



BANGLADESH

TOGETHER WE CAN

THE COVID-19 IMPACT ON STATELESS PEOPLE & A ROADMAP FOR CHANGE

INTRODUCTION

The COVID-19 pandemic and state responses to it have had a significant negative impact on the lives, wellbeing, and rights of the approximately 15 million stateless people around the world who have been denied a nationality, as well as tens of millions whose nationality is at risk. Globally, the devastating impacts of exclusion and denial of fundamental rights, including healthcare, during the pandemic relate to much deeper structural problems – the historic and systemic exclusion, deprivation and marginalisation of communities that have been made stateless as part of wider discriminatory political acts, or pursuant to dominant, discriminatory ideologies. COVID-19 has shone a light on these challenges and also presents a unique opportunity to raise visibility, address the structural causes of statelessness, and secure lasting change, through working directly with stateless people and being accountable to them. The same is true for **Bangladesh**, where the pandemic has further brought to light the acute human rights deprivations endured by the (formerly stateless) Urdu speaking community, and stateless Rohingya refugees alike.

Roadmap for Change, which provides a framework for resolving and addressing the structural discrimination and exclusion of stateless people, during times of COVID-19 and beyond.

The **Together We Can** global report is grounded in the experiences and expertise of Consortium members drawing on a mix of desk research and findings from research-based action advocacy projects being implemented by CESF consortium members in 13 countries. In addition to documenting challenges, the report identifies emerging positive practice and concrete examples from the CESF project countries. It also draws on information from other countries, solicited through an open call for information which ISI shared with partners, regular tracking of news and information on COVID-19 and statelessness by the ISI team, as published in ISI Monthly Bulletins,³ interviews and conversations with relevant partners, and dedicated desk-based research conducted for this report. All desk research reflects public information available at the time of writing. While we have made efforts to verify the ongoing nature of practices identified, this was not always possible, and we welcome any updates or corrections from relevant stakeholders. All information is up to date as of 25 May 2021.

ACRONYMS

CESF – COVID-19 Emergency Statelessness Fund
CoM – Council of Minorities
COVID-19 – Corona Virus Disease 2019
NGO – Non-governmental Organisation
UNDP – United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

INJUSTICE, INEQUALITY, AND EXCLUSION DRIVE AND PERPETUATE THE MARGINALISATION OF VULNERABLE AND STIGMATISED POPULATIONS, INCLUDING STATELESS COMMUNITIES. THESE FACTORS HAVE LED TO DEVASTATING CONSEQUENCES DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC, AS STATELESS PEOPLE, THE MAJORITY OF WHOM LIVE IN POVERTY, ARE FORCED TO WORK IN UNSAFE ENVIRONMENTS WITHOUT ACCESS TO HEALTH CARE, TESTING OR VACCINES. ALL OF US IN THE PUBLIC HEALTH AND HUMAN RIGHTS COMMUNITY HAVE A DUTY TO PROTECT THE RIGHT TO HEALTH CARE FOR ALL POPULATIONS, IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR CITIZENSHIP OR IMMIGRATION STATUS. THUS, IT IS CRUCIAL THAT WE UNDERSTAND AND RESPOND TO THE WAYS IN WHICH THE PANDEMIC HAS AGGRAVATED THE ALREADY GRAVE STATELESSNESS CRISIS. THIS REPORT AND ROADMAP PROVIDE AN EXCELLENT GUIDE TO MORE INCLUSIVE APPROACHES TO ADDRESSING THE CRISIS INCUMBENT ON MULTIPLE STAKEHOLDERS, AND THEY ARE AN IMPORTANT STARTING POINT FOR ALL HEALTH AND HUMAN RIGHTS ACTORS DEDICATED TO AN EQUITABLE, INCLUSIVE, AND EFFECTIVE RESPONSE TO THE PANDEMIC.

