additionally uncovered the last explanation of Rashid that "My death would start Islamic spark in Pakistan." He revealed that during operation different types of weapons found from Lal-Masjid. They were interlinked with militant organizations in Pakistan and other countries of the world. He uncovered that ® General Hamid Gull, chief of ISI denounced Musharraf for the support in Global War on Terror. The author proposed that the Madrassa reforms should be changed as per the requirements according to modern period and this issue should also be discussed in National Assembly of Pakistan. (Iftikhar Ali, 2007).
   In the article, "Antigone, Irony and the Nation State: The case of Lal-Masjid (Red Mosque) and the role of militant feminism in Pakistan, "portray that some female students of Jamia Hafsa, started crackdown such as shutting down of movies shops and restriction on Music etc. She uncovered that the students of Jamia Hafsa grabbed a lady, as them she was running prostitution business. She wrote that two militants were hidden in Jamia Hafsa student hostel. They were providing training to females for militancy and using of explosive materials etc. The students of Jamia Hafsa were challenging the autonomy of State and tried to interfere in state affairs since 2001 (Shaireen Rasheed, 2016).
   In this article, the creator uncovered occurrences which happened in July 2007. He said that number of innocent student (male and female) was killed by the security forces in Islamabad. He uncovered that the issue rose between Lal-Masjid seminary and federal security forces to recover illegal constructed mosques. The student of Lal-Masjid controlled on national children library building. The building was interlinked with Jamia Hafsa. Author uncovered that most hazardous chemicals and gases incorporating phosphorous were used in this operation from military forces (Saqib Riaz, 2009).

In the article, "Pakistan in 2008 moving beyond Musharraf," author described the cause of lost political position of Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid (PML-Q) due to low turnout from the voter. A large number of populations of NWFP were facing the credible situations like military operations, earthquake, other security threats and most of the population pre-poling against Musharraf PML-Q. In fact the result amounted to bitter referendum against Musharraf, dismissal of Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhry and because of extensive damage done due to the military operation silence in Lal-Masjid. Military forces destroyed some parts of the Masjid without honor towards religion. He was also relieved on another reason which was occurred in November 2007 implementation of an emergency in State (Mathew J. Nelson, 2008).

In this article, "Construction of Taliban Image in Pakistan," author expressed that the emergence of Jamia Hafsa and Lal-Masjid as a hub of militancy as reported by the media become on eye opener for the people. The government and media were exposed to the real face of Taliban. He said that Taliban was involved in the killing, abduction, shooting, suicide attacks and other illegal activities in Pakistan. They brainwashed the innocent people for the conspiracies against the State (Shaista Malik, 2011).

In the article, "Pakistan: Significant Recent Event March 26- June 21, 2007," author described, Maulana M. Abdul Aziz announced establishment of a religious court in the Mosque. He also claimed that the thousands of people were ready for suicide attacks if the government involves herself in the affairs of the Mosque on April 04, 2007. The author also wrote that on October 04, 2007, Government of Pakistan blocked the official website of Lal-Mosque. He also revealed that Lal-Masjid seminary issued a Fatwa against Nilofer Bakhtiar, former minister of tourism for un-Islamic behavior, after her photographs came in the local newspaper. In the photographs she was hugging a Frenchman. He wrote that she resigned from the job. She condemned the Lal-Masjid seminary and clarified that the hug was a congratulatory Pat from the Frenchmen for a successful jump with a parachute (Susan G. Chesser, 2007).

In report, "The Red Mosque Operation and its Impact on the Growth of the Pakistan Taliban," author revealed that Baitullah Mehsud and Maulana Fazalullah arranged a rally in favor of Ghazi brothers in Imam Dheri Madrassa and threatened the government. She also described that Mehsud also warned the government of the consequences of the attack on the Mosque. Maulana Faqir Hussain protested in a rally on July 09, 2007 in which thousands of tribesmen participated in favor of Lal-Masjid. He said that they informed Abdul Rashid via Cell phone that his blood would not be wasted. In reports, Islamic movements of Uzbekistan members were producing Mujahedeen in Mir Ali, North Waziristan Agency for increasing their militant strength after this scenario. They captured and killed a numbers of innocent people and military forces officials as revenge against the attack on Lal-Masjid. A Pashtoon soldiers attacked the Special Service Group (SSG) mess in cantonment area near of Tarbela Ghazi Islamabad. According to him, his sister was killed in military operation silence. Abid Hunzala was involved in the attack on Pakistan Air Force (PAF) base in Sargodha on November 1, 2007. He was also enrolled in Lal-Masjid before this operation. He was arrested by the authorities during an operation on suspicion militants' of having inks with other organizations. He was released like other students. He was linked to a militant organization in Karachi and involved in major attacks (Qandeel Siddique, 2008).

MOTIVES OF OPERATION

Certain incidents were undergone by the students and seminary of Lal-Masjid which lead to military operation. Details are as under:-

1. Some students attacked on Ranger Police check post on July 03, 2007 as result Lawrence Naik killed.
2. Students of Jamia Hafsa captured a woman, Aunti Shamim on suspicion running a prostitution business in Islamabad (2007).
3. The students of Jamia Hafsa and Jamia Faradia captured 09 Chinese staff members. They were running massage center which had bad impact on the younger generation.
4. They kidnapped students of Beacon House School system. They said that co-education is haram in Islamic law system. They demanded the government to close down of all co-education institution in Pakistan.
5. Some students attacked the Ministry of Environment and State Office building which interlinked Jamia Hafsa with heavy weapons. They were occupied the Children library.
6. The students' involved in anti-state activities including kidnapping of innocent people and destruction of video shops.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study is Qualitative and Quantitative methods were used for the analysis of the data. Deductive approach has been used. Survey method is opted as part of strategy in this research. Microsoft excel was used for the results of the study, cross sectional study. Exclusion criteria: students above 16 years of age in both genders (males and females).

Study Population

Research data was collected from Punjab, Khyber Pakhtunkhawa, Islamabad, Federal Administered Tribal Area and Provincial Tribal Areas of Pakistan and online from other countries of the world by using of email address. Research is self-administered by the researcher to the respondents of Madrassas, different modern educational institutions.

Sample Size and Duration

In this study, 200 Questionnaire forms were distributed and 75 email addresses were used for the collection of data. In above questionnaire, 50 survey forms were excluded of less than age 16 years and under matriculation study.

Demographic Data

In this study, 150 people (110 Male and 40 Female) participated. In which 65 people participated from urban and 85 belonged to rural areas. While 138 people belong to Religion Islam and only 12 of them belong to other religions Christian and Hinduism. For better results 128 people were selected from Pakistan and only 22 from other countries.

