

2018

THE STATE OF THE GLOBAL PROTECTION SYSTEM FOR REFUGEES AND MIGRANTS



A REPORT

Calcutta Research Group

In collaboration with

Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung

Published by:

Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group

GC-45, Sector-III,

First Floor

Salt Lake City

Kolkata-700 106

India

Web: <http://www.mcrg.ac.in>

Printed by:

Graphic Image

New Market, New Complex,

West Block 2nd Floor, Room No. 115,

Kolkata-87

Gefordert durch die Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung e. V aus Mitteln des Bundesministerium fur wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Sponsored by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation e V with funds of the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development of the Federal Republic of Germany.

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GLOBAL PROTECTION SYSTEM
FOR REFUGEES AND MIGRANTS**

A Report

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INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants: The UN initiative on the global compact for refugees and migrants is the background of this proposal. On 19 September 2016, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants. It set in motion a complex negotiation process to culminate by September 2018 in the “Global Compact on Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration”. In adopting the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants, the 193 UN Member States recognized the need for a comprehensive approach to human mobility and enhanced cooperation at the global level. It was a landmark political declaration directed at improving the way in which the international community has hitherto responded to large movements of refugees and migrants, and to protracted refugee situations. However, noticeable is also the fact that the Declaration envisaged that the global compact would be developed through an open, transparent and inclusive process of consultations and negotiations, and the effective participation of various relevant stakeholders, including among others, the private sector, parliaments, and the Diaspora communities. The New York Declaration also set out a Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF), with specific actions needed to ease pressure on host countries, enhance refugee self-reliance, expand access to third-country solutions, and support conditions in countries of origin for return in safety and dignity. It called upon the UNHCR to apply the framework to particular situations, in close coordination with relevant States and involving other United Nations agencies and stakeholders, and to assess its impact with a view to refining it further. Accordingly, the High Commissioner for Refugees will propose a Global Compact on Refugees in his annual report to the General Assembly in 2018. It will have a Programme of Action underpinning the Framework that will set out to ensure its full implementation. Again, noticeable is the fact that all of these actions are to be undertaken in accordance with the multi-stakeholder approach endorsed by the General Assembly in the New York Declaration involving national and local authorities, international organizations, international financial institutions, regional organizations, regional coordination and partnership mechanisms, civil society partners, including faith-based organizations, academia, the private sector, media, and the refugees themselves.

Yet the contrast between the Declaration and the global reality of the protection system today is starker than ever. To take only a few instances: (a) Increased humanitarian caseloads in cities; (b) Increased racialisation of the refugee and the migrant question; (c) Increasingly protracted nature worldwide of the condition of displacement; (d) Increasing statelessness; (e) The stark contrast between the power of the global system of protection and the responsibility at the margins; (f) 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; (g) Contrast between the gendered nature of forced migration (along with other fault lines in the map of forced migration) and a seemingly homogenous global protection policy; (h) Finally, the situation of mixed and massive flows (acknowledged by the UNHCR) that call for a policy of protection fundamentally different and radical in orientation from the present, now in tatters.

The call for the global compact is already an indication of the current state of the protection system. In this situation the rights of the refugees, IDPs, asylum seekers, stateless population groups, migrant labour, masses of ‘illegal’ immigrant labour (known often as irregular migrant) need to be seen as various parts of a single agenda of justice. In this context, the

principle of responsibility must be redefined (away from the “responsibility to protect” as currently defined).

Asian Regions, particularly South Asia, in Focus

The Asian region is now possibly the most volatile one in terms of population flows. The long-drawn war in Afghanistan followed by wars in Iraq and Syria, and now the massive exodus of Rohingyas from Myanmar have produced in the last two decades thousands of refugees, asylum seekers, immigrant labour, and trafficked girls, children, and women. We have to add to this the preceding flows in the South Asian region following decolonisation and partition of the Indian sub-continent, Bangladesh War, Tibetan refugee flows, ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, borders and boundary conflicts in the region, minority exodus from Myanmar to Thailand, Vietnamese boat refugees, forced migration due to conflicts around enclaves in Central Asia and the Caucasus region, trafficking in labour and sex from the region from the nineties of the last century, Palestinian displacement following the creation of Israel and the subsequent annexation of the West Bank and Gaza, and finally massive flows in the last two decades into Jordan and Turkey. There is no regional convention on refugee protection (unlike Africa), no Asia wide understanding, with many states not acceding to the 1951 Convention (which by itself is becoming irrelevant). Added to these is the issue of migrant labour flows (to a great extent illegal labour migration) into Malaysia, India, Turkey, and other countries from other Asian nations like Bangladesh or Syria or Afghanistan. It is a situation marked by tight and brutal border controls, violent borderlands, no labour rights, and below subsistence wages. It is also a situation that confirms that today’s population flows are mixed and massive. The Asian context is also characterised by regional features such as, Australian policies of off-shore internment of shelter seekers from various Asian regions, the Bali Process, common dimensions of labour migration in countries of the region, and growing statelessness. This situation demands a holistic approach towards ensuring human rights, protection, and justice, in place of piecemeal policies dovetailed for old and redundant administrative categories like refugees, asylum seekers, illegal immigrant, trafficked women, trafficked labour, boat refugees, etc. It is true at the same time that in many ways the Asian situation reflects the global migration scenario as a whole.

South Asia and India in particular have witnessed some of the massive population flows. At the same time, countries of this region as well as Southeast Asian region have hosted large numbers of refugees unimagined on a European scale. There are judicial decisions, legal decisions, political movements in defence of the rights of the migrants and forced migrants. The issue of the IDPs and the stateless population groups has also come to attention. The conference took place in this background and had the larger Asian situation in mind. Since migration and forced migration issues are dominantly postcolonial in nature, therefore the conference aimed to have participation from global South in order to have wide ranging exchange of experiences. It has to be remembered that South Asia as a region had emerged out of a violent partition that displaced in a conservative estimate some 15 million people. There are other estimates that put the number much higher. The impact of partition was enormous. In colonial times there were massive displacements due to conflicts, contest over resources, exploitation by colonial masters, and subsequent protests. Even if we put aside the history of past displacements and concern ourselves to present day South Asia we still have to begin with forced migration. Also one has to note that any analysis of forced migration in South Asia has to inevitably begin with India, the largest country in the region. It has to be mentioned that India is not a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol. If one does not count Afghanistan, none of the South Asian states has signed either the Convention or the Protocol. However, these countries have ratified in the recent

past several other human rights instruments. All of them ratified the four Geneva Conventions as well. Yet South Asian states have been reluctant to accept the 1951 Convention though there are no official reasons given by the states for such a decision. In India, the refugee like all other migrants falls under the jurisdiction of the Foreigners Act (1946) and the Passport Act (1955). These Acts are relevant to all non-citizens alike, and they make entering India without valid papers offence. But this is not to say that India has not given refugee status to any group. Today the most critical of all refugee groups in South Asia are the Rohingyas from Burma, who number around 100,000 (registered and unregistered).

Yet the regional record of South Asia with refugees is not completely negative. Like India, Pakistan has received and hosted for nearly two decades thousands of Afghan refugees; Bangladesh has received nearly half a million Rohingya refugees; and Nepal about 100,000 South Bhutanese refugees besides hosting Tibetan refugees. Most refugee groups seeking refuge are usually accommodated within the region. Also, refugee protection jurisprudence has helped the refugees, and Courts in the region have upheld human rights obligations. However, refugee protection in recent years has been perceived as a problem. Attitude to refugees has gradually changed all over Asia with fresh bouts of migrations. Racism has been on the rise. With considerations and discourses of security on the rise, citizens now have a threat perception of footloose people including footloose labour. This has led human rights communities to seek new protection strategies for refugees. But still a particular pertinent issue is that refugees are neither the only nor the largest group of forced migrants in South Asia. Side by side with the refugees are the internally displaced persons (IDPs) who hold an equal importance in the construction, determination, and delineation of the history of forced migration. Apart from the IDPs there are a number of stateless people living in endangered situation. Add to that thousands of women, children, and men trafficked for purposes of sex, labour, organ transplant, etc. Also, given massive labour migration under conditions of rightlessness and duress, the distinctions between migrants and forced migrants especially when the migrating people belong to vulnerable communities are fast disappearing. We need further study and analyses of these issues to develop a framework of justice.

In light of the above context, *Calcutta Research Group* organised a four-day research workshop (25-28 November 2018) (with several months of prior online interaction), followed by a two-day international conference (29-30 November 2018) on *The State of the Global Protection System for Refugees and Migrants* in Kolkata. The event was organised in collaboration with the *Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung (RLS)*, the *Department of History, West Bengal State University, Barasat*, *Rabindra Bharati University, Kolkata* and the *School of International Relations and Strategic Studies, Jadavpur University, Kolkata*.

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:

- A. *Promises and Paradoxes of the Global Compacts on Refugees and Migrants: The Need for New Global, Regional and National Responses*
Co-ordinators: Nasreen Chowdhory & Ranabir Samaddar
- B. *Racialisation of Migration: Race, Religion, Gender, and Other Faultlines in Forced Migration*
Co-ordinator: Paula Banerjee

C. Power and Responsibility in the Global Protection System in the Context of Mixed and Massive Population Flows; The Need to redefine the "Responsibility to Protect"

Co-ordinator: Shibashis Chatterjee

D. Refugee and Immigrant Economies: Privatisation of Care and Protection

Co-ordinators: Ranabir Samaddar & Samita Sen

E. Statelessness, International Conventions and the Need for New Initiatives

Co-ordinator: Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury

F. Migrants and Movements Across Asia: Common Features with the European Scenario

Co-ordinators: Anita Sengupta & Meghna Guhathakurta

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.

The international conference that followed had panels on wide ranging themes including the Global Compacts for refugees and migrants, faultlines and fissures in the global protection regime and issues of gender, race, and immigrant economies. It also hosted panels addressing the experience of migration, specific to regions like Turkey and Afghanistan, the Rohingya refugee crisis in South Asia, and the current exercise of the National Register of Citizens in Assam. Invited international speakers of global renown addressed key contemporary concerns on migration at the conference.

The proceedings of the workshop and the conference culminated in the adoption of a Resolution titled the *Kolkata Declaration* on the final day of the event on 30 November 2018. 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 empowering migrant and refugee communities and displaced groups more broadly.

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

RESEARCH BRIEFS

Theme Lectures

Module A: *Promises and Paradoxes of a Global Gaze* – Ranabir Samaddar

The drive behind this lecture was the need to consider benefits and opportunities that safe, orderly and regular migration brings to cities and states in a transnational context, and also complexities that arise and remain unaddressed from scenarios of displacements and mass migrations locally and globally. It is also a response to The Global Compact on Refugees and The Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration that was mandated by the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants in 2016, currently being considered by the United Nations that aims to rethink the feasibility of old approaches in addressing these issues.

Whilst acknowledging the ambitions and potentials of the Declaration, Ranabir Samaddar spoke of the relational position of the Declaration with a global development agenda linking migrant and refugee protections, safety, and security with sustainable development that saw the inception of a 'Global Gaze,' outlining both potentials and contradictions that can be found within such conceptual lens. Furthermore, he also spoke of the difficulties of having two compacts of refugees and migrants: that refugee, forced migration and migration flows cannot be neatly defined, though perceptions of the two as something different remains somewhat a contemporary reality.

In such a context, Samaddar outlined aspects of the Declaration that supports the premise of its universality and highlighted irregular geographies found in areas of protection and labour, thus reiterating the need of a global in terms of refuge, border zones, third countries, hotspots, legal labour regimes and the engagement of multi-stakeholders. Attention was paid also to the inevitability of refugee and migrant crises unless a comprehensive refugee response framework was employed in regard to effective practices and management that will maximize capacity building. Finally, Samaddar underscored the fact that durability of solutions can only come about through a new geography of labour and provision of care, along with the adoption of a techno-centric management position that would overcome borders and boundaries. This being the premise of a global gaze as an apparatus of power, that humanitarianism should be seen as part of a global machine, and that a global can only be brought about by becoming technological in its strategies.

In conclusion, Samaddar emphasized the importance of the strategic shift that sees the refugees and asylum seekers conceptualized as subjects of development rather than subjects of protection. This is significant in terms of a new approach on forced migration: that the refugee will be enabled as an actor in their own right by primarily becoming a source of productive labour power. Secondly, the fact that a global compact can only be global by obtaining global consent remains unresolved, noting that consent cannot solely rely on resolutions of the UNHCR, as evident by the need of a global compact. Lastly, another principle point to consider is that in the 21st century, humanitarianism is not so much about protection-giving but making the person active as an actor in his or her own right in the economy.

Module B: *Responsibility to Protect: Questions of Race, Religion, Resource and the Unspoken Fourth* – Paula Banerjee

In her lecture, Paula Banerjee suggested that the triad of race, religion, resources, and gender (the unspoken fourth), are at the heart of the issues of citizenship and migration, also influencing the framing of these as “crises”. Migration and forced migration studies will be meaningless if these volatile issues are not considered in their proper perspectives. Race and religion create the alien body that is then forced to move and cross borders. But once the migrant is forced to cross the border the very act of border crossing creates more borders. She emphasised the way in which power is used to manipulate apparatuses of control, such as the law, so that they maintain hierarchies and thus expressed her cynicism towards the success of the Global Compact. Instead, she placed greater hope in collective action and their possibilities for subversion.

Taking the case of South Asia, she elaborated on the “unspoken fourth” component of her argument. Modern states that are built on gender differences develop a precarious relation with its women. Women became both subjects of the state as well as its other. In pluralistic societies such as those found in South Asia “the modern projects of national independence, state building, and economic development have had distinctive gender implications and outcomes.” The nation building projects in South Asia has led to the creation of a homogenized identity of citizenship. This is done through privileging majoritarian, male and monolithic cultural values that deny the space to difference. One way of marginalising women from body politic is done by targeting them and displacing from in times of state verses community conflict. As a refugee a woman loses her individuality, subjectivity, citizenship and her ability to make political choices. As political non-subjects, refugee women emerge as the symbol of difference between us/citizens and its other/refugees/non-citizens.

There was also considerable discussion regarding the notion of citizenship, with Banerjee again emphasising that citizenship is built on notions of race, religion, resources and gender, and that these are inextricably tied to power. She stated that citizenship is characterised by notions of who belongs and who does not, and that these notions are also linked with privilege. Thus, to acquire or maintain this privilege, groups of those who do not belong must be created either externally, or if that is not possible, then internally, as is with the case of Assam at present. Banerjee also highlighted the dichotomy between refugees and forced migrants, on the one hand being adversely incorporated into the capitalist machine and contributing to the economic productivity of a state whilst, on the other hand, being denied rights and citizenship. As an extension of this, she fears that forced migration is becoming the new mechanism by which a constant pool of modern-day serf labour is being produced. Banerjee concluded her lecture by discussing the notion of protection. She highlighted how protection had previously been the bare minimum; however, in current times it has become the epitome as a result of the failure of the global system. Furthermore, she stated that she could not be against the notion of protection as protection is the basic right of life, and that, although the notion of protection leaves much to be desired, we must say yes to life. She did conclude however, by highlighting the problematic nature of protection today, stating that it is granted only if one accepts the adverse terms of incorporation into the economic system offered to them, and that if this is not done, then protection is withheld.

Module C: *Population Flows, Refugees, and the Responsibility to Protect in the Global Protection System* – Shibashis Chatterjee

Shibashis Chatterjee's lecture highlighted global actors' imperative to prioritise duties to humanitarian assistance and argued the R2P's relevance due to lack of a better alternative. He also showed there is no politically moral and ethical justification for closing borders. Chatterjee concluded that we must name the legally unrecognised "nameless subjects" as they have served as the "perfect political subjects to be sacrificed".

