

**REPORT OF  
A THREE YEAR RESEARCH AND DIALOGUE  
PROGRAM (2009-2012)**

**on**

**Development, Democracy, and  
Governance - Lessons and  
Policy Implications**

**Calcutta Research Group  
Kolkata  
2013**

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## Context

As part of its decade long work on some of the essential aspects of post-colonial democracy, particularly Indian democracy, Calcutta Research Group (CRG) had taken up the theme of autonomy. In course of its work CRG repeatedly faced the issue of governmentalised forms of autonomy as against popular demands and ideas of autonomies as forms of their incipient demands for justice. The research and dialogue reports and the published volumes of this programme (*The Politics of Autonomy*, *Indian Autonomy – Keywords and Key Texts*, and *Autonomy – Beyond Kant and Hermeneutics*) brought out the fundamental point that while democracies treat autonomy as an exceptional principle (mostly for ethnic minorities), which otherwise should not be at conflict with the supreme principle of republican people-hood, autonomy has to be seen as an essential democratic principle. The following research programme on social justice placed emphasis on popular ideas of social justice. This involved ethnographic research and critical legal studies. There were efforts to identify various forms and notions of justice, such as revenge, instant, restorative, gender justice, legal, moral, transitional, minimal, allocative, justice as constitutive of rights, justice in form of the right to claim making, justice as response to marginal situations, and finally justice as the supplement of rights. In this work, where nearly one hundred and fifty people participated, and shared their views and knowledge with the researchers, and in the ensuing reports on the state of justice in India (and the four volume series published by the CRG), once again the issue came up – the interface of the opposing phenomena of popular notions and governmental realities.

These two research and dialogue programs generated a realization that there is now a great need to study actual governmental processes as they interact with popular notions, institutions, desires, and produce particular interface. Against this background the study of governance was planned in a specific way – namely, studying the processes of governing in Indian democracy in the current developmental context. It was a logical follow up on the preceding two programs.

### Book Publications

- Branding the Migrants: Arguments of Rights, Welfare, and Security / Frontpage, Kolkata, 2013
- Political Transition in India and the Imperatives of Development / Routledge, London and New Delhi, 2012
- New Subjects, New Governance / Routledge, London and New Delhi, 2012
- Politics in Hunger Regime: Right to Food in West Bengal / Frontpage, Kolkata, 2011

## The Research Inquiry

In the wake of globalization and globalization-induced development, the relation between governance and democracy has become critical more than ever. Democratic governance means governing a democracy, in particular governing the tensions, conflicts, claims and collective claim makings that developmental processes and a developmental regime provoke in a democracy. It also means particular governing processes and structures. In this context the study of governmental processes in a developmental democracy like India meant focusing on the inter-relationships between democracy, development, and governance. This research project reflected all the three aspects of concern, namely, (a) the process of governing a developmental democracy; (b) the relevant constitutional-political structures of administering the task of governance, (c) and the popular response to the agenda of developmental governance.

Two major things have happened in the history of post-independent India's governance. On one hand welfare discourse has changed to that of rights and claims (due to popular politics, emergence of human rights arguments, related developments in the juridical field, and above all parliamentary democracy and therefore elections); and on the other hand the legitimacy of governmental actions and consequences is grounded more and more in its developmental claims. These claims of developing the country are made in a situation marked by increased global linkages, foreign direct investment, farmers' deaths in various parts of the country, uneven poverty reduction, rising expenditure on issues of defence, security, science establishment, intelligence, and crowd control, with Dalits, indigenous population, minorities, and women still forming the core of the India's working population as well the most impoverished sections of this population.

The questions that were asked in the research and dialogue program were:

- What are the constitutional specifics of a governing process that seeks to promote growth (of certain defined kinds) as development?
- How has the change of national focus from welfare rights, and equality to growth impacted on democratic governance, and democratic politics at large?
- How have people responded to the particular governing processes and technologies? Do these responses "exceed" or defy the governmental grids of power?

**The six components of the program were:**

- Research clusters and researchers
- Publications
- Conferences, dialogues, and workshops
- Public Lectures
- Organization of web based material for wider circulation, interaction, and web-based and print publications
- Networking with researchers and other interested experts, policy makers, activists, scholars, and students

- Does the developmental process impact on the dynamics of claim making in democratic politics?
- How has governing privileged certain kinds of responses while censoring many others? Why do we find vocal and protracted responses to such instruments and mechanisms, such as the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 (earlier un-noticed or ignored) or the SEZ Act of 2005 etc, unlike in the first two decades after Independence when the social cost of several mega projects went unnoticed?
- As a corollary to the above, we also asked, how did the style and form of governance of an area afflicted by protracted insurgency impact on the issue of developmental democracy? That is to say, are there similarities and differences in governing ‘development’ in insurgent and non-insurgent areas?

These specific questions gave us insight regarding the impact of developmental governance to the quality of democracy. They also offered insights as to the major characteristics of a developmental democracy, and the major institutional landmarks in promoting developmental democracy.

With these research questions, the project studied certain select institutions and delivery mechanisms in order to assess the impact of the shift from the dynamics of a welfare state to that of a market-driven growth on ways of governing. It also studied the impact of the developmental measures on the concept of democratic equality and citizenship. It investigated the process of securitisation of the conditions of development, resulting in making logistical considerations as the dominant priority for the government, with several other social considerations now turning into minor matters, and related population groups as minor peoples. It examined select popular responses reflecting new forms of claim makings sparked off by developmental processes posing new issues for developmental governance. It similarly analyzed select cases of political parties articulating ideas of developmental governance particularly in their electoral manifestos, which showed how a particular channel of inputs in the policy formulation process works. It investigated the dynamics and the impact of the new digital culture (primarily e-governance and the new electronic media) on developmental democracy characterized by digital divide. Finally as part of its examination of governing modes it examined the governmental policy of identifying the migrants in the framework of the UID-Aadhar project of the government.

In short, CRG studied the theme of governance as a field of strategies as well as a process of production of subjects. By “a field of strategies”, we tried to indicate how strategic imperatives of rule (such as law making, constitutionalism, producing the combined discourse of rule of law and rights, promise-making in politics and other forms of legitimacy exercise, developmentalism as a strategy of governance, governance as a means of ensuring security, etc.) take their shape. By “a process of production of subjects” we have argued that governance is not an one sided affair starting and ending with those who rule and govern us, producing fiats, decrees, and diktats, but a contentious process – one that produces the subjects of governance who now react on the process and make the field of governance a contested one.

