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THE DOCILE SEARCHING THE DOMICILE :**Marginalised Hurtle through the Borders of 'The Right to Have Rights' in *Flee* (2021)**Apoorva Juneja¹, Dr. Surbhi Saraswat² & Dr. Madhumita Chakraborty³**ABSTRACT**

Human life is continuously disrespected through politicising refuge, 'creating' a society on the ruins of refugees. The abstraction of the idea of home can be perceived as ironic in the context of the embeddedness of our identity within it. However, its intangibility is a threat it faces in a world divided by borders and passports, that create and ensure docility. Human rights cannot be guaranteed outside the political community as they undergo a loss of significance beyond its bounds. Refugees are not only haunted by external threats, rather are perceived as one.

Therefore, this paper aims to analyse *Flee* (2021), an animated documentary that seeks to understand the causes and the repercussions of the revocation of citizenship, especially for the marginalized. With the protagonist as a gay man, his struggles on his winding route to seek a haven were replete with the intersectionality of his identity, a saga of the 'doubly marginalised'. While fleeing, with no state embracing him with its borders, 'Amin' was the 'Other'.

In this matrix, this paper examines the representation of statelessness in popular culture through cinematic representation. Leading to the dissection of the narrative construction of *Flee* (2021). It streamlines this endeavour by developing an understanding of statelessness through lived anecdotal experiences of refugees making the question of refugee laws a deeply challenging phenomenon.

Based on the above, the paper will elucidate the biopower of the state in the context of the Cold War to chart the cause of Amin's fleeing from Afghanistan. It will examine 'Amin' as a '*homo sacer*' while travelling within the maze of borders, humanising his narrative. Finally, it will situate his 'doubly marginalised' identity through his struggle for 'the right to have rights,' their implementation, and its understanding. Through this deconstruction, this paper

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seeks to bring out the fragility of human rights in the absence of a home and the ephemerality of the constructed ideas of the home itself.

Keywords: *biopower; cinema; doubly marginalised; Flee; homo sacer; human rights; marginalised; Other; refugee; soft power*

INTRODUCTION

In an increasingly interconnected world marked by migration and displacement, the experiences of marginalized individuals, particularly those belonging to the LGBTQ+ community, are often overlooked or silenced. This paper seeks to explore the profound impact of biopolitics through the anecdotal account of a migrant gay man, who faces marginalization compounded by displacement from his home. As a voice for multitudes of migrant people who go through similar issues, this account accentuates the concerns associated with life as a '*Homo Sacer*.'

'*Homo Sacer*'⁴ is a term defined by Giorgio Agamben, an Italian philosopher, who defines it as the precarious existence of individuals who are stripped of their rights and protections, existing in a state of exception where they are simultaneously included and excluded from society. For migrant gay men, this status of homo sacer is further exacerbated by the intersectionality of their identities, rendering them doubly marginalized and vulnerable to systemic oppression.

In this matrix, cinema, however long dominated by mainstream heteronormative narratives, has recently served as a powerful tool for shaping public perceptions and reinforcing societal norms. Moreover, with the emergence of Over-the-Top (OTT) platforms, there has been a notable shift towards the creation and display of marginalized voices and experiences. These platforms offer a newfound space for individuals like Amin Nawabi, whose story serves as a poignant example of the struggles faced by marginalized migrants seeking acceptance and belonging.

Amin's narrative, as depicted in the film "Flee" presented on Zee 5,⁵ provides a compelling glimpse into the complexities of identity and belonging. Hailing from Afghanistan and living in Denmark under a false identity as an orphan, Amin's journey epitomizes the intersection of displacement, identity, and resilience. Through the medium of visual lingua franca, Amin's

⁴ GIORGIO AGAMBEN, *HOMO SACER: SOVEREIGN POWER AND BARE LIFE* 47 (Giulio Einaudi editore 1995).