Chatterjee explored the notion of responsibility and suggested that it unfortunately hosted patronising discourses and the imposition of ideals. Consequently, he maintained the new system must also be predicated on development that is visibly translated into the lives of those who matter. As we are attempting to find a level to deal with large movement flows, he looked at agency. He argued that ideas of collective existence were dominated by the parallel discourse of the nation state and its 'other'. Thus, he urged for a rethinking of this conceptual lapse regarding space. Chatterjee established that to understand the state of the global protection system, the political context must be understood. He then moved onto R2P and praised its provision of a path beyond the binary of humanitarian intervention and nationalistic sovereignty. The R2P strengthened sovereignty, redefining it as territorial control as well as a responsibility to protect citizens and their human rights. It was underscored that without identifying and defining who we want to protect, we will never attain a satisfactory global system of protection.

Chatterjee then discussed the communitarian case for closing borders that rests upon an argument of justified partiality and citizenship as a form of cultural membership. He countered this saying one cannot neatly delineate between culture and citizenship, highlighting the fallibility of the claim as the 'others' of the state could share more culture than one's 'inmates'. Subsequently, liberal stances were considered. Here, the economic justification for open borders was emphasised. Arguments for a welfare state which closed borders without insurance mechanisms were also rebutted, as it relied on claims of domestic justice, which in turn relied on justifying the arbitrary lines of borders.

In light of this logic, borders cannot be morally and ethically justified. The postcolonial refugee narrative is not one created out of the postcolonial experiences but built rather on Western predilections and ambiguities. Chatterjee argued that the West cannot deny its obligations towards the refugees and the stateless asylum seekers, as the West has been integral to the refugee generation process, over periods both long and short, directly or otherwise. Thus, he concluded that without historical understanding and distinction of the postcolonial, it would be difficult to identify the participant on "who" terms. This led to reflection upon how international law's attempt to remain a place of neutral dialogue has led to failures in incorporating culture in its scaffold. Thus, the prerogative is to legally define the 'nameless' such as stateless persons and IDPs among others, humanising them in a world of selective admission and closure.

Module D: *Global Capitalism and Refugee and Migrant Labour* - Ranabir Samaddar

Ranabir Samaddar's lecture explored the historical background of labour migration in connection with the rise and development of capitalism and led on to a discussion of labour migration under present conditions of neo-liberalisation and global market economy. In the discussion of historical forms of labour migration, the lecture dwelt on the themes of indentured labour and other forms of semi-coerced migration from colonies, semi-colonies, and other parts of the world. If the earlier period of globalisation marked by industrial capitalism called for massive supply of labour forming its underbelly, the contemporary period of globalization is marked by unprecedented financialisation of capital and other resources (including land) and calls for similar supply of labour forming the underbelly of the beast today. In today's global post-colonial setting, the place of the plantation and railway construction industries of the nineteenth century has been taken over by the ubiquitous care industry and construction industries. Thousands of migrant workers serving worldwide from the United States to the Middle East to South East Asia to the Far East as masons, plumbers, coolies, nurses, ayahs, sex workers, workers in entertainment and construction industry keep the machinery of neoliberal economy going.

The discussion further highlighted how gender was of central concern in recruitment operations as well as labour deployment in the indentured system and other forms of labour migration more generally and how long-distance migration in turn unsettled gender hierarchies. It touched on the issue of sex labour that in today's world is a migrant dominated field. It pointed to the inadequacy of the predominant discourse of trafficking that often views migration of sex workers as a form of 'modern slavery'.

Finally, Samaddar also addressed the nature of immigrant economy in global capitalism today. Literature on immigrant economies are concerned with processes of labour absorption within western state/society. In these writings, the organic link between the immigrant as an economic actor and the global capitalist economy escapes analysis. Even when considered as an economic actor, refugees are often not considered as labour. Samaddar emphasises the need for seeing the refugee primarily as a labouring subject, who often work outside the pale of 'formal' economy and/or without political rights. While a large part of the existing literature on the subject deal with what can be called the internalities of the immigrant economy (thus their ethnic composition, hierarchies, location, survival techniques, etc.), he put the emphasis also on the externalities. A consideration of the externalities suggests four interactive relations impacting on refugee economies: (a) The deeply close relation between refugees, other victims of forced migration, and the illegal immigrants; likewise the interface of classic refugees and the environmental migrants as the constituting elements of an informal labour market; (b) The similarly close relation between refugees, illegal immigrants, and the internally displaced as labouring subjects; (c) The connection between the refugee economy and the informal economy as a whole; and finally (d) the incredibly dense network between formal and informal economies, shaping certain types of economic activities as in care and entertainment industry, which feature the refugee and the immigrant as the labouring subject, and which borders on both formal and informal economies.

Module E: Addressing the New Frontiers of Statelessness - Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury

Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury's lecture located statelessness vis-à-vis International/National Laws and Conventions, the associated politics and the current contexts of migration flows. It began with detailing the increasing complexities of migration flows which are mixed and massive. Thousands of people move, these include refugees, stateless, asylum seekers, economic migrants who try to find safer avenues or greener pastures. The present context is located as one in which technologies and capital move across borders, but where people are not allowed to move easily. This was traced back to international law, which put citizenship in the domestic jurisdiction, related to sovereignty. But these international covenants and conventions also give every person a right to nationality, but it is within the ambit of the state.

The discussion touched on stateless populations, particularly the Rohingyas. They were identified as the most persecuted minority. Their condition was compared with that of the Chakmas in Arunachal Pradesh, where the Supreme Court observed that attempts to expel/deport them would amount to a violation of Article 21. Chaudhury also discussed in a similar vein about verdicts by the Delhi High court in 2011, which generated new hopes and aspirations. However, in case of the Rohingyas, deportation has been allowed by the courts, and their entry into India is viewed as a crime. This could begin wholesale deportation. Following this, Rohingyas have started disappearing from the camps even where the local state government and the community were sympathetic. The movement of the Rohingyas is understood less through a human rights prism and more in terms of national security concerns, and the associated categorization as 'illegal'.

Alongside this, the lecture discussed the weakness of international conventions on statelessness as well as the limitations which UNHCR faces in this regard, particularly when there are increasing number of stateless people in the world. This was located in the history of conventions, their provisions, definitions and classifications of statelessness (like *de jure* and *de facto*). In most cases, the stateless fall in the *de facto* category (grey areas). Most can't provide any legal proof that they have nationality.

This was also contextualised with national laws, which are very discriminatory in these cases, and national contexts where securitization becomes paramount. Till date there is no institution dedicated to statelessness (provisionally only UNHCR, under UNDP). However, there is a steep rise in the number of stateless people and growing securitization. UNHCR has been taking some initiatives, and there is talk to end statelessness by 2024. But faced with populist responses, more difficult demarcations of boundaries have emerged which often ignore earlier boundaries. Alongside this, fresh geo-political considerations which emphasize territory have been forceful. This is complicated with mixed and massive population flows, where distinctions between Refugees, asylum seekers, economic migrants may be difficult in movement.

In such a context, Chaudhury asserted the need to look beyond international refugee law and need to address the Westphalian order to take stock of the issue of statelessness from an absolutely fresh perspective.

Module F: *Migrants and Movements Across Asia Mobility, Global Migration Governance and the European Response* – Anita Sengupta

Anita Sengupta's lecture centered around the refugee situation in Asia, relating it to the "European migration crisis" which actually concerns Asian migrants. The discriminatory persecution of Syrians in Europe and the unresolved question of the Rohingyas are proofs that state borders do not actually match ethnic boundaries. Migrants mostly tread judicial routes that were previously seen as normal but have now become problematic due to increased levels of securitisation and the rhetoric that complements it. Debates on these movements have raised concerns regarding the lack of mechanisms to deal with ethnic issues in various nations. This has created subsequent humanitarian problems that require a co-ordinated global response.

These complex mixed migratory movements are only partly motivated by domestic conflicts. These conflicts themselves are more often than not compelled by international pressures, great power politics and an interwoven geopolitical and geo-economic reality. In reality, the rhetoric of the 'European' migration crisis can only be understood in terms of the fact that migration holds geopolitical significance, not only in how it is constructed and by whom but also in how it is challenged and subverted. How the concept of the 'migrant' and the 'refugee' is used in different contexts and for a variety of purposes therefore opens up multiple questions about mobility, citizenship and the nation state.

Much of the movement is either domestic or regional where migrants have crossed neighbouring borders to join co-ethnic masses. Therefore, there is a need to move beyond the simplistic assumption that the main division in global migration is between different interests of states. Discussion regarding legal and institutional frameworks in these regions highlighted the need for these frameworks to better express the consequences of human movements. The discussion touched on trans-Asian movements that involve at least two states and in many cases three or more as migrants transit through third countries to reach their destination. Migration not only feeds into the nationalist discourses of the sending and receiver states but also becomes a lens through which the relationship between the birthplace and the adoptive home is negotiated by the migrant himself. There is an ongoing debate in the international sphere where parties involved are either deliberate on how to end migration or seek to find equitable ways to distribute them.

The conventional definition of refugees does not apply to the migrants in Asia. In politically charged areas, refugees become significant. This has sparked unprecedented violence against refugees in Syria, Somalia, and Palestine. The reality that the responsibility for protection of migrants lies largely within the host country is highly problematic. Migration is a phenomenon that needs facilitators from both sides overseeing the process, starting from the time of entry with continued monitoring of health, protection and employment needs. The resolution of these problems can only come from a global response rather than current xenophobic reactions.



The Inaugural Session of the Research Workshop



Laurence Juma delivering a lecture on 'African Union's Refugee Management and Protection Framework and the Cooperation Agenda of the Global Compact on Refugees'

Workshop Sessions

Race and Migration in South Africa

When Xenophobia is Afrophobia: Racialised Belonging at the Intersection of Race and Nation in Post-Apartheid South Africa - Melissa Steyn

Melissa Steyn began with accounts of the history of flow of migrants in South Africa and underlined the changes in the documentation of movement of migrants, especially the black population during pre- and post-institutionalization of the country. Migration in all forms, has been shaped through racialised nation-building projects of conquest and subjugation, inclusion and exclusion, integration and segregation. The sacrifices for liberation of South Africa were dwelled upon and the racial attitudes and practices in xenophobia in the local context were highlighted. It was mentioned that while the directions of flows of different people had changed dramatically since the advent of democracy in the 1994, the clearly racial character of who comes and who goes did not. Attitudes among both white and black South Africans differ according to whether those arriving in the country are considered white or black. It was argued through the presentation that violence and xenophobia against foreign nationals in South Africa needs to be understood within the historical context of how borders were drawn in Africa, the history of citizenship in South Africa and processes of internalised racism. She ended on the note that issues of rights arising due to ignorance of criminal acts and negligence towards migrants on the part of government in the absence of governmental support as well as consciousness in operation needs to be rationalised amongst those in the country.

African Union's Refugee Management and Protection Framework and the Cooperation Agenda of the Global Compact on Refugees - Laurence Juma

Laurence Juma began by saying that for any being as part of a global community - what affects a person affects the globe in one way or the other. He stressed on the fact that in case of refugee challenges, while there are discourses, there is little recognition and urgency of participation from different parts of the world. He examined how the Global Compact on Refugees is likely to have an influence on the African Union's (AU) approach to refugee protection in the continent. He discussed continental refugee protection and management frameworks and isolated some of the concerns that may be of relevance to the collaborative agenda proposed by the Global Compacts. Juma argued that the African Union's collaborative endeavour in refugee protection and management should be based on three main pillars, which are cooperation, responsibility-sharing and commitment to uphold fundamental principles. It was estimated that the conversion of aspirations in the Global Compact into tangible benefits for refugees in the continent would require normative changes as well as the development of a more sophisticated relationship between Europe and Africa that cannot be only dependent on existing foreign aid arrangements. In the presentation, it was also argued that continental refugee protection and management regimes can only benefit from a global collaborative project if they are locally relevant, transparent and effective. He ended by stressing the need for dialogue on establishing peace and cooperation.

Module A: Promises and Paradox of the Global Compacts on Refugees and Migrants: The Need for New Global, Regional and National Responses

The Global Compacts on Refugees and Migrants - Buddha Singh Kepchhaki

The paper spoke of the promises and paradoxes of the global compact, and the need to ensure new global, regional and national responses to the current crisis. It looked at underlying causes and conditions that inform the background and need for a Global Compact and positive outcomes that have emerged, such as the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the collective efforts of states in the rescue and hosting of refugees thus far. However, conflicts of interests still remain. The developed countries focus more on national security and economic order, and the developing countries adopt the position that migration may be advantageous to their national economy. Hence, new responses are needed that ensures all UN member states are held accountable in the adoption of the GCM.

Regional and Global Responses to the Rohingya Repatriation Process: Opportunities and Challenges - G. M. Arifuzzaman

The paper began by speaking of the current Rohingya repatriation process, that can no longer only be confined to diplomatic concerns between Bangladesh and Myanmar, and how repatriation processes continue to be ill-defined and uncertain. Relational roles of development and governments taking an indeterminate stance on the situation also factors in this uncertainty regarding repatriation. Whilst international bodies and institutions have played humanitarian roles, safe repatriation is still questionable as challenges are situated in a complex landscape of geopolitics and historical relations. Opportunities presented thus far has seen Bangladesh coming to the fore in creating global recognition, while other voices such as the UN, NGOs and media coverage have heightened international awareness. In summary, the paper argues for a stronger intervention by international and humanitarian organisations.

Mitigation of the Negative Impacts of Migration and Maximization of its Benefits in Sri Lanka - Rajkumar Nagarajah

The paper spoke of both the benefits that Sri Lankan migration workers bring to the national economy, as well as risks posed to migrant workers through their employment in foreign countries. To offset negative impacts of labour migration, the 2008 national labour migration policy was developed for protection and welfare of such migrants, as Sri Lanka continues to see unprecedented growth in labour migrants. The paper also touched on the growing pattern of permanent migration as well difficulties in tracking irregular movements. It argued for policies that will rebalance the current problem of skilled and unskilled migration, reiterating the need for further education reforms, targeted training, and economic development in order to achieve long-term benefits.

Revisiting Statelessness and Global Protection Regime: The Rohingyas - Sucharita Sengupta

The paper revisits issues of statelessness and the global protection regime with respect to the Rohingyas. It draws our attention to the fact that although the compact seeks to enhance refugee protection, attempts of responsibility sharing has remained ineffective. It provided a brief overview of failed attempts in mitigating the Rohingya crisis thus far, while the central focus of her paper is on the experiences of the Rohingyas in their places of asylum, questioning the insufficiency and effectiveness of protection mechanisms of the Global Compacts. It stresses the role of South Asia as first point of responsibility sharing based on the region as a primary destination for asylum, and the viability for safe return.

Module B: Racialisation of Migration: Race, Religion, Gender and Other Faultlines in Forced Migration

Buddhism and Dalit Migrants: Interrogating Everyday forms of Counter-hegemonic Assertion - Ajeet Kumar Pankaj

The paper looked at how Dalit migrants in Mumbai have adopted elements of Buddhist cultural practices like decoration and clothing patterns in marriage (rejecting Hindu religious and cultural practices). The dalit migrants do this in order to forge their own cultural identity and overcome the inequality that pertains to Hinduism. Drawing from Gramsci, it portrayed this conversion of religion as a counter-hegemonic maneuver against upper class Hindus.

