# GLOBAL PROTECTION OF MIGRANTS & REFUGEES

6<sup>th</sup> Annual Research & Orientation Workshop & Conference

15-20 November 2021

#### A Report

Calcutta Research Group

In collaboration with Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung (RLS), Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna (IWM) and several universities and institutions in India

#### **Contents**

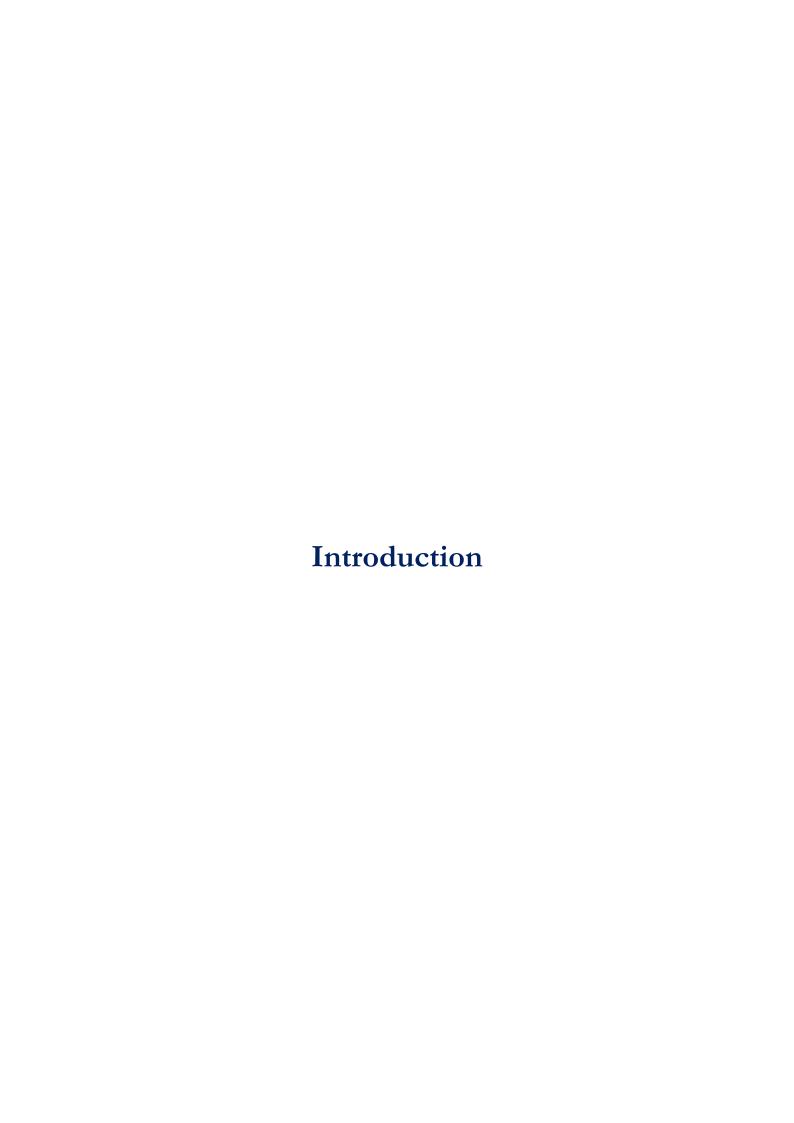
I. Acknowledgment	5
II. Introduction	9
III. Research Briefs	15
IV. Public Lectures, Webinars & Panel	33
Discussions V. Workshop	41
v. workshop	71
VI. Conference	91
VII. Resolution	115
VIII. Evaluations	121
IX. Participants & Organisers	133
X. Research Outcomes	139



#### Acknowledgment

This huge range of activities done by Calcutta Research Group is not possible without the help of the funding agencies. We are grateful to Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung-South Asia who has an association with CRG from a long period. The Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna helped this organisation for the last two years. CRG has also been grateful to its senior members and distinguished scholars who were ready to participate in the research activities all over the year, for making the work of the institution successful.

The institution is thankful to the eminent scholars who participated in different panel discussions, webinars and lectures and workshops as speakers, module tutors and evaluators. CRG is also grateful its research and administrative staffs for their efforts to make the events successful.



Calcutta Research Group is working towards securing the rights for the refugees, migrants and refugees for last twenty-five years. The institution has contributed a lot in the field of migration and forced migration, gender, displacement, labour and climate related issues. It disseminated its knowledge through the several lectures, webinars, panel discussions, workshop and conferences. This year's research programme also deals with the pandemic, climate disaster and the precarious condition of the labour. Apart from the workshop and conferences, CRG's all online and offline programmes has attracted audiences from academia and activism. Several peoples from NGOs, Civil Rights Organisations, Solidarity movement agencies, college and university teachers, students and researchers from all over India, South Asia and abroad. Despite of the worldwide crisis due to the pandemic, CRG got a dynamic range of scholars and activists, journalists and educationists, poet, theatre persons, urban planners in their different programmes.

The international circulation of the Kolkata Declaration on Protection of Refugees and Migrants (adopted at CRG's third annual workshop in 2018) provides evidence that the programme on the challenges facing global protection has drawn wide attention. Refugee and migration "crises" have come to the forefront of international attention amidst rising imperialist interventions, sectarian nationalisms, religious extremism, civil wars, environmental degradation, and neoliberal restructuring of economies in the last three decades. While the churnings in the wake of regime changes in the Arab world, the prolonged civil war in Syria, and the exodus of the Rohingya people have been the biggest contributors of refugee situations in recent years, persistent violence and poverty in several other countries and regions contribute to forced migration. The refugee "crisis" in Europe in 2015 hastened the idea of designing new modes of protection, which led to two Global Compacts being adopted by the United Nations.

As gross inequality in responsibility-sharing among nation states persists, the deficiencies in the global protection system are starker than ever. Aspects of the present crisis in the strategy of protection - such as increased humanitarian caseloads in cities; increased racialisation of refugees and migrants; the protracted nature of the condition of displacement throughout the world; increasing statelessness; the contrast between the corporate strategy of making refugees and immigrants market- enabled actors and the reality of refugee and immigrant labour as dirt labour in service of a global capitalist economy; the situation of mixed and massive flows-call for a deeper engagement with the issue of protection and the envisioning of policies fundamentally different in orientation. The crisis has been exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic. The first response of most countries to the pandemic was to close their borders. As a result, migrants all

over the world encountered untold miseries. All displaced communities are fast becoming de facto stateless.

Since 2015, CRG's annual workshop has responded to the increased vulnerabilities of forced migrants. From a policy perspective, the previous two annual workshops inquired why the Global Compacts were flawed when viewed from the global South and were successful in addressing several challenges facing the protection framework. When the pandemic arrived, CRG focussed its gaze on the perilous situation of migrants, forced or otherwise. It also brought out through its research the vulnerability of all working migrant population groups. Among the major issues revealed by the pandemic was that of public health. This and other emerging issues will be addressed in the forthcoming annual workshop.

The annual workshops, particularly the one held in 2020 (http://www.mcrg.ac.in/wc.asp), have given CRG enormous lessons in developing interactions and dialogues; building content and pedagogic skill; instilling synergy between different activities, working groups, and institutions. CRG aims to develop the programme on the basis of these lessons.

In the light of the above context this year's Annual Research and Orientation Workshop and Conference will partially recast the thematic approach of the programme so that it acquires a more specific character by way of concretely addressing some of the frontier issues in migration and forced migration studies. The event was organised in collaboration with the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung (RLS), The Institution for Human Sciences, Vienna and several other Universities and institutions in India. i

#### Details of the Research Workshop and International Conference

The research workshop hosted six working groups on the following themes, each thematic module being assigned their respective co-ordinators.

Module A: Protection and Punishment (Race, Caste, and Policing)

Module B: Migrant Workers and the Refugee: Complicated Terrains of Welfare and Asymmetric Social Protection

Module C: Refugees and Migrants as Subjects of Economics, Politics, and Gender Division

Module D: Forced Migration, Law and Critical Jurisprudence

Module E: Derogation of Rights of Refugees and Migrants, and Situations of Statelessness

Module F: Protection Ethics and Practices of Care and Solidarity

Participants in the workshop were selected from among applicants from South Asia as well as other parts of the globe and assigned to modules based on their preferences, and their research interests.

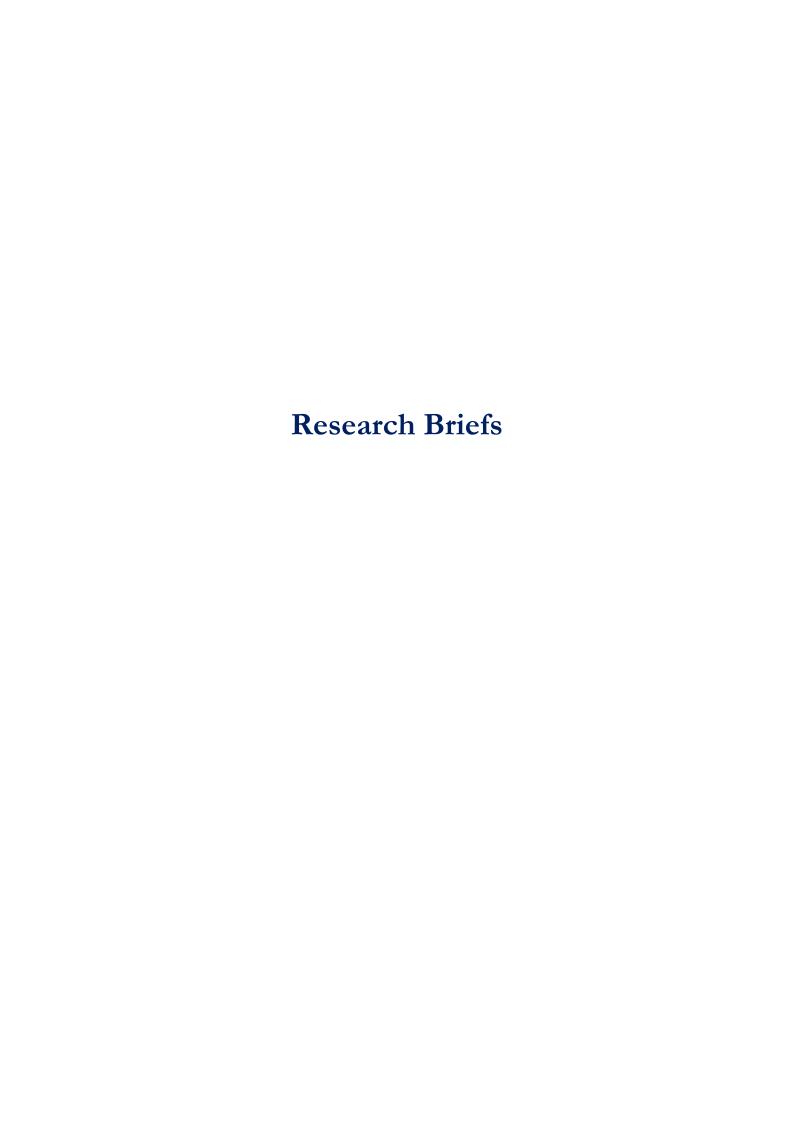
#### **Distance Segment (July-October):**

This year, CRG devoted additional efforts to design and organize the distance segment of the workshop prior to the physical event in Kolkata in November. The idea was to remotely provide effective mentorship to the participants and guide them in formulating their research plan and in writing their abstracts and the papers. To this end, an online ground breaking meeting with the participants and the resource persons was organized on 30 July where the design and the deliverables of the workshop were explained. Following that, each module had three virtual meetings between the participants and the module tutors during the month of July-September. These meetings were organized to guide the participants in developing their papers on the basis of the abstracts submitted before. The respective tutors, and in some cases invited external experts, explained the theme and the scope of the modules, discussed the abstracts in details and provided them with critical suggestions or inputs on their research and writing. Besides these formal meetings, the tutors also mentored the participants through individual email communications throughout the distance segment of the programme. At the end of the distance segment, four participants discontinued due to personal issues and the workshop moved onto the next phase with the remaining 25 participants.

The international conference that followed had panels on wide ranging themes including the basic research idea on Global Protection of Migrants and Refugees. It hosted panels addressing the experiences of migration, climate change and displacement. Invited international speakers of global renown addressed key contemporary concerns on migration and the conference.

The proceedings of the workshop and the conference culminated in the adoption of a resolution titled the *Kolkata Declaration on the Need for a Coherent Protection Policy and Justice for Refugees and Migrants of Afghanistan* on the final day of the event on 20 November 2021. It is hoped that the declaration will have an impact on international organisations working with refugees like the UNHCR, IOM, and other state and non-state organisations and individuals to raise demands to protect the right to life and livelihood of the Afghans and non- Afghans who want to leave in Afghanistan. The resolution also demands to prevent the forcible return of the refugees and asylum seekers. The resolution also demands the adoption of multi-dimensional policy responses to support the Afghans seeking protection from persecution, abuses and violations to their life, dignity and rights.

Further information of the event is available at www.mcrg.ac.in.



#### **Staff Researchers**

#### Immigrants and the Incongruous Constitutional Philosophies of the U.S. Supreme Court

Anand Upendran, Programme and Research Associate, Calcutta Research Group

The Supreme Court of the United States ('the court', hereinafter)—its nine justices privileged with lifetime appointments—is the guardian and final interpreter of the Constitution of the United States ('the constitution', hereinafter)—an admirable document which is as resilient as it is old, and which has influenced the contents of innumerable modern constitutions and human rights instruments. Yet, through the period of recent memory, a relentless and immensely consequential debate among the justices of the court regarding their proper function has animated the opinions of the court in litigations where it was asked to assess the validity of legislative or executive actions against the touchstone of the constitution. While one class of justices hold that the court must adopt restraint while gauging the constitutional adequacy of legislations and executive policies, the other class of justices speak in favour of an interventionist approach which does not easily defer to the political branches of government. While the former class of justices appear to perceive that a democratic legislature is the true guardian of individual liberty, the latter class of justices appear to perceive that an independent judiciary must be the superior guardian since democratic processes have the potential to diminish individual liberty, especially the liberties of minorities. While the former class of justices proclaim that the constitution must be understood in terms of the original meaning and intent of its provisions, the latter class of justices proclaim that the constitution is an evolving, organic document whose provisions can acquire new meanings with the passage of time and that the declaration of these new meanings is the province of the judiciary. Observers of the court notice that depending on the composition of the court at particular points of time, either of these philosophies direct the majority opinions of the court (which opinions become law and precedent) while the other finds expression as powerful dissenting opinions (which opinions, though not law, have the value of precedent insofar as it can form the basis of a future reconsideration of the concerned majority opinion). What is common between the justices of these two classes, however, is their stated fidelity to the founding principles of the constitution; their historic obligation to honour the strictures of the common-law judicial process; their reliance on the democratic ideal to justify their respective, divergent perceptions of the judicial function; the reputation which some of them enjoy as great masters of the judicial craft (names such as Felix Frankfurter and Antonin Scalia on the one side; Robert H. Jackson and Ruth Bader Ginsburg on the other); and the conclusive impact which their decisions have on hugely contentious subjects of American public

life such as racial equality, abortion, homosexual unions, the death penalty, etc. (this impact being the reason why the discourses and processes of appointments to the court have become intensely political and, often, disturbingly partisan). The incongruousness between the constitutional philosophies of the court also potently impacts the question of immigration into the United States and the rights which the constitution affords to immigrants—another controversial subject in that country's politics. The manner in which the disagreement, within the court, regarding the proper function of the court has affected the constitutional rights of immigrants in the United States will be the subject of this paper. It will attempt to perceive the intellectual process through which a judge decides a case—'the judicial process'—as a practice, proceeding to examine the ethical strength of the two philosophies. The paper may also point to two recent, conflicting decisions of the Indian judiciary—the decision of the Supreme Court of India, in April 2021, to not intervene in the proposed deportation of Rohingya refugees who fled Myanmar due to ethnic persecution; the decision of the High Court of Manipur, in May 2021, allowing certain Myanmar citizens who fled to India fearing political persecution after the military coup in that country to travel to New Delhi to seek protection from the UNHCR.

#### The Politics of the local: The contingencies of Citizenry in Assam

#### **Ankur Tamuli Phukan**, Programme and Research Associate, Calcutta Research Group

Most of the literatures on immigrants discuss the legal-historical etiquette of the immigration problems in Assam and northeast India in general ignoring the basic structure of the operation processes of identification, determination and finally the deportation of a particular individual as foreigner. This paper will try to locate that processes in order to understand the shifts and changes in bio-political agendas of a nation-state and how in a particular historical-cultural context of Assam such cartographic anxiety of a nation-state would align itself with other subnational(s), bureaucratic anxieties of a particular local. The problem of reading legal-juridical structure and their limitation in the case of immigration discourses is that it simply ignores the efficacy of practices and their transcendental aura in developing the political-legal arithmetic in the locals. This particular chasm between legal-juridical and political-legal is critical to understand the question of marginalization and how it operates, articulates or dislocates itself historically in accordance with the efficacy of practices of the operative process of identification of an individual as immigrants. Of course, it is also critical to understand whether such practices are also developed through commonsensical notions of identification of particular community as immigrant origin or other legal-political arithmetic that partly determines the structure of practices. If efficacy of the practices is already given in this particular historical-cultural context of Assam then how such practices are sabotaged, inverted by the individuals/communities and what kind of contingencies that generate through these inversions. The research will address larger questions of citizenry, everydayness of operation of identity, the idea of border both in discursive and material level.

### Public health in refugee camps and colonies of West Bengal during 1947-1958: policies, practices and politics

#### Priyankar Dey, Programme and Research Assistant, Calcutta Research Group

The proposed study of the official healthcare policies and practices in refugee camps and colonies, I believe, would reflect upon the politics of health of the postcolonial state in West Bengal. It will be important to think about how disciplinary power of the state vis-à-vis the migrants was mediated by bio-power and its techniques in this context. Equally important would be to understand how crises of public health in the camps and the colonies produced different forms of collective action. Besides highlighting various efforts of the East Bengali refugees themselves in building basic healthcare infrastructures in the colonies, the second section of the paper will try to analyse how and to what extent health of the refugees functioned as an important site of politics for the refugee organizations as well as the left parties of the state. Bio-politics from below', as Ranabir Samaddar argues in his book A Pandemic and the Politics of Life, involves a reconfiguration of the concepts of life and care in a very different manner. Can we think of the politics of health as performed by the refugees and left parties during 1947-1958 in terms of the 'bio-politics from below'? How did this politics conceptualize 'life'?

Investigations into the politics of health around the East Bengali refugees will help us to understand how the discourses on public health informed and shaped the representations of the refugee in different registers. Question of health, this paper will try to show, was one of the contributing factors in establishing the East Bengali refugees as a distinctive population group. It is in this context, I would like to investigate how the visibilities of body of the refugee, both individual as well as social, was mediated by the contemporary discourses of public health. Literary accounts and photographs published in newspapers and official reports will be useful to show how the image of the constantly threatened body of the refugee became instrumental in highlighting the 'bare life' in the camps and the colonies.

#### Changes in the Role of the migrants and refugees in election campaigns

#### Rajat Kanti Sur, Programme and Research Associate, Calcutta Research Group

The long procession of the migrant labourers through the highway towards their home states was a painful but common scene all over India. West Bengal was not the exception. The Trinamool Congress (TMC)-led state government blamed their colleagues at the centre for announcing a sudden lockdown. Mamata Banerjee, the chief minister of West Bengal, blamed the centre for not arranging the return of the migrant workers before the lockdown. On the other hand, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), the ruling party at the centre, blamed the state government for not taking care of the migrants. They said that they would start preparing a database of the migrant workers to prove how these migrants had been mishandled by the TMCled state government. They also claimed that they will use the database in the 2021 assembly elections to attract the migrant workers and their families towards BJP. The Communist Party of India (Marxist)-led left front criticised both the central and state governments for not working in favour of the migrant workers and other marginal communities during the lockdown and began cheap canteens in several parts of the state. They also provided cheap rations and health services to the migrant labourers and other marginal communities. As per the latest news the party has mentioned issues of the migrant labourers and proposed to create a separate department for the migrant workers if they come to power.

While the migrant labourers and their crisis during the lockdown became one of the major issues in the West Bengal assembly elections in 2021, the NRC-CAA issue is not far behind. BJP, one of the three major contestants, directly accused the TMC-led state government for praising Mulsims which caused illegal infiltration that affected the local demographic character of the border districts. The Indian home minister assured one of the marginal Hindu communities that they would implement CAA-NRC to give them proper citizenship. The process will start especially with the Namashudra refugees in West Bengal who belonged to the Matua sect, as soon as the COVID-19 vaccination ends. The BJP also campaigned among the Hindus in the border districts that the state government was not careful about the Hindu migrants who came from the other side of the border due to brutal attacks from the Muslim fundamentalists. On the other hand, both the TMC and the left parties and the Congress accused that the BJP would try to use the issue of citizenship to communalise the electorate. Mamata Banerjee said that she would not let the CAA-NRC happen till the end. She would be the protector of rights of citizenship of the migrants who were forced to come to take shelter in West Bengal. The proposed study will analyse how the issues of migration, displacement and citizenship were

addressed in the political campaigns in three legislative assembly elections in West Bengal. Here, The researcher did an analysis of the assembly elections in last fifty years to locate how these issues became prominent one or two years before the elections and were used differently by the political parties with different ideologies.

#### 'Bangladesh News': Narrative Frames of Refugee and Relief in the Liberation War 1971 Rituparna Datta, Programme and Research Assistant, Calcutta Research Group

In the long twentieth century while the world polity was creating its own discourse on migrants and refugees arising out of the inexorable complications of nation-state formations and identity politics not only primarily at temporal chronological junctures but the steady flows helped create a living figure of the refugee as suffering-self that needed protection, care and governance was slowly evolving in its glocal variations but invariably appeared in the vortex of loss as a summative category of not only home and homeland but of dignity and rights stepped in death, debility, disease and doles became the primer of humanitarian assistance catered to by the host institutions. While the newly formed Indian State was already grappling with the issue of refugee and rehabilitation arising out of the mass exodus in its tryst with destiny of a severed nation since 1947 the beginning of the Bangladesh Liberation War in March 1971 with the military crackdown through 'Operation Searchlight' of Yahya Khan once again heightened the rates human influx through already established routes and networks across West Bengal, Tripura, Assam and the invisibilities in denial of refugee migrants in India once again attracted the attention of the global polity as existential crisis of humanity through its daily reportage in print media. This paper tries to analyse the comparative gaze about the visions of a nation in making in South Asia which was encountered through the trope of refugee dislocations in India and the industrious responses that the neighbouring state and the global community offered in providing relief to the suffering masses fleeing the genocide in East Pakistan. This comparative scale based on qualities of displacement, health, hygiene, sanitation, physiognomy of the biopolitics of the docile suffering of the migrant bodies and how it became the quantifier of 'refugeedom' at times steeped in deep sense of shame and humiliation of unsettling 'desh' and on the other broader spectrum as a by-product of unshackling the vestiges of bondage and dominance and creating democratic independent desired identity in national reckoning of the 'making' of nation. The continued reportage of the events of the liberation war and subsequent refugee influx into India in newspapers and broadcasts is argued as a 'feel tank' that generated emotions and parallels of haptic proprioception of the already living realities of the coming out of the partition in 1947. The descriptive frames of refugisms in the liberation war generated an 'emotional mobilization'

where the refugee bodies became the site of cultural production of retributive subjection of transgressive militancy of West Pakistan and the entangled lingua franca used to portray this suffering substantiated by the visual imageries created definitive spaces of emotional consumerism capitalising the refugee pain. The depictions are looked upon as a liminal space that transcribes beyond being descriptive categories but offers a window into the life worlds where the private became the public generating newer emotions what Wolf-Sontag highlights as the pain of others through 'felt' mechanisms in understanding and outreaching the wellbeing in the passage of wait generating solidarity networks of speculation about the potential future of these refugees. The study borrows from Bakhtin's Heteroglossia in developing the approach of 'thinking through paper' where the lingua franca itself was a passive sculptor of the amorous image of the refugee and will try to map a social attitude distance between Arendt's 'We Refugees' and Wolf's 'We' seeing the refugees

#### Development and Displacement in the Damodar Valley of India

#### Shatabdi Das, Research Fellow, Calcutta Research Group

The multipurpose projects in the Damodar river valley had envisioned agricultural development and industrialisation along with modernisation of a tribal area through the provision of jobs, growth of service sector, education and technical skill development besides irrigation facilities and electricity generation in the two states of Bengal and erstwhile south Bihar (now Jharkhand). Dam construction brings about environmental changes through the submergence of land and control of river discharge and involuntary displacement. In case of river Damodar in the Chota Nagpur plateau, the large quantity of sand deposits in the DVC reservoirs reduces the life span of the dams; this is believed to be largely due to the rapid pace of mining-based industrialisation and urbanisation. Mining has not only changed the land-use pattern in the region, degradation of land has led to physical and occupational displacement of people. Research shows that more than a million people have been displaced due to coal mining between 1950 and 1995. EIA reports of mining companies at times fail to provide the exact number of displacements; many a times the accounts of rural dwellers convey the cases of displacement due to mining and related activities. In 1953, when the Damodar Valley Corporation (DVC) acquired 41,000 acres of land mostly from the indigenous communities in the districts of Dhanbad, Jamtara and Purulia and erstwhile Barddhaman in Jharkhand and West Bengal respectively, close to 70,000 people were displaced. Land, houses, and livelihood lost by those displaced were not adequately compensated, neither were those displaced absorbed into the production units with jobs; only 350 persons received compensation and jobs. Years later in 1992 the Supreme Court's directives

to the organisation in favour of compensation for some of the displaced persons who had appealed to the apex court did not see full implementation. Further, in 2011, rehabilitation plans for some mining areas were still awaiting enactment. The early years of mining, dam construction and increase of industrial production were associated with land acquisition, migration and displacement in the forested surroundings of the dam reservoirs and mines. In the recent decades of urban expansion the challenges of resettlement and rehabilitation of rural and urban population have followed in the wake of industrial stagnation and increasing spatial agglomeration and environmental hazards; the urban-industrial and peri-urban locales have experienced both growth as well as deurbanisation of some of the Census Towns in the Damodar valley. This study attempts to analyse the trend of development, migration and displacement in the Damodar valley of India since1990s to the present times. The research will also enquire into the nature of planning and rehabilitation for migrants and displaced persons in this eastern part of the country.

#### **Contracted Researchers**

#### Migrants, State and Civil Society: Question of Social Protection and Problematic of Social Citizenship

#### Manish K. Jha and Mouleshri Vyas, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai

The proposed paper will examine how migrants are experiencing and making claims on social citizenship; and how their relationship with the state gets shaped by the evolving crisis. What has been the contestations around the responsibility and accountability of the state and its agencies? What has been the nature and character of state-civil society relationships that have implications for the urban migrants? 2 In the backdrop of public discourse around migrants, life and situation in camps, slums and other informal settlements, and their work, habitat, and health, we shall comprehend how epidemic/pandemic influences the nature of life, circumstances, and experiences of working class migrants. The socio-economic and political disenfranchisement of migrants can be examined through the nexus of poverty, vulnerability, nature of work and social status of the migrant workers. Away from their source area, these migrants are often denied social provisioning that is officially tied with their identity at the source area. While there are severe implications of the crisis on migrants, the neoliberal push through labour codes brought newer insecurity and complexities for the informal urban migrants. We need to engage with political, legal, and social dynamics around the bare provisioning and (im)possibilities of social protection for the migrant works force. The policy and politics around the idea and limits of

compensation, enumeration, and service provisioning allow us to see how the crisis has unfolded for the migrants and their families.

