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MASTER THESIS

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T.C.

ANKARA YILDIRIM BEYAZIT UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

**Human Rights Violations and the Failure of the
Democratic Transition in Myanmar**

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DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC
ADMINISTRATION

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ACCEPTATION AND CONFIRMATION PAGE

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PLAGIARISM

“I hereby declare that all information in this thesis has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work; otherwise, I accept all legal responsibility”.

Name Surname
Abdu SHUKKUR

DEDICATION

Sacrifice to

My Elder Brother Dr. Moustafizu Rahaaman.....

Who taught me the significance of science and keeping track of
it.....

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Human Rights Violations and the Failure of the Democratic Transition in Myanmar.

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the practices of human rights violations in terms of democratic transition in Myanmar. This study argues that the democratic transition of Myanmar is ruptured through the violations of human rights, with the oppression over the opposition and ethnicity politics, predominantly occurred after the military has seized the power as coups (d'état) two times in 1962 and on the 1st February 2021. The coup ends up with a civil war, the rejection of the democratic election results, and disclaiming of the minority's rights.

The study problematizes the challenges Myanmar encounter in democratic transition evident by the human rights violations, in the case of Rohingya Muslims. Rohingya Muslims are remained stateless according to 1982 citizenship law and Rohingyas were not recognized as a minority in Myanmar. These facts make Rohingya pretty fragile to human violations. The research employs qualitative research design in a descriptive way and aims at mapping the violation of the human rights and practices minorities rights in Myanmar as the region witnesses an ongoing democratic transition in which dreadful challenges led to political uncertainty. Struggling political crises mainly show up as consecutive military coups, causing humanitarian crises with a lack of deliberation, which is a requirement of a democratic regime.

Keywords: *Democracy, Human Rights Violations, Myanmar, Military, Minority Rights, Rohingya.*

Myanmar'da İnsan Hakları İhlalleri ve Demokratik Geçişin Başarısızlığı.

ÖZET

Bu tez Myanmar'daki insan hakları ihlallerini demokratik geçiş açısından incelemektedir. Bu çalışma, Myanmar'ın demokratik geçişinin, ağırlıklı olarak ordunun 1962 ve 1 Şubat 2021 tarihinde iki kez darbe yoluyla iktidarı ele geçirmesinden sonra meydana gelen muhalefet ve etnisite politikaları üzerindeki baskı ile insan hakları ihlalleri yoluyla kırıldığını savunuyor. Darbe bir iç savaş, demokratik seçim sonuçlarının reddedilmesi ve azınlık haklarının reddedilmesiyle sonuçlanır.

Çalışma, Rohingya Müslümanları örneğinde, Myanmar'ın insan hakları ihlallerinin açığa kavuşturduğu ve demokratik geçişte karşılaştığı zorlukları sorunsallaştırmaktadır. Rohingya Müslümanları 1982 vatandaşlık yasasına göre vatansız kaldı ve Rohingyalar Myanmar'da azınlık olarak tanınmadı. Bu gerçekler, Rohingyalı insan ihlallerine karşı oldukça kırılğan hale getiriyor. Araştırma, nitel araştırma tasarımını tanımlayıcı bir şekilde kullanmakta ve bölge, korkunç zorlukların siyasi belirsizliğe yol açtığı süregelen bir demokratik geçişe tanık olurken, Myanmar'daki insan hakları ve uygulama azınlık hakları ihlallerinin haritasını çıkarmayı amaçlamaktadır. Mücadele eden siyasi krizler, daha çok ardışık askeri darbeler şeklinde ortaya çıkmakta ve demokratik bir rejimin gereği olan müzakeresiz insani krizlere neden olmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Askeri, Azınlık Hakları, Demokrasi, İnsan Hakları İhlalleri, Myanmar, Rohingya.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	The Arakan Army
ALP	Liberation Party
ARSA	Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army
BGP	Border Guard Police
CPB	The Communist Party of Burma
EAOs	Ethnic Armed Organizations
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICJ	The International Court of Justice
IDPs	Internally and displaced persons
KIA	The Kachin Independence Army
KIO	Kachin Independent Organization
KNPP	Karenni National Progressive Party
KNU	Karen National Union
LDCs	Least developed countries
MNDAA	The Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army
MPC	Myanmar Peace Center
NCA	The Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement
NDF	National Democratic Force
NGOs	Non- Governmental Organizations
NLD	The National League for Democracy
NMSP	New Mon State Party
NRPC	The National Reconciliation and Peace Center
SLORC	The State Law and Order Restoration Council
SOGI	Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity
SPDC	State Peace and Development Council
SSA	Shan State Army
TNLA	The Ta'ang National Liberation Army

UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNFC	The United Nationalities Federal Council
USDP	Union Solidarity and Development Party
WLB	Women's League of Burm



CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

1.1. Current Situation in Myanmar

The conflict between the central government and the minority groups including the Rohingya people has now entered its seventh decade. Despite domestic and international calls for peace, the situation in the country has only become worse (유원, 2017). For a long time happened, the Rohingya Muslims have been continued denying citizenship because of the religious policy (Walton, 2013).

According to the road map of democracy, political activity has been seen a flurry during the past year. Based on sanctions that course of events might be continued by the military junta. The opposition groups who are boycotting for democracy have been generally reacted by the military regime. The military government entrenched of cultivating anti-apartheid hatred within the ethnic groups in 1960 but they failed for it. However, all the ethnic groups are still united and they are continually fighting against the military. The group of opposition tries to set up a more accountable government in Yangon and to change the regime according to their focused. Such kinds of statement is shared by the military regime. The political transition in Myanmar has to come from the top of directed by the central government. Revolutionary is very important to change internal peace and democracy; then the participation of local people can lead to a long-term democratic transition (유원, 2017).

Ceasefire agreements between 1989 and 1995 the military regime allowed 25 different armed groups to carry their weapons and control their territories, decided politically not to attack the military. The ceasefire deals had been struck amid the highest position military leaders and the negotiations had not included women or wider segments of the civilian population. Armed conflict and abuse of civilians continue in the ceasefire areas and poverty is widespread and fragile. The only eight Ethnic Armed Organizations (EAOs) signed to the The Nationwide Ceasefire

Agreement (NCA) meant still the majorities EAOs remaining without signatories. In addition, they have failed to resolve political grievances at the heart of the conflict, and find a national solution to Burma's civil war (Cárdenas & Olivius, 2021). Over the past decade, the most crucial ethnic groups in Myanmar have been under the analysis of the social and political situation. Strategies for democracy are very much necessary but the political leader are confronting several challenges, it affected on communities and the minority ethnic group (South, 2004)

In September 2008, the transitional democracy had been initiated by using the 3rd constitutional formation to have a better democracy so that political freedom for civil society, economic reforms, and increased space have gradually reduced the power of the military (Biswas et al, 2021). After the 2010 national elections, the country was renamed the "Republic of the Union of Myanmar". After the new constitution in Myanmar, the administrative functions and the political power has been divided into seven states under a bicameral legislature. Every citizen has rights to give two votes for both parliaments and one vote for the region or state legislature. Unlike other systems of government, there are six new self-administrative regions such as Danu, Kokang, Naga, Palaung, Pao and Wa. The Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP) won the 2010 election and formed a government led by President Thein Sein (Smith,2015). Myanmar is frequently shifting toward democratic countries around the world and carrying very positive dreams as well as contemplated with the people of Burmese. Consequently, the government was aware of the public and recognized that they wanted significantly quality governance and peace amid a multi-ethnic culture in Myanmar (Sang, 2013).

While the 2011 transitional democracy the President U Thein Sein announced for bilateral peace, talking without any requirement. He mentioned that the government would open peace and tranquil doors for every group and the single party who could come with the way of justice for democracy pragmatic. For the democratization of Myanmar, the tranquillity, democracy and progress is the most significant to ongoing democracy and establish democracy to enlarge the country. As the National League for Democracy called (NLD) has been recognized by the ethnic armed groups to bring together reunite in the country that is why the actual party is opposite with government. The leader of NLD said that "there is no reason not to succeed in the peace process if we all desire peace and if we have genuine goodwill." She also mentioned that moves toward offer and achieve

doctrine although feels that what might provide at first and to show the real generosity to the public for the country (유원, 2017).

However, in March 2011 Myanmar has been transitioned to a civilian government there are many problems to resolve in every field otherwise the conflict will not finish and it would be difficult to bring peacefully democracy (Latt, et al, 2016). In this light, Myanmar was starting into a new regime of the market regarding economics through open-door policy during the President Thein Sein regime from the civilian government as well the subsequent government led by Aung San Suu Kyi. At that time, under the military regime the economy of Myanmar has been suffering for a long period due to the control of military (Taguchi, 2021). As a result, the democratic process will inevitably be difficult and dangerous in Myanmar. The military influenced political structure and the remaining economy continues to spread. Even though enough natural resources, Myanmar is the least economically developed country in the world so that a quarter of the population is in destitution (Bünthe & Portela 2012). However, President talks led to a new ceasefire with the EAOs and finally, the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA) was finalized in October 2015. (Cárdenas & Olivius, 2021).

In short, though, a political party NLD and the others opposition's armed groups were fighting against the military regime for decades there is no significant resolution for the public of Myanmar. Therefore, the people of Myanmar are experiencing various challenges under the authoritarian military. However, Myanmar went through political reforms under the 2008 constitution, and in 2011 transitional democracy of the president U Thein Sein power. The National League for Democracy (NLD) has been recognized by the armed ethnic groups. All groups are united in the country and are fighting against the military to achieve democracy.

1.2. History of Myanmar

Myanmar formally known as Burma is located in the Western part of the mainland in Southeast Asia with sharing borders with the neighboring countries such as China, Laos, Thailand, Bangladesh and India. It was the significant country that is placed at the central point of South and Southeast Asia (Zaw, 2018). Even though Myanmar is the richest heritage but its history is violent with political- tensions between ethnic groups, religious discrimination, and many other serious human rights violations (Ekeh, & Smith, 2007). The area of Myanmar is 680,000 km². In Myanmar, there are 51.41 (females 26,598,000 and males 24,821,000) million people but now the actual figure is around 55 million (Latt, et al, 2016). Burma has been colonized by the British in 1885. It achieved the autonomy in 1937 under the leadership of General Aung San. The general hero Aung San promised his government that all the ethnic people will have their rights such as political rights, economic rights, social rights, cultural rights, rights of freedom of religion, and educational rights. He has mentioned at the Panglong Agreement in February 1947.

In Myanmar, there is a history of more than 70 years of armed conflict between the government and the various ethnic minority groups in the hilly border areas of the country just because they have been demanding federal democracy according to the Panglong Agreement (Zaw, 2018). Burma declared its independence on 4th January in 1948 after gained independence from the British (Leider, 2015). After independence, the first prime minister was U Nu and the governmental constitution was established but he could not control the country as confronting by a domestic crisis such as ethnicity, rebel group, bribery, misgovern, as well as the ethnic rebel contrary with each other. Political situations such as many insurgents groups known as Karen National Union (KNU), Kachin Independent Organization (KIO), Shan State Army (SSA), New Mon State Party (NMSP), Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP), and Arakan Liberation Party (ALP) that led a lack of peaceful administration (Devi, 2014).

However, the ethnicities were not discriminated by U. Nu government and all ethnicities were living peacefully and coexisting side by side for a long time. Therefore, he has listed 144 ethnic groups as indigenous people including Rohingya Muslims of Arakan state (now it is known as

Rakhine state) (Ahsan Ullah, 2016). The General Ne Win served as a prime minister of Burma from 1958 to 1960 and 1962 to 1974. There was a Burmese military coup (d'état) on 2 March 1962 then the government was starting the military rule. The military intends to protect the country from break up. At that time there was some kind of democratic camouflage regarding election such as offering the right to the citizen to compete in the election. Therefore, they started the constitutional of dictatorship in 1974. Ne Win also served the president from 1962 to 1981 as a military dictatorship under the socialist Burma.

The military held an election campaign and then they proclaimed that they had won in the election (Devi, 2014). Since the military coup, the armed forces have effectively ruled in Myanmar then they declared a one-party Burma Socialist state in 1974 (Leider,2015). General Ne Win recognized only 135 official ethnic groups out of 144 ethnics and the rest of ethnic groups were eliminated including Rohingya. In 1974, he had approved the ethnic groups such as Burma, Rakhine, Mon, Karen, Shan, Kachin, Wa, Daingnet, Kayan, Lisu, Akha, Kokang and Chin but the Rohingya minority has not been recognised to the list. He also profoundly considered the Rohingya Muslims were foreigner also not similar culture with other ethnic groups in Myanmar (Ahsan Ullah, 2016).

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is the co-founder of the National League for Democracy (NLD), Burma's largest political party, emerging from the 1988 non-violent pro-democracy revolution where are thousands of people died. Although Myanmar gained independence, political unrest continued due to the insurgent groups (Subedi & Scott, 2021). The Myanmar armed forces were consistently oppressing the ethnic minority people of Myanmar (Leider,2015). On 8th August 1988 ethnic communities did protest to achieve democracy in Myanmar. The protest known as "8888" where is gathering movement of Burma only the reason for democracy as well as to go back the military of India who comes from India to administrate in Burma on the other hand to stop the opportunity for the Indian government (Lee, 2014). Therefore, the military were abusing the political institutions and human rights violated its population such as sexual violence, forced displacement, and extrajudicial killings. They changed the name from Burma to Myanmar in 1989 (Latt, et al, 2016). As a result of coup, the ethnic insurgencies groups are widely intensified led by Ethnic Armed Organizations (EAOs). They were fully involved in the students-led uprising democracy. Therefore, many democratic activists and numerous ethnic minority populations have fled to

Thailand because of the uprising (Cárdenas & Olivius, 2021).

Myanmar cooperates with India to trade such as economic development, political support, the international policy during the meantime of 1990. Sudha Ramachandran examined the official statements in 2002. Regarding the statements there are arranging the reconciliation and restoration of democracy in Myanmar to become a peaceful atmosphere in the country (Lee, 2014). In the world, Myanmar has been generally recognized as one of the most bearing authoritarian regimes because of military coup. Since then the power is under the control of military directly or indirectly. Thus, Myanmar's political reforms in the hands of the military as they dominated significant parliamentary seats through the Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP). The military party is the Union Solidarity and Development Party (Bünthe & Portela 2012).

In 2017 over 700,000 Rohingya fled across the border into Bangladesh because of the brutal military counterinsurgency campaign launched. The same military did crimes against humanity against Rohingya people and then they confronting the case at the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in the Hague. In this regard, on several occasions the military did violations against the Rohingya. They have a plan to destroy Rohingya ethnic groups. However, 600,000 Rohingya Muslims are still inside in Myanmar (Walton, 2013).

There has been a serious military coup on 1st February 2021 and State Counsellor from The National League for Democracy party (NLD) and U Win Myint (President) have been detained as well the other significant ministers, activists, and civil society leaders by armed soldiers due to controversial over the election results. The commander -in chief Min Aung Hlaing was initiating a coup and arrested all of the elected members of the national parliament from the side of the NLD government (Thein-Lemelson, 2021). The history of Myanmar after independence the democracy has operated for various times but the human rights problem and community conflicts are still remaining as like as before the independence. However, the policies of American have many new implications through sanctions such update implications might be helpful for Myanmar better transitions to democracy (Wang, 2016).

To sum up, the former name Burma but now it is known as Myanmar. Its history is violent with political, tensions between ethnic groups, religious discrimination, and ethnic as well many other serious human rights violations. The population is around 55 million. The British have colonized Burma in 1885. It achieved the autonomy in 1937 under the leadership of General Aung San. Burma declared its independence on 4th January in 1948. The first prime minister U Nu has listed 144 ethnic groups are indigenous people including Rohingya. The General Ne Win did a military coup (d'état) on 2 March 1962. Therefore, he started the constitutional of dictatorship in 1974 and approved only 135 ethnic groups without Rohingya. On 8th August 1988 ethnic communities did a huge protest which is known as “8888” where is gathering movement of Burma only the reason for democracy. Therefore, the military were abusing the political institutions and human rights violated its population. Therefore, in 2017 over 700,000 Rohingya have fled to Bangladesh because of the brutal military counterinsurgency campaign. On 1st February 2021, there is a military coup again and arrested all of the members of NLD.