The NRC Discord - Daman Kaur Sethi

The paper argued that there is an 'ethnolinguistic' bias in the construction and conduct of Assam's National Register for Citizens (NRC). It outlined how this bias reflects fears and anxieties that are rooted in the historical and geographical shifts of the borders of Assam, and the migrant society that this created. It highlighted how tensions caused by faultlines such as race, religion and language, have been the driving force behind the NRC which seeks to define who is "Assamese" through the apparatus of citizenship. Thus, the paper expressed serious concern regarding the lack of humanitarian and legal provisions made for those excluded from the NRC list, as statelessness and deportation are currently very real possibilities for those excluded.

'From A Light unto the Nations' to 'the Land of the White Man': Global Migration and Recent Shifts in the racialisation of Migrants in Israel - Matan Kaminer

The paper highlighted the racialisation of two different groups of migrants in Israel: East African asylum seekers and Thai migrant farmworkers. It noted how this racialisation not only reflects a global ideology favouring "white" persons in contrast to "black" persons, but also reflected a local ideology which favoured Jews as opposed to Arabs. The combination of these two ideologies has manifested in African asylum seekers being framed as a largely Muslim group, despite this being false. Thai migrants on the other hand have been framed as neutral as they are neither Jew nor Arab, neither white nor black, and thus are portrayed as docile and unthreatening, making them targets for exploitative employment.

Hostility in History, Friction in Future: An Account of Marginalisation in Myanmar - Reshmi Banerjee

The paper first highlighted the deeply emotional nature of migration experiences, noting how senses of belonging, separation and nostalgia can be felt by generations after the original move. It explored the pain that comes from being physically uprooted; however, it also stressed that resilience and agency are often exercised post-migration. In particular, it explored how discrimination towards ethnic minorities is embedded in the history of Myanmar, and not simply a recent phenomenon with the mass exodus of Rohingyas. Thus, Banerjee was skeptical regarding any future progress, particularly as Indophobia in the past has transformed into Islamophobia in Myanmar's present context.

Forced Migration Caused by an Internal Armed Conflict in Sri Lanka: A Possible Reason for the Religious and Ethnic Violence after the War - Sajeed Ahamed Fahirdeen

This paper looked at the legacy of Sri Lanka's internal armed conflict on existing internally displaced persons, returnees and those who seek to reclaim their land. In particular, it highlighted how social harmony and trust have been disrupted, indicated by incidences

such as the religious violence that took place in 2012 against Muslims and some Christians. In response to a question regarding the state's response to these violent incidences, Fahurdeen suggested that the state has been proactive; however, the processes of legal recourse and litigation have drawn out the impact of these proactive measures.

Module C: Power and Responsibility in the Global Protection System in the Context of Mixed and Massive Population Flows: The Need to Redefine the "Responsibility to Protect"

Reining in the Trickle and the Floods? Migration, Governance and Evolving the Regime of Shelter in Lake Colonial Calcutta, 1939-1947 - Aditi Mukherjee

The paper took a micro approach to the module theme, following refugee groups from the period of decolonisation in 1939 to the partition of India in 1947 in Calcutta. It emphasised the discrimination between migrants displaced by *climatic* factors, like the 'evacuees' from the Far East and eventually those displaced from communal violence on the one hand, and those displaced by *endemic* or long-term structural violence like famine 'destitutes'. It noted that whilst 'evacuees' were allowed controlled relief, the latter group faced containment and often discursive erasure from both policy circles and public spheres. However, the paper traced historical resistance to such discriminating government control measures, and their relation to the public spaces in the city. It used these examples to illustrate how resistant "migrant militancy" has shaped Calcutta into its contemporary status as a 'permissive city'.

The State's Role vis-à-vis the Responsibility to Protect: The Case of internally Displaced People due to Riverbank Erosion, Assam (India) - Mausumi Chetia

The paper offered a case study of the R2P. It covered the pressing issue of IDPs generated by riverbank erosion (RBE) in Assam. It drew attention to the need for comprehensive policy coverage. It exposed the insufficiency of the LARR 2013 and DM Act of 2005 for covering internal displacement due to disasters. The first only outlines the process for land acquirement for public purpose, whilst the latter does not designate RBE as a 'disaster' nor make provisions for IDPs due to disasters. Therefore, despite the Assam State DM Policy 2010 denoting RBE as a disaster, the Assamese government is able to utilise the DM Act to avoid providing RBE affected population with relief and rehabilitation.

Accepting the Responsibility to Protect as an International Norm: The Structure and Implementation - Swatilekha Bhattacharya

The paper offered an overview of issues regarding the R2P. It examined the gap between the R2P adopted by governments, and the ideas that shaped the R2P itself. One salient feature was the notion that states have a duty to protect all populations under their care, and not just citizens in times of conflict. It outlined the issues regarding the non-sequential arrangements of the pillars of R2P and its chronological applications. The issue of the international community's responsibility to take decisive and timely action was discussed. Following this, the question of whether the R2P is based on a human understanding of the UN and international community was raised, dwelling upon the tension between the rights of national sovereignty and that of individuals. Finally, the paper addressed the R2P's often political purpose, concluding that it is vital to serve the population under duress.

Module D: Refugee and Immigrant Economies: Privatisation of Care and Protection

Immigrant Economies and 'Economic War': Literary Reflections on the Expulsion of Asians from East Africa - Apala Kundu

The paper discussed the making of postcolonial migrant identities in the wake of the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Asians from Kenya in 1969 and Uganda in 1972, by reference to East African literary works. Whilst the ostensible reason behind the expulsions was identified in the economic security of the African nations, she highlighted the complex nexus of economic, social and political factors lying behind them. Most notably, non-binary dynamics of racialisation at play in the Indian ocean, and their class correspondences, were shown to have played a central role in driving such displacements: an imperialist discourse on race, created to divide and rule, originated resentment against Indians as the oppressors whilst letting European whites off the hook.

Refugeeisation of the Agricultural Labour Force? Humanitarian Spectacles in and around Italian Agro-Industrial Enclaves - Irene Peano

The paper analysed the articulation of specific regimes of migration governance to the organisation of labour in the agro-industrial sector in contemporary Italy. It showed how a transition towards a humanitarian mode of migration management was ushered in around the time when the central Mediterranean route opened up in 2012. At the same time, other forms of migration governance had been set up in the wake of EU enlargement to countries such as Romania and Bulgaria. Both these developments impacted upon the agro-industrial economy, the sector that employs the largest percentage of migrant labour under dire conditions of exploitation, despite having been growing steadily in the last decade. Finally, it suggested that the humanitarian paradigm is transforming through the insertion of a logistical rationality into it.

Bias Towards Skilled Migration in Brazil during the Lula Era: Influence of the Knowledge-Based Economy Paradigm - Janaina Galvao

The paper analysed Brazilian migration policies under Lula's government, and their similarities to those of the EU. Whilst the restrictive, utilitarian, racialised and development-driven nature of such policies can be seen to have remained a constant since the 19th century, a new focus upon high-skill migration counter-intuitively made its way into the official discourse in Brazil, at a time in which the economic crisis had determined a peak of migrant influx from the global north but also from the south (especially from Africa and South East Asia). This focus on high-skill 'human capital', the paper argued, contradicted the reality of mostly undocumented migration from poorer countries and Brazil's reliance on resource extraction and the production of primary commodities as the core of its economy. Lula's government policies can thus be seen to aspire to a Chinese-like model of state-led capitalism, which aimed at repositioning Brazil in the global market through the expansion of productivity and technological investment. In this project, the knowledge economy played a crucial role, and the language linking skills, migration and development adopted a knowledge-based economy paradigm as its hegemonic ideology, focusing on a male-dominated corporate sphere of work.

Migrant Labourers in Barrackpore Industrial Zone during the Early Twentieth Century: Health and Education Care by Government and Non-Government Sectors - Jhumpa Bose

The paper provided an insight into the development of industries like jute and cotton industry, as well as paper mills, on the banks of Hooghly river, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards and shed light on the monopoly of different industries and the significance of economic migration as an important contributing factor to the emergence of an industrial zone in Barrackpore. It documented the gradual transformation of habitats in the previously forested land into urban space that was populated by migrants, mostly from rural areas and lower caste, finding work in the industries of Barrackpore. It studied the ways in which these labour-intensive industries, and the conditions of workers within them, evolved, highlighting patterns of unionisation and improvement of living conditions.

Migrants, Work and Sustenance in the Coalfields of Raniganj- Shatabdi Das

The paper provided an insight into the changing trend of migration among coal mine workers and how coal mining as an extractive industry thrives on the coming together of workers from both formal and informal sectors. It talked about the history of development in the coal region, the dynamism of migrant demography and its impact on the composition of the working-class population and looked into the varied risks associated with the practice of coal mining by artisanal workers as a parallel informal economy. The research evoked concerns of healthcare through its summary of limited success of rehabilitation and environmental management plans and drew attention to the need of alternative policies for gradual and sustained transition of the coal country into green topography.

Module E: Statelessness, International Conventions and the Need for New Initiatives

How Anti-Immigrant movements in Assam have made the Immigrant resilient: A Post Draft NRC Analysis - Abdul Kalam Azad

The paper provided a detailed timeline of the NRC register in Assam starting from 1951 to 2018, contextualising this within a chronology of Anti-immigrant movements in Assam, locating forced displacements in 1940s, Post-partition riots, Assam agitation from 1979 to 85, ethnic conflict in 90s, Assam violence in 2012 and Khagrabari massacre etc. Using the case of the Miya Muslims as an example, it delineated the role of students' movements in grass-roots activism and advocacy, mobilizing the communities in asking for their entitlement.

Stateless and Gendered Claims of States - Jyotsna Srivastava

The paper discussed gender-based discrimination in citizenship laws and presented an overview of the condition of women as being more marginal due to discriminatory laws. To illustrate its argument, it used examples from Madagascar, Sierra Leone, Somalia. Detailing legal frameworks and gender inequalities in nationality laws, she located reasons for this gap in social and political structures and practices, which result in particular groups, especially women, not acquiring nationality.

Migrants, Crises and Statelessness: Exploring Media Representation of Rohingya Refugees in India - M. Ibrahim Wani

The paper contextualized the media representation of Rohingya refugees and refugee movements, alongside normalized crisis locations and positionings, and attempted to locate convergences and situations with dominant crisis positionings of the European refugee crisis. The paper observed that non-sympathetic representations existed alongside sympathetic representations. In sympathetic representations, the key themes highlighted

were loss, desperation, insecurity, condition of camps etc. In non-sympathetic frames, the Rohingyas were located alongside crime, terror, labelling, violence, deportation etc. The paper observed that we may need radically new media language for the refugee, where only introduction of the refugee experience may not be enough.

'We are Waiting' - The Aspirations of Tibetan Children in Nepal - Roopshree Joshi

The paper discussed the protracted situation of Tibetan refugee children who do not have a refugee card and have been stateless since past two decades in Nepal. Providing details in the form of key narratives from lives of refugees, various dimensions of settler camp life, identity, desire for documentation and belonging, it observed that a major concern was that most participants with refugee card could not get refugee cards for their children. Alongside this, most refugee youth who are not documented expressed their disinterest in the refugee card due to its limited use and the associated stress that it created. All the refugees would prefer citizenship and its associated identity documents that make employment and travel opportunities possible.

Module F: Migration and Movements Across Asia: Common Features with the European Scenario

West Sentinel: An Island Solution? - Angela Smith

The author presented an excerpt from an audio documentary on "West Sentinel Island", an imagined entity created using features resembling islands across the globe. It was used as a case study of how nations utilise islands for offshore ambitions. Islands are considered as "manageable" and "secure" due to their small size and isolation. This proves appropriate for states to project their migration management efforts upon islands. Quoting the example of the Australian government serially excising Christmas Island, Melville Island, and finally, the mainland through 2001 to 2003, the paper argued that the EU and Australia have begun to extend their sovereignty offshore to invalidate and prevent asylum-seekers access. Asian states may engage in effectively outsourcing the detention and limitation of problematic population to offshore sites, i.e. islands. The presentation explored the possibility of West Sentinel being framed into a detention zone for migrants.

Refugees, Asylum and Threat Perceptions: The Recent Cases of Rohingyas in South Asia and Syrian Refugees in Europe - Santi Sarkar

Citing reports on refugee settlements in Europe and in India, the paper explored the threats posed by them to host countries and conversely, hostilities faced by these migrants. In perception of threats faced by asylum giving countries, he underlined three areas: economic, security and cultural. The economic stance dictates that relatively wealthy countries can accommodate fairly large numbers of migrants and direct their attention from cost consideration to humanitarian objectives. Such is not the case of the burgeoning Rohingya population in India since August 2017 who live in squalid camps, scattered all over the country. The security aspect gains precedence over other threats for the evident inability of the nations to really know the character/intentions of some asylum seekers. In this strain, Syrians in Germany, Sweden and Denmark face widespread persecution based on widespread suspicion of their intent to "Islamize the West". Similarly, in India, the Modi government has explicitly expressed contempt for the influx of Rohingya migrants whereby they are accused of indulging in anti-national activities and kindling the fire of religious tensions.

Refugee Livelihoods in India & Turkey - A Comparative Study - Aditi Sabbarwal

The paper drew a comparative analysis of India and Turkey, two countries following the Global Livelihood Strategy formulated by UNHCR. This strategy addresses the concerns of refugees *post migration* by generating livelihood opportunities. While comparing the refugee situations in the 2 countries, the paper covered such notions as similarities and differences of implementation of the strategy, challenges faced in their execution and best practices observed in the respective countries. The differences pertained to placements of refugees in formal sectors, presence of active programs to promote integration etc. Challenges faced in India include *paucity of budget* and legal documentation issued to refugees, *language barriers*, refugees' perception of India *as a transit point* before resettling in another country. On the other hand, the greatest challenge in Turkey is *attitude discrimination* whereby Syrian women have faced sexual abuse.

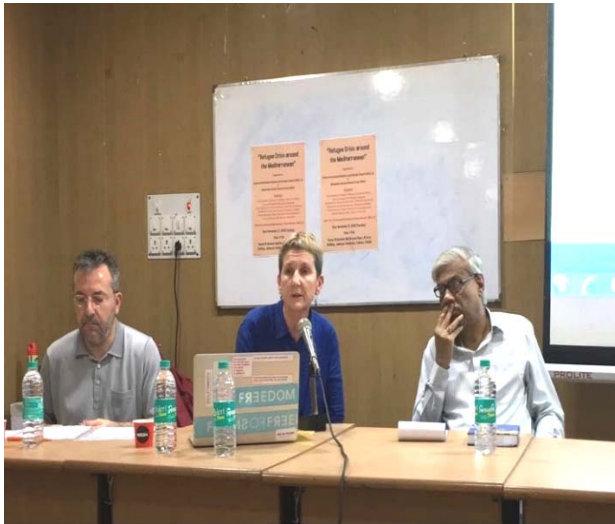
Face to Face I: In Conversation with Nayana Bose about her experience of working with UNHCR in Afghanistan, Turkey, Bangladesh

During 2013-14, Ms. Bose went to Afghanistan where security issues were extremely challenging due to vulnerabilities arising from state elections that were about to take place. She also found the situation interesting in light of her work that had involved the facilitation of people returning to Afghanistan from Pakistan coupled with a number of internally displaced Afghan citizens' reintegration in their origin societies. Her responsibilities in Turkey were different in terms of an association with big donor funded operations named "Donor Impact Series (DIS)" to facilitate refugees from bordering regions between Turkey and Syria. Currently, she works at Cox's Bazaar in Bangladesh, dealing with the huge influxes of Rohingyas from Myanmar. She pointed to a unique international structure in Bangladesh called "Inter Sector Coordination Group (ISCG)" that is actively involved in assisting Rohingyas.