#### Protection and Punishment: The Two Ambits of State

#### Nasreen Chowdhory, University of Delhi

The dichotomous concepts of protection and punishment are cast within the mould of state sovereignty and power. For citizens, the institutionalized framework of both protection and punishment that they are subjected to, is by default determined by the sovereign authority and power of respective nation-states. Their right to be protected by the state is equally juxtaposed to the monopoly of the state to punish them, if they digress from the established 'rule of law'. Punishment here, theoretically can be seen justified as retributive- that is to impose a deserved reciprocally sanctioned action or as preventive- so as to create a deterrence against such digressions (Cahill, 2010). Hence for citizens, while protection is embedded in their rights of citizenship, punishment signifies right of the sovereign, both though with qualifiers and conditions. For non-citizens like refugees and stateless, who sustain their "bare life" in the hoststate the dichotomy of protection and punishment manifests differently than for citizens. The causative factors that necessitated their exclusion and displacement from their country of origin more than often were for not fulfilling the criteria for inclusion in that state. Couched in the larger ambit of humanitarian protection, their subjectivity is reduced to that of 'humans' that mandate 'protection'. Here the limited protection accorded to them signify only their "residual rights as human" (Mamdani, 2010: 54) and not the full-fledged protection guaranteed to the citizen by virtue of their citizenship rights. Punishment for them is at once both metaphorical and literal. Refugees and such forced migrants are segregated from the host population and live in make-shift camps in deplorable conditions, such that the protection accorded to them on humanitarian grounds transmute to a sort of punishment for being the excluded 'other'. The crossing of geographical boundaries not just creates categories such as 'us' and 'other', but also have seen increasingly led to "criminology of mobility" (Aas and Bosworth, 2013:9). Regulation and restriction of mobility hence produces novel forms of illegality and criminalization, apart from turning punishment and criminal justice structure as important apparatuses "guarding the gates of membership" (ibid.). The role of criminal law and policing has been to preserve the internal security, to establish the sovereign's supremacy and the moral order of the society, in short to create a well-ordered and disciplined society (Foucault 1977; Simon 2007). The paper intends to look at the binary of punishment and protection of refugees from the view point of sovereign power of the state.

#### Protection Ethics and Practices of Care and Solidarity

#### Samir Kumar Das, University of Calcutta & Calcutta Research Group

Never before in our recent past history has life per se - regardless of class, income, ethnicity, race, identity and so forth - acquired so much of importance as it has now. While the on-going pandemic calls for protection of life per se, most of our responses have been highly differential, if not discriminatory. On the one hand, these differential responses by all accounts take on a racist character. Migrants and refugees, needless to say, surface at the wrong of the spectrum of responses and become easy targets of violence and xenophobia. The pandemic has not only revived the pre-existing differences, but introduced newer ones. On the other hand, the differences have made it imperative on the part of States and human societies to decide on the 'value' or 'non-value' of life - on who must die so that others might live. Societies are not known to have cared for any and every life.

The worldwide pandemic marks the high point of coincidence between the presently pursued neoliberal policies with a neo-Malthusian turn. In the last chapter of his book published in 1798, Malthus argued that the surplus population that the nature is unable to feed because of the ever-increasing pressure on her resources is to be considered as dispensable. They do not deserve to live and must die as the nature takes 'positive checks' (i.e. natural disasters, calamities, accidents, epidemics and pandemics etc.) in order to eliminate them. Remember his axiom – 'moral evil is the road to moral excellence'. 'Their' disease and death (of the migrants, refugees and others), in other words, are subordinated to the 'demands of our life'.

Contrary to the neo-Malthusian ethic, we have examples of practices of care and solidarity that not only are issued from the sheer bio-political necessity of mutual survival but make life possible for those who are otherwise condemned to die under extreme neoliberal conditions. Never before in human history has 'public' or 'common good' become so much important as it has in the context of the raging pandemic. Recovering care and solidarity from the appropriations by neoliberal power is by no means easy. Such terms as 'trust', 'social capital', 'network', 'togetherness' and 'responsibility' have already become the new buzzwords of neoliberal interventions in Migration and Refugee Studies. On the other hand, it only implies that 'their' practices must be negotiated under conditions of what Derrida would have called 'performative powerlessness'.

The final part discusses three albeit overlapping discursive practices of care and solidarity beyond the State domain as evident in Modern Indian Social and Political Thought: Swami

Vivekananda's idea of service towards the plague-affected victims, Tagore's project of 'societal kingship' (samaj rajtantra) and Gandhi's fight against stigmatization of lepers. Social governance of the pandemic, in other words, gives unto itself ethics that are unique to them. Experiences of care and solidarity particularly in Kerala, West Bengal and the states of India's Northeast speak of a diversity of models underlining different ethical principles that help 'de-structure' the neoliberal ethic.

## Locating Majidbhita Char of Assam in the shadow of migration and systemic exclusion Anjuman Ara Begum, Independent Researcher & Calcutta Research Group.

Majidbhita is a char (sand bar along the course of a river) village under Mandia development block in Assam's Barpeta district with 300 families. Majidbhita is located along the river Beki, a tributary of Brahmaputra and like any other char areas in Assam, Majidbhita too faces perennial flood and river erosion displacing thousands every year both temporarily or permanently. In 2020, around 50 families of the char village have lost their houses. Both the bank lines of river Beki eroded resulting in the complete erosion of 26 houses during 2020. Along with the natural calamities, a number of residents of Majidbhita face the risk of statelessness and constant displacement and forced migration.

Displacement in the char areas leads to derogation of citizenship rights and this is proved during the National Register of Citizens [NRC] process in Assam. On August 31, 2019, the NRC authority published the final list of Indian citizens living in Assam. The list excluded 1.9 million people, mostly belonging to marginalized groups like religious and linguistic minorities, tribals, women, children and sexual minorities. These people are now on the verge of losing their citizenship as well as other social security entitlements. NRC has affected millions of people from across communities in Assam. Char areas in Assam mostly inhabited by the Bengali Muslim community are a part of this. The exclusion from NRC and the fear psychosis created by the detention camp has created a mental, physical, emotional and economic distress in the char. NRC process weakened the already economically marginalised population of the Chars and COVID 19 restrictive measure already broken the backbone of char economy. In a situation like this, people of Majidbhita as well as other char areas of Assam are vulnerable and are the risk of statelessness.

#### Climate Disaster, Displacement and the State

Dipanjan Sinha, Freelance Journalist

Utsa Sarmin, Independent Researcher and Journalist

Piya Srinivasan, Independent Journalist

The Sundarbans, home to the world's largest mangrove forest, is also home to 4.5 million people who have been victims of climate disasters, especially floods and cyclones, over the decades. The two cyclones of 2020 and 2021, Amphan and Yaas, respectively, wreaked havoc on inhabitants of the islands of the Sundarbans, resulting in widespread displacement and loss of homes and livelihoods. Post Amphan, the state reportedly incurred a loss of 1 lakh crore. Cyclones are not new in the delta region. Cyclone Aila which hit the state in May 2009, "... swept across South Bengal particularly the deltaic Sundarbans killing people, their livestock and rendering thousands homeless... The very next day islanders were found lined up on the embankment pleading, shouting and jostling with each other trying to grab relief and aid that came their way." (Mukhopadhyay, 2009:3) All these cyclones resulted in large-scale displacement and migration of the most marginalized people of Sundarbans, the ones who reside near embankments. An everrising sea also contributes to displacements. For example, even before Aila, Mousuni island's Baliara village suffered continuous inundation from the rising sea; first in 1991 and then in 2004. This led to loss of homes, agricultural lands and migration. To stop the saline water of the sea from inundating the agricultural lands, embankments-a colonial legacy-were built multiple times throughout the years but failed to contain the rising sea and collapsed due to cyclones. Embankments also encroached on farm lands, people's homes leading to more displacement. Are embankments the solution to an ever changing delta region? The displaced population were provided relief each time a natural disaster occurs but are they properly rehabilitated? Do statesponsored rehabilitation and resettlement programmes address greater socio-economic concerns of life, livelihood and property, which are the biggest drivers of internal migration? Are there enough preventive mechanisms and legal, policy-based and structural mechanisms in place to address population resettlement in the face of the increasing natural disasters? How do we identify these thousands of displaced populations who have to migrate from their homes either due to disaster or decreasing livelihood due to embankments and an ever-rising Bay of Bengal? Are they IDPs? Can we identify them as climate refugees or do they fall under the umbrella term "internal migrants"? The proposed project "Climate Disaster, Displacement and the State" will seek to investigate these questions.

The project has three segments:

- 1. A podcast series looking into the long history of Sundarbans and displacement
- 2. An investigative piece on embankment and rehabilitation policies of the government
- 3. A research paper on the legal and policy mechanisms of the state to address climate change-induced displacement: definitions, inadequacies, and the efficacy of relief and rehabilitation programmes for natural disasters.

#### Thematic Researches

Calcutta Research Group has worked on different research themes in this year. Scholars in different disciplines did their research under the proposed themes.

#### A. Long 2020

Long 2020 is one of the main focuses of CRG's research agenda in 2021. COVID-19 pandemic, lockdown and the migrant crisis of the last year have forced us to revisit some of our concepts, theories, and policies of governance, protection, care, and justice around issues of migration and forced migration. This year's research agenda in many ways is therefore shaped by our last year's experiences. The 'long' in the 'Long 2020' helps us to think of our present as a long unfolding of historical trends and experiences of epidemiological management, a combination of several crises in the form of a pandemic, public health policies, and practices, migration realities in the wake of an epidemic, and issues of life and death raising their heads through the time of an epidemic. Yet, even though an epidemic such as this is preceded in history by other epidemics, each repetition of history is also a new beginning. The 'long' can be also thus understood in reference to the projection of a current event into the future by looking back into the past. Informed by such a paradox, the 'Long 2020' research programme will try to rethink issues of epidemiological governance, jurisprudence, public health, restructuring of labour, and the idea of 'crisis' with a special focus on refugees and migrants caught in the crisis.

Contemporary migration scholarship is still deficient in historical awareness and hence unable to bring out the political and economic truths of the crisis time. Notwithstanding the wide range of research methodologies and reflections on the diverse sites and subjects of migration, we lack the focus that can produce a compelling critique of conventional knowledge of migration. The idea of a 'long 2020' research programme is drawn from an awareness to place the migration issue in

the light of epidemiological and economic governance, broad macroeconomic restructuring, and the acute crises of the time.

Such a research programme hopefully will bring back the question of the migrants' body into the academic field of studies of public health, public education, and labour. In the South Asian context, the refugee influx into India was marked by forcible pathologization of the refugee's body--from compulsory inoculation of the refugee as soon as they reached railway stations in the aftermath of the partition of British India, to the urban imagination of the 1971 refugee as the carrier of deadly diseases that needed to be contained far away from the urban metropolis. In 2020, the migrant workers walking back to their village homes after the sudden imposition of the lockdown, found their selves kneeling--to be sprayed by pesticides, to kill the virus. The trains ferrying them were the 'Corona trains', indicating their potential to infect previously untouched, uninfected villages. In this background, this will be a collective study of the some of the salient aspects of the year of 2020 in the light of long historical trends. At the same time the study will hopefully indicate a history that 2020 is creating before our eyes.

#### Researchers & Titles

The Long 2020: State Impunity and Erasure of Rights through Logistics of Governance

Amit Prakash, Jawaharlal Nehru University

Global Capitalism and Corona Pandemic - In Search for Radical Solution

Byasdeb Dasgupta, University of Kalyani

Modeling COVID-19: Notes on the Convergence of Economic and Epidemiological Reasons

Iman Kumar Mitra, Shiv Nadar University

Guest Workers in Kerala: Is Welfarism Enough?

Jyothi Krishnan, Independent Researcher

Contagion, Territory, Public Health: Situating 2020 in Modern South Asian Past

Kaustubh Mani Sengupta, Bankura University

Locating the Diseased Body

Paula Banerjee, University of Calcutta & Calcutta Research Group

Books, and the Time-Warp of Long COVID

Ritu Menon, Women Unlimited

The Long 2020 and the Informal Care Economy: Case Studies of Select Careworkers

Sabir Ahamed, Pratichi (India) Trust and Madhurilata Basu, Sarojini Naidu College for Women

Epidemic, Migration and Literature: Tropes, Traces and Topographies

Samata Biswas, The Sanskrit College and University

Longue Durée', 'Conjoncture', 'Event': Notion of Plural Time in History

Subhas Ranjan Chakraborty, Former Professor of Presidency University & Calcutta Research Group

#### B. The Migrant in the Electoral Time

Carving out of modern nation-states through partition of territories at the end of the colonial period has led to massive and mixed flows of migrants in India and South Asia in general. Besides political and communal conflicts, environmental crises and lack of food security and livelihood are also major contributing factors to large scale population movements in this region. In a country like India, the sheer number of the migrant population from neighbouring countries has traditionally made the migrants a distinct electoral population group and migration an important electoral issue. On the other hand, around 10% of India's working population constitutes of migrant workers who suddenly erupted into visibility due to the pandemic and the subsequent nation-wide lockdown. With this as the background, this research seeks to investigate how the figure of the migrant features in the campaigns of different political parties and other organizations during elections. A major focus of this study will be to understand how different connotations and representations of the migrant are mediated through the strategies as well as contingencies of electoral politics. This research will produce a report through an investigation of these issues through three comparative, fieldwork-based, case-studies of electoral campaigns for the assembly elections of Bihar (2020), Assam (2021) and West Bengal (2021). The study will aim to collect and archive election manifestos, speeches, leaflets, handbills, posters, photographs, video clips, newspaper reports, and trends on social media platforms on issues involving the migrants and refugees, texts of select interviews of voters, election workers, and local leaders. Special emphasis will be on getting the voices of women migrants, and daughters, mothers, sisters, and wives of male returnee migrants - their presence or lack thereof in the electoral sphere. It will also study electoral metaphors, and the deployment of the language of violence, racism, and masculinity in the election campaigns.

#### Researchers

Anamika Priyadarshini, Centre for Catalyzing Change, Patna

Gopal Krishna, Toxic Watch & Patna High Court, Patna

Ankur Tamuli Phukan, Calcutta Research Group

Priyankar Dey, Calcutta Research Group

Rajat Kanti Sur, Calcutta Research Group

#### C. COVID-19 and After: Work, Life and the Salience of Primitive Accumulation

(A Research Report on the Living Archive prepared by Calcutta Research Group)

The dominant trope of recent times has been labour. Historically, since the beginnings of the wage-labour economy, the spectre of unbearable distress within this class returns with every recession and depression. The present-day downturn in the economy and the subsequent predominance of labour in the official and unofficial discourses is thus, no outlier, for the former marks the overwhelming return of the unemployed, the pauper, the starved – now reeling under the pressure of a 'crisis', conjecturally caused by a pestilence. Today, in this context, varied attempts are being made by economists to characterize work and life under the contemporary capitalist imperatives. Notwithstanding the creditable endeavours in doing so in the past, these recent efforts are partly necessitated by the growing need to conceptualize the pandemic in the form of COVID-19 - from the point of labour. Moreover, as the infectious cases ebb and the devastated economy stares at a possible restructuring to avert another supply breakdown, a critical account of living and making a living in the present times also tells about what the postpandemic future portends for an individual worker. As such, in India, there emerges already a widely accepted understanding over how the last 15 months, ever since the pandemic-triggered nationwide lockdown was announced in March last year, were experienced by the country's workforce. One can easily notice, in these conceptualisations, the two dominant threads of argument that are not so independent of each other. The first centres around the surging unemployment, worsened by the restrictions on mobility that had caused businesses to shut down their operations; the latter focuses on the proliferation of temporary and precarious employment. We are told that even though with mobility restrictions getting eased, the labour markets could not recover all their losses - thereby, hinting towards a lasting impact of the pandemic. Accordingly, given the prevailing dejection in the labour force, what follows from this analysis is the demand to create jobs. This is accompanied by pressing the Indian state to let the fiscal taps flow and increase government spending to achieve so - considering the weak private investment climate. An absence in doing so, as the argument further advances, gives rise to conducive conditions to further the process of informalisation, casualisation, and dispossession. This push to precarity, as we are told again, is aided by the renewed thrust of the state to "codify" the labour laws and unabated eviction drives in the urban areas - both, under the shadow of the pandemic. For all its credibility in disinterring the fine print of the latest economic reports, neither line of analysis, however, seems adequate in capturing the contemporary

imagination of the struggle of labour against the conceptual segregations forced on it by the regime of capital. And there are reasons for it. One, the emergent understanding of how the Indian labour experiences the pandemic tends to blame for the said hardships on the democratic governance under an 'elected' political regime, while arguably overlooking the traditional mediating role of the state in favour of markets. Furthermore, it also sins of having a false 'immediacy' in what could, unfortunately, be viewed as an inevitable trajectory. For as Marx had argued in Capital Vol. 1: "... it is capitalist accumulation itself that constantly produces, and produces indeed in direct relation of its own energy and extent, a relatively redundant working population, i.e. a population which is superfluous to capital's average requirements for its own valorisation, and is therefore a surplus population." With this theoretical understanding of the above mentioned opposing forces in mind, I hence propose, under the short term fellowship with Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group, to analyse the aspects of work and life in the post-COVID-19 pandemic times by reflecting upon the salience of primitive accumulation — as the economy restructures — that also corresponds to the rise in the reserve army of labour, a significant part of which is constituted by the migrating workforce.

#### Researcher

Ronak Chhabra, NewsClick, India

\*Details of the research activities is available at the Calcutta Research Group website

# Public Lecture/ Webinars/ Panel Discussions

Webinars

**Borders and Mobility** 

Speaker: Ranabir Samaddar, Calcutta Research Group

Date: 5 April 2021

The lecture commenced with the mention of the book "The Postcolonial Age of Migration"

and its conceptual context on migratory flows. In the first section of the lecture the concept

of border and its contradictory implications as a cartographic enclosure of delimitation and

the role of border forces, border check points were discussed. Borderland was highlighted as

a frontier of contact and interaction between people from different walks of life, in various

forms be it the rivers, mountains, valleys, seas across the globe.

The second part of the discussion elaborated on mobility and its various registers, bringing

out the crucial role of borders as an indicator of governance of people's lives. It was stressed

that mobility is the attribute that becomes prominent through migration and how the

modern borders reflect the disciplining of masses. The importance of urban planning and

the role of integrated border management were discussed with focus on the contradictions

between the perception of border and regulatory zones.

The last section of the lecture dealt with the theme of 'borders, mobility and our histories'

where Ranabir Samaddar spoke about the emerging issues and conflicts related to border

regulations, immigration controls, surveillance, confinement, circulation, movement which

are temporarily solved with the advent of modern political society, where citizenship,

territoriality, borders, and sovereignty were combined on the template of the modern nation

states. The discussion came to a close with emphasis on governmental reasoning, economic

rationality and the attempts to secure perpetual peace through compacts among stable

identities, that propagate the phrases, "to live dangerously", "think dangerously", because

borders not only produce mobility, they often make people's knowledge and understanding

of freedom inadequate.

A brief question-answer session followed at the end of the lecture. Stress was laid on

whether the pandemic has created a paradigm shift in the perception of borders or not? It

was mentioned that although there has been no paradigm shift in the concept of borders,

since the imposition of lockdown, the idea of borders was reactivated and mobility became a

much debated matter and has affected the response of government to migrants culminating into a crisis of employment, the threats of border, expulsion looming large.

#### Fleeing and Staying: A Nuanced View of Bangladesh Refugee Crisis of 1971

Speaker: Meghna Guhathakurta, Research Initiative Bangladesh

**Date: 4 June 2021** 

Meghna Guhathakurta's lecture on 'Fleeing & Staying: A Nuanced view of the Bangladesh Refugee Crisis of 1971' was organised by Calcutta Research Group in collaboration with Rosa Luxembourg Stiftung. With Bangladesh celebrating fifty years of its independence also reminds us that it also marks the fifty years of the brutal genocidal realities that went into the making of Bangladesh that started with the Operation Searchlight in Dhaka targeting to cut of the general masses from the rising dissent through the intelligentsia and gradually gripped the nation into unforgettable horrors of mass repression soaked in blood. The resultant was the unprecedented flux of refugees spilling into the neighbouring nation-India who not only hosted the refugees but later played an active role in drawing international attention to the necessity of recognition of the nationhood of Bangladesh and provided support in its liberation war. However, fleeing the genocide does not only involve the cure of cross-border migration but also rests in the plethora of citizens becoming refugees within their national boundaries and the crisis of identity that was similar if not analogous for these masses 'fleeing and staying' Bangladesh. go behind the predominance of the visual that comes across in the reporting of a refugee. It usually consists though are not limited to mass crossing the border, huddled together in the squalor of camps, railway stations, and market places. Dismal scenes of the day-to-day miseries and perilously close to disease and death but also projected are scenes of mass atrocities as root causes which made them play in the first instance retaliation and resistance of the victimised people also capture headlines but stories that are not told or those that blurred lines of/between fleeing or staying behind. Between attaining refugee status and remaining displaced within one's own homeland. Resilience and resistance, the day-to-day stories of survival both inside the camps as well as outside, and the way the dynamics of return or multiple returns are the ones that remained the focus of the discussion with reference to several personal narratives to elaborate the intricate complexity of the crisis from different perspectives. The narratives of Guhathakurta as a member of a war-affected family belonging to a minority community—a family originating in West Bengal whose migratory trend she traced in her The Family Histories of the Partition—and other narratives of observers and actors in the crisis like Julian Francis of Oxfam, Freida Brown of the Australian Communist Party, and K.K. Sinha, a radical humanist who died in a motor

accident while returning from relief works in a camp; all these are rather unknown stories holds

the essentialities of the millions of suffered humanity often reduced to mere statistics. The lived

experiences in the nine months to freedom is what went into the making of the identity politics

of the Liberation War from individual fleetingness of struggles for survival to culminating into

call for identifying the nationhood for Bangladesh.

Public Lecture (Hybrid mode)

Perspectives on Human Mobility: Normative and Political

Speaker: Achin Chakraborty, Institute of Development Studies Kolkata

Date: 28 October 2021

The word 'migrant' usually evokes, for good reason, images of people at their most vulnerable.

The perspectives to illuminate the complexity of what may be generally called human mobility are

therefore overshadowed by a commonplace moral concern that overwhelms the numerous

accounts of vulnerabilities of migrants. In this lecture the speaker gave an outline of a normative

framework that was articulated in UNDP's Human Development Report 2009. The perspective here

is of freedom-taken in the sense of either opportunity or capability-and therefore when an

individual chooses to move, her capability set is supposed to expand. The importance of the

vulnerability narrative, it is worth recalling that the majority of migrants, far from being victims,

tend to be successful in the narrow sense of income gain, even though their exposure risks

increases manifold and their freedom in several dimensions remain restricted. Following this

perspective it is hard to see why the direction of policy in the origin country/sub-national entities

should be towards 'holding back' the prospective out-migrants. By contrast, there are positive-

analytic approaches that address questions like why do people migrate? We contrast these

perspectives with a political economy approach which is needed to understand why the

governments respond to the 'problem' of immigration (or in-migration) as they do. I argue that a

judicious combination of arguments drawn from these apparently diverging perspectives may

help us understand the policy issues better.

Panel Discussion (online)

Afghanistan: Transition and Justice

Panellists: Paula Banerjee, University of Calcutta & Calcutta Research Group

Nergis Canefe, York University, Canada

Georgia Dona, University of East London, UK

Moderator: Anita Sengupta, Asia in Global Affairs & Calcutta Research Group

#### Date: 8 November 2021

Decades of conflict and a constant state of transition in Afghanistan has meant that a long term plan for securing justice has always come second to securing peace. This disengagement between transitional justice and the political process and sensitivities around transitional justice among sections of the population, has impacted social reintegration and reconciliation. Lack of institutional reform and understanding of justice has meant that each stage of transition has been accompanied by violence and insecurity triggering, among others, the recent desperate need to escape from Taliban control. As the unending cycle of conflict and transition engulfs Afghanistan this webinar organized by the Calcutta Research Group focuses attention on the following themes (a) how a coherent strategy of reconstruction can only be based on creating conditions conducive to addressing the desire for justice among the people of Afghanistan (b) how the success of this process would ensure a lasting solution to the humanitarian crisis and the repeated waves of refugees who seek to leave the country with each stage of transition through an inclusive political process and (c) finally how the international community can support this process not only through programmes that support the process within Afghanistan but a recalibration of the understanding of Afghanistan as a Silk Road state.

# Sixth Annual Research and Orientation Workshop and Conference

#### **Concept Note**

The environs of the Calcutta Research Group (CRG)—the city, the nation, and the region have witnessed momentous episodes of human displacement and population movements. CRG's decision to devote itself to the study of migration—its forced dimension in particular—was, therefore, an organic outcome of its twenty-five-year-long engagement with socio-political issues. The 'Research and Orientation Workshop and Conference' is a vital expression of this sustained devotion. The annual event is pivotal to CRG's aspiration to voice the experiences, opinions and discontents of the South in global discussions on the subject, and has responded vigorously to the increased vulnerabilities of forced migrants. Focusing on the issue of protection and its ethics, recent editions of the event probed the adequacy of the two Global Compacts of 2018 and was successful in addressing several challenges facing the protection framework such as institutional dynamics and the changes therein, fault lines in the global protection map, and statelessness. When the pandemic arrived, CRG examined the perilous situation of migrants, forced or otherwise. It also brought out through its research the vulnerability of all working migrant population groups and the critical question of their access to public health. The forthcoming workshop and conference will advance CRG's recent involvements, and attend to both persistent and emergent issues in migrant protection.

The Kolkata Declaration, adopted during the Third Research and Orientation Workshop in 2018, is an evidence of the possibilities of the Research and Orientation Workshop and Conference. The Declaration—valuable for its understanding of the gravity and nuances of migration in the present period, its articulation of the South Asian milieu of this phenomenon, its expression of solidarity with the victims of forced displacement, and its assessment of international efforts to ameliorate the distress of such uprootedness—portrayed the perch from which CRG views migration, and reinforced its identity as an informed interlocutor on the subject.

Prepared in the wake of the two Global Compacts (the Global Compact on Refugees; the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and regular Migration), the matters to which the Declaration turned its attention are fundamental to CRG's research agenda and its valued association with the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung and the Institute for Human Sciences (IWM), Vienna. It also provides a robust starting point to envisage CRG's future trajectory in studying migration, including the imminent Sixth Annual Research and Orientation Workshop and Conference. The six-day event comprises a four-day workshop and a two-day conference. Deliberations during the event will center on the six modules mentioned below, and will bring together young researchers and experts from the humanities and social sciences to provide an immersive and enriching encounter with the study of migration and forced displacement. The young researchers will conduct their studies under the active guidance of their respective module coordinators, who are esteemed academics.