Research Instrument

In this research, questionnaire has been used as research instrument. Research Performa were formulated in two variables "Yes/No" as per choice. Questions were selected according to the parameters of the study and titled. All the domains used in the study i.e. questionnaire have vital importance in the Past, Present and the Future aspects of the operation. In the past no such study was conducted directly relation to this national issue. Some authors work on history of Lal-Masjid like as ISA, (Internal Security Association) and some tried to interlink this operation with increase terrorism in Pakistan. It will also highlight how militant organizations used the innocents' students after the operation.

RESULTS & DISCUSSION

The results of survey regarding questionnaire has been shown in figure 1.

As per figure 1, final results of the study according to survey are 77.64% approximately 1/3rd respondents commented that Operation Silence cultivated the grounds of militancy in Pakistan but while 22.36 % commented against my statement or lack of knowledge. Local militant organizations with the collaboration of foreign organizations created unrest and emphasized on their followers for attacks on public and security officials. In these strikes, the international standard of the countries decreased much and some foreign countries took blame for the support of terrorism in the world.

Religiously

Pakistan is an Islamic country and also "Nuclear Atomic Super Power "in all Muslim countries of the world. More than 96 % population belong to the Islamic religion and only 4 % other religions like as Christians, Hindu and Ahmadi etc. in Pakistan (Naimatullah Khan, Nazir Amin, 2017). According to statistics report 2015, 2.26 million students got admission in religious education. In which 79,289 religious teachers were providing educational facilities as teacher in these institutions in across the country.[ii]Most of them are running under the finance assistance from Middle Eastern countries and some of them run by the regional donations from the local people. This operation is turning point in spreading of militancy. The militant organizations which were working under TTP and AQ and other wings supported students of Lal-Masjid for militant activities. They used their supporters for the terrorist/militants attacks under the reference of religion Islam. On the other hand, Islam is top listed religion in the world which is spreading rapidly than other religions. But unfortunately, some namely Mullahs not only destroyed the real image of Islam but also make a big hindrance in creating good relations with others neighbor countries like as Iran and Afghanistan.

On July 21, 2007 Abdul Khaliq Haqqani, the Taliban commander threatened that their supporters will take revenge the innocent students which martyred in Lal-Masjid (Iram Khalid, M Iqbal Roy, 2016). He used their students and followers under the shadow of Jihad and ensured them that they are Mujahadeen-i-Islam and fighting against non-Muslim supporters. He was also running many religious institutions/Madrassa in tribal area FATA. Mullah Fazalullah, another supporter of militancy in Pakistan, openly announced his followers and students of their Madrassa in Imam Dehari for attacks on military forces and other crowd places. After that, militants started guerrilla warfare and suicide attacks against military forces.

Economically

After this operation, the economy of the country much decreased in all public and private sectors. International import increased and export decreased in goods after this operation as per table 1. As resulted, the market value of national currency decreased against dollars. As per State Bank of Pakistan (SBOP) report, from 2002-20016, government has expended 118.3 billion dollars from the extremist violence directly and indirectly. A detail of loss has been shown as per table 2, that 2009 which was the worst year for the loss of the country. Pakistan military forces started many operations in Swat and South Waziristan Agency. During operation, huge population migrated to other cities. The militants also destroyed the government& private buildings like, Schools, Hospitals, Police Stations and Video Shops in PATA and FATA. The results show that loss decreased after operation Zarb-e-Azb.
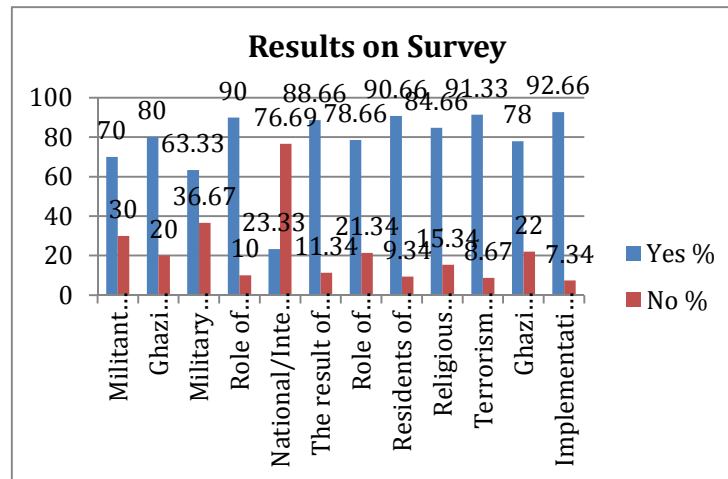

Figure 1.

Table 1. Loss from 2007-2014

Year	Export Billion USD	Imports Billion USD	Difference Billion USD
2003	11.9	13	-1.1
2004	12.6	15.4	-2.8
2005	16.1	25.1	-9
2006	16.9	29.8	-12.9
2007	17.8	32.6	-14.8
2008	20.3	42.3	-22
2009	17.6	31.6	-14
2010	21.4	37.5	-16.1
2011	25.3	46.6	-21.3
2012	24.6	43.8	-19.2
2013	25.1	43.8	-18.7
2014	24.7	47.5	-22.8
2015	21.1	44	-22.9
2016	20.5	47	-26.5
2017	21.9	57.4	-35.5

Politically

After this operation, politically instability increased. Religious political parties protested against this operation. These political parties like as Muthida Majlas-e-Amal (MMA), Jammat-e-Islami, Jammiat ulema Islam Fazal-ur-Reham and Sami-ul-Haq and other party leaders condemned this act. Some of them think that this operation was pre-planned of Musharraf. Some other political leaders like as Aftab Ahmed Sher Pao, Shujat Hussanin and Abdul Ghafoor Haidri etc. emphasized on both brothers for peace solution. Ghazi demanded implementation of Niazam-e-Shariah across country. Some of these political parties tried to enter in Lal-Masjid for direct dialogue with Ghazi, but security forces denied for their entry after 01:00 A.M on July 09, 2007 and continued operation. Surely, their demand was excellent but the way they chosen not correct. As resulted, Pakistan Muslim League, Quaid (PML-Q) lost in election 2008 from Pakistan People's Party (PPP) due to this

Table: 2

Sr	Year	Loss in Billion Dollars
1	2007	9.18
2	2008	13.5
3	2009	23.77
4	2010	11.98
5	2011	9.97
6	2012	7.70
7	2013	9.24
8	2014	5.5
G. Total		90.84

cruel action. They said that a Masjid is holy place for all Muslims. The government did not honor this religious place. Most of the population took blame on Musharraf for the assassination of Benazir Bhutto. The people used their vote against the PML-Q.