Face-to Face II: In Conversation with Lucy Nusseibeh on 'Right to Return'

Nusseibeh began by sharing about her affinity for the region due to familial connections, as well as her grave concern for rights within the region. She shed light on the formation of conflict that caused the displacement of Palestinian citizens, turning them into refugees. The events of 1948 and 1967 were also mentioned as crucial landmarks in the historical development. Similarly, the 1993 Oslo Peace Accord and Madrid Conference were underscored. Nusseibeh also emphasised that "Freedom of Movement" is now vulnerable due to the Israeli domination of West Bank and Gaza. She explained that this has led to a continuing sense of expulsion and denial of work rights for the Palestinian population. Thus, the Palestinian refugees that migrate to Lebanese territory are faced with harsh conditions, as they cannot participate in either the economic process or social development. Conversely, the situation in Jordan has been more favourable as Palestinian refugees were granted with Jordanian citizenship. However, Nusseibeh also pointed out the failure of the United Nations Resolution 194 favouring the rights to rehabilitate the displaced Palestinian citizens back in Palestine.

She emphasised that the ideology of "Right to Return" may prove irrelevant due to the outweighing number of Palestinian citizens over the Israeli Jewish in the occupied territory itself. Thus, she poses a doubt on the two-state solution since it contradicts with the fundamentals of the "Right to Return" policy. Moreover, it may also be insignificant for those refugees who have already settled in their host countries. She concludes that the peace process should take place in the context of the complete Arab-Israeli peace process. According to her, it may be called as the quintessential consequence of transitional justice.



Panel at Jadaoipur University on 'Refugee Crisis around the Mediterranean'



Discussion of Position Papers for Modules A, B and C



Press Meet on the International Conference

Special Lectures

Cities of Refuge and Solidarity: Achievements and Challenges – Stephanie Kron

The lecture discussed the concept of the city of solidarity in the European and North American context. Stephanie Kron also mentioned the European and North American debate on the flows of migrants and refugee, emphasising a need to align social rights with global social justice. Her presentation revealed that despite heads of EU member-states and the US increasing restrictions on migration, fortifying borders and accepting the deaths of thousands fleeing out of necessity, there was a counter movement: many municipal governments are now declaring their cities “solidarity cities” and the like. Subsequently, she highlighted the political pressure on the activists as Europe’s rightward drift and tightening of borders and migration policies has placed questions on the right of national citizenship. Kron also noted that municipalities play an important role in the living conditions of migrants in the EU, making it critical to develop left-wing migration policy strategies to critically evaluate the various city networks.

Following this, Kron gave the example of New York City and San Francisco as Sanctuary City models, discussing how they have issued municipal ID cards for years: the so-called “City IDs”. She asserted that urban citizenship is not limited to stopping deportations. Rather, it is also about strengthening social rights and social participation in their various dimensions: that includes the social rights to health, education, shelter, work, as well as cultural and gender-specific rights.

Kron then stated some of the dimensions of municipal intervention in migration/refugee regimes. The first dimension was protection against legal prosecution and deportation of undocumented migrants and rejected asylum seekers. Secondly, they were noted for intervening in the humanitarian crisis both at the levels of national and international refugee regime. Thirdly, they also had policies of municipal citizenship, in the form of city IDs. Finally, they were noted to have included the right to the city or, democratisation of urban life for all.

From Abject to Agent: The Rohingya Quest to Become Digitally Visible – Itty Abraham

Itty Abraham’s lecture explored how the de-territorialised and stateless Rohingyas have discovered and used the territory of digital space. Though global media has widely portrayed the Rohingya people as “abject”, their increased digital presence has facilitated the creation of a sense of unified community and identity, showcasing their agency.

Abraham explained the Rohingya TV, a YouTube channel covering international developments that pertain to the Rohingyas through underground citizen-initiated journalism. This provides information and reports that are otherwise unavailable. Highlighting the absence of stories of fissures, the channel seeks to create a sense of national unity. He also noted how the ways that the channel contrasts different diasporic experiences, symbolically restoring the partitioned body into a single national entity and allowing them to express solidarity whilst identify within the global Islamic community. However, he warned that the programmes also risked undermining its objectives as it reinforced the spatial isolation and material suffering of the Rohingyas.

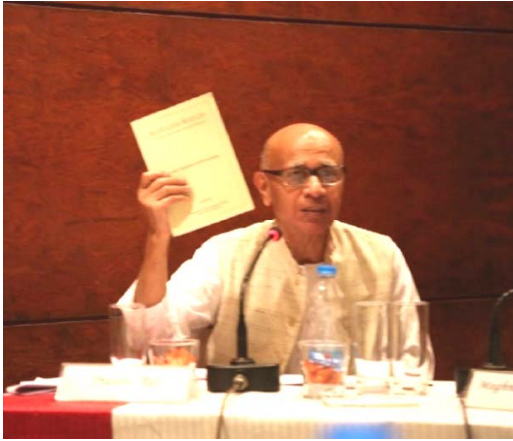
Abraham examined the Rohingya entry into the ConIFA World Football Cup. ConIFA is a collection of teams representing states lacking recognition by FIFA and hence, the larger international body. He notes that through participation, the Rohingyas could further their national ambitions and international visibility. Their association with an international body also raised awareness of their marginalisation and legitimisation through a form of tacit political membership. Thus, they were able to appear as a unified national entity and exercise an informal form of cultural diplomacy. Abraham also examined how political identity can emerge from language, as seen in the acceptance of Hanifi Rohingya by Unicode Consortium Members. The Unicode Consortium regulates the texts that are used in applications and has strict standards with members that include governments and major corporations. Thus, the Unicode acceptance of Hanifi Rohingya was a tacit endorsement of the Rohingya community, furthering their legitimisation and creation of a digital identity.

Finally, he considered the Rohingya project to document digital identities using block chain technologies. This will help in the lack of official documentation such as birth certificates for Rohingyas. The project aims to be institutionalised and serve as a census database, providing an alternative virtual posit for documentation of their life statuses. Although it cannot rectify the lack of official documentation, it offers the hope of a self-generated identity, allowing Rohingyas to gain access to assistance such as loans. Despite this hope, Abraham also cautioned against the alternative verification of the "Rohingya" identity by the project's leaders, stating it may prove exclusionary, warning that though there has been a hopeful transition from "object to agent", the future must account for the increasingly hybridised Rohingya population as we navigate the politics of recognition.

Aerial Geographies of Forced Migration – William Walters

In his lecture, William Walters highlighted the importance of aviation to our understanding of migration and refugee issues historically as well as in the present. He suggested that aviation has been a crucial factor in the speedy deportation of migrants in Europe from as early as 1939. He added that minor activity in the air can have a cataclysmic impact on the ground in terms of migration, emphasising also the surveillance and security of such operations. He cited Imperial Airways to highlight the colonial history of aviation and its influence on the structure of aerial dominance. He added that the transformation of the medium of deportation transport from railways and waterways, to airways has reflected how technological advancements have been used to support the geostrategic manoeuvres of states.

Walters encouraged the audience to think of the aeroplane (used for the deportation of migrants and refugees) as an envelope. An envelope allows what is inside to be transported through space efficiently as it encases its contents. He suggested that migrants and refugees were surrounded not only in the envelope of the aeroplane but also within the seating arrangement. He concluded that this may bear security threats and that such vulnerabilities are always subject to resistance.



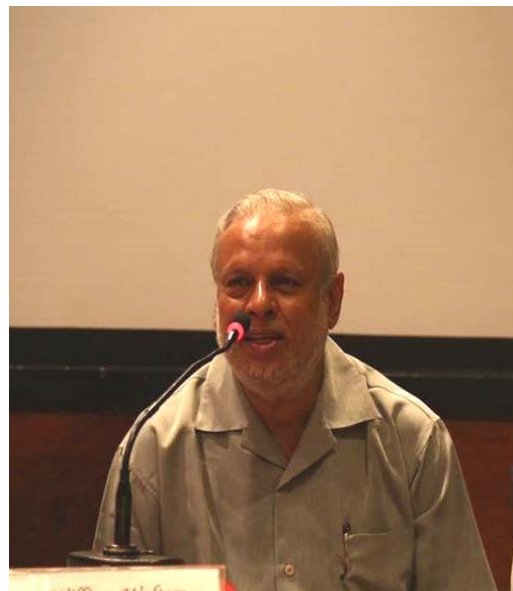
Release of Refugee Watch 51 & 52 by Prasanta Ray



Special Lecture by Itty Abraham - 'From Abject to Agent: The Rohingya Quest to Become Digitally Visible'



Meghna Guhathakurta, releasing the Kolkata Declaration on 30 November 2018



Ranabir Samaddar at the discussion on the Draft Resolution



(From left to right): Jennifer Hyndman, William Walters, Federico Rahola

Conference Panels

Panel I: Global Compact on Refugees and Migrants: Promises and Paradoxes

Governing Refugees at a Distance - Bandana Purkayastha

The paper looked at the classification and the changing of governance towards people that are forced to flee, or rendered stateless due to persecution, conflict or other scenarios beyond their control. It argued that though they acknowledged the difference between refugees, migrants and IDPs, such classifications only served to further problematise issues of displacement as they are often employed as tools for states' evasions of obligations and responsibilities. The presentation also examined the ways in which state powers utilised the rhetorical language of humanitarianism whilst continuing to implement measures that restricted movements and support for those displaced. Further to this, the paper underscored the ways in which states exercise routine yet covert violence to deny asylum or govern the movements of refugees and migrants, this has resulted not only in the trauma of displaced persons, but in some instances, death. Moreover, states have created spaces that confine the free movements of refugees, whilst outsourcing and effectively creating private industries that manage mass institutionalisation, through use of detention centres that profit from refugee management. Such "governing from a distance" can be seen in Australian, European and US policies towards asylum seekers. Due to the nature of laws that pertain to private industries, human rights groups and NGOs are denied access to these facilities.

Deepening the Divide: Global Compacts and the Unofficial Pacts that Keep Refugees in Place - Jennifer Hyndman

The paper looked at neoliberal capitalism taking shape in the form of loans to host countries of refugees and migrants, as a solution to protracted situations. As a result, host country states are offered new financial incentives for managing and keeping refugees on their territories. However, in reality, Hyndman warned that this is far from a solution as most refugees experience protracted displacements for more than five years, with most having little or no prospect of returning to their country of origin. The paper also challenged the new global compact, arguing it is premised on two divides of its own. Firstly, the existence of two compacts, one for refugees and another for migrants, can lead one to forget that protracted situations can and often does affect both categories. Secondly, it noted that there is the divide of the North and South that serves as a "continuum of the status quo" reinforcing the paradigm of containment. Thus, the paper argued that the compact has done very little to alter the conditions of protracted refugees. Furthermore, it asserted that concessions, loans or debt relief made to host countries only exacerbated protracted displacements. While acknowledging that such measures are not root causes of displacements, it concluded that they do in fact fuel and deepen divisions within regions paradoxically characterised by such mobility and immobility.

Panel II: Racialisation of Migration: Race, Religion, Gender and Other Faultlines in Forced Migration

Subalterity in Education within the Context of Displacement III: from Ideology to Practice - Ranu Basu

With evidence drawn from Basu's experiences in Toronto and Havana, the paper made the argument for a shift in the educational system, from the dominant neoliberal paradigm,

which she termed as 'Education as Cultural Imperialism' to a critical ideology, which it termed as 'Education as Praxis'. It suggested that a shift towards education as praxis fosters conditions that encourage peace-building processes: building collective dialogue, increasing consciousness of broader structures and encouraging youth empowerment. However, the paper also warned that education can be a form of cultural imperialism, fostering social polarisation, inequities and hierarchies, all of which work against peace-building. To empirically demonstrate education as praxis, the paper presented a case study from the Toronto context where the majority of migrants are economic migrants, and where migrant populations are geographically concentrated in urban areas. Within this context forced migrants have collaborated with indigenous activist groups to create subaltern cosmopolitan resistance. Here it observed that despite differences in terms of race, religion, gender and other faultlines, factors such as shared experiences of trauma, multiple groups living in close proximity and schools being sites of community building, have enabled the creation of multifarious integration. In particular, it looked at the education project, suggesting that schools are not merely sites of education, but are instead sites where civic activities take place, fostering peace-building processes. It also noted how the neoliberalisation of education has threatened peace-building through the closure of schools where such services take place and where there are larger migrant communities.

The Price to be Paid for a New Life - Sanja Bojanić

The paper highlighted the need for disability and mental health to be added to the axis of race, religion and gender, when discussing and dealing with issues of forced migration. It reflected on the text *We Refugees*, by Hannah Arendt, and the work of Frantz Fanon, to establish an operational mechanism where Arendt's optimism, established over 60 years ago, is shifted into what is known today as resilience. Drawing from Boris Cyrulnik's work on psychological resilience, the paper expressed how, when confronted with crisis, there are two different types of people. It used the French expressions "mal parti" and "bon parti" to denote these two groups. "Mal parti" was used to describe someone who had experienced a crisis but was unable to articulate it, making their ordeal an experience of trauma. On the other hand, "bon parti" was used to describe someone who had experienced a crisis, but since birth had been raised in protection and was therefore able overcome these situations, the end product of this being ordeal. The paper thus emphasised the importance of resilience as it is the way in which those who have been displaced continue to live after the shock of displacement and detachment from their mother tongue, birthplace and family. Moreover, by looking at resilience, the paper brought in the psychosocial aspects of mental health that are often left out due to the medicalising of the mental health discourse, where the cultural background and context of a person are often abandoned due to preference for a medical diagnosis.

Panel III: Power and Responsibility in the Global Protection System: Need to Redefine the Responsibility to Protect

Interrogating the Notion of Responsibility - Ranabir Samaddar

Drawing from his paper "Interrogating the Notion of Responsibility", Ranabir Samaddar argued that the protection of refugees is related to the principle of responsibility which comes along as a part of global governance. He stated that the notion of power is incomplete without the accompanying notion of responsibility. The history of India's famine of the 1870 tells us how the colonial rulers had framed the principle of responsibility to the colonised. The Indian famine in 1870s was used as a case in point. Lord Lytton (the then Governor General and Viceroy of India) had argued that the responsibility for the Indian famine lay with the Indians. The colonial state passed the blame onto Indian "natives", as

aply displayed in the phrase “death of an Indian, due to an Indian”. Such colonial discourse in India eventually brought up the idea of responsibility, public policy and urban governance, where responsibility predicated on power acquired a discriminatory history. In time all these produced the language of rights also along the accompanying notions of power and responsibility. The paper further stated that democracy itself had brought in this idea of responsibility, and it was no accident that Lytton's country Great Britain was a democratic country. Philosophically, the principle of responsibility had emerged mainly in terms of a Kantian understanding derived from the concept of autonomy. Mentioning Foucault's idea of “Technologies of the Self”, the paper argued that this had brought in the idea of responsibility towards the self and others, eventually giving birth to the modern idea of responsibility. Turning to the history of refugee laws and rights, and the 1951 Convention, Samaddar argued that the responsibility for the refugees was possible only through the exercise of the power of protection. This called for law. As he concluded, “Without law there is no refugee; because law produces the subject, and not vice versa.”

The Politics and Responsibility of Refugee Protection – Shibashis Chatterjee

The paper examined the making and unmaking of the political refugee. It asserted that as a refugee is a political being, there cannot be a notion of responsibility without the involvement of politicians and politics. It stated that within a liberalist structure, the idea of democracy results in peace making amongst citizens. This peace, the paper expounded, though not absolute peace, was about living with differences, resolving conflicts and not resorting to violence. However, it warned that internalisation of the domestic concept of peace could discourage “living with differences”. The paper then explained that cosmopolitanism was often a condition of global citizenship, giving the example of India whose administrative structure does not allow it to expand its territories to the refugees. It argued that governments were closing borders to refugees as they suspected acts of terrorism following the events of 9/11. Therefore, politicians needed to assume advocacy roles, changing the plight of refugees and espousing a humanitarian perspective. The paper acknowledged that “burden sharing” so far has been disproportionate, with nations assuming responsibility as acts of charity to maintain their national images. Instead, it reasoned that there needed to be politically feasible strategies which understood and protected refugees as a political being.

