



African Journal of Social Sciences

Volume 5 Number 4 (2015) 56-64

ISSN 2045-8452 (Print) ISSN 2045-8460 (Online)

Publishers: Sacha & Diamond, England, United Kingdom

www.sachajournals.com

Cumulative Impact Factor: 45.07



MIGRANTS AND INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS (IDPs): THE THEORY OF CONSTANT VIOLENCE IN EUROPE AND NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

The study examined the implications of the wars in Syria and Nigeria generated by the terrorists groups ISIS and Boko Haram respectively. It posited that the integration of the Syrian migrants, many of whom are extremist, and many more who are ISIS combatants, would ignite constant violent conflict in Europe and America where they are settled. This is because they would first seek to enjoy the rights and privileges guaranteed by the values and the practices and the constitution of the new civilization. Out of this shall come, auspicious arena for attack to inflict maximum damages for maximum effect. By this time, it would have become too late to repatriate them. Similarly, the war on Boko Haram, has created enormous Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), which the Nigeria government is resettling in the Southern states. Many of these IDPs are surrendered Boko Haram fighters, who will continue to network with their members. When attention would have been turned away, they would then strike. Surprise attack is an old tactics of the Terrorists, just as the black Friday in Paris and the IDPs camp explosion in Kaduna and Maiduguri in Nigeria. The study applied Huntington's 'clash of civilizations' perspective as a framework of analysis and the conflict theory as a method of study, which relied on secondary data for its analysis. It recommended among others, a 'Guantanamo bay' like arena to house the migrants both in Europe and in Nigeria as a stop-gap against the spread of constant conflict.

Keywords: Boko Haram, ISIS, Guantanamo bay, Terrorism.

1. INTRODUCTION

The events of the recent past in France, Beirut (Middle East), Egypt and Nigeria are all related to the particular phenomenon of terrorism. The one in France almost decimated Francois Hollande. In Nigeria, in one of the internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) camp a bomb came alive even after screening the inmates before admitting them. The nature of these events seems to be the nature of the future that Europe and indeed Nigeria may have to live with. This thinking had prompted this study. As a political theorist, ruminating on the future impact of the dispersal of the IDPs in Nigeria, and the migration into Europe, these two incidences seem to have potential adverse effect on the safety of the populace of the receiving state, and the

world at large. The future effect of these migration and the spreading of the IDPs camps in Nigeria, posed a challenge hence this study.

It is instructive to note that intellectuals are defined by the work they do rather than by the titles they bear. Intellectuals are men and women who arise to assert that they can diagnose the ills of their society and cure them with their unaided intellect, that they can devise formulae to alter the structure of society as well as transform the fundamental habits of their citizens for the better...they are men and women who think for the rest of society. They are men and women of deep thinking and profound mind who invest their time and energy identifying and proffering solutions to the ills of their societies (Uya 2009). This is precisely what was intended in this study, to investigate why political violence would be endemic in receiving in Europe of the migrants and the internal dispersal of the IDPs in Nigeria, and examine how this constitute the theory for perpetual violence.

The study report is structured into section 1, which dealt with the introduction, which established the background to the study, the problem of the study, the framework of analysis, which is the 'clash of civilizations', the method of study of the problem and the paradigm of migration. Section II, discussed the nexus between Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)/Migrants and the principles of constant violence, it then treated, the migrants and Inquisition and concluded with actionable recommendations, geared towards minimising the imminent constant violence in Europe, America and Nigeria.

The background of the two issues 'Boko Haram in Nigeria' and 'Islamic State of Iraq and Syria's (ISIS)' threat in the Middle East with repercussions for Europe and America are the same. It all started with the quest for democracy in both cases. Democracy means the adoption of new values and civilization by the electorates, given the stagnation of the old order to deliver development. While the above laid the backdrop for the event in Tunisia, which ignited the 'Arab Spring', the Nigerian case had a different antecedent.