Educationally

The militant organizations destroyed the ethical values of the students in across the country. They manipulated the students of Lal-Masjid against innocent people and security forces. They burnt number of educational institutions such as schools and college in PATA and FATA. Mullah Fazalullah with the collaboration of local native of PATA took ban on female for modern education in 2008. He announced sentence for non-compliance. After his cruel order, more than 900 schools closed in which 120,000 students affected and 8000 female teachers also stopped to attend their duties in Swat (James Rose and et al, 2017).[iii]This thing created bad effects on education system in Malakand division. Some families were migrated to NWFP and Punjab in seeking of modern education for their children.

Perspective of Islam about militancy

The Quran gives point by point rules and directions with respect to the lead of war: who is to battle and who is exempted (48:17, 9:91), when dangers must stop (2:192), how detainees ought to be dealt with. From the soonest times, it was illegal to kill non-combatants and in addition ladies and kids and priests and rabbis, who were given the guarantee of insusceptibility except if they had participated in the battling.[iv] The Quran states that there is no impulse in religion" (2:256) yet rather to spread its upright request with the goal that numbness and unbelief could be supplanted by only social orders all through the world. The Quranic importance of jihad alludes to the commitment occupant on all Muslims to battle or apply (jihad) oneself, to take after and understand God's will: to have an ethical existence, to battle shamefulness and mistreatment, change and make an equitable society and, if vital, participate in outfitted battle to protect one's locale and religion. Quranic sections alluding to jihad as equipped battle fall into two general classes: guarded, those that accentuate battling against hostility, and hostile or expansionist, a broader charge to battle against

all unbelievers and spread the message and open request of Islam. Muslims all through the ages have talked about, discussed and differ about the importance of jihad, its guarded and expansionist, authentic and ill-conceived frames ([8]; [9], p. 119). The Quran does not charge or support ill-conceived brutality and psychological warfare. Religious researchers dissolved before Meccan Quranic verses for the more activist verses uncovered in Medina and after that rulers utilized these verses in Islamic law to honest to goodness their military jihads of success and magnificent extension for the sake of guarding and spreading Islam. Be that as it may, suicide shelling turned into an across the board strategy, utilized by Sunni and Shii civilian armies, in partisan clashes over power.[v]

CONCLUSION

Ghazi brothers belonged to Ahl-e-Hadith school of thought, but they had closed links with Deobandi and Wahhabi militant organizations in across the country. Militant organizations provided them financial support for running this seminary. They demanded revolts against democratic system and implementation of Islamic Shariah Law in Pakistan like as Saudi Arabia and other Middle East countries. Ghazi brothers used their students for this act under the influence of local militant organizations. In this operation, numbers of female students of Jamia Hafsa were kidnapped from unknown people and government institutions failed to search them after many years. Most of the students belonged to NWFPand Tribal areas of FATA. These students were used by al-Qaeda, Tahrik-e-Taliban Pakistan and other organizations for spreading militancy. The militants also trained them at their training camps in FATA and other areas of Pakistan. The militants destroyed the tourism places, bomb blasts in markets, attacks on foreign Embassies, suicide attacks in crowed places and security forces. The government has lost billion dollars after this operation silence. A large number of people were killed and several injured in these brutal attacks. Military forces killed top leaders of militants and their supporters in military operation. They also destroyed their safe heaven places and training camps in Miran Shan, South Waziristan Agency, and Wanna etc. Capital Development Authority also re-built the destroyed areas of Lal-Masjid under the orders of Supreme Court of Pakistan. Students are getting education again in both institution Jamia Hafsa and Jamia Faradia. The government also took supervision of Lal-Masjid seminary and their students. The government has restricted the students' involvement in militancy and their activities. Militancy has been decreased and restored the writ of the State. International community supported the action of Musharraf but the people of Pakistan and other institution like as Bar Councils, religious institutions condemned this act. Some of them said that the operation was pre-planned from the government. Militancy and terrorism increased because this decision of Musharraf "Operation Silence in Islamabad".

RECOMMENDATIONS

Madrassa Reforms

Madrassa reforms should be formulated under the government authority. The government should introduce a modern educational syllabus according to the teachings of Islam along with modern education. The Syllabus of the Lal-Majid should also be formulated with the cooperation of government experts and Lal-Masjid seminaries. The government should check the student activities and ban the entrance of the militant organizations leaders. The seminary leaders can be played a model role to preach their students regarding peace in Pakistan. They should support the acts of the government and reject the demands of foreign countries. In the education sector, religious as well as modern education should go side by side and must have own credentials in the curriculum development.

Job Opportunity

The government must ensure the equal job opportunities for the Madrassa students and other modern educational students. Religious students should be provided equal job opportunities across the country. Higher Education Commission of Pakistan should sanction grant for Madrassa students for higher education and research work like as other modern institutions.

Ban on Political activities in Institutions

The student should be banned from political activities in both Institutions (Modern and Religious). The government should implement reforms for the intuitions and discourage political activities. They must use these Madrassa for the production of good religious scholars in Pakistan.

Strict ban on militancy in Madrassa

The government should strictly ban militancy and syllabus which creates hurdles in State affairs. Student activities should be monitor and strictly punished for the involvement of such type of activities according to constitution of Pakistan which would be harmful to them and society.

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www.hrw.org/report/2017/03/27

Annexure

OPERATION SILENCE CULTIVATED THE GROUNDS OF MILITANCY IN PAKISTAN

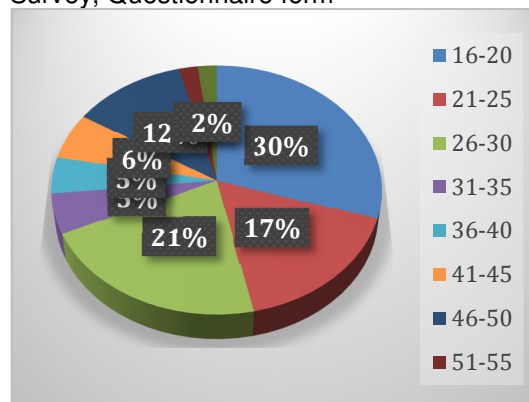Name: _____   *Age: _____   *Gender: _____