1.3. Geopolitics of Myanmar

Republic of the Union of Myanmar has been situated between 9_320 N to 28_310 N and 92_100 E and 101_110 E and covers an area of 676,580 km² where are seven States such Rakhine, Chin, Kayah, Kachin, Shan, Mon, and Kayin as well as seven regions such as Bago, Magway, Ayeyarwaddy, Tanintharyi, Mandalay, Yangon, and Sagaing. The name of the capital of Myanmar is Naypyidaw (Biswas et al, 2021).

In late, 2010 the result of democratic transition is significantly improving its relations with other countries such as the United States. There are significant changes in the relationship between Myanmar and China for example after 2011 Myanmar keep away the dependence on China because Myanmar was profoundly making relations with the United States. Since then, Myanmar

was improving its international relationship and its economy, and so on. However, Myanmar entered now domestic nationalists, that the further dealings between China and Myanmar would be under closer scrutiny and would announce theirs in bilateral relations in a fast-changing geopolitical context (Han, 2017). While the lifting of international sanctions is an important benefit of the reforms, China's geopolitical realities have accelerated the junta's strategic decision to reach deeper Burma beyond the tolerance of its leaders. Finally, the advantages of geopolitical mean that Myanmar's reforms seem unlikely to proceed as quickly as the NLD and its supporters of the international democratic transition (Chow, & Easley, 2016).

In Myanmar, there is a national moment of racialized territorialization for the land, ethnicity, and resources that is the reason that the people are getting struggles for a long time. For example, in Saging region and Chin State, the history of land administration change and agricultural history in Myanmar illustrates how states and ethnic territories are shaped. The ethnic people want to make a political economy approach such natural resources in their territory into a particular place and now the government is abusing all kinds of resources. Though Burman and China farmers were always culturally different and also being historically experiences of racial discrimination and persecution pushed Chin State's struggle for autonomy, but ethnic groups became more defined in their relationship with farmers both land and states (Faxon, 2021).

The COVID – 19 is becoming a global health pandemic and it is severely impacting such socio-economic, and political systems in deep ways as well many people lost their lives and many lives are at risk. Myanmar is deeply approaching China for its geo-economics and geopolitical interest but all this is affected by global pandemic. In Myanmar, there are many changes such as social relationships, all manner of political, and economic (Grundy & Lin, 2020).

1.4. Changing Political Landscape

The post-colonial era was marked by a weakening of the government and an increase in racial hatred towards the state, leading to a 1962 military regime (Subedi & Scott, 2021). However, in early 1990, the Burmese military junta began to adopt a new strategy. Efforts have been made to reach a separate ceasefire agreement with ethnic insurgent groups to make peace with some rebel groups. The civilian groups have been demanding federal democracy and autonomy but the military is not agreed to it that is the reason still there is ongoing civil war against the military (Cárdenas & Olivius, 2021). However, the military retains significant power in government and parliament because of the 2008 constitution. Because of the 2008 constitution, 25 percent of the seats in the Union Parliament are reserved for the general military. It controls the Home Affairs, border affairs, and defense which are the most powerful ministries in Myanmar that is why the military retains significant power.

The country was ruled by military dictators until 2010 and later on the power was handed over to President U Thein Sein (Subedi, & Scott, 2021). The military power becomes feeble after the civilian government was transferred power by the military. The quasi-civilian government banned the export of raw timber in 2014 (Biswas et al, 2021). The 2011 political transition had the greatest impact on deforestation at the national level, with deforestation in 2005 and 2017 declining by 612.04 km² and 213.15 km² respectively (Biswas et al, 2021). Aung San Suu Kyi has been allowed to join parliament and takes responsibility to lead in legislative committees, including to amend the constitution as she achieved 43 seats in the elections of 2012 (Jones, 2014). The impact of events on different states and regions varies. Once the transformation is completed, the organizational structure and function of the organization changed and deforestation based on the intensity of policies and implementation decreased as the forest resource exploitation increased over time (Biswas et al, 2021).

Democratization has been an unrealistic dream for all people across the country in Myanmar, and the leader, Aung San Suu Kyi was arrested including NLD's member by top leaders of the military on 1st February 2021 by false accusation of in the election rigging. Now the power is under the military who has overthrown the elected NLD government and seized the power as a coup and

announced for one year (Bhattacharya, & Raghuvanshil, 2021). Therefore, significant changes in recent years, in Myanmar there are ongoing human rights violations such as killing, arresting, putting under sentence, and sexual violence. WLB is continuing to form peacebuilding practices for women (Cárdenas & Olivius, 2021). As a result of the military coup, the economy is going down day by day, the crisis becomes more and more and the future of Myanmar is dark as well the public is dying more during the protest and so on (Tun, 2019).

In short, in the 1962 military coup the racial hatred increased towards the state and the 2010 election they transferred power to the civilian government. However, the military reformed the 2008 constitution and 25 percent of the seats in the Union Parliament are reserved for the general military. The military junta began adopting a new strategy bilateral ceasefire agreement with ethnic insurgent groups to bring peace within the central government and rebel groups but it is not successful yet because the civilian groups have been demanding federal democracy. There is a military coup again on 1st February 2021 where are many members of NLD were arrested and many people are killing, arresting, putting in jail. Therefore, democratization has been an unrealistic dream for all people across the country in Myanmar.

1.5. Political Economy

In 2011, Myanmar was transformed from a closed economy and a military government to a quasi-civilian government due to the military was abusing natural resources for decades and used them whenever they wish. It is a long-running conflict over access to vast forest resources and forest resources within the military and ethnic groups. Before the democratic period from 2001 to 2008, the political isolation and economy supported to preserve gigantic tracts of its original forests nevertheless in 2011 the economic status was changed at all to global marketing as being political

transition and initiating of its economy. Being global marketing is a good chance for the public people and it is supporting national economic. After becoming a global economic market in late 2011, the global economic market was growing exposure, foreign investment, and many insecure lands become urban areas and farmland where were many people used to an agricultural scenario in this place.

Instance, in 1990 the urbanization and globalization have transformed tropical drivers' loggings as detected in late 1980 to huge scale enterprise-driven agribusinesses which were supporting the population of urban both domestically and internationally global market. (Biswas et al, 2021). In 1987 the currency of Myanmar became devalued due to the economic crisis. It severely damaged to saving money of people and the people erupted against the government where were many insurgent groups. As a result of anti-government protesting, there have many people lost their lives. The European Union had extended imposed sanctions from 2006 to 2010 to the military Junta groups because the military regime was prosecuting against minority and opposition groups. In 2007 April, Myanmar was angered by the Western countries when North Korea was linked to powerful nuclear weapons (Bhattacharya, & Raghuvanshil, 2021).

The Burmese Way to Socialism'' has brought an end to civil liberties and democratic institutions, there was a system made by the Myanmar government that all the farmers have to sell the country's productions to the government. The farmers could not sell their products to other customers that are not fair for the farmer also they did not get enough benefit. There were mass protests in the rainy reason of 1988 because the people of Myanmar do not want to follow according to what the military government imposed on civilians as it has been ruining the country's economy and hundreds of thousands of the protesters on the street forced the General Ne Win to step down from the position of leadership. As a result of protests, the economics of Myanmar has become poverty and the people have become massively vulnerable because they lost their business and even many lost their lives (Charney, 2021).

Numerous western leaders such as Boris Johnson administration, Biden Administration, and United Nations secretary-general have openly denounced the military coup in Myanmar. With western opposition, the potential for billions of dollars in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) is

dwindling. Important sectors such as real estate and manufacturing will be lost to foreign investment. As a result of the military coup on 1st February 2021, the western country would not be willing to initiate business with Myanmar. Myanmar received sanctions from the United States which affected the economy of Myanmar and also become massively vulnerable for the reason of the pandemic in 2020. According to the prediction of the world bank, Myanmar's poverty level would reach at least 27 percentage (Bhattacharya, & Raghuvanshil, 2021).

Therefore, the economy of the Myanmar landscape such as political, economic, and administrative reforms have been enacted in late 2011 by the democratic parliamentary. This political change was leading growth to Myanmar's economy so that its economy was approximately 6.3 percent in 2013. Nevertheless, the economic growth rate of Myanmar was 6.5 percent in the period 2012–2013 because of the 2008 constitutional referendum which was affecting positively on GDP (Nwe, Kawata, & Yoshida, 2018).

In summary, the political economy is going down due to military coup and ongoing human rights violations. The political economy is related between the government and the public. After the coup, the people cannot start capitalism, socialism, and freedom of movement. The military government was abusing natural resources for many decades. Moreover, all the farmers have to sell the country's productions to the government according to 'The Burmese Way to Socialism' that brought an end to civil liberties and democratic institutions. As a result of anti-government protesting, there have many people lost their lives. Eventually, the European Union had extended up imposed sanctions against the military Junta groups because the military regime was prosecuting minority and opposition groups. At last, various western leaders such as Boris Johnson administration, Biden Administration, and United Nations secretary-general has openly denounced the military coup in Myanmar

1.6. Identity Politics and Citizenship

Identities and citizenships are the predominant part of the people but the Rohingya are still away from it and the government-sponsored Rohingya violence has been supplemented. General Aung San; promised during the Panglong agreement that the rights could be gotten the ethnic people to exercise the administration such as the judiciary, legislative powers in their autonomous ethnic regions and maintain and protect their ethnic languages, religion, and culture (Zaw, 2018). Three types of citizenship such as full citizen, associated citizenship, and naturalized citizenship which organized during President Ne Win's government according to 1982 citizenship law which made the Rohingya foreigners. In Myanmar, the people who settled before the British occupation of Arakan state in 1823, are full citizenship of Myanmar under recognized ethnic group of 135. The person who applied for associated citizenship under the law of 1948, he or she is granted associated citizenship.

The person who can able to provide decisive evidence like his or her parent entered and resident of Myanmar during independence period in 1948, he or she could get a naturalized citizen. The Rohingya people have no right to apply for citizenship because the government ignored them as being Muslims. Even though the Rohingya people have conclusive evidence, they could not acquire associated or naturalized citizenship in order to Rohingya people have effectively barred from getting citizenship. Subsequently, around 800,000 Rohingya people from the Arakan state of Myanmar were denied citizenship under this law also, their parents hold one of three types of Myanmar citizenship (Simbulan,2013). The government of Myanmar has also been denying the identity of the Rohingya people as an ethnic group of Myanmar.

Moreover, instead of calling Rohingya, they are calling them Bengali who came from Bangladesh but which is not factually and historically correct according to their existence in their ancestral land for many decades. The Rohingya population lacks summative health data, in the medical literature, such as nutrition, assessments of health, and there is no human security that provides for the Rohingya populations in time of their needs. In this light, the Rohingya need to highlight the crisis of the Rohingya in health, the complicated history, and human rights experienced (Mahmood et al, 2017). The number of Rohingyas has been estimated rather than 1 million, living in the three

main townships such as Buthidaung, Rathedaung, and Maungdaw but the population of Rakhine state is more than 3 million, and another one million live outside Myanmar. Both Buddhists and Muslims simultaneously rise in the Rakhine state for a long time but in late political oppression and impoverishment between 1962 and 2011 under the regime. Moreover, the citizenship law 1982 made the Rohingya people stateless that hundreds of thousands of Muslims were rendered stateless by a “deliberate breach and selective application of the law after 1989 (Leider, 2018).

Thus, Myanmar President Thein Sein mentioned statement on July 12, 2012, that the Rohingya are not welcome in Myanmar as we have to take care of our ethnic nationalities but Rohingya are illegal here so we cannot accept them. We can keep them in a Refugee camp under the UNHCR otherwise we can send them to any third country if any countries accept them (Simbulan, 2013). The government of Myanmar is discriminating against Rohingya women and girls under the political and religious climate of the country which is becoming exacerbated day by day so that Rohingya plight should be better understood. Nowadays, the persecution of the Rohingya is a key phenomenon, so the international community is raising its voices to solve the plight of the Rohingya. Rohingya violence has been supplemented by the military regime and the government has severely discriminated against the Rohingya people (Ahsan Ullah, 2016).

In this light, the Ethnic Politics of Myanmar is very much difficult to realize. Women fleeing ethnic persecution and political persecution fleeing ethnic insurgency groups to the foreign country and in late 1990 to the neighboring countries of Myanmar initiate establishing women's organizations before democracy and they were starting a movement for human rights and other minority rights and so on (Cárdenas, & Olivius, 2021). Ethnicity is noteworthy in Myanmar's sense of the ways in which political, financial, and social openings and control largely generally take after ethnic divisions. In Myanmar, numerous resistance bunches progressively came to see strife with the central government in ethnic terms, including striking nature to socially developed characters (Walton, 2013).

All in all, citizenships and identity is a very important issue for the people who are living in the country even different religious. Especially, the Rohingya people who are confronting with identity and citizenship. According to citizenship law, the Rohingya have become foreigners in own country despite they had settled before the British occupation of Arakan in 1823. Therefore,

president Thein Sein announced that the Rohingya are not welcome in Myanmar as we have to take care of our ethnic nationalities so that the Rohingya are illegal here, we cannot accept them. But we can keep them in the Refugee camp under the UNHCR otherwise we can send them to any third country if any third countries accept them. Rohingya persecution is being a core phenomenon nowadays that has become an institutionalized exercise over time against on plight of Rohingya.

1.7. The purpose of the research

The aim of this research is that to investigate profoundly the democratic transition and the outcomes of the democratic transition and human rights violation in Myanmar. There are several opposition groups and organizations who are trying for several decades to transit democracy but failed due to the challenges of the military. The public and the opposition groups are continuing to fight and protesting against the authoritarian regime despite they are facing various human rights violations such as politically, sexually, socially, religiously in order to transit democracy. Moreover, they were doing human rights violations since the military coup in 1962.

In this sense, a successful democracy is very significant for the both government and the public. The expectations of this research to shape and create good governance and practice of true democracy in the sense of human rights perspective instead of dictatorship in Myanmar as well as the public would get peace and tranquillity due to the benefit of democracy and facilities to every field such as education sector, health sector, and free of corruption and so on. The benefit of this research: - this research will contribute by clarifying and adding values to the literature review to the science and politics in order to transit democracy as well as familiar with human rights. It helps also the policymakers to create a strong policy to bring changes towards the constructive way of good democracy and further researcher.

1.8. Research Questions

This study suggests a way to give an answer to the following question: It examines the patterns of human violations in the challenges of democratic transition especially for the Rohingya Muslims minority. What are the challenges of democratic transition in Myanmar, and how are minorities, particularly the Rohingya minority people in Rakhine state, subjected to human rights violations under the military regime?

1.9. Methodology of research

The essential motivation behind this research is the personal experiences is the author as a genocide survivor in Rohingya. Based on the crisis that took place in 2017 ended up various human rights violations in Myanmar. On the other hand, the academic motivation behind this dissertation is as such: these violations have been partly undertaken in the literature under the studies of ethnic and identity politics. However, examining human rights violations in Myanmar with a perspective of the democratization process will bring a significant insight to the fact. After categorizing the human rights violations for the case of Myanmar with the help of democratic transition theory, I aim at giving answer to the following research question: What are the challenges of democratic transition in Myanmar, and how are minorities, particularly the Rohingya minority people in Rakhine state, subjected to human rights violations under the military regime?

The study operates a descriptive approach to figure out the challenges of the democratic transition and human rights violation and collects data through secondary resources. The study merges

scientific literature in terms of articles, books, and journals of various authors regarding democratic transition theory, human rights, and the case of Myanmar. Additional data from the Myanmar Peace Center (MPC), the newspapers, the documents from the National Reconciliation and Peace Center (NRPC) published by the government, and other institutions like Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch to support the study in the context of human rights.