MICHELLE WILLIAMS
 DEAN, HARVARD T.H. CHAN
 SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH



This publication is an extract of the global report, **Together We Can: The COVID-19 Impact on Stateless People & a Roadmap for Change**,¹ published in June 2021 by the COVID-19 Emergency Statelessness Fund (CESF) Consortium,² a global consortium of

NGOs and citizenship rights activists, initiated by the Institute on Statelessness and Inclusion (ISI) in June 2020 to respond to the impact of COVID-19 on stateless populations. It focuses on the situation in **Bangladesh**, by presenting the Bangladesh chapter of the global report, along with the **key thematic findings** and a practical 3-step

BANGLADESH

This publication focuses on the COVID-19 impact on the Urdu speaking community commonly referred to as the 'Bihari', who experienced many decades of statelessness, the legacy of which endures to this day. Their situation is explored through the lens of the work of CESF Consortium Member, CoM. Please note that hundreds of thousands of stateless Rohingya refugees also live in Bangladesh.⁵

This community mostly fled to Bangladesh from Bihar, during the partition of the sub-continent in 1947. Many of this community chose to side with Pakistan in the 1971 Bangladesh Liberation War, leading to their loyalty to the new state being questioned. Bangladeshi authorities later recognised them as waiting to be 'repatriated' back to Pakistan. As a result, they were not recognised as Bangladeshi and most were rendered stateless. In 2008, Bangladesh's Supreme Court recognised Biharis' right to Bangladeshi citizenship and ordered the issuance of ID cards and their inclusion on voter rolls. However, they still face discrimination in access to citizenship rights, with many unable to access civil registration services or passports. The community still endures structural inequality and is subjected to prejudice which prevents its members from enjoying the rights and services they are entitled to. They face poor sanitation conditions, inadequate access to clean water, inadequate housing, high levels of poverty and unemployment and poor access to education.⁶ At present, there are nearly 300,000 members from the Urdu-speaking community residing in Bangladesh, approximately 151,000 of them living across 116 urban 'refugee camps'⁷ established after 1971.

The conditions within which the Bihari are forced to live have been aggravated by the COVID-19 pandemic. On 26 March 2020, Bangladesh implemented its first national lockdown which was later extended to 30 May.⁸ The country has since gone through various waves of COVID-19 with the latest lockdown being implemented on 14 April 2021. Bangladesh has a high poverty rate, high population density, poor public health infrastructure and a lack of clean water and other life resources which increases the risk of COVID-19 transmission. The Urdu speaking community, in particular, those living in the 'refugee camps', are at heightened risk because of their living conditions and lack of access to services.

EQUALITY AND NON-DISCRIMINATION

There has been a rise in discrimination and intolerance directed towards those living in the camps since the beginning of the pandemic. Pre-pandemic, the Bihari faced social alienation because of their ancestry, including mockery, harassment and discrimination. Many Biharis try to hide their identity by speaking only Bangla in public, but their national identification cards list their camp address. Employers often decline to employ Biharis, particularly for government jobs, or demand large bribes for positions and the difficulties in accessing formal employment often

compel Bihari parents to remove their children from school so they can earn income.

"In April, a COVID-19 positive case was identified in Hatikhana Camp, Saidpur. After that new, local people did not want to ride on Rickshaw of Ial Biharis camp dweller. Before [they] ride on the Rickshaw they ask "are you Bihari or Bengali"?"⁹

*FGD Participant, Female,
36, Hatikhana Camp, Saidur*

RIGHT TO HEALTH

In the second week of April 2020 two residents of Geneva Camp¹⁰ tested positive for COVID-19. They were not allowed to isolate in government quarantine centres.¹¹ Community leaders believe this is due to discrimination against this minority group. Further, neighbourhood hospitals have refused to admit COVID-19 patients. They have reportedly also denied healthcare to non-COVID-19 patients from the Geneva camp. As of July 2020, camp residents were granted access to government hospitals, however, they still do not have information or access to government run quarantine centres.

"My 6-year-old daughter was suffering from a cold and severe ear pain. I went to government hospital for treatment, but I did not get the hospital ticket when I said my address was Mirpur Bihari camp. The registrar refused me and said, "camps and camp dwellers are most vulnerable for the corona virus".¹²

*FGD participant,
Female, 39, Mirpur*

SOCIO-ECONOMIC RIGHTS

Exclusion from Emergency Relief: During the lockdown, Bihari camp residents were generally excluded from government relief schemes. For example, in April 2020 the government launched a cash distribution scheme for those living in poverty, but most in the 'refugee camps' were excluded on the basis of their camp address and being identified as members of the Urdu speaking community. The government implemented a low-cost food relief scheme for daily wage earners to purchase rice at reduced cost.¹³ However camp residents reported that they did not benefit from this scheme.¹⁴ The local Bengali and Diaspora Bengali and Bihari community, as well as a few NGOs, provided food support to the camp dwellers who were unable to provide it for themselves.