*Qualification: _____   *Occupation: _____   *Residency: Urban/Rural

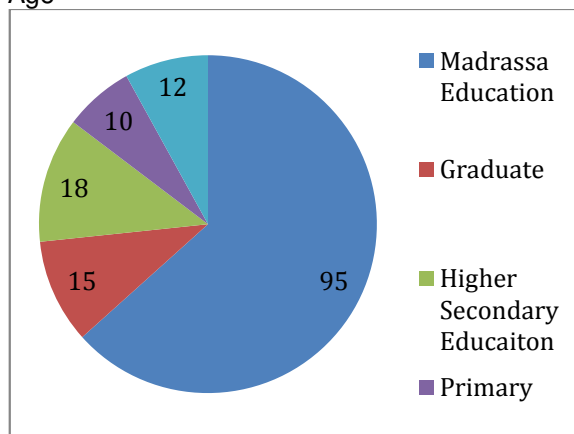*Religion: _____ Sect: _____   *Country: _____

Note: Please fill necessary * places

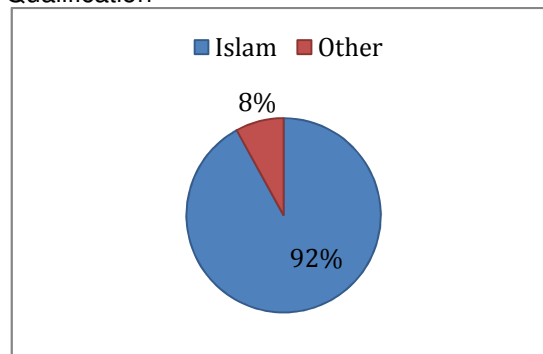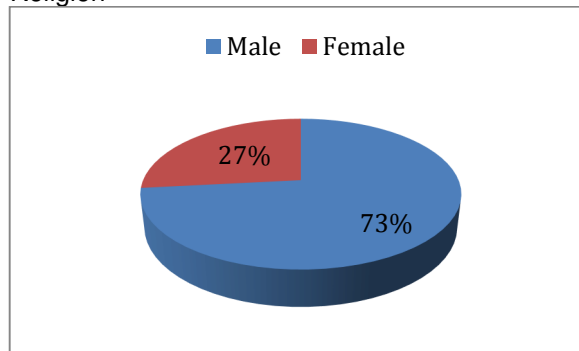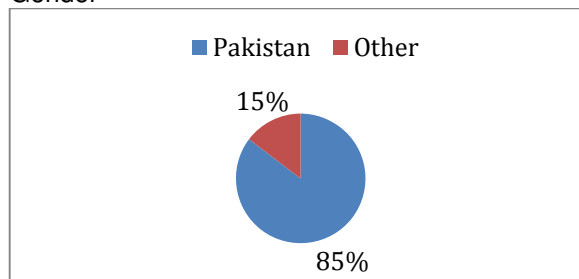| Sr. #	Question	Yes	No
1	Did Militant Organizations played role for spreading militancy in Pakistan after Operation Silence?		
2	Did Ghazi brothers manipulate the students for interference of State issues before operation?		
3	Did military forces take good action against Lal-Masjid seminary?		
4	Did International Community support the government for the military action against the seminary of Lal-Masjid?		
5	Did National/International Media played good role during Operation Silence?		
6	Did the results of operation silence affect in election 2008?		
7	Was the role of Political Party workers good during Operation Silence?		
8	Did the members of civil society become happy from this operation?		
9	Did religious organizations support seminary of Lal-Masjid after Operation?		
10	Did militancy/terrorism increase after military action?		
11	Had Ghazi brothers' links with International militant organizations like as Al-Qaida and Tahrik-i-Taliban?		
12	Was the demand of Implementation of Nizam-e-Shariah in Pakistan a real cause of Operation Silence?		

Survey, Questionnaire form

Age

Qualification

Islam   Other

8%

92%

Religion

Male   Female

27%

73%

Gender

Pakistan   Other

15%

85%

Country

- Students
- Teachers
- Government Servants
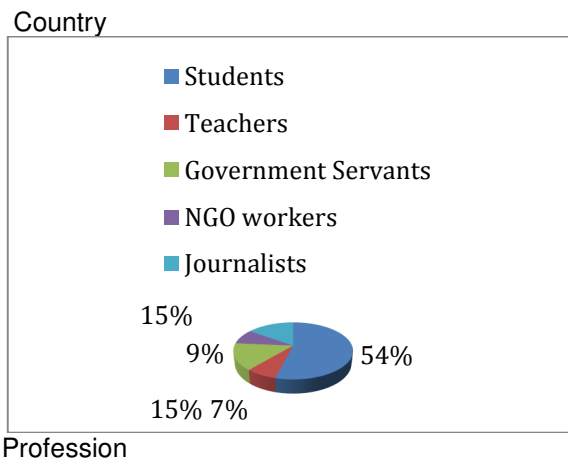- NGO workers
- Journalists

15%

9%

54%

15% 7%

Profession

Full Length Research

The Principle of Humanitarian Intervention and the "Responsibility to Protect" Between Justice and Prejudice (The Syrian, Somalia, and Kosovo situations)

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The paper aims to investigate the role of UN through its human intervention to solve the national issues to save the human life from genocide, ethnic cleansing, war crimes practiced by some states against their own citizens. To achieve its aim, the study used the historical and descriptive approach to analyzed at a of three case studies; Syrian crisis, Somalian crisis, and Kosovo's crisis, in which the states practiced Methods of repression and torture against their peoples to the extent that they needed essential intervention by the international community to stop the criminal massacres. Through the analysis of study it has been concluded that the UN does not apply human intervention principles to all states properly, and it is still affected by some powerful authorities. Finally, the study recommended that UN need to rethink its strategies that can enable human intervention be applied consistently and to all states their population suffer from disasters.

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INTRODUCTION

After the World War II, a fledging institution called the united nations (UN) was immediately established aiming to save next generations from the war scourge, and over 40 years during the Cold War, the peacekeeping forces of UN played an important role by reinforcing cease-fire agreements, separating the conflicting parties, and supervising elections.

Following the end of the Cold War, the UN Security Council issued numerous resolutions, based on Chapter VII of the Charter, concerning the settlement of issues that were not traditional among the sources of the threat to international peace and security (Burckle, 2018). Since the end of the cold war, humanitarian intervention, and sometimes, military intervention were necessarily emerged to save victims by preventing or stopping violence (Bertschinger, 2016).