## Project Activities at a Glance

The project had six components –

- Research clusters and researchers
- Publications
- Conferences, dialogues, and workshops (these were mainly in the nature of agenda setting discussion, quality control, interface, collection of inputs, and outreach and dissemination activities)
- Public Lectures
- Organization of web based material for wider circulation, interaction, and web-based and print publications (these will be mainly dissemination activities)
- Widening the network of researchers and other interested experts, policy makers, activists, scholars, and students

The details of the research work done and other activities under this project are reported on CRG website- [http://www.mcrg.ac.in/Development/development\\_present.asp](http://www.mcrg.ac.in/Development/development_present.asp).

### **The questions that were asked in the research and dialogue program were:**

- What are the constitutional specifics of a governing process that seeks to promote growth (of certain defined kinds) as development?
- How has the change of national focus from welfare rights, and equality to growth impacted on democratic governance, and democratic politics at large?
- How have people responded to the particular governing processes and technologies? Do these responses “exceed” or defy the governmental grids of power?
- Does the developmental process impact on the dynamics of claim making in democratic politics?
- How has governing privileged certain kinds of responses while censoring many others? Why do we find vocal and protracted responses to such instruments and mechanisms, such as the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 (earlier un-noticed or ignored) or the SEZ Act of 2005 etc, unlike in the first two decades after Independence when the social cost of several mega projects went unnoticed?
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## Research Clusters and Researchers

The research program was divided into four research clusters, and the main papers were organized around clusters:

- Law, legality, legitimacy, and issues of governance
- Science, technology, and the new style of governance
- Governance and the production of subjects
- Identity needs, developmental needs, and securitized response

In all fourteen researchers participated in these cluster based research program. They were:

- Sutirtha Bedajna
- Anup Dhar
- Sujata Dutta Hazarika
- Manish Jha
- Kalpana Kannabiran
- Ratan Khasnabis
- Asutosh Kumar
- Amit Prakash
- Swarna Rajagopalan
- Ranabir Samaddar
- Suhit Sen
- Dipankar Sinha
- Badri Narayan Tiwari
- Benjamin Zachariah

The researchers submitted substantive research proposals, which were thoroughly discussed in a workshop. On the basis of the discussion draft papers were written. These papers were again placed in a workshop. On the basis of collective discussion, revisions were done. The finalized papers went for publication. Some were published under the CRG research paper series, *Policies and Practices*. In the entire process the discussants were of big help. They were part of the research collective. Their written substantive comments were given over to the researchers before they revised their papers. The details of the entire process can be found at - [http://www.mcrg.ac.in/Development/development\\_r\\_cluster.asp](http://www.mcrg.ac.in/Development/development_r_cluster.asp)

## Publications

### Book Series

- The main part of the research has been published in two volumes (co-edited by *Ranabir Samaddar and Subit K. Sen*, and published by Routledge, London and New Delhi, 2012):

#### 1. *Political Transition in India and the Imperatives of Development*

The volume explores the transition from colonial to constitutional rule in India, and the configurations of power, and legitimacies that emerged from it. It focuses on the developmental structures and paradigms that provided the circumstances for the transition and establishment of the post-colonial state. It also interrogates the idea of liberal constitutionalism, the spaces it provides for rights and claims, the assumptions it makes about citizenship and its attendant duties, and what it can or has to, do in order to become a developmental state in the context of India.

The volume locates these questions in the reconfiguration of society, power, and the economy with the shift in identity of the Indian state to a post-colonial one, dealing with issues of constitution-making in a historical and political setting and its outcomes, especially the centrality of law and legalisms, in shaping civil society.

#### Section I: The Foundations of Norms of Governance

Chapter One: Two Constitutional Tasks: Setting up the Indian State and the Indian Government / *Ranabir Samaddar*

Chapter Two: The 'Nehruvian' State, Developmental Imagination, Nationalism and the Government / *Benjamin Zachariah*

Chapter Three: The Political Constitution of India: Party and Government, 1946-1957 / *Subit K. Sen*

Chapter Four: Imaginations and Manifestos of the Political Parties on Ideals of Developmental Governance / *Ashutosh Kumar*

#### Section II: Paradigms of Inequality, Pathways to Entitlement

Chapter Five: Who will be able to Access the Provisions of Liberty? Ability, Disability, and the Interrogation of Norms / *Kalpana Kannabiran*

Chapter Six: Whose Security, Whose Development? Lessons from Campaigns against Female Infanticide in Tamil Nadu / *Swarna Rajagopalan*

Chapter Seven: Rules of Governance in Developing Rural India / *Ratan Khasnabis*



## 2. *New Subjects, New Governance*

Against the backdrop of the first transition of the colonial state in India to the sovereign, welfarist, democratic state of the constitutional era, this volume explores the second transition of governance towards “developmental democracy”. How have globalization and the new emphasis on development through growth affected the nature of the state, governance, and democratic politics in India? Governance is seen here as a productive process constituting subjects of governance, who in turn render the field of governance a contentious one. The volume explores the evolving relations among democracy, development, and governance structures at a time when the discourse of welfare is giving way to notions of growth on one hand, and the notions of rights and claims on the other. This volume deals with the formation of the new kinds of citizen-subjects through the governmental process of developmental state, including the governance of culture, the creation of appropriate minority subjects, and the interface of higher education and governance.

The volume thus inquires not only into the emerging modalities of governance but also into the sorts of subjects that are formed in a regime of developmental democracy.

### **Section I: A Second Transition? Sources of Legitimacy and ‘Scientific’ Governance**

Chapter One: The Democratic Story of Twin Challenges to Governance: Identity Needs and Developmental Needs / *Amit Prakash*

Chapter Two: New Technique of Governance: E-Governance and India’s Democratic Experience / *Dipankar Sinha*

Chapter Three: Disasters: Experiences of Development during the Embankment Years in Bihar / *Manish K. Jha*

Chapter Four: Between Ecology and Economy: Environmental Governance in India / *Sutirtha Bedajna*

Chapter Five: Conflict and Development: Implications for Democracy and Governance / *Sujata Dutta Hazarika*

### **Section II: The Production of Appropriate Subjects**

Chapter Six: The Cultured Subjects / *Badri Narayan Timari*

Chapter Seven: A Well-Behaved Minority Population / *Ranabir Samaddar*

Chapter Eight: The Educated Subjects / *Anup Dhar*

These two volumes will be of interest to scholars, jurists, social scientists, developmental planners, and administrators, and human rights activists and thinkers.