Lost Livelihoods: The disproportionately severe impact on Urdu-speaking people's livelihood during this pandemic has been in part, due to the discriminatory social and legal structures that confine them to the informal work sector.

THIS CHAPTER LOOKS MORE CLOSELY AT EQUALITY AND NON-DISCRIMINATION; RIGHT TO HEALTH AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC RIGHTS,⁴ AND MAKES THE FOLLOWING CALL TO ACTION TO THE GOVERNMENT AND OTHER RELEVANT STAKEHOLDERS:

ENSURE EQUAL ACCESS TO COVID-19 VACCINATIONS TO ALL RESIDENTS, INCLUDING MEMBERS OF THE BIHARI COMMUNITY AND ALL OTHER STATELESS PEOPLE AND REFUGEES.

ENSURE EQUAL ACCESS TO ALL HEALTHCARE - EMERGENCY AND ROUTINE, COVID-19 AND NON-COVID-19 - TO THE BIHARI COMMUNITY AND ALL OTHER STATELESS PEOPLE AND REFUGEES.

ENSURE THE BIHARI COMMUNITY AND ALL OTHER STATELESS PEOPLE AND REFUGEES HAVE EQUAL ACCESS TO QUARANTINE FACILITIES IN CASES OF POSITIVE OR SUSPECTED CASES OF COVID-19 AND HAVE ADEQUATE ACCESS TO THE DISTRIBUTION OF PPE INCLUDING MASKS, SOAPS AND HAND SANITISER IN REFUGEE CAMPS ACROSS BANGLADESH.

PROVIDE EQUAL ACCESS TO STATE RELIEF EFFORTS REGARDING FOOD SECURITY FOR THE BIHARI COMMUNITY AND ALL OTHER STATELESS PEOPLE AND REFUGEES.

REVISE THE 2016 DRAFT CITIZENSHIP BILL TO ADDRESS ALL ISSUES REGARDING THE RIGHT TO NATIONALITY AND STATELESSNESS AND PRODUCE A BILL WHICH ALIGNS WITH ALL RELEVANT INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS.

Many members of the community are barbers, butchers, rickshaw pullers, domestic workers, drivers and handicraft workers and a large number of the women work as housemaids outside of the camp. During the lockdowns the majority of those working as maids lost their jobs due to a common perception among employers that the camps are high risk areas.¹⁵ Others working in the informal sector also lost their jobs when the first cases were reported in the Geneva camp. Most people in the refugee camps live below the poverty line and continue to struggle to ensure basic necessities for survival including food and face a real risk of starvation.

“I work as a handicraft worker in a boutique house along with three other local Bengali staff members. After the lockdown, the owner said to stop [coming to] work and [that she will] call [me] after the lockdown. After the lockdown she called the three local Bengali staff, but she did not call me. Then, I went to the workplace to join the work, she told me to get out and said [it was because] you are living in [the] camp and [the] camps are [the] most vulnerable areas of Corona virus”.¹⁶

*FGD Participant,
Male, 37, Mohammadpur*

“The Bihari Urdu speaking camp dwellers are an extremely poor community in Bangladesh because they tend to work in the informal sector. Due to COVID-19 now they are living under the poverty line.”

*CoM Chief Executive,
Khalid Hussain*

Disrupted Education: One of the consequences of the lockdowns implemented as a result of COVID-19 is the move to remote online learning. In Bangladesh, the lack of internet inside camps means that children from the Urdu speaking community have limited access to online classes.¹⁷