Panel IV: Statelessness in South Asia: International Conventions and the Need for New Initiatives

Stateless and Confined: Notes from India – Sahana Basavapatna

The paper examined the ability of the legal system to achieve incremental progress regarding statelessness through two cases. The Aziz case revolved around the question of statelessness within administrative and legal practice, detailing the indefinite detention of a foreigner in an Indian prison. Its mostly positive conclusion included guidelines submitted by the Amicus Curiae for how to deal with foreigners in a similar situation. This illustrated how through law and the operation of executive functions, there is a possibility for increasing the rights of refugees and other asylum seeker categories at the elusive policy level. The ongoing Mander case was noted as continuing this progress, as it argues for protection measures including the “clarity of legal status in conformity with national and international laws”. Though, as the paper said, the story of statelessness is incomplete, such cases offer hope.

Destinations: Where do Displaced People go to in South Asia? – Sanjoy Barbor

The paper began by introducing the need for new initiatives using a case study involving the life of an ethnic Assamese man in Bhutan. It considered issues that arise in areas of fractious realities, such as the symbolic Bodoland Territorial Area Districts. Most strikingly, it raised the issue of defining refugee law as denoted by the Red Cross and the fact that in such places, people are made more vulnerable when identified as outsiders. Furthermore, it suggested local state laws could often be subversively creative or abusive. The paper challenged us to consider: how to deal with the complicated historical origin of forced migrants and the displaced, and ways through which people can recover dignity and purpose, not least how spaces and dialogues can be created for people who are at risk if they do not mobilise politically and aggressively.

Nepali Speaking South Bhutanese Refugee Population in Nepal: Possibilities of Statelessness – Som Niroula

The paper described the plight of the Bhutanese population who were forcefully displaced to Nepal due to the Royal Government of Bhutan's numerous discriminatory laws. It raised the question as to what type of law was necessary. It outlined the futility of dialogues between the Nepalese and Bhutanese governments, and the challenges of refugee camps between 1990-1997. Most critically, the paper stressed the current issue of UNHCR's withdrawal of support and a closed resettlement process despite 6656 people living there. These people lack refugee documents, and are instead considered economic or illegal migrants, unable to return to Bhutan due to lack of dialogues. The paper proposes several steps, including but not limited to: regional protection mechanisms and bilateral/multilateral responses for care and protection and increased use of the local and provincial government, along with the empowerment of local communities on laws and policies.

Panel V: Global Capitalism and Refugee and Migrant Labour

Coloniality of Power: The Displaced and Claims of Justice – Ayse Caglar

The paper discussed the racialised and racialising aspects and logic of governance of appropriations, and practices of dispossession that wealth accumulations are founded on. It argued that in order to unearth relations of inequality and disparity underlying urban redevelopment, the framing of a new vocabulary and policies beyond forced migration as a distinct category is needed. The discussion focussed on the processes of racialisation of refugees and migrants, while exploring the emerging solidarities for social justice that coincides with the rise of racist and xenophobic developments. The paper also questioned benefits of global measures that confine but yet protect refugees and migrants with increasing securitisation measures and seek to move beyond the binaries of mobility and immobility.

Refugee Economy: An Inside of Global Capitalism – Byasdeb Dasgupta

The paper looked at the evolution of global capitalism in the post-World War II era that is situated within a competitive market environment. Under this regime of 'conducting business', labour has come to bear the risks of neoliberal global capitalism, making labour as cheap as possible over time. The paper argued that in order to ensure cheap labour, various schemes were also established by neoliberal capitalists within the market, such as the absorption of the labour force into informalised economies. It also argued that refugee economies and the continuing influxes of refugees help support this process of

informalisation, therefore, rather than being an abnormal phenomenon, such economies are in fact a normalizing aspect of global capitalism.

Challenges Faced by Asian Women Domestic Workers in the Gulf: A Comparison of Experiences from South India (Kerala), Sri Lanka, and the Philippines - Ilina Sen

The paper discussed the challenges that women domestic workers often face when they seek employment in foreign countries for economic reasons and compared the challenges and experiences of women from three different South Asian countries, India, Sri Lanka, and the Philippines. Contrary to popular understanding, these women are often the main income earners of impoverished families. Although marginal differences exist in each individual situation, there are also many commonalities such as exploitation, harassment, physical and sexual abuse amongst their experiences. In the extreme, cases of death of such workers have also been documented. Presently, the Philippines is unique in its position of introducing and sustaining a pre-migration training programme that aims to provide women migrant workers with basic skills prior to departure, offering them a level, however minimal, of formal protection.

Dreaming Mobility and Buying Vulnerability: The State of the Global Protection System for Migrants- S. Irudaya Rajan

The paper provided an insight into the system of emigration governance and practices in India. Underscoring some of the processes and practices that have mainly escaped scrutiny, it asserts that the Indian government lacks any policies that allow a better understanding on issues of refugees or migration. Highlighting the fact that the 2009 Emigration Bill of the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs had also never been tabled, with the Parliament remaining unresponsive for almost a decade, the paper argued that India remains lacking in legal and policy frameworks that can address migration issues in India, posing further risks to the rights and protection of all migrants, not least women domestic workers seeking employment on foreign soil.

Panel VI: Refugee and Migrant 'Crisis' in the European Mediterranean Region

Borders at the Geographical and Geopolitical Interface: The Crisis of Refugee Migration between Europe, Asia and Africa - David Newman

The paper gave an overview of the current migration issues facing the European, Asian and African region. It highlighted how a discourse of anti-migration has become increasingly prominent throughout Europe, aided by an international shift from globalisation to securitisation discourses, manifesting itself in the rebuilding of more stringent borders. The discussion also focussed on how conceptualisations of borders are rooted in power relations. One aspect in which this is evident is the European discourse that denies economic "migrants" who seek material survival, whilst accepting political "refugees" who have suffered religious and/or political persecution. The deliberate choice in who to accept, and who to deny, as the paper points out, is a function of domestic concerns and domestic politics.

The Leash and the Rip: Struggles and Conflicts Beneath Migrants and Asylum Seekers 'Secondary Movements' - Federico Rahola

The paper sought to re-politicise the European Union's discourse of "secondary movements", suggesting that the term is a site of struggle between the autonomy of migrants and the regime of control. It used the metaphor of a leash to symbolise the notion of "secondary movements", whereby a leash is used to contain the person within a country

and where tensions, political or otherwise, are felt more keenly as the person moves further away from their point of arrival. Furthermore, it stated that the leash is a symbol of possession that allows for control and surveillance. Thus, the only way to release oneself from this “leash” is to cause a “rip” by exiting the spatial and political confines to which the leash extends.

Techno-Border-Scapes: Protection, Survival and Belonging - Giorgia Dona

The paper combines the notions of techno-scape and border-scape, coining the term “techno-border-scape” to describe how borders and sites of transit have been transformed by the use of new technologies. This has been done against the backdrop of Europe’s increasingly temporary responses to migration leading to sites of transition and contestation. In particular, it looked at the way in which the configuration of protection is shaped by the use of mobile technologies. The case study used in the paper to support this showed how a mobile phone was used by a Syrian refugee to monitor the safety of a route across Greece, ensuring safe passage. Furthermore, the paper also suggested that mobile technologies have allowed for new digital forms of humanitarianism and activism. However, it cautioned against notions of technological determinism, and encouraged the audience to seek to better understanding underlying the complexities of these “techno-border-scapes”.

Some Conditions for a European Institutional Arrangements for Refugees – Petar Bojanić

The paper proposed an interesting method of viewing the institution of Europe. It proposed that Europe, as an institution, should be viewed as a counter-institution as it works against the institutions of its sovereign states. Thus, it suggested that Europe plays an incredibly important role in this migration crisis, as without it, there would be much greater conflict. It further suggested that If we find existing institutions to be unjust in that they have restricted access for migrants, then “community action” must be driven by Europe.

Panel VII: The Asian Migration Scenario: Afghanistan and Turkey

Resource Crisis and Aspects of Internal Displacement in Afghanistan - Mujib Ahmad Azizi

In Afghanistan, droughts, desertification, mudslides and wildfires have created a natural crisis. The paper stated that 1,400,000 people in Afghanistan face food shortage, leading them to migrate to different places. Economic and ideological crises include lack of work, education and changing living patterns. Furthermore, manmade disasters in Afghanistan include war, human right violations and rampant suicide attacks, not least internal displacements that are linked with protracted years of conflict. The resource needs of IDPs were also highlighted and primarily identified as health, food, housing, education and social services. Action taken thus far, is in the development of a framework that would strengthen the effectiveness of migration governance. According to reports to date, a number of IDPs have seen favourable outcomes by such actions. However most IDPs still remain in deplorable conditions.

Afghan Migration in the Borderlands: Centre, Periphery and Back Again – Paolo Novak

In this paper, the various elements that lie behind the concept of borderlands was identified. It highlighted that traditional borderlands have had a territorial dimension and considered as the edges of the state. However, they have acquired centrality in defining national and regional political settlements. The paper went on to discuss the story of an estate in Central Italy that had started from agricultural land to sharecropper houses and later as tourist accommodation, before being acquired for reception centres for asylum seekers in 2011. The owner of this estate and others similar to this stand to profit from such asylum receptions.

This highlights the uneven development associated between Italy, migrants, and others displaced, such as the sharecroppers.

Revisiting the Syrian Refugee Crisis -Priya Singh

The paper began on the note that in recent times, a supposed 'European refugee crisis' was unfurling both within and outside Europe and had brought to the table both a humanitarian and a political dilemma. People in large numbers were hosted in 'informal camps' or in 'institutionalised spaces'. In 2016, the European Union entered into a pact with Turkey that saw Turkey's willingness to secure borders, and host irregular migrants in exchange for monetary incentives. This saw a sharp decline in the number of uncontrolled migrants arriving in Greece through Turkey. However, for the Syrians, Turkey was not a preferred destination due to its autocratic way of governance that cannot guarantee safe and just treatment of the refugees. To date, there has been much unrest and protests by the Syrian refugees as human rights groups. The paper raised questions regarding alternative solutions, as well as the viability of projects such as the Belt and Road Initiative.

Panel VIII: The Asian Migration Scenario: The Rohingya Refugee 'Crisis'

The Imagined Terrain - Meghna Guhathakurta

The paper described how discussions surrounding borders have been sparked by the passage of Rohingyas into Bangladesh, with particular attention being paid to the border between the Rakhine State and the Chittagong area. The land border between Myanmar and Bangladesh is marked by fences with high voltage electrical wiring. The paper also explored issues of justice, reflecting on the depredation of women through the process of forced deportation which she defines as a criminal pursuit. It shared that women and children make up the majority of the population in the refugee camps. However, the immense population of children, their stateless circumstance, and the violence committed against their parents and people has had consequences for the development of these children. Some of these children, for example, seek justice through violent means. These have been foundational to the gender-based perceptions of refugee entitlements and citizenship. Citizenship should be the primary entitlement and enacted in the constitutional provisions of the countries concerned. Countries such as Myanmar, now lack credibility before the international community to uphold its jurisprudential entity as it has failed in its "Responsibility to Protect".

Cause of Flight from Rakhine - notably 'Genocidal Intent' - Sumbul Rizvi

The presentation explained that there were three main reasons for Rohingya departures from the Northern Rakhine State: (i) violent civilian persecutions as a result of direct genocidal attacks, (ii) the omnipresent impunity of the state against the Tatmadaw (Armed Forces) and non-state armed groups and (iii) the alleged crimes of apartheid. It showed that Myanmar recognised 135 ethnic groups including Rohingyas; however, Rohingyas have since been stripped of their citizenship following years of crusade. With regard to the humanitarian response, it praised the Government of Bangladesh (GoB) who has opened up its border in spite of population density strains and the propensity of natural calamities in the area. The GoB have allocated 6000 acres of land for the installation of temporary camps with the support of locals; however, the quality of shelter, health, nutrition, water and sanitation services remain substantially lower than minimum standards.

The lack of durability of living conditions particularly with advent of cyclone season has raised further concerns regarding the funding needed for life-saving programmes. The number of people affected due to monsoon from May 11, 2018 to Nov 4, 2018 was well

above the mark of 55,000. Furthermore, the monsoon left 6,223 people displaced, 59 people injured and 1 person dead. The reported numbers of persons affected due to landslides, windstorms and floods were 18,252, 27,005 and 6,327 respectively. The reforestation programme and key services delivered to the refugees were discussed in detail. The key services include education for children, community-based protection mechanism, psychosocial activities, primary health centre facilities, shelter upgrade kits, WASH hygiene kits, total cargo handling, inter sector information services and equipment, cash/in-kind livelihood support, food assistance and other necessary benefits.

The main needs, challenges and gaps were highlighted by the following five points- (i) the need for safe land and access to resilient community shelters during hazards, (ii) continued access to camps that requires constant maintenance, (iii) protection from the risk of disease, especially the water borne disease, (iv) increased services to SGBV survivors and (v) propositioning and time clearance of vital materials for emergency response.

Roundtable Discussion

NRC and Possibilities of Statelessness

Nasreen Chowdhury explored the faultlines of ethnicity and religion. She spoke on the porousness of Indian borders, highlighting Assam's history in relation to Bangladeshi tribes, Hindus and non-Hindu Assamese, and how nationalist ideology has provided a foundation for the state to deal with the National Register for Citizens (NRC). The interplay of objective and subjective identities in borderland and heartland regions, and the integration of political boundaries are, she claimed, the foundation upon which categories and hierarchies of claims and placement are built. Thus, her presentation was concerned with the inclusion and exclusion of people from these established categories. Chowdhury explored the socio-economic structure of politics as well as society's role in shaping power relations. She raised the assertion that solidarity is what often emerges from such issues. Since solidarity is an expression of human will and unity – race, religion and resources can us help understand the theory of solidarity more critically; with cosmopolitan and secular solidarity adding other dimensions to the process. Chowdhury drew attention to those who are left beyond the national ambit, with reference to Hindus being excluded from NRC. She, therefore, encouraged the audience to engage with discussions regarding questions of nationality particularly considering the ambiguity and political nature of questions regarding who is an outsider and who an insider.

Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury began by describing the ethnic and religious diversity of Assam and India's north-east. Looking into the political ideologies of statelessness and the NRC, he referenced Ranabir Samaddar's reflections on the role of birth-rights in securing citizenship rights. Moreover, he expressed severe concerns regarding the equity of the NRC process, particularly in regard to the impossibility of villagers in remote areas acquiring documents to prove ownership of their land and thus, their identity. He recalled how, in the 1950s, birth certificates were scarcely attained as most new-borns were delivered by midwives and were, therefore, not registered at government offices or maternity wards. He emphasised that Indian courts, already burdened with cases of extortion, have looked for labour from across borders, as overtones of religious tension in detention centres have tainted involvements in Assam. He concluded by saying that, in India, the NRC presents a lot of scope for enquiring into the justifiability of the process that relies on documents.

Vipin Tripathi spoke on the plight of Bangla speaking Assamese and the complexities behind why these people are considered Bangladeshi. He stated that 4 million people have been identified as stateless by the government and that these people often engage in crimes and protests or are the victims of violence. The statistics offered regarding stateless people made clear the importance of the availability of documents and highlighted that admissibility was dependent on the validity of certificates in possession. Tripathi stressed that Bangladeshi citizens should not be looked at as infiltrators or aliens as they have been in the country and have worked for the state for many years and should not be branded by their religion. He concluded with the hope of complete absence from discrimination.