The broad interpretation taken by the Security Council for the concept of the threat of international peace and security, which includes internal armed conflicts that are defined as serious violations of human rights, has become a legitimate justification for humanitarian intervention by the United Nations under Chapter VII of the Charter .This insistent responsibility had been clearly claimed by previous President of the Security Council "Annan, 2002", when he claimed" Responsibility to protect" civilians from Massacres, genocide, displacement and ethnic cleansing practiced by their states against humanity, meaning that it is the world's responsibility to interfere in another state's territory for the

purpose of protecting citizens from suffering (Damboeck, 2012). This insistent humanitarian intervention was recurred in some Arab countries allowed through the decisions issued by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter. Such these conflicts have resulted in great violations of human rights and minorities.

The principle of "responsibility to protect" is a clear criterion in international law ratified by the UN Security Council and a qualitative shift in the way international law deals with humanitarian crises. According to the principle of "responsibility to protect", sovereignty is no longer absolute, but the State renounces its sovereignty when it fails to protect civilians from genocide, ethnic cleansing, war crimes, that are perpetrated against humanity, then the "responsibility to protect" of civilians lies with the international community (Wheeler, 2001).

Cavandoli and Odello (2011) expressed that national state sovereignty in "responsibility to protect" is concerned with responsibility rather than control or power. Therefore, to be more comprehensible, state sovereignty was redefined by the commission as a something that cannot be absolute; rather it is internally organized by constitutional power that does share arrangements (Damboeck, 2012). Thus, the main argument is that, to maintain its state sovereignty, the state authority must fulfill three main responsibilities: it must protect the safety and welfare of its citizens, second, it must be accountable for its citizens internally and externally beside the principles laid inUN charter, and third, the state's agents have accountability of their actions (ICISS, 2001). If the state's authority has not potential to bear these responsibilities, it will lose its sovereignty.

Although the main aim of humanitarian intervention is to save lives, International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) did not specifically quantify the number of deaths according to which the military intervention should be triggered. The closest estimate described by the commission is "large-scale loss of life" or "large-scale ethnic cleansing" (ICISS, 2001,p.32). With atleast one of those two conditions, the criterion "just cause" can be satisfied.

Despite the main purpose of humanitarian intervention is to realize the human justice through preventing and refuting the persecution as well as oppression worldwide, and for that purpose its principles were emerged, it can be noticed that during its history since it had been established, United Nations, represented by the security Council behaved in flounder and unbalanced situations in some cases (Tufekci, 2018). This means that UN dealt with many political situations throughout the world in inconsistency.

This paper will analyze the UN attitudes of some crises that occurred in some states to explain how it tried to treat these crises in a different and inconsistent manner. To achieve this aim, three crises were taken in this study's consideration, which are Syrian crisis, Somalian crises, and Kosovo's crisis, and based on this analysis, asset of recommendations has been provided.

Theoretical background

Human intervention, a concept deeply rooted in human's history, developed in its meaning and content through several generations and adapted to suit each generation in a specific era. Still today, humanitarian intervention has been related to intervene in a state where civilians live under wars and disasters. However, between imbalance of its principles and measures through its interventions, united nations (UN) which has the responsibility to protect people who are oppressed and afflicted, attracted attention of scholars of international law and policy to investigate and analyze UN principles and strategies to address the malfunction positions, and hence provide their suggestions and recommendations for purpose of enhancing UN performance of humanitarian intervention.

The concept of humanitarian intervention and "Responsibility to Protect"

Humanitarian intervention is an old phenomenon in the history of international relations. Gisslen (2018) Mentioned that humanitarian intervention is a term that was first issued in 19th century. He added that ancestral concept of humanitarian intervention is traced all the back to many hundred years B.C. The first international treaties known in the history of mankind date back to1978 B.C Between RamsesII and King of Hittites, which emphasized the historical dimension of this phenomenon and the moral and human reality governing international relations (Gary, 2008). It also aimed to sanctify and protect human life in times of peace and war.

Foley (2013) contradicted the concept of humanitarian intervention argued by many scholars who confirmed that humanitarian intervention is insistent to save human life in case of state's persecution and oppression, when he mentioned that humanitarian intervention is no longer a principle agreed upon by international jurisprudence because of the criticism against it as a result of its conflict with the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States on the one hand and its use as a pretext for exploitation and colonization of States on the other. However, international jurisprudence differed in defining the concept of humanitarian intervention by two directions; the first direction accepts that humanitarian intervention cannot be done through military action and the use of armed force, but the second one advocates abroad concept of humanitarian intervention where it believes that intervention can be carried out by the use

of military force and sometimes by other means such as political, economic, diplomatic and other pressures (Kent, 2014).

The principle of humanitarian intervention in the internal affairs of state is a fundamental principle of contemporary international law. However, the broad interpretation of Chapter VII of the Charter and the consequent expansion of sources of international peace and security have made it very possible to overcome this principle at present, and the humanitarian intervention has become a customary rule imposed by the Contemporary changes of international community (Tufekci, 2018).

Seybolt (2008) Mentioned that massacres resulted from wars, such as those occurred in Sudan, Lebanon, and Darfurseized the attention of the world with harrowing stories of political complexity as well as huge size of human suffering. Some other disasters, such as those occurred in Democratic Republic of the Congo and northern Uganda, were ignored because they were far away of media broadcast (Television, Radio, Newspaper, etc). The neglected atrocities caused a large scale on loss of life, instable economic and deteriorated political situations (Seybolt, 2008). Such these catastrophes led the international community to be undergone some embarrassing questions, such as what can be done to help ordinary citizens who are exposed to the conflicting groups or their states 'oppression?, and how can we save them against starvation, killing, and stampede?. The argument about when and who outsiders that should be involved in the protection led to the concept of "'responsibility to protect' affected people. This controversial idea puts a huge on us on the UN members to protect the affected people when their states do not provide enough protection to them.

As response to the failure of the international community to avert humanitarian tragedies in both Rwanda and Balkans during the 1990s, the Canadian Prime Minister, John Cretian in 2000 called for the concept of "responsibility to protect" at the Millennium Conference to establish an international commission concerned with intervention and sovereignty (ICISS, 2001). The conference mission would be to support a global debate based on reconciling the duty of intervention of the international community against wide violations of humanitarian norms and the need to respect the sovereignty of States. In 2001, the Commission concluded with are porton "Responsibility to protect" (Flott, 2008). Additionally, According to the Official Records of the General Assembly (2012), the World Summit conference in 2005 also adopted the concept of the "responsibility to protect" populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. Further, in 2009, the General Assembly, in its resolution 63/308, agreed to continue consideration of this concept.