- There was a special segment in this research program. This segment threw light on governance as a contested process by conducting a special and focused research on UID and the migrants. This special segment of research not only brought out various

dimensions of the governmental technology of identification of population, but its interface with migrant masses and the latter's response. The results have been brought out in a volume edited by *Atig Ghosh* and published by Frontpage, Kolkata, 2013. The volume is titled,

***Branding the Migrants: Arguments of Rights, Welfare, and Security***

The Unique Identification (UID)/ Aadhaar project burst upon the nation with surprising ferocity. The government started implementing Aadhaar-enabled direct cash transfers for 29 schemes in 51 districts, spread over 16 states and also plans to cover the entire nation by the end of December 2013. Yet, it is far from clear if Aadhaar is an undisruptive benevolent initiative of the government, seeking to empower the needy and maximize the outreach of social-security schemes. Legal experts, scholars and activists have discussed and deliberated on the Aadhaar scheme and the governmental logic underlying it. However, the torrential commentary against the UID scheme notwithstanding, the Aadhaar juggernaut is forging ahead.

Against this backdrop, this volume endeavours to engage with the politics and the history of State's population identification exercises. In doing so, it goes beyond the specifics of the UID project to situate the issue in the broader context of identification technologies sponsored by the state and the market over time. Given the fact that while there are writings on the UID project and its impact on resident population and nothing on its impact on migrant population groups, this volume chooses to focus on the impact of the UID and similar identification technologies on migrants. The migrants may be a minority compared to the residents but, as individuals who remain mostly beyond the embrace of the State, they represent a limit on its penetration; they also remain at the metaphorical margins of the state's will to encompass all. This volume therefore aspires to test the idea and impact of the UID at its limits — focussing on its impact on migrants — and interrogate if the reach of the state can after all exceed its grasp.

The book urges the reader to think if the implementation of the UID project would after all only faithfully serve age-old statist imperatives of identifying, de-legitimizing and expelling migrants from 'national' territory; whether the language of welfare of the UID project masks an anxiety for security, in this case the securitization of an entire nation.

The chapters of the book are:

Chapter One: Politics of Digitization: UID as Governmental Technique /  
*Dipankar Sinha*

Chapter Two: The Long and Short History of Identification Technologies /  
*Atig Ghosh*

Chapter Three: Photos and Colonial Governance of Migrants Identities:  
Case of Indentured Migrants from Bhojpur to Suriname / *Badri Narayan  
Tiwari*

Chapter Four: Protection, Welfare or Surveillance? Tracking Asylum Seekers and Refugees in India / *Sabana Basavapatna*  
 Chapter Five: Identifying Pakistani Migrants in India / *Bharat Bhusan*  
 Chapter Six: Political Will and the Success of Aadhaar in Tripura / *Jayanta Bhattacharya*  
 Chapter Seven: UID's Augean Task? Assam and 'Illegal' Migrants / *Samir Kar Purakayastha*  
 Chapter Eight: The Idea of Identity Card(s) and Experiences from Subaltern Mumbai / *Manish K. Jha*  
 Chapter Nine: Digitisation of the Identity of Migrant Workers and Financial Inclusion / *Byasdeb Dasgupta*  
 Chapter Ten: The Political Economy of India's Unique Identification Project / *Ritajyoti Bandyopadhyay*

- ***Politics in Hunger Regime: Right to Food in West Bengal***

In India, even after six decades of Independence and planned economy deploying “pro-people” assistance programs, the hunger regime has consolidated in many parts of the country including the state of West Bengal.

In this book the researchers study the situation in West Bengal with various population groups living under the shadow of hunger. The book gives importance to the food movements that took place in the state. It also chronicles the development of the right to food campaign as a case inside the court room and the ways in which the right to food case has shaped popular participation in political movements in demand of food.

The book makes in-depth analysis of the Public Distribution System and the outrage (known as ration riots) over the atrocious PDS system in the state. It also chronicles hunger deaths in the tea gardens in North Bengal and analyses the inability of the rights based institutions to come to the aid of the hungry tea laborers there. The book also for the first time in India makes an attempt to link the right to food campaign with right to information and mass movements for food.

The book, edited by Sibaji Pratim Basu and Geetisha Dasgupta, is an outcome of a year-long research and has been published by the CRG and Frontpage, Kolkata, 2011. The research was partially carried out with the support of the Asia-Pacific Forum for National Human Rights Institutions.

Chapter 1: Food Crisis, Right to Food and Popular Politics in West Bengal / *Kumar Rana*  
 Chapter 2: Whither Right to Food? / *Geetisha Dasgupta*  
 Chapter 3: Outrage against Hunger and Bureaucratic Feudalism / *Manisha Banerjee*  
 Chapter 4: Right to Food in Paschim Medinipur District / *Geetisha Dasgupta*

Chapter 5: Right to Food: Adequate Laws, Inadequate Will, and Optimistic Campaigns / *Ruchira Goswami*  
Chapter 6: Right to Information in a Hunger-Regime / *Sibaji Pratim Basu*

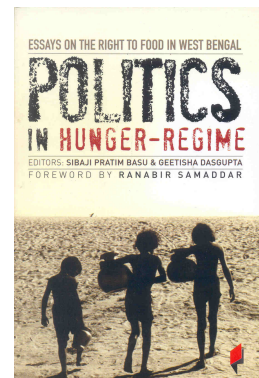
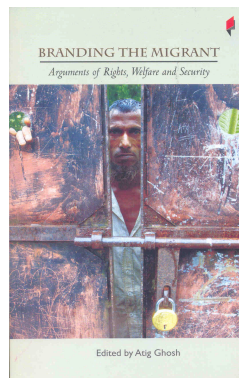
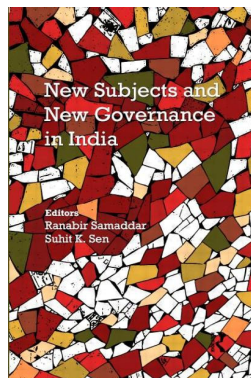
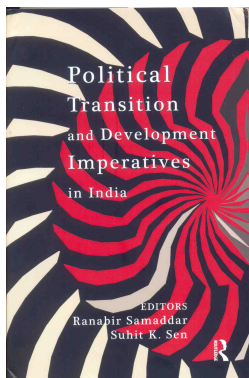
### ***CRG Working Paper series, Policies and Practices (PP)***

Besides these four volumes several working papers were also published under this project. These working papers became the basis for discussion in the workshops and were widely circulated.