#### Programme Schedule

### Sixth Annual Research & Orientation Workshop & Conference Global Protection of Migrants and Refugees

#### 15-20 November 2021 Hyatt Regency, Kolkata

#### Workshop

#### 15 November (Day 1)

4:30-5:00 pm: Registration

**Inaugural Session** 

Chair: Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury, Rabindra Bharati University & CRG, India

5:00-5:05 pm: Welcome note by Byasdeb Dasgupta, University of Kalyani & CRG, India

5:05-5:15 pm: Introduction to CRG and its programmes by Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury, Rabindra Bharati University & Honorary Director CRG, India

**5:15-5:30 pm:** Introductions of participants

5:30-5:40 pm: Introducing the Workshop along with the assignments by Paula Banerjee, University of Calcutta & CRG, India

5:40-7:10 pm: Panel discussion on "After the Pandemic: Recalling the Kolkata Declaration of 2018"

Chair: Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury, Rabindra Bharati University & CRG, India

Speakers: Paula Banerjee, University of Calcutta & CRG, India; Meghna Guhathakurta, Research Initiative Bangladesh, Bangladesh; Ayse Caglar, IWM, Vienna

Discussant: Nasreen Chowdhory, University of Delhi & CRG, India

7:10-8:00 pm: Inaugural lecture on "The Politics and Practice of Refugee Participation in the Governance of the Global Refugee Regime" by James Milner, Carleton University, Canada, and Rez Gardi, Refugees Seeking Equal Access at the Table (R-SEAT), New Zealand Chair: Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury, Rabindra Bharati University & CRG, India

8:00 pm: Vote of thanks, Rajat Kanti Sur, CRG, India

#### 16 November (Day 2)

9:00-9:30 am: Registration

9:30-11:00 am: Module A & B Presentations (parallel sessions) – Discussion initiated by the respective module tutors followed by presentations by participants

Module A: Protection and Punishment (Race, Caste, and Policing)

Module Tutor: Nasreen Chowdhory, University of Delhi & CRG, India

**Module Participants:** 

- 1. Ankur Tamuli Phukan, CRG, India, 'Practices, Contingencies, Politics of the Locals and the Indian State: An Overview from Assam'
- 2. Rituparna Datta, CRG, India, "Witnessing the Birth of a Nation": Narrative Frames of Refugee and Relief in the Liberation War 1971'
- 3. Sarulakshmi R., Kamla Nehru College, Delhi, India, International Law & The Orderly Movement of People'

Module B: Migrant Workers and the Refugee: Complicated Terrains of Welfare and Asymmetric Social Protection

**Module Tutor:** Manish K. Jha, TISS Mumbai, & CRG, India & Mouleshri Vyas, TISS Mumbai, & CRG, India

#### Module Participants:

- 1. Farseen Ali P.V., Madras School of Social Work, Chennai India, 'Managing Refugees without a National Policy: Reflections from India's Experience with Tibetan and Rohingya Refugees'
- 2. Sunita Panth Chettri, National Institute of Technology, Sikkim, India, 'Threat to Social Security of Migrants and Refugees during Covid-19 Pandemic in India: A Socio-Legal Dimension'
- 3. Dogus Simsek, *Kingston University London, UK*, 'Forced displacement and access to the labour market: The case of Gaziantep'

**11:00-11:30** am: *Tea Break* 

11:30 am-1:00 pm: Modules A and B (parallel sessions continued) – Presentations by participants

1:00-2:00 pm: Lunch

2:00-3:30 pm: Module C [Refugees and Migrants as Subjects of Economics, Politics, and Gender Division] Special lecture on "From Stateless Migrant Plantation Labour to Landless Wartorn Labour in Northern Sri Lanka" by Ahilan Kadirgamar, *University of Jaffna, Sri Lanka* Chair: Parivelan K.M., TISS Mumbai, & CRG, India

**3:30-4:00 pm:** *Tea Break* 

4:00-5:30 pm: Film show (Calcutta a Migrant City I and II) followed by discussion

**Moderator:** Iman Mitra, Shiv Nadar University & CRG, India (TBC), & Samata Biswas, The Sanskrit College & University & CRG, India

**5:30-6:00 pm:** *Break* 

**6:00 pm-7:00 pm:** Module A [Protection and Punishment (Race, Caste, and Policing)] Keynote lecture on "Protection and Punishment–The Paradox of Global Governance" by Paolo Novak, *School of Oriental and African Studies*, UK

Chair: Nasreen Chowdhory, University of Delhi & CRG, India.

#### 17 November (Day 3)

8:45-9:00 am: Registration

**9:00-10:00** am: Module E [Derogation of Rights of Refugees and Migrants, and Situations of Statelessness] Special lecture on "Fishermen, Statelessness, and the Sea" by Joyce C.H. Liu, *National Yang Ming Chiao Tung University, Taiwan* 

Chair: Ranabir Samaddar, CRG, India

**10:00-11:00 am:** Module C [Refugees and Migrants as Subjects of Economics, Politics, and Gender Division] Special lecture on **"War, Displacement and Migrant Labour in Iraq"** by Umut Kuruüzüm, *Istanbul Technical University, Turkey* 

Chair: Paula Banerjee, University of Calcutta & CRG, India

11:00-11:30 am: Tea Break

11.30 am-1:00 pm: Modules C & D Presentations(parallel sessions) – Discussion initiated by the respective module tutors followed by presentations by participants

Module C: Refugees and Migrants as Subjects of Economics, Politics, and Gender Division

Module Tutors: Ranabir Samaddar, CRG, India& Arup Kumar Sen, Serampore College & CRG, India

#### Module Participants:

- 1. Aditi Mishra, TISS Mumbai, India, 'Internal Migration of Nomadic communities: A Study of Varanasi City'
- 2. Anisha Bordoloi, Independent Researcher, Assam, India, In Search of the "Suitable Coolie": Homogenisation and Colonial Migration of Labour to the Tea Gardens of Assam'
- 3. Kasturi Datta, University of Delhi, India, 'Migrant Labour as Subjects of Economy and Objects of State Protection: The Predicaments of Circular Migration in the Construction Industry during the Pandemic'
- 4. Nisharuddin Khan, *IDSK, India*, "Let's return to our own Home—" Muslim Return Migrations in Post-Partition Bengal, 1947-1964
- 5. Suman Mandal, *IACER*, *Nepal*, 'A Report on Status of Women Migrant Workers of Nepal'

#### Module D: Forced Migration, Law, and Critical Jurisprudence

Module Tutor: Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury, Rabindra Bharati University & CRG, India Module Participants:

- 1. Monika Verma, National Yang Ming Chiao Tung University, Taiwan, 'A gradual anomaly in Citizenship: In Particular Reference to Non-citizens/Refugees in India'
- 2. Shimul Datta, IIT Kharagpur, India, 'The Missing Link between Migration to Trafficking in West Bengal'
- 3. Sreetapa Chakrabarty, Rabindra Bharati University, India, 'Children of a Lesser God: Rightlessness of Rohingya Refugee Children in Malaysia and Bangladesh'
- 4. Gulzina Daniiarova, Osh State University, Kyrgyzstan, 'Women's Labor Migration from Kyrgyzstan to Russia: Causes and Consequences'

- 5. Thi Trang Nguyen, National Yang Ming Chiao Tung University, Taiwan, 'The Conflict of Interests within the French Imperial Biopolitical Logistics and its Impact on the Recruitment of Vietnamese labours to Pacific Island'
- 6. Mujib Ahmad Azizi, AREU, Afghanistan, War, Conflict, Climate Change and Internal Displacement in Afghanistan'

1:00-2:00 pm: Lunch

2:00-3:30 pm: Modules C & D (parallel sessions continued) – Presentations by participants

**3:30-4:00 pm:** *Tea Break* 

**4:00-5:30 pm:** A Special Session: Two Presentations on "Climate Change, Ecology, Displacement, and the State" – Podcasts by Utsa Sarmin, *Independent Researcher, India;* Research Paper Presentation by Piya Srinivasan, *Independent Researcher, India* 

Discussant: Ingrid Boas, Wageningen University, Netherlands

Moderator: Sanjay Chaturvedi, South Asian University & CRG, India

**5:30-6:00 pm:** *Break* 

**6:00-7:00 pm:** Module B [Migrant Workers and the Refugee: Complicated Terrains of Welfare and Asymmetric Social Protection] Keynote lecture on "Back to Square One" by Shahram Khosravi, *Stockholm University, Sweden* 

Chair: Mouleshri Vyas, TISS Mumbai & CRG, India

#### 18 November (Day 4)

9:00-9:30 am: Registration

**9:30-11:00 am:** Module F [Protection Ethics and Practices of Care and Solidarity] Special lecture on "Layers of Solidarity" by Ranabir Samaddar, *CRG*, *India* Chair: Samir Kumar Das, *University of Calcutta & CRG*, *India* 

11:00-11:30 am: Tea Break

**11:30 am-1:00 pm: Modules E & F Presentations** (parallel sessions) – Discussion initiated by the respective module tutors followed by presentations by participants

Module E: Derogation of Rights of Refugees and Migrants, and Situations of Statelessness

Module Tutor: Parivelan K.M., TISS Mumbai & CRG, India

**Module Participants:** 

- 1. Gurvinder Kour, Dept. of Higher Education, Jammu & Kashmir, 'Contested Displacement & Fractured Rights: The Case of POJK Displaced Persons in J & K'
- 2. Roshni Sharma, Jain (deemed-to-be) University, Bengaluru, India, 'Uprooted Women and Citizenship'
- 3. Neetu Pokharel, Alliance for Social Dialogue, Nepal, 'Statelessness and the Plight of women in Nepal'

- 4. Salwa Jahan, Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom, Bangladesh, 'A stateless population in-between fragile commitments: Assessing roles of Myanmar and Bangladesh in governance of a protracted Rohingya refugee crisis.'
- 5. Coline Schupfer, Open Society Justice Initiative, UK, 'In Harm's Way: The Relocation of Rohingya Refugees to Bhashan Char'
- 6. Niloy Biswas, *University of Dhaka, Bangladesh,* 'Home[state]less Rohingyas in Quandary: The Discursive Exposé of Rohingya Narratives from Cox's Bazaar Camps'

#### Module F: Protection Ethics and Practices of Care and Solidarity

Module Tutor: Samir Kumar Das, University of Calcutta & CRG, India

Module Participants:

- 1. Azeemah Saleem, Jawaharlal Nehru University, India, 'The Conceptualization of the State Linguistic Policies and Educational System for Analyzing Community Solidarity Practices and Protection of Refugees'
- 2. Anand Upendran, CRG, India, Judicial Function and the Afterlife of the Korematsu Decision'
- 3. Priyankar Dey, CRG, India, 'Politics of Health in Post-Partition Bengal: A Historical Investigation into Practices of Care and Solidarity, 1947-1966'

1:00-2:00 pm:Lunch

2:00-3:30 pm:Modules E & F (parallel sessions continued) – Presentations by participants

**3:30-4:00 pm**: *Tea Break* 

4:00-5:30 pm: Panel discussion on "Solidarity with migrants and refugees during the COVID times"

**Chair:** Arup Kumar Sen, Serampore College & CRG, India

**Speakers:** Punyabrata Gun, *Public Health Expert and Health Rights Activist*, *India*; Siddhartha Gupta, *Public Health Expert and Health Rights Activist*, *India*; Shreya Ghosh, *Migrant Workers Solidarity Network*, *India* 

**Discussant:** Samir Kumar Das, University of Calcutta & CRG, India

**5:30-6:00 pm**: *Break* 

**6:00-7:00 pm:** Module D [Forced Migration, Law and Critical Jurisprudence] Keynote lecture on **"Production of Statelessness in Europe"** by Elspeth Guild, *Queen Mary University of London, UK* 

Chair: Paula Banerjee, University of Calcutta & CRG, India

8:00-9:00 pm: Dinner Discussion with participants by Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury, Rabindra Bharati University & CRG, India; & Paula Banerjee, University of Calcutta & CRG, India

#### Conference

#### 19 November (Day 5)

9:00-9:15 am: Registration

9:15-9:30 am: Welcome address by Shyamalendu Majumdar, Sivanath Sastri College & CRG, India

Session I (9:30-11:00 am): Inaugural lecture on "Climate Disaster, Migration, and Responses from Below" by Sanjay Chaturvedi, South Asian University, India, & CRG, India Chair: Samata Biswas, The Sanskrit College & University & CRG, India

**11:00-11:30** am:*Tea Break* 

Session II (Parallel sessions IIA and IIB - 11:30 am-1:00 pm): Workshop reports on 6 modules

Session IIA: Workshop Report Presentations for Modules A, B, & C

Moderator: Rajesh Kharat, University of Mumbai & CRG, India

Session IIB: Workshop Report Presentations for Modules D, E, & F Moderator: Rajat Kanti Sur, CRG, India & Shatabdi Das, CRG, India

1:00-2:00 pm: Lunch

Session III (2:00-3:30 pm): Perspectives on Long 2020

Moderator: Subhas Ranjan Chakraborty, The Asiatic Society & CRG, India.

**Speaker:** Atig Ghosh, Visva-Bharati University & CRG, India [TBC]; Iman Mitra, Shiv Nadar University & CRG, India; Samata Biswas, The Sanskrit College and University & CRG, India; Paula Banerjee, University of Calcutta & CRG, India

**3:30-4:00 pm:** *Tea Break* 

Session IV (4:00-5:00 pm): Panel discussion on "Migrant Asia: Experiences from Afghanistan & Indonesia"

Chair: Anita Sengupta, Director of Asia in Global Affairs, & CRG, India

Speakers: Fahmi Panimbang, Solidar Suisse, Indonesia; Liza Schuster, City, University of London, UK;

Reza Hussaini, City, University of London, UK

**Discussant:** Sumaiya Islam, Open Society Foundations, UK

5:00-5:30 pm: Break

Session V (5:30-6:30 pm): Keynote lecture on "Facilitating Human Mobility? The Global Compacts" by Francois Crepeau, McGill University, Canada

Chair: Ranabir Samaddar, CRG, India

**6:30-8:00 pm:** Break

Session VI (8:00-9:00 pm): Dinner Conversation with Kanak Mani Dixit, Editor and Publisher,

Nepal

Moderator: Byasdeb Dasgupta, University of Kalyani & CRG, India

#### 20 November (Day 6)

8:45-9:00 am: Registration

Session VII (9:00-10:30 am): "Law and Protection Strategies: Presentation of a Report on

'Access to Justice'" by Hamsa Vijayaraghavan, Migration and Asylum Project, India

Chair: Ranabir Samaddar, CRG, India.

Discussants: Oishik Sircar, Jindal Global Law School, India and Ridwanul Hoque, University of

Dhaka, Bangladesh

**10:30-11:00** am: *Tea Break* 

Session VIII (Parallel sessions VIIIA and VIIIB – 11:00 am-12:30 pm): Panel discussion on "Climate Change, Ecology, Displacement, and the State"

Session VIIIA: "Climate Change, Ecology, Displacement, and the State"

Chair: Sanjay Chaturvedi, South Asian University & CRG, India

Speakers: Mujib Ahmad Azizi, Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit, Afghanistan; Shatabdi Das,

CRG, India; Anjuman Ara Begum, Apex Professional University, India

Discussant: ayanta Roy Chowdhury, PTI India

Session VIIIB: "Climate Change, Ecology, Displacement, and the State"

Chair: Kanak Mani Dixit, Editor and Publisher, Nepal

Speakers: Dipanjan Sinha, Independent Journalist, India; Sohini Sengupta, TISS Mumbai, India; Som

Niroula, Alliance for Social Dialogue, Nepal

Discussant: Aniruddha Mukhopadhyay, University of Calcutta, India

12:30-1:30 pm: *Lunch* 

Session IX (1:30-3:00 pm): Panel discussion on "Seventy years of the Refugee Convention of 1951"

Chair: Paula Banerjee, University of Calcutta & CRG, India

Speakers: Sara Hossain, Bangladesh Legal Aid Services Trust, Bangladesh; Ulrike Krause, Osnabruck University, Germany; Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury, Rabindra Bharati University & CRG, India.

3:00-3:30 pm: CRG Declaration titled 'An Appeal for a Coherent Refugee Policy for Afghanistan'

3:30-4:00 pm: Tea Break & Press Meet

Session X (4:15-6:15 pm): Valedictory Session

4:15-5:15 pm: JayantaDasgupta Memorial Lecture: "Migrants, Migrant Economy, and the

Philippines" by Walden Bello, State University of New York at Binghamton, USA

Chair: Ranabir Samaddar, CRG, India

5:15-5:30 pm: Closing remarks: Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury, Rabindra Bharati University &

CRG, India

5:30-5:45 pm: Certification of workshop participants: Byasdeb Dasgupta, Kalyani University &

CRG, India

5:45-6:00 pm: Remarks by Participants

6:00-6:10 pm: Remarks from RLS 6:10-6:20 pm: Remarks from IWM

6:20-6:30 pm: Vote of thanks: Shatabdi Das, CRG, India

Evaluators: Amena Mohsin, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh

Pampa Mukherjee, Panjab University, Chandigarh, India

Gunther Rautz, EURAC [Online]

#### Inaugural Session

The 6th Annual Research & Orientation Workshop & Conference on the *Global Protection of Migrants and Refugees* was inaugurated by the Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group and all participants on the 15th of November 2021. In their welcome address, Professors SabyasachiBasu Ray Chaudhury and Byasdeb Dasgupta thanked all the participants who were a part of the workshop - conference, both in-person and online. They went on to introduce the history and purpose of the Workshop. He also emphasized the silver jubilee celebrations of CRG as a premier research institution for migration and forced migration studies in India. They then highlighted the various fields in which CRG has worked over the course of its illustrated past.

Next, all the participants of the workshop present during the inaugural session introduced themselves, their research interests, and their connection with CRG before thanking the organization for inviting them to be a part of such an immense learning experience through the means of this workshop. This is where Professors AyseCaglar and Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury also spoke briefly about the next big project that CRG is working on - developing a Europe - Asia Research Platform for Forced Migration.



Inaugural Session

Professor Paula Banerjee, after having thanked all the stakeholders involved with the organization of this workshop, explained the general Code of Conduct that is expected to be followed by all the participants throughout. The main focus was on the following -

- 1. All participants must be careful with their health and take utmost care of themselves. Everyone should wear masks at all times and inform the volunteers in case they feel any level of discomfort.
- 2. The workshop is a safe space for everyone and CRG has a strict zero-tolerance policy for any and all forms of harassment.
- 3. All participants were expected to be respectful of each other in every possible way since this was an inclusive platform.
- 4. Participants were expected to always be punctual for each session of the workshop conference.

To mark the end of this welcome address, Dr. Samata Biswas introduced all the 6 modules of the workshop that will be discussed in the workshop over the course of the next 3 days, followed by the 2-day conference. She then divided all the responsibilities for the participants and repertoires of the event to prepare extensive reports that consist of all details regarding each workshop module. These will later be circulated among all participants for record.



Inaugural Lecture by James Milner and Rez Gardi

#### **Inaugural Lecture**

# "The Politics and the Practices of Refugee Participation in the Governance of the Global Refugee Regime"

As a collaborative paper, in the first section, James Milner initiated the talk on initiatives of the refugee participation, became an emerging norm in 2019 Global Refugee Forum. It aims to secure commitments from various sectors, how global compact can be impactful in the context of refugees' participation. Meanwhile, merely 2% of the total participations reflected the refugee participation. Thus, it became the starting point of refugee participation in the highly contested Global refugee regime. It further provides the refugee leaders the space in the contested environment and in the situation of tokenism to voice their concerns, complexities, and challenges. In Miller's presentation, the three major crisis of the refugees' participation were highlighted. Firstly, legitimacy, that immensely lack the means of participation; secondly the efficacy, and thirdly the accountability, where UNHCR is not accountable in ensuring the protection and has been challenged several times in more concrete ways. Refugee leaders further gathered in Geneva 2018 to manifest their power, and were actively and meaning fully engaged, to move the context of refugee participation from 'if' to 'how' to make refugee participation in

the good governance effective and evident. He further raised the question of the mechanism of the refugee participation.

Rez Gardi in the second section extensively deals with the mechanism of the refugee participation and how to practically engage with the refugees. She pointed out various factors of mechanism, by looking through the various local forum, to adopt those solutions that are durable and sustainable, and emphasized on the innovative protections and solutions. Gardi emphasise on the refugee participation through knowledge, experience, and decision making process. To create more opportunities for refugees to represent such as ATCR, Refugee ecosystem and so on was highlighted in depth throughout the lecture. She further stressed on the systematic engagement of the refugees and to work together into more disciplinary and intersectional approach.

#### Theme Lectures (Workshop)

#### Module A: Protection and Punishment (Race, Caste, and Policing)

The theme attempts to identify how the concepts of protection and punishment mould around state sovereignty and its power. The module had three participants and was chaired by Nasreen Chowdhory. The session has started on 16-11-2021 at 9:30 AM and continued till 11.00 and continued from 11.30 to 1 Pm. It had officially begun with the formal introduction of the theme by the module chairperson Nasreen Chowdhory.

Nasreen Chowdhory in her paper unbinds punishment and protection from its binary relations and tries to see it as a parallel process that can exist in the singular temporality in identifying the self through the other operating within the sovereign process of nation-state by identifying the other at particular geographical location like camps, detention centres or through gendered process like race, caste, aboriginality, and colonial practices which aims to create disciplined societies by offering protection to the limited group who could be identified of being with us.



Module A Lecture: Nasreen Chowdhory

### Module B: Migrant Workers and the Refugee: Complicated Terrains of Welfare and Asymmetric Social Protection

Manish K Jha and Mouleshri Vyas the tutors for Module B began their lecture with the political, legal and social dynamics of mobility and migration of people have been enduring phenomena, and visibly driven by a combination of economic, political, and demographic factors. The awareness of the phenomenon of migration and related experiences are quite often contentious. Although it is largely agreed upon that migrants are crucial to the economic development of nations/regions, the continuous 'othering' of migrants by those who claim themselves as 'natives' complicate the migrants' lives. For decades, migrants' social rights and access to welfare have been critical issues within the global north and south; however, with the latest spurt of 'migration crisis', society and polity across the globe seem to have been very unsettled. Though welfare provisioning in the global south is relatively minimal, the figure of migrant is still positioned as a burden on the state and its welfare and fuels societal anxiety.

The tutors emphasize on three themes. These are: A) A situation analysis of international and internal migrants vis-à-vis access to social protection and welfare services. B) The history and context of the pandemic and its implications for accessing social provisioning through analysis of policy and practices regarding populations, living spaces, occupational groups, and; C) State-Civil Society interface and/or complexities in facilitating access to food, health services and education for migrant populations.

### Module C: Refugees and Migrants as Subjects of Economics, Politics, and Gender Division

The module proceedings began with an introduction by both the tutors. Arup K. Sen briefly discussed the historical dimensions of migration from the colonial to the post-colonial while

referring to the inter-linkages with the growth of neo-liberal capitalism. He pointed out that the neo-liberal capitalist framework lack in its spatio-temporal dimensions and excludes the footloose labour. While the location of industrial production has shifted to the global south, the finance capital continues to be dominated by the global north. This provides us the framework to understand the process of accumulation through dispossession. This dispossession of the peasants and labourers has contributed towards the unmaking of their political and civil rights. He referred to the example of destruction of communes in the context of China as well as the ongoing global pandemic that seems to have exacerbated this phenomenon. He also discussed the draconian role of the state in segregation of labour, leading to a loss of their agency and rights. The resistance to such repressive force of the state was witnessed in the National Capital Region through the militant protests by the workers at the Maruti Suzuki Plant. This example shows that while there is loss of agency of workers unions, of the traditional kind, one also witnesses the rise of new kinds of institutions of labour.

Ranabir Samaddar continued by introducing the question of resilience with the formulation that earlier labours were the subjects of humanitarian protection, but now they are subjects of economic protection. Today, one cannot ignore the role of both refugee labour and migration labour in industrial production. It is important to understand the manner in which neo-liberal capitalism renders the migrant labour and refugees as irrelevant actors in the economy, and invisible entities in political. All migrants are productive in the market, and hence should not be a subject of pity. He closed his remarks by saying that migrants are subjects of the economy, but should not be deprived of their rights. Both the tutors invoked Hannah Arendt's contribution to understanding the refugee crisis, especially in the aftermath of the World War II. Her essay, 'We Refugees' published in 1943 provides us a rich source of critical literature and a psychological portrait on how new kinds of subjects have emerged, how the question of identity is understood, given the massive wave of migration.

#### Module D: Forced Migration, Law, and Critical Jurisprudence

The significance of law and critical jurisprudence and the legal paradoxes in the context of the contemporary mixed and massive flows of refugees was highlighted by Prof. Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury, the Module tutor of this module during his introductory lecture before the presentation by the participants. He started by drawing particular attention to this mixed and massive flow since the onset of the neo-liberal economy of the late 1980's and the way it is difficult nowadays to make strict categorizations among refugees, migrants and other categories amidst this mixed and massive flow. In the post 9/11 era we have witnessed criminalization and

dehumanization of these migrants and refugees have taken place with the eclipse of notions of national security. There has also been a trend to segregate to separate refugees, asylum seekers and other migrants from the legal sovereign entity of the state which allows the state to evade one of the most significant responsibilities of the state, that is, non-refoulement. This physical separation was earlier ascertained through barbed wires, transit zones, pushbacks etc. Particularly, he highlighted pushbacks have now become common forms of coercive border practices. Here he pointed out the precarity hidden underneath the veil of Search and Rescue operations at sea and all these, if seen particularly from the European context, have witnessed repercussions in the migration management system in the EU, with a number of states using open border system and other forms of border controls. This has increased the risks of migrants and refugees and asylum seekers and has subject them to risks of trafficking.

In this context, Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury pointed out that the relevance of the Dublin system has been in crisis. He talked about the fallacies of the so called 'fairness system' which in fact has not been agreed upon by many EU member states, the pitfalls of the emergency relocation system undertaken in September 2020 and the need to share the so called burden among all the EU member states. The global order, he emphasized through the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 encouraged states to invent policies to rule within a territory. This also excluded other authorities from migration management. This policy and notion of strict territorialisation even if that amounts to violating the rights of the migrants are relevant still four centuries later. In this context, he highlighted the practice of pushbacks and pullbacks undertaken mainly by global north countries, which has violated the human rights of the migrants.



Module D Lecture: S. Basu Ray Chaudhury

# Module E: Derogation of Rights of Refugees and Migrants, and Situations of Statelessness

K M Parivelan, the tutor of Module E began his lecture with the different contradictions in the idea of statelessness in South Asia. He said that South Asia is riddled with such tedious challenges of statelessness. Globally at present there are around 80 million people displaced due to conflicts or due to situation of forced migration2. Statelessness is a profound violation of human rights of an individual and remains to be one of the most pressing humanitarian issues of the twenty-first century. Parivelan cited the article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) which clearly states the idea of right to a nationality and any governments should not deprive anyone from that right. Despite this guarantee, people in all parts of the world face the prospect of living without the nationality/ citizenship and its foreseen rights hence, lacks the security and protection under the state that usually citizens takes for granted.

He told about the differences between 'statelessness' and 'refugee hood' in order to avoid its overlap and apparent confusion. Stateless is the one without any nationality or citizenship by law, whereas the refugee is the one who is fleeing to another country due to 'well-founded fear of persecution'. South Asia is riddled with culture, history, colonial experience, migration, state succession, citizenship, birth registration, etc. with root causes of statelessness. Therefore, stateless people are amongst the most vulnerable in the world, often denied enjoyment of rights such as equality before the law, the right to work, education or healthcare. To use the access to justice (A2J) framework, everyone needs justice, but there are several barriers and impediments. Referring different laws and conventions, he said that each and every people have the same rights as citizens with respect to freedom of religion and education of their children. For a number of other rights, such as the right of association, the right to employment and to housing, it provides that stateless persons are to enjoy, at a minimum, the same treatment as other nonnationals. He elaborated the different types of statelessness in South Asia and the causes of statelessness. He concluded with the argument that how the recent pandemic created different borders in the micro-level complicated the idea of statelessness.