STATELESSNESS AND THE RIGHT TO NATIONALITY IN BANGLADESH

The laws governing citizenship and nationality in Bangladesh are the 1972 Constitution,¹⁸ 1951 Citizenship Act,¹⁹ and 1972 Bangladesh Citizenship Order²⁰ (later amended by the Bangladesh Citizenship Rule 1978).²¹ Article 2B of the 1978 Citizenship Rule provides that an individual is not allowed to acquire citizenship if he ‘owes, affirms or acknowledges, expressly or by conduct, allegiance to a foreign state’, regardless of whether an individual was a resident of pre-1971 Bangladesh or not.²² This provision was utilised to deny the Bihari community their right to nationality. In its landmark ruling in the 2008 case of *Md. Sadaqat Khan and others v. Chief Election Commissioner*, the Bangladeshi Supreme Court affirmed the citizenship rights of the Urdu-speaking community. The judgment further ordered the Election Commission to include the community in the electoral rolls and provide them with National ID Cards. However, the community still faces difficulties in exercising their citizenship rights in practice. In February 2016, the Cabinet of Bangladesh presented a Draft Citizenship Bill which can cause statelessness as it clashes with the existing

domestic legal framework, including the rights of citizens prescribed by the Constitution. The Draft Bill does not contain safeguards against childhood statelessness; children born abroad and not registered within two years are denied Bangladeshi nationality, and children can be denied nationality if a parent engages in an act of war or other activity against the state. For the Urdu speaking community specifically, this Bill is viewed as a big threat to the 2008 judgment, as Section 3 stipulates that the Bill shall prevail if there are inconsistencies with any other legal instrument, decree, judgment etc.²³ If the 2008 judgment is overthrown, the citizenship of the Bihari community will be, once again, under review.

THE CESF CONSORTIUM PROJECT

This project, carried out by CoM, is working towards understanding the impact of COVID-19 on the Urdu speaking community. By conducting research through a baseline survey the project has gained a better understanding of the impact of COVID-19 on the community. The research findings are being used to train paralegals and volunteers to become ‘rights defenders.’ Rights advocates undertake casework in which they will assist community members through legal procedures, bridging the gap between the community and the government. Their work facilitates access to essential government services and provides support to the formerly stateless Bihari community, stateless persons or those at risk of statelessness through a variety of social challenges such as domestic violence. This project aims to collaborate with legal organisations, engage with key stakeholders including District Commissioners and representatives of local government, the National Human Rights Commission, the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation, Members of Parliament and relevant UN Agencies, including UNHCR and UNDP. By working with and advocating before such stakeholders, the project aims to promote the prioritisation of this community in COVID-19 relief and raise concerns regarding the 2016 Draft Citizenship Bill.

Council of Minorities (CoM) is a human rights organisation working towards helping different minority groups in Bangladesh to realise their human rights. Since 2013, the organisation has been advocating for the rights of the Urdu-speaking, formerly stateless people held in various detention centres across Bangladesh.

Impact

The project thus far has appointed ten human rights defenders in Mohammadpur, Mirpur, Rangpur and Saidpur. They are tasked with daily door to door outreach inside the camps and disseminating information on COVID-19, for example how to protect against infection, using masks and PPE correctly and how to maintain social distancing where possible in the camps. To date, 24,970 camp residents have been reached through their efforts. To date they have further organised 50 community group meetings in the camps reaching 750 residents. They have further been raising awareness on COVID-19 vaccinations; helping to register people online so they can access the vaccine and subsequently have, to date, taken 42 residents to government hospitals to receive their vaccines.

Case Study

In January 2021, Bangladesh began the roll out of the COVID-19 vaccine for those aged 40 and above. In order to secure a vaccination appointment one must register online. Mr. Mohammad Hashmat is a 55-year-old resident of Geneva Camp and a tailor by profession. He wanted to get the COVID-19 vaccine but did not know how to register online. As part of the CoM outreach activities, human rights defender, Mr. Sojib, visited Mr. Hashmat and helped him to register. Four days later, Mr. Sojib returned to take Mr. Hashmat to the hospital to receive his first dose of the vaccine.

“Due to your work, we have learned how to protect ourselves, use masks and maintain social distance while we gather outside. I have even been able to get my first dose of the vaccine.”

*CoM CESF project outreach recipient,
Mohammad Hashmat*

KEY GLOBAL THEMATIC FINDINGS

Many of the above findings on Bangladesh, also resonate at the global level. As the **Together We Can report** sets out, denial of the **right to nationality, documentation and legal status** as well as **inequality and discrimination** represent the main structural challenges impacting stateless people in a cyclical and intergenerational way. The other three thematic issues addressed in the global report - **right to health, socioeconomic rights** and **civil and political rights** - relate to some of the main rights deprivations stateless people endure, exacerbated by the pandemic. These challenges are interrelated and mutually reinforcing, heightening the cost of statelessness, generating new risks of statelessness and stifling efforts to promote the right to nationality and the rights of stateless people.