- Public Interest Litigation in India: Implications for Law and Development / *by Sarbani Sen* (PP 47, 2012)
- A Gigantic Panopticon: Counter-Insurgency and Modes of Disciplining in Northeast India / *by Sajal Nag* (PP 46, 2012)
- Two Essays on Security Apparatus / *by Ranabir Samaddar and Anja Kanngeiser* (PP 44, 2012)
- Law and Democratic Governance: Two Studies from Europe / *by Eva Pfostl and Jean-Louis Halperin* (PP 40, 2011)
- The Place of Poor in Urban Space / *by Manish Jha* (PP, 39, 2011)
- Between Ecology and Economy: Environmental Governance in India / *by Sutirtha Bedajna* (PP 37, 2009)

### ***Distinguished Lecture***

- CRG also published the text of the public lecture of David Ludden, Department of History, New York University, organized under the *CRG Distinguished Lecture Series*, titled, **“Rethinking 1905: Spatial Inequity, Uneven Development and Nationalism”** (CRG Distinguished Lecture 2)



## Conferences, Dialogues, and Workshops

### Conferences

Two conferences were held under this program. These were:

- **Development, Logistics, and Governance (Fourth Critical Studies Conference, 8-10 September, 2011)**

Studies of governance and development repeatedly come up against issues of logistics, logistical transformation, and the role that various forms of mobility and flows play in shaping logistical governance in post-colonial milieu. Logistics is here conceived as a grid of responses to certain social challenges that the task of governing a society faces – challenges that can be briefly described as challenges of security, population movements, and territorial flux in the internal organisation of the State. The conference probed the critical question: What is logistics in the eyes of government? Equally important was the issue for discussion: Given the experiences of a post-colonial society such as India, how do the imperatives and the ideas of development add new impetus to logistics and logistical planning of the society? It seems that war and development, or to be more precise, the war mode and developmental mode of politics have coalesced to give logistical planning a new urgency in governmental thinking and rationality. This is a new situation unanticipated in traditional theories of government.

**In this three-day conference ten panels presented twenty-two papers dealing with various aspects, namely:**

- Capitalism and State-Formation
- War, Conflicts and War by Other Means
- Resource Use: Social Power and Elements of Development
- Economy and Governmental Rationalities
- Surveillance, Labour and State Power
- Migration and Trafficking: The Logistics of Mobility
- Election, Insurrection and the Liberal Project
- Configuring Spaces: The Logic of Administration
- Local Modes, Local Epistemologies
- Reading change: The Politics of Democracy and Revolution

We can name some of the eye catching developments in the recent years: massive construction of border roads, airports, opening up of the Indian sky to private airlines, new highways, gas pipelines, hi-tech cities, satellite monitoring, news technologies in climate forecast, improved capacity of disaster management, spurt in surface transport, increase in container traffic, new software for networking information and agencies, new and longer transmission lines, improved telecommunications including satellite phones and broadband services, increased capacity to deploy human power and material, enlarged storage capacity, new townships, and finally new defence equipments. These things - more than any other

issues such as improved agricultural productivity, increase in small irrigation, sustained entrepreneurship at local level, or massive increase in primary care health services - are now considered as marks of development. They are also the staple agenda of governance. In such cases, logistical awareness is more like an inbuilt feature of governance, guiding governmental rationality.

The conference was an occasion for exchanges on studies on logistical governance. There were panels and papers on the logistics of population mobilisation, control, management, and the phenomenon of transit labour; developmental logistics; logistics of elections; the development of border roads; disaster management, impact of military administration on civilian governance; control regimes of mobile diseases; and the economy of logistics.

- **Empires, States and Migration (Third Critical Studies Conference, 11-12 September, 2009)**

In much of the era of twentieth century the phenomenon of migration seemed as an

exception to human societies and development. Societies, particularly after the Second World War, seemed to have taken on the shape of stable nation states with their defined citizenries, territories, laws, economics, and geographies. While multinational corporations (MNCs) worked in a frame of global operations, yet the structure of these operations were mostly territorially bound. Even if peasants were migrating, or various migrant populations were very much present on earth shaping all through the century as earlier the pattern of

human settlements, yet history appeared as one of the sacred territories of the national societies. Partitions appeared as exceptions, and the reproduction of the method of partition as a way of stabilising societies was ignored. As if the sacred history of settled societies had little to do with these messy presents and pasts. Of course migration is not something new; it is as old as human history. Indeed, a whole science had meanwhile grown up around the phenomenon of migration – geography and economics being the two most pursued disciplines of knowledge in the task of understanding migration. Settlements, wages, remittances, and several other issues have crowded the field of migration studies. Ethnography, in general anthropology and later on cultural studies have also made their distinctive marks. Of more contemporary interest however is the phenomenon of forced migration. A great number of institutions of human rights and humanitarian work now mark the field of forced migration.

**In this two and half day conference six panels presented twenty papers dealing with various aspects, namely:**

- Empires, Population Flows and Identity Construction
- Colonialism and Migration
- Migration, Nation States and Citizenship
- Return to the Labour Question in Migration Studies
- Migration and Representation
- Migration and Issues of Justice

At the same time, labour has remained through all these debates and discussions, the silent other of the figure of the migrant. At a time when this migrant labour appears mostly as

illegal, what sense shall we make of the issue of trafficked labour, who should have died with the emergence of free contract-bound labour in the juridical figure of the citizen? This complicates the scenario even more, and makes the world of settled production even more contingent on several factors including labour flows. In today's world of globalisation, many may ask therefore: Should we not study older histories of empires, which were characterised by mobility in more pronounced ways?

Empires bring the issues of globalisation of various kinds and centuries. Migrations connote borders, mobilities, and the governing of mobile population groups. Empires governed migrations, states also govern migrations. Is there any common ground between the two ways of governing?