Module F Lecture: Samir Kumar Das

#### Module F: Protection Ethics and Practices of Care and Solidarity

Samir Kumar Das, the tutor of Module F began his lecture with showing a short documentary titled "Coronavirus in Indian Slums". He began the argument with the last scene where a group of people showed solidarity towards the migrant workers living in the slum areas in Mumbai. Samir Kumar Das said that the global pandemic did not differentiate between caste, class and religion. But, the responses by the state authorities regarding protecting the life are highly differential. He referred the process as the "neo-liberal script of governing the pandemic". While the global pandemic has at one level tightened the grip of neo-liberal governance, it has also set off new and also unprecedented experiments with practices of care and solidarity. He described the changes in the nature of social solidarity developed over the centuries through the complex of social and ethical practices. A genealogical study of ethics would be able to show the "fundamental transformations and disruptions, psychological innovations and moral inventions" as neoliberal responses to pandemic. Quoting Giorgio Agamben's idea on modern bio-politics, Das argued that the role of the neoliberal state as sovereign made the human life as an object and of the decision making. Das also referred the writings of Gandhi, Tagore and Vivekananda to show the similarity of the solidarity initiatives taken in the previous epidemics in the colonial India and the changes that have noticed during the most recent pandemic crisis.

#### **Special Theme Lectures**

#### Introduction

Calcutta Research Group arranged special lectures on the proposed six themes of the workshop. Apart from workshop and conference participants, several scholars, students and researchers attended the lectures both physically and also in online. All the special lectures happen in hybrid

mode. While some of the eminent scholars joined this workshop physically, some were participated online due to the travel restrictions. The lectures were chaired by the tutors of the concerned modules.

#### Module A: Protection and Punishment (Race, Caste and Policing)

#### Protection and Punishment: The Paradox of Local Governance

Speaker: Paolo Novak, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, UK

The Chair introduces the paper by talking about the need to engage in a critique of governmental reaction to Covid pandemic ever since government introduced generalised lockdown. These lockdowns created protests in several parts of Europe. Along with places of refuge and detention, citizens were also zoned in airports and supermarkets. Many protests were against the government's decision to hinge on people's right to move around freely. Vulnerable communities were most affected by the government's decision during the pandemic. People had the right to demand public health intervention too.

The speaker, Paolo Novak believes that his work is a recent contribution on the subject of critical border scholarship. He begins by talking about how big pharmaceutical companies profited from vaccine rights. There was categorisation of social life and different categories of citizenship by govt. with the beginning of vaccine passports. The pandemic was used by European governments to accelerate restrictions against migrants and achieve certain objectives. According to an author Nandita Sharma, every dissent of the Left was reworked by the Right to curb dissent over the pandemic. In cases outside Europe, dictatorship abdicated the protection of vaccine rights. Sometimes, the protection regimes created by the pandemic also promoted violence. How does one critique border regimes – is a question that the speaker delves into. There was an unevenness of manifestation of border regimes and a fluid articulation of multiple geographies and temporalities. The speaker raised the importance of looking into the bordermigrant dialectic and the need to look into the social conditions that reproduced it. Border is seen as a site of suffering and death. In fact, many a times, the outcome of government strategy was akin to militarisation. Hence, it seems pertinent to think of protection and punishment in this context. Border crossings were crucial for understanding migrants' relation with the state. It is also important to understand the conditions which allow the human borders to emerge.

Prof. Ranabir Samaddar asked the speaker about whether we see a moment in the division of the ethical world. Was there a flexibility of protection or was it proving ineffective was another

important issue raised by Prof. Samaddar. The speaker responded by stating that contemporary critiques of border regimes themselves were facing a crisis because of their focus only on the European context. Even within Europe itself, there was a lot of unevenness. Hence, we need to understand the trajectories of convergence too.





Module A Special Lecture by Paolo Novak

Module B Special Lecture by Shahram Khosravi

Module B: Migrant Workers and the Refugee: Complicated Terrains of Welfare and Asymmetric Social Protection

#### Back to Square One

Speaker: Shahram Khosravi, Stockholm University, Sweden

The session started by addressing the audience and introducing the Speaker. Prof. Khosravi started his talk by giving a background to his paper, as to how there is expansion within the field of diasporic studies. More than agreeing with the concept of diaspora, he talked about the absence of all those things that are associated with the notion of diaspora. He raises concerns over the deportation of Afghani migrants from Europe, which is a statement of temporal displacement and 'belatedness' which is becoming more explicit within the welfare state. He further stated that the idea of deportation remains outside of the national space and time, helping the state to gain control, which he traces back to colonial racism. Citing examples of labour migration systems from Europe, from Iran, United States and Sweden, he speaks of class and racial inequalities, how the whole act of circular motion limits the migrants' chance to complete any project within the host nation. Taking the argument ahead, he states that the act of deportation adds on to the already existing vulnerabilities of this group, adding on to the multiple layers of expulsion. Though the act of deportation might provide for a rosy picture, it

means a systematic destruction of life. By keeping people on constant move, the state has come up with a new technique of controlling the life of these people. He also brings out the relation between hope and waiting for these people of concern and during the discussion the notion of doubt was also added on to this relation.

Module C: Refugees and Migrants as Subjects of Economics, Politics and Gender Division

Lecture 1

From Stateless Migrant Plantation Labour to Landless War-torn Labour in Northern Sri-Lanka

Speaker: Ahilan Kadirgamar, University of Jaffna, Sri Lanka

The Chair introduces the speaker and the topic by stating that a section of people opted to come to India, particularly Sri Lankan Tamil refugees. The process by which they were transformed into post-war labour is what the Chair introduces the audience to. He opens up the talk with several questions about citizenship, economic livelihood, the situation in post-war Sri Lanka and how the Tamil question was settled.

The speaker begins by stating that his work is mostly on Northern Sri Lanka and is part of a long-term research initiative. His work focuses on how the Sri Lankan hill country Tamils werepushed from labour to displacement. He provides a background to the history of indentured labour in Sri Lanka. Their story forms part of a broader narrative on war and suffering. Due to the current authoritarian regime in the country, these minorities are exposed to a vulnerable situation. What becomes of people who are marginalised over decades? The speaker provides a background to the horrific journey undertaken by the Sri Lankan Tamils from India. The denial of voting rights to them post-1948, according to the speaker, forms the most shameful part of Sri Lankan history. Many of the labourers were settled in the border villages in the north like a buffer. His work draws inspiration from Marx's work on Capital. Post-war reconstruction of the north is a failure because of continued suffering and dispossession of the minorities. Their forced migration led to their erasure of identity. Lack of land as a resource was also significant in affecting their identity. Moreover, the high price of land compelled the minorities to continue working as labour.

A discussion was initiated by Dr. Nasreen Chowdhary by questioning the speaker on the ways to juxtapose the hill country returnee question and how there has been a financialisation of the

economy in the post-war era. Anup Shekhar raises a question about the role and attitude of religion, particularly, the Buddhist sangh as and the Christian missions towards the minority question and how to build hope among them. The author responded by saying that it was difficult to create a solidarity on the Tamil question due to caste domination. As far as returnees are concerned, it was crucial to understand what kind of economy they were being integrated into. The response of religion was oppressive in nature towards the minorities as they were hand-in-glove with the govt with a right-wing ideology. On being questioned by Amena Mohsin on the difference between suppression and erosion of identity, the speaker responded by saying that coercing someone to bring/tone down their identity is akin to suppression while erasure corresponds to complete eradication of identity.





Module C Special Lecture 1: AhilanKadirgamar

Module C Special Lecture 2: UmutKuruuzum

#### Lecture 2

#### War, Displacement and Migrant Labour in Iraq

Speaker: Umut Kuruüzüm, Istanbul Technical University, Turkey

The lecture highlights insights from a book by Dr Kuruüzum that does an ethnography of the steel industry in Iraqi Kurdistan, showing the relationship between war, bonded labour and the illusion of a reconstructed state, not in the spatial sense of the word, but along the lines of resources. The organisation of the scrap metal industry and labour groups are studied. Iraq has been historically marked by war, leading to refugee flow since 1980s. As of 2019, almost two million people are internally displaced. The Kurdistan region attracts internal migrants and refugees due to the hydrocarbon driven economy. Besides human displacement, wars have produced mass material destruction, and a profitable pool of scrap metals. In Mosul around 11 million tonnes of debris was produced, some containing radioactive substances. The materials are cheaper in Iraq and in high demand globally. Eventually, steel factories moved near scrap

metal yard for final production of steel bars. This industrial expansion brought together three groups of labour working in the scrap yard, steel mills, and rolling mills: labour migrants from India contracted through sub-contracting firms, refugee labours (many fleeing from ISIS), and young Kurdish migrants from the nearby Şemdinli city. The Indian labours fall under stringent contracts that fail to protect them, rather includes exploitative clauses of low wages and high working hours. The refugee labours with no contractual obligation work in hazardous scrap yards. The Kurdish migrants are employed on rotation with no job security. In this organisation, refugees, labours and migrants converge in a relationship of rigidity and flexibility, where the Indian labours are bonded by contract, and the internal migrants remain flexible to adapt to market fluctuations. The products of this industry have become global commodities, making the state look regulated and developed, but in reality leaves humans dispossessed through exploitation.



Module D Special Lecture by Elspeth Guild

#### Module D: Forced Migration, Law and Critical Jurisprudence

#### **Production of Statelessness in Europe**

Speaker: Elspeth Guild, Queen Mary University of London, UK

Elspeth Guild's lecture was a reminder that, despite the remarkable achievements made by Europe in the fulfilment of human rights, it has not been able to end, within its nations, the creation of statelessness. Terrorism and the resulting perspectives on political violence have formed the new context in which European nations deprive individuals of nationality. In many European nations, conviction for an act of terriorism—which is a process of criminal justice—is accompanied by a process of administrative justice that withdraws the citizenship of the

concerned individual, thereby creating situations of statelessness and a severe loss of rights. Professor Guild pointed out that this practice, justified by European governments as necessary for the protection of the territory, people, government, and economy of their respective nations, limits citizenship to an immigration status. Further, she conveyed that dual citizenship has become in Europe the fig leaf for the creation of statelessness. The case of Shamima Begum found prominent mention in Professor Guild's lecture and served as an illustration for her observations. The lecture concluded with the understanding that, even in Europe, citizenship is a privilege that the state can withdraw with little scope for challenge. The discussion after the lecture involved questions on the impact of gender, political ideologies, and Brexit on the statelessness discourse in Europe.

### Module E: Derogation of Rights of Refugees and Migrants, and Situations of Statelessness

#### Fishermen, Statelessness and the Sea

Speaker: Joyce C.H. Liu, National Yang Ming Chaio Tung University, Taiwan

Joyce has begun her presentation posing three initial questions about the 'force and powerlessness' of law; (i) the role of the state that caused the status of statelessness and noncitizenship through legal procedures, (ii) parallax of law, and (iii) the law purchased for the states and the conglomerate that find illegal to certain illegal practices. Giving examples from the change of political regime that leads to the revision of law and the legal identification of the nationality and citizenhood, the postcolonial nation building, in South and Southeast Asia, the coup-d-et al, war and the change of border policy, she has initiated her discussion on the role of the state. The discussion on the parallax of law was initiated by the ambiguous cut between legality and illegality, the nullified perspective, or the missed perspective intersection. She has then explained how the ships sailing at the sea with purchased state flags that claim immunity of the law of the land, the incompatibility between the force of laws if existing nation states and the powerlessness of the international law and argued that these conditions caused millions of people in the grey zones or limbos to be stripped of any protection by law and trapped in forced labour. She has then discussed the statelessness of the fishermen at the sea in the age of the neoliberal state of the 21st century. She has talked about how the purchase of the flags of convenience (FOC) for the ships to sail at high seas allows the ship owners to enjoy many advantages: avoiding income taxes, with low registration fees, low cost of operation with cheap

labour employed overseas, and free from the regulations, inspection, and scrutiny by their original countries. Her presentation further looked into questions such as why are human rights at the sea observed differently from human rights on the land and why the fishers become stateless once they are on the FOC ships sailing on the high seas, despite their legal citizenship status authorising their states. She observes that FOC is closely linked with the logistics of global capitalism and that the shipping of these human labour forces is connected with a complete sophisticated network involving multinational laws, institutions, information, infrastructures, military equipment, etc. She argued that the practice of FOC turns out to be another form of human trafficking and leaves the fishers vulnerable with no legal protection. In short, the presentation offered a historical background and a theoretical framework explaining maritime capitalism's logistics and the loophole between the laws of different sectors.

The presentation was followed by an interactive session where the participants have engaged with Joyce with critical reflections and questions. Discussion revolved around topics such as the international convention practices, maritime capitalism, pirates, entrepreneurial practice, regeneration of slavery system, etc.

#### Module F: Protection of Ethics and Practices of Care and Solidarity

#### Layers of Solidarity

Speaker: Ranabir Samaddar, Calcutta Research Group, India

After being introduced briefly by Samir Kumar Das, Ranabir Samaddar began his lecture on 'Layers of Solidarity' by explaining his reasons behind the nomenclature. He spoke about two instances where our country saw massive surges in collective solidarity - one was when the first lockdown was imposed at the mere notice of four hours, and again when India faced one of the biggest cases of inadequate oxygen supply during dire need in the COVID-19 second wave.

His talk was focused on understanding the meaning of the word 'Utopia' in politics and the various contexts in which it can be defined. He spoke about it in a historical sense and then moved on to focus on the 'shocks of solidarity' we witnessed during the COVID-19 pandemic. He said that when the innumerable government helplines were unresponsive, people turned to each other. Reports suggested that between March and April earlier this year, there were around 81.63 million tweets sourcing for oxygen, Remdesivir, and hospital beds. It was around this time that India also saw a rise in the emergence of frontline workers.



Module F Special Lecture by Ranabir Samaddar

Professor Samaddar stated that solidarity could loosely be defined as 'an act that conveys if the life of a collective is secured'. Moreover, he emphasised that the activities that result from the collective feeling of solidarity cannot be disinterested. All stakeholders involved need to wholly invest themselves in the process. He also spoke about how several religious institutes - gurudwaras and European churches came forward to help people in any and all capacities.

Last, but not least, Professor Samaddar spoke about the 'solidarity economy'. Here, he touched upon the ideas of the 'savings bank movement' and Tagore's Nobel donation. He then went on to say that there is nothing that can be referred to as 'pure solidarity'. There are definitive categories within the idea of solidarity - Palestinian solidarity, coloured people solidarity, and feminist solidarity among many others. He concluded his talk by proposing the idea of viewing solidarity as a political act and giving some examples of the same.

#### **Paper Presentations**

#### Module A: Protection and Punishment (Race, Caste, and Policing)

# Practices, Contingencies, Politics of the Locals and the Indian State: An Overview from Assam

Ankur Tamuli Phukan in his paper tried to locate the processes and practices of citizenship modalities in the erstwhile frontier province of colonial Assam in order to understand the shifts and changes in disciplinary politics of a nation-state and how in a particular historical context of Assam, the cartographic anxiety of the nation-state aligned itself with other sub-nationals,

bureaucratic anxieties of a region. By conceptualizing a category called political legal, Tamuli Phukan, tried to understand contingencies and autobiographies of colonial ordering of a frontier in neo-liberal, contemporary context of Assam with archival insights and ethnographic study which was conducted in different parts of lower Assam and with bureaucratic fraternities of Assam.

The talk was followed by a discussion where one of the participants Suman Mandal asked how foreigners in tribunals in Assam operates referring to his own experiences of Nepal and their citizenship modalities. He further asked about the structure and administrative operation of foreigner's tribunal in Assam. Another participant Mr Som Nirola, asked about the different approach of Foreigners Tribunal in terms of rich and poor to access the judiciary. It was followed by Mr Priyankar Dey's question about the specificity of Foreign Tribunal process and how these so-called practices of corruption could be contextualised in that specificity. NasreenChowdhory said that, there were layers of mediation and contexts to the stories that AnkurTamuliPhukan had presented. But there are provisions for flagging out the situation and contexts which eventually would tell a more complicated and critical problematics on the citizenship modalities in Assam. She also said that the paper has rich ethnographic materials with a theoretical potential and she asked to further improve it.



Presentations: Module A

# Witnessing the Birth of a Nation": Narrative Frames of Refugee and Relief in the Liberation War 1971

Ms Rituparna Datta tried to present a graphic figure of the refugees through the act of 'coercing' as it operates linguistically, visually, entering the domain of sensory quality of the mind influencing the public opinion in supporting the cause of the war through systems of relief and aid-physical, moral, material, the nine months to the freedom struggle and its coverage through print media has been argued as field tank that generated emotional consumerism of the war, generating response lines and ellipses- regional, national, international. The nine months for nationhood created new bonds not by levelling political hierarchies or differences but by uniting them through the cause of a different identities raptured at different conjugates-1905, 1947 and tried to map the journey from becoming refugee to returning refugees.

The presentation was followed by a discussion where Mr Suman Mandal sought clarification on how generation of memory operated differently between 1947 refugees as oppose to the 1971 refugees. Rajat Kanti Sur, enquired about the involvement of left politicians in the 1971 war and involvement of the intelligencia and world of the performative culture like theatre etc. in supporting the cause of the war. Further, Dr Nasreen Chowdhory as the Module Chairperson, suggested that the paper was an attempt to look at the graphic representation of 1971 refugees, though; the paper could also help in understanding a policy framing and international response on refugee and migrant situation.

#### International Law and the Orderly Movement of people

The final presenter of the module was Sarulakshmi R. She tried to locate the debate of freedom of movement and orderly migration in the context of international law. The paper exclusively deals with the migrant workers (voluntary/regular) and not with forced migrants like refugees, stateless people, and internally displaced people. The paper investigates the regime of policy-oriented migration and argues that the claim of 'right to leave' can be read as a claim of 'right to admission.' She argues its inclusion in the regime of modern international law treaties reflects a long lineage of intellectual history advocating cosmopolitanism. It is incorporated as a means to recognise human agency and core liberal values. Therefore, the claim of 'right to leave' put shared legal responsibility on state of origin and state of destination to protect the human rights of migrant. However, some post-colonial states put hurdles on special class of citizens. Like the Indian Act of Emigration categorises potential migrants into two classes and puts constraints in the mobility rights of low-skilled, single, uneducated women below the age of 30. This makes

way for gendered conceptions of citizenship and sovereignty through the use of gender to assert control over women's mobility and emigration opportunities. This act of protectionism act as 'potentially transgressive' and pushed them into controlled informality leading to precariousness. It was shown with a comparative study of the emigration laws of India and Philippines.

It was followed by rigorous discussion. Mr Suman Mandal highlights such loopholes in the emigration norms of Nepal which pushed them into controlled informality. He also enquired about Indian government's policy framework to safeguard the rights of women trapped in the destination state. Later, Professor Sanjay Chaturvedi, asked about the conflict between national law and international law in managing migration and how international law were often neglected as soft law instruments without any binding authority. Dr. Nasreen suggested to see the claim of right to leave in the context of right to admission and right to exit as these clause remains with the exclusive domain/discretion of the sovereign state to interpret its meaning within the context of punishment or protection.

### Module B: Migrant Workers and the Refugee: Complicated Terrains of Welfare and Asymmetric Social Protection

## Managing Refugees without a National Policy: Reflections from India's Experience with Tibetan and Rohingya Refugees

Farseen Ali, in his paper has attempted to portray the differential treatment of refugee communities in India through a comparative study of two major refugee communities in India; the Tibetans and Rohingyas; focusing specifically on the asymmetric distribution of rights and services to these refugee communities. He has begun his presentation with the narration of two urban refugee settlements in India's National Capital Region of Delhi. Placing the predicament of two refugee communities as the analogy, the paper has discussed the existing asymmetry in India's refugee management system. The paper which was developed chiefly based on secondary literature such as government reports, official reports of the UNHCR and other international organisations, as well as news reports, looked in detail to the life of Tibetan and Rohingya refugees.

The paper attributes the absence of a unified national policy for refugee management/ legal framework, and an international obligation specific to refugees as the major reason behind the inconclusiveness and temporary decisions in India's refugee management mechanism. Further the paper has, as crucial determinants of refugee life in India, illustrated various factors such as the political atmosphere prevailing in the country, bureaucratic discretion, the bilateral relation with the country of refugee origin, socio-religious and ethnic background of the refugee community, the level of affinity from the local communities, and community networks. Paper

further observed the role of state governments as a highly influential stakeholder in the treatment of refugees living in different parts of the country.

Thirty minute long presentation was followed by a discussion, where the paper received critical reflections from module tutors as well as from the participants. It was suggested to explore areas such as the media portrayal of refugees, role of various refugee led associations and collectives, scope and limitation of civil society organisation and the judicial interventions.

# Threat to Social Security of Migrants and Refugees during Covid-19 Pandemic in India: A Socio-Legal Dimension

Sunita Panth broadly discussed the healthcare aspect to social security of migrants and refugees through the lens of international and national policy framework. She explains social security is a broad term; it is closely related to and supplemented by inter-related rights such as right to healthcare, right to income security, program to strike out poverty and many more. She emphasised that the context of identities of migrants and refugees has always been political issues, wherein there lies a serious threat to the social security of migrants and refugees. With the outbreak of Covid-19 pandemic, social security has regained its significance because migrants and refugee workers have been greatly exposed to vulnerability. This vulnerability is depicted from barriers in access to healthcare facilities, particularly during pandemic. She argues that because of their weak strength (mental and physical), unprotected-ness and defencelessness, migrants and refugees are exposed to undesirable conditions and fragility. Especially, migrant and refugee women often have no assistance and consultancy regarding reproductive health issues. Consequently, there are high rates of malnutrition, infant mortality, and stillborn. They are prone to infectious diseases due to overcrowded living conditions, poor nutrition, and inadequate sanitation. In the context of challenges to social security in India, she contends that Code of Social Security 2020 mandated the Aadhaar card in access to social security benefits which is against the integral right of migrants and refugees. She expands her argument further by analysing and interpreting the various constitutional provisions and judicial decisions.

The panel and participants came with extensive suggestions and one of the prominent suggestions is to focus on social security of either migrants or refugees. The paper needs to elaborate on the United Nations Global Compact Framework.

#### Forced Displacement and Access to the Labour Market: The Case of Gaziantep

Dogus Simsek has joined the module presentation virtually. Her presentation has looked into the forced displacement and access to the labour market in the context of Gaziantep; an export based growth neoliberal industrial city in the westernmost part of Turkey's South-eastern Anatolia Region. Drawing from her ethnographic research, the paper has explored how the displaced Syrian people are located in the labour market, and has explained how power works in the labour market and how people are exploited. Her article entails an overview and analysis of the location of forcibly displaced people (FDP)'s labour. The location of the displaced and particularly forcibly displaced people's labour in interaction with class dynamics as well as the variegated legal regimes (carried out with actors of various scales) that shape this interaction was scrutinized. The paper further discussed the fragmented legal geography of rights and the local and international institutional actors as crucial for understanding this interplay. Drawing on indepth interviews with forcibly displaced people in Gaziantep, her research paper attempted to answer the questions of how different forms of displaced people are located in the labour market, in what terms and conditions do forcibly displaced people become part of the labour?; how are different discursive and institutional sources, including the presence of European institutions, pulled in?. Focusing on the experiences of forcibly displaced people's access to the labour market in Gaziantep, the paper argued that a neoliberal approach of Gaziantep to their access to the labour market reshapes class and power dynamics between forcibly displaced people. Dogus' presentation was followed by a discussion in which the participants shared their reflections and questions. Discussions centred around, but not limited to the commonality of Turkey and India, coordination between non-governmental organisations and the government vis a vis the labour market.

### Module C: Refugees and Migrants as Subjects of Economics, Politics, and Gender Division

#### Internal Migration of Nomadic communities: A Study of Varanasi City

Aditi Mishra's paper based on her field study on selective nomadic, semi-nomadic and denotified tribes as migrants in the city of Varanasi. For instance, she shared her observations on the condition and position of Dargar community who traditionally made bamboo products or Lona Chamar community who traditionally engaged in cleaning ear wax, etc. She concluded that the nomadic community as migrants were not readily accepted and viewed with suspicion by the sedentary population. They are not seen as political citizens and despite contributing to the local

economy, remain excluded from the urban development schemes as well as the social milieu, leading to social and political exclusion.

# In Search of the "Suitable Coolie": Homogenisation and Colonial Migration of Labour to the Tea Gardens of Assam

Anisha Bordoloi's paper based on archival sources, is a study of the exclusionary processes of recruitment, regulation and homogenization of the 'Coolies' intea gardens in Assam, from 1870 to 1880. She discussed the manner in which the physical fitness and pathological condition of the labourers was considered as the barometer for their 'suitability' to work in the plantation. This created a racialised classification of labour, causing segregation between the fit and unfit labour. On the one hand, the colonial law placed the colonized body outside the purview of legality and justice, on the other hand the imposition of legal contract brought them within the ambit of law and civilization. Despite the struggle, destitution and even experiences of death leading to precarious conditions, the coolies continued to perform their labour in order to remain acceptable. However, there were sites of resistance to this homogenisation through their cultural festivities and folk dance to preserve their tradition and memories.

The presentations were followed by an enriching round of discussion where the module participants received very insightful and constructive feedback in the form of questions, clarifications and suggestions from the mentors and the audience. Aditi was asked to elaborate on the current trends on how nomads are becoming a part of the burgeoning informal economy. She was also asked to discuss on the question of constitutional morality in relation to her work and how it can be compared to experiences in the Eastern Europe. To Anisha, there were queries about how the colonial state dealt with the diseased body, whether there was any scope for upward social mobility for the plantation workers, whether there was inter-ethnic relationship among them? She responded to these queries by stating that the colonial state carried out vaccination and sanitization of the streamers, railways and depots of embarkation and disembarkation. She also said that caste consciousness did exist among the workers and that determined the interethnic relationship in the gardens.

# Let's return to our own Home—" Muslim Return Migrations in Post-Partition Bengal, 1947-1964

Nisharuddin Khan's paper, placed in the historical context of Bengal Partition of 1947, probed into the condition and experiences of Muslim return migrants from West Pakistan to East

Pakistan. Based on study and analysis of archival sources, this paper attempted to understand the reason of return migration with reference to specific newspaper reports, lived experiences of refugees as well as quantitative data analysis. He mentioned how before the introduction of the passport in India, many Muslim refugees migrated to India and settled in the Muslim majority areas to prevent suspicion from the Hindu communities. The crux of his investigation is – 'Who returned as well what prompted them to return? He categorised them into returning optees and hesitant migrants. He then discussed the efficacy of the various political arrangements (like partition council, inter-dominion conference and the Nehru-Liaqat Pact) undertaken by the state to address the problem of return migration and to protect the minority interests. He concluded that the right to return to one's country was theoretically accepted, but remained rhetorical in speeches and official report. In practice, it had remained an unfinished project and the returnee remained marginalised as economic liabilities to the Indian state.

# Migrant Labour as Subjects of Economy and Objects of State Protection: The Predicaments of Circular Migration in the Construction Industry during the Pandemic

Kasturi Datta's paper took the case study of the casual migrants in the construction sector in Delhi and the National Capital Region, and presented some insights based on field observations at construction sites, labour chowks and JJ clusters, to substantiate the process of subjecthood of the migrant workers as they straddle between their rights at workplace and the right to the city. She discussed the prevalent structural characteristics and fragmented conditions of this industry and how the process of dispossession leads to insecurity and deprivation given the prevalent hierarchical practices and layers of sub-contractualisation through informal networks and middlemen. While the construction workers are eligible for accessing social protection through the legal framework of the Building and Other Construction Workers' Act, Inter-State Migrant Workmen's Act besides others, in reality the implementation machinery and labour governance remains fragile, arbitrary and incapable of addressing the concerns of the migrant due to various structural flaws and systemic failures. This paper attempted to situate the casual migrant labour, at the centre of the ongoing debates and policy evaluations in the domain of the civil society and academia, and to contextualise the Covid-19 pandemic as a momentary crisis that has provided the opportunity to rethink the interlinkages between social protection (state welfare policies), rights (to the city) and vulnerability (precarious labour conditions) vis-à-vis the migrant workers who are unable to negotiate their rights and entitlements from the employer and the state.