⁵ Flee. (2021) [Zee5]. Jonas Poher Rasmussen.

story transcends linguistic and cultural barriers, offering a universal platform for marginalized voices to be heard and understood.

Further, this paper will delve into the implications of biopolitical control on the lives of marginalised migrants, exploring the ways in which they navigate systems of power and negotiate their identities in a hostile environment. Additionally, it will examine the role of Cinema as a catalyst for social change, highlighting the potential of visual storytelling to foster empathy, understanding, and solidarity across diverse communities.

By amplifying the voices of marginalized individuals like Amin Nawabi, we can challenge dominant narratives, disrupt oppressive structures, and pave the way for a more inclusive and compassionate society. Through the pursuit of *écriture* in Visual media, we can empower marginalized communities to reclaim their narratives and assert their rightful place in the global discourse navigating changes through legal frontiers in the 21st century, especially through the normalisation of newer *écriture* on identity, belonging, and human rights.

CAUSES AND THE REPERCUSSIONS OF THE REVOCATION OF CITIZENSHIP

The revocation of citizenship can stem from a myriad of factors, including political upheaval, changes in government policies, and discriminatory practices. In Amin's case, the revocation of his family's citizenship and his move to Denmark reflects broader issues of immigration control and border security. The tightening of immigration laws and the rise of anti-immigrant sentiment in Europe have led to increased scrutiny of asylum seekers and refugees, resulting in arbitrary decisions to revoke residency rights and citizenship status.

Drawing on Joppke (2007) and Carens (2000), we distinguish between three main dimensions of citizenship. The first dimension deals with the legal bond which ties any individual to a state citizenship in the legal sense of 'nationality'.⁶ Other states recognise this legal bond, that confers rights as well as duties upon the individuals who uphold the same status. Second is that citizenship can also be characterized as “practices of participation in a political community.”⁷ As stated by Winter and Previsic, a few of the abovementioned practices are classified as 'good' forms of behaviour in the community, while others practices are held as unacceptable and are therefore likely to give rise to sanctions which may include the revocation of citizenship.⁸ The third dimension of this citizenship refers to ‘identity or

⁶ ÉMILIE FARGUES, ELKE WINTER, MATTHEW J GIBNEY, WHEN STATES TAKE RIGHTS BACK CITIZENSHIP REVOCATION AND ITS DISCONTENTS (Routledge 2020).

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

belonging' operating at a symbolic level. This dimension connects citizenship to the idea of the nation as an 'imagined community'.⁹ Further, Pélabay and Sénac also elucidate that these three citizenship dimensions can be, respectively, connected with different political theories like, liberalism, republicanism and communitarianism. These can also be utilized as analytical tools for the investigation of the 'thinner' or 'thicker' character that citizenship revocation provides to national membership.¹⁰

The consequences of citizenship revocation are profound and far-reaching, affecting every aspect of an individual's life. For Amin Nawabi and his family, the revocation of their citizenship meant facing the prospect of deportation to a country plagued by violence and instability.

This can be seen through Amin's statement in the documentary:¹¹

Amin: Mujahedin was closing in and they had to flee. They packed a few things but didn't have time to sell anything.

Interviewer: So you barely make it out?

Amin: Yes, just before, barely before it all starts.

Amin's family had to choose what was important to them in a time where everything was forcefully being taken away from them. They were forced to run away to have any hope for their futures.

Even after they chose to run away, the consequences were brutal as they were not able to flee in the first go since they were deported. Amin says:¹²

Amin: Six months later they gave us two options... stay here to rot or go back to Moscow.

As soon as we arrive in Russia we are arrested by Russian police and they want to send us back to Afghanistan. But luckily the Russian police was so corrupt that if we gave them the last of our money, they would let us go.

Forced to choose between returning to Afghanistan or languishing in care homes with deplorable conditions, Amin and his family were left with no viable options for a secure and dignified future.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ *Supra* note 2

¹² Ibid.