Vipin Tripathi, Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury, Nasreen Chowdhory and Paula Banerjee (from left to right) in a Roundtable Discussion on the 'NRC and Possibilities of Statelessness'



The Roundtable Discussion in session



Field trip to the erstwhile settlements of Calcutta's old cosmopolitan migrants: Synagogue Street



Field trip to Calcutta's labour migrant quarters: in the vicinity of the Khidirpur docks



Preparation at the CRG office for the Research Workshop and International Conference

RESOLUTION

Kolkata Declaration

30 November 2018

The New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants (2016) recognised that the existing international regime of refugee and migrant protection needed a new push towards strengthening measures for protection. It was decided that two new global compacts – one for refugees and the other for migration will be adopted by the UN. However, questions arise: How different will be the global compacts and what will be the promises and paradoxes they will come with? Through a six-day research workshop and international conference organised in Kolkata by the Calcutta Research Group on *The State of the Global Protection System for Refugees and Migrants* (25-30 November 2018) these questions were explored in the backdrop of global and regional realities of population flows. Academics, activists, functionaries of international humanitarian institutions, and journalists from 18 countries all over the world participated in the event. A resolution, called the Kolkata Declaration was drafted through consultation with experts and adopted at the concluding day of the event on 30 November 2018.

The Kolkata Conference on “The State of the Global Protection System for Refugees and Migrants”

Noting that,

1. With global refugee flows manifestly worsening in the last decade and the perceived global migrant crisis appearing deeper and more expansive than ever, international efforts at various levels towards human rights and humanitarian protection remain paltry and inconsistent. The refugee and the migrant remain at the same time a marginal category despite years of efforts to reverse this marginalisation. In this situation, the principle of global responsibility as a function of power, framed for instance as the “Responsibility to Protect”, seems to have reached an equally striking but inglorious end. Meanwhile, local, regional, customary, bilateral, and other multilateral effort to provide humanitarian protection and the protection of the rights of the refugees and migrants have continued as ignored but valuable instances of human dignity;
2. In a situation where population flows are increasingly mixed and massive in nature and the limits and unwillingness of States to bear primary responsibility of the refugees and migrants are becoming apparent, the United Nations initiative for Global Compacts on Refugees and Migrants with a whole of society approach covering various stakeholders including business and commercial segments, has been considered as opportunity for the world to reconsider old approaches to refugee and migrant protection;
3. This situation also being marked by uneven geographies of protection in terms of sanctuaries, third countries, hotspots, border zones, safe corridors, discriminating labour regimes with unequal labour rights, remittance-centric segments of global economy, as well as places characterized by intense financial and security operations, the UN initiative considers refugees and migrants as subjects of global development;

4. This situation demands sustainable resolutions; the new global initiative advocates the need for globally relevant comprehensive response framework, such as the comprehensive refugee response framework, and aims to ensure the rights of the refugees and migrants through technology-aided management that would circumvent borders and boundaries and cope with the complex reality of global migration;
5. Recalling also the colonial times when industries like plantation, railway construction, etc., called for global supply chains of labour, today's situation of unprecedented financialisation of capital and other resources including land, calls for similar supply of labour in care, entertainment, construction, waste reprocessing, and a range of logistical services and industries. Labouring subjects work without any civil, political, social, and economic rights given to citizens; with one of the central concerns in this scenario being the way in which gender hierarchies are made and unmade by migration of sex workers, their control by entertainment industry owners, governments, immigration, police, and surveillance rules, and labour norms;
6. Discrimination and exclusion based on race, religion, caste, ability, sexuality, gender and resources cannot be tolerated. This situation refuses to privilege majoritarian, male, and monolithic cultural values, which may dispossess refugee, migrant or stateless women undermining their individuality, subjectivity, citizenship and the ability to make political and social choices;
7. With all these characterising the refugee economies or the immigrant economies around the world, the situation exhibits (a) close relation between refugees, other victims of forced migration, illegal immigrants, and the IDPs, (b) likewise close connection between the refugee economy and the informal economy as a whole, (c) interface of formal and informal labour; and (d) inclusion of refugee and migrant labour in national economies and global economy accompanied by exclusion from the political sphere of democracy; and (f) the close relations between race, religion, resources, and gender in producing refugees and aliens; (g) consequently the new urgency of combining labour rights, political rights, and norms of justice; (h) and subjecting the global regime of protection to other parallel at times counter norms of justice and freedom;
8. Also, this situation is marked above all by a massive global presence of stateless people, i.e., population groups obliged to live without the protection of a state, while membership of a state remains the norm. Notwithstanding rules in the realm of public international law in response to the problem of statelessness, statelessness has affected refugees, with protracted refugee-hood eventually resulting in statelessness, and the distinction between refugee-hood and statelessness increasingly wearing thin. Besides, long residing residents and nationals of a state are at times becoming stateless without being refugees due to new citizenship policies of a state; thus emerging from succession of states or territorial reorganisations, statelessness has also spread due to persecution of minorities and growing majoritarian bias of states, leading the states at times to expel citizens or inhabitants;
9. As in South Asia, with inter-state relations fraught with disputes concerning borders and cross-border movements, the states have progressively tightened their citizenship criteria, thus creating growing pockets of statelessness at their cultural and geographical margins, and occasioning ideal conditions for inducing statelessness. To these conditions has added another aspect of statelessness in the region – resulting from massive labour migration – official and unofficial – between

states. States have demanded migrants' repatriation, which has been refused by the neighbour states, leaving the groups in question stateless;

10. Also in this situation the existing legal regime proving inadequate to deal with the problem of statelessness, the experiences of postcolonial regions like South Asia call for greater attention in order to improve the said legal regime; particularly, judicial experiences and the varied nature of the existing municipal and international laws call for framing of distinct regional laws relating to the stateless in different world regions;
11. With wars raging from Iraq, Syria, Israel-Palestine, Yemen, and Afghanistan to areas of Central Asia and the Caucasus region and expulsions and stripping of citizenship in South Asia, Southeast Asia, and the Indian Ocean region, the Asian region is now one of the most volatile in terms of population flows with the refugee crisis reaching unprecedented heights - the massive exodus of Rohingyas from Myanmar being the most recent instance. All these have followed the still unparalleled population movements in the wake of the partition of the Indian sub-continent, and have now produced in the last few decades refugees, asylum seekers, immigrant labour, and trafficked girls, children, and women. Added to these has been the issue of migrant labour flows into Malaysia, India, Turkey, and other countries from other Asian countries - a situation facing strict border controls, violent borderlands, no labour rights, and below subsistence wages. The Asian situation thus calls for greater scrutiny of the state of the global protection regime for refugees, stateless persons and migrants;
12. The Asian situation unambiguously calls for further efforts towards upholding the safety, dignity, and protection of refugees, asylum seekers, the stateless persons, labour migrants, and the internally displaced persons, greater dialogues at various levels - state, regional, civil society, bilateral, and city;

Declares that,

1. The right to move is a universal human right and any restriction on that right cannot be subject to policies and measures that violate the dignity of human beings;
2. The refugees, migrants, stateless and other displaced persons are central figures in any protection system, legal regime, government and societal institutions;
3. The idea of a global compact must acknowledge the practices of protection at various regional, country, local, customary, city, and other scales. Any global compact aiming at sustainable resolutions must be based on wide-ranging dialogues involving refugees, migrants, stateless persons and groups defending them;
4. Any protection framework - global and local - must combat discrimination based on race, religion, caste, ability, sexuality, gender and class that affect rights and dignity of all human beings;
5. In any redesigning of the global framework of protection, perpetrators of violence and displacement must be held accountable for their actions;
6. Refugees, migrants and stateless persons working as informal labourers are entitled to social and economic rights;
7. Stateless persons should be prioritised for protection. Restoration of their citizenship rights is a global responsibility;

8. In the context of widespread forced migration and statelessness in Asia, a regime of protection along the lines of the African Charter of Human and People's Rights and its regional systems and institutions is imperative. Such a Charter must involve specific provisions of human rights, including labour rights, of migrants, refugees, asylum-seekers and stateless persons to ensure the dignity and rights of all.



Discussion of the Draft Resolution

PROGRAMME

Research Workshop

Day 1: 25 November 2018

Venue: Pearl Hotel

- 05:30 pm -06:00pm **Registration & Tea**
- 06:00 pm -08:00pm **Inaugural Session**
Chair: Anita Sengupta, MCRG, Kolkata
- 06:00 pm -06:10pm **Welcome Address: Anita Sengupta, MCRG, Kolkata**
- 06:10 pm -06:20pm **Introductory Remarks by Neha Naqvi, Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, New Delhi**
- 06:20 pm -07:00pm **Outline of Organisational Structure of Workshop:**
Paula Banerjee, Sanskrit University & MCRG, Kolkata & Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury, Rabindra Bharati University & MCRG, Kolkata
- 07:00 pm -08:00pm **Inaugural Panel Discussion: Race and Migration in South Africa**
- **Laurence Juma, Rhodes University, Grahamstown**
-African Union's Refugee Management and Protection Framework and the Cooperation Agenda of the Global Compact on Refugees
 - **Melissa Steyn, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg**
-When Xenophobia is Afrophobia: Racialised Belonging at the Intersection of Race and Nation in Post-apartheid South Africa

Day 2: 26 November 2018

Venue: Hotel Hyatt Regency

- 09:30 am -10:30am **THEME LECTURE A**
Promises and Paradoxes of the Global Compacts on Refugees and Migrants: The Need for New Global, Regional and National Responses
Chair: Nasreen Chowdhory, University of Delhi, New Delhi & MCRG, Kolkata
- **Ranabir Samaddar, MCRG, Kolkata**
- Promises and Paradoxes of a Global Gaze

10:30 am -11:30am

THEME LECTURE B

Racialisation of Migration: Race, Religion, Gender, and Other Faultlines in Forced Migration

Chair: Sanja Bojanić, *Centre for Advanced Studies for South East Europe, University of Rijeka, Rijeka*

- **Paula Banerjee**, *Sanskrit University & MCRG, Kolkata*
- Responsibility to Protect: Questions of Race, Religion, Resource and the Unspoken Fourth

11:30 am - 12:00 pm

Tea

Room - 1 | | Module A

12:00 pm -01:30pm

Presentation and Discussion of Research Papers

Promises and Paradoxes of the Global Compacts on Refugees and Migrants: The Need for New Global, Regional and National Responses

Chair & Discussant: Nasreen Chowdhory, *University of Delhi, New Delhi & MCRG, Kolkata*

- **Buddha Singh Kepchhaki**, *Pravasi Nepali Coordination Committee, Kathmandu*
-The Global Compacts on Refugees and Migrants,
- **G.M.Arifuzzaman**, *Centre for Genocide Studies, University of Dhaka, Dhaka*
-Regional and Global Responses to the Rohingya Repatriation Process: Opportunities and Challenges
- **Rajkumar Nagarajah**, *Ministry of Policy Planning, Sri Lanka*
-Mitigation of the Negative Impacts of Migration and Maximization of its Benefits in Sri Lanka
- **Sucharita Sengupta**, *Graduate Institute of International and Developmental Studies, Geneva*
-Revisiting Statelessness and Global Protection Regime: The Rohingyas

Room - 2 | | Module B

12:00pm-01:30pm

Presentation and Discussion of Research Papers

Racialisation of Migration: Race, Religion, Gender, and Other Faultlines in Forced Migration

Chair & Discussant: Paula Banerjee, *Sanskrit University & MCRG, Kolkata*

- **Ajeet Kumar Pankaj**, *Indira Gandhi National Tribal University, Manipur*
-Buddhism and Dalit Migrants: Interrogating Everyday Forms of Counter-hegemonic Assertion
- **Daman Kaur Sethi**, *Child Rights Fellow, Assam*
-The NRC Discord
- **Matan Kaminer**, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
-From 'A light unto the nations' to 'the land of the white man': Global Migration and Recent Shifts in the Racialization of Migrants in Israel
- **Reshmi Banerjee**, *Institute of Social Sciences, Delhi*
-Hostility in History, Friction in Future: An Account of Marginalization in Myanmar
- **Sajeed Ahamed Fahurdeen**, *Equitas, Sri Lanka*
-Forced Migration Caused by an Internal Armed Conflict in Sri Lanka: a Possible Reason for the Religious and Ethnic Violence after the War

01:30 pm – 02:30 pm

Lunch

02:30 pm – 03:30 pm:

THEME LECTURE C

Power and Responsibility in the Global Protection System in the Context of Mixed and Massive Population Flows; The Need to redefine the "Responsibility to Protect"

Chair: Ranu Basu, *Department of Geography, York University, Toronto*

▪ **Shibashis Chatterjee**, *School of International Relations & Strategic Studies, Jadavpur University, Kolkata*

-Population Flows, Refugees, and the Responsibility to Protect in the Global Protection System

03:30 pm – 04:30 pm

THEME LECTURE D

Refugee and Immigrant Economies; Privatisation of Care and Protection

Chair: Hari Sharma, *Alliance for Social Dialogue, Social Science Baha, Kathmandu*

▪ **Ranabir Samaddar**, *MCRG, Kolkata*

-Global Capitalism and Refugee and Migrant Labor

04:30 pm – 05:30 pm

Face to Face Interaction about her experience of working with UNHCR in Afghanistan, Turkey, and Bangladesh
Nayana Bose, *UNHCR, New Delhi*

06:00 pm – 07:00 pm

Light and Sound Display at Jorasanko Thakur Bari

Day 3: 27 November 2018

Venue: Hotel Hyatt Regency

Room – 1 | | Module C

09:30 am –11:00am

Presentation and Discussion of Research Papers

Power and Responsibility in the Global Protection System in the Context of Mixed and Massive Population Flows; The Need to Redefine the "Responsibility to Protect"

Chair & Discussant: Shibashis Chatterjee, *School of International Relations & Strategic Studies, Jadaupur University, Kolkata*

- **Aditi Mukherjee**, *MCRG, Kolkata*
-Reining in the Trickle and the Floods? Migration, Governance and Evolving Regime of Shelter in Late Colonial Calcutta, 1939-1947
- **Mausumi Chetia**, *International Institute of Social Studies, Hague*
-The State's Role vis-à-vis the Responsibility to Protect: The Case of Internally Displaced People due to Riverbank Erosion, Assam (India)
- **Swatilekha Bhattacharya**, *Vidyasagar University, Midnapore*
-Accepting the Responsibility to Protect as an International Norm: The Structure and Implementation

Room – 2 | | Module D

09:30 am –11:00am

Presentation and Discussion of Research Papers

Refugee and Immigrant Economies; Privatisation of Care and Protection

Chair & Discussant: Ranabir Samaddar, *MCRG, Kolkata*

- **Apala Kundu**, *MCRG, Kolkata*
-Immigrant Economies and 'Economic War': Literary Reflections on the Expulsion of Asians from East Africa
- **Irene Peano**, *University of Lisbon, Lisbon*
-Refugeeisation of the Agricultural Labor Force? Humanitarian Spectacles in and Around Italian Agro-industrial Enclaves
- **Janaina Galvao**, *Consultant, Brazil*
-Bias Towards Skilled Migration in Brazil during the Lula Era: Influence of the Knowledge-Based Economy Paradigm
- **Jhumpa Bose**, *P. N. Das College, Palta*
-Migrant Labourers in Barrackpore Industrial Zone during the Early Twentieth Century: Health and Education Care by Government and Non-Government Sectors

- **Shatabdi Das**, *MCRG, Kolkata*
-Migrants, Work and Sustenance in the Coalfields of Raniganj