## A Report on Status of Women Migrant Workers of Nepal

Suman Mandal's paper acknowledged the importance and contribution of foreign employment to Nepal's economy. He presented a study and analysis of the status of Nepali women migrant workers in recent times. He looked into the evolving framework of the foreign employment governance in Nepal. While the current labour migration act is not gender discriminatory, it does operate within a broader patriarchal structure and draws from the previous legal frameworks that inhibited women's rights to make independent decisions on mobility and employment choices. These restrictive practices have led women to opt for irregular channels to seek foreign employment. This caused different forms of vulnerability amongst the Nepali women who migrated out for work, like abuse, exploitation, harassment at both the place of origin and destination. In case of return migration, the social stigma of women venturing outside home, led to suspicious on their moral character and their professions such as domestic work, bar and restaurant workers contributed to such perceptions. While their remittance contributed to the economy, it is essentially unaccounted because of the irregular and informal channel of employment. While this has economically empowered women workers, but this does not mean that they have economic freedom to decide the nature of household expenditure and savings, which remains largely controlled by the male members. This paper highlighted the imperative of regularisation and official recognition of women labour and their contribution to the economy.

These presentations were followed by an enriching round of critical discussion where the module participants received very insightful and constructive feedback in the form of questions, clarifications and suggestions from the mentors and the audience. Nisharuddin received suggestions to rework and improve his paper, especially his conclusion and analysis regarding failures of government policies. He also received suggestions regarding the use of category of 'return refugee' and that instead 'in-situ' migrants might be considered. He also received suggestion to focus more on Muslim migration from West Bengal to East Bengal. Kasturi received feedback on her presentation that she should have focussed more on the arguments and empirical data and delimit the theoretical-analytical discussions. She was also pointed out that she should work more on the problematisation of social protection and distinguish it from failures of state to disburse and implement social welfare policies. She had received suggestions from the mentors to strengthen the empirical content of her paper within the given theoretical framework of migration. Suman received questions regarding the politics of migration and was asked to discuss regarding state policy for foreign employment. He was suggested to gather more

segregated data regarding migrant workers on gender, caste and religious lines that would help him analyse the social demographic complexity of migration.

## Module D: Forced Migration, Law, and Critical Jurisprudence

## A gradual anomaly in Citizenship: In particular reference to Non-citizens/Refugees in India

Monika Verma began her paper with an analysis of the gradual changes in Indian citizenship where non-citizens and refugees were gradually, implicitly or explicitly, discriminated against or excluded by the legal amendments in the Citizenship Act, 1955. She started her discussion with the situation after India's independence (1947) when the fundamental rights and responsibilities of citizens and non-citizens about citizenship were described in detail in the Indian Constitution and later on Citizenship Act, 1955. At the commencement of the Constitution, India's citizenship policy was more inclusive for citizens and non-citizens, but the approach was seen as less inclusive over the years. Her paper diffusely described these changes from "more inclusive to less inclusive" for non-citizens and refugees through several amendments such as Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 1986, Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2003, Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2004, the Passport (Entry into India) Amendment Rules, 2015, Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2019. She thoroughly undercooked all the amendments mentioned above. She argued that India's citizenship policy regarding immigrants and refugees has become less inclusionary and, to some extent, more exclusionary over the years.



Module D Presentations

## Children of a Lesser God: Rightlessness of Rohingya refugee Children in Malaysia and Bangladesh

Sreetapa Chakrabarty's started with the way borders and citizenship render some as members and others as aliens. She pointed out that the discussion on the rights of these alien and invisible stateless children in South Asia has been submerged in the mainstream Euro centric analysis of human rights and child rights. Thus, the need to see rights in the context of stateless children in South Asia leads to the dimension of deprival of citizenship rights in case of these children. She particularly focused on Rohingya children and the loss of their citizenship rights in the context of restrictive citizenship rights in Bangladesh and Malaysia, citing various case laws, acts and legal practices. She discussed at length legal complexities in cases of adoption, and other forms of torture generated by the loss of citizenship such as detention, criminalization and the loss of the right to enter a sovereign territory. She concluded, taking a cue from the Kolkata declaration of 2018 that the experiences of post-colonial regions call for greater attention in order to improve the said legal regime and emancipate it from hierarchy, inequality and monolithic cultural values and which may dispossess stateless children like the Rohingya and undermine their individuality, subjectivity, citizenship and the ability to make political and social choices.

## The conflict of interests within the French imperial bio-political logistics and its impact on the recruitment of Vietnamese labours to the Pacific Islands

Nguyen Thi Trang's paper explored the network of French imperial bio-political logistics and analysed why and how conflicts and regulates the conflicts among parties in Vietnamese labours' recruitment working to the Pacific Islands during the French Indochina. She shows the demand for human resources for French imperial projects, especially in the Far East, and the position of Indochina in this human resource network. She highlights the subjects related to recruiting

workers in Indochina: the French institutions in Metropolitan France; colonial governments in Indochina and the Pacific Islands; settlers; intermediates forces; and Vietnamese workers. The conflicts have caused the migration of Vietnamese to the Pacific Ocean to be interrupted and ineffective. That forced the colonial government in Indochina to become the intermediary to regulate, organize and control this labour flow through the promulgation of a series of labour regulations, laws, and circulars. These labour policies ensure a certain supply of labour and continual influx from Vietnam to the Pacific Islands, examine the implementation of rules, and prevent the excessive abuse of many colons at risk of reducing the paid workforce's overall capacity and making them become docile bodies. Although these regulations also gave Vietnamese workers few rights, the policies served the colonial ambitions, as they allowed them to exploit subjects in an optimal way and with fewer legal problems.

## Women's Labour Migration from Kyrgyzstan to Russia: Causes and Consequences

Gulzina Daniiarova's caught everyone's attention towards the growing women's labour migration from Kyrgyzstan to Russia, mainly examining the causes and consequences of labour migration. Her paper persuasively shows several quantitative data by explaining the situation and position (both economically and financially) of women in Kyrgyzstan, including why women have to force to leave the country in search of employment in Russia. She believes that poverty was one of the reasons behind the causes of forced migration of women. In addition, it also covers the challenges and difficulties faced by the Kyrgyz women in Russia, such as the problem of getting good and reputed employment while being a responsible, educated woman. Furthermore, her discussion elaborated the voice of the rights of migrant women, the non-awareness of Russian laws, and the growing violence against the Kyrgyz women in Russia. By giving all the significant dimensions of women migration in the concluding remarks, Gulzina believes that it is possible to solve the problem positively through the analysis of the causes of the issues of women migrants and suggestions for their solution, new living conditions, and information for migrants, explanations on legal literacy.

## The Missing Link between Migration to Trafficking in West Bengal

Shimul Dutta talked firstly about notions of human trafficking and then she delved deep into the ways women and children become victims of this crime in the context of West Bengal. She reflected upon the existing Government laws and policies which try to address this situation. Finally, she talked about the link between climate change and trafficking which has been

relatively an under researched area, specifically if seen from the context of North and South 24 Parganas, the areas which she has studied.

## War, Conflict, Climate Change and Internal Displacement in Afghanistan

Mujib Ahmad Azizi's paper titled as 'War, Conflict, Climate Change and Internal Displacement in Afghanistan' reflected on the causes of the IDP's in Afghanistan, focusing on war, conflict and climate change. Here the paper delved deep into the ethnic composition, the environmental background and energy resources in Afghanistan and also reflected upon climate change as supporting factor for conflict in Afghanistan, ultimately resulting in huge scale displacement. The paper further reflected on conflict as a human made crisis in Afghanistan and delved deep into other issues such as poverty and unemployment, also augmented by ongoing conflict in the country. The paper further shed light on the role of the Taliban in generating more unemployment and also talked about these and the aforementioned issues in the context of the COVID 19 pandemic.

## Module E: Derogation of Rights of Refugees and Migrants, and Situations of Statelessness

### Statelessness and the plight of women in Nepal

Neetu Pokharel looks at three aspects in her paper concerning the statelessness of women in Nepal. 1) Stories of women in Nepal who are forced to leave 2) The vicious cycle between violence and women leaving forcefully 3) And with the help of some case studies she looks into the aforementioned aspects and objectives. She begins by highlighting how Nepal apparently has a progressive constitution, however in reality women in Nepal have been deprived of enjoying their civil, political, and socio-economic rights. Many women in Nepal lack the citizenship because of discriminatory behaviour from the Government's service delivery institutions; and because of discriminatory practices from the family and society. Because of lack of citizenship many women have been living as stateless women in their own country.

## Uprooted women and Citizenship

Roshini Sharma started her paper by saying that nation-states have existed by drawing borders to mark their territories and mark out those who belong within it and those who stay outside. In an era of the shrinking of borders of nation-states, there has been a continuous upsurge in the number of people becoming homeless and stateless. Consequently, resulting in a mass exodus of those who fail to match up to the legitimacy criteria. Her paper mainly takes women as the main

focus of the research which attempts to understand and re-examine the stories of forced migration and (re)settlement of refugee women in the available historiography. Her paper also revisits the question of "identity" that changed for refugee women for no fault of their own, highlighting their stories of acceptance, of belonging as against the citizen subject.

# A Stateless population in between fragile commitments: assessing the roles of Myanmar and Bangladesh in governance of a protracted Rohingya refugee crisis

Salwa Jahan's paper was a case study of the Rohingyas in Bangladesh. The main research questions of Salwa's paper were: How is Bangladesh operating as a system of receiving refugees and governing them? What is its mandate as a host and what are the limits to continuation of humanitarian support? 2) What is realistic in terms of ensuring accountability of Myanmar and 3) How strong is the commitment of Bangladesh as a host country in management of this displaced population. In this context she highlighted the condition of the Rohingyas including the encroachment on their right to movement and work, and the limitations of Bangladesh as a host country looking into a protracted refugee displacement. At the same time the role of Myanmar is also assessed in relation to its lack of accountability --- both leading to a situation where the Rohingya are stuck in between very fragile diplomatic commitments and a bleak future.

# Home(state)less Rohingyas in Quandary: the discursive expose of Rohingya narratives from Cox's Bazaar camps

Niloy Biswas's paper brought attention to the several critical questions based on the idea of "home" amongst the Rohingyas. For instance, how Rohingyas think about their idea of home, what kind of convergence and divergence is in the idea of home. By taking several micronarrative interpretive approaches, he presented several living stories of Rohingyas (Mohammad Amin, 42; Kala Mia, 37; Shakina, 34) where multiple experiences came across with multiple idea of "home" differ not only by the time period but also by the age group. He also covers the dimension where he discussed how the Rohingyas are moving forward and reimagining the new "homes" in the host state. His paper concluded with the idea of home(s) drawn from the multi-layered imagination of the Rohingyas.



Module E presentation by Gurvindar Kour

# Contested Displacement & Fractured Rights: The Case of POJK Displaced Persons in J&K

This paper brought to centre stage the case of post-Partition forced migration in the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir, which displaced large population belonging to the Hindu and Sikh community from areas of Mirpur, Poonch and Muzaffarabad. Caught in the middle of a conflict at both the international and state levels, and not falling within the legal framework of refugee regime, the displaced people of POJK (Pakistan Occupied Jammu and Kashmir) were marginalised on a number of fronts. A catastrophe comparable to that endured by west Pakistani refugees during partition befell this group. However, the Indian state refused to recognise them as refugees because of its territorial claims over POJK as an integral part of India. She argued how the POJK displaced were treated unfairly by the Indian state, depriving them of their rights as refugees. Because they were denied refugee status, they did not get the same compensation and rehabilitation as the other Partition refugees. With this as a backdrop her paper examined how the intersections of local, national, and international politics resulted in the distinct case of POJK community, leading to their exclusion from the national refugee framework and deprivation of their rights.

### Module F: Protection Ethics and Practices of Care and Solidarity

## The Conceptualisation of the State Linguistic policies and educational system for Analysing Community Solidarity

Azeema Salim's paper was based on the wake of the Arab uprising and the Syrian civil war, the refugee crisis became apparent in contemporary international politics. Germany's 'open border policy in 2015 opened up border gates for millions of refugees, specifically from Syria. With the

intake of refugees, the host societies regulate their state policies to achieve successful integrations. However, the multicultural identity of refugees and host societies complex the social, cultural, political, and economic integration of refugees. The language became the key indicator for the integration of refugees with the host societies. Introducing compulsory language programs in Germany to adapt to the host society seems to be a way forward in integrating the refugees. Nevertheless, the method and inculcation of language training created layers of complexities between the refugees and the host society. The language phenomenon reflects on the integration process in multiple ways. The systematic language integration process questions the growing community's alienation due to the language barrier and developing an alternative community, influencing the cooperative coexistence between multicultural identities. While in a counterargument, the growing alienation produces alternative community solidarity. For instance, a separated and segregated space was formed for Arabic and Turkish-speaking migrants and refugees in Germany. It further intensified the psychological differentiation between the state, locals, and the refugees. Thus, the language plays a significant role in either alienating the community or forming an alternative community based on their language, interest, and choice. Moreover, within the linguistic phenomenon, education plays a significant role in forming a community within a community and/or developing community solidarity. Thus, school education became the prime and significant aspect for the thorough implication of language training. She discusses how the German state policies impact the integration process in the wake of the refugee crisis, and how to deal with the language phenomenon in the context of refugees. It analyses the role of state policies and sensitivity towards refugees' languages and its implication on the integration process. She further connected with the state's education system determines language phenomenon for refugee children and its behaviour in the long term. It questions the school education system induced by state policies, having both short and long term impacts on the personalities and development of the individuals within societies. It also analyses the influx of multilingual refugees in 2015 that deepens the insecurities among refugees and fear of being accumulated with the German institutions. However, it explained how the lack of language proficiency impaired refugees' overall development and the question of 'efficient' linguistic sustainability became apparent for all the argumentative discourses. Moreover, she explained the sustainability of the native language by the refugees, and to adapt host language pre-requisite for the integration process, can provide a new sense of solidarity among refugees with the host society. The idea of multi lingua integration can ethically protect refugees' backgrounds and a motivation to be actively involved in the cultural integration process. The concluding remark emphasises basic cultural rights for all to develop a multilingual language class in the education

system, and sensitivity towards the adaptation of distinctive language by the host society and refugees can form a pluralistic and tolerant society.

She was asked to look comprehensively at the compassion and the mobility of the refugees in German based on demographic features. Prof. Das also suggested a further hypothetical analysis, "more republican state, the greater it led to alienation".

# Politics of health in post-partition Bengal: A historical investigation into practices of care and solidarity, 1947-1966

Priyankar Dey's paper deals with the question of politics of health in the context of post-partition Bengal. Critically investigating measures of epidemiological governance of the time, government's responses to the refugee health issues, and the self-help practices of the refugees in the squatters colonies in and around Calcutta, he seeks to argue that the very conceptualizations of healthcare as belonging to the realm of the 'social' in these discourses/practices opened it up to possible contentions and collective actions. It is in this context; the refugees could emerge as a subject of risk in the municipal discourses of the time. The collective actions in the refugee colonies, and those promoted by the left, he tries to show, pointed at a different conceptualization of the 'social' and of solidarity. They show a different ideal of protectionism that is based on a notion of a care economy and distributive justice.

In the discussion which followed, Arup Sen took up the issue of the biopolitics of the state and the contestations from the refugees. He wanted to know whether all the colonies, especially the ones of the Dalit refugees, had the same self-help health practices. He also pointed out that this self-rehabilitation could only succeed at a human cost as the Muslims living on those lands were removed. In response, Priyankar said that the making of the 'social', either through the governmental practices or the care economy of the refugees, always produced borders which excluded some people.

## Judicial Function and the Afterlife of the Korematsu Decision

Anand Upendran's paper dealt with the study of certain case laws that have a bearing on the protection of migrants and refugees. Using ideas from the discipline of judicial process, the paper addresses the litigation in 2017 which challenged then US President Donald Trump's proclamation which severely restricted immigration into the US from certain Muslim-majority nations. The US Supreme Court, in a judgment delivered in 2018, upheld that order. However,

four justices out of the nine dissented, arguing that the order must be determined as unconstitutional since it was manifestly founded on religious prejudice.

The paper proceeded to examine certain legal precedents of importance to this case, in particular certain litigations before the US Supreme Court during the second world war which challenged the then US government's policy of incarcerating people of Japanese descent living in its soil, claiming a threat of espionage. While the court upheld that policy, in an infamous judgment in 1944, powerful dissents were written then too. The dissenting justices argued that the Roosevelt administration's policy of incarcerating individuals of Japanese ancestry living in the US - many of whom were US citizens - was rooted in racial prejudice and, therefore, unconstitutional.

The paper spoke of the similarities between the US Supreme Court's decisions in 1944 and 2018; and the similarities in their respective backgrounds. The paper pointed to how the court in the 'Muslim travel ban' case viewed its own precedent in the 'wartime incarceration' cases. In conclusion, the paper also attempted to use these experiences from the US to critique the decision of the Indian Supreme Court, in April 2021, to not interfere in the deportation of Rohingya refugees.

During discussions, Samir Das suggested that the author continues to probe the judicial process, understand in detail the factors which influence a judge while deciding a case, and reach conclusions that will acknowledge both the power and the limitations of the judicial process.

## Panel Discussions and Film Screenings (Workshop)

## After the Pandemic: Recalling the Kolkata Declaration of 2018 (Inaugural Panel)

This session was chaired by Sabyasachi Basu Ray Choudhary and the Speakers were Paula Banerjee, Meghna Guhathakurta and Ayse Caglar while the discussant was Nasreen Chowdhory. Bringing the issue of Afghan refugees to the forefront, Paula Banerjee spoke about the failure of the countries to live up to the promise of the Refugee convention and the importance of the Kolkata Declaration of 2018 with its notion of 'Protection' in the present and its possibilities for the future. She stressed that the idea of protection and dignity should be brought to the forefront through the debates on refugees. Meghna Guhathakurta while sighting the specific case of the Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh spoke how in the present Pandemic, only necessary emergency measures were dealt with but other significant questions of justice and gender-based violence weren't part of the larger concerns. This period witnessed a rise in domestic violence and early marriages. She also spoke about the role of refugees in decision making, citizenship rights and about the regional charter apart from the global one. She argued for a dialogical approach at the

community level, between the local host community and the refugees as the issue of otherness needs to be addressed. Ayse Caglar spoke how the Kolkata declaration should not be seen as a subaltern reaction but rather a critical document which brought the experiences from South Asia to the forefront and how significant it becomes to discuss the 2018 declaration in relation to the Covid pandemic. For her mobility and protection are the two central concerns which are also embedded in multiple hierarchies. She mentioned how migrant labour as a category became visible during the pandemic which also saw the silencing of the case of refugees and asylum seekers. Nasreen Chowdhory reflected on the global pact and the ground of protection shifting from development to justice.



Inaugural Panel Discussion

## Solidarity with Migrants and Refugees during the COVID Times

Shreya Ghosh's talk about understanding solidarity with migrants and solidarity by migrants. When she talks about the latter, she emphasizes on how migrants tend to always seek support mostly for their community. The pandemic widened the act of solidarity among then migrants as the act of survival. For instance, hotline calls always have a migrant asking for help for another individual, and not so much for themselves. She talks about how the COVID-19 exposed this solidarity even more, as stuck in enclosed spaces, any one migrant would have to arrange for services for the entire group. Within these acts of solidarity, acts of survival is also implicit. However, these two factors do not transcend the community. They are linked to a common space of origin and common lived experiences. This solidarity is also built on the fact that the outside is hostile. When it comes to solidarity with migrants, between the first and second wave of COVID-19 evident a drastic shift in the crisis. 1st Wave experience the solidarity towards migrant workers by citizens, but as the crisis prolonged, the solidarity was channelled to middle-class solidarity looking for shortage beds and oxygen. She ended up her presentation with a

thought provoking question on what happen to the rights of the rights force, did it get reinforced or enter into the right based discourse.

Parag Banerjee in his first part highlighted how the pandemic surged not only solidarity, but intensify the expression of anger. How crisis changes narratives and makes migrant look like passive actors or the community's burden. During the pandemic, this narrative led to unequal treatment of migrant workers who were often not paid their salaries. This phenomenon is also seen globally where many migrant workers realized that during crisis, they have no state are also not supported by proper institutional framework, especially in the South Asian region. They have the constitutional right of mobility within the nation but the system is designed to treat them as a static population. He also suggested Calcutta Research Group to conduct a dialogue to hold institutional rights of migrants that could be reach out loud in coming future.

Samir Das puts these two discussions inside a frame of induction and re-induction of migrant labours in the economy at the convenience of the upper class. In doing so he shows, how certain jobs such as manual scavenging are important for the survival of the society but these are left to the right-less people—the migrant workers. Prior to the pandemic, their need was high and during the lockdown they were no longer needed—leaving them not only without a livelihood but also denying them the opportunity to go back home due to strict border control. He contextualise it through the aspects of normal and pathologies. An important group that helps to maintain the city, is suddenly seen as a group to be avoided. In such conditions, the migrant workers are only left with solidarity among themselves to survive. However, he emphasizes that solidarity is incomplete without public good. Further, he tried to answer the challenges by concept of 'Bridge Gap' where migrant labourers are required to fill in. Significantly, he argues that solidarity is minus from public good. The state has to play a role, to develop solidarity along with the public good. In the end, Ghosh emphasises the implicit trap of service.

### Climate Change and Displacement

This panel discussion contained presentations of one podcasts and one paper presentation. The podcast by Utsa Sarmin inspired by a fieldwork in the Sundarbans of India, where 4.5 million people became victims of climate change. It raises questions of climate crisis and contributes to the living archive on lived realities of climate-affected people through an interaction with Mirza Mansur Alam Baig, a social worker looking for a solution for climate-induced vulnerabilities in his island, Mousuni. Baig's grandfathers settled in the island during the British rule. As a young boy, he saw river boundaries that no longer exist today due to landslide. He lived to see many cyclones but the cyclone Yaas left him with a traumatising memory. The tidal wave, incoming 'in

the shape of a mountain' destroyed his house. The water calmed down eventually, carrying animal carcasses. Global warming is causing the sea levels to rise and Yaas was a manifestation of that change. Lands have become infertile due to salinity and people can no longer rely on agriculture for a living. The government's financial stimulus package only lasts for a few months. This vacuum in agricultural economy led to the creation of a tourism economy. The Panchayat members initiated tourism centres and numerous resorts, creating job opportunities. Islanders now find themselves in a dilemma: homes are being wrecked by the nature but there are new economic opportunities. As a result, the outward migration rate has gone down significantly. However, the resorts are also being threatened by natural disasters. Locals appealed to government authorities to build concrete embankments and save the islands. In addition, Baig points out that mangroves belt, cages and boulders will double the protection. He makes comparison with a low-level land like the Netherlands where proper planning makes the country liveable. He calls for the government of India to follow and innovate to help the people of the Sundarbans.

Piya Srinivasan's paper attempts to move away from the global hegemonic narrative of climate change and shift the focus to the local. She begins by understanding the classification of disaster in disaster management that defines who is deserving of protection and aid. For instance, riverbank erosions are not recognised as disasters in the India while cyclones are. In reality, there are hundreds of people affected by riverbank erosions who are denied visibility. The protective legal instruments also do not adequately support climate-affected people. The National Disaster Management Act 2005 has been crucial in reducing disaster risks but in the ground level, it has become a template of power relations, leaving out the victims from the centre. The Forest Rights Act 2006 do not allow villagers in the Sundarbans any protection as it is deemed to be a tribal rights act and is inapplicable to traditional fishing communities and those dependent on the forest economy. The author calls this phenomenon an exclusionary conservation as environmental governance that erases existence of certain communities. Such policies create further marginalisation as well as local tensions that prevent communities from accessing their entitlements. Srinivasan then moves her argument to exploring local dynamics of embankment construction and marginality, the former that has built an ecosystem on its own and involves several stakeholders, marked by resistances and unsustainable practices – such as locals taking away resources from embankments to create smaller ad-hoc embankment-like protections for themselves. Her paper makes connections between policy implications and realities to explore the relationship between climate change, ecology, migration and rights. She concludes by stating that climate migration is a question of recognition and policy and to address this very challenging

issue, understanding the drivers of climate change and climate-induced displacement is inevitable.

Both presentations underline the importance of asking the right questions to power and the need to pluralise. They highlight how it is important to get away from a linear understanding of climate issues and see why people move or cannot move i.e. the nuances of climate mobility.





Panel Discussion on Climate Change

Discussion and Film Screenings

## Film Sessions:

Tale of Migrant City I (2019) & II (2020)

## Tale of Migrant City I (2019)

Directed by Saibal Mitra, the film traced the history of the city, encompassing an overarching account of what has happened in the last 330 years. The film began by tracing the history of the pluralistic culture of the city of Kolkata. It portrayed the significance of migrant labour market in the city and highlighted the significant contributions of migrants to the city's labour market, thereby building the city in significant ways. In the context of the city's rising economy in general and the rising labour market in particular, the film highlighted how Calcutta became a home to a significant number of Armenians, Jews, Chinese, British and migrants from other Indian States. It also depicted how the iconic buildings of the city have reflect the influence of different cultures that the migrants have brought into the city. The film depicted migrant labour in the city by referring also to circular migration, symbolized by hand-pulled rickshaws, cart pullers and conservancy workers, where the incarnations of a caste-ridden society may also be noticed. The film further depicted the stories of the indentured labourers from faraway islands of the Caribbean and the post-partition refugees now residing in the railway colonies. It also talked about the active role played by migrant women during and after the partition.

## Tale of Migrant City II (2020)

This film began by showing a storm. The film focussed on the relatively recent phenomenon of refugee influx in the aftermath of the 1947 partition and the 1971 Bangladesh liberation war. It depicted how the urban space undergoes transformation as a result of refugee influx. It showed how populations during those times were marked by dispossession, linguistic and cultural differences, but united somewhere by kinship networks. It brought to the forefront that what happens when huge number of people lands in the civic space of another place and in this context showed the building up of refugee colonies through the narratives of refugees themselves. Further, in order to gain legitimacy, as was highlighted in the film, these colonies built by the refugees were named after prominent nationalist leaders or Gods and Goddesses. The film recalled the Islamic history of several refugee areas and talked about the still prevailing feeling of identity and belonging to those old times. For instance, Qazipara had long been renamed as Chittaranjan still the native older generation of that area identify the area as Qazipara, as shown in the film. The film further portrayed the then prevalent system of caste, class and religious segmentation amongst migrants and talked about the impact of the Muslim community at length. It also highlighted the ill treatment received by this community.

The contribution of women was also reflected upon in the film, which has been largely undermined in the entire partition saga. The phenomenon of stigmatizing and stereotyping of migration were also portrayed in the film. The film further talked about Prafulla Chakraborty's categorization between camp refugees and colony refugees and showed the narratives of women who live in those colonies. The film further referred to the West Bengal Eviction Bill drafted by the UCRC and talked about *jabardakhal colony uchhed*, or forceful eviction of refugees. The film ended with the song "bondhu, banchbo re amra (friends, we will live on)."