THE RIGHT TO HEALTH:

The right to health should have universal application regardless of race, religion, legal status or other criteria. A year into the pandemic however, healthcare related challenges faced by stateless people have only heightened. The cost of healthcare continues to be an insurmountable hurdle for many stateless people who are excluded from healthcare plans, subsidies, insurance schemes and free healthcare. The lack of documentation has further prevented access to healthcare, while fear of arrest, detention and harassment by police or officials has also cultivated a culture of fear around accessing healthcare for stateless and undocumented people. The inability to carry out effective preventative measures including social distancing and wearing PPE, as well as lack of access to sanitation and hygiene products and facilities due to living and working conditions, also places stateless communities at great risk. The mental health impacts of lockdowns, loss of livelihoods, exposure to health risks and starvation and exclusion from state relief measures, are also significant. There is an urgent need to ensure inclusivity in the roll out of COVID-19 vaccines, rising above

vaccine nationalism. Unfortunately, we are already seeing a 'citizens first' approach to vaccine distribution and worrying initiatives including vaccine passports which would further exclude stateless people.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC RIGHTS:

When the pandemic took hold in early 2020, state responses prioritised citizens to the exclusion and detriment of migrants, refugees and stateless people. Over a year into the crisis, there has been hardly any shift in the approach to social and economic support by states and other actors. There has been a significant impact on **employment and income** and consequently the **loss of livelihoods** amongst the stateless and those at risk of statelessness. Jobs are mainly found in the informal sector which have been brought to a standstill with the implementation of lockdowns and curfews. There are further **barriers to education** during lockdowns due to the nature of online classes and the need for access to equipment and the internet.

CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS:

In order to address the threat to public health, most States have implemented restrictions which limit civil and political rights. Some states have also introduced more permanent restrictions. Stateless communities and those whose nationality is at risk face ongoing restrictions and rights violations which, due to pre-existing conditions, have a disproportionately devastating impact. **Arbitrary detention, the risk of arrest and fear of harassment** by officials has impacted stateless populations and those whose nationality is at risk. For those in detention, there is an increased risk of infection due

to the inability to adequately social distance or self-isolate. Restrictions on **freedom of movement** have exacerbated the impacts of COVID-19 including for those trying to seek healthcare and education outside of refugee camps and has further had an impact on livelihoods and family reunions.

THE RIGHT TO NATIONALITY, DOCUMENTATION AND LEGAL STATUS:

COVID-19 related measures have impacted the right to nationality, documentation and legal status in deeply concerning ways. Disruptions to crucial **civil registration procedures** have resulted in delays and backlogs leaving stateless people and those whose nationality is at risk in limbo, completely vulnerable to the multiple effects of COVID-19. Such documentation and registration challenges also subject people to longer-term risks of statelessness. **Unregistered births** and subsequent non-issuance of IDs can heighten the risk of statelessness, particularly among minority and border communities and those with migrant heritage. **Asylum and statelessness determination procedures** have also been disrupted, as have permanent residence applications, visa processes and other consular services.

EQUALITY AND NON-DISCRIMINATION:

Discrimination continues to be an underlying and entrenched driving force behind statelessness worldwide. There has been a rise in **hate speech, xenophobia and racism**. Minority and migrant communities have been vilified in populist political narratives and used as scapegoats for the spread of infection, including to distract from the failings of political leaders. Gender discrimination has also had a significant impact where **gender discriminatory nationality laws** deny nationality to children. Increased cases of **gender-based violence** have also been reported, where, particularly in the country contexts with gender discriminatory nationality laws, women are unable to extract themselves from unsafe situations.

For a more detailed overview of these global thematic findings and related calls to action, please refer the full report.²⁴

TOGETHER WE CAN: A ROADMAP TO ADDRESS THE COVID-19 IMPACT ON STATELESS PEOPLE

This roadmap serves as a framework for resolving and addressing the structural discrimination and exclusion of stateless people during times of COVID-19 and beyond. The starting point is that change is within our grasp and can be achieved through creative, committed and courageous action. **Together we can** and **together we must** address the structural discrimination underlying statelessness, protect the rights of stateless people and meet their emergency needs. The Roadmap informs and guides the necessary inclusive responses of multiple stakeholders including governments, UN actors, humanitarian agencies, donors and NGOs.