The Third Critical Studies Conference discussed all these questions. Details of the conference can be found at - [http://www.mcrg.ac.in/T\\_C\\_Conference/E\\_S\\_Migration.htm](http://www.mcrg.ac.in/T_C_Conference/E_S_Migration.htm)

## Dialogues and Workshops

- **Digital Deliberations- Workshop on Digitization of Identity and its Impact on the Migrant Masses organized in collaboration with C.S.C.S. Bangalore, 29-30 June 2012, Kolkata**

The workshop dealing with identifications schemes for the migrants was held in the perspective of the Aadhaar scheme — a unique identification project under the aegis of the Unique Identification Authority of India (UIDAI) established in February 2009. Its aim was to centrally posit the conundrum of the all-encompassing strategies of digitized identification. Even in the case of recording something that would seem as accessible in the public domain as the proper name, identities may be destabilized and imperilled. It also raises questions about the effectuality of all-encompassing identificatory projects per se. And, following on the idea that to know a secret name is to have total power over its owner, the workshop discussed the question as to whether such a power-knowledge nexus is not at work among the officials and proponents of the UIDAI. The Aadhaar scheme, of course, far exceeds the brief that is usually given to the public. It encompasses, or proposes to encompass, all axes of an individual's identity and, in doing so, stokes a number of knotty questions and angry debates. The workshop that was held in Kolkata on June 29-30, 2012, entitled "Digital Deliberations: Digitization of Identity and its Impact on Migrant Masses", raised these questions and debated them fruitfully. The workshop was a joint venture of the Centre for the Study of Culture and Society (CSCS), Bangalore, and the Calcutta Research Group (CRG). It led to a significant report. CRG was also enthused to take up a detailed study on the issue of "branding the migrant". The work led to different reports on state specific situations, and brought out the conflicting dimensions of security, welfare, and rights. CRG published a volume on the basis of this work.

Details of the workshop can be found at - [http://mcrg.ac.in/Development/events/Digital\\_Deliberations\\_Concept\\_Note.pdf](http://mcrg.ac.in/Development/events/Digital_Deliberations_Concept_Note.pdf)

- **Book Release of Political Transition and Development Imperatives in India and New Subjects and New Governance in India edited by Ranabir Samaddar and Suhit K. Sen and discussion on ‘Reflections on Governance in Post-Colonial Democracy’, 4 May 2012, Kolkata**

Peter Ronald DeSouza, Director, Indian Institute of Asian Studies, Shimla, acknowledged that the two volumes being released represented significant contributions towards a new framework for understanding post-colonial democracy, and, in the Indian context the two transitions that characterized it – the transition from colonial to constitutional rule and the transition from a welfarist to a market-oriented model. He said, however, that the connection between the empirical evidence presented in the essays and the overarching theoretical framework needed to be reinforced through more studies like this. He also felt that the richness of the studies could have been enhanced by a comparative study between two states as well as by outlining an alternative route to development. There were discussions on survey research method, new ways of looking at governance, and the strength of the feminist critiques of governance.

For details of the workshop see  
[http://mcrg.ac.in/Development/events/Swabhoomi\\_Report.pdf](http://mcrg.ac.in/Development/events/Swabhoomi_Report.pdf)

- **A three-day national symposium on “Development, Democracy and Governance” was held in collaboration with the Tata Institute of Social Sciences at its Mumbai campus, 1-3 November 2011**

The idea behind the symposium was that we would draw in young scholars through the symposium. Accordingly, the event was structured around four broad themes, each of would be led by a resource person, who would explicate the theme. This would be followed by papers addressing the broad theme. The papers would be presented by doctoral students or young teachers or other professionals who had already earned their doctoral degrees. The four themes around which the symposium was organized were: (a) The Juridico-Political Route to Sovereignty; (b) Paradigms of Inequality, Pathways to Entitlement; (c) Second Transition: Sources of Legitimacy and ‘Scientific’ Governance; and (d) The Production of Appropriate Subjects. The symposium interrogated through wide-ranging themes the connections and disconnects between development, democracy and governance. It also discussed in depth the interrelations between various elements of a democratic polity – institutions of governance, law, the civil sectors, new mechanisms of scientific governance – in the context of two political transitions: first, the transition from a colonial to a constitutional regime in the 1940s; and, second, the transition from a welfare-oriented to a neoliberal regime. More than twenty studies by young scholars mostly from western and southern parts of the country were presented and discussed at the symposium.

For details of the workshop see  
[http://mcrg.ac.in/Development/development\\_announcements.asp](http://mcrg.ac.in/Development/development_announcements.asp)



- **Two workshops in collaboration with the Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, Shimla, on “Understanding Collective Action, Violence and Post-Colonial Democracy”, 19-20 March 2011 and 26-28 September, 2011**

These two workshops focused on the manner in which the interactions between violence and various forms of claim-making constitute what has come to be recognized as liberal democracy. The following sub-themes formed the core of the discussion: (a) Elections, Social Inequalities, and Violence; (b) Shrinking Capacity of Democratic Institutions to Contain Violence; (c) Patriarchy, Gender, Democracy and Violence; and (d) Contentious Processes of Collective Claim-Making and Impact on Democracy’. One of the fundamental motifs in these discussions was that it would be erroneous to see democracy and violence as phenomena inhabiting different political spheres, since across time and space the two have existed in a mutually embedded state, both shaping and transforming each other. Two points emerged from the second workshop: first, while democracies tend to outlaw violence as a basis for collective claim-making, it has forever to be in a dialogic relationship with it; and second, democracies can never be perfectly realized forms of collective life, but, in fact, are entities continually constituting themselves through processes of contestation, negotiation, and dialogue. The second workshop, spread over three days, was organized around four themes: Approaches to Understanding Legality, Constitutionality, and Violence in Post-Colonial Democracy; ‘State-Building, Persistent Inequalities and Histories of Violence’; ‘Patriarchy, Gender, Democracy and Violence’; ‘Democratic Institutions and Violence’. More than 50 people participated in these two workshops.