Citizenship is approached as a mechanism for 'social closure' which not only differentiates between 'citizens' and 'aliens' rather helps in drawing a line between 'desirable' and 'undesirable' citizens¹³. This can be seen through Amin Nawabi's lived reality where he says:

¹⁴

Amin: We fled to Moscow. Russia was the only country that granted us a tourist visa. Such a strange place to be at that time. We arrive a year after the fall of communism. People are starving, super markets are empty. The rouble kept devaluating so they print new bank notes every three months. There is a lot of crime and you can't trust the police at all.

The laws and practices defining citizenship produce such categories that often intertwine with divisions based on race, gender or class. While citizenship rules and procedures are not necessarily path dependent in a deterministic sense, uncovering their historical emergence helps us to better understand how the boundary between 'desirable' vs. 'undesirable' citizens is conceived in a given national context today. Citizenship rules and procedures have both a material and a symbolic significance. These symbolisms can sometimes ruin the lives of the ones who are put in a situation where their rights become luxuries. Nawabi mentions: ¹⁵

Amin: We fled to Moscow. Russia was the only country that granted us a tourist visa. Such a strange place to be at that time. We arrive a year after the fall of communism. People are starving, super markets are empty. The rouble kept devaluating so they print new bank notes every three months. There is a lot of crime and you can't trust the police at all. They do not only have very concrete effects on people's lives, but they also feed into societal norms and representations of otherness.

On the basis of the principle of 'exclusive inclusion' which selectively includes some individuals and rejects others, citizenship thus could serve as a technique used for managing the 'undesirable' subjects.¹⁶

¹³ *Supra* note 3.

¹⁴ *Supra* note 2.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Supra* note 3.

Revocation of citizenship is symptomatic of the systemic issues on a larger scale concerning immigration policies, human rights abuses, and the diminishing legal safeguards for refugees and asylum seekers.¹⁷

In recent years, the rise in the perceived nationalist and xenophobic ideologies has fuelled a fearstruck and suspicious climate towards migrants, exacerbating their vulnerabilities to exploitation and abuse. Citizenship revocation, in this matrix, becomes a potent tool for both exclusion and the consequent marginalization, denying individuals like Amin Nawabi their fundamental rights and dignity.

Nawabi explains his escape as:¹⁸

I don't remember the day we fled. I don't remember how we got from Russia to, to... I don't remember... I think we drive for hours and hours. We were loaded in a big truck which was usually used to transport lumber. They are driving us somewhere and at some point they unload us in the forest and we have to sit there and wait. It's really cold, and we aren't wearing enough clothes.

Amin Nawabi's refugee journey underscores the urgent need for a more compassionate and equitable approach to immigration and asylum policies. The revocation of citizenship represents a grave injustice that perpetuates cycles of poverty, displacement, and despair. The journey of being a citizen instils identity or belonging.¹⁹ This dimension operates at the symbolic level. It links citizenship to the idea of the nation as an 'imagined community'.²⁰

Amin Nawabi's journey from Afghanistan to Denmark epitomizes the perilous nature of forced migration. His family's desperate attempt to escape violence and persecution led to unimaginable hardships, including being transported in cargo containers and lower ship berths under inhumane conditions.²¹

The various contexts where citizenship revocation is being actively put in practice and its discussion as a potential solution to real or assumed societal ills presents a complex chart. During the time when often, the native populations endorse citizenship revocation as a seemingly easy, effective and fair means for getting rid of those who are no longer wanted,' it becomes all the more pertinent to clarify the various issues raised by this policy instrument: "how far can governments go in extending their leeway to revoke citizenship? What

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ *Supra* note 2.

¹⁹ *Supra* note 3.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ *Supra* note 3.

strategies do they follow? Do these strategies vary from one state to another? Are there limits to citizenship revocation that states have to obey?"²²

Amin's ordeal underscores the inherent dangers faced by refugees as they seek sanctuary in foreign lands, often at the mercy of unscrupulous smugglers and indifferent authorities. Amin's search for sanctuary went from tangible entity of home to intangible search for self as he territorially walked away from his home as well as his metaphorical walking out of his closet. This renders him as a doubly marginalised being, seeking asylum as well as acceptance from the society that continually rejects him.