Today, "Responsibility to protect" is a concept that is composed of several fundamental principles included in international humanitarian law, international refugee law, and international human rights law. The implementation of this concept involves a wide range of instruments, techniques and partners (Janzekovic & Silander, 2013). These fundamental principles, from the outset, have taken an arrow but in-depth approach. It is narrow in terms of its exclusive application to the crimes and violations referred to in paragraph 138 of the 2005 World Summit Outcome, and in-depth in terms of the variety of Charter-based instruments available for that purpose (Fontane & Geslin, 2008).

The role of UN in Humanitarian intervention

The United Nations has had a major role to play in intervening to resolve several crises at the global level:

First, Syrian crisis

Syrian revolution in 2011

The Syrian revolution started on March 15, 2011, and did not go beyond the beginning of the popular protests and peaceful uprisings, like other revolutions of the Arab Spring. The beginning was in the city of Dara'a to face repression and suppression of public freedoms, especially when the Syrian security forces extended the arrest, torture of children, and the killing of young people and elders, reason that spurred these peaceful protests to turn into a popular revolution that called to political, economic and social reforms and gradually extended to most Syrian cities (Joseph, 2011). However, the position of the Arab and international regimes differed on this revolution despite the corroboration and solidarity of the Arab peoples.

Tokmajyan (2015) Explains why Syrian revolution in 2011, has changed its peaceful direction and inclined to be violent. He argued that the violence is not preferable to people, but when nonviolence becomes distrusted because of its achievements have not been met by regimes, the masses believe that violence will be more effective to achieve their objectives. However, this is not always right with the protests' perspective. For instance, in Syria, the international community was confident that President Bashar Al-Assad's would be changed through few months of Syrian revolution, and rather he is still the power, the Syrian revolution has been conquered, and Syria has been destroyed.

The "responsibility to protect" and its implementation in Syria

The principle of "responsibility to protect" emerged as are action to the failure of the international community to avoid committing crimes, genocide against humanity and human rights violations .The principle states that States are responsible for ensuring the security of their people and protecting them against crimes practiced against humanity, but when the State fails to assume this responsibility, the international community can intervene to protect civilians by peaceful or military means (Damboeck, 2012).

The Syrian issue presents a model consistent with humanitarian intervention under the principle of "responsibility to protect". The Syrian government has systematically and indiscriminately attacked civilians, creating a crime against humanity (Hattab, 2019).

Despite efforts by the international community to put an end to the violence in Syria through peaceful measures such as intensified diplomacy, economic sanctions and even waving the stick of international law, they failed to stop the killing (Tokmajyan, 2015). Moreover, the Syrian regime ignored the Arab-International Joint Cease fire Agreement and attacked civilians in the presence of international observers in 2012. In August 2013, the Syrian regime launched an atrocious attack using a weapon of mass destruction (internationally banned sarin gas) in the eastern and western parts of Damascus, killing1,500 people, mostly women and children, who died of suffocation while sleeping in their homes (Feinstein & Starr, 2015).

According to the principle of "responsibility to protect", an alliance of states or regional organizations can legitimately intervene in Syria with or without authorization from the Security Council (Damboeck, 2012). Especially, Intervention in Syriain this manner maybe the best hope for the international community to avoid further humanitarian disasters, and it will be in harmony with international law and the UN Charter (Hattab, 2019).

In 2009, UN Secretary-General BanKi-moon described the principle of "responsibility to protect" through three basic rules :(Bellamy, 2005; Odeyemi, 2015):

First, every State must take responsibility to protect its people from genocide, war crimes and ethnic cleansing.

Second, it is the responsibility of the international community to assist States in fulfilling their obligation under rule 1.

Third, if the state clearly fails to protect its people, the international community must take responsibility to act with immediate and decisive deal, in accordance with Chapter VI, VII and VIII of the Charter of the United Nations, using measures ranging from the use of peaceful to military means.

In some emergent situations, it is allowed for international alliances to intervene legitimately to stop serious violations of international law without the prior approval of the Security Council.

Feinstein and Starr (2015) confirmed that when peaceful actions fail to end a crisis that poses a threat to world peace and security, the Security Council can authorize Member States to use force to protect civilians under Chapter VII and Article 42 of the Charter of the United Nations .Since peaceful options for the protection of civilians have been exhausted, it is the duty of the international community to consider stricter measures at a time when it seems impossible to obtain the authorization of the Security Council to do so politically, and owing to the given persistent circumstances, the international community has the right to take action under the principle of "responsibility to protect" to protect the Syrian people away from the veto (Kent, 2014).

Typically, Security Council resolutions use the words "all necessary measures" to allow the international community to use force. Such these measures include the blockade and other operations by land, sea, or air, to establish safe areas or no-fly zones, to protect the human right in the safe life of those at risk, and to allow the use of all necessary processes or all necessary means to protect civilians (Anderson, 2011).

As a result, the Security Council adopted resolution 733, which allowed the establishment of a military embargo under Chapter VII to restore security and stability, and resolution 794, which allowed the use of all necessary means and the utmost speed to establish a security environment during which humanitarian relief operations under Chapter VII can be achieved (Odeyemi, 2015).

According to the Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixty-sixth Session (2012), The Security Council adopted resolution 2059 (2012) at its 6812th meeting, on 20 July 2012 commending the efforts of the United Nations for surveillance in Syria. Also, the General Assembly on 16 February 2012 adopted resolution 66/253 related to the situation in the Syrian Arab Republic recalling its resolution 66/176 dated19 December 2011 and the resolutions of the Human Rights Council dated 29 April 2011and17/1dated 23 August 2011and18/1dated in 2 December 2011 in which The General Assembly expresses its deep concern at the deterioration of the situation in the Syrian Arab Republic, in particular the continuing violation by the Syrian authorities of human rights and the use of violence against the population.

Infact, Syria crisis initiated in 2011 changed the world's views toward UN and converted the balance in the concept of UN strategies and objectives. Gisslen (2018) Argued that many different sides in discussion of the legality of humanitarian intervention reject some fundamental aspects within international law, like how international law justify with changing time, and how resolutions and treaties can be interpreted, etc. According to Gisslen, such these questions and

like others are still debated, especially with the Syrian civil war. According to human rights agencies, Assad-led regime practiced stressful human rights violations against the civilians, and based on intense discussions, this disaster entails legality of humanitarian interventions (Burckle, 2018). But the consensus by the international law community was that the humanitarian intervention is considered as illegal.

Definitely, in case of Syria, the civil war has resulted in seven million internally displaced citizens, three million Syrian refugees, and more than 250,000 deaths (Kent, 2014). Despite These Humanitarian disasters realized the above conditions under criteria of "just cause", the Syrian civil war continued until the end of 2018 leading to more humanitarian aggravation of bad situations. By contrast, Libya witnessed less humanitarian disasters compared with Syria, but security council issued its decision of immediate military intervention supported with "no-fly-zone", which helped Libyan rebels to overthrow the preceding president "Muammar Gaddafi" and the capital "Tripoli" had fell with the grip of the rebels(Taleb, Ratiu, & Molz, 2017). This corresponding behavior by the UN was controversial at many scholars about the compelling duty by UN towards the humanitarian disasters.