1.1 Nigeria and the Birth of Boko Haram

Nigeria, returned to civil rule in 1999 after a period of military rule. In order to pacify the Yoruba nation whose son late MKO Abiola had won the 1993 election but was refused from assuming office by the military junta. He was eventually murdered. A retired military officer, Olusegun Obasanjo (1999-2007) was given the opportunity to become the present to douse the tension which the murdering of Abiola had generated. Obasanjo nominated late President Yar Adua, who in turn picked, Goodluck Jonathan as the vice president. Jonathan was a strategic choice to assuage the festering crises in the South-South zone of Nigeria. This region produces crude oil, which sustains Nigeria economy without commensurate development to show for it. On the dead of Yar Adua, the northern power brokers resisted the constitutional transition of the vice president into the President. The doctrine of necessity was invoked by the parliament to enable him assume the role of the president. He was expected to have acquitted the presidency on the completion of the first term of the late president.

It is instructive to note as Professor Harold Lasswell (1936) opined that 'those that have tasted power, would not without some struggle relinquish it', so it was that Goodluck Jonathan sought and obtained the second term have expended a partial first term. This angered the northern elements who erroneously presumed that it is their birthright to rule Nigeria, instigated 'Boko Haram' to make the country ungovernable for Jonathan. They had resisted the rule of Obsanjo slightly when most states in the northern part of the country, introduced 'religion' in governance in a constitutionally a secular state. Shortly after Jonathan won the 2011 election against Buhari, elements of the northern feudal hegemony, promised to destabilise the country under Jonathan's watch. This marked the cradle of Boko Haram from where they were festering into a terrorist army with the support of politicians who used them to distract Jonathan from governance. This explained why no serious politicians of northern origin condemned the activities of the insurgent group. The group then saw Jonathan as an

infidel who should not rule over them. The then propagated its unique form of civilization, which in the main seek the establishment of a 'theocratic political power over Nigeria, irrespective of its multilingual and religious nature.

The carnage of Boko Haram, has produced considerable IDPs many of which are being settled in the other parts of the country. As at the time of this study, the Federal Government of Nigeria is said to be embarking on negotiation with the insurgent group. However, the military had been given December 2015 as a deadline to conclude the fight with Boko-Haram.

1.2 Tunisia and ISIS

It started with the 26 years old Mohammed Bouazizi of Tunisia ignited the democratic demands for a change of the old unproductive order which could not offer him employment. Mohammed was slapped by the state Police who wanted to confiscate his wooden cast with which he hawks vegetables. This was on the basis that he had no licence to do so. He set himself ablaze in front of the Government building having been humiliated by its agents. This led to public protests which ousted president Zine El-Ben Ali. The democratic revolution in Tunisia spread among North Africa, leading to war in Libya. Its contagious effect entered the Middle East and assumed factional war in Syria.

Before Syria, Iraq had become a cauldron for radicalized religion radicals, going back and forth, in search whom to devour. Syria became the action spot to act. Assad became enemy to the pro-democracy groups, who were now joined by religious fanatics. The radicals had a safe haven in Iraq with no central government wielding legitimacy across the ethnic and religious divides. Sectarian rule hold sway in Iraq. One of the groups fighting against Assad then sought the establishment of a Caliphate consisting of Iraq and Syria on the expulsion of Assad. They name themselves (ISIS) Islamic state of Iraq and Syria. All these groups use terror as their major tool. They receive tacit support from various theocratic states in the Middle East.

2. THE PROBLEMS AND COMPLEXITIES OF MIXED TERRORISM

The two case scenarios generated very high internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) from the North Eastern part of Nigeria who are being nursed in various refugee camps. Many of these camps have been earmarked for the Southern part of the country. In Edo State, there is one, Boko Haram combatants are being held in prison in the South East though in a federal prison. It is the projection of this study, that many more would be spread across the South-South, South East and the South Western part of Nigeria.