The film show was followed by the question answer session. The questions were as follows: in the context of identity becoming muted, and in other places it is getting divided, do the film-makers see any sense of optimism in the context of the pandemic and if yes, what really underlies this optimism, especially when the lady in the film says I don't see any division in terms of religion. The second set of questions were related to whether the film has been screened anywhere or not and when it is said that Kolkata is a city of migrants do the film-makers mean that this is an image that the population of Kolkata has of their own city even if they themselves or their families don't have any migration history?

The moderator in the question-answer session also mentioned that there is a possibility of a trilogy and the third part in its fullest probability shall focus on the Calcutta Port which may be considered as a site of transit.



#### Introduction

The four day workshop was followed by a two day conference on the same theme. Senior researchers, eminent scholars, NGO persons, legal experts, environmentalists, researchers, activists and students took part in that conference. Due to the current regulations for this pandemic situation, some of the conference participants' form outside India joined online.

## **Inaugural Session**

The conference sessions began with the welcome address by Dr. Shyamalendu Majumdar, Sivanath Sastri College, Calcutta, India and Secretary of the Calcutta Research Group. Professor Sanjay Chaturvedi delivered the inaugural lecture after the welcome address.



Welcome address: Conference



Inaugural Lecture by Sanjay Chaturvedi

## Inaugural Lecture

## Climate Disaster, Migration and Responses from Below

Sanjay Chaturvedi began the lecture by mentioning mobility and the figure of a migrant from a rather sedentary perspective and questioned the changes of visuals when a migrant is observed from the point of view of a civilian and the state. The talk raised the questions of migration as an extension of displacement along with the histories and geographies of displacement. The lecture looked into the intersections of disconnections, risks, threats and dangers that climate disasters pave for the climate migrants and climate refugees. Chaturvedi flagged the significance of climate solidarity, behavioural change, adaptive governance, the anthropocene forms of globalisation and ecological interdependencies. Critical geo-historical perspectives harped on the importance of understanding ecological debt and ecological foot prints and the ways in which nature, environment and climate act in combination as 'accumulated disasters'. The reference of Hanna

Holleman's 'Dust Bowls of Empire' brought out the interconnected problems of land degradation, freshwater scarcity, and climate change with their consequences for the land and people. The discussion highlighted carbon economy and redistribution of wealth to combat climate-related damages that push people into poverty and affect fragile environments. The geopolitical vertigo - placing within its ambit de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation, implicates the migrants the most, more so in case of coastal states bordering waterbodies. Climate change was termed as a new global terror that facilitates weakened governance, economic collapse, human migration and potential conflicts; under such circumstances it would be the responsibility of nations to provide protection to the multitude of refugees who would then seek shelter post dislocation.

Participants shared their observations on the global, South Asian and regional discourses – climate change as political persecution, fear and the threats in the Himalayan belt and Ganga-Brahmaputra delta. The importance of morality and common and differentiated responsibilities in providing assistance to the ecologically threatened communities who are worst hit by environmental changes were underlined.

#### Session I

#### **Panel Discussions**

## Perspectives on Long 2020

Subhas Ranjan Chakraborty, moderator of this session began the discussion with a brief introduction about the theme. He also introduced three panellists of the session.

The discussion began with Iman Mitra's perspectives towards the concept of Long 2020. He said that the idea of Long 2020 inspired by Eric Hobsbawm's idea on the long nineteenth century. According to Hobsbawm, the idea of "long nineteenth century" began from the time of the French Revolution (1789) to the World War I (1914-19). Similarly the idea of long 2020 is not limited to the year 2020 alone but the after effects much beyond that. The idea of long 2020 had to be considered what was happening before 2020. Mitra said that the pandemic and the after effects of the pandemic should not only be blamed for the results faced by the common people especially the poor migrants. It has a large social and political context. The perspectives of looking towards the disease, the role of the public health agencies as well as the society became more important after the pandemic. Mitra referred the book by Benjamin Bratton who analysed the pandemic through a socio-cultural perspective. Mitra specifically referred one chapter on the epidemiological view of the society. Quoting Foucault's idea on the security, population and

territory, Mitra explained how the global idea of dealing with the pandemic was shifted from time to time with the invention of vaccines and different techniques, rules and regulations to prevent the spreading of the disease. Mitra described how the role of the shifted in terms of segregation of the entire section of diseased people to make it case specific. Apart from case the concept of risk became more important. Mirta said that the emergence of statistics and emergence of modern epidemiology started functioning through the idea of risk. He explained how the role of biopolitics started functioning through the idea of risk and how the character of treating the pandemic transforms with the idea of risk. Through the new idea of locating the risk factors the identification and marking the dangerous groups had been started. Thus, the state started marking different groups as per their social status and chalked out the policy to treat them. Quoting Foucault's idea, Mitra said that the modern states in the nineteenth century started dealing with the crisis at the time of any pandemic. According to Mitra, it has been cleared that the dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic happened almost in the same way. The only difference came with the evolution of modern virology which began in 1933. The modern virology taught us the use of mask and sanitizer to fought with the virus. He argued that the consciousness to save others from the risk of effecting from the contamination by taking some basic preventive measures and getting a support from different section of people make the idea of prevention from private individuation towards public transmissibility. Thus, the transmission of information played a crucial role to create a database in the pandemic. Every information has considered as a set of data about the human body which is almost impossible to maintain or analysed by any person or a group of persons. Therefore, they have to take the help of artificial intelligence (AI). The epidemiological view of the society is based on the AI. It predicted the future in retrospect to know the present scenario. Mitra ended his argument with this question whether the epidemiological view of the society that based only on the incidence in future is the only way to understand the present or there is a different way to understand the present. So, the idea of long 2020 is not 'long' according to time but much bigger about the understanding of the society.

Paula Banerjee began her lecture to the understanding of the idea of "long 2020". She said that the idea of "long 2020" has emerged from the past. Quoting Giovanni Arrighi's idea about the long 20<sup>th</sup> century Banerjee said that her idea about long 2020 is not that long as Arrighi said about his idea of long 20<sup>th</sup> century. Her talk covered the changes in the perception of the diseased body at the age of pandemic. According to her, the present is the transposition of the future. The future that we would try to construct is not on the basis of the present but also has

some foothold in the past. Banerjee argued that the pandemic made a major shift in the politics of public health. The politics was based on both the technological developments and the people involved in those technological developments. Banerjee referred the history of plague epidemic as a fragmented history because the entire notion of untouchability based on the idea of sanitization and alienate people in the name of sanitization. The classist notion of purity and pollution played a vital role behind the sanitization policies. The idea of perfect health or a healthy body was also an important part of the idea of public health during the pandemic. Banerjee also referred idea of public health in the medieval Europe roaming around physicality. Therefore, there was a direct relation of touching to spread the disease. Poor people had considered as pollutants. Thus, the notion of dirt or pollute came in the field of talking about the public health. The idea of the "long 2020" attached another phenomenon. It became a disease attached to a particular body.

Samata Biswas began her presentation with an analysis of the role of epidemics in Bengali literature by recent critics like Uday Chand Das, Nirmalya Kumar Ghosh and Anirban Gangopadhyay in the Bengali literature. She referred that the novels and other popular cultures have references on the epidemics and the health crises since the nineteenth century. Her lecture was focused on the representation of pandemics in both nineteenth and twentieth-century Bengali literature and how the community responded during the epidemic. Biswas focussed on the Cholera epidemic which first began in 1871 and was followed by Malaria and Smallpox. All the deaths and dangers of epidemics had some reference in the Bengali literature. While other leading researchers mostly based on the news clippings and autobiographies to address the representational politics during the epidemic. Biswas's paper analyses the same representational politics, textual and inter-textual practices and fictional representations of the histories of public health crises in literature. Biswas prepared her argument based on three well known Bengali novelists and their well-known fictional characters. Sharat Chandra Chattopadhyay's Srikanto, in the 1930s, Bibhutibhushan Bandyopadhyay's Satyacharan 1939 and Balaichand Mukhopadhyay's Shankar in the 1940s. These protagonists in the novels though live in different surroundings, but at the moment of the epidemic, they took the initiative to solve the crisis. The paper talks about the organization of the social as well as the compromise of the social in different cases in Bengali literature. Biswas referred to another well-known Bengali novelist Tarashankar Bandyopadhyay to consider the initiatives taken by the male protagonists to fight the Cholera epidemic in the novels like Ganadevata, Dhatri Devata and Arogya Niketan. The paper analyses the references of solidarities and disassociations in the time of epidemic, public health crisis, war and the partition that represents the crisis in the Bengali novels and relate how the different types of participation

and solidarity towards the diseased people during the epidemic (from Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay's Ananadamath in the late nineteenth century to Trashankar Bandyopadhyay's Ganadebata in the 1940s) played a crucial role to fight against the crisis.





Conference Session: Perspectives on Long 2020

Parallel Session II on Climate Change, Ecology and Displacement

## Migrant Asia: Experiences from Afghanistan and Indonesia

The moderator Anita Sengupta set the pace of the discussion by highlighting thatwhat makes people move and people staying back are very complex issues. These issues shall be discussed by the speakers. With this she opened the floor for discussion by the speakers.

Fahmi Panimbang's lecture was titled as "Crime Migration in the Borders: The Condition of Indonesian Migrant Workers in Palm Oil Plantations in Sabah, East Malaysia." His study was based on interviews with 50 deported migrants from Malaysia to Indonesia, authorities in Indonesia and on the basis of discussion with civil society and national human rights institution in Malaysia. The speaker stressed on the reasons for repression and marginalization of migrants in Malaysia in general and then moved on to a discussion on the migrant workers in oil palm plantations in Sabah, Indonesia. He highlighted that the Government in Malaysia has started closing civic space which has led to further repression for the migrant workers. He mentioned that about 90% of the workers are migrants and mostly undocumented. They are undocumented because companies in Malaysia have always allowed only one worker to be recruited officially for 8 hectares of plantation land. He pointed out that the problem lies with the governmental regulation about the number of workers that could be employed in per hectare of land. In this context, Fahmi discussed about crime in border capitalism and pointed out that cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment of migrant detainees occur on a regular basis which include extortion, confiscation of personal property and exploitation of child deportees. He further highlighted that complex and

inefficient administrative deportation procedures in Sabah, Malaysia have led to prolonged detention of migrants, which in turn has resulted in various illnesses amongst the detainees including mental health issues and even death. He concluded by mentioning that civic space and civic groups continue to challenge these issues in border capitalism in Sabah, Malaysia.

Liza Schuster's talk was on European Agenda on their regular migration from Afghanistan to the EU. She highlighted that European agenda on the Afghan migration situation has been incoherent and inhumane. She gave a background to the current Afghan situation by referring to the year 2014 which witnessed a massive increase in unemployment and also talked about the resulting spike in the practice of temporary opening of borders. She discussed about the impact of withdrawal of US forces from Afghanistan and about the subsequent coming of Taliban regime in Afghanistan. She reflected on the process of evacuation after the invasion of Taliban and pointed out in details that the EU has mainly focused on shifting control to countries of origin in terms of capacity building and inducing the coercive element.

Reza Hussaini's talk was based on the evacuation process undertaken by USA and its allies in the context of the Afghan crisis in 2021. He viewed US operation as an instance of colonial enterprise in Afghanistan. He shared his personal experience of getting evacuated to Poland from Afghanistan, which began by getting a call from the Kurdish embassy when the evacuation process began. His talk also focused on who was evacuated and what happened in the postevacuation period. Only those who were British citizens, those who had visas and those who knew the higher-level officials received advantage and were allowed to get evacuated. A lot of people, as Reza pointed out, died in the crowd of evacuees. Reza highlighted that evacuation processes are not new and may be traced to the periods of decolonization for example the time following French evacuation from Algeria in 1962. The recent experience of evacuation process undertaken by USA may be traced to its withdrawal from Vietnam in 1985, as highlighted by him. With this, Reza moved on to the question of what happened in Afghanistan which led to evacuation in August and gave a detailed background citing the events after the 2001 USA's invasion of Afghanistan. He highlighted that UK, USA and the NATO tried to install their own narratives in Afghanistan with the support of those who were trained in the Western countries. Today, huge number of advisers to Afghanistan do not have any knowledge about or familiarity with the culture of Afghanistan. This is perhaps because the advisers and policy makers already have settled plans in their minds, the only thing left has been to implement them, as highlighted by him. Then he gave a narration of the evacuation process in and from Afghanistan. He highlighted that a hierarchy has been witnessed in evacuation and the entire process has not been

based on the need of evacuation but based on what was felt necessary by the power holders at that time. Further, top priority was given to the native-born foreigners which meant native born US or foreign citizens who were mostly white people and second preference was given to the ones who were well connected with the embassies. Thirdly, priority was given to those who work with International NGOs, who were well connected with the US and fourthly, families who were connected with the embassies were prioritized and lastly the ones who got evacuated by chance came into the scene. The speaker further mentioned about non responsive role of UK in the evacuation of Afghans from the country. He pointed out that with regard to questions like how was the process and how was the treatment after the evacuees reached the destination countries, the answer has been in favour of the negative. He said that it was a completely unsuccessful process as the speaker himself experienced utter humiliation and witnessed others getting humiliated in the process. Many people, as he pointed out were left abandoned. Reza also discussed about the miseries of the evacuees in the Hotels in EU.

Sumaiya Islam, as the discussant, mentioned about the changing legal regime and refugee policies in the context of Europe as well as Malaysia. Europe as she mentioned has more developed refugee policies but with restrictions. Changes with regard to policies on labour migration in Greece were also mentioned about. She also talked about the Rohingya population in Malaysia, Indonesia and Bangladesh and also mentioned about the new Afghan refugees. In the context of Afghan migration, she reflected on various nuances about the Afghanistan-Pakistan border, apart from highlighting the evacuation process as discussed in details by Reza. She highlighted that it was interesting to see Pakistan's reaction to the entire process and further talked about the need to focus on alternative discourses from the Global South as far as refugee legal regimes and policies are concerned. She ended her talk by pointing out about the need not only to host refugees but also to provide them access to basic human care.

The concluding comments were made again by the speakers, as requested by the moderator. Reza Hussaini said that the neighbouring countries have hosted millions of Afghan refugees since a long time and their policy has been in favour of welcoming Afghan refugees at the first instance and then devising more restrictive policies towards the Afghans. In case of Iran, as he pointed out, a lot of Afghan migrants are sent to war in Syria instead of giving them proper care. Liza concluded by saying that how the EU has influenced the policies of the neighbouring states and even states in South Asia is an interesting part to explore. Fahmi concluded by saying that the issue of crime in migration especially in Malaysia is connected with all the issues discussed by

the other speakers. The discussion ended with the moderator giving formal thanks to the speakers and the audience.

## Climate Change, Ecology, Displacement and the State (Parallel Session I)

'Climate Change, Ecology, Displacement, and the State in Afghanistan' - The session opened with the presentation of Mujib Ahmad Azizi's paper that elaborated on the problems facing Afghanistan from a climate change perspective and other forced factors like conflict and corruption in the government system. The paper drew a correlation between climate change and the increase of severe weather events, which have significantly affected the country in a short amount of time. The importance of forests and rangeland resources and the damage to such resources resulting from decades of deforestation, overharvesting, mismanagement, and drought, have left around 1.5-2 percent of the country's total land cover as forest and rangeland. It was emphasised that agricultural production system in Afghanistan is more vulnerable to climate change, because this developing country is less flexible to technology change and capital investment as factors that affect agricultural production. The reports of United Nations Environment Programme, the World Food Programme and the National Environmental Protection Agency enlist drought and flood caused by irregular snowmelt or low rainfall as the biggest climate hazards for Afghan livelihood. National biodiversity in this part of the world is victim of international donors that subsidise fertiliser and pesticides to Afghan farmers, and have been in use to eradicate poppies. The poor understanding of Afghanistan's natural riches and lack of technical research on the biodiversity of the country is a major problem. According to natural disaster loss database, from every one million inhabitants, 11,150 people die in Afghanistan every year, half of them from water-related and geophysical events; however, there is dearth of framework for tackling climate change issues. The low socio-economic development of the country combined with increasing insecurity makes people extremely vulnerable to natural disaster. It was highlighted that, by the end of 2019 more than 1,198,000 people had been displaced internally as a result of natural disasters, while in 2020 and 2021 the number vastly increased more than any country in the world. The drought in 2018-19 affected more than twothirds of Afghanistan, displacing over 260,000 people and leaving about 9.8 million people in food crisis but in 2020 it increased further; by the mid-2021 UN data recorded that more than 90% of people in the country are in urgent need of food. The paper concluded with a summary of the adaptive capabilities of the nation as well as the NGOs working in the areas affected by climatic disasters to evolve in the backdrop of climate change in the forms of rising temperatures and erratic rainfall.

## Locating Majidbhita Char of Assam in the shadow of migration and systemic exclusion -

Anjuman Ara Begum's research focused on Majidbhita, a char (sand bar along the course of a river) village under Mandia development block in Assam's Barpeta district. With 300 families, Majidbhita is located along the river Beki, a tributary of Brahmaputra and like any other char areas in Assam, Majidbhita too faces perennial flood and river erosion displacing thousands every year both temporarily and permanently. One of the biggest rivers of the world, the Brahmaputra, a giant water body crossing several countries is blessed with almond shaped 'Char'- the riverine islands. These chars or river islands are the result of complex ecological processes that are formed when the monsoon flood water of rivers carry sand, silt and other suspended particles to give rise to chars. In Assam, char areas extend over 3608 sq. km and are distributed across 23 sub-divisions of 14 districts, with 2251 villages in 299 Gaon Panchayats where an estimated population of 25 lakh live. The population density in char area is more than double of that of the state average. Char dwellers are hard-working and laborious, and despite having faced extreme natural calamity, they have adapted effectively over the years to adverse situations like floods, erosion, storms etc. The field observation in this research outlined the struggles of select groups of people living in the chars, dependent on fertile land that makes agriculture the prime occupation; however, perennial flood and erosion result in a vicious cycle of poverty and systemic displacement push people into the risk of statelessness and contested citizenship. Most of the char people belong to the Bengal origin Muslim community who apart from the geographical exclusion from the mainland, have encountered social discrimination, persecution and violence from state and non-state actors throughout history. It was pointed out that in the year 2020 - around 50 families of the char village lost their houses. Both the bank lines of river Beki eroded, resulting in the complete erosion of 26 houses during 2020. Along with the natural calamities, a number of residents of Majidbhita face the risk of statelessness and constant displacement and forced migration.

'Development and Displacement in the Damodar Valley of India' - Shatabdi Das's presentation placed forward an overview of the background of urban and infrastructural development in the Raniganj Coalfields located in the eastern part of the Damodar valley. Plans for the development of the river valley of Damodar had surfaced in between late 1940s and 1950s. The river basin was ideated as a spatial unit for regional holistic planning with thrust on acquisition of land, resettlement of displaced persons and industrial expansion, among others. The difficulties of land acquisition for establishment of industries and expansion of transport network were elucidated along with the problems of livelihood and implementation of

rehabilitation plans. Coal production and iron and steel manufacturing in the region provide employment; despite being the largest employment provider in the area the employment potential of mining tends to become less owing to some of the wasteful methods of mining that turn large areas derelict and closure of mines wreak havoc for workers. The gradual change of urban scape raises concerns of sustainability and work safety because indulgence in informal mining often gives rise to hazards, and thereby prevention and rehabilitation becomes difficult.Coal mining, dam construction, heavy manufacturing and allied industries and infrastructure projects have been the major pull factors for migrants and urban growth in this part of the country; however, issues of land acquisition and displacement, occupational diseases, lack of safe work environment, housing and resettlement (more so in case of informal mining that triggers higher risks of hazards), closure of industries and outmigration that leaves behind abandoned settlements, environmental deterioration and the challenges of rehabilitation also loom large in the area. The research analysed the trend of development, migration and displacement in the Damodar valley of India since 1990s to the present times and enquired into the nature of planning and rehabilitation for migrants and displaced persons in this eastern part of the country.

## Climate Change, Ecology, Displacement and the State (Parallel Session II)

Sohini Sengupta's talk revolved around draught migration in the context of climate change. She referred to the Gondwana region in her talk. She reflected upon land memories and viewed them as going beyond the aesthetic sense. She brought into focus the Indian Ebony tree and reflected upon its imagery as well as the food memories portrayed in Amitabh Ghosh's The Hungry Tide. The Ebony Tree as she mentioned is not considered as a valuable and protected tree yet it has remained protected because of the valuable fruits it bears. Then she came to the issue of climate change and after mentioning the definition of climate change by the United Nations, she highlighted the contradiction that the meaning of these two words carries in them. She said that climate change and environmental crisis driving people out of their own homes are issues which have always been ignored. She referred to the COP21 in this context as more of a business model rather than a climate change convention. She further highlighted that the central narrative of this displacement, loss and collapse reminds us of the colonial narrative. She also raised questions like what does living with perpetual crisis mean for the local community. She showed some media reports, and further talked about the issue of climate refugees during the times of Trump.

Som Niroula's talk was based on climate change and its linkage to forced displacement in Nepal. He pointed out that key issues such as floods, landslides and so on force people to flee. He further mentioned that the cases and incidents of these natural disasters have doubled in the last 30 years. In this context, he highlighted the need for diversification of livelihood. He further highlighted that the government in Nepal did not address forced migration issues. Rather, it was more interested in policy-making. Som's talk concluded with highlighting three aspects – first, response towards these issues in Nepal has been mainly event based, second, there is a need for the local government to devise local level policies for addressing these challenges and third, it should be seen that the UN Guiding Principles on IDPs be implemented and the Government should be made accountable at all levels.

Dipanjan Sinha's lecture revolved around the theme of Climate Disaster Displacement and the State. His area of research as highlighted in his talk was based on three islands - Mousuni, Ghoramara and Sagar. Sagar island has huge number of migrants as he pointed out. Same goes with the rest of the two islands. Migration to Sagar from the neighbouring islands has taken place over the last 50 years. In this context, he highlighted that there has been unassisted migration on a large scale. He pointed out that there has been no data on climate migration. He also talked about people living in Sagar Island in the Bankimnagar colony 1 who are unwilling to move. That area is close to the water and during high tides some areas are under water. The people despite getting threatened, as he said, do not wish to move out as they have already lost their homes so many times. He further referred to concerns about land and a unique identity of the place and the lands they live in. He further highlighted that there has been violence in these areas after the cyclone Yaas. Prior to that there was no police station in Ghoramara and the police used to come in speed boats. Now after this violence there is a police chowki in Ghoramara. However, even amidst every kind of a situation, whether or not people want to leave, that changes from one part of the islands to the other but he also stressed on the fact that migration everywhere is inevitable. He further highlighted that in the recent climate action plan of the state of West Bengal, there is only scarce mention of the phenomenon of migration. However, according to him, the real problem lies in the fact that this problem of migration is not being addressed properly. There is no particular policy on migrants in these islands nor there is any discussion on the vulnerabilities of these migrants.

The discussant Prof. Aniruddha Mukhopadhyay summed up the discussion and referred to temperature and sea level rise since the last 100 years as matters of great concern. He further talked about the harmful impact of climate change on biodiversity, especially on the aquatic

vertebrates. It is having a bad impact on the water resources as well. He further talked about the rise of pests affecting the environment. He pointed out that the United Nations has initiated 17 Sustainable Development Goals in the year 2015 and the 13th goal pertains to Climate action. Yet, many things need to be done. In this context, he said that the word "anthropocenic" is of immense importance. He further talked about three phases of civilization – agricultural phase, industrial phase and the IT based globalized phase. This third phase is the current phase. He further referred to the word mimetics used by Richard Hawkins, encompassing the meaning of cultural transmission. He pointed out that this cultural transmission along with the human elements are very significant. As a member of the trans-boundary committee set up for collaboration between India and Bangladesh, he lamented that the main focus had been mainly on tourism and tigers. Herein he laid emphasis on the term 'keystone species.' He highlighted the importance of the science of practice which one needs for mitigating the challenges. As an individual, one has to know his/her role as ecosystem, social system and physical system all are interlinked with each other. He ended with the message that it is the conscience of humans which will be a determining factor in deciding whether the ecological system will survive or not.

The comment made with regard to Sohini's lecture referred to one aspect that her talk did not cover, that is, the geo-engineering approach, for instance, even when she was talking about the Gondwana region. Further, she was asked that what does she understand by the term 'human', especially keeping in mind that in the context of climate change, human as a category is not a monolith. She was also asked that what happens to the common land after the harvesting season is over. Also, it was asked that what has been the local response to the issues which she raised. Som was asked that has there been any dialogue between India and Nepal with regard to the issues around Kosi river flooding. With regard to Dipanjan's lecture it was asked whether there is there any collaboration between the Sundarban area of Bangladesh and the Sundarban area of West Bengal or not. He was also asked that what he thinks about the romanticisation of islands. Further, it was pointed out in the question answer session that climate is further linked to conflicts, resource politics, resource deficits and herein we need to stress again on community work. Further, one area, as it was pointed, which was missing in the discussion on adaptation, was the issue of protection.

## Seventy Years of the Refugee Convention 1951

This session, which aimed to assess the value as well as the inadequacies of the Refugee Convention of 1951, commenced with a presentation by Ulrike Krause that focused on the drafting of the Convention. Dr. Krause explained why, in her opinion, the Convention fits into

the postcolonial critique. Several of the inadequacies of the Convention arise from the reality that its drafting was not truly participatory. Herein lay the relevance of colonialism to discussions on the Convention. At the time of the drafting of the Convention, nearly half of the globe comprised of territories that were still under colonial rule or were only recently decolonised. These territories, nations, and their concerns on the principle of international protection did not prevail during the drafting. They were strategically excluded, resulting in a system of unequal concern and protection for refugees based on the nations and events they were fleeing from, and the territories and nations they reached. The drafting therefore involved a weighing of human lives, depending on their relevance to Europe. However, Dr. Krause also conveyed that the historical moment of the Convention's drafting is of use in ameliorating the contemporary distress in international protection, since the diplomatic negotiations and debates powerfully portray the arguments of the Global South and their desire to root refugee protection in humanitarian principles and not realpolitik.

Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury added further substance to Dr. Krause's critique. He agreed that while the Convention forms the grundnorm of refugee protection, the need for significant reform is inescapable. The Convention had indeed created a Europe-centric and hierarchic structure of protection, ignoring the needs of the Global South and the reality that decolonisation was often a process of partition that reignited social tensions and catalysed human displacement. Prof. Chaudhury doubted whether the regime of international protection has overcome this flaw, given how the two Global Compacts of 2018, though progressive and useful, emerged from the distress caused to European nations by the migrant crisis of that period. Acknowledging that the Convention does establish vital norms, he emphasised that these norms are nevertheless soft law and often ignored in practice. Further, the dawn of the neoliberal economy has made it difficult to convincingly categorise different classes of migrants, many of whom may require a measure of international protection. The imperative of national security has not yet been able to accommodate sincere humanitarianism, and there is growing criminalisation and dehumanisation of refugees. These realities affirm the inadequacy of the Convention. In his perspective, the idea of international protection is at odds with the stronger force that is sovereignty, and the Westphalian order has been a curse in disguise for the postcolonial world.