The principle of "responsibility to protect" has been developed to achieve consensus in favor of international action to prevent or stop mass atrocities. However, it has failed to do so in Syria. Worse still, the implicit support provided by the principle of intervention without the consent of the United Nations has contributed to the paralysis of the international community to respond effectively to the human rights crisis in Syria (Thakur, 2013).

Consequently, the paralysis of UN in Syrian crisis indicates that UN must reconsider its strategies so that it can expand its authorities to provide more security to the citizens who are exposed to the danger of their states (Odeyemi, 2015). This means that rebuilding international consensus to act against atrocities will require rethinking about the "responsibility to protect" and the phantom military solutions that it provides. Until now, and after all crimes and disasters practiced by the Syrian regime represented by its president "AL-Assad", the civil war against Syrian citizens nearly ended and no effective resolution has been taken by the UN against the accustomed repression and oppressions.

Second: Humanitarian Intervention in Somalia

The international military intervention in the Somali crisis is an important model for evaluating the legitimacy of intervention in the internal affairs of states for humanitarian considerations without the consent of the State concerned, Whether this intervention was done by the United Nations as an international organization or by some countries that have officially entered Somalia under the umbrella of UN without direct and effective conduct by these countries to UN in terms of leadership's intervention or the conduct of the military operations and the objectives prepared for them (Odeyemi, 2015).

The overthrow of the "Siad Bari" regime on 21 November 1992 led to the spread of chaos in Somalia due to the conflict of 14 movements, the most important of which were the Somalia Unified Conference led by Mohamed "Farah Aidid" and the National Alliance for the Salvation of Somalia led by "Ali Mahdi" (Wennsland, 2013). Additionally, the North has announced the establishment of an independent state. The Center for Strategic Studies in London revealed that since the outbreak of the war in Somaliain 1991-until1994, the war had killed about 75 thousand Somalis (Seybolt, 2008).

These complicated conditions have compelled the Interim Administrator of the UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) to appeal to the Security Council for essential intervention to provide humanitarian assistance in a letter in 20 September 1991, preceded by a letter from President "Abdou Diouf" of the Islamic Conference to the Security Council, on which the Security Council issued there solution of 733 in 23 January 1992 (Ulriksen, 2010).

Resolution 733 contained a set of provisions that emphasized the need to immediate humanitarian assistance by the United Nations and its specialized agencies to Somalis with the appointment of a coordinator to oversee their distribution. This decision, however, did not meet the goals for which it was initiated, which exacerbated the tragedies for Somalia civilians in a manner that threatened the international peace and security (kent, 2014). This reason prompted the Security Council to issue another resolution bearing the number of 571 in 24 April 1992 including the formation of an international security force for purpose of ensuing humanitarian access to Somalia, followed by resolution of 775 in 28 August 199 stressing the need to protect the port of Mogadishu and escort humanitarian convoys until the arrival of humanitarian assistance to the distribution centers accompanied with protection (Bellamy & Williams, 2006).

The failure of the United Nation forces to achieve their objectives because of their low number (estimated at 500 blue-helmeted troops) made the Secretary-General declares that the operation had not met its purposes (Lachenmann & Wolfrum, 2017). Then, the Security Council authorized international intervention in Somalia under resolution 794 in 3 December/l994, expressing its concern about the magnitude of the humanitarian tragedy in Somalia, which constitutes a threat to international peace and security (Philip, 2005). Accordingly, military forces have been sent to Somalia to ensure the arrival of humanitarian assistance in the process of restoring hope.

International jurisprudence agrees that the Security Council intervened late in Somalia, and it did not directly lead UN

forces, but entrusted it to the American United States. In addition, the Security Council did not directly supervise the military intervention in Somalia, but deviated it to the United States, which invested Somali situation for realizing its political purposes. The United States did not tend to food distribution and reconciliation achievement among the conflicting parties, instead it pursued "Mohammad Farah" and practiced killing of Somalian people, reason that led great numbers of Somalis to take refuge the neighboring countries, such as to Ethiopia and Kenya (Wennsland, 2013).

It is an undeniable fact that millions of people are still at the mercy of civil wars, insurgency, and state repression. The important issue here is not to make the world safe for the big Powers ,and trample on the sovereign rights of small States, but to provide practical protection to ordinary people whose lives are at risk because their States are unwilling or unable to protect them (Flott, 2008). In the same context, Novosseloff(2000) Confirmed that since 1995, UN has become an organization that keeps order, rather than keeps peace in the world. He added that most recent peace keeping operations infact were considered as police missions that aimed to rebuild administrative structures of a state. He emphasized that following the UN failure in Rwanda, Bosnia, and Somalia because of the loss of strategy and will, many states no longer trust UN anymore and prefer to behave via regional organizations or multinational coalitions.

Third, Role of the United Nations 'Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo:

The Republic of Kosovo is located in the Balkan region of southern Europe with a population of about 2 million. 92% of the population is Albanian.5% Serbs, and the rest are different races. It was part of the Ottoman Empire for five centuries. After the first Balkan War of 191 the Kingdom of Serbia and Montenegro shared the territory of Kosovo (Jura, 2013). After the Second World War, specifically in 1946, the province of Kosovo was annexed to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and after the regime of President "Joseph Bros. Tito", and according to the 1947 Constitution, Kosovo lived in the frame work of the Union of Yugoslav Republics until the late 1970s (Hehir, 2008).

In 1989, Serbian President "Slobodan Milosevic" ended the autonomy enjoyed by Kosovo Albanians and governed the province with iron and fire using violent repressive police tactics .The people of Kosovo organized themselves face the persecution they were subjected to after the abolition of self-rule. Their organization was more national in nature than religious, led by the Albanian Democratic Union Party, which was headed by the writer and professor "Ibrahim Rugova "who had taken the national struggle as his peaceful and political approach (Bellamy, 2005).

On May 24,199 Albanian selected "Ibrahim Rugova" as president of their Republic, which they called "the Republic of Kosovo", but Serbians did not recognize it. However, Ibrahim Rugova, known for his peaceful approach, tried to win the international community's sympathy and recognition of the Republic of Kosovo but did not succeed, therefore the Albanian youth constituted military cells called "Kosovo Liberation Army" (KLA) (Damboeck, 2012). On July 1995, the people of Kosovo held a general referendum which resulted in the desire of the majority to secede from Serbia and establish an independent republic. In September of the same year, the Albanians organized a massive strike similar to the civil disobedience of Serbia (Wheeler, 2001).