The thesis contains the conceptual and theoretical framework that is based on democratic transitional processing and human rights violation as well as the phenomena of the military coup. The research would be divided into two parts there are firstly, I will be investigating the human rights violations against minority group. Secondly, I argue that to present the results and progress of democratic negotiations, the perspectives from the government, the military (Tatmadaw), the ethnic armed groups, and so on. And it also presents the opportunity and the challenges encountered on both sides between the Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP) and National League for Democracy (NLD).

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1.10. Literature Review

Myanmar is a country with full of conflicts and facing the democratic transition from different dimensions of military totalitarian and the minorities people are facing the human rights violations especially the Rohingya Muslims minority. Many researchers have written many articles based on democratization and human rights but none of them writing regarding democratic transition in Myanmar and the minority rights of Rohingya. Despite some of the articles have been written regarding the topic Rohingya minority rights and democratization but there are insufficient studies have been conducted on the topic. Therefore, I am going to do another study. Mang stressed that the world has recognized Myanmar as the most brutal regime, that the regime of Burma has taken power by force. Therefore, Myanmar was ignoring the election results and persecution of religious including perpetuated ethnic cleansing, and human rights violations. The military regime was always perpetrating crimes against humanity against ethnic minority people and people have been used for forced labor, including capturing children, villagers are using as human minesweepers, and children were forcing to become soldiers (Mang, 2011).

According to Jennifer Plural societies have provided without compromising what is needed to the democratic government. The concomitant problem of minority rights not only worldwide but also in Europe after the Cold War has reopened the question of self-determination. As a consequence, minority rights and multiculturalism have emerged as a consensus towards democracy in plural communities (Preece, 2008). After the country achieved independence, the civilian government has been started in 1948 but the military has controlled the entire nation (Charney, 2021).

According to Clapp claims that there are a lot of major challenges to transit democracy for several reasons such as the political structures and controversial between the civilian government and military regime because this country was under the control of military since General Ne Win's military coup of 1962 (Clapp, 2015). Myanmar achieved independence now more than 70 years happened but there is no democratic experience and no freedom for the public. The oppressive military regime is now ruling the country without any direction where are no human rights and value for the people. According to Mang stress that the military regime is undergoing a progression of ethnic cleansing for a half-century even before its independence. Moreover, ethnic

minority women were systematically raped and villages, churches, including crops, were burnt down by the authority. Myanmar will never succeed unless stopping the restriction on freedom, arresting pastors, destruction of Christian churches and should allow freedom to worship otherwise the situation would not change anymore (Mang, 2011).

According to Charney, General Ne Win, who was appointed to the role of the country after the coup. There were mass protests in the 1988 because the people of Myanmar does not want what the government imposed on civilians as it has been ruining the country's economy and hundreds of thousands of the protesters on the street forced the General Ne Win to step down from the position of his leadership (Charney, 2021). The military claimed after the uprising that they have only a way should an alliance with the opposition ethnic-minority rebel groups to end the bloody uprising. So that in 1989 the Major General Khin Nyunt was stepping onward negotiations for a ceasefire with the ethnic rebel groups (Callahan, 2007). The uprising has brought to the leader of the National League for Democracy (NLD) Aung San Suu Kyi as a new political force to fight in the favour of democracy. In the general election of 1990, Aung San Suu Kyi won but the military ignore the result of election (Charney, 2021).

Furthermore, the confrontation is that Myanmar's modern history is recognized by political betrayal and the broken promises of the military: the failure to create a genuinely federal and the failure to hand power to the National League for Democracy (NLD) after the elections of 1990. Moreover, as military action in conflict zones increase, as evidence of current human rights abuses by the military grows, and as the foreign media and independent observers are prevented from witnessing what is occurring in conflict zones, the price of the pact between Suu Kyi and the Tatmadaw seems by some to be too high (Renshaw, 2019). In 1995 Aung San Suu Kyi has been released for the reasons to reduce international pressure, to increase economic prosperity and for political further stability. Unfortunately, the outcomes failed in the early 2000s and the military regime has been forced to develop a more conciliatory position onward the opposition leader. This impact made implications to the transitions of Myanmar democracy because the military is not following democratic institutions (Thawngmung, 2003).

According to Dahl stated that in favour of democracy vote for rights, rights for election, political leaders have to rights to stand for votes, the election should be free and fair, freedom of creating party and so on (Lijphart, 2012). The military did not follow the democratic theory of Dahl this is the reason Myanmar is going far away from democracy and escalating human rights violations. According to Mahmood states that new constitution has been introduced by the military government in 2008 and in 2010, the general elections in Myanmar were held, with ongoing normalization of relations with the international community (Mahmood et al, 2017). As a result of elections in 2010 and some political changes since 2011, numerous once in the past unfriendly governments and worldwide associations have received a more open position toward Myanmar (Walton, 2013).

In 2011, Aung San Suu Kyi proclaimed that she trusted President Thein Sein to pursue further democratization and she urged the people to do likewise. In 2012, the NLD contested seats in federal by-elections, and Aung San Suu Kyi herself was elected to parliament. In the general elections of 2015, the NLD swept to power. First, Myanmar's transition to democracy is the result of indigenous top-to-down change and not the result of revolution and second, the military remains a major player in the transition to democracy and retains a significant degree of political power. The interests of the National League for Democracy (NLD) are primarily to affect a peaceful and stable transition, and this goal is not seen as consistent with the establishment of strong accountability mechanisms. Third, armed conflict resumed in Kachin State and others provinces precisely during the transition to democracy got underway (Renshaw, 2019).

The word democracy includes two processes of electing governing authorities (competitive, multiparty elections, public participation in politics); liberal principles like social, economic, religious rights and political. Therefore, individuals and society have been limited government power (Thawngmung, 2003). The Myanmar democracy movement in the years leading up to the 2015 election victory of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's National League for Democracy. These were struggles not between military elites and the Burmese democracy movement but within the democracy movement, and with its Western supporters. Therefore, the movement of democracy was not only over contrasting visions, challenges, and strategies. Myanmar should free itself from military rule then the democracy will increasingly hold up as a valued political concept, it is crucial

to unpack the many ways (Wells, 2016).

According to Charney, there is no way for the leader of the National League for Democracy (NLD) from becoming president, there was a particular case given by the Myanmar government that does not allow her to be the president of the country despite she won the election many times with the support of the people of Myanmar. Nevertheless, this changed in 2016 when the National League for Democracy (NLD) won the elections in 2015, create the office of the state counselor for Aung San Su Kyi. Since then, she was taking her place as a de facto leader with Win Myint as the figurehead president (Charney, 2021).

Neil stated that Liberal democracy is a political system made up of democratically elected governments represented by the majority, which includes the rule of law to protect individuals and minorities. It controls economy and social interaction of government as well an important sector and free from government. It guarantees individual liberty and security with the consent of the government. Equality of citizens; it depends on the principles of people's sovereignty and government. Government representatives restricted to the rule of law; separation of powers and constitutional rights exercise the sovereignty bestowed by the occasional election of representatives. Simultaneously, individual liberties, a government with limited citizenship and equality supports democratic governance. Most liberals in particular, would agree on equal rights under the law and equal rights in political life. Therefore, several liberal theorists, involving such as John Rawls, Stephen Holmes, and John Stuart Mill in recent work, also claim that "a liberal government must secure the necessary social and material conditions for individuals' realization of liberal rights, not merely to accord those rights formal recognition" (Netanel, 2000).

The country is on a peace process between the nation's multiple ethnics and the central State is being prolonged due to some of the armed groups that were ethnically designated and have been appeared in such a long way from the resolution even though, there are many efforts by both side the current government and the previous government that has been struggling to find a peaceful negotiated settlement to almost 70 years Myanmar's unending conflicts within the country. In Myanmar, there are many insurgents group who were trying for many decades to get autonomous in own states, freedom, federal democracy and so on. But the military regime never agrees to make

a federal government because they want always their power and dominance all over the country in Myanmar (Taylor, 2017).

According to the European Framework Convention for the protection of minorities have been implemented in 1995. The aim of convention is to prevent conflict and promote democracy by applauding domestic situations in which the race, religion, language and ethnicity for all people can be protected and promoted within their current borders. Jennifer stressed that the aim of the post war human rights movement is to reduce the problem of minority in a broader context rather than referring to ethnic groups in general. The main reason is that minority members do not need to or special character privileges have not been entitled. The doctrine of human rights has come to the fore as a substitute for the concept of minority rights with a strong impact. Members will not be able to legally solicit support from minorities who enjoy equal treatment of individuals to maintain their racial discrimination. In the favor of plural society, the minority rights have been recommended internationally since 1989 (Preece, 2008).

In Myanmar, many ethnic minority citizens are living under the authority of multiple states that they are getting varying services from the government. The citizens have possible access such as ceasefire organizations, religious groups, NGOs, business leaders, international organizations but not all citizens have such equal access to do such kinds of activities (Callahan, 2007). The result of constitutional democracy is an excellent balance for the security of the people. It is also a better way for government and the public to work together in harmony. In Myanmar democracy has an idea of rule of law which is the lawful balance while correlating amid the state security (Cheesman, 2014).

As for the democratic political landscape, there are three main reasons, such as the active cooperation of other countries, standard supremacy of norms, peace, and national harmony, to achieve democracy. These are all just reasons for the development of democracy (Sang, 2013). The government has also limited their ability to marry, own property, and move freely, all of which are protected by international law to both citizens and non-citizens. Sectarian violence occurred in June 2012. Initially, the state security forces refused to defend the Rohingya at key times, resulting in a large number of deaths and 100,000 people being displaced (Abdelkader, 2013).

Democracy prefers corporate trade and love one another this is why every researcher want to have democracy everywhere across the world. Also to promote stability the democracy is better so a huge number of democratic expanding is a good chance for cooperation. It is true during Presidents Bush and Clinton era their advisors of foreign policy acknowledged that in a reformed world promoting democracy benefits not only moral but also practicalities. Democratic regimes emphasized not to go to war with one another because the war produces refugees. Therefore, giving an opportunity to transit a democratic country that it would most probably push to a non-democratic bordering country to become a liberalization country. Furthermore, the benefit of democracy is fulfilling the commitments of international. It is important not only for the establishment of democracy but also for the security and official recognition mechanisms. This is the result of democracy fulfilling international commitments (Pevehouse,2005).

Regarding the lack of mutual understanding and trust amid the government, minority ethnic groups, and another majority ethnic Burmese groups, the word “Burmanization” becomes widespread because of the suppressions and discriminations on the ethnic minority people in various sectors (Zaw, 2018). The military is committing human rights violations on the Chins people. In Chin State where is increasingly militarized. Therefore, the Chins were confronting serious human rights violations that they have been using forced labor like slaves and land was confiscated by the SPDC security forces and restrictions on building worship places as well as Chin schools was closed. Moreover, many people have been arbitrarily arrested and killed without reason.

The most interesting is that under the military regime the Chins cannot educate in their own language and they could not worship on time due to restriction and they were facing challenges in accessing state schools (Ekeh, & Smith, 2007). However, after independence in the union 10 years later, the Kachin, Shan, Chin, and Karenni peoples have been allowed to achieve specifically minority rights. So that the other minority people are demanding to continue their rights to self-determination, federalism, autonomy, and the right to accomplish the resources found within their regimes for many decades (Ekeh, & Smith, 2007).

According to Ekeh & Smith 2007, civil wars between civilians and military in ethnic areas have been worst affected in last 60 years. Therefore the majority of its victims. As a result of the war between 1996 and 2006, there are more than 1 million Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) near the border of Thailand. In Thailand borders where there are 10 refugee camps, there are more than 150,000 refugees according to Human Rights Watch and in eastern Burma, actual 503,000 people in IDP camp in survived sites but the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) led by the military did not allow humanitarian organizations or UN agencies to support the refugees. The State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) soldiers have violated the human rights of civilians such as confiscation of minority lands, torture, extortion, human minesweeping, executions, and abuses include extra-judicial and finally, the civilians relocated to Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camp because of the paramilitary.

Furthermore, Several reports of sexual violence have been received by the special rapports in 2006 ethnic minority women have been committed and more than 30 rape cases of Chin women were reported. Moreover, the military has also documented impacts such as abuse in Kayin State (Ekeh, & Smith, 2007). Currently, there is an ongoing conflict amid the government of Myanmar and the five insurgent groups such as the Arakan Army (AA), the Kachin Independence Army (KIA), the Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army (MNDAA), Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) and the Ta'ang National Liberation Army (TNLA) (Clapp, 2015).

In addition, the government was violating human rights for decades including denying educational access, primary healthcare, freedom of movement, religion, and even limiting rights to get married. There are many communities at risk and severely affected by conflict and violation especially in the Kokang Self-Administered Zone and in Shan State northern parts. Moreover, in Rakhine state, severely affected by threat of forced displacement to Rohingya Muslims and other states as well such as Kachin, Chin, and Kayin States. There were minority women who were sexually assaulted by military and others governments department such as police and Border Guard Police (BGP) especially targeted the ethnic, religious, and political affiliation (Strachan, 2017).

There are some ethnicities such as Mon, Karen other ethnic nationalities did not involve in the constituent assembly elections with the Communist Party of Burma because the new government (Prime Minister U Nu) ignored federalism independence. This is the reason that the ethnics were taking up arms against the new government. The Karenni people became the most destitute people in Myanmar since the agreement of ceasefires in 1994 and 1995 because the military excluded Karenni people from any types of benefit and development projects. Moreover, there were extreme human rights violations by the military such as land confiscation, forced labor, torture, sexual violence, and arbitrary executions. Therefore, Kayan State has been facing severe malnutrition, poor health, lack of education opportunities, and economic activities although it is the smallest state and mostly closed to foreigners (Ekeh, & Smith, 2007).

According to Will Kymlicka, democracy have to have four points such as (1) minority identities might be recognised publicly and affirmed; (2) For the right of minority the state should reassure legal protection that should be applied individually and in community with other members of the group; (3) The power should devolve to the regions and localities where minorities are living; wherever possible and (4) every effort should be made by political institutions to assure dynamic participation of minorities and encouraging bargain and accommodation between group (Preece, 2008). In Myanmar, there are 135 officially ethnic groups who have been recognized citizens of Myanmar and they have fully facilities such as freedom of movement, education access and rights for votes. In contrast, the Rohingya have no fundamental human's rights so that the international community recognized them as the most persecuted people around the world.

In the western state of Rakhine (Arakan), the predominant issue is the human rights problem which is the fundamental rights of thousands of Rohingya people in Myanmar. The state counselor, Aung San Suu Kyi, and the present government did not approve them as citizens of Myanmar. Consequently, the Rohingya are not getting basic rights and protection from the government of Myanmar for many decades (Wang, 2016). The situation of Rohingya is under dire conditions because the government was committing severe human rights violations against them for many decades such as education, land confiscations, arbitrary taxes, tighter controls of local economies, forced labor on Rohingya villagers and children, and they need a permit to get married with a restriction like not to take more than two children also the immigration charged money 70.000 to

90.000 (MMK) Myanmar Kyat (Ekeh, & Smith, 2007).

According to Mahmood, Myanmar has failed many times to address the persecution of Rohingya despite there was a call by the United Nations (UN) resolution to end the crisis in December 2014. There were many discussions regarding Rohingya's ongoing crisis and the treatment of them by the Myanmar government. With regard to international law, it is very important for the newly elected Parliament members to find a lasting solution for the Rohingya. The Rohingya population does not receive proper medical care in hospitals and is not allowed to go to hospitals due to religious discrimination. There is no human security to take care of the Rohingya population when they need help. The UN's visit in July 2014, to the Rakhine state, found that the situation for the Rohingya people is a very terrible condition because they are experiencing severe legal restrictions such as, they are banned from traveling from one village to another even restricted working outside without permission of authority. They also need to inform again to the government when back; once they arrive at their destination. The United Nations (UN) needs to prevent the violation of minorities that have been facing by the Myanmar government for years as the United Nations (UN) considers tackling this position (Mahmood et al, 2017).