The problems in Nigeria are first is, the strategy of giving the military a dateline to conclude the war with Boko Haram is a defective strategic policy. This is because Boko Haram is an unconventional civilian combatant force, which does not have any insignia for easy identification for combat. One of its strategies would be certainly be, when the heat of the Nigerian army is greater on them, they would pretend to be IDPs who would be picked into camps and sustained by the state and CSOs. They would then be transported into refugees' camps to be spread all over particularly in the southern states. The government and public-spirited individuals and civil society groups (CSOs), would then supply al the necessity of life.

After people might have assume that the war had ended and Boko Haram would have been defeated and attention diverted away from them, they would continue with their networking and later strike. It should remember that surprise is an essential element of the terrorists. In this way, the casualty figure would have been high and the terrorist would have achieved considerable effect of spreading fear.

It is herein suggested that this act in any of the southern states where there is high potentiality of a IDPs camps being created, would generate retaliatory reactions against innocent citizens of northern origin. This would be letting loose bottled up anger by the southerners who have loss both property and dear ones in the Boko Haram episodes especially

in the early days of Boko Haram killings. This may lead to open war or 'hate' relationship, which is a prelude to perpetual violence in Nigeria.

The second aspect of the problem is in Europe and America, arising from the 'Arab Spring', which demanded a change in the operating civilization or values from the 'theocratic feudalism' to liberal democratic culture. This revolutionary pressure was halted in Syria with the resistant of Assad. This yielded several insurgency groups in support and against Assad. ISIS is just one of the several groups, a remnant of the Al Qaeda. The ISIS and their affiliate sees any nation contributing forces in Syria as their enemy hence the Beirut (Lebanon) bombing of settlement dominated by the Hezbollah (supporters of Assad) sympathisers. The bombing of the Russian Metro-Jet airliner (Russia is fighting on the side of Assad), and the November 13, 2015 attacked in Paris where the President escaped narrowly. It is anticipated that they would strike at other nations fighting in Syria, which is not on their side and do not share their civilization.

The attack of the ISIS in Paris and the imminent attack on other nations are but an attack at about half of the world communities, which share the values and civilization under attack. It is a declaration of war on the 'West and the rest of us'. What makes this a problem? It is because ISIS's type of civilization, which they want to establish, would not be a liberal social order, which would guarantee, freedom of worship, rule of law, social contract, the divorce of the state from the church etc. This translates to the 'clash of conservative feudal civilization against liberal civilization shared by more than half of the world's population'. One could safely refer to this, as Pope Francis did as 'a declaration of the third world war. Arising from the problem in focus, it was pertinent to consider the following questions;

- a) Is it not possible to invoke international law of war, and create a 'save-heaven' for the civilian population within their states?
- b) Could be that the 'violent non-state actors (terrorists) would not observe the norms of war thereby generate the need to migrate?
- c) Is it possible that the blockade of the Mediterranean Sea route would reduce the risk of violent in Europe?

These questions would guide the further analysis of this study.

3. FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS: CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS

The whole problem deposed to above, is viewed from the paradigm of advanced by Samuel Huntington (1996), that the main source of the conflict in contemporary world would neither be ideological nor economic but cultural in nature, centred in a 'clash of civilizations'. Civilization is a person's identity. Religion is the key defining feature. The end of cold war, depicted by 'Glasnot and Perestroika', the collapsed of the Berlin wall which were major 'fault lines' in global politics, the dividing lines then remain cultural and the circumference of religious circles.

The tendency for the clash is heighten with powerful nation's leading one end of civilization. Each of these nations vis-a-vis the smaller ones, world want to extend the frontiers of their civilization. This would bring them into conflict with the rest of the global communities, which cherished liberalism in the savouring of their civilization. These conflicts would have devastating results, Huntington observed. Indeed the devastating results are already obvious in Paris, as it was in America 9/11, Beirut (Lebanon) and London subway respectively.