DOUBLY MARGINALISED REPRESENTATION OF STATELESSNESS: SHIFT IN THE POPULAR CULTURES AS DEPICTED IN 'FLEE'

Doubly Marginalised is a term coined by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, an Indian critic and professor who, in the context of gender differences stated that "Within the effaced itinerary of the subaltern subject, the track of sexual difference is doubly effected."²³ This further can be understood in the context of queer people seeking acceptance in their own culture. Just like "female participation in insurgency, or the ground rules of the sexual division"²⁴ The queer community's rejection by society renders them as a part of the marginalized. Adding to this plight, a displaced or migrant queer, like Amin, is not only marginalized, their identities and the chances of acceptance are "even more deeply in shadow..."²⁵

The argument presented above is further looked through the anecdotal account as narrated by Amin in the OTT movie called 'Flee.'²⁶

Amin: I am three or four years old... we are in Afghanistan, in Kabul. I think I always has the tendency to be a little different. Let's put it like that... I wasn't afraid of wearing my sister's dresses. My youngest sister's nightgown. I liked the attention...

²² Ibid.

²³ GAYATRI CHAKRAVORTY SPIVAK, CAN THE SUBALTERN SPEAK? IN MARXISM AND THE INTERPRETATION OF CULTURE LONDON: MACMILLAN (Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg eds., 1988).

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ *Supra* note 2.

This highlights his understanding of his experience as being a gay man was completely different from the experiences of the people around him. He, even at a tender age, understood that he defied the patriarchally defined idea of a man which is derived from heteronormative structures. His struggle in Afghanistan was first internal as he was struggling to understand why he could not be like his other brothers. He says:²⁷

Amin: “He is a real boy. He has dirty hands. He breeds pigeons on the roof.”

The understood definitions of boyhood were the heteronormative principles of being rough and rugged and to like a certain things. His struggle with being a “boy” under this matrix was an internal one and his realisation of standing outside this matrix of accepted masculinity was understood by him in his early years. This can be seen when the interviewer questions Amin:²⁸

Interviewer: When did you actually become aware about being gay?

Amin: I wasn't very old. Actually I think I have had fantasies about guys ever since I was like 5 or 6 years old. I remember one of them where clearly. I was totally infatuate by Jean- Claude Van Damme. Seriously, I fantasise about him.

His first crush did not make him understand or meet his true self instantly since Afghanistan like most other countries that comprehend certain sexual drives as unnatural and hence, just like any other thing that breaks the order, as marginalised, Amin's idea of gayness, however well framed, was yet blurred out as he did not have the right square to box himself in it which can be seen as he says. “I kind of knew all along that I was gay without actually knowing what it meant.”²⁹

“In Afghanistan, gay people didn't exist. There wasn't even a word for them. They brought shame in the family. So it was, it was hard to accept being gay”³⁰ was the experience Amin went through to accept his own reality. This internal battle fuelled by society's externally fought struggle of being a migrant, leaves marginalised people at the mercy of others, stripping them of all their powers and making their boxed existence, synonymous to their

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ *Supra* note 2.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

country's ripped statelessness. This doubly marginalised sentiment is seen through the lines of a local folklore in the documentary that shows the condition of both Afghanistan and its people.

Local folklore: Oh my country, you suffer, because you were betrayed. Oh my country, you've lost your voice, your melody. Oh my country you are in pain. And there is no cure. Oh my country...³¹

This lived anecdotal experiences of refugees raise questions of the implementation of refugee laws, their need, and space for humanitarianism. Amin's lived reality puts human rights in a flux making the question of refugee laws a deeply challenging phenomenon to be comprehended.