Charney stressed that the Myanmar military launched a human rights violation campaign against the minority Rohingya in early 25 August 2017. Although the plan was to wipe out the entire Rohingya population, they could not wipe out them. However, the State Counselor, Aung San Suu Kyi, sided with the military and suppressed the minority Rohingya people. Despite, the Rohingyas are one of the indigenous people of Myanmar, but she failed many times to recognize the Rohingya as one of the ethnic groups of Myanmar. Last but not the least, the two journalists who had discovered a lot of pieces of evidence for the Myanmar military's brutal action which is a crime against humanity on Rohingya even at that time she has defended the military, very recently in 2019 The International Court of Justice. It is said that these are the reason that she is disqualified to be on the list of the human right defender (Charney, 2021). The Myanmar government did the last ethnic cleansing of the minority Rohingya Muslims. Despite they were suffering ethnic cleansing, the state counselor easily denied it (Strachan, 2017).

As a result of the crisis, hundreds of thousands of Rohingya fled to Bangladesh after military operations broadly translated as ethnic cleansing, the world was recognizing them as persecuting people around the world. Therefore, more than 1.2 million people became a refugee in the neighboring country Bangladesh. Now it is the uncertain Rohingya issue became a colossal worldwide risk in 2017 (Leider, 2018). According to Haar, this attack including beatings, summary executions, burning of farms and homes, sexual violence, shootings, burying the dead in mass graves as well other types of severely atrocities but the government of Myanmar has denied any responsibility (Haar et al, 2019).

To sum up, Myanmar is confronting full of crisis and difficulties with the transition of democracy because of military totalitarian and the minorities people are facing the human rights violations especially the Rohingya. Military is ignoring the election results and persecution of religious including perpetuated ethnic cleansing, human rights violations, and people have been used for forced labor, including capturing children, and children were forcing to become soldiers. There are a lot of major challenges to transit democracy such as the political structures and controversial between the civilian and military. There were a mass protests to step down General Ne Win from the position of his leadership. Eventually, the military was stepping onward negotiations for a ceasefire with the ethnic rebel groups. However, the uprising has brought to the leader of the National League for Democracy, Aung San Suu Kyi as a new political force to fight in the favour of democracy. Even though, she won in the election but the military ignore the result. In addition, the government was oppressing human rights violations against the Rohingya for several decades including keeps denying educational access, primary healthcare, freedom of movement, religion, and even though denying citizen of Myanmar.

1.11. Expected Outcomes

This research assumes that since Burma's independence from the British colonial rule in 1948 from the beginning rule of the military coup in 1962, Rohingya people and others minorities faced different types of human rights violations such as political, health, sexual, social, and religious. In this research, there are no limitations. Moreover, the Myanmar military approaches national policy to Rohingya Muslims seized belongings and human rights then forced a bulk of them to Bangladesh as refugees. Furthermore, the other minority people are living as Internally Displaced Person (IDP) inside of Myanmar due to conflict. Since then the Rohingya and other minorities are living in a critical situation up to now in Myanmar and the military coup again the civilian power on 1st of February, 2021.

In this sense, Myanmar is going to backlash instead of forwarding democracy and the people are facing continue violations in their own country. The researchers would know more about this regard of Myanmar political situation and the other international community across the world. I hope that they can utilize the experience of Myanmar's national military policy in order to avoid violation and crisis.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Theories of Democracy and Democratic Transition

2.1. Democracy

Nowadays, democracy is practiced in almost all countries, but the people of Myanmar have been fighting for true democracy for many decades. The term polyarchy is the main concept of Dahl which is related to capitalism, Socialism, and democracy all these are less criticizing rather than democratic reform of Schumpeter. Schumpeter thoroughly changed the definition of democracy by substituting a definition for the courts. Problems are solved by electing individuals to fulfill other aspirations by deciding what the people decide for themselves by understanding the common good. It realizes the common good by having people come together to make decisions through the election of individual who must gather to fulfill the desires of other. In addition, Individuals gain the right and power to decide by competing for the people's vote. That is in Dahl's view, democracy has become a simple polyarchy; As a political force, it has undermined its role model and transformed it into one of the worst traditional political beliefs. On the surface, Dahl's approach is significantly more sophisticated and defensive.

According to Dahl, democracy is essential for the people's sovereignty and political equality. He argues that political equality and popular sovereignty should be largely expanded to the extent necessary by reducing political equality and popular sovereignty to the conditions necessary. This is in the context of a polyarchal democracy in which the ruling government or a civil society usually has the attribute of elite competition for other neglected mass support in free elections. And, in this way, the low-level situation to be resolved does not necessarily prevent the definition of democracy as a political norm in its strongest sense.

According to Dahl, elections are two ways of social control to separate political competition between individuals and parties and to separate polyarchal democracy from authoritarianism. Expanding theories of democracy does not lead to the demand for majority rule, but it does promote the sovereignty and political equality that leaders must prioritize. It is here. We can see the key difference between polyarchal democracy and dictatorship. That is, there is no significant

discrimination between a majority government and a minority government between one minority and one government. Polyarchy is not a pure majority rule, nor is it a single minority. This is due to the openness of "minority rule"; It is a competitive and integrated system (Krouse, 1982).

According to Robert A. Dahl stated eight norms which are all over the world nowadays such as (1) vote for rights, (2) rights for election (3) political leaders have to rights to stand for votes, (4) the election should be free and fair, (5) freedom of creating party, (6) freedom to choice of word, (7) available sources of media, (8) making public dogma based on the vote. According to Lincoln's stated that "the democratic government is by the people, of the people, and for the people." For example, by the people mean that general suffrage, acceptable for the public office, and free as well as fair election (Lijphart, 2012).

In the late 1960 democratic theory was initiated by Dahl and has been continuing until his recent work and then he has divided in various important respects with less than the fully democratic emphasis of the theory of earlier polyarchy. Polyarchy (what we call democracy) this response is guaranteed rather than constant negotiation and non- negotiating among non- union minorities. The Polyarchy theory of Dahl was persistently criticized as an elite democratic theory.

Dahl was calling polyarchy instead of calling democracy straightforward because it is already different from Aristotle's politeia-the best available alternative. A true important choice, he has implied between polyarchal democracy and dictatorship, between pluralistic forms of elite rule and monolithic and then between minorities rule and minority. A third possible alternative is existing polyarchy democratization has presented of the available alternatives indirectly ruled out as a feasible or desirable alternative. According to Dahl argues that supporting polyarchy norms are robust among in society for the minority people of political activists based on empirical data. For the people who are ignorant and inactive just, they are the feeblest majority in society. In exercise, polyarchy is a satisfactory efficient device and it is reasonably stable. Finally, the empirical polyarchy theory of Dahl has become his democratic normative theory (Krouse,1982).

Karl Marx claimed that unexpectedly marched towards a more progressive socio-political organization or others proponent of classical modernization theory who has seen liberal democracy

is as a predictable finishing political development. Therefore, Fukuyama and Huntington have brought many pathways that political institutionalization might go to a fault. Their concentration is always to divide both political development' and 'political decay'. After writing more than forty years later, genuinely Fukuyama has drawn many empirical cases to gain additional and further distinction insights to the processes of leading for both of the cases. Consequently, he has elucidated not one but many dimensions of pathways leading to the modernization of political structures. Furthermore, he contributed significantly to our political institutionalization for understanding by distinguishing three core realms of institutions of political that each with its developmental logic: the rule of law of the state, and democratically accountable mechanisms.

However, the whole paradigm of modernization Fukuyama is the treatment that the subjects have to do with the missing link for social identity. Modernization is a very important part of social content. That is why, China has been experiencing a wrenching transformation and it is calling 'compressed modernization' that it brought extraordinary social re-stratification and mobility in the society (Alpermann, 2016). In the Arab regimes, the national modernization project is the most important element for the security of hegemony during the independence period. In civil society, national modernization was representing that is the main objective until the late 1980. Thus, the objective of democratization has gradually been replaced. For most civil-society, the transition to democracy means the beginning of political reforms that are truly a substitute for political participation and political competition. Since the 1970s, though a system of multiparty and the elected national assemble were existed, in the issue of Syria, Iraq, and Egypt but there are some of the countries such as Algeria, and Tunisia have not led the alternation of power like multiparty system since 1980s.

The increasing support among civil society groups in favor of individual rights and freedoms is an important step in the war against the authoritarian regime. The consideration of individual's rights and freedoms brought into question the notion of national unity, which is a major element form in the modernization of national consensus underpinning authoritarianism. The war against authoritarianism is a counter-hegemonic project (liberal) that embodies not only the institutional and legal framework of democracy but also other concepts that help to maintain authoritarianism as a system. It is the heart of a national modernization agenda that supports authoritarianism and a

unique ideology that pervades many civil society organizations (Pratt, 2007).

In some countries where there are free elections, civilian power, without the dominant power to the public there is democracy. According to some explanations of Collier, where there are free elections, there is democratization and the elected government has to be running with the rule of law by the strong support of the public as the public voted. If a social relationship is smooth then it is democracy. In some countries democracy is recognized if there is social equality then the people have the same opportunity and equal rights (Collier, 1997). For example, in North America, the first constitution that approved a representative government did not mean democracy at that time. In 1777 the term representative democracy appeared according to Alexander Hamilton's letter and in 1785 Noah Webster printed through the practice of representation and meaning were argued. James Madison in November 1787 argues against pure democracy and creating a 'republican' that the most representative government acts as a cure for the factional and oppressive evils of pure democracy (Rohrschneider & Thomassen, 2020).

In this way, collective action within liberal democracies has become a powerful force for class empowerment, especially under pressure from particular capitalist interests. But in this light, it is very clear and easy to understand for the cooperation within liberal democracy is instability. This is because the union leaders are not able to promote the interests of their members by accepting the one-sidedness that is involved in their decisions. Therefore, the liberal democracy is a powerful democracy within the democracies (Panitch, 1977). There is another democracy which is called direct democracy it is also known as pure democracy it comes from the citizen through democratic verdict in contrast to not direct democracy regard on monarchical people which could occur to the democratic assembly as well as election through direct voting. In a direct democracy, there is no mediator in the middle of citizens and government. Consequently, which is not factual as multi-dimensions of problems (Ronchi, 2019).

Especially, as we may know nowadays's democracy was not recognized till the period of persuading in the 17th to 18th centuries, during the period of United States Declaration of Independence which has been penned according to the United States Constitution. It was mentioned that about power separating, offering fundamental civil

rights, freedom of religion as well as churches and states separation. There are multi-dimensions of democracy such as democracy of parliamentary, the democracy of Jeffersonian in America, democracy of constitutional, and social democracy and so on. Therefore, in parliamentary democracy system has coalition parties who are the greatest representative to enact laws that are established the democracy. In this democratic system, the leader of the party gets the position of the prime minister who would lead the country. In the social democracy, there are care of the child, care of the older person, health care management, and the bonus of workers, and so on. It appeared recently during 19 century through the education of universal (www.livescience.com). During 1830 democracy reclaimed to change in the field of political life which make democracy and related word that can be used by people. People have had arrogant for calling democracy such as they are motivated to recognized how to offer their goals to continue to call democratic (Kurunmäki, et all, 2018).

Many Burman leaders in the democratic opposition are unaware of Burmans' privileged status in Myanmar unfortunately. This is most likely because they believe they have also been subjected to repression by the military administration. Furthermore, particularly in the period leading up to the 2010 elections, targeted government repression of non-Burman political activists. Arbitrary arrests, detention, unfair trials rape, extrajudicial killings, forced labor, harassment, discrimination, and violations of freedom of expression. The chance of possibility to select mechanisms operates to endorse the Burman struggle's legitimacy for democracy at the international arena, which valorizes non-violent campaigns (Walton, 2013)

Despite the existence of a civilian-led constitutional order, most people in Myanmar regard the army as the state's most important pillar or instrument, and the army's alleged ethnic bias in favor of the Bama majority has been the main source of complaint about leaders and supporters of ethnically-designated armed groups, as well as advocates of Myanmar's hard federalism. Except for a small minority in the Shan State that arose around the time the "traditional" Sawbwa (rulers) gave up their "feudal privileges," ethnically-fueled insurrection was restricted to the Mon and Kayin in the main until the elected government of U Nu proclaimed Buddhism the state religion in 1961. As a result, many Chin, Kachin, and perhaps Kayin officers were compelled to remain outside the military's senior echelons. Even though this policy was supposedly repealed in 2011

with the accession of Senior General Min Aung Hlaing as commander-in-chief, its legacy continues. This is tacitly acknowledged in the partial National Ceasefire Agreement signed in October 2015 by the army leadership, among others (Taylor, 2017).

The military junta is the main actor in contradiction to national political authority in Burma, in which they have ruled since 1988. It has been chaired since 1992 by Senior General Than Shwe, currently called the State Peace and Development Council. After the 1988 Crisis, State-Society Relations. The Rangoon-based state has faced a series of armed adversaries who have sought to change the character of state-society relations in the nation from the months running up to Burma's 1948 independence (Callahan, 2007).

Joseph indicates that in “ethnic cleansing”, the military junta is engaged which amounts to “genocide under international law”. Joseph mentioned in his his speeches in the congress, “if the US Government and the international community fail to act, we will all be responsible for the successful ethnic cleansing and genocide campaign carried on by the vicious military of State Peace and Development Council (SPDC). According to Human Rights Watch, Chin people face harsh forced labor, ruthless sexual abuse, resource exploitation, military attacks on unarmed civilians, destruction of homes and places of worship, arbitrary arrests, detention, torture, imprisonment, execution, religious repression, crop and livestock confiscation, and other restrictions on fundamental freedom (Mang, 2011).

Population is estimated that about 40 percent of Myanmar's population is made up of minorities people. Each has different intentions or purposes and some are using armed insurgency groups to resolve disagreements with the central government as the minorities were demanding their autonomy from the central government but the government did not agree. For the reason of freedom and to achieve own autonomous the ethnic insurgents' groups such as Rakhine, Northern Shan, Karen, and Kachin are severely fighting against the Burmese Army especially in 2016 the conflicts increased extremely happened between the military and ethnic rebels (Dussich, 2018). In Myanmar, the Burman ethnic group is the majority ethnicity of the country, in which almost two-thirds of the population and other major ethnic groups are Shan, Karen, Rakhine, Mon, Kachin, Chin, and Kayah. In order to protect their ethnic rights and equality, these ethnic groups have

insurgent groups. Shan State Army (SSA), Kachin Independent Organization (KIO), Arakan Liberation Party (ALP), Karen National Union (KNU), Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP), New Mon State Party (NMSP), and Chin Democracy Party (CDP) were powerful groups among other ethnic insurgent groups (Zaw, 2018).

Today under the military authoritarian the Rohingya are facing oppression because of the military. By every measure, the Rohingyas are one of the world's most vulnerable groups. According to the pro bloc, the Rohingyas arrived in Burma in the ninth century and have mingled with Bengalis, Persians, Moghuls, Turks, and Pathans over the centuries, in keeping with the traditionally diverse population of Arakan State. One of the most compelling reasons stated by Ne Win's administration in support of the exclusion is that the citizenship legislation acknowledges citizens individuals whose ancestors had established in the nation before 1948 (Ahsan Ullah, 2016).

Conclusion, democracy is a good government system that builds desire rather than knowledge as a means of governing. It is a government ruled by pastry chefs and their fans, they take advantage of their success by designing their methods of action by the pleasures of sovereignty demonstration or citizenship. The Republic democracy is a good government in a dynamic between democrats and citizens, and on the other hand, the politicians or demagogues on the other. People can not say that democracy is never fair if it satisfies the aspirations of all citizens and ignores the pursuit of good people. This is in part because it is not clear that the dominance of knowledge is a viable alternative. After Aristophanes, Plato refers to the demonstrators' appetite; By comparing it to these animals, it means that he has less appetite. Plato condemned democracy and was concerned about food, drink, and sex. From this point of view, democracy can be simply condemned because it empowers the wrong people who are looking for the wrong product. Plato stated that the character of democracy became relatively clear. The goal of the character of democracy is liberty or the power or energy to do what he wanted.