For details of the two workshops see -  
[http://mcrg.ac.in/Development/development\\_announcements.asp](http://mcrg.ac.in/Development/development_announcements.asp)

- **Panel Discussion on “Writing the Contemporary History of Politics and Governance in West Bengal”, Kolkata, 10 June 2011**

The legislative assembly election in 2011 in West Bengal saw a change of guard. The Left Front, led by the CPI(M), had governed West Bengal for 34 years, from 1977, riding on massive electoral successes and the governmental-social relations it had built appropriate to its rule. After 2006, a turnaround could be sensed. Popular protests against land acquisition and neo-liberal policies, most notably in Singur and Nandigram, fanned the underlying discontent with the flawed governance of Left Front. When thinking about contemporary history, these critical events are bound to influence our choice of framing the contemporary change. And now that a new party has formed its government in West Bengal, the rhetoric of change is everywhere. The celebratory tone in official circles is matched by popular expectations of a new era, albeit with cynicism in many prominent circles. In this context Calcutta Research Group (CRG) decided to explore the possibility of writing a critical history of contemporary politics and governance in West Bengal, and examine as a backdrop if the convenient

temporal setting of 1977-2011 stands the test of decoding long-term processual aspects of history. Accordingly, Calcutta Research Group (CRG) held the panel discussion at the Academy of Fine Arts, Conference Hall, Kolkata. The panelists were: retired senior administrator Debabrata Bandyopadhyay; eminent educationist Sunanda Sanyal; journalist and social worker Bhaswati Chakravarti; well known civil rights campaigner Sujato Bhadro; and CRG director and social scientist Ranabir Samaddar. Samir Das, the CRG President, made the opening remarks. Sociologist Pradip Kumar Bose moderated the discussion.

The full report can be found at –  
[http://mcrgr.ac.in/Development/events/Kolkata\\_Workshop.pdf](http://mcrgr.ac.in/Development/events/Kolkata_Workshop.pdf)

- **CRG panel on “Social Exclusion: Meaning and Perspectives”, hosted by the Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusion Policy, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad, 23-25 March 2011**

One of the panels in this conference was dedicated to presentations by representatives of the Calcutta Research Group (CRG), which was jointly organized by the Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusion Policy, University of Hyderabad, and CRG. The panel was titled as, ‘Development and Structures of Exclusion’. Benjamin Zachariah, Reader in South Asian History, Sheffield University, made the first presentation on ‘Three Approaches to Development and their Exclusions’. He was followed by Suhit K. Sen, Senior Researcher, CRG, whose presentation was entitled ‘Bizarre Urbanity: The Unmaking of Rajarhat’. Samir K. Das, Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Calcutta, made the final presentation, which was entitled ‘Development and Democracy: Democratizing Development or Developing without Democracy’. Apart from this panel, some papers were also read at the conference by scholars who were part of the CRG network and whose names had been proposed by the organization – among them were Manish Kumar, Associate Professor in the School of Social Work, Tata Institute of Social Studies, who read a paper entitled ‘Development, Exclusion and Violence’ as part of a panel discussing ‘Poverty Studies and Social Exclusion’; Pradeep Bhargava, Director, G.B. Pant Institute of Social Sciences, who read a paper entitled ‘The Making of Poverty’ as part of the same panel; and. Badri Narayan also of the G.B. Pant Institute of Social Sciences, who read a paper on ‘Dalit and Multiple Exclusions’ as part of a panel organized around the theme of ‘Caste, Dalits, OBCs and Social Exclusions’. Dr Kumar and Dr. Narayan have been closely involved with CRG for a long time. They have, especially, been closely associated with the programmes on social justice and autonomy conducted by the organization.

Details can be accessed at –  
[http://mcrgr.ac.in/Development/development\\_announcements.asp](http://mcrgr.ac.in/Development/development_announcements.asp)

- **Two-day Symposium on "The Biopolitics of Development: Life, Welfare, and Unruly Populations", 9-10 September 2010, Kolkata**

In recent years development and security have come to be conceived in the words of the former British Secretary of State for International Development, Hilary Benn, as something of a “shared challenge”. Development is said to make “a critical contribution to global security by reducing poverty, inequality and the root causes of conflict” while “global prosperity, everyone’s prosperity, depends on security against threats to human development”. “The truth is”, as Benn declared in a now classic speech, that “development without security is not possible; security without development is only temporary”. The symposium noted at least three different implications of this formulation: First, the development of the developing world is now said to depend on its security; security is conceived as a prerequisite of development. Second, development of the developing world is conceptualized as by itself a means towards the security of developing societies; security conceived also, therefore, as the end towards which development is aimed. And third, no security of the developed world is said to be possible without increasing the development of undeveloped states and societies; thus the ultimate subject of both development and security is not the developing world, but the developed. The symposium discussed: Are these shifts of meanings mere semantic ones, or do they signify changes in the rationalities that have shaped both development and security policies during the post-Cold War period? Are those of “sustainable development” different to what was once known simply as “development”? Does the weaving of a nexus of relations between “sustainable development” and ‘resilience’ represent a departure from the “development-security nexus” in some way? And, if so, what explains that shift and what are its political implications, particularly for democratic theory? Also, if these questions indicate deep links between security-development-sustainability of the developed and the developing world, what are the implications for what can be called as the “global post-colonial predicament”? And by broader terms for a “politics of life”, which now seeks to define itself in the framework of development and resilience?

The symposium was held in collaboration with the University of Lapland, Rovaniemi. Details of the symposium can be found at [http://mcrg.ac.in/Symposium\\_Draft.html](http://mcrg.ac.in/Symposium_Draft.html)

The second leg of the symposium was held at Bologna in collaboration with the University of Bologna and University of Lapland. A volume is under preparation on the basis of the discussions in these two workshops.

Besides these, two research workshops were organized as the core of the research program. The papers were proposed, discussed, and finalized at these workshops. The first workshop laid the foundations of the program and formulated the enquiry. It was held on 17-18 July 2009. The second workshop aimed at in-depth assessments of the findings. It was held a year later, on 14-15 May 2010. The papers finalized in these workshops went into making the two volumes, earlier reported.