BIOPOWER OF THE STATE: COLD WAR AS THE CAUSE OF AMIN'S 'FLEE'-ING FROM AFGHANISTAN

Biopower according to Foucault as understood by Maurizio Lazzarato refers to “determining what there is in life that resists, and that, in resisting this power, creates forms of subjectification and forms of life that escape its control.”³² Owing to this definition, Amin's false identity renders him as a subject at the hands of the biopower. This can be best understood by Amin's statement “My life is in the trafficker's hands. You are left completely powerless”³³ as he is being taken away to be sent away as an orphan to a new country where he has to consciously cut all ties with his previous life and his family.³⁴ According to Foucault, the idea of self is “discursively produced” over a period of time by being a subject to the regulatory power relations within the discourses where it is positioned.³⁵ The subject, the person, the self or one's identity are hence in the continuous process of becoming the product of history and power. Foucault's notion of biopower focuses on the governance of human existence as well as their maintenance on both, at the level of the population as well as the body of the individual. It is a representation on a form of authority which directs the focus toward entire population.³⁶ This framework which is conceptualized becomes extremely valuable as it builds linkages between identity and power dynamics, illustrating the

³¹ *Supra* note 2.

³² Maurizio Lazzarato, *From Biopower to Biopolitics*, MULTITUDES, 45, 2000.

³³ *Supra* note 2.

³⁴ BIOPOWER, <https://globalsocialtheory.org/concepts/biopower/> (last visited Feb. 1, 2024).

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

employment of societal classifications for the justification and perpetuation of state violence against particular groups.³⁷

Owing to this understanding, the division of biopower can be split in two intertwining poles, namely, “disciplinary power or anatomo-politics of a body and the biopolitical power at the hands of the population.”³⁸ The former focuses on the production of the docility in the bodies through sites of discipline like schools, hospitals and prisons which can be ‘subjected, used, transformed and improved’ whilst biopolitical power focuses on administering the life, that is it tries to ‘optimise’ the life of populations.³⁹ These two bifurcations serve to categorise people as ‘normal’ or ‘abnormal’ in the state’s eyes.⁴⁰

In terms of migration, the docility is often seen as an inevitable condition as one’s power to have control of their own lives is stripped away. This can be seen through Amin’s horrid description of her sister’s being illegally transported outside of Afghanistan.

“They are out inside a freight container with lots of other people... then the container is loaded into a gigantic cargo ship boxed in by containers all around it. Blocking it, so you can’t get out.”⁴¹

In this way, “instead of a binary division between the permitted and the prohibited, one establishes an average considered as optimal on the one hand, and, on the other, a bandwidth of the acceptable that must not be exceeded.”⁴² Just the way Amin’s family chose to suffocate their way outside their current life, they are always given the choice to choose the permitted suffocating yet legalised life in comparison to the comparatively humane but illegal existence. This choice often leads a particular citizen as a *homo sacer* who leads a noble life, but their death has a lot of impact as it will not lead to any ripples.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ *Supra* note 2.

⁴² VERNON W. CISNEY, NICOLAE MORAR, *BIOWEAPON: FOUCAULT AND BEYOND* (University of Chicago Press 2015).

‘HOMO SACER’- AN UNFORTUNATE EXISTENCE OF THE DOUBLY MARGINALISED

Homo sacer, as defined by Agamben, is seen as a ‘reduction that goes unnoticed.’ Agamben, for this purpose cites Pompeius Festus, writing about the holy man: “It is not permitted to sacrifice this man, yet whoever kills him will not be condemned for homicide”.⁴³ Here two contradictions can be found; first, “even if the man is holy, killing is authorized.”⁴⁴ Offending the sacred was forbidden however, this does not mean that the sacred may not be killed.⁴⁵ Second, even if the killing of the holy man, this killing may not be ritualized,⁴⁶ making the sacred “enigmatic and difficult to grasp. Agamben means that this figure was obscure for the Romans themselves.”⁴⁷