2.2. Democratic Transitions

Horowitz charged that transitions to democracy are not a well-documented process but rather a series of suggestions on how governance systems may be transformed into a democracy. It has been found that ways of transition are not uniform. Carothers says that elections are necessary to a system of democratic governance. In Burma, the transition negotiations are very interesting to the democratic transition debate. Here the military has a veto on the constitution, and democracy cannot be achieved without changing this constitution. To achieve this change, concessions must almost certainly be given to the military, and as a result of that democracy cannot be completed. In Diamonds, opinion there must be people in the countries elite interested in seeing democratic governance and a 'coherent state' in order to achieve a successful transition, but he continues to state, that despite these conditions not being fulfilled, there may still be possibilities for democracy.

Fukuyama talks about elite-driven transitions where there has been a history and knowledge about democratic governance, versus transitions driven by popular mobilization as seen during the Arab spring where more similarities are seen with the way European democracy happened starting with the French revolution when the public had enough. According to popular mobilizations in the Arab Spring, there was the political mobilization of the important social group this is the reason there is democracy. Fukuyama also states that democracy relies on several institutions that must work together to create a successful governance system. Even governments democratically elected can implement undemocratic systems. He concludes that the focus should be on the institutionalization of democracy and not on the ending of autocracy. If we see the transitions of Hungary there had varying successful elections from the 1990s to 2000s but the government has been dismantling many elements in the Hungarian democracy (Diamond, 2014).

Diouf (1998) claimed that in the transition of democratization should have a multiparty political system operation and have to establish constitutional rule based on the formal level. The transition can be expected to be part of a socio-political transformation that allows for freely elected rulers and the majority of civilians to rule by the military or civilian tribal leaders. Where the military could not have a strong chance to administrate like an authoritarian regime and it is enhancing the democratic political culture that is the value of democracy. Therefore, citizenship must be effective and it should be an effective choice.

The concept of democratic transition denotes that a road from a non-democratic state to a democratic circumstance. In the perspective of democratic transition, which is a core reason that can be acted for a long time as the organization of a democratic norm, anyway described will comprise the actual moving only if it happens accurately lasting aspect of diplomatic existence. In the Africa continent countries in 1998, multi-dimensions of argumentation on the actual condition of diplomatic free up as veritable democratic transition. People do deem that diplomatic free up is a part of the progress of democratization despite the fact the progress own self could endure changing. The more thoughtful modification can be anticipated to include socio diplomatic shifting which permits gratis elected administrators as well as the mass of national dwellers to command their chief over verdict dictatorship of the military (Ibrahim, 2003).

According to Murtin, the democratic transition is a more democratic political administration where is involving autonomous political shifting movement with a democratic landscape. Moreover, democratic transition coincides it is a social-economic tendency, mainly the population analysis transition as well as the progress of engineering and streamline that it is connected. From 1870 to 1920 enlarge in democratization until Second World War. After Second World War the term democracy was being the most popular and aware of democracy around the world. Consequently, in 1930 the contribution of democratization had been broadened by the world because some part of the countries the civilians were feeling discrimination in their own countries with democracy as there were not a fully democratic country. From 1870 to 1910 only four to seven percent of democracy coverage in the landscape of rights like equality (Murtin et al, 2014).

The global communities have full responsibility to change the climate of employment such as job availability, wages status all over the world especially in the least Developed Countries (LDCs). The core reason is an economical global village that changing with dynamically labor market there are both employing and security of job as well prize structure through progressing to workers. In many corners of the world increasing discrimination is crucial according to Zhang. More advanced countries were deeply thought about the result of global environmental discrimination.

According to the researcher report in China mostly discrimination founded during the trade. As a consequence of increasing ease up of the production that the core reason is globalization. While

the developing gap is enough huge that will probably be transferring the growth to some adverse result on the economic hosting when simultaneously running knowledge (Ghosh et al, 2006). I added this paragraph here regarding discrimination because in Myanmar people are facing a sort of discrimination because of the undemocratic country so that democratic transition is very much important for the people of the country to have a better life without facing any discrimination.

In short, the democratic transition is a more democratic political administration where is involving autonomous political shifting movement with a democratic landscape. The democratic transition should have a multiparty political system operation and have to establish constitutional rule and the transition can be expected to be part of a socio-political transformation that allows for freely elected rulers and the majority of civilians to rule by the military or civilian tribal leaders. Transitions to democracy are not a well-documented process but rather a series of suggestions on how governance systems may be transformed into a democracy. It has been found that ways of transition are not uniform. Carothers says that elections are necessary to a system of democratic governance. In Myanmar, the democratic transition is a very uncertain democratic transition. The military of Myanmar has a veto on the constitution, and democracy cannot be achieved without change this constitution, to achieve this change, concessions must almost certainly be given to the military, and as a result of that, the democracy cannot be completed.

2.3. Democratic Transitions with Development

Democracy transition is a great notion for the civilian as well for the government including for establishing a development country with multi dimensions such as conflict to peace, from the dictatorship to democracy and so on. For instance, in Cambodia has been supported by NGOs, global community, with multi dimensions to become peaceful country, democratization, marketable economic, and it is empower of national society. The Cambodia is a conflict country but now it become the kingdom of Cambodia as democratic transition by the enhancement of United Nation and global support that it had developed with economically, politically, national

society, and democratic landscape and so on (Curtis, 1998). With the regards of growing democratisation over the two centuries were analyzed which is considerable raising in the democratisation of the global world earlier 30 years it has really acquired the conception of societal scientists, policy creators. The democratisation has been influenced by two core points.

In this light, there are two points; the first one is the internal affection of the countries as well as might be accredited socio-economic development. The second reason is a democracy, which dominates not only the employees but also the central states of the country. As a consequence of democratization is proving that world surveys are the initial to awareness democratic enlargement (Wejnert, 2005). For example, in 1999 Nigeria became a democratic country and every four years it adopted a long-term system of governance that ensured the transition to population leadership according to the rule of law of democracy. The elections are being the central activities in the part of democratic transition procedures. Electoral campaigns often attract more than 99 % of armed dissent and violent crime, but holding elections peacefully is tantamount to a peaceful leadership transition in Nigeria (Ugwuoke et al, 2020).

2.4. Types of Democratization

The democratic transition theory will be remaining amid important agendas research in the comparative politics field in the future due to there will be a new perspective to research such kind of field (Harb, 2020). There are three parts to democratization such optimistic, pessimistic, and conditional. In the aid optimist path, there are differences between oil and non-tax revenues. Even though, non-tax revenues being negatively affected by democratization, aid agencies should have specific objectives that reduce the amount of aid rather than they receive from rents from resources. Pessimists pointed that foreign aid could harm democracy as the government reduces its accountability to its citizens. But foreign aid has reduced the reliance on taxation of government and replaced it with a more transparent flow of resources. Aid-related conditions could lead the government to better governance.

However, it could liberate the responsibilities of the government to its citizens and replace them with the responsibility of donors for public accountability. So that, assistance aimed at improving government accountability and strengthening democratic institutions, has had a positive effect (Birchler et al, 2016). The expansion of civil liberties and the transition to democracy meant is that changing in government under the dictatorship (Pevehouse,2005). Democracy is referring to the liberal political democratization of advanced entrepreneurial economies however the others are considering only the "people's democracies" of communist authority to be accurately democratic. According to W. B. Gallie stated that democracy is a kind of the best example of an "essentially contested" concept: is being one of the concepts that are the key of endless argumentation that, "whereas not resolvable issue. conceptualization is being essential to prevent misunderstanding. Democracy is one of the most problematic confrontations with studying democratization is reaching an agreement on what is democracy (Coppedge, 2012).

Democratic transition a wide range of dynamics changes are covered. Most of the scholars of democracy and liberalization is being separate from the term of democratization (Pevehouse,2005). Nowadays liberal democracy has been serving sort of institution in detail for the supporters of Liberal Internationalism. This model is based on the legitimacy of the people's government, together with the institutions of the modern state, the legitimate monarchy of the people its territories. In the democratic regimes the theory of democracy might be telling us regarding individual democratic elements and in how far, whether democratic characteristics are defining or non-defining however democratic theories would not tell us anything regarding how such elements are changing in a given social, political, economic or and historical context. Therefore, democratic promoters will leave with a hugely serious problem.

First of all, little has been known approximately the important individual relative elements of democratization for the progression of transition democracy. Secondly, everything that goes together in democratization is not part of the pro-democracy agenda. Thirdly, we could not know exactly the ways where the elements were interrelated but something that will essentially have been known if the tasks have systematically democracy, then kept it (Jung,2006).

2.5. Lack of Democracy

Legislators in democracies and non-democracies need to contest their constituencies on the other hand at the request of their party and the governor. But in non-democratic countries, the behavior of legislators is significantly and more restrictive (Gandhi, Noble & Svulik, 2020). There are four dissimilar kinds of non-democratic administration such as post-totalitarian, totalitarian, and authoritarian, and so on and it has been recognized of its grade and also considered with ideology, pluralism, leadership, and mobilization because every kind of regime has a varying mix-actors and various relationships amid them, some transition ways were available into sort of regime but not for all (Coppedge, 2012).

So that, in authoritarian regain the legislators may have some opportunities to represent for citizens, however, they needed to avoid such political sensitive problems. Generally, the executive party used parliamentarians to organize constituents, make sure compliance, and eliminate information more than serves as a bottom-up channel for representation (Gandhi, Noble & Svulik, 2020). There are many countries across the globe where is ongoing widespread corruption due to the lack of a democratic regime even though now into some democratic countries. Before the early modern period, there is no broadly accepted and concept of the political practice of political corruption. Now the corruption is becoming least widespread because of defining political corruption. Nowadays many countries are becoming democratic countries where is no more corruption. Differences between the concepts of corruption are related to the specific interpretation of the collective action of these key proposals by the rules and regulations. Especially, in any country where is corruption, there are problems such as Myanmar, Bangladesh, and India (Warren, 2004).

2.1.1. Challenges for Democracy

2.1.2. Democracy from a Different Perspective

Different people have a different perspectives on democracy. Democracy can be measurable and is measured, in numerous dissimilar methods but is still ongoing controversial. According to Coppedge, there are hundreds of ways of democracy but all of the definitions are fixed into one of six overlapping models: participatory, socioeconomic, people's, representative, deliberative and liberal democracy. Participatory democratization profound that the citizen values involvement where it goes through merely balloting in general elections. Such kind of participation that citizens and society themselves the most beneficial for the reference, local hearings, primaries, and civil society organizations as well it is enhancing socioeconomic. Socio-economic democratization profound that the wealth equalization and income are requiring for political equality and as an end itself so that socio-economic democracy is crucial to enhance for the development of business. But the form of people's democracy cited by the communist governments rejects an important political power such as the emergency of the western-style election.

Deliberative democracy is seeking to develop not only re-presentation but also participation, by encouraging well-informed and coherent discussion of what is in the public interests. Such kind of deliberative democracy has been experimental and participatory democracy is practicing only to a limited extent except in some places and socioeconomically equality has been recognized as related to democracy in few cultures however not in others. Therefore, Liberal democracy means that it has limitations on the power of the majority where are guarantees regard certain fundamental rights of individuals and govern that legislature and the judiciary are limited by constitutional scrutiny (Coppedge, 2012).

In political science, the term "Democratization" is a core theme since the second half of 1970. Many decades regarding democratization appeared to a huge number of books, reports, at different levels such as practical and theoretical, qualitative and quantitative (Harb, 2020). Though, democracy was established such as the United States of America, frequently making the democratic promotion which is a predominantly foreign policy to consider significant for the reasons of domestic legitimacy. Therefore, reinforcement democracy in foreign countries seems

to be successful to promote national pride and self -confident and the legitimacy of the domestic democracy order at home (Pevehouse,2005).

2.1.3. Democratic transition in Myanmar

Since 1970, the transition to democracy under authoritarian rule has been a major focus of interest in educational sectors such as writers and different scholarly. The transition to democracy can be seen as a being political process to expand or expand the possibilities for democratic participation and freedom. Such kinds of progress are reflecting the distribution of power again between the civilian government and the state government. It was accompanied by the appearance of various powers in centers and the outline of the political debate (Harb, 2020). Different Non-governmental Organizations (NGO) or other institutions are transmitting technical information regarding democratic norms. Such efforts leading to a move towards liberalization or enhancing democracy under a new civil society.

Democratic transitions should be feared by the military due to they are identifying their interests of institutional, civilian power especially would become subordination. If fear of military interests being political liberalization threatened, they will be standing in the path of Liberalization for their interest. Organizations are worthless if they have driven by powerful members of local organizations to bring about democratic transition and sustainability. A better focus will depend on the policies of the major democracies and their influences on their liberation and the survival of democracy forever. Therefore, for the democracy to succeed, official recognition does not have to be uniform at first but if there is no commitment to democracy. This trouble is being felt by disloyal opposition groups during the transition period, Citizens may not trust the new unelected government (Pevehouse, 2005).

Changing from military rule to civilian regime is good and notable such in some countries in Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay there was normal democratic political procedure regarding an

improvement in itself but in Myanmar, it is a critical situation. Moreover, establishing such positive potential social and economic initiating is more far-reaching. Thus, governments created by authoritarianism and repression are often unstable, often launching new political conflicts to clearly define the emergency of new democratic conflicts to get a better and sustainable solution so that the people are preferring democratic transition. In the seventies and eighties, new democracies that in many totalitarian countries have replaced around the world have grown from infancy and social scientists have shifted their focus from authoritarian analysis to democratic regime for the peace of people. Moreover, democratic transitions are a long-term of their notion according to political institutions to achieve democratic benefits (Motseki, 2020).

In conclusion, the democratic transition under authoritarian rule has been a major focus of interest in educational sectors such as writers and different scholarly. The transition to democracy can be seen as a being political process to expand or expand the possibilities for democratic participation and freedom. Such kinds of progress are reflecting the distribution of power again between the civilian government and the state government. It was accompanied by the appearance of various power in centers and the outline of the political debate. Different Non-governmental Organizations or other organizations are transmitting technical information and regarding democratic norms. Such a level can be leading to a move onwards liberalization or enhancing to become under a new democracy within civil society. However, it is very difficult to transit democracy from military to civilian government because the military wants to keep the power forever so that they did a military coup on first February 2021.

2.1. 4. Challenges for Democracy.

Promoting today's democracy is seemingly be contributing towards democratization. For a more inclusive foreign policy and theories of democratization need to be thoroughly reconsidered. This is not easy that reviewing democracy promotion concepts is more difficult than changing policy priorities. The rudimentary democratic transition aid schemes were built over the last ten years the regime of authoritarian structures is broke up.

The process of democratic transition is aiding sequences to develop to have been contributing and channeling power (Jung, 2006). It is difficult to promote democracy inside the country, for example, the European Union policy towards Ukraine and the Eastern neighbouring countries to promote democratic countries but the EU needed a long time barely succeed it. Focus on democratic promotion with the support of civil society in Central and Eastern where are more highlighting an interesting controversy. Civil society has been able to effectively mobilize democratic and governmental reforms but its structure remains weak (Samokhvalov & Strelkov 2020).

Even though supporting democracy is not being easy many people around the world are hoping it may be a possibility. The conceptions of supporting democracy are under being increased pressure. In 1990 support for democracy emerged as a sector. This was done in a situation where western liberal democracy felt won. Discussions about the success of emerging economies in the form of democracies and Western liberal democracies today and the crises in some Western democracies raise the question of whether there is a place for democracy in the 21st century. Supporting democracy has been more diverse as well as very challenging for thinking in the word of confronting that is making support to democratization hard however not impossible. Supporters of democracy focused their concentration on political and socio-economical situations that were normally favorable to democratization. Supporters of democracy have to be facing various risk and their work would have negative consequences and unintended. So that, democracy supporters can not easily establish countries but they can support simply democracy barely where are various dimensions of facing challenges because of supporting democracy (Dodsworth & Cheeseman, 2018).