Huntington hard argued that the West in the course of wanting to make the value universal (Christianity, the rule of law, pluralistic democracy, individualism and the separation of the church and the state), these would lead it in confrontation with other civilization whose values are antithetical to the western one. Huntington concluded that 'western intervention in the affairs of other civilizations is probably the single most dangerous source of instability and potential source of global conflict in a multi-civilizational world (Sodaro et al. 2008).

The question to ask is how does this explicate the current Boko Haram problem in Nigeria and the migrant situation in Europe, and how it constitute the logical order for perpetual conflict in the two locations. Nigeria in 1998 decided to share with the rest of the world the civilization of democracy. It then sought to adopt the values associated with the new civilization; rule of law, equality of person before the law, civil liberties and secularism. Some northern elements who could not have their way against the person of Goodluck Jonathan, nursed the Boko Haram cell to create crises of governance for the government. Given the global fertile milieu for terrorism, Boko Haram grew at a faster rate, and soon found friends and helps from Taliban, Al Qaeda and now ISIS.

The prospect of defeating the Boko Haram, led to a change in strategy, that of transforming into IDPs. The distribution of IDPs meant the distribution of potential conflicts in its cooling down period, after which it would ignite the same conflict either within the camp as it was in Kaduna or outside it, but with maximum impact. The Arab-Spring on the other hand meant demand for democracy or a new civilization to displace the earlier one, which was essentially feudalistic, given its inability to provide employment and civil liberties. The collapse and changes in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya and the earlier collapse of Iraq provided window of hope that a new civilization was imminent. When the revolution became halted in Syria, all those who had frowned at the earlier collapsed of their feudal civilization in Afghanistan, Libya and the overthrow of Mohammed Morsi in Egypt sought the creation of ISIS to recreate and sustain the fallen civilization. Their instrument of operation is Terrorism. Terrorism became exported to the home state of all those who have aided the collapsed of earlier feudal and non-secular civilization. Here lies the suitability of this orientation for the examination of this phenomenon. It is instructive guide this study by hypothesizing at this point that:

- (i) The more the migrant are taken in by EU, the higher the risk of potential clash of civilizations in their homeland;
- (ii) The more the fight is taken to the ISIS, the greater the number of ISISs who migrate to EU as civil populace;
- (iii) There is a correlation between the number of migrants received by each EU state and the opportunities for future violence escalation. These statements apply also to the dispersal of IDPs in Nigeria.

4. MATERIALS AND METHOD

Theories are sets of concepts and generalization and generalizations so arranged to explain and predict possible relationships among phenomena. They are formulations of principles of behaviour through which scientists try to increase their knowledge of human interaction. Without theories the accumulation of knowledge would be impossible, just as the formulation of theories would be impossible without concepts... social sciences have no laws because they deal with people rather than with inanimate objects, and people have intelligence and will that are not subject to unchangeable laws(Kundu 2009). Thus, in the context of this study, clash of civilization, where one value is substituted for another is germane in understanding the violence perpetrated by ISIS cells in Europe and would continue to do. Migrants have among them ISIS fighters who would perpetrate violence after a long while after they would have been re-settled in host EU states. The current situation where it has been averred, that one of the Paris attackers came as a migrant is a pointer of what is to come in EU on a recurrent basis.

Another logical order of the problem is that after a while, the migrant would demand for the exercise of rights, liberties and fraternity that are inherent in the civilization of the host EU states. The exercise of these rights, which the prevailing cultures cannot deny them, would result in the perpetual clashes with the authorities and violence may ensue. This is what makes

it, 'the theory of perpetual violence in Europe' on the one hand and in Nigeria on the other hand.