11:00 am – 11:30 am

Tea

11:30 am – 12:30 pm

THEME LECTURE E

Statelessness, International Conventions and the Need for New Initiatives

Chair: Federico Rahola, *DISFOR, University of Genova, Genova*

- **Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury**, *Rabindra Bharati University & MCRG, Kolkata*

-Addressing the New Frontiers of Statelessness

12:30 pm – 01:30 pm

THEME LECTURE F

Migrants and Movements across Asia: Common Features with the European Scenario

Chair: Meghna Guhathakurta, *Research Initiatives, Bangladesh, Dhaka*

- **Anita Sengupta**, *MCRG, Kolkata*

-Migrants and Movements Across Asia: Mobility, Global Migration Governance and the European Response

01:30 pm – 02:30 pm

Lunch

Room – 1 | | Module E

02:30 pm – 04:00 pm

Presentation and Discussion of Research Papers

Statelessness, International Conventions and the Need for New Initiatives

Chair & Discussant: Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury, *Rabindra Bharati University & MCRG, Kolkata*

- **Abdul Kalam Azad**, *Independent Researcher, Assam*
-How Anti-Immigrant Movements in Assam have made the Immigrants Resilient: A Post Draft-NRC Analysis
- **Jyotsna Srivastava**, *Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi*
-Statelessness and Gendered Claim of States
- **M. Ibrahim Wani**, *University of Kashmir, Srinagar*
-Migrants, Crises & Statelessness: Exploring Media Representations of Rohingya Refugees in India

- **Roopshree Joshi**, *World Education, Kathmandu*
- 'We are Waiting' - the Aspirations of Tibetan Children in Nepal

Room – 2 | | Module F

02:30 pm – 04:00pm **Presentation and Discussion of Research Papers**

**Migrants and Movements Across Asia:
Common Features with the European Scenario**

Chair & Discussant: Meghna Guhathakurta,
Research Initiatives, Bangladesh, Dhaka

- **Aditi Sabbarwal**, *UNHCR, New Delhi*
- Refugee Livelihoods in India & Turkey - A Comparative Study
- **Angela Smith**, *University of New South Wales, Sydney*
- West Sentinel: An Island Solution?
- **Santi Sarkar**, *Vidyasagar University, Midnapore*
- Refugees, Asylum and Threat Perceptions: The Recent Cases of Rohingyas in South Asia and Syrian Refugees in Europe

04:00 pm – 04:30 pm **Tea**

04:30 pm – 05:30pm **Face-to-Face Discussion on 'Right to Return' with
Lucy Nusseibeh**, *Middle East Nonviolence and
Democracy (MEND), East Jerusalem*

Day 4: 28 November 2018

Venue: Hotel Hyatt Regency

09:30 am – 11:00am **Discussion of Position Papers for Modules A, B,C**
Chair: Priya Singh, *MCRG, Kolkata*

11:00 am – 11:30 am **Tea**

11:30 am – 01:00pm **Discussion of Position Papers for Modules D, E,F**
Chair: Priya Singh, *MCRG, Kolkata*

01:00 pm – 02:00 pm **Lunch**

02:00 pm – 07:00pm **Kolkata, A Migrant City: Field Trip**

International Conference

Day 1: 29 November 2018

Venue: Hotel Hyatt Regency

09:00 am -09:30am	Registration & Tea
09:30 am -11:00am	Inaugural Session
09:30 am -09:40am	Chair: Prasanta Ray , MCRG, Kolkata
09:40 am -09:50am	Welcome Address: Anita Sengupta , MCRG, Kolkata
09:50 am -10:00am	Introductory Remarks: Stefan Mentschel , Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, New Delhi
10:00 am -10:55am	Inaugural Address: Stefanie Kron , Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, Berlin -Cities of Refuge and Solidarity: Achievements and Challenges (co-authored by Henrik Lebuhn , Humboldt Universität zu Berlin)
10:55 am -11:00am	Vote of Thanks: Apala Kundu , MCRG, Kolkata

11:00 am - 11:30 am Tea

Room - 1 | | Panel - I

11:30 am -01:00pm	Global Compact on Refugees and Migrants: Promises and Paradoxes Moderator: Nasreen Chowdhory , University of Delhi, New Delhi & MCRG, Kolkata Discussant: Manish K. Jha , Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai & MCRG, Kolkata ▪ Bandana Purkayastha , Sociology & Asian/Asian American Studies, University of Connecticut, Connecticut -Governing Refugees at a Distance ▪ Jennifer Hyndman , Departments of Social Science and Geography, & Centre for Refugee Studies, York University, Toronto -Deepening the Divide: Global Compacts and the Unofficial Pacts that Keep Refugees in Place
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Room - 2 | | Panel - II

11:30 am -01:00pm

Racialisation of Migration: Race, Religion, Gender and Other Faultlines in Forced Migration

Moderator & Discussant: Sumona DasGupta,
Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA), New Delhi & MCRG, Kolkata

- **Ranu Basu,** *Department of Geography, York University, Toronto*
-Subalterity in Education within the Context of Displacement: From Ideology to Practice
- **Sanja Bojanić,** *Centre for Advanced Studies for South East Europe, University of Rijeka, Rijeka*
-The Price to be Paid for a New Life

01:00 pm - 02:00 pm

Lunch

Room - 1 | | Panel - III

02:00 pm -03:30pm

Power and Responsibility in the Global Protection System: Need to Redefine the "Responsibility to Protect"

Moderator and Discussant: K M Parivelan, *Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai & MCRG Kolkata*

- **Ranabir Samaddar,** *MCRG, Kolkata*
- Interrogating the Notion of Responsibility
- **Shibashis Chatterjee,** *Department of International Relations & Strategic Studies, Jadavpur University, Kolkata*

- The Politics and Responsibility of Refugee Protection

Room - 2 | | Panel - IV

02:00 pm -03:30pm

Statelessness in South Asia: International Conventions and the Need for New Initiatives

Moderator: Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury,
Rabindra Bharati University & MCRG, Kolkata

Discussant: Sudeep Basu, *School of Social Sciences, Central University of Gujarat, Gandhinagar & MCRG, Kolkata*

- **Sahana Basavapatna**, *Factum Law, Bangalore & MCRG, Kolkata*
-Confronting 'the man without a country': International Statelessness Law in 21st century South Asia
- **Sanjay Barbora**, *Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Guwahati & MCRG, Kolkata*
-"Destinations: Where do displaced people go to in South Asia?"
- **Som Niroula**, *Alliance for Social Dialogue, Kathmandu*
-Nepali Speaking South Bhutanese Refugee Population in Nepal: Possibilities of Statelessness

03:30 pm – 04:00 pm

Tea

Room -1 | | Panel -V

04:00 pm -06:00pm

Global Capitalism and Refugee and Migrant Labour

Moderator: Anjan Chakrabarti, *Department of Economics, Calcutta University, Kolkata*

Discussant: Surabhi Singh, *Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi*

- **Ayşe Çağlar**, *Cultural and Social Anthropology, University of Vienna, Austria*
- "Coloniality of Power", the Displaced and Claims of Justice
- **Byasdeb Dasgupta**, *Department of Economics, University of Kalyani, Kalyani & MCRG, Kolkata*
- Refugee Economy – An Inside of Global Capitalism
- **Irina Sen**, *Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai & MCRG, Kolkata*
- Challenges Faced by Asian Women Domestic Workers in the Gulf: A Comparison of Experiences from South India (Kerala), Sri Lanka, and the Philippines
- **S Irudaya Rajan**, *Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA), Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram*
- Dreaming Mobility and Buying Vulnerability: The State of the Global Protection System for Migrants

Room - 2 | | Panel - VI

04:00 pm -06:00pm

Refugee and Migrant 'Crisis' in the European/ Mediterranean Region

Moderator: Sanjukta Bhattacharya
Jadavpur University, Kolkata

Discussant: William Walters, *Department of Political Science and Department of Sociology & Anthropology, Carleton University, Ottawa*

- **David Newman**, *Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Politics and Government, Ben-Gurion University, Beersheba*
 - Borders at the Geographical and Geopolitical Interface: The Crisis of Refugee Migration between Europe, Asia and Africa
- **Federico Rahola**, *DISFOR, University of Genova, Genova*
 - The Leash and the Rip: Struggles and Conflicts Beneath Migrants and Asylum Seekers 'Secondary Movements'
- **Giorgia Dona**, *Forced Migration and Refugee Studies & Centre for Migration, Refugees and Belonging, University of East London, London*
 - Techno Border-Scapes: Protection, Survival and Belonging
- **Petar Bojanić**, *Centre for Ethics, Law and Applied Philosophy, Belgrade, & Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, University of Belgrade, Centre for Advanced Studies-South East Europe, University of Rijeka, Belgrade and Rijeka*
 - Some Conditions for a European Institutional Arrangements for Refugees

Day 2: 30 November 2018

Venue: Hotel Hyatt Regency

Room - 1 | | Panel - VII

09:30 am -11:00am

The Asian Migration Scenario: Afghanistan and Turkey

Moderator: Hari Sharma, *Alliance for Social Dialogue, Social Science Baha, Kathmandu*

Discussant: David Newman, *Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Politics and Government, Ben-Gurion University, Beersheba*

- **Mujib Ahmad Azizi**, *Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit, Kabul*
 - Resource Crisis and Aspects of Internal Displacement in Afghanistan
- **Paolo Novak**, *Development Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, London*
 - Afghan Migration in the Borderlands: Centre, Periphery and Back Again
- **Priya Singh**, *MCRG, Kolkata*
 - Revisiting the Syrian Refugee Crisis

Room -2 | | Roundtable Discussion

09:30 am -11:00am

The Asian Migration Scenario: NRC and Possibilities of Statelessness

Moderator: Paula Banerjee, *Sanskrit University & MCRG, Kolkata*

- **Nasreen Chowdhory**, *University of Delhi, New Delhi & MCRG, Kolkata*
- **Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury**, *Rabindra Bharati University & MCRG, Kolkata*
- **Vipin Tripathi**, *IIT Delhi, New Delhi*

11:00 am - 11:30 am

Tea

11:30 am -01:00pm

Discussion of the Draft Resolution of the Conference and Adoption

Chair: Jennifer Hyndman, *Departments of Social Science and Geography, & Director, Centre for Refugee Studies, York University, Toronto*

01:00 pm - 02:00 pm

Lunch

Panel - VIII

02:00 pm -03:00pm

The Asian Migration Scenario: The Rohingya Refugee 'Crisis'

Moderator: Paula Banerjee, *Sanskrit University & MCRG, Kolkata*

- **Meghna Guhathakurta**, *Research Initiatives Bangladesh, Dhaka*
-The Imagined Terrain: Return, Citizenship and Justice in the Eyes of Rohingya Refugee Women
- **Sumbul Rizvi**, *United Nations Senior Coordinator for the Rohingya Response, Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh*

03:00 pm -04:00pm

Special Lecture

Chair: Sibaji Pratim Basu, *Political Science with Rural Administration, Vidyasagar University, Midnapore*

- **Itty Abraham**, *South East Asian Studies, National University of Singapore, Singapore*
-From Abject to Agent: The Rohingya Quest to Become Digitally Visible

Board Room: Press Meet

03:00 pm – 04:00pm: **Press Meet on the State of the Global Protection System for Refugees and Migrants**

Jennifer Hyndman, *Departments of Social Science and Geography, & Director, Centre for Refugee Studies, York University, Toronto*

Laurence Juma, *Rhodes University, Grahamstown*

Ranabir Samaddar, *MCRG, Kolkata*

William Walters, *Department of Political Science and Department of Sociology & Anthropology, Carleton University, Ottawa*

04:00 pm – 04:30 pm

Tea

04:30 pm -06:00pm

Concluding Session

Chair: Prasanta Ray, *MCRG, Kolkata*

04:30 pm -04:40pm

Brief Remarks: Ranabir Samaddar, *MCRG, Kolkata*

04:40 pm -04:50pm

Release of Refugee Watch (Special Issue on Migrants, Communities and Political Ecology followed by Comments: Paula Banerjee, *Sanskrit University & Editor, Refugee Watch, MCRG, Kolkata*

04:50 pm – 05:05pm

Release of the Resolution by Meghna Guhathakurta, *Research Initiatives, Bangladesh, Dhaka*

05:05 pm -05:50pm

Valedictory Address

William Walters, *Department of Political Science and Department of Sociology & Anthropology, Carleton University, Ottawa*

-Towards an Aerial Geography of Forced Migration

05:50 pm -06:00pm

Vote of Thanks: Aditi Mukherjee, *MCRG, Kolkata*

PUBLICATIONS

Publications

The following papers presented at the research workshop and international conference have been published in the lead research paper series of the Calcutta Research Group, Policies and Practices.

Ranabir Samaddar, "Promises and Paradoxes of a Global Gaze," *Migration and Governance I*, Policies and Practices, 98, Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group, (December 2018).

Paula Banerjee, "Responsibility to Protect: Questions of Race, Religion, Resource and the Unspoken Fourth," *Migration and Governance II*, Policies and Practices, 99, Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group, (December 2018).

Shibashis Chatterjee, "Population Flows, Refugees, and the Responsibility to Protect in the Global Protection System," *Migration and Governance III*, Policies and Practices, 100, Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group, (December 2018).

Ranabir Samaddar and Samita Sen, "Global Capitalism and Refugee and Migrant Labour," *Migration and Governance IV*, Policies and Practices, 101, Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group, (December 2018).

Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury, "Statelessness, International Conventions and the Need for New Initiatives? Addressing the New Frontiers of Statelessness," *Migration and Governance V*, Policies and Practices, 102, Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group, (December 2018).

Anita Sengupta, "Migrants and Movements Across Asia: Mobility, Global Migration Governance and the European Response," *Migration and Governance VI*, Policies and Practices, 103, Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group, (December 2018).

Byasdeb Dasgupta, "Refugee Economy: An Inside of Global Capitalism," *Global Capitalism, Informal Economy and the Question of Labour*, Policies and Practices, 104, Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group, (December 2018).

Irina Sen, "Challenges faced by Asian women domestic workers in the Gulf: a comparison of experiences from South India (Kerala), Sri Lanka, and the Phillipines," *Global Capitalism, Informal Economy and the Question of Labour*, Policies and Practices, 104, Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group, (December 2018).

Federico Rahola, "The leash and the rip: Struggles and conflicts beneath migrants' and asylum seekers' 'secondary movements,'" *Reflections on the Mediterranean Refugee 'Crisis'*, Policies and Practices, 105, Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group, (December 2018).

Priya Singh, "Revisiting the Syrian Refugee Crisis: Of Resistances and Solidarities," *Reflections on the Mediterranean Refugee 'Crisis'*, Policies and Practices, 105, Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group, (December 2018).