CHAPTER THREE

3. Human Rights and Theories of Democracy

3.1. HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY

Human rights are a series of ideas that providing vocabulary to which interests should prevail and how best to achieve the finishes we have chosen. It is not solving problems between competing interests and various visions. When we deem that there were human rights to privacy, life, equality, free speech, food, health, and housing then cannot ending the process of adjusting current arrangements to achieve full respect for human rights but it is easy to calling world based on respect for human rights. Human Rights are dignity for us to live and we are far from achieving it. The people can stand up for avoiding injustice and showing solidarity to in fact of oppression though human rights cannot be simply implementing a set of obligations fixed. The concept of human rights is that we treat everyone with respect for their innate dignity and human values on the other hand the governmental institutions need to prevent the interests of terrorists, criminals and to better secure of population from undesirable elements. Human rights protection is anti-majoritarian; it might serve to people protection from “tyranny” of the majority (Clapham, 2015).

According to the research of Mesquita, Downs, Smith, and Sherif shows that indeed democracy is important to reduce the risk of human rights abuses. According to their analysis, the main findings are a political system with multiple party participation is the most important secondly that a partial democracy does not provide much protection of human rights, thirdly that political accountability is needed (De Mesquita et al, 2005). Tomas Cushman explains how genocide and civil war is a highly visible violation of human rights and describes how they are witnessed with the aid of media exposure. However, this has not diminished the severity or frequency of genocide. However, the concept of genocide and hereby severe violations of human rights may be contested by labeling genocide as the civil war. This was seen in Bosnia where Milosevich called the genocide of the Bosnian Muslims civil war (Cushman, 2000).

The United States uses human rights language as part of President Catar's call for a new foreign policy to address the crisis of confidence in American society and the government base on the role

of the future United States across the world. Business, social and cultural rights, building on the convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination including against women and the convention on the Rights of the Child and the 1989 convention on the Rights of the child which came into force in the mid-1970 for an international convention on civil rights and political (Hopgood, 2013). Human rights can contain influence economic, social freedoms and significant. The failure to implement any human rights that can be enhanced through institutional or political change does not translate this claim into a human rights violation. Despite recognitions of human rights has ethical implications but they do not have to show them the full details (Sen, 2004). There have many human rights that could be seen as opportunities for special abilities.

However, adequate analysis of important process freedoms within the framework of human rights enforcement is difficult to adequate under the framework. Moreover, human rights and capabilities must base on the public process with reasonable reason. Human rights have seen the best rights in certain freedoms and that the related responsibilities must also be considered to be related to the ability to protect and extend this freedom to others. For human rights, the core of freedom may be brought out by considering and the others issue as well can consider. Freedom of immigrants can be considered to achieve their living standard, ancestral customs, and culture (Sen, 2005). Human rights are the core roots to exercise of legitimate government and it is preventing an infringement on sovereignty as a result of changing revolutionary within four decades. Hundreds of millions of dollars are raised annually to promote human rights and human rights are now part of humanitarian intervention. In particular, the ICC's laws and institutions have introduced a new perspective to give full punishment against culprits of committing mass human rights abuses. Even though, in Western states has always been standing against human rights. That there are some areas such as Uganda, Sri Lanka, Russia was facing challenges to exercise human rights in the whole of human rights law (Hopgood, 2013).

According to democratic theories, each member of the political community is considered to have sufficient fundamental reasoning ability to determine the conduct of government. In such kinds of judgments have meaning that democratization citizens are expecting to have free in various important respects that they have to be free based on as delivering the speech, conscience, and assembly (Terchek, 2001). Nowadays democratic theories are enhancing to improve the

democratic problem in the response of whether practicing democracy or weakness of its there are strongly supporting to become concrete democracy. Formal democracy has provided a strong theoretical critique to focus on the theory and practice of democracy and to focus on it as the basic mechanism of legitimacy (Smith, 2009). Democracy is a controversial concept that some people incorporate into rival theories such as freedom or justice. Specifically, any political society with free elections is a democracy like in this definition, and other democracies considered democracies to be rated based on how well they could meet the preconditions for democracy to succeed (Cunningham, 2002). Democratic innovation aims to transcend our usual organizational interactions beyond competitive elections and consultations.

In this light, current democracies are primarily motivated to maintain and grow existing institutions by increasing and managing systematic participation. Those contemporary publics have expressed decreasing confidentiality into different parties, parliaments, and democratic politicians, these attitudes do not go beyond the democratic principles and goals of these governments. However, most people are still fully trusting of democratic norms. As satisfaction with the truth of democratic politics diminishes these attitudes become stronger. Citizens have the right to influence decisions through binding votes as direct legislation can lead to democracy because citizens can effectively control political decision-making (Smith, 2009).

Therefore, the military (Tatmadaw) did extreme human rights violations against Rohingya known as the stateless Muslim minority in northern Rakhine state especially in Maungdaw district. In northern Rakhine state has no value for the minority people especially for the Rohingya, the Myanmar government was human rights-violating for many decades. The recent report indicated that many Rohingya villagers have produced grave abuses by security forces during the operation period there are many Rohingya have been killed, raping and other sexual violence, torture and ill-treatment, arbitrary arrests, and set up arson to Rohingya villages. The security forces (Tamataw) burned and destroyed more than 430 buildings in three villages in the Maungdaw district (Dussich, 2018). According to the British census in 1931 there are 135 linguistic sub-groups from 13 ethnic families had been identified. The SLORC-SPDC referred to this 135 figure but the leaders of minorities demonstrate that there are 52 million inhabitants in the country so a new analysis has belonged to these 52 million people. There are many populations out of administrative boundaries

in many areas as well as some ethnic groups known as Wa and Naga, were not identified to the map of politics. Furthermore, language discrimination alone has the little credible basis for ethnic or cultural norms (Smith, 2002).

3.2. DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Representing the democratic aspirations of the people and focusing on reforms that move beyond the traditional forms of democracy. The democratic process would be improved by many representative electoral systems and robustness parties as well fair election but such kinds of reforms are not find out expectations like the process of democracy will have expanded to provide unusual opportunities for the input of citizen and control. The participation of the main function in the participatory theory of democracy is educative which is the very broadest sense involving the aspect of psychology and democratic practicing skills and processes (Smith, 2009).

For the being a peaceful transition democracy such kind of government assuring that the form a set of official to another that is why democracy was proud over the many centuries. Moreover, democrats also see the power of the people flowing from the support of the people as a model that reflects the people's priorities. Some democracies in practice fear that conventional forms of participation will elevate politics which may move away from the everyday worries of ordinary citizens who find it difficult to register their opinions. Despite, all democratic theories share the views of government by independent and equal citizens governed that are involving in their regime but in such autonomy and terms have different meanings. However, the voice of democracy is

calling for a more practice government to identify the problem of the most defenseless citizens. In conclusion, there are still some people who are seeing obstacles to become fully a citizen of democracy which is not only for the nation but also for the society in the way that reducing the egalitarian principle for politics democracy (Terchek, 2001).

In late 1990s, Aguilar suggests that in Latin, American democratization was captivated to the ancient localized power structure. For human rights and democracy, it had been rather slower to survey from an alternative for the vulnerable (McGeoch, 2020). The main idea regarding human rights is that many people are observing there is no specific legislation by many as foundationally uncertain and lacking in cogency (Sen, 2004). Even though, movement of human rights success there is many potential such as political, and moral economic based on human rights which is inequality resources broadly entrenches (Hopgood, 2013). The people accepted the general concept of human rights but the proposed list of rights especially economic and social rights or social security benefits are excluded.

Often human rights are referred to as the right for the second generation such as common permission to get proper medical care and right to life as well they can get benefits of fully human rights in fact of that transferring human rights to the next generation is the most crucial. The human rights invoking is tending to have concerned with the world-changing than interpreting it. Many legislative procedures and formal agreements are inspired by a belief in human rights (Sen, 2004).

CHAPTER FOUR

4. DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN MYANMAR

4.1 DEMOCRACY IN MYANMAR

In 2009, during the president Obama period, the US administration was starting reviewing its sanctions policies on Myanmar. In Myanmar, the election had been held in October 2010 and in November Aung San Suu Kyi has released at the same year the military leader transferred power to the civilian elected government in March 2011. In the parliament, in April 2012 there is a victory of Aung San Suu Kyi election since then all of Myanmar's sanction policies were changed by the United States of America (Taguchi, 2021). When the new president Thein Sein was reforming a series of domestic politics in March 2011 after he became president the sanctions against Myanmar had been suspended by the European Union (EU) in April 2012 because president Thein Sein has enacted political reforms. The EU's gradual lifting of sanctions on Myanmar is the first suspension of the visa ban, suspending everything but not arms sales. Such a small number of victories has been recorded in the story of Myanmar like targeted sanctions and Myanmar awareness of emerges as a test case (Bünter & Portela 2012).

The ongoing regime transition of Myanmar has marked a significant turning point after the general election had been held on 8 November 2015 because the National League for Democracy (NLD) government influenced the polls under the leadership of Aung San Suu Kyi who was state counselor. The NLD has yet to embark on a genuine democratic transition, even though Myanmar has the potential for political liberalization even NLD has full power. The military is remaining under the actual constitution as a key factor of the government according to the constitution so that the sharing power arrangement between the military and NLD is inevitable (Huang, 2017).

In the Parliament of Myanmar, the military had got guarantees by the constitution and they influence the administration by automatically giving 25 percent of the legislature rights under the 2008 constitution the military has 25% percentages of parliamentary seats for them and the defense system under the control of military which is the highest authority in the country to defend national security. Even though the president may appoint the commander-in-chief for the defense service

but the president can not control the defense ministry (Lut, 2013). In the 50 years since the 2010 general election politics of Myanmar and legal institutions were rapidly changing in July parties competition. The leader of the National League for Democracy, Aung San Suu Kyi was released and allowed for competition in the elections as well the other political prisoners have been released between 2010 and 2011, the opposition party NLD get fully achievement with the support of the public in the 2012 election and then started the diplomatic bilateral relationship with the United States of America (Chua & Gilbert 2015). There is a controversial issue in Myanmar with ethnic statistics according to the 1974 Constitution there are divided two-part seven states and seven divisions such as in the seven states living seven ethnic minority states namely Chin, Kachin, Karen, Kayah, Mon, Rakhine, and Shan and again seven divisions where are mostly Burmas majority in these divisions (Smith, 2002).

Eventually, for the ethnic ceasefires and international involvement General Khin Nyunt was the most responsible person and who is recognized as the core modernizer and supporter for incremental reforms while the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, Senior General Maung Aye, is the tensest and strongminded that the military can solve the problems of the country on its own and no one can interfere amid them (Smith, 2002). Monitory democracy is called the most mutually beneficial complex and dynamic form of democracy long-term consequences and political parties parliaments, politicians as well governments where is a long time interactive (YIMER, 2020).

Democratic transition is not an easy way for the military of Myanmar. The country has to confront the violent military for many decades during the British colony. The state counselor, Aung San Suu Kyi was trying to consolidate democracy in Myanmar but she could not. Even though there is some progress with democratization but it is still far away from being a consolidated country (Pernu, 2016).

4.2. Power Transition and Policy Implementation

U Thein Sein who was ex-general military ruler became the first civilian president of Myanmar in 2011 after 50 years of the military junta and he has been leading to a semi-civilian government and served president position until 2016. Moreover, for many reforms, he was a responsible person and served for five years in his position. He has promised in order to support the new national leader from civilian but not to Aung San Suu Kyi after retirement he joined to Buddhist Monk and became Monk himself. In the elections of November 2015, the leader of NLD Aung San Suu Kyi has achieved almost 80 percent of the national votes while the Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP) led by President Thein Sein received only 8 percent from the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces Senior General Min Aung Hlaing.

Although, the defeat of the military-led USDP a flawed consultation formed before the last election allowed the military to nominate 25 percent of parliamentarians. As a result of 25 percent of the military nominated seats for the military that is why they won the parliament event though they did not get enough civilian votes in the election period (Dussich, 2018). Burma's post-2010 political transition is a testament to the experience of the British colony. It has been linked to internal conflicts since independence and more than 50 years of military dictatorship (Chua & Gilbert, 2015). Even those who take lightly the political transition in Burma will realize that one of the most difficult and persistent issues to continue to challenge the country's political transition is the need to resolve ethnic conflicts in states (Sadan, 2015).

4.3. The International Sanction on Myanmar

Since 1988 Myanmar has been facing a series of sanctions from the US. These sanctions including cuts to military sales, economic assistance, and supplies. Moreover, in 1988 economic aid and drug control programs were launched. In 1997 new investments were banned and then in 2003 imports such as jade and ruby to Myanmar were rejected and the US banking system was rejected for Myanmar (Wang, 2016). In particular, the western countries imposed economic sanctions against

Myanmar because the military-ruled regime was suppressing severely human rights violations which is a serious factor to has made the economy stay at a stagnant position. So that, in July 2003 and December 2007, respectively The United States and Canada have imposed the general import has banned from Myanmar. In February 2008, The European Union has also exercised import bans on specific products (Taguchi, 2021). There is a military coup in 1962 since then the power has been under the military directly or indirectly that is why the military junta ignored the result of the election in 1990 and they did not recognize its result even though the National League of Democracy (NLD) won in the election in support of civilian voters. Eventually, the EU and other countries such as the US, Canada, Norway, and Australia imposition of sanctions against Myanmar due to ignorance of election results from the military regime (Bünthe & Portela 2012).

Therefore, there is no other relation except sanctions in the past, thus the sanctions might be planned against Myanmar as a punishment to the military junta. In this light, there is no progress in democracy and no good policies chose rather than surrender. So that, the sanctions are a kind of pressure for the military. For example, keeping pressure, sanctions might be more productive mechanisms to giving better punishment. Therefore, raising pressure, sanctions are the easiest to take into better accountability to balance than other factors (Wang, 2016). In 2011, during the civilian government period, the economic sanctions were lifted by the EU countries and the sanctions have suspended by Canada in April 2012. In April 2013, especially, the European Union has lifted the import ban as well the United States had also eased the import ban in November 2012 and lifted it in September 2016. The sanctions had distorted the trade of Myanmar because of political issues involving economic sanctions (Taguchi, 2021). When diplomacy fails, military options are used, and when certain options for goods and services emerge trade financial relations intensify or a plan aimed at targeting the country's economy through restrictions on an all-out embargo.

To sum up, for many decades Myanmar has been banned as economic sanctions because of human rights issues during the military dictatorship regime. The military released couples of political prisoners when they were transferring power to the civilian government. For the reasons of prisoners were releasing and transferring power to the civilian, in the first half of 2012 the European Union and the United States first suspended and then in 2013 lifted most of the sanctions

which are good for Myanmar. In 2021 the sanctions had been lifted as a second-quarter in Myanmar. Against Myanmar, the sanctions are finally instructive in that they represent a case of lifted sanctions (Hinz, 2019).

4.4. Roadmap to Democracy of Military Junta

The Union of Burma inherited repressive laws in 1948 when it gained independence from Britain and hoped for a democratic democracy that protected fundamental freedoms under the Constitution. However, the former colony was concerned that during the first decade of immediate political independence, its normal [ethnic]- federal structure and a significant portion of its territory offered minority power to ethnic minorities within the armed forces offered a meaningful division of power (Chua & Gilbert, 2015).

A short period of independent democracy came to an end after the caretaker military coup in 1958 and a coup in 1962 to strengthen the military dictatorship. The junta later enacted the 1974 constitution and declared Burma a one-party socialist state. Moreover, they announced that totalitarian state structure under the control of military regime (Chua & Gilbert, 2015). From 1962 to 1988 was the military rule under General Ne Win which is the first military rule of Myanmar. He had succeeded in his way for example suppression of communists, eliminating foreign aggressors from the state, and separatists (Dussich, 2018). In many respects, since 1988 the transitional process had been starting the main challenging and control by the military government because the military (Tatmadaw) government called SPDC dominated every transitional process (Smith, 2002).

This critical period at the side of the military enhance opportunities for those who are mostly participants the military dictatorship at that time core element is the transitional scheme. There is a new endeavor to change the way from long-time military rule while shifting the scheme of Myanmar is usually informed via dictatorial experience (Farrelly, 2015). Again the military rule from 1992 to 2011 under General Than Shwe is the second rule of military rule in Myanmar. He

has succeeded in easing some of the government's control over the economy and has made significant contributions to reducing corruption (Dussich, 2018).