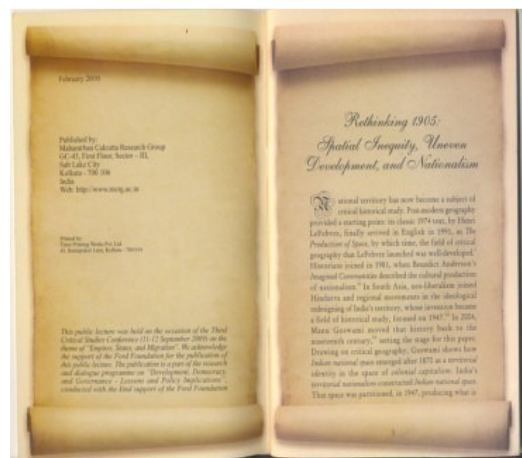
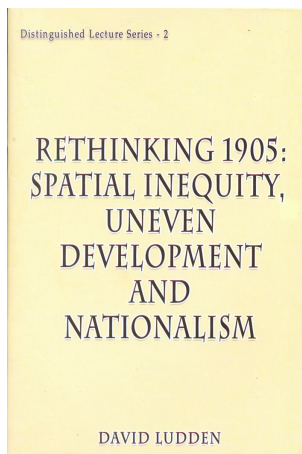
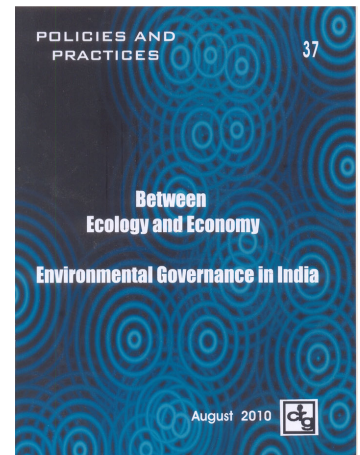
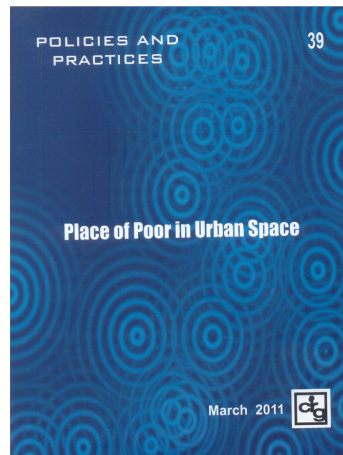
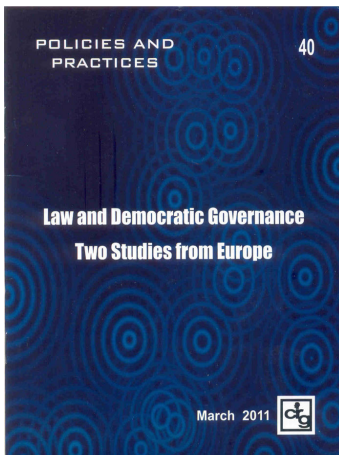
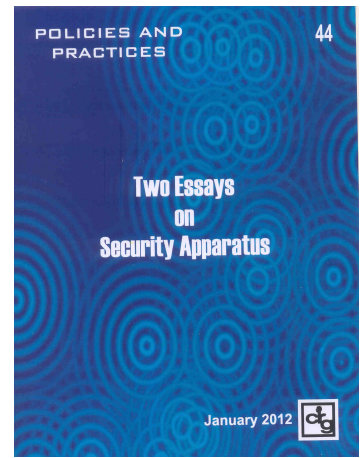
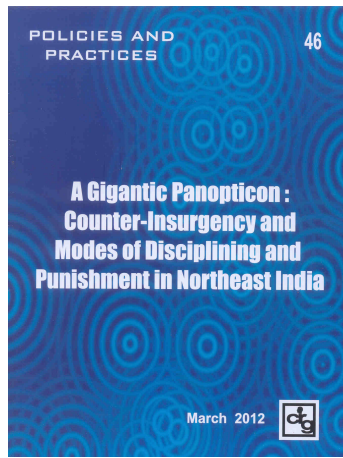
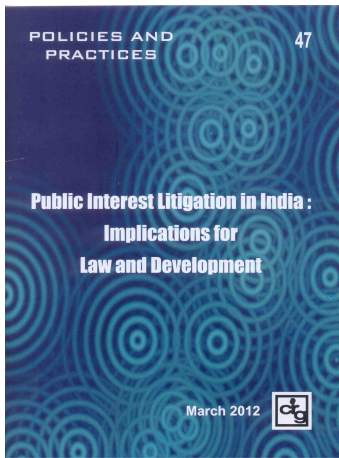
The details of the two workshops can be found at - [http://www.mcrg.ac.in/Development/development\\_announcements.asp](http://www.mcrg.ac.in/Development/development_announcements.asp)

## Public Lectures

CRG also organized a number of public lectures under this program as a means to widen the discussion on issues of governance, development, and democracy. These lectures covered philosophical, theoretical and practical aspects of the theme.

1. Seppala Tiina, 'Movements against Neoliberal Development in India: The Case of Rajarhat New Town Project in Kolkata', 15 March 2012.
2. Leonie Ansems de Vries, 'On the Immobility of Political Life', 15 May 2012.
3. Ivan Ivekovic, 'Egypt's Uncertain Transition', 18 January 2012.
4. Sita Venkateswar on her book "The Politics of the Indigenous - Dialogues and Reflections on Indigenous Activism, 7 January 2012.
5. Mithilesh Kumar, 'Chronicle of a Man-made Disaster Foretold: Bihar Floods 2011', 28 November 2011.
6. Sibaji Pratim Basu, 'Chronicle of a Forgotten Food Movement', 28 November 2011.
7. Peter Burgess, 'The Ethical Subject of Security', 22 September 2011.
8. Mithilesh Kumar, 'Logistics of Labor Migration: A Case Study of Bihar', 24 August 2011.
9. Anisha Dutta, 'Eugenics and Macro-Motherhood in the Name of a "Susastha" Nation-state', 22 July 2011
10. Ranabir Samaddar, 'Rajarhat Beyond Kolkata – An Urban Dystopia', 11 July 2011.
11. Suhit K. Sen, 'Bizarre Urbanity: The Unmaking of Rajarhat', 11 July 2011.
12. Ishita Dey, 'New Labour in New Town', 11 July 2011
13. Janam Mukherjee, 'Hungry Bengal: War Famine and End of Empire, 1939-46', 22 June 2011
14. Suhit K. Sen, 'Indira Gandhi and the Subversion of Indian Democracy?', 18 May 2011.
15. Brett Neilsen, 'Logistics and the Sovereign Machine of Governance, 9 May 2011.
16. Ned Rossiter, 'Of Life, Labor and Logistics', 9 May 2011
17. Mithilesh Kumar, 'Prism of Partition: Historiography and Manipur', 20 April 2011
18. Suhit K. Sen, "Party and Government: Sources of Legitimacy", 10 November 2010
19. Ranabir Samaddar, "Michel Foucault and our Post Colonial Time", 4 May 2010.
20. Sanjay Palshikar, 'The *Devas* and the *Asuras*: Interpretative Adventures of Indian Nationalism', 5 February 2010
21. Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, "Decolonisation and Indian Experience in the First Decade of Independence", 5 January 2010.
22. Benjamin Zachariah, "Development, Government, and the Nehru Era' 4 January 2010
23. Ishita Dey, "Negotiating Rights: Case Study of the Falta Special Economic Zone", 14 November 2009
24. Suha Priyadarshini Chakravorty, 'Voices from Jadugora: Understanding the Changing Dynamics of Managing Common Property in the Wake of Uranium Mining and Associated Risks in a Globalising Economy', 14 November 2009
25. Sutirtha Bedajna 'The Background of National Environmental Policy in India', 14 November 2009