The study was investigated against the backdrop of 'the conflict theory' which far less harmony in human social groups as a result of material inequality, especially when the perception exist that one's disadvantaged position or inability to achieve expectations is caused by another person or group of persons. Social conflict theory, averred that individuals and groups (migrants) within the society have differing amount of material and non-material resources and that the more powerful groups use their power order to exploit groups with less power (Marx 1971). This would eventually conflict which may be violent in nature. It draws attention to power differentials. It harps on internal tension and inequality between the social groups (migrants) on the one- hand and the citizens Europeans on the other. This tension would blossom into open conflict, which might be violent. In another breadth, the pressure of covering the migrants with social security, which they neither contributed to, would place additional burden of the citizens and the state (conflict). This may lead to higher taxation of the citizens to provide for the social security cover for the migrants. At this point, the citizens may demand to know the rationale for additional taxation. The explication may bring the state into collision course with the citizenry. The government, which imposes additional tax on the people to meet this need, may be voted out at the next election irrespective of whether humanitarian grounds was the basis of the accommodation of the migrants.

The theory emphasis the role of coercion and power in producing social order. It is instructive to note that already the minority Muslim community in Paris is alleging marginalisation against the minority Muslim community and showed no remorse and empathy over the Paris bombing as displayed by *Asser Louati (2015)** of the French Muslim community. This is just the beginning of violence to happen.

5. MIGRATION: EXPLANATORY PARADIGM

Migration is as old as humanity right from human explosion in the state nature. Men then ended up in various states, which were created de facto or de jure and affirmed by the 1648 Westphalia treaty. Men then continued to migrate by various reasons, ranging from permanent to temporary settlement. The other reasons also defined the status of the migrants as either a refugee or illegal migrants. There are two major theories, which explain human migration; they are (i) the Push- Pull theory and (ii) the Ravenstein's law of migration (Wikipedia 2015). These theories distilled and present the following reasons for human migration:

- a) Globalisation enhance free movement of factors of production, to where they are in high demand.
- b) People become forced to move as a result conflict arising from bad politics, which culminates in the violation of their human rights, hence seek safe heavens. The problem of this study falls within the purview of this reason.
- c) There is also internal migration occasioned by drought or adverse weather conditions. There is also migration for socio-cultural prestige, prevalent among the North African countries.
- d) Asylum seekers.

These factors acting individually and in combination with others accounted for the waves of migrants from Africa and war torn Syria have made the refugees situation in Europe almost unbearable. Europe is the first choice destination for the millions who wish to make a better life away from the poorly managed economies of Africa and from the bombardment of war in Syria. While Syrians are running away from the war, Africans young are running away for economic reasons (Ajeluorou 2015). These have prompted the migration of the good, the

bad and the ugly with extreme ideologies, which formed the foundation of the future theory of perpetual conflict in Europe.

5.1 IDPs-Migrants and Constance Violence

The combination of the forces of 'Ravenstein law's of migration and the push-pull' factors generate movement of people away from their original abodes. The resettlement of the people within the same national border as in Nigeria, occasioned by the terrorism of Boko Haram, would constitute internal migration, known by the appellation, 'Internally Displaced Persons' (IDPs). However, when the movement is across national boundaries, they constitute migrants. The migrants are protected under the International Organization for Migration (IOM) law, which specify 'rights and responsibilities of state and the migrants.

The movement of migrants and IDPs has provided the terrorist opportunity to spread their activities across nations. This is worsened in Europe, which are borderless because of the EU pact. Similarly, the terrorist in Nigeria assumed IDPs status and are resettled in camps, after awhile, they commit violence with maximum impact. This is because surprise attack is a major component of the terrorist tactics. It is important to note that 'even if the current group of radicals is put under control, a new generation will take their place unless steps are taken to change the environment that encourages radicalism (Gabriel 2006).

5.2 The Migrants/IDPs and Inquisition

The Algerian-born French novelist, Albert Camus, once said that 'when politics meets religion, the outcome is the inquisition'. Inquisition, that is, religious fanaticism and violence unleashed by the coalition of the religious and secular groups on others who do not share their views. (Agi 1996). Fundamentalism is the believed in the extremism of certain cultures and civilization. If the migrants had over the years been socialized with extreme views of their civilization, and now they are being taken into Europe and America as migrants, then violence inquisition in these locations would just be a matter of time.