1 CHECK FOR INSTITUTIONAL BLIND-SPOTS

We invite states, UN actors, humanitarian groups and other stakeholders to engage in careful **introspection**, check for **institutional blind-spots**, and **review and reform** policies and practices to **ensure that stateless people are prioritised, their particular contexts and needs are understood and addressed and they are not excluded or left behind** through:

- **strengthening awareness** of the issue at all levels;
- **acknowledging** historical failures;
- **collecting and sharing information** on statelessness and nationality rights deprivations; and
- **resourcing** the enhancement of capacities, collaborations and funding.

2 INCLUDE, CONSULT & ENGAGE IN DIALOGUE

We invite activists and NGOs to **make their expertise available** and those in positions of power, to have **open consultation** and **meaningful and constructive dialogue** with affected communities, and commit to **including stateless people on equal terms** by:

- **consulting** with activists and affected communities;
- **building trust** and strengthening solidarity with stateless communities;
- **meeting the needs and priorities** of affected communities and ensuring their meaningful participation; and
- **facilitating wider discourse** within society and institutions on equality, inclusion and the right to nationality.

3 BUILD BACK BETTER

We invite all actors to learn the hard lessons that the pandemic has taught us and invest in **future-proofing**, ensuring a **lasting commitment to breaking down the pervasive injustice, indignity, inequality, deprivation and exclusion that stateless people face**, focusing on:

- **implementing reforms** to address discriminatory laws, policies and practices;
- **redressing** the intergenerational disadvantage and legacy of statelessness;
- **being accountable** to stateless communities and activists;
- **monitoring** the performance and progress of states;
- **ensuring access to justice and reparations** for stateless people; and
- **sustainably investing** in inclusive societies.

STATELESSNESS DOES NOT ONLY EXIST IN HISTORY BUT IS ONGOING, IN REAL TIME AND IN PRACTICALLY EVERY CORNER OF THE WORLD. EVEN THOUGH STATELESSNESS INTERSECTS WITH EVERY OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION, IT REMAINS LARGELY UNKNOWN AND MISUNDERSTOOD. THE LARGE STATELESSNESS KNOWLEDGE GAP, EVEN AMONG PROMINENT DEVELOPMENT, MIGRATION, HUMANITARIAN AND HUMAN RIGHTS ACTORS, IS A CHALLENGE AND BURDEN FOR STATELESS PEOPLE LIKE ME, GLOBALLY. WE ARE NOT JUST A COLLECTION OF STORIES. WE ARE OUR OWN ADVOCATES AND EXPERTS THROUGH OUR LIVED EXPERIENCES. THIS REPORT RECOGNISES STATELESS PEOPLE AS LEADERS WHO MUST SHAPE THE VISION AND MAKE DECISIONS ABOUT THE PRIORITIES THAT DIRECTLY AFFECT OUR LIVES, OUR FAMILIES AND OUR COMMUNITIES. THE ROADMAP OFFERS A WAY FORWARD FOR OUR ALLIES TO CHECK THEIR STATELESSNESS BLIND-SPOTS, CENTRE US IN THEIR ACTIONS AND BE ACCOUNTABLE US WHEN DELIVERING THEIR MANDATES. WE CANNOT END STATELESSNESS BY OURSELVES. TOGETHER WE MUST WORK TO ENVISION A WORLD WHERE NOBODY IS DEPRIVED OF NATIONALITY BASED ON THEIR RACE, ETHNICITY, SEX, GENDER, OR RELIGION. A WORLD WHERE EVERYONE'S HUMAN RIGHT TO NATIONALITY IS PROTECTED AND UPHELD, AND WHERE STATELESSNESS IS TRULY RELEGATED TO THE HISTORY BOOKS.

KARINA AMBARTSOUMIAN-CLOUGH,
FOUNDING MEMBER &
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,
UNITED STATELESS



¹ CESF Consortium, 'Together we Can: The COVID-19 Impact on Stateless People & A Roadmap for Change', (2021), available at: https://files.institutesi.org/together_we_can_report_2021.pdf.