26. David Ludden, "Spatial Reorganization of North Eastern Parts of British India, 1905 to Present", Third CRG Distinguished Lecture, 12 September 2009



## A Web based Research Collective

The web organization of the research collective was important for this program. The program involved authors of research papers, discussants, advisers, public policy analysts, administrators, other scholars and academics, and human rights and development activists who participated in the dialogues. The research collective met twice in three years. Therefore web organization of the research material, web based interaction on the work being done, links with other relevant data bases and sources, and communications became crucial for the progress of the work. It was also decided that the 'links' section in the secured segment of the CRG website dedicated to this program would incorporate theme- wise documentation of the primary resources as far as possible. The papers presented in the workshops, symposia, and conferences were subsequently put up in draft form on the web as part of dissemination efforts. Part of the entire material was put up in the secured segment and the rest of the material was opened for public use. Work is under way to prepare a comprehensive list of research references for the use of future researchers in this field.

The CRG website is a rich and popular source of not only information but dialogue as well. Till date, we have received almost 50,000 visits on our website. The site is constantly updated. It provides relevant reports and the details of the progress of various programs. Some of the reports are sent both electronically as well as in the form of hard copy to the members of the researcher collective as well as other researchers.

The web segment has sections on research themes and issues, research papers, researchers, discussants, events, reports, and announcements. The entire section will subsequently move to the "archives" section of CRG website.

### Research Clusters

- Law, legality, legitimacy, and issues of governance
- Science, technology, and the new style of governance
- Governance and the production of subjects
- Identity needs, developmental needs, and securitized response

## Widening the Network of Researchers, Experts, Policy makers, and Activists

CRG had been able to build up a country wide network of scholars, media experts, and human rights thinkers and activists through its earlier researches on the two themes of autonomy and social justice. This network was of immense value in carrying out this three year research program. It enabled CRG to diversify the research and data base, interests, topics, angles, and possibilities of institutional collaboration. It also enabled to organize deliberations and hold panel discussions in various cities including Mumbai, Hyderabad, Chennai, Chandigarh, Delhi, Guwahati, Allahabad, Agartala, Imphal, Kohima, and of course Kolkata. Like the researchers being drawn from a wide area and diverse backgrounds, discussants were also drawn from various backgrounds and disciplines. This helped the research program to make impact on public policy deliberations. The research also helped CRG's work in other areas, such as migration studies including forced migration studies, media and human rights, peace studies, and studies on transit town and transit labor.

Workshops could be organized in Mumbai and Shimla through collaboration with respectively TISS (Tata Institute of Social Sciences) and IAS (Indian Institute of Advanced Study). Likewise public lectures were held in different venues and forums. Of great importance was the involvement of teachers and research scholars in the four workshops.

All these resulted in greater access to CRG website, increased offers of collaboration, and steps towards revision of syllabus in colleges and universities to address the new dimensions brought out by CRG's research and incorporate these findings in published form in the reading material suggested in various institutions.

CRG's main finding through the eight year long research is that there are specific characteristics of post-colonial democracy, such as the issue of autonomy in various forms, the issue of social justice for which popular struggles continue, and the specific ways in which a developmental democracy works. These characteristics must be paid heed to if Indian democracy is to be strengthened. This is of singular relevance to policy planners, scholars, politicians, study and the teachings on Indian democracy, and finally building a critical discourse in the public sphere from which all can gain.

## The Research Collective

- Sutirtha Bedajna
- Anup Dhar
- Sujata Dutta Hazarika
- Manish Jha
- Kalpana Kannabiran
- Ratan Khasnabis
- Asutosh Kumar
- Amit Prakash
- Swarna Rajagopalan
- Ranabir Samaddar
- Suhit Sen
- Dipankar Sinha
- Badri Narayan Tiwari
- Benjamin Zachariah

### CRG Website & Resource Centre

CRG website ([www.mcrg.ac.in](http://www.mcrg.ac.in)) has a significant interactive section for the distance education on forced migration. It has also on it the South Asia Resource Centre on Forced Migration Studies. It provides a basic and advance search engine for accessing material in electronic and print form, namely books, documents, such as conference papers, course reading material, journals, reports, research papers, theses, census reports, audio, video and data CD, etc.

The library also has an online archive section. It has also complete reports of CRG's research and advocacy activities, electronic versions of the entries in our journal, *Refugee Watch*. The website has a special section called "Refugee Watch Online".

The CRG library has developed as a reference library, specializing in books and non-book material relating to mainly areas such as, law, gender studies, forced migration, food, environment, justice, autonomy, displacement, minority rights, media, advocacy material, child right, and human rights. Some of the notable CDs are on Educational Material on Sustaining Rights, Burma Human Rights Yearbooks, World Investment Reports, World Refugee Surveys, Brookings Institution material on IDPs, UN Human Rights System Reports, Nepal Human Rights Year Books, and other reports on Ensuring Food Secure Future, Right to Land, and Report on Human Trafficking etc.

*Individuals who want to access the library and the Resource Centre are requested to apply and register themselves as users. CRG appeals to its members and outside individuals to contribute relevant resource material to the resource centre and help it to grow in all possible ways.*