The 1994 ceasefire between the KIA and government forces has provided many opportunities between the Burmese military and non-state armed groups and it was also good for the public. At this time, the geopolitical situation in the changing region has now helped the Burmese junta to relocate itself to these developments (Sadan, 2015). After the 2008 constitution many drafted the military and then agree referendum as well 25 percent of parliamentary seats were reserved by the military (Jones, 2014). By the endeavor of government transitional in 2011 to 2015 to progress evolve to the political scheme, economy and high range of social circumstances have certified which crawling amendment became the novel custom to a post-authoritarian road map where negotiation had been solid to discover (Farrelly, 2015).

4. 5. Challenges of Myanmar Through Democracy

Under the 2008 constitution, the first nationwide elections were the beginning of the transition to civilian rule and many predictions took place against the 2010 reforms under President Thein Sein's government. In many respect, there are many things to reform in the political transition of Myanmar legal reforms to the early stage. Strictly constrained constitution and military rule with the oppressive rulers from the existence of the colonial era the establishment of legislation and policy directives continued on civil-political rights (Chua & Gilbert, 2015). After a long period of political reform since independence from Britain in 1948 Burma has struggled with armed ethnic conflict and political instability.

The military coup in 1962 was a one-party state that represented the military under the ideology of socialist rule for more than 60 years. Meanwhile, the Burmese military has massacred Rohingya Muslims and many human rights abuses were committed including rape and torture. In particular, the military deported the Rohingya people in 1977 and 1992 and it was widely seen as a chronic refugee crisis in neighboring country Bangladesh (Abdelkader, 2013). The whole system seems to

be based on both the cognitive and the moral practice of conative humiliation and it is of particular interest to those concerned about the role of humility in democratization. Recognize who likes the different issues of visas a representative will be indispensable for the democratization of a system function that has been exercised by the individual strengths of a belief as an agent (Neblo & Israelson, 2020).

4. 2.1. The Human Rights violations

4.2.1.1 Explanation of Violence on Minority Groups

The Geneva Convention (IV) articles guaranteed respecting people and families, religious practices, humane treatment, and protection from all features of violence or threats, including sexual violence against women, forced prostitution, and other forms of indecent assault (IV, 27, 29, UN Guiding Principles: 10, and 11). The last of the Cold war produced a proliferation of a new type of internal conflict which prompted internal displacement inside the nations impacted in the early 1990s. These new conflicts are defined by religious conflict, identity conflict, or ethnic conflict, and the result in a significant increase in internally displaced people who require safety and security but they did not cross national borders.

The concept of protection is a complete respect for a person's rights by relevant organizations' international human rights, humanitarian laws, and refugee law (Lut, 2013). The statelessness of Rohingya exacerbates their precarious situation. Statelessness is a violation of human rights, according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Article 15 states, among other things, that (1) everyone has the right to a nationality, and (2) no one shall be arbitrarily denied his or her right to change nationality. These requirements are violated by the Citizenship Law of 1982. Therefore, against this humanitarian backdrop, the Rohingya Muslims faced significant human

rights problems, including denial of citizenship rights, limitations on religious freedom, forced relocation, and the use of deadly force (Abdelkader, 2013).

Burma has been under civil war since 1948 because of the lack of ethnic rights and in the ethnic borderlands mainly facing struggle because the ethnic people are standing for their ethnic rights for decades. So that, the State has never been fully administered those regions where are conflict zooms. In the country, the civil wars have been ongoing for more than 70 years because of many divides, and the military is not providing human rights such as ethnic rights; race, color, languages, and religion (Smith, 2015).

Human rights are defined as "those rights to which all human beings are entitled because of their humanity, rather than their social position or particular talent." Material integrity and political function freedom; solidarity, including environmental and developmental rights; and linguistic and religious rights of minorities to use without persecution from the majority group are the three areas of human rights. The severe persecution of the Rohingya ethnic minority in Myanmar has now been brought to the attention of the world community. They are mainly a stateless Muslim minority from Rakhine state, which has been subjected to serious and recurrent human rights abuses in recent decades. The causes of information bias differ depending on the writers' organizational affiliation, political orientations, country, religion, culture, and language, as they have in the study of the most serious ethnic conflicts (Dussich, 2018).

Human rights are defined that according to Nussbaum "rights are often spoken of as entitlements that belong to all human beings simply because they are human that deserve protection regardless of where people are situated" (Nussbaum, 1997).

In Shan State alone, combat between the Shan State Army-South and the Burmese military, extortion, and property seizure resulted in 135,000 IDPs between 2008 and 2009. More than 500 homes were burned down as a consequence of forced removal, and SPDC evacuated 30 communities in August 2009. Looting houses and property, beating, rape, torture, burning homes or whole villages, extrajudicial killing, and laying landmines in civilian communities are all examples of civilian harassment. In ethnic areas, these tactics have already established one of the strongest features of the Burmese army. Between April and May 2005, about 150 homes near the

Thanissarim division were set ablaze on suspicion of supporting the rebels. Villagers are compelled to participate in military training, community activists are arrested, and sexual assaults against women are widespread.

The continuing civil war-restricted political climate, and sensitivity of the topics have resulted in a civil war in Burma. It has changed the nature of the conflict from disagreements over the Karen state's boundaries and power-sharing status, as well as Karen-Burman communal violence, to one marked by severe human rights violations by Burma's national army and various Karen armed groups against Karen villagers living in Karen National Union (KNU) -controlled areas. Moreover, Mon human rights organizations recorded a rape of a 19-year-old Mon girl by SPDC commander and his troops. Burmese troops burned down around 45 makeshift IDPs shelters in northern Shan state on November 28, 2012, due to the heavy fighting (Thawngmung, 2011).

The term "minority identity" is a contentious topic. In general, minority identification refers to any shared or comparable characteristics of a 'minority group' that distinguish them from others. Physical and cultural are including in characteristics that lead to the formation of a "shared" sense of identity and collective burdens are examples of these characteristics. 'A minority is a group of individuals who are separated from the rest of their community due to physical or cultural traits. Because the word "minority" is a "loaded phrase" with a culturally specific meaning, the structure of "minority identity formation" varies from society to society and is influenced by key factors such as race, ethnicity, location, religion, or class. National (religious) minorities are often given particular autonomy, while transnational (religious) minorities do not get such privileges until they have established significant communities. Their (both national and international) demands are generally for equal treatment, cultural acknowledgment, and citizenship (Alam, 2018).

Millions of people have been displaced in Myanmar as a result of nearly six decades of military conflict, widespread abuses, societal disputes, and natural catastrophes. Due to central Burmese military insurgencies with ethnic armed groups during the last 60 years, the number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Kachin, Rakhine (Arakan), and Shan states, as well as along the Thai Myanmar border, has risen. Due to violent conflicts, thousands of internally and externally displaced persons (IDPs) have been forced to move into Myanmar's south-eastern, western, and northern regions. The most recent confrontations, according to the UN Special Rapporteur, took

place in Sittwe (the state capital) in 2001. Women have been disproportionately affected by conflict and the humanitarian situation in Burma, but it is only in recent years that women's rights have received greater expert attention and concern. Women are generally considered as having equal standing with males, and Aung San Suu Kyi's leadership role in the democratic struggle has given the country's women a global reputation (Smith, 2002).

The Junta acquired a reputation for human rights abuses, some of which were carried out under harsh laws like the Emergency Provisions Act and the State Protection Law, both of which were used to imprison Aung San Suu Kyi. Meanwhile, the 1988 uprising's urban participants went underground or joined the rural insurgency. SOGI minority suffer a variety of prejudices in modern Burmese culture, including restricted economic opportunities. Through their dominance of the beauty and spirit-mediumship professions, "Opens" have carved out a social and economic niche for themselves, and a select few have amassed significant celebrities (Chua & Gilbert 2015).

In conclusion, according to the article of the Geneva Convention has guaranteed that respecting to the people and families, religious practices, humane treatment, and protection from all features of violence or threats, including sexual violence against women, forced prostitution, and other forms of indecent assault. The conflicts are defined by religious conflict, identity conflict, or ethnic conflict, and the result in a significant increase in internally displaced people who require safety and security but they did not cross-national borders. Moreover, villagers are compelled to participate in military training, community activists are arrested, and sexual assaults against women are widespread. The Burmese Army violated human rights against the minority people for decades.

4.2.1.2. Conflict in Kachin State

In Kachin state, ethnic Kachins from six main sub-groups make up the bulk of the population, with another 100,000 Kachins living in northern Shan state. The Kachin area is rich in economic potential, with forests, jade, gold, and other natural resources, but it has suffered tremendously from almost three decades of war. The Kachin state has become one of the country's main conflict hotspots. Over 30,000 Kachin peasants were killed by government troops between 1961 and 1986, according to the KIO, and National Democratic Force (NDF) members, and by the early 1990s, almost 130,000 Kachins (over 10% of the population) had become internally displaced or refugees. After the involvement of local Christian leaders, the new democratic army, agreed to a truce with the SLORC in 1989, and a ceasefire was ultimately negotiated between the government and the KIO in 1994 (Smith, 2002).

Therefore, General Ne Win's seizure of power in 1962, the Kachin Independence Army was formed in 1961 and went into an armed confrontation with the central military government (Sadan, 2015). Armed conflict has been a topic of discussion for a long time. It comes in a variety of shapes and sizes. There was an anti-colonial struggle in the post-World War II period. It was a struggle for self-determination, with ethnonational groups demanding legitimacy for cultural traditions, territorial autonomy, and ethnic rights in many colonial nations. Thousands of IDPs have been forced to disperse in Eastern Myanmar as a result of the armed conflict between the Burmese military and ethnic armed groups. More than 3,500 villages and hiding camps have been demolished and the people forcefully moved in Myanmar's eastern region since 1999 (Lut, 2013).

Although there were occasional efforts to negotiate ceasefires throughout the next several decades, the conflict went mostly unabated until 1994, when an agreement to keep weapons but abstain from bloodshed was reached. This truce, which had been in existence for seventeen years, broke in June 2011, and the war has remained stubbornly resistant to resolution since then. The United Nationalities Federal Council (UNFC) and the Working Group on Ethnic Coordination (WGEC) tried to focus on the higher political goals sought by these long-term resistance movements: the need for substantive political dialogue and constitutional changes to ensure democratic governance, as well as respect for claims for greater autonomy and higher values (Sadan, 2015).

4.2.1.3. Rohingya Crisis in Rakhine (Arakan) State.

The historical development of Arakan comprises a long period and closely with an Indian territory during 785 to 957. At that time many Arab traders began to settle both Arakan and Chittagong of Bangladesh with the mixed local population such as Sanskrit, Arabic, Pali, Persi, Portuguese, live together eventually (Bahar, 2010). Arakan (Rakhine State) was governed by the Rohingya Muslims with the name of “Peace Committee” until the second world war. After the War, both Rakhine and the members of the Thakin party did massacred against on the Rohingya community. Both Muslims and Buddhist communities’ conflict against each other due to Myanmar has been encouraged to the Buddhist community to make crisis (Schissler, Walton & Thi, 2017). On the other hand, different kinds of violent functions and murder rape, torture against the Rohingya. At that time, 22,000 Rohingya people are told to migrate to Bangladesh but finally, 40,000 people crossed to Bangladesh to escape the violence committed by Japan and Burmese (Smith, 2002).

Rakhine Magh political leaders kept silent by putting no demand forward for Arakan during the Round Table Conference in London in 1932 while they put lobby pressure upon the British in order to get independence. At that time the leaders of Buddhist Maghs were trying to provoke between Arakanese Rakhine and Rohingya Muslims to wipe out Arakanese Muslims to put Arakan region under the Burmese (Schissler, Walton & Thi, 2017). More than 25,000 Rohingya people were killed by Rakhine and nationalists, and Karenni due to riots massively between Buddhists and Muslims in the Arakan state during 28th March 1942 (Rahman, 2015). At the same time, more than 80.000 Rohingya people had fled to neighboring country Bangladesh to stay under the protection. The Rohingya villages around 294 were inclusively cleared out by the Rakhine leaders and 500.000 people had to migrate to other country (Schissler, Walton & Thi, 2017). Nationality politics in Rakhine state, previously Arakan, are the most significant communal flashpoint in the country. There are around (4) millions Muslims, mostly on the border of Bangladesh areas, where they are known as Rohingya (Smith, 2002).

According to the 1982 citizenship law convention, the Rohingya Muslims could not become voters nor citizens of Myanmar. They have been recognized in 2012 as they are Bangladeshi Muslims. The humanitarian rights of Rohingya people were deprived of social authority (Rahman, 2015). The Rohingya are not listed on the ethnicity list, and as a result, they are denied citizenship rights

due to their "non-indigenous heritage," as defined by the Burmese government (Abdelkader, 2013). Their numbers, origins, and ethnicity have caused their 'nationality status to be challenged under Citizenship Law, as it is for many Muslims in Burma. In general, the term "Muslim" is used to refer to a cultural rather than an ethnic identity (Smith, 2002). The Rohingya are mostly stateless in their own country and have been subjected to a slew of human rights violations, including forced labor, citizenship removal, community depopulation, severe abuse of children, elders, and women (including the use of rape as a weapon), restriction of freedom of movement, and confiscation and destruction of property such as schools, homes, and including religious buildings (Dussich, 2018).

In 2012, a huge conflict was ongoing between the Rakhine and the Rohingya ethnic-minority. The Rakhine group killed Rohingya Muslims, raped women thousands of houses were destroyed and more than 650 people have been killed, 1200 were missing as well as not less than 80,000 Rohingya have been displaced. The Myanmar government frequently mass arresting only Rohingya as their target is ending to the Rohingya Muslims (Rahman, 2015). Therefore, the government did a false accusation on Rohingya people such a Buddhist woman was raped by three Rohingya Muslims on May 28, 2012 in Yanbye Township of Arakan state of Myanmar. As a result of it, a bus of Muslims coming pilgrims has been surrounded by hundreds of Buddhists in Taungup Township of Rakhine state and proceeded to beat the men to death. Finally, the government killed (77) Rohingya people and 109 injured and burning such as 4822 houses, 17 mosques, and 3 schools (Simbulan,2013).

The last 3rd of June, 2012 more than 200.000 people had to leave their own homes also, 5000 Rohingya people were killed as well as 160.000 had to escape to Thailand and other nearest countries due to Myanmar government used to the conspiracy theory that three Muslims raped a Buddhist woman and killed her which was confirmed that it was not true for that reason the government did men made disaster. More than 700 Rohingya people were killed by the brutal Myanmar military and the extremist Rakhine community at the same time at least 1350 Rohingya people were missing the last 30th of July, 2012 (Rahman, 2015).” Consequently, 120,000 people were displaced to the Refugee camp and hundreds of Muslims were mass arrested. Several months later, In Mrauk–U Township, another 70 people were killed included children and the Buddhist Rakhine attacked Rohingya villages on 12 October 2012 (Simbulan,2013). Moreover, the

humanitarian aid for the Rohingya had been blocked by the monk organization as a vital role.

Rohingya people in Myanmar have been targeted to end up them by doing human rights abuses, including state-sponsored ethnic cleansing. They have been gradually ostracized from the nation-building process, harassed, and subjected to blatant state-sponsored atrocities as an ethnic minority. The situation has deteriorated to the point where the Rohingya have been subjected to alleged state-sponsored ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity (Alam, 2018). The Rohingya's statelessness allows a slew of additional human rights abuses, including a lack of identifying documents, access to education, work, and freedom of travel. Due to their lack of citizenship, members of the group have been subjected to arbitrary imprisonment, forced labor, discriminatory taxes, and property seizure. Officials who arbitrarily arrest, imprison, beat, hurt, and kill Rohingya Muslims in Burma may strengthen the case for those seeking a more violent reaction to government brutality (Abdelkader, 2013).