The tragic actions in 1998 drew the world's attention to the danger of the situation in Kosovo, where the KLA entered into conflict with the Serbian army, and the latter committed brutal massacres against Albanian civilians forcing the international community to act emergently (Bellamy, 2005). As a stringent and sound reaction, In March 1999, The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) launched airstrikes against Serbia, forcing its president "Milosevic" to withdraw from Kosovo, and as a result Belgrade lost effective control of the territory, which was placed under the protection of the United Nations and NATO, which spread about 17 thousand soldiers in that recovered territory (Hehir, 2008). On the final status of Kosovo, Negotiations were held between Serbs and Kosovar Albanians, at the end of which "Martti Ahtisaari", commissioned by the United Nations to prepare a final status for the Territory, set a plan of independence under international supervision supported by the Americans and Europeans (Odeyemi, 2015).

The Establishment of the Mission in Kosovo:

After the settlement of disputes between the warring parties (the Albanians and the Serbs), Kosovo had not the potential to independently rebuild itself, reconstruct its economy, and reform durable institutional regulations and policies. In this manner, United Nation Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) manifested its prominent role to help Kosovo to handle all its situations. The UNMIK helped Kosovo to make long strides in establishing and consolidating democratic, interim, and autonomy institutions which are accountable for laying the foundations of a sound economy (Charlesworth, 2002; Earnest, 2015). Mustafa (1999) Summarized project development and the reconstruction complex dynamics in Kosovo by arguing that international agencies were working in parallel in different areas on the same issues at the same time without involving the local community.

According to Independent International Commission on Kosovo (IICK, 2000), The Mission was established in June 1999 because of serious human rights violations, clashes between the Kosovo Army and the Yugoslav forces, and the

mass deportation of Kosovo Albanians. The Security Council, by its resolution 1244 of 10 June 1999 authorized Member States to establish an international security presence in Kosovo to prevent hostile acts, to disarm the Kosovo army, and to facilitate the return of refugees. It also requested the Secretary-General to establish an international civilian presence in Kosovo that is known as the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), to provide an interim administration for Kosovo in which people would enjoy autonomy and self-rule. Accordingly, The Yugoslav forces withdrew, NATO suspend edits bombardment, and multinational forces of 50,000 troops led by NATO reached Kosovo to assure security (Krain, 2005).

   The Mission immediately established a presence in the field. Its task was complex and vast in scope to an unprecedented degree. The security council mandated the UN Mission to the territory of Kosovo, including all legislative, executive and judicial authorities, and requested the Mission to perform basic civilian administrative functions, promote the establishment of substantial autonomy and self-government in Kosovo, facilitate a political process to determine Kosovo's future status, and Coordinate the relief aid as well as that introduced in cases of disasters with all international agencies, Support reconstruction of the main infrastructure, maintain civil law and order, promote human rights, safeguard return of all refugees, and displace people to their homes securely (Earnest, 2015).

The Basic Pillars of the Mission in Kosovo:

In the first of its kind, UNMIK first brought together four "pillars" under the leadership of the United Nations (Todd, 2002):

Pillar 1- humanitarian assistance, led by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).
Pillar II- Civil Administration, within the framework of the United Nations.
Pillar III- Democratic transformation and institution-building, led by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

And Pillar IV- reconstruction and economic development, administered by the European Union.

Following the end of the emergency phase, the work of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) work was gradually liquidated under Pillar One at the end of June 2000 after the return of the majority of the refugees who fled during the war (Novosseloff, 2000).
The first pillar has been responsible for the tasks of achieving the rule of law from the non. The Special Representative of the Secretary-General, as the largest international civilian official in Kosovo, is responsible for the work of these pillars and for supporting the political process that aimed at determining Kosovo's future status (Valeza, 2015).
In the years that followed, the United Nations-led Interim Administration with the support of it skey implementing partners, including the European Union, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and United Nations agencies with their funds and programs, helped Kosovo to make long strides in establishing and strengthening self-governance as well as democracy undergone to accountability, in addition to laying the foundations for a sound economy (Todd, 2002). However, the achievement of fuller conciliation and full integration among communities in Kosovo remains a challenge.
The Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) beside the European Union Mission for the Rule of Law in Kosovo continue to play their important roles within the framework of Security Council resolution 1244 (Novosseloff, 2000). Moreover, The United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNIAMIK) and the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in Kosovo are exchanging information on are gular basis, particularly on political and security developments (Todd, 2002).

CONCLUSION

The aim of this paper has been to identify extent the humanitarian interventions were effective to solve some complex national crises, and failed to do so in some others. Three main national crises were taken in consideration of the current study; Syrian crisis, Somalian crisis, and Kosovar crisis. Although the three cases had occurred in similar manner, each one of them was dealt by UN, through humanitarian intervention, independently and inconsistently. The paper's analysis of the humanitarian intervention concluded that UN had treated some national crises successfully and fairly, such as Kosovo's situation, and Libyan situation, but it had got failure in other cases, such as Syrian situation. Moreover, in some crucial situations, UN commissioned the responsibility to other political powers, such as USA in Somalia that behaved independently in that country to achieve its own interests. Ultimately, according to the UN contradictory attitudes about the crucial national challenges, it should devote huge efforts toward rethinking of its strategies and policies that enable it to treat all crucial situations throughout the world fairly and decisively.

RECOMMENDATIONS

According to the analysis of the humanitarian intervention by the United Nation in the three cases (Syria, Somalia, and Kosovo) of civil war and violation of human rights, the current study can manifest the following recommendations, in which UN should:

- Strive toward rethinking of its strategies and policies to be more effective, reactive, and decisive in dealing with and treating the crucial national issues worldwide.
- Need to reconstruct its principles to be more cooperative among all members without bias to some powerful states.
- Not to slow down in making decisions in difficult humanitarian crises such as the Syrian crisis, move, and react in the suitable time where the targeted issue can be solved properly without threatening to the human life.
- Establish clear rules, procedures and standards to determine whether, when and how to intervene.
- Prove the legitimacy of military intervention when necessary and after all other approaches get failed.
- Ensure that the military intervention is carried out when it occurs for the proposed purposes only and that it is effective and motivated by the proper care to minimize the resulting human losses and damage.
- Help to remove the causes of conflict wherever possible, while increasing the prospects for a durable and sustainable peace.

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