The other driver of theory of perpetual violence is the fact that wherever there have been a joint effort by a comity of nations to fight the scourge of violence, all partakers become target of attack. This is almost a rule among the protagonists of the violent civilization. Thus, after Kenya joined the AU African force attempt to restore order in Somalia, she was attacked (the Mall and Garissa University incidences), Mali and Cameroon joined Nigeria to fight Boko Haram, they became targets. Russia, France, Britain, Germany and the USA are all in Syria. The Metro-Jet explosion, Paris attack and the British subway incidences are all instructive. The lesson here is that the rule of these 'Violent-Non-State-Actors (VNSAs) would prevailed on others through the migrants. This is true of Nigeria with the spread of the IDPs (Kaduna explosion inside the IDP's camp). Another incredible reasons why taking-in the migrants would affirm the hypothese of this study is that the ISIS have affirmed that by supporting the survival of the state of Israel through 'destroying' Iraq and 'weakening' other states in the region, followers of this civilization should kill the Americans and their allies-civilian or military is an individual duty (Gabriel 2006). This philosophy shall be ignited in the minds of all the migrants through various technologies (encryption). This would result in constant agitation and violence.

6. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The war in Syria and Iraq and the subsequent migration into Europe and America remained the catalyst for future violent conflict. This is because the migrants would manifest radical tendencies, which would culminate into violent reactions later. The main cell of ISIS would continue to be in touch with the migrants to keep the fire of extremism burning, through

'encryption communication' (code language) in the internet. At other times, ISIS would insist they want to visit their families in Europe and America who are refugees.

The insurgency in Nigeria is to say the least a declaration of war against the state. The dispersal of IDPs would also lead to permanent settlement since both cases have no date of returning to their original homes. The IDPs like the migrants would have the radical extremists in their ranks, which would catalyse violent conflict in the future with the host communities. These logical orders of spreading and sustaining violent conflict, with its attendant loss of lives, explicate the theory of perpetual conflict. Violent clash of civilization can only be contained with the triumph of democracy because it has a self-regulatory and has the capacity to assuage violence.

7. RECOMMENDATIONS

It must be stressed that the actions suggested herein are dynamics. They must be constantly reviewed in the light of innovations by the VNSAs. However, for now, suffice to state that:

- a) There should be a neutral ground for the settlement of the migrants in Europe and America such as Guantanamo bay in Cuba but belonging to America. The care of the migrants should be under the auspices of the United Nations Organization (UNO) and its agencies. When situation in their home countries normalises, they should then return.
- b) Schengen countries should suspend the pact and mount border checks and restrict movements. This is because borderless-ness is freedom for terrorists to traverse Europe like troubadour.
- c) The third action set required would be to mount joint naval blockade in the Mediterranean Sea, to halt boats embarking in human trafficking of migrants to Europe.
- d) Homeland security in Europe, America should introduce innovative means of curtailing violent from ISIS.
- e) In Nigeria, the Federal government should restrict the IDPs to their zones and pursue military options rather than negotiating with the terrorists. This is because a religiously motivated terrorist is not going to negotiate, and he is not going to be satisfied with partial concessions (Gabriel 2006). Any agreement broker would not de-radicalize them.
- f) The world communities should drop ideological disparity and come together to defeat ISIS with its civilization. Like Albert Einstein said: "Halt further intake of migrants everywhere and create 'safe-haven somewhere and get the UN to take over the responsibility of gathering for them, while the global community contribute. This would expedite the resolution of the crises in their homestead and ensure their return. Finally, it must be admitted as Aristotle (1979) said that democracy is a form of government, which is safer and less vexed by sedition, than oligarchy. Is it too much for democracy to regulate arms sales globally to ensure it does not get into wrong hands; what of dealing with states, which sponsor and provide the ammunitions to these NSVAs? If doing these infringe on values of liberal democracy, then there is need for it re-examination for the sake of human safety."

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