The Rohingya saga has been marred by complex ethnoreligious conflicts between Buddhist, Muslim, and Hindu factions, exacerbated by the sheer number of people involved, the speed with which events occurred, abject poverty, racial hatred, linguistic differences, muddled ancestral rights, severe humanitarian violations, and genocidal policies, all while being surrounded by nations struggling to cope with their own problems (Dussich, 2018). The security personnel then joined in the persecution of the Rohingya, murdering, beating, and detaining them. During the president, U Thein Sein period outlined that Rohingya have to stay inside of the refugee camp or they should be sent to third-country winch means that he started outbreaking violations against Rohingya Muslims minority people (Abdelkader, 2013).

The development of Burmese nationalism, which outlines the key ways in which the Rohingya were recognized as non-Burmese, is the result of the establishment and development of their identity as a non-Burman ethnic minority. Second, the Rohingya's challenged political status as a Muslim minority in Buddhist-majority Myanmar highlights the reasons why the Rohingya issue has lasted decades and is still unresolved. Third, the use of 'citizenship as an identity as a legal method of stripping citizenship from the Rohingya as a minority has resulted in their suffering and persecution (Alam, 2018). Myanmar's current divided leadership, which includes the military and

Aung San Suu Kyi, the country's democratically elected leader, has been heavily condemned for its ruthless ethnic cleansing.

Therefore, these grievous human rights violations that justify the use of the term genocide. Morethan, 600,000 Rohingya Muslims have fled from their homes to Bangladesh (mainly to Cox's Bazar in the country's south-eastern region) in the late 2017. Again morethan 300,000 Rohingya had fled to Bangladesh for their protection. Furthermore, numerous people flocked to the seas (Bay of Bengal), primarily in boats and makeshift rafts, in the hopes of finding shelter, particularly in Bangladesh. Moreover, numerous migrants crossed the oceans (Bay of Bengal), primarily in boats and makeshift rafts, in search of asylum, particularly in Malaysia, Thailand, and Indonesia. They have frequently turned away, with many of them dying as a result of it (Dussich, 2018). Now the Rohingya refuge has lost the hope to return Myanmar from Bangladesh because of military coup 2021 (Walton, 2013).

Indeed, the Rohingya “Peace Committee” governed the Arakan State, they have been massacred by the Thakin party and the Rakhine. The military deported more than 160.000 Rohingya people to Thailand and 5000 people were slaughtered as well 200.000 people had to leave from homes because of the conspiracy theory of the military. According to 1982 citizenship law, the Rohingya Muslims are not listed on the ethnicity list. Rohingya people in Myanmar have been targeted to end up them by doing human rights abuses, including state-sponsored ethnic cleansing. More than 600,000 Rohingya Muslims have fled from Rakhine state to Bangladesh because of 2017 crisis between Rohingya and BGP.

4.2.1.4. Sequelae of Sexual Violence and Psychological Conclusion

Human rights violations against Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity (SOGI) minority are common in Myanmar: Section 377 of the Penal Code, a British colonial legacy, continues to criminalize same-sex sexual relations; broad statutory powers enable a corrupt police force to harass them in their daily lives; and they lack legal redress for discrimination and abuse perpetrated by family members, employers, teachers, and others in their social circles. Patrilineal inheritance

regulations prevent male SOGI minorities from inheriting ancestral lands and force female SOGI minorities to marry in order to get access to land in ethnic minority Kachin communities (Chua & Gilbert, 2015).

Therefore, long-standing conflicts exist between Rakhine Buddhists and Rakhine Muslims (Rohingya) under the Myanmar government. Between June and October 2007, violence erupted between these two ethnic groups, culminating in the forced separation of these two ethnic minorities. Around 250 people were killed and 100,000 people were displaced. The villages of about 3,000 Kaman Muslims, who are officially acknowledged as part of the Muslim 'national race' (but not Rohingya), were burned down during the October riots, showing that the Rakhine Buddhist hostility was directed towards Muslims in general. Arbitrary Arrest and Torture; Extrajudicial Executions and Enforced Disappearances; Forced Labor and Related Abuses;

Indiscriminate Shelling of Civilian Areas; Denial of Free Movement, Village Clearance; and Restrictions are among the human rights violations committed by the Tatmadaw since mid-2016 by groups involved in the internal armed conflicts in only Kachin and the Shan States. While the atrocities of the Rohingya people are more severe than those of the aforementioned two governments, they certainly involve aspects of 'ethnic cleansing' with evidence of genocidal intent (Dussich, 2018). The United Nations has considered the Rohingya Muslims as one of the world's most persecuted minorities because the Myanmar military committed human rights abuses for example killing, raping, and torturing against the Rohingya (Abdelkader, 2013).

CHAPTER FIVE

5. CONCLUSION

5.1. Future Policy of Myanmar

State Counselor Aung San Suu Kyi, President Win Myint including several other leaders of the National League for Democracy (NLD) party have been detained by the military earlier in February 2021. This is all due to the controversial election result between the military and NLD government. After the military coup the commander-in-chief and declared a state of emergency for one year but no one knows how many years they will be continuing to keep power under the military regime. When the NLD ignored requesting of the military, they seized the power under the military for one year (Kipgen, 2021). This coup has overthrown the civilian government and has put a uncertainty on the future of human rights in the country, especially for the most persecuted Rohingya. The plight of the Rohingya may be even more precarious in this political turmoil. The military is the key factor of ethnic cleansing against the Rohingya and other minority including Rakhine in Myanmar (Davies, 2013).

The military coup delayed the repatriation process of the Bangladesh refugee camp and some Rohingya who are still inside of Rakhine state are feeling insecure and under dire situation as they can not move freely (Mostofa, 2021). As a consequence of the coup, delaying repatriation process of Rohingya refugees, increasing death protesters and violation, movement restriction and the international community not only pressured but also sanctioned Myanmar. The military disrupted phone and internet connections in the administrative capital Naypyitaw and the commercial capital Yangon, including the state television channel, went off the air. The military coup disrupts the country's democratization process and also violates the constitution (Kipgen, 2021). Many of them are now more fearful to return to their homeland, but some remain hopeful because the military coup in Myanmar has drawn condemnation from refugees' camps. The refugee is afraid of the repatriation process that process will be delayed even possible due to the military does not want to take back them (Mostofa, 2021).

According to Wai Wai Nu, Washington-based Rohingya activist, cooperation “doesn’t necessarily mean that the Rohingya are supporting Aung San Suu Kyi personally,” and also mentioned that in the right way that we are standing which is positive for the country but few experts uncertainty military coup will have a long-lasting impact on the unfair views and many of them in Myanmar have against the Rohingya people. Lily says that although she knew what happened to the Rohingya was a “grave violation of human rights” but she failed to stand up for them, despite her activism in other areas who is a 39-year-old transgender advocate from the Karen ethnic minority. However, Prof. Ian Holliday of the University of Hong Kong, an expert on Myanmar argued that the divisions between both Myanmar people and the Rohingya, in particular, go deep,” as well that the Rohingya are not seen as one of the parts of the nation. (Lily, 2021).

After the military coup, the crisis becomes extremely increasing and the future of Myanmar is in the dark as well as the people are dying in protests. The economy of Myanmar is going down day by day. However, Myanmar has enormous renewable energy resource which will be covering (50) percent from the forest and the four main larger rivers where has been flowing across the country according to geographic locations. Moreover, there will be a good economy regarding agriculture and the core renewable energy sources in Myanmar such as hydropower which is the main factor for electricity of Myanmar but in the rural areas, the biomass will provide the energy for both cooking and heating which will be the best resources to enhance Myanmar economic. (Tun, 2019).

Despite there are numerous discussions between the government and ethnic armed groups about peace and ceasefire, in the country most of the ethnic tribal leaders they themselves want ethnic armed groups it is because a ceasefire agreement has been made with the government in ethnic areas. They want to ensure a new political system in the region after disarmament and negotiate with the government to restructure their civilian administration (Nederland, 2010). Still Myanmar could not complete the peace process even it has started from 2011. However, 8 ethnic organizations signed to the NCA but there are still remaining many ethnic organizations. Indeed, the main key ethnic armed organizations involved and discussed regarding peace process (Johanson, 2017).

CONCLUSION

To sum up, the research investigates profoundly the democratic transition and the outcomes of the democratic progression and human rights violation in Myanmar. In the sense of human rights perspective instead of dictatorship in Myanmar as well as the public would get peace and tranquility due to the benefit of democracy and facilities to every field such as education sector, health sector, and free of corruption and so on. It will contribute by clarifying and adding values to the literature review to the science and politics in order to transit democracy as well as familiar with human rights. It helps also the policymakers to create a strong policy to bring changes towards the constructive way of good democracy and further researcher.

Democracy which is quite complicated and tough to change utterly in Myanmar is still compatible and chaotic. In this light, for the democracy that has to pass through formidable challenges and outcome is still quite uncertain. If the people want to make a fully democratic system in the legislation of Myanmar parliament, the authority would need great governance, as well as harmonization politic amid opposition. The government should remove negative response like the previous government. For a better democratic country, the country will need good governance and political reconciliation is also a very vital role in such a situation between the opposition groups and the government. For example, many years happened between the ethnic groups and the government ignoring their aspirations and capacity building between the remaining opposition groups and the government.

The ongoing regime transition of Myanmar has marked a significant turning point after the general election had been held in 2015 because the National League for democracy (NLD) government influenced the polls under the leadership of Aung San Suu Kyi. The National League for democracy failed to embark on a genuine democratic transition though NLD has full power because the military has highly potential. The military is remaining under the actual constitution as a key factor of the government according to the constitution so that the sharing power arrangement between the military and NLD is inevitable. The democratic leader Aung San Suu Kyi, on the side of the opposition has joined the political progress and has become the leader of the opposition in the army-influenced parliament. She has been facing dreadful confrontation that she has to reunite the extensive people expectation who is still considered her as a political activist

fighting for the solution and the imperatives of being a constructive politician who has no other option anymore other than a pragmatic act of restoring harmony.

In this respect, the country will better need political reconciliation to become a better democratic country. There are multi-dimensions of opportunities have been available for peace negotiations amid with the government and the other ethnic armed group. All these are only for the democratic transition of Myanmar. So that, the military junta should liberate the dominant power then the country would become a fully democratic country without any confronting as well the constitution will be amended and exclude the seat 25 percent from bicameral for the military. But the former president U Thein Sein did not succeed in the process of negotiation foundation for such kinds of political situation, the most core reason is that the entire responsibility of the government has handed over to the National League for democracy after that the leader of democracy known as the state counselor Aung San Suu Kyi was running the peace negotiation process. By analyzing the policies and implementation issues of the governments as to the peace process, this research found out the characteristics of Myanmar's ongoing peace negotiation process for a democratic transition.

The Geneva Convention has guaranteed respecting people and families, religious practices, humane treatment, and protection from all features of violence or threats, including sexual violence against women, forced prostitution, and other forms of indecent assault. The concept of protection is a complete respect for a person's rights by relevant organizations' international human rights, humanitarian laws, and refugee law. These new conflicts are defined by religious conflict, identity conflict, or ethnic conflict, and the result in a significant increase in internally displaced people who require safety and security in own country who become vulnerable due to abusing severely human rights violation.

Rohingya people in Myanmar have been targeted under several human rights violations including ethnic cleansing. The statelessness of Rohingya exacerbates their precarious situation. Statelessness is a violation of human rights, according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Article 15 states, among other things, that (1) everyone has the right to a nationality, and (2) no one shall be arbitrarily denied his or her right to change nationality. These requirements are violated by the Citizenship Law of 1982. According citizenship law, the Rohingya Muslims are

not listed on the ethnicity list, and as a result, they are denied full citizenship rights due to their "non-indigenous heritage," as defined by the Burmese government. They have been gradually ostracized from the nation-building process, harassed, and subjected to blatant state-sponsored atrocities as an ethnic minority. The situation has deteriorated to the point where the Rohingya have been subjected to alleged state-sponsored genocide, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity. The Rohingya are mostly stateless in their own country and have been subjected to a slew of human rights violations, including forced labor, citizenship removal, community depopulation, severe abuse of children, elders, and women including the use of rape as a weapon, restriction of freedom of movement, and confiscation and destruction of property such as schools, homes, villages, and religious buildings.

There is a military coup d'état again, and members of NLD have been arrested including the state counselor Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, and President Win Myint who are still under the detention. As a result of coup, Myanmar is going far away from democracy and erecting severely human rights violations. Especially, the military should liberate the power then the National League for democracy can continue forward to democracy.

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- (d) Weekly meeting with others responsible teachers
- (e) Monthly conferences with Board of trustee
- (f) Evaluating monthly examinations
- (g) Monthly and weekly reporting to the headmaster

II. Organisation Name: Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF- Holland)

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- (a) Registration patients (names, sex, age, village)
- (b) Reading prescriptions
- (c) providing medications and noting
- (d) Checking date of medications
- (e) Daily cleaning medications and cupboard

III. Organisation Name: Action Contre-la Faim - (ACF- France - NGO)

Position: Therapeutic Feeding Programme (TFP- Agent)
 Duration: 4 July, 2013 – 7 July, 2014

Responsibilities:

- (a) Registration malnutrition patients
- (b) Feeding Plumpy Nut (RUTF)
- (c) Measurement height and weight of children
- (d) Checking Oedema (edema)
- (e) Providing Health Education
- (f) Home Visit
- (g) Focus Group Discussion (FGD)
- (h) Writing weekly and monthly reports to team leader
- (i) Attending monthly training
- (j) Attending daily meeting before starting work

IV. Organisation Name: Action Contre-la Faim - (ACF- France-NGO)

Position: Psycho- Social Worker and Supervisor

Duration: 7 July 2014 – 31 December 2017

Responsibilities:

- (a) Counselling with the care taker or beneficiary
- (b) Making Play Sessions and decoration sessions
- (c) Measuring the stress, distress, and depression
- (d) Providing Mental Health Packages to recover from stress or depression
- (e) Providing Psycho-social Support
- (f) Home Visit
- (g) Making Women Care Session
- (h) Organizing Child Caring Sessions
- (i) Infant Massage and providing training
- (j) Conducting to health education session
- (k) Toys cleaning

V. Organisation Name: Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF- Holland)

Position: Supervisor

Duration: 5 September 2017 – 20 November 2018

Responsibilities:

- (a) Conducting Communication training to team leaders
- (b) Administrative Team Leader and making monthly schedule
- (c) Training to Team Leader and Surveilling Volunteer on different topics including SGBV women.
- (d) Staffs hiring for team and taking interview with an expert
- (e) Writing monthly reports to the Program Manager
- (f) Translating and interpreting to the team
- (g) Team visiting
- (h) Technical supporting to the team
- (i) Managing team
- (j) Supporting to the Traditional Birth Attending (TBA)

(13). Foreign Languages

Lang uages	Levels			
	Speaking	Listening	Reading	Writing
English	C1	C1	C1	C1
Burmese	C2	C2	C2	C2
Rakhine	C2	C2	C1	C1
Rohingya	C2	C2	No Litera ture	No Litera ture
Urdu	C1	C2	B2	B2
Turkish	B2	B1	B2	B1

(14). Communication skills

- ❖ Dynamic communication skill as I worked with various NGOs
- ❖ I have achieved more Communications training.

(15). Organisational/ managerial skills

- ❖ I have the extensive knowledge of management skill as I have achieved different types of training about management

(16). Job-related skills

- ❖ Dynamic communication skill
- ❖ Psycho-social supporting skill
- ❖ Counselling skill
- ❖ I can take the responsible to training about relaxation
- ❖ I can reduce the stress and depression by doing counselling as well as training to others
- ❖ Solving problem in the team
- ❖ Computer skills

(17). Publication

Shukkur, A. (2021). THE SOFT POWER OF BANGLADESH, PAKISTAN AND THE UNITED KINGDOM ON THE ROHINGYA PEOPLE. TURAN-SAM Uluslararası Bilimsel Hakemli Dergisi, September; Volume: 13/SUMMER, Issue: 51 DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.15189/1308-8041>