² For more information about the CESF Consortium, see: https://files.institutesi.org/CESF_Brochure_2021.pdf.

³ ISI Monthly Bulletins and other key resources can be viewed here: <https://www.institutesi.org/resources>.

⁴ See further Chapter on Equality and Non-Discrimination, Chapter on Right to Health and Chapter on Socio-Economic Rights in Part 2 of 'Together We Can: The COVID-19 Impact on Stateless People and Roadmap for Change', (2021), available at: https://files.institutesi.org/together_we_can_report_2021.pdf.

⁵ See further chapter on Rohingya in Refugee Situations in Part 3 of the *Together We Can Report*, available at: https://files.institutesi.org/together_we_can_report_2021.pdf.

⁶ Institute on Statelessness and Inclusion and Statelessness Network Asia Pacific, 'Joint Submission to the Human Rights Council at the 30th Session of the Universal Periodic Review: Bangladesh', (5 October 2017), available at: https://files.institutesi.org/UPR30_Bangladesh.pdf.

⁷ Other commonly used terms: 'Bihari camps', 'urban camps', 'urban settlements'.

⁸ GardaWorld, 'Bangladesh nation-wide lockdown extended until May 30 as COVID-19 spreads to Cox's Bazar refugee camps / update 12', GardaWorld, (15 May 2020), available at: <https://www.garda.com/crisis24/news-alerts/342516/bangladesh-nationwide-lockdown-extended-until-may-30-as-covid-19-spreads-to-coxs-bazar-refugee-camps-update-12>.

⁹ K. Hussain, 'Focus Group Discussion (FGD) COVID-19 Impact on The Bihari – Urdu Speaking Linguistic Minority of Bangladesh', (2020), unpublished, on file with ISI.

¹⁰ Geneva Camp is the largest refugee camp in Dhaka.

¹¹ Institute on Statelessness and Inclusion, 'Stateless in a Global Pandemic: Impact Report', (2020), available at: https://files.institutesi.org/Covid19_Stateless_Impact_Report.pdf.

¹² K. Hussain, 'Focus Group Discussion (FGD) COVID-19 Impact on The Bihari – Urdu Speaking Linguistic Minority of Bangladesh', (2020), unpublished, on file with ISI.

¹³ S. Mamun, 'Rice at Tk10/kg: Will the real destitute get the benefit?' Dhaka Tribune (3 April 2020), available at: <https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/2020/04/03/rice-at-tk10-kg-will-the-real-destitute-get-the-benefit>.

¹⁴ K. Hussain, 'Focus Group Discussion (FGD) COVID-19 Impact on The Bihari – Urdu Speaking Linguistic Minority of Bangladesh', (2020), unpublished, on file with ISI.

¹⁵ Ibid

¹⁶ Ibid

¹⁷ Internal Survey conducted by Nationality for All, Open Society Justice Initiative and Refugee Solidarity Network, (2020).

¹⁸ The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, (1972), available at: <http://bdlaws.minlaw.gov.bd/act-367.html>.

¹⁹ The Citizenship Act, (1951), available at: <https://www.refworld.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/rwmain/opendocpdf.pdf?relDoc=y&docid=543d0d724>.

²⁰ The Bangladesh Citizenship (Temporary Provisions) Order, (1972), available at: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b51f10.html>.

²¹ Bangladesh Citizenship (Temporary Provisions) Rules (1978), available at: https://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/natlex4_detail?p_lang=&p_isn=87973.

²² R. Hoque, 'Report on Citizenship Law: Bangladesh', (2016), available at: https://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/44545/EudoCit_2016_14Bangladesh.pdf.

²³ Institute on Statelessness and Inclusion and Statelessness Network Asia Pacific, 'Joint Submission to the Human Rights Council at the 30th Session of the Universal Periodic Review: Bangladesh', (5 October 2017), available at: https://files.institutesi.org/UPR30_Bangladesh.pdf.

²⁴ CESF Consortium, 'Together we Can: The COVID-19 Impact on Stateless People & A Roadmap for Change', (2021), available at: https://files.institutesi.org/together_we_can_report_2021.pdf.