Sara Hossain preferred to view the Convention as an admirable instrument, despite its deficiencies. In reframing the protection regime, the benefits that have emerged from the Convention must not be lost sight of. The Global South must not escape criticism, since there is today in that region a disturbing regression from the values of democracy, secularism, and

universality. Ms. Hossain, a human rights lawyer, proceeded to share the lessons of her practice. She described how the Convention has affected the domestic law of Bangladesh, and how it has been used to protect refugees from Bangladesh as well as the Rohingya population that sought refuge in that country. Using examples, she emphasised that in critiquing the Convention attention must be given not only to its words or particular definitions but, equally, to the processes through which protection is claimed in countries of asylum and to the individuals who provide the information based on which these processes are administered. Domestic practitioners, who have knowledge of the working of domestic institutions, their processes, and the lived experiences of vulnerable groups in their society, must be linked to the mechanism of international protection. Ms. Hossain submitted that, in the present era, refugee protection stands in need of a bridging mechanism that will link domestic human rights practitioners in countries that produce refugees and countries that host them.

The presentations invited several questions, including how climate change and climate-induced displacement may further question the relevance of the Convention.

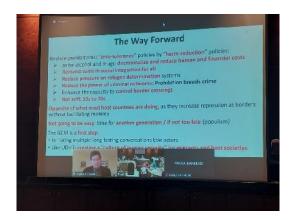
#### **Conference Lectures**

Facilitating Human Mobility: The Global Compacts

Speaker: Francois Crepeau, McGill University, Canada

Moderator: Paula Banerjee, University of Calcutta, India

The speaker started by exploring how migrants' precarity is constructed. He highlighted that one of the main reasons for the influx of migrants is a thriving labour market where they expect to create a future for themselves and their families. However, the reality shows, as he pointed out, that competitiveness of several industries rest on cheap labour and the combination of migration and labour policies, which is based on the migrants' precarity of status and fear of return, create dangerous employment relationships and leave migrants with precarity in terms of accepting the existing working conditions since they are in debt and have to sustain their families. Francois provided an instance by saying how the migrantcrisis of 2015 has turned out to be a political opportunity for the migrants to be identified as dangerous.



Francois Crepeau

He further pointed out that this kind of precarity is policy induced and is aggravated by irresponsible political discourses and election agendas. Migrants, as he said, largely remain unrepresented in electoral democracies. Further, the policies which induce precarity are made by non-migrants for the non-migrants, are based primarily on constructed nationalist and populist myths, stereotypes and threats and involve the usage of criminal law solutions for administrative law problems, leading to a phenomenon known as immigration. Further, as highlighted by him, temporary labour migration programmes and policies against undocumented migrants represses and silences undocumented migrants and often push them underground. Thus, as he said, 'the more we repress migrants, the more we disempower them and the more we empower criminal exploiters.'

With this, Francois Crepeau moved on to the discussion on the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda and talked about the concerted effort to get migration and Human Rights into SDGs as enshrined in Goals 3, 4, 5, 6,7, 8, 10, 11 and 16 of the SDGs. Special mention was made of targets 169, that is, protection of labour rights for all workers, including migrant workers. He further discussed about the role of Global Compacts in facilitating human mobility. He highlighted, while discussing next about the Global Compacts, that the process undertaken under the Global Compact on Refugees has been entirely controlled by the UNHCR. He highlighted that the content of the GCR has been mainly a restatement of C51 principles, which provide for repatriation in safety and dignity, local integration and resettlement in third countries and solutions and that content has further included the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework. He also referred to the Global Compact on Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration (GCM) and highlighted that the politicians particularly from the global North reacted late to this compact, based on electoral pressures and the political needs of that time. He further highlighted that the word 'mobility' has been used 62 times in the compact. Thus, he pointed out the

significance of mobility and said that other commitments aim at reducing repression against

migrants by facilitating mobility. These commitments, for instance include facilitation of family

reunification and ensuring best interests of the child. The speaker also mentioned about the blind

spots in the GCM, for instance there was nothing about privacy rights, access to justice and to

accountability mechanisms, issues pertaining to gender, cities and so on.

The suggestions provided by him included long term strategic planning of mobility, integration

and diversity policies, progressively allowing more migrants to come through visa facilitation and

liberalisation regimes, creation of free movement zones in regions EU, AU, ECOWAS, SADC,

Southern Cone, and so on. One of the significant suggestions made by Francois from the

perspective of governing migration was to legalize and regulate taxing mobility. He further

suggested in favour of reducing migrant precarity which can be achieved when "zero -tolerance"

policies are replaced by "harm -reduction" policies. Suggestions also included reinvesting sums in

social integration for all, implementing labour inspections and employer sanctions, achieving

international cooperation, reducing pressure on refugee determination system, reducing the

power of criminal network, and creating a culture of human security for migrants and host

societies.

The questions addressed to the speaker included the following -how the best interests of the

child principle has been implemented in the national legislations in the EU states, how to reduce

inequalities and stereotypes within the labour laws, what are the possibilities of ensuring

accountability among all the signatory and non-signatory states to the 1951 Refugee Convention

and is there any accountability mechanism or not, is there any scope to address challenges arising

out of displacements occurring due to climate change and environmental disasters and lastly,

what is the role of host countries, particularly population-wise overburdened nations in terms of

settling and locally integrating displaced populations.

Law and Protection Strategies: Presentation of a Report on Access to Justice

**Speaker:** Hamsa Vijayaraghavan, Migration and Asylum Project, India

Moderator: Parivelan KM, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai, India

Hamsa Vijayaraghavan's talk was an elucidation of the Handbook for Legal Practitioners and

Human Rights Defenders recently prepared by her organisation Migration and Asylum Project.

In introducing the contents of the Handbook, Ms. Vijayaraghavan also underlined its necessity,

referring to the general lack of awareness in India about the status and rights of refugees and

106

asylum seekers, even among individuals and stakeholders who work for their protection. The difficulties that refugees and asylum seekers face in accessing healthcare and banking services, owing to the absence of proper documentation, was a recurrent theme in the presentation. Presently an online resource, the Handbook is oriented towards practice and is intended to be a self-study manual for refugees themselves as well as various practitioners in refugee protection. In countries such as India that do not offer refugees and asylum seekers a regular and accessible regime of legal protection, these individuals and their communities are often hesitant to approach state authorities because of the fear of reprisal. The Handbook attempts to tackle this situation of vulnerability and perpetuation of injustice by facilitating the establishment of a referral pathway that will enable these individuals and communities, who are holders of certain rights and a valid claim to protection, to approach state authorities for assistance. In turn, the Handbook addresses stakeholders such as judges, lawyers, police officials, journalists, and activists so as to provide an understanding of international refugee norms, the particular vulnerabilities of refugees and asylum seekers, and the tools to defend their rights. In explaining relevant norms of Indian and international law, the Handbook also provides useful examples of best practises from the South Asian region. The Handbook contains chapters on access to asylum, access to rights, access to legal protection and documentation, detention, and deportation.

The discussants Oishik Sircar and Ridwanul Haque appreciated the importance of the Handbook, and suggested methods for its development and dissemination.

## The Jayanta Dasgupta Memorial Lecture 2021

## Migrants, Economy and the Philippines

Walden Bellow's lecture was based on the labour trafficking networks in the United States. He said that slavery is said to be a thing of the past. But the modern-day labour export industry in the Philippines and globally as well functioning within the dynamics of global capitalism has reproduced a system of repressive labour that is serviced and maintained by legal and illegal labour trafficking supranational networks including big US multinational service providers like Aramark. The transnational labour migration that arose in the 70s in the Philippines and regularised henceforth have provided an effective safety valve to the failing economy. Most of the migrants belong to the lower and the middle class and are the most dangerous recalcitrant group who if stayed in the Philippines would have resulted in revolutions. Most of the migrants engage in semi-skilled or unskilled labour. Illegally transported to the Middle East and working

under the *Kafala* system where the labour migrants especially the women are subjected to slave-like conditions including rampant sexual abuse. Since most of these migrants leave the country without the necessary permission of exits it is difficult for the embassies to chart out these migrants or provided necessary legal help to them. Prof. Bello stress on the functioning of the labour transport industry within an organised structure of neoliberal capitalism which is at work globally. These dynamics are also creating the conditions of common consciousness of workers across borders, a sense that beyond ethnicity, culture, and race, people belong to the same class—workers who have nothing but their labour to sell. And the lack of required protection against such rampant exploitation of the labourer who went to sell their labour-power in return for a promised or imagined better life often takes them back to the conditions prevalent in medieval and colonial slavery.

## Conversation with Kanak Mani Dixit, Editor and Publisher, Nepal

Dixit in his conversation with the participants traced out the pattern of migration into, in and out of Nepal. He briefly touched upon how peopling of South Asia might have taken place in the pre-historic times before modern nation states evolved. Migration within and outside of Nepal as Nepali hill population dwelt in the mid-hills of the Shivalik/Chure range which mostly was influenced by the push and pulls of British colonialism in South Asia.

From the work of linguist and researcher Prof. George van Driem of University of Bern, it is suggested that human with modern physiology moved firstly, 7500 years and then 35000 years ago moved out of the rift valley towards different parts including East-Asia. And the large number who moved to the east moved to larger part of Europe. He proposed that they travelled to Europe through South Asia. But did whether they took the coast line or the Shivalik/Chure route? He suggested that they went along the Brahmaputra and then to Shivalik range because the rivers there are the shortest where they disgorge into the plains. This looks like the most logical way as well. Even though there haven't been much paleontological diggings, this is the likely pattern of migration into the Himalayan hills and to little lower altitude to the Doons and valleys and to rest of the central Asia i.e. Mongolia and Tibet. The indigenous peoples (Janjatias called in Nepal and tribalsas called in India) that largely dwelt in the Himalayan hills of Nepal, such as Rai, Gurung, and Magar, came from Mongolia and the north; and Tamang, though not quite clear might have come from Unnan in the south. And then little about 2000-2500 years later, there was an ethnic ingress in Nepal, a member named khas came from the west, who are the dominant ruling majority of today's Nepal. This particular group migrating to Nepal's hills to evade the Muslim invasion in the Indo-Gangetic plains is too simplistic and trite. But literature

such as *Babarnama* mentions they reside in the Shivalik hills which is the present day Mahabharat range. This group thus may have migrated from Caspian or the Kashmir regions. In the plains, the communities around Janakpur and Awadh area and the forest dwelling community such as Tharus, Santhal and Rajbanshis have been believed to be residing since long. This is how historically the peopling of Nepal took place.



Kanak Mani Dixit

But what brings to the present day is that in the three to two centuries, for many reasons Nepal began to export people. Nepal's mountain regions became one of the most populated mountain regions of the world. This could be because of the fertility, rainfall and greenery and also arrival of potatoes in the 1700s leading to higher sustenance. However, the rising population in the mountains became unsustainable over the years and thus was the need for outmigration. The push factor of this outmigration beginning the colonial times in South Asia, even though Nepal wasn't directly ruled by British. The colonial administration need huge labour force to cut down the lumber to take to the North-east India all the way to Burma. They also needed *gwalas* the people in the North-east did not produce milk. So, the pull factor was the employment that British India provided in the present day North-east, later in Bhutan and in the hills of Sikkim, Darjeeling and Assam. The Nepali speakers headed in that direction. Then were the British Gorkha regiments being populated by Nepali soldier. There is no other reason than social and economic that propelled Nepalis to fight other country's war. So, this distress was led by the expansionary war fought by the Kathmandu Durbar to the east and the west. There was a lot of

taxation of the populace to finance the war which P N Shah began and his successors continued, left the gentry in distress and poverty. So the Nepal's hills was not just highly populated but was marked by poverty too. The fighting for another army did not start with the British but Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the ruler of Punjab. The Gorkha soldiers fought against the Pathan's (Afghanistan) in 1838-1842. That's why people who leave Nepal for other countries are called *lahure*, after the then capital city of Punjab, Lahore. After the 1816 East India Company and Nepal treaty, the soldiers were taken by Ranjit Singh to fight for him. One of the lionized soldiers in Nepal (one wonders why?) is Balbhadra Kunwar, who was killed near Peshawar, a place called Navsera. This exodus was smaller compared to the ones to North-east, Sikkim, Darjeeling and Burma. The return of Nepali migrants is well recorded in a novel *Basain* by a Nepali speaking Assamese writer Lil Bahadur Chhetri, who was recently awarded the Padma Ratna in India. In those days, it wasn't just the soldiers but they were followed by *pachhautes*, the camp followers. There were 35000 Nepali soldiers along with their family members designed in the EIC.

In the present which is after the 1950s, Nepalis have to continue to have to migrate. While earlier it was because of penury and poverty concomitant with high population density that pushed people to migrate. But since 1950s, it the continuous political turmoil that has failed to give change Nepali economy to deliver for the people of Nepal. Even though Nepal have the resources to sustain its large population which is about 29-30 million at the present (by this Nepal is not a small country), when people have to migrate, there's a large number of people who leave the country. The political instability though visible in recent times, have continued for over three centuries now. But the instability after 1950 is linked to undemocracy, restoring of democracy, fighting for democracy, getting it and losing it again and fighting for it again. And again the rise of Maoist insurgency in the mid-1990s which utilized the mountain terrain fight a war which has left the majority of people into distress and even social instability.

Despite the high potential of hydropower and tourism, Nepal continue to send its people to other countries not just in the British Gurkha, but also in the India Army after its independence in 1947. So, Nepalis do not have much choice as such but to fight for another country with the express approval the government, which is quite embarrassing for Nepali citizens like KMD himself. Nepal did experience a period of political stability (1960-1990) under unitary Panchayat system, which did not serve it development either. But since 1990s Nepal is going through a political roller coaster and there has been first of no significant attempt to institution building and lately, a weakening of state institutions including the judiciary is taking place.

The outmigration of Nepalis continues. And where do they go to since the mid-1990s. Firstly, to all over India from various parts of Nepal. Recently, the exodus to India has declined a bit because of the opening of labour migration to Malaysia and the Gulf region. The rise in Nepali migrant workers there is dramatic. There estimated 2.1 million Nepalis in Malaysia, 3.2 million in Gulf region and every one in four persons on the streets of Qatar is a Nepali. And records of Nepali residing in India are sketchy. But about 3-4 million Nepalis work in India. That makes about 7 million Nepalis, mostly young living outside of Nepal, which is a large number.

But this migration in many ways has become an equiliser for poorest of poor, Dalits and marginalized because now they also have access to cash income. This has certainly increased the living standard of these peoples. Despite the risks, especially to women migrants, it has well supported the families in relative terms. Like most South Asians, Nepalis make up the most menial and unskilled labour force in destination countries. But does that mean Nepal only exports its people - certainly not. Nepal is in the midst of a construction boom. Many construction sites in Nepal are manned by workers from Indian states such as Bihar, Bengal, Odisha, and even Bangladesh. One can hear a culmination of many tongues on these construction sites. This makes Nepal seventh largest remittance sending country to India.

The outmigration has caused a demographic imbalance in the hills of Nepal. But the imbalance is also due to hill population migrating within Nepal to the plains. Mountains look attractive for the tourists, however, for a Nepali or hill household, if they have a flat land in Terai, they will move there. The term Terai is used for the landmass below the Shivalik/Chure hills up to the Gangetic plains – even up to plain land of Pakistan. But since the identity movement in the plains, it is also called Madhesh. Therefore, Madhesh (meaning Madhyadesh) is a cultural term, only used in Nepal, while Terai is geographical term. Migration into Madhesh was in large proportion since the 1960s which was unmatched by movement from India. These people from hills migrated with the government consent whether formal or informal over the last several decades. The migration was aided mostly by the American project in 1960s which eradicated malaria from the region, otherwise the plains were not desirable for settlement. This should not however undermine the initial settlers in the Madhesh which includes Muslims. So the migration from the region and from within Nepal, makes Nepal a community of micro-communities, where the largest population of a community is 16%, second largest is 12% and rest including Muslims make up 6-7% which is a significant number.

Therefore, the pattern of migration into Nepal, out of Nepal and within Nepal has been due to several factors – from poverty, to high population making it unsustainable, to demands for labour and opportunities provided by the British colonial project in South Asia, to opening up of labour migration to Malaysia and Gulf region besides India and the migration within to the plains/Madhesh aided by eradication of malaria and clearing of the dense forest that predated even the mountains.

In the South Asian region migration between Nepal and India is unique because of the open border. This unrestricted movement is, however, not much appreciated around South Asia and within Nepal as well. Border across South Asia should function in the same manner it is between India and Nepal if not for any other reason but for the sake to allowing movement for those who want to leave their homeland to make a living. If the region views migration from the lens of a empathy which should be takeaway of this conference, then there should be effort to make the openness of South Asian borders a reality.

#### **Concluding Session**

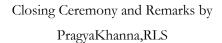
The closing session was chaired by Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury, Honorary Director of the institute. Byasdeb Dasgupta, Professor of Economics Kalyani University and president of the governing body of this institute and Sanjay Chaturvedi, Dean of Social Sciences, South Asian University and member of the institute's general body delivered the concluding remarks and distributed certificates.

Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury opened the discussion by congratulating workshop and conference participants. He said that the last few days the participants of this conference get the chance to interact with eminent scholars, activists and media persons and learn about their views on migration and forced migration studies. They also got the chance to interact with each other and discuss about the different challenges that they are facing while applying their knowledge on migration and forced migration into practices. Discussing about the past workshops he emphasized to increase the interaction between them and organised follow up programmes with the participants of this workshop and conference.

Jakob Fürst, representing the Institute of Human Sciences, Vienna; and Pragya Khanna, representing Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, gave their comments at this session. They expressed their pleasure to be a part of the programme. They said that the Calcutta Research Group took the challenge to organise a programme in back to back two years during the pandemic. They congratulate CRG to organize this workshop and involved scholars from all over the world

through hybrid mode. They also thanked the organising committee, especially the researchers in the Forced Migration Studies Desk and the administration.







Jakob Fürst, IWM Giving His Closing Remarks

The participants of the workshop also expressed their view about the Workshop and the Conference. This included Gulzina Daniyarova, Salwa Jahan, Suman Mandal, Kasturi Datta, and Sreetapa Chakrabarty. Each of them spoke of their takeaways from the workshop, the different themes covered and the relevance that it has to the current situations the world finds itself in it today, and how these situations have in turn shaped the refugee crisis that is looming the world over.

Participants unanimously reflected that the event was overall well-designed and logistics and information-sharing by the forced migration desk went on without any glitches. Most of them were unable to visit CRG office and library during the course of the five-day workshop and conference; while some who had visited before or after, found the CRG library well-managed and enormously resourceful. A huge takeaway was the contribution that the workshop had in enriching the research areas and interests of the participants. Placed in the context of a worldwide pandemic that shows no signs of slowing down, the work done by members of the Calcutta Research Group in making an isolated event of such magnitude will be something that will go down in history as one of the most memorable years of CRG.

 Participants appreciated the technique of mixing creativity, activism and academia reflected in the module lectures, special theme lectures, panel discussions, and film screenings.

- 2. Peer-friendship and listening to others is a wonderful exercise and opened the way to learn more.
- 3. This workshop and conference addressed key policy issues which helped the participants to understand the practical situations in the life of the migrants and refugees.
- 4. The post-pandemic perspective given by different scholars through several module teachings and panel discussions helped the participants to view the themes like migration, citizenship, displacement and labour.

There were little complains about the long and hectic schedule from some of the participants. Although they enjoyed the lectures and discussions, but sometimes they felt a little tired. Most of the participants emphasized to incorporate field work from the future courses.

Resolution: Declaration on Afghanistan

#### Kolkata Declaration on Afghanistan

The session proposed a declaration named as "Kolkata Declaration on the Need for a Coherent Protection Policy and Justice for Refugees and Migrants of Afghanistan, 2021" before the house which was to be the call on the community of nations, the UNHCR, all other human rights and international humanitarian agencies, and the IOM: to ensure the life, livelihood, dignity and the right of passage of the people of Afghanistan. The followings were proposed:

- 1. Recalling the essential principles of the Kolkata Declaration (2018) that emphasised the need to take a view from the South and a more refugee and migrant oriented approach to the task of protection of refugees and migrants;
- 2. Recalling also the context of the two Global Compacts (2018) on the protection of refugees and migrants in which the Kolkata Declaration (2018) was passed, and in view of the relative inefficacy of the two global compacts in addressing dire refugee and migrant crises as in Afghanistan today;
- 3. Where, in the wake of another political transition in Afghanistan in August 2021 in an unending series of violent changes in the last forty years, including US led intervention in Afghanistan in 2001, a large number of citizens of the country face a situation of violence, threats, intimidation, forced displacement, hunger, public health crisis, and other uncertainties of life;
- 4. Where, those at the greatest risk include members of minority communities, women, children, human rights and women's rights defenders and activists, media-persons, academics, writers, journalists, and employees and others who held official positions in administrative and security branches under the previous regime;
- 5. Where, the humanitarian situation has deteriorated dramatically since August 2021 with stoppage of external assistance and access to state funds held in banks outside the country, and conditions being placed on renewing international assistance, with extremely adverse consequences of these developments for the most vulnerable among the country's population;
- 6. Where, about 600,000 Afghans have been newly internally displaced by the armed conflict in 2021 alone, with 80 per cent of these newly displaced being women and children, with already more than 2.2 million registered refugees from previous waves of violence in Afghanistan, and a

further 3 million Afghans of varying status including many undocumented persons, living precariously in Iran and Pakistan over the past four decades; and with some neighbouring countries sealing their borders with Afghanistan in view of the recent transition in the latter country or some countries closing their borders against free passage of Afghan youth in particular;

- 7. Where, severe drought and the COVID-19 pandemic have compounded the humanitarian crisis increasing the helplessness of the Afghan people;
- 8. And whereas, the developed, rich countries have adopted a very selective approach toward accommodating the new Afghan refugees through their rigid offshore refugee policy, establishment of deportation centres, primarily viewing the refugees as burdens and as potential security threats, and thereby closing their doors on Afghan shelter seekers, including those in the neighbourhood;

Recalling this overall context and upholding the essential principles of protection and justice in the wake of the latest transition in Afghanistan, this international conference of more than a hundred academics, jurists, activists, humanitarian functionaries, and media persons, gathered in Kolkata from twenty countries from all over the world in a workshop and conference on "Global Protection System for Refugee and Migrants" (organised by the Calcutta Research Group, November 15-20, 2021), issues on November 20, 2021 the following call on the community of nations, the UNHCR, all other human rights and international humanitarian agencies, and the IOM:

To *guarantee* that the dignity of life and the human rights of the refugees and asylum-seekers from Afghanistan are not, in any way, compromised;

To safeguard the right of the Afghans and non-Afghans who want to leave Afghanistan;

To ascertain that the borders of various countries, where Afghan asylum seekers and other forced migrants seek protection, are kept open for these population groups;

To safeguard the principle of non-refoulement, including non-rejection at the land and maritime borders, and to ensure that the people in need of international protection are accorded protection and asylum;

To stop the forcible return of the refugees and asylum-seekers;

To facilitate the adoption of multi-dimensional policy responses to support the Afghans seeking protection from persecution, abuses and violations to their life, dignity and rights;

To ensure *the prevention of* pushback, rejections at borders, forced returns, and denial of the right to seek asylum on various grounds, including grounds of public health;

To *adopt in line* with the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement specific measures of assistance to the internally displaced people in the country, who form a large section of the displaced population there;

To observe the international legal obligations with regard to Afghanistan;

To *fully respect* international refugee and human rights law, as enshrined in the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol, human rights law treaties, and customary international law;

To ensure the right to inclusive education for Afghan protection seekers without discrimination within three months of arrival,

*To ensure* access to health care, including Covid-19 tests, treatment and vaccination of the Afghan refugees, migrants, and asylum-seekers,

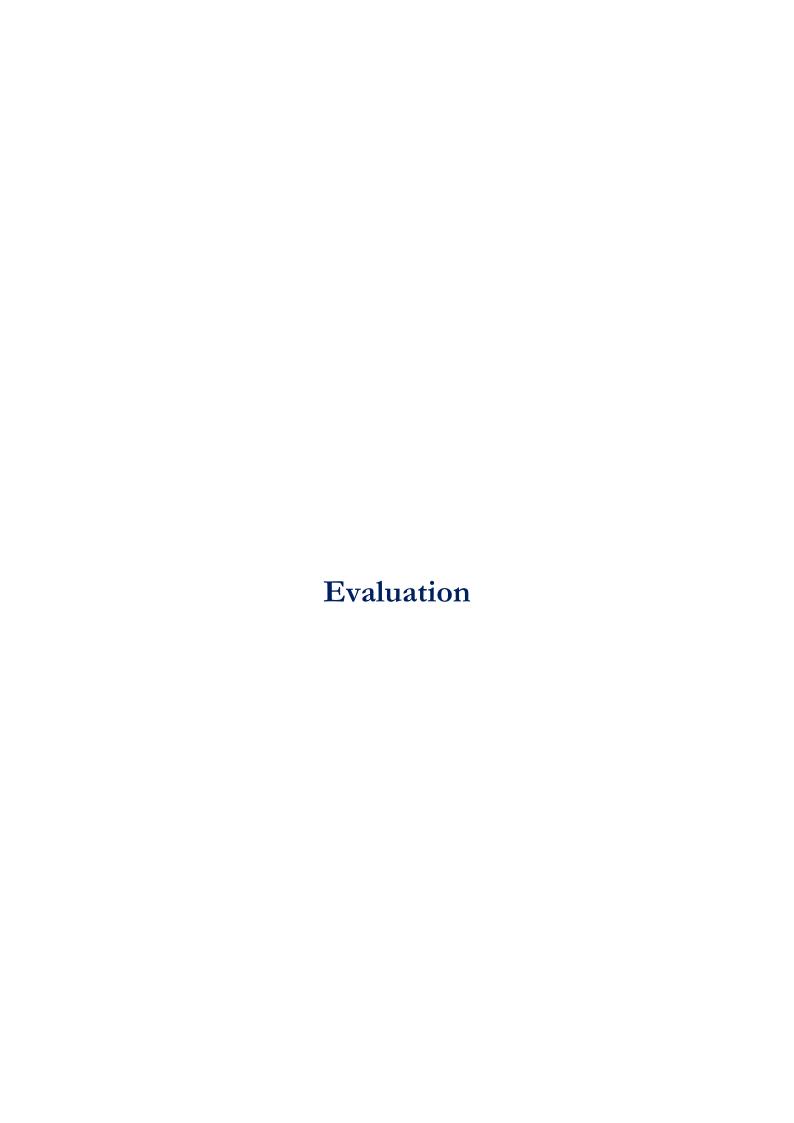
To *uphold* the principles of non-intervention, national reconciliation, stability, and economic development of the people as the durable basis of protection of Afghan people from unending violence, war, hunger, displacements, forced migration, and ecological disaster;

To assert the need to adopt on an emergency basis appropriate measures for women and children of Afghanistan towards protection, economic well-being, and justice;

To declare global humanitarian assistance as a special commitment to national reconstruction of Afghanistan, without precondition, and

To facilitate all other necessary measures on the basis of non-securitising humanitarian assistance towards the protection of and justice for the victims of war, intervention, violence, minority repression, denial of women and children's rights and ecological calamity in the form of successive severe droughts in past decades.

With an extensive discussions and minor amendments, the declaration had been accepted by the house and soon after the declaration was disseminated through a press conference at the sideline of the conference.



#### Comments from the Evaluators

# Report form Günther Rautz, EURAC, Italy

## Organization of the workshop and conference

The workshop/conference was well organised and ably managed. The beneficiaries and speakers/discussants (hereafter referred as participants) expressed satisfaction on the administrative arrangements in relation to lodgings, accommodation and guidelines particularly in relation to the Covid pandemic. The organizers informed all participants

in advance about the health safety rules to be followed during the six days of the programme:

- 1. The participants were expected to carry a double vaccination certificate and a Covid negative test report (not older than 72 hours) with them (in print).
- 2. Regular temperature checks has been done at the venue.
- 3. The venue has been sanitized every day before and after the day's programme.