Conference panel on Racialisation of Migration: Race, Religion, Gender and Other Faultlines in Forced Migration - (from left to right) Sanja Bojanić, Sumona DasGupta and Ranu Basu



Discussion at the International Conference

**THE RESEARCH COLLECTIVE:
LIST OF RESEARCHERS, DISCUSSANTS & CHAIRS**

List of Researchers, Discussants and Chairs

Abdul Kalam Azad, Independent Researcher, Assam
Aditi Mukherjee, MCRG, Kolkata
Aditi Sabbarwal, UNHCR, New Delhi
Ajeet Kumar Pankaj, Indira Gandhi National Tribal University, Manipur
Angela Smith, University of New South Wales, Sydney
Anita Sengupta, MCRG, Kolkata
Anjan Chakrabarti, Department of Economics, Calcutta University, Kolkata
Apala Kundu, MCRG, Kolkata
Ayse Caglar, University of Vienna, Vienna
Bandana Purkayastha, University of Connecticut, Connecticut
Buddha Singh Kepchhaki, Pravasi Nepali Coordination Committee, Kathmandu
Byasdeb Dasgupta, University of Kalyani, Kalyani & MCRG, Kolkata
Daman Kaur Sethi, Child Rights Fellow, Assam
David Newman, Ben-Gurion University, Beersheba
Federico Rahola, University of Genova, Genova
G. M. Arifuzzaman, University of Dhaka, Dhaka
Giorgia Dona, University of East London, London
Hari Sharma, Alliance for Social Dialogue, Kathmandu
Ilina Sen, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai & MCRG, Kolkata
Irene Peano, University of Lisbon, Lisbon
Itty Abraham, National University of Singapore
Janaina Galvao, Consultant, Brazil
Jennifer Hyndman, York University, Toronto
Jhumpa Bose, P. N. Das College, Palta
Jyotsna Srivastava, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi
K M Parivelan, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai & MCRG, Kolkata
Laurence Juma, Rhodes University, Grahamstown
Lucy Nusseibeh, Middle East Nonviolence and Democracy (MEND), East Jerusalem
M. Ibrahim Wani, University of Kashmir, Srinagar
Manish K. Jha, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai & MCRG, Kolkata

Matan Kaminer, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Mausumi Chetia, International Institute of Social Studies, Hague
Meghna Guhathakurta, Research Initiatives, Bangladesh, Dhaka
Melissa Steyn, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
Mujib Ahmad Azizi, Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit, Kabul
Nasreen Chowdhory, Delhi University, New Delhi & MCRG, Kolkata
Nayana Bose, UNHCR, New Delhi
Paolo Novak, University of London, London
Paula Banerjee, Sanskrit University & MCRG, Kolkata
Petar Bojanić, University of Belgrade and University of Rijeka, Belgrade and Rijeka
Prasanta Ray, MCRG, Kolkata
Priya Singh, MCRG, Kolkata
Rajkumar Nagarajah, Ministry of Policy Planning, Sri Lanka
Ranabir Samaddar, MCRG, Kolkata
Ranu Basu, York University, Toronto
Reshmi Banerjee, Institute of Social Sciences, New Delhi
Roopshree Joshi, World Education, Kathmandu
S Irudaya Rajan, Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA), Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram
Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury, Rabindra Bharati University & MCRG, Kolkata
Sahana Basavapatna, Factum Law, Bangalore & MCRG, Kolkata
Sajeed Ahamed Fahirdeen, Equitas, Sri Lanka
Sanja Bojanić, University of Rijeka, Rijeka
Sanjay Barbora, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Guwahati & MCRG, Kolkata
Sanjukta Bhattacharya, Jadavpur University, Kolkata
Santi Sarkar, Vidyasagar University, Midnapore
Shatabdi Das, MCRG, Kolkata
Shibashis Chatterjee, Jadavpur University, Kolkata
Sibaji Pratim Basu, Vidyasagar University, Midnapore
Som Niroula, Alliance for Social Dialogue, Kathmandu
Stefanie Kron, Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, Berlin
Sucharita Sengupta, Graduate Institute of International and Developmental Studies, Geneva

Sudeep Basu, Central University of Gujarat, Gandhinagar & MCRG, Kolkata

Sumbul Rizvi, Senior Coordinator, Inter Sector Coordination Group (ISCG), Cox's Bazaar

Sumona DasGupta, Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA), New Delhi & MCRG, Kolkata

Surabhi Singh, Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi

Swatilekha Bhattacharya, Vidyasagar University, Midnapore

VipinTripathi, IIT Delhi, New Delhi

William Walters, Carleton University, Ottawa



The Research Collective

**AUDIO-VISUAL & PRINT REPORTS
ON THE EVENT**

Press Coverage

There was wide press coverage of the event in print media, television and on social networking sites like Facebook and Twitter.

Print Media

- Two reports on the event were published in the widest circulating Bengali daily in West Bengal, the *Anandabazar Patrika* on 26 November 2018, in the sections on “Kolkatar Korcha” and “Sabha Samity”.



The web links to these reports are as follows:

https://www.anandabazar.com/calcutta/kolkatar-karcha-various-cultural-events-in-the-city-1.903989?ref=calcutta-new-stry&fbclid=IwAR1texUXKdSVQi-mcxmSXWAju0UvadOuYSN5-5NH_vDxB-lrC98nqejz9mc

https://www.anandabazar.com/calcutta/international-convention-in-kolkata-over-migrant-s-shelter-dgtl-1.904507?fbclid=IwAR0sHc7XuLjgrZ8D5iTPe9WVvyKazKaX2_t4laRGMfnt13Qb33e_p_awOgnI#.W_-5y0N68Mg.facebook

- Another article was published in the Bengali daily, *Ei Samay* on 1 December 2018. It can be accessed at:

<http://www.epaper.eisamay.com/Details.aspx?id=44772&boxid=37075&fbclid=IwAR1PIWJJVMkMEM0Et1vSgiPe7g1HhZdxi4Xtlcwtl8UQ8pv49ExhGgl8ca8>

- An article on the event was published in *BBC Bangla* on 1 December 2018.



The following weblink provides access to the article:

https://www.bbc.com/bengali/news-46411893?ocid=wsbengali.chat-apps.in-app-msg.whatsapp.trial.link1_.auin&fbclid=IwAR0TiTtW1QQjoPsp_GZpW17qc6VCUYWuaG4lu1lgqMMLmRSfi4B75OW4Vc8

- A piece was published in the esteemed national daily *The Hindu* on 2 December 2018.



The web link to the article is provided below:

https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/no-possibility-of-rohingya-returning-soon-un-coordinator/article25645298.ece?fbclid=IwAR0f_HOIwc54oMmndbnsWGgfiH_Q4dwn3_J5PjXijZpEss6QY5u4ei_ZtVQ

- A piece published in *The Telegraph* on 6 December 2018 mentioned the event.

2/7/2018

<https://epaper.telegraphindia.com/printtextviews.php?id=238531&boxid=164826236&type=img>

Slipping into a quagmire

SUBIR BHAUMIK

With four million people excluded from the final draft of the National Register of Citizens, Assam is looking at a huge problem of statelessness, much bigger than the one reported from Myanmar's Rakhine province. That only less than half a million of the excluded people have filed claims for inclusion thus far compounds the problem, suggesting the bulk of those excluded may not be in a position to provide fresh evidence to secure Indian citizenship.

Nearly 20 suicides have been reported so far from Assam after the NRC draft was published. That those hanging themselves to death were Bengali Hindus or Muslims who have lived in Assam for decades points to the humanitarian dimension of the emerging crisis that was extensively discussed in an international conference organized by the Calcutta Research Group in Calcutta recently. More than 90 per cent of the excluded are Hindus or Muslims of East Bengali origin. Those who committed suicide did so to avoid humiliation; else, they were apprehensive of the future.

With the Narendra Modi government having assured Bangladesh that the NRC updating was an internal exercise and no one will be deported from Assam to the neighbouring country, those excluded from the NRC fear that they will spend the rest of their lives in a

detention camp in Assam. If the number of those excluded from the NRC stays in the vicinity of two to three million or more, detention camps will be clearly inadequate to accommodate them. Even some hardcore Assamese wanting summary expulsions of illegal migrants have now suggested that those dropped from the NRC should be denied voting rights but they should be provided work permits to be able to stay and work in Assam. This is not a manifestation of humanitarian considerations but a desire to secure cheap labour, a recurring challenge for Assam's economy that encouraged migration from East Bengal in the first place.

But will those excluded be able to retain their land and property acquired through unrelenting hard work? Does it bfit the world's most populous democracy to deny political and property rights to migrants who, after exclusion from the NRC, may be allowed to stay and work with permits? The post NRC situation is replete with uncertainty over these questions. There are many more that remain unanswered by the authorities in the state and at the Centre.

What is further complicating the crisis is the spiralling demand for replicating the NRC

in other Indian states, in the Northeast and beyond, by the Bharatiya Janata Party as well as by regional outfits with stated anti-immigrant postures.

The Supreme Court, which reserves the exercise in Assam, has sought the Centre's view on whether the NRC can be implemented in Tripura. The state's BJP government is not that keen, although some tribal parties aligned to the BJP are supporting the demand vociferously. Tripura's royal school has moved the court for NRC in the state.

The BJP, however, wants the NRC in West Bengal and in some other states. It had expected that most of the excluded in Assam would be Muslims but that has not been the case. Similar numbers of Bengali Hindus and Muslims have been excluded. The BJP, anxious to manage the Bengali Hindu vote in Assam and West Bengal, had promised to pass the citizenship amendment bill to ensure Hindus excluded from the NRC would still retain their citizenship. But the bill has run into huge resistance in Assam where regional groups and even the Ason Gana Parishad, the BJP's ally, have stoutly opposed the proposed legislation. The Congress has opposed the bill on grounds that citizenship cannot be decided

by one's religion. In fact, the Assamese regional groups, which had exuded a sense of triumph over the NRC exclusions, are now furious over the citizenship amendment bill because they see their gains from the NRC being eroded.

Ethnicity, not religion, constitutes the faultline in Assam. In its quest of Hindu consolidation that worked during the 2013 assembly elections, the BJP overlooked these ethnic faultlines while attempting to push through the citizenship amendment bill.

The uproot against the bill has led to competitive radicalism with regional groups trying to outdo one another in agitating against it. Senior Assam police officials have suggested that tempers against the bill run so high that large numbers of angry young Assamese have joined the Ufa, giving it a fresh lease of life. Bengali Hindu leaders sympathetic to the saffron party have exacerbated the tension with their shrill rhetoric, with one of them even threatening the balkanization of Assam through the creation of a Bengali state in the Barak Valley and separate states for Bodhi, Dimas and Karbi tribes.

Assam is pivotal to the Northeast. It is crucial to its future economic growth and to the success of India's Act East policy. But it is sliding into a dangerous quagmire. Unless that is arrested, India may have to pay dearly.

The following weblink directs one to the article.

https://epaper.telegraphindia.com/imageview_238531_164826236_4_undefined_06-12-2018_14_i_1_sf.html?fbclid=IwAR0Qm9tTU3febu6VtDi_xvm7mIBAncTa8LDBaL89duRdBdDfUqgYHA8UBA

- A piece was published in *The Echo of India*, a newspaper from Siliguri, on 6 December 2018 which mentions the event.

RBBI'S 5TH BI-MONTHLY MONETARY STATEMENT **'INJURED SHAW TO LIKELY RETURN FOR BOXING DAY TEST'**

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VOL VI ISSUE NO 224 PAGES 8 SILIGURI • THURSDAY • DECEMBER 6, 2018 Rs 4.00

Nepali-speaking southern Bhutanese still face persecution, says NGO

NIRMALYA BANERJEE

KOLKATA, DEC 5/— The persecution of Bhutanese of Nepalese origin living in south Bhutan is still continuing, even after the shift of the Himalayan kingdom to the parliamentary system of government, social activist from Nepal Som Narula has said. He represents Katmandu-based NGO Alliance for Social Dialogue. He was in Kolkata to address a Calcutta Research Group conference on refuge and migration during the last weekend.

Talking to EOI, Narula said though the Bhutanese of Nepalese origin were not leaving Bhutan in large numbers like before, they were unable to settle down either in their earlier places of residence in southern Bhutan which were agricultural strongholds too. Facing various difficulties, they were now being forced to shift to different construction sites in Bhutan, like



hydro-electric projects. Earlier, between 1986 and 1989, more than 100,000 Bhutanese of Nepalese origin had to leave Bhutan in the face of imposition of Drupa dress code, language and culture on all and sundry in Bhutan. The move in 2008 to vest the executive power to an elected council of ministers was believed to be a way of reducing social tension in Bhutan. In the new cabinet formed in Bhutan after the national assembly elections two months ago, there is one minister from Phuentsholing and one from Samtse, in southern Bhutan. The southern Bhutanese refugees who had entered north Bengal and Assam decades ago did not get shelter in India, however, as refugees. They had moved to Nepal and housed in refugee camps in the Jhapa district in eastern Nepal.

There was a total of about 106,000 Bhutanese refugees in Nepal, includ-

ing about 100,000 people had initially left Bhutan and subsequent extensions of their families, Narula said. Mostly, they had not opted to return to Bhutan for fear of more persecution. Besides, when they were leaving Bhutan, the local administrative authorities had made them sign an undertaking to the effect that they were leaving voluntarily, Narula said. As most of them had lost all their documents also, it would have been difficult for them to open bank accounts on their return to Bhutan. Now, about 96,000 of them had settled in the United States, while about 4,000 others had been accepted by different European nations. About 6,000 refugees were still left in camps in Nepal. Of the refugees who had settled down in the USA, the younger generation had managed to assimilate with the American society, having studied in America and getting jobs.

Large sections of elderly immigrants were, however, finding the stay difficult, because of language barriers and problems in adopting the American way of life.

In the Calcutta Research Group conference, the possibility of the National Register of Citizens exercise in Assam leading to a new kind of statelessness in the region was examined. Besides the issue of Bangladeshi immigrants in Assam, the NRC exercise would open a "Pandora's box" in the entire north-east, vice-chancellor of Rabindra Bharati University Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury said. The question of Bengali-speaking people in Assam apart, Nepali-speaking people in the north-east region could also face difficulties, he said. In Assam, there are about 100,000 Nepali-speaking people whose names have not been included in the final draft of the NRC.

Television

- A report on the event was broadcast on the national television channel *Doordarshan* on 26 December 2018.

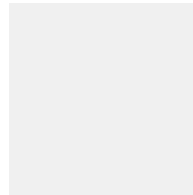
Social Media

- Some of the participants shared their experience on social networking websites.



[Ranu Basu](#)

[@BasuRanu](#)



“Privileged to be part of this community discussion with the migrant workers of Khidirpur, Kolkata organized by @KNY_Bengal” [twitter.com/kyn_bengal/sta...](https://twitter.com/kyn_bengal/status/1025123456789)

12:20 PM - 29 Nov 2018

Website

Calcutta Research Group arranged for the making of an advocacy film on the research workshop and international conference. Some of the participants at the conference were also interviewed and were part of informal discussions that were captured in audio-visual format. These videos are available at www.mcrg.ac.in.

**COMMENTS BY PARTICIPANTS
ON THE EVENT**

Comments on the Event

“Thank you so much for such a warm hospitality, stimulating discussions and impeccable organisation.”

- Giorgia Dona

“Congratulations on a superb job. So glad to see MCRG playing this leadership role. The event you organised was quite stupendous even looking from far.”

- Jeevan Thiagarajah

“[The workshop/conference was] very relevant! It is apt and timely to discuss protection system for refugees and stateless people.”

- K. M. Parivelan

“Many many thanks for the superbly organised and intellectually stimulating workshop and conference. And for the warm hearts that framed and sustained them.”

- Paolo Novak

“Many thanks for your incredible work and wonderful hospitality! We look forward to seeing you and working again with you.”

- Petar and Sanja Bojanić

“Immersed in the South Asian context and debates and issues raised in this part of the world - its linkages with other global challenges was refreshing to hear and learn about for me.”

- Ranu Basu

“Thanks so much for this Declaration - in fact here we are also steadily discussing the need for more public academic interventions!”

- Sabine Hess

“The workshop and conference should continue and, in the future, if possible include some group work and ... more interaction during the working sessions.”

- Sajeed Ahamed Fahirdeen

“This declaration is so relevant especially for events and processes currently unfolding in India and elsewhere.”

- Sujata Ramachandran

“This workshop and international conference were a new learning experience for me.”

- Swatilekha Bhattacharya

“It was a fantastic week. Thanks for all your work, kindness, ideas, and conversations.”

- William Walters



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