The venue of workshop/conference at the Hyatt Regency Kolkata was strategically chosen and was aimed at ensuring maximum participation and security. Given the hybrid design of the programme, the organisers have made the greatest efforts to ensure that the internet and audio and video registration were available to all participants in presence or virtual.

The evaluators were provided detailed and comprehensive explanation of the selection procedures and other details of this year's as well as previous years' Workshops/Conferences. The secured portal, which hosts the programme schedule, details of the participants, their abstracts and module notes, has been easily accessed at http://www.mcrg.ac.in/wc.asp

The programme schedule, details of the participants, their abstracts and module notes, workshop papers, rapporteurs' reports and the feedback forms filled-in by the participants at the end of the programme has been forwarded. Based on this documentation and briefing got from the organizers, this evaluation report takes the view that the selection procedures have been objective, fair and fully in accordance with the provisions of the donors.

#### Design of the programme

The cooperation on the contents of the workshop/conference has always been a point of aggregation for the partners from the different universities and institutions as well as donors. Discussions, exchange of views and preparatory meetings have been stimulating and of mutual enrichment.

This co-operation was even enforced through the module tutors/coordinators and was probably the most effective way of conducting the programme. The distance segment of the workshop began with an introductory online meeting with all the participants and resource persons on 30 July 2021. In the months of August and September, there were three online meetings of the

workshop participants with module tutors/coordinators to brief them about the module themes, discuss their abstracts and guide them in writing their research papers for the workshop. And finally, the participants have presented their research in six modules at the workshop/conference.

The workshop/conference had participants from India and other South, South-East, Central Asian and European countries who were selected by a Selection Committee (consisting external and internal members) from a large pool of applications from all over the world.

The workshops/conference represented a very appropriate gender and age balance. There was a visibly significant participation of women. Such an approach was visible not only regarding the involvement of women as a critical component for the success of the programme, but the workshop considered also several highly significant gender sensitive issues.

## Online sessions/distance segment of the programme

The resource persons for the programme were not only highly qualified and hugely respected but also well trained and experienced in conducting hybrid online sessions.

The quality of the participants was also equally impressive and consisted of high calibre human rights experts having a profound knowledge in the field of forced migration, refugees and IDPs. There is clearly no doubt about the high quality and expertise of the organizers in drafting such kind of hybrid curricula and in online teaching of various specialisms in the field of the topics concerned and between theory and practice.

The maximisation of the impact has been reached by focusing on the Kolkata Declaration of 2018 and by accommodating the participants in six different but interconnected modules:

Module A: Protection and Punishment (Race, Caste, and Policing)

**Module B:** Migrant Workers and the Refugee: Complicated Terrains of Welfare and Asymmetric Social Protection

Module C: Refugees and Migrants as Subjects of Economics, Politics, and Gender Division

Module D: Forced Migration, Law, and Jurisprudence

Module E: Derogation of Rights of Refugees and Migrants, and Situations of Statelessness

Module F: Protection Ethics and Practices of Care and Solidarity

Despite a rigorous all-day program and the mix approach with presence and virtual participation, the organizers provided the participants with a great opportunity of reflection.

## Contributions in terms of policy advocacy

During the workshop/conference participants have consistently emphasised the need of engagement with all stakeholders and policy-makers both at the national as well as the regional and international levels. It is reassuring to note references made to potentially significant role in the drafting of a new revised Kolkata Declaration and the new CRG Declaration 'An Appeal for

a Coherent Refugee Policy for Afghanistan'. A future project would need to have greater focus in engaging national governments and to establish a dialogue with all stakeholders and policy-makers at the national state level.

The involvement of well-established project partners such as Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, Institute for Human Sciences, and the contributions from eminent and renowned human rights personalities was a highly positive feature of the workshop/conference. Such involvement has not only ensured wide and sustained interest in the outcomes but has also been conducive to establishing a network of organisations and individuals committed to forced migration, refugees and IDPs. In order to strengthen the future cooperation an email network could be created by the participants and coordinated by the organizers. Such kind of network could create a database which should be accessible to all partners and participants as well as stakeholders and policy-makers sharing information.

#### Academic merits

The combination of the European and South-Asian partners, the organisation of the workshop/conference and the comparative regional analysis ensured that the programme was successful in stimulating exchange of experiences between most European and South Asian case studies. The comparative aspects were a feature of all the sessions organised under the auspices of the programme. The debate and discussion on - in particular - European and South Asian lessons have been appreciated by the participants. The project has been successful in the facilitation of and the sharing of knowledge and experiences among academics, scholars, NGOs activists and women and youth organisations committed to the topic of migration and refugees both in Europe as well as in South Asia and other case studies.

Several additional positive points were noticeable, which included a positive interaction, knowledge and exchange of ideas. The participants seemed also to be confident of strategizing their knowledge and bringing this into further use in their individual capacities as scholars and/or human rights activists. From his analysis of the documentation and personal impression of the participants, there is a general sense of satisfaction at the substantive aspects. On the substantive level, the breadth of discussion and the critical analysis of several issues confronting South Asia with Europe and other case studies were regarded by participants as most positive. The quality of lectures and presentations was generally very high.

# Was there sufficient engagement with the question of research methodology?

The weekly programme was designed to provide the participants with an overview on the topics of the interconnected modules A-E. Furthermore, the participants where familiarized with the essential concepts by the resource persons during online meetings. The approach to rather complex and a huge variety of specified topics was possible firstly due to the fact that the participants were introduced by the resource persons before the workshop/conference took place. Various lectures included political, legal, economical, historical, sociological and anthropological elements. Furthermore, mostly European and South Asian examples served as excellent case studies on most of the relevant subjects of the programme.

The participants contributed to the programme with their paper presentations. This gave them as a group the possibility to learn about the current situation in respective regions and provided a forum for public discussion and analysis of the particular cases. Presentations devoted to the newest global developments current situation of immigration, climate change, SGDs, Covid-19 pandemic etc. enriched the lively discussions among the participants (for sure also during coffee/tea break, lunch and dinner).

All general objectives as such as addressing the needs of refugees, forced migrants and IDPs, involvement of stakeholders and policy-makers, dissemination and effective use of the research and work done by individual participants, empowerment of researchers and NGO activists, stimulation and exchange of experiences between Europe and South Asia have been achieved.

## Was the programme informative?

Some selected lectures were shared with university students and also the element of exchange between the participants and students was taken in consideration. Therefore these presentations and discussions have been open to a wider public and served as a additional benefit and impact.

This kind of awareness raising and information exchange should be further elaborated by the dissemination of a new revised Kolkata Declaration and the new CRG Declaration 'An Appeal for a Coherent Refugee Policy for Afghanistan' which should serve as a tool of a wider impact on public life (education, judiciary, decision making, media etc.).

# How far do you think this had the potential for expanding the frontiers of research on migration and refugees?

Beside lectures of experts/resource persons the participants contributed to the workshop/conference with their paper presentations. This gave the group the possibility to learn about the current situation in respective regions and provided a forum for general discussion and analysis of the respective cases. An even more interactive approach would have facilitated the potential for expanding the frontiers of research.

The comparative approach of the workshop/conference will give new inputs for research work, teaching and the elaboration of competitive research project proposals. The workshop/conference has been a further step into deeper research, counselling and training programmes. It should serve to launch a long-term network building with research institutes and NGOs for an even closer cooperation and partnership between Europe and South Asia.

## Possible areas for improvement

The workshop/conference has been useful to build up capacities in the management of follow-up training programmes in partnership with European and South Asian research institutes and NGOs. It has been also useful to improve online/hybrid didactical techniques for a multicultural target group. Finally, the elaboration and publication of a range of textbooks, manuals and other documents related to the topics concerned in both geographical areas will be useful for upcoming awareness rising. Hence, the programme's impact and points of further improvement

(despite the high level already achieved) which the organizers need to continue working on can be summarised as follows:

- 1. Scholarly and practical exchange of knowledge and experiences, comparative studies and viewpoints
- 2. Elaboration and compilation of a large set of documents on all covered topics, ad-hocpapers and background material
- 3. Possibility to meet a wide range of personalities, experts and institutions-representatives presenting the new revised Kolkata Declaration and the new CRG Declaration 'An Appeal for a Coherent Refugee Policy for Afghanistan'
- 4. Developing intercultural management capacities and online/hybrid didactical skills among young staff members and participants for the purpose of work in multicultural environments and networks in partnership between Europe and South Asia (e.g. database)
- 5. Continuation of the partnerships with Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna, and several other universities and institutions in Europe and South Asia
- 6. As follow-up, establishment of an early warning system of violation of the rights of migrants and/or interventions in the nature of field missions or regional fact-finding missions
- 7. Establishment of a dialogue with all stakeholders and policy-makers at regional and national level
- 8. The new revised Kolkata Declaration and the new CRG Declaration 'An Appeal for a Coherent Refugee Policy for Afghanistan' as possible basic for future concerted actions.

## Report from Amena Mohsin, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh

# Strength of the Workshop and Conference

The Sixth Annual Workshop and Conference on Global Protection of Migrants and Refugees in November 2021 was a successful one. It was able to attract several international participants, along with various participants from several Indian states. The local participants from the city of Kolkata had been the backbone of the conference. The primary strength of the conference was the maintenance of a fine balance between the participation of existing faculty members, retired teachers and graduate students of universities, research institutes and policy initiatives from across the world. The academic quality of the conference was excellent.

## Organisation of the Workshop

The organising team (MCRG) proved their efficiency to handle the management workshop and the conference. They took the challenge to incorporate hybrid method to involve academicians, teachers and researchers from almost all over the world through online. The organisers should be appreciated to run the hybrid sessions with exceptional smoothness and almost no glitches. The handling of online conversations was good. The workshop and conference venue (Hotel

Hyatt Regency, Kolkata) looks quite good and it seems clear that the organisers were cautious to maintain all kinds of preventive measures to hold this workshop and conference during the pandemic. They must be congratulated for this effort.

The evaluators got all kind of information and help whenever needed. The organisers provided the details about the selection process, the design of the workshop and conference, especially the distance segment of the workshop. The evaluators got access to the secured segment prepared for this workshop and conference. It helped them to get all the necessary information that they need during the evaluation.

#### Distance Segment of the Workshop

The workshop was anchored around six key themes:

Module A: Protection and Punishment (Race, Caste, and Policing)

Module B: Migrant Workers and the Refugee: Complicated Terrains of Welfare and Asymmetric Social Protection

Module C: Refugees and Migrants as Subjects of Economics, Politics, and Gender Division

Module D: Forced Migration, Law, and Jurisprudence

Module E: Derogation of Rights of Refugees and Migrants, and Situations of Statelessness

Module F: Protection Ethics and Practices of Care and Solidarity

CRG had introduced online sessions with the module tutors in this year's workshop. Module tutors has organised meetings with the participants of the concerned module and explained them about the themes, elaborate the larger context and helped them to frame their arguments. These steps became helpful for the participants to prepare themselves much before they meet physically at the workshop.

## The Workshop and the Conference

The format of the module lectures followed by parallel module sessions at the workshop was excellent. Participants engaged themselves with the module tutors and the audience on their research. The special lectures under each theme addressed pertinent issues related to migration and forced migration studies, displacements due to conflict or climate change. The changing condition of migrants during the pandemic helped the young scholars to conceptualize the issue more critically. The workshop participant got the opportunity to listen the experts on the field. It should help them in future.

The conference opened the opportunity to interact with the senior researchers in the field of migration. It dealt with the dynamic range of subjects. The engaging discussions after each session made the conference fruitful where mutual learning among the conference participants had been a significant feature. The discussions both within the formal structure of the conference panels and during the informal exchanges among conference participants throughout

five days of the workshop have certainly created an academic bonding which may help the young academicians and the researchers participated in the workshop and the conference in their future carrier building.

The Kolkata Declaration on Afghanistan was a landmark step that CRG has taken after the Kolkta Declaration. It creates awareness among the people about the situation and should be helpful for the international organizations like UNHCR and IOM, as well as judiciary, media, and policymakers.

#### Suggestions for future programmes

The workshop and conference was useful for the young scholars, researchers and activists working on migration and forced migration. Calcutta Research Group is working on these issues from last 20-25 years. As one of the major organisations working on the issues of migration and forced migration studies in South Asia, CRG may organise more short workshops, online sessions and involve students and researchers, policymakers, refugee rights activists and media persons all over the year.

The initiatives to organise online panel discussions and webinar on the contemporary issues like the 50 years of Bangladesh Liberation War, the 70 years of Refugee Convention, the recent crisis in Afghanistan is well appreciated. CRG should take more initiatives to address the contemporary issues all over the year.

CRG took the challenge to organise this workshop even during the pandemic. They efficiently used the hybrid mode to ensure that the people could join online. But, there were some module sessions and lectures that had no such provision. It should be great if they can make such provisions in future.

## Report from Pampa Mukherjee, University of Panjab, Chandigarh

## Organization of the workshop and conference

Workshop & Conference on Global Protection of Migrants and Refugees was held in Kolkata, the capital of the state of West Bengal. It was in hybrid form and the participation was in both online and offline mode. Despite prevalence of Covid Pandemic during the time of the workshop, it was still well attended by researchers and scholars from various parts of South Asia, Central Asia and Europe. The selection was based on objective criteria and was thus very fair and transparent. The researchers participated either as speakers/presenters or as discussants.

The workshop was held in a venue which was very well selected in terms of easy accessibility from the airport, maintenance of strict Covid protocol and in providing a hygienic environment. There was also a very strong and seamless internet connectivity which made interaction among participants in hybrid form possible.

The meticulous organisation of the workshop including accommodation, lodging and following the SOP (Standard Operating Procedure) laid down by the GOI for health safety was very much appreciated. Prior to the workshop, every detail was conveyed to the participants via email including mandatory possession of Covid Certificate and NTPCR test report. The organising team provided all the materials related to the workshop-programme schedule, details of the participants, their abstracts and module notes, workshop papers, rapporteurs' reports and the feedback forms filled-in by the participants at the end of the programme.

#### Design

The participants were selected by a Selection Committee, consisting of both external and internal members from a large pool of applications from all over the world. All the participants were divided into six groups representing the following inter-connected modules.

Module A: Protection and Punishment (Race, Caste, and Policing)

Module B: Migrant Workers and the Refugee: Complicated Terrains of Welfare and Asymmetric Social Protection

Module C: Refugees and Migrants as Subjects of Economics, Politics, and Gender Division

Module D: Forced Migration, Law, and Jurisprudence

Module E: Derogation of Rights of Refugees and Migrants, and Situations of Statelessness

Module F: Protection Ethics and Practices of Care and Solidarity

The best part of the workshop was that each module was coordinated by a module tutor. The module tutors in fact guided the researchers and guided them in writing their research papers for the workshop. The workshop had a good gender balance and this is visible by the presence of large number of women researchers in the workshop.

#### Contributions in terms of policy advocacy

The impression that one got through the plenary deliberations and from individual participants is that there is a need to engage with policy makers and other stakeholders national and internationally to bring about comprehensive and an inclusive Refugee Policy in different regions of South Asia and Europe. It was emphasised that a dialogue was needed to appeal for a coherent policy for Afghanistan. There was drafting of a revised declaration and a New CRG Declaration.

#### **Academic Merits**

The strength of the conference as far as academic merit is concerned was as follows:

- a. Scholars young, mid- career and senior academics could interact and learn from each other from South Asia and other European countries. The exposure and insight gained from each other's experience was tremendous.
- b. The presentations that were made were very well organised, systematic providing insights on key areas forced migration. The issues that were discussed also included the gender perspective and were mostly comparative in nature. This is very useful for theory building from a South Asian and European perspective. The range, quality thematic diversity and a critical engagement was excellent.

## Was there sufficient engagement with the question of research methodology?

The presentations made by the participants were systematic and well structured. One of the key reasons behind this is 'mentorship idea' participants interacted with their respective mentors and also among each other. They were familiar not only with the seminal literature and debates, but also the key concepts used in their research. Each one of the presenters had a central research question and consequently the research methodology component was apparent while going through their papers.

While there was very engaging discussion son the main theme/issue of the presentations, a liitle more focussed time was needed to deliberate on the research methodology part.

#### Was the programme informative?

The discussions, exchange of ideas and material, meeting and networking with academic scholar, NGO activists, journalists were clearly visible in the Workshop. In fact, even as an evaluator, it was a great learning opportunity. Since, the workshop was in a hybrid mode, many lectures and presentation were made open to the public including students from different institutions.

# How far do you think this had the potential for expanding the frontiers of research on migration and refugees?

The individual presentations, panel discussions, presentations by experts highlighted not only global and current issues like climate refugees, SDGs, gender etc. it also provided an opportunity to share ideas on future research and collaborations. By building academic networks, it has the

potential of identifying not only new ideas but also partners for further research collaborations in Europe and South Asia.

## Possible areas for improvement

It may be mentioned that the Workshop was not only interdisciplinary in nature but also multicultural in its approach. It effectively used digital technology to bridge the gap of accessibility and physical mobility caused due to pandemic. It not only provided a cross cultural dialogue but also opened possibilities of future research partnership. It resulted in dissemination of information and knowledge through academic publications, research reports etc. Some of the areas for consideration were as follows:

- More workshops of this nature in relatively smaller towns in India like Jaipur, Chandigarh,
   Ranchi etc. Similar approach can be followed in South Asian countries and in Europe.
- More focus on research methodology component in presentations.
- Create networks of scholars in the virtual mode.
- Research proposals based on Comparative case studies can be invited.
- The best papers from the six modules to be published in journal and in edited volumes
- Strengthen partnership with research institutions in South Asia and Europe.
- Create a Policy Dialogue Forum to initiate discussions on relevel issues at both national and international level.

Participants & Organisers

# List of Participants

Aditi Mishra, TISS Mumbai, India

Ahilan Kadirgamar, University of Jaffna, Sri Lanka

Amena Mohsin, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh

Anand Upendran, CRG, India

Aniruddha Mukhopadhyay, University of Calcutta, India

Anisha Bordoloi, Independent Researcher, Assam, India

Anita Sengupta, Director of Asia in Global Affairs, & CRG, India

Anjuman Ara Begum, Apex Professional University, India

Ankur Tamuli Phukan, CRG, India

Arup Kumar Sen, Serampore College & CRG, India

Ashok Kumar Giri, CRG, India

Ayse Caglar, IWM, Vienna

Azeemah Saleem, Jawaharlal Nehru University, India

Binayak Mallick, CRG, India

Byasdeb Dasgupta, University of Kalyani & CRG, India

Digangana Das, University of Calcutta & CRG, India

Dipanjan Sinha, Independent Journalist, India

Dogus Simsek, Kingston University London, UK

Elspeth Guild, Queen Mary University of London, UK

Fahmi Panimbang, Solidar Suisse, Indonesia

Farseen Ali P.V., Madras School of Social Work, Chennai, India

Francois Crepeau, McGill University, Canada

Gulzina Daniiarova, Osh State University, Kyrgyzstan

Gunther Rautz, EURAC

Gurvinder Kour, Dept. of Higher Education, Jammu & Kashmir

Hamsa Vijayaraghavan, Migration and Asylum Project, India

Iman Mitra, Shiv Nadar University & CRG, India

Ingrid Boas, Wageningen University, Netherlands

Jakob Furst, IWM, Vienna

James Milner, Carleton University, Canada

Jayanta Roy Chowdhury, PTI India

Joyce C.H. Liu, National Yang Ming Chiao Tung University, Taiwan

Kanak Mani Dixit, Editor and Publisher, Nepal

Kasturi Datta, University of Delhi, India

Liza Schuster, City, University of London, UK

Manish K. Jha, TISS Mumbai

Meghna Guhathakurta, Research Initiative Bangladesh, Bangladesh

Monika Verma, National Yang Ming Chiao Tung University, Taiwan

Mouleshri Vyas, TISS Mumbai, & CRG, India

Mujib Ahmad Azizi, AREU, Afghanistan

Nasreen Chowdhory, University of Delhi & CRG, India

Neetu Pokharel, Alliance for Social Dialogue, Nepal

Niloy Biswas, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh

Nisharuddin Khan, IDSK, India

Oishik Sircar, Jindal Global Law School, India

Pampa Mukherjee, Panjab University, Chandigarh, India

Paolo Novak, School of Oriental and African Studies, UK

Parivelan K.M., TISS Mumbai, & CRG, India

Partha Pratim Sarkar, CRG, India

Paula Banerjee, University of Calcutta & CRG, India

Piya Srinivasan, Independent Researcher, India

Pragya Khanna, Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, New Delhi, India

Priyankar Dey, CRG, India

Punyabrata Gun, Public Health Expert and Health Rights Activist, India

Rajat Kanti Sur, CRG, India

Rajesh Kharat, University of Mumbai & CRG, India

Ranabir Samaddar, CRG, India

Rez Gardi, Refugees Seeking Equal Access at the Table (R-SEAT), New Zealand

Reza Hussaini, City, University of London, UK

Ridwanul Hoque, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh

Rituparna Datta, CRG, India

Roshni Sharma, Jain (deemed-to-be) University, Bengaluru, India

Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury, Rabindra Bharati University & CRG, India

Salwa Jahan, Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom, Bangladesh

Samaresh Guchhait, CRG, India

Samata Biswas, The Sanskrit College & University & CRG, India

Samir Kumar Das, University of Calcutta & CRG, India

Sanjay Chaturvedi, South Asian University & CRG, India

Sara Hossain, Bangladesh Legal Aid Services Trust, Bangladesh

Sarulakshmi R., Kamla Nehru College, Delhi, India

Shahram Khosravi, Stockholm University, Sweden

Shatabdi Das, CRG, India

Shimul Datta, IIT Kharagpur, India

Shreya Ghosh, Migrant Workers Solidarity Network, India

Shyamalendu Majumdar, Sivanath Sastri College & CRG, India

Siddhartha Gupta, Public Health Expert and Health Rights Activist, India

Sohini Sengupta, TISS Mumbai, India

Som Niroula, Alliance for Social Dialogue, Nepal

Sreetapa Chakrabarty, Rabindra Bharati University, India

Subhas Ranjan Chakraborty, The Asiatic Society & CRG, India

Subhashree Rout, CRG, India

Sumaiya Islam, Open Society Foundations, UK

Suman Mandal, IACER, Nepal

Sunita Panth Chettri, National Institute of Technology, Sikkim, India

Thi Trang Nguyen, National Yang Ming Chiao Tung University, Taiwan

Ulrike Krause, Osnabruck University, Germany

Umut Kuruüzüm, Istanbul Technical University, Turkey

Utsa Sarmin, Independent Researcher, India

Walden Bello, State University of New York at Binghamton, USA

# **Organising Team**

Anand Upendran, CRG, India

Ankur Tamuli Phukan, CRG, India

Ashok Kumar Giri, CRG, India

Binayak Mallick, CRG, India

Byasdeb Dasgupta, University of Kalyani & CRG, India

Partha Pratim Sarkar, CRG, India

Paula Banerjee, University of Calcutta & CRG, India

Priyankar Dey, CRG, India

Rajat Kanti Sur, CRG, India

Ranabir Samaddar, CRG, India

Rituparna Datta, CRG, India

Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury, Rabindra Bharati University & CRG, India

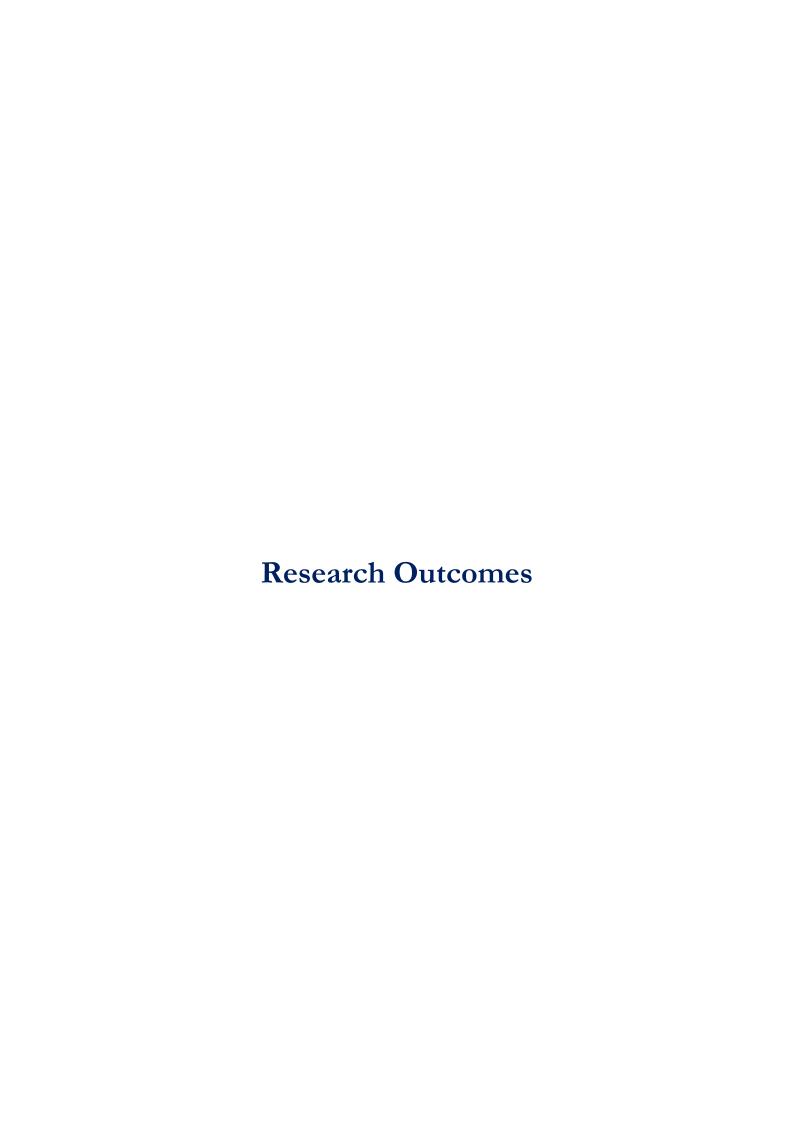
Samaresh Guchhait, CRG, India

Samata Biswas, The Sanskrit College & University & CRG, India

Shatabdi Das, CRG, India

Shyamalendu Majumdar, SivanathSastri College & CRG, India

Subhashree Rout, CRG, India



# Research Papers

- 1. Manish K Jha and Mouleshri Vyas, "Migrants, Refugees and The Contested Question of Social Protection", *Policies and Practices 125*, December 2021.
- 2. Nasreen Chowdhory, "Protection and Punishments: Myths and Realities of Refugee Protection", *Policies and Practices 124*, December 2021.
- 3. Ranabir Samaddar, "Refugees and Migrants as Subjects of Economy and Politics", *Policies and Practices 121*, December 2021.
- 4. Ronak Chhabra, "COVID-19 and After: Work, Life and Silence of Primitive Accumulation", *Policies and Practices 122*, December 2021.
- 5. Samir Kumar Das and Ranabir Samaddar, "Two Essays on Ethics and Practices of Care and Solidarity", *Policies and Practices 123*, December 2021.

## **Journals**

- 1. Refugee Watch 57: A Special Issue on Public Health, June 2021.
- 2. Refugee Watch 58: A Special Issue on Displacement and Dispossessions, December, 2021.



Group Photo with Workshop and Conference Participants 2021