This through Amin’s anecdote can be seen when he describes the event where he, along with his brother, as a teenage boy goes to the opening of McDonalds and is held hostage by the police with another refugee girl. The two brothers were brutally beaten because they did not have money but the refugee girl was made to “pay... in other ways”⁴⁸ indicating towards raping her. Her plight is that she would neither be her nor be met to justice as her rape is neither a matter of the state she is raped in, nor the concern of the country she has fled from. Her entire existence is torn down to the stateless identity she has assumed making her a homo sacer just like Amin and his family. This state of double marginalisation of this refugee girl raises questions indicating the failures of the justice system, the need for refugee protection, and further, for the ideological apparatus of the objectified woman.

The bare life of the homo sacer is the “irreducible hypostasis that appears between them to testify to the impossibility of their identity as much as their distinction: what it was for X to be or live” is now only bare life.⁴⁹ In this matrix, the concept of time, which is both, chronological and operative is out of grasp, as the medium of a historical task, in which a being could actualize its own identity and other human beings could ensure their own political existence.⁵⁰

⁴³ GIORGIO AGAMBEN, *THE USE OF BODIES* (Stanford University Press 2016).

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ *Supra* note 2.

⁴⁹ *Supra* note 39.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

Owing to this, Carl Schmitt's definition of sovereignty "Sovereign is he who decides on the state of exception"⁵¹ became a commonplace even before there was any understanding that what was at issue in it was nothing less than the limit concept of the doctrine of law and the State, in which sovereignty borders on the sphere of life and becomes indistinguishable from it.⁵² Based on the above explanation, the plight of the *homo sacer* can be understood in flux; a position denied by both, the Law and the State. This can be seen through the brutal scenes of the jungle as Amin along with his mother and brother were trying to reach the ship under the berth of which more than fifty people were to be smuggled that night of all age groups and genders.

"There are two things I will never forget about this night..."⁵³ first that they wanted to shoot a child because his shoes had light and the other, they wanted to shoot an old lady because she was slowing the group. Both showcasing the importance of the lives of the ones being smuggled.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE ABSENCE OF A HOME- LIGHT ON THE EPHEMERALITY OF HOME ITSELF

The discourse surrounding human rights in the context of migration underscores the complexity and urgency of addressing the multifaceted challenges faced by migrants, particularly those who are doubly marginalized like Amin. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, conceived fifty years ago, espouses the principles of universality, indivisibility, and inalienability of human rights, yet the de facto extension of these rights to vulnerable groups remains incomplete.⁵⁴

The appointment of a UN Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of Migrants marks a positive step towards advancing the protection of migrants' rights.⁵⁵ However, the pervasive "illegalization" of migrants perpetuates negative perceptions and denies them the recognition and protection of their fundamental rights.⁵⁶ The distinction between refugees and other migrants can be blurred in complex situations, but it's crucial to uphold internationally

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ *Supra* note 2.

⁵⁴ THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF MIGRANTS, https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/migrants_human_rights.pdf (last visited Feb. 1, 2024).

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

accepted definitions and standards, such as those outlined in the UN Convention and Protocol on the Status of Refugees.⁵⁷

Migrants in irregular or unauthorized status often find themselves exploited as a flexible labour reserve, with little to no protection from labour standards.⁵⁸ Exploitation lies at the heart of many migration experiences, exacerbating the vulnerability of displaced individuals like Amin. Moreover, the designation of migrants as "illegal" not only denies them legal recognition and protection but also sets dangerous precedents that erode the universality of human rights.⁵⁹ Such precedents could potentially extend to other vulnerable groups, further undermining the protection of fundamental rights globally.

Amin: "You grow up. You grow up too fast. And when you flee as a child, it's like... it takes time before you have to trust people. You're constantly on your guard. All the time. All the time. Even when you are in a nice safe place, you are on your guard. I can feel that something needs to change."⁶⁰

The above dialogue from the movie "Flee" poignantly illustrates the lasting impact of displacement on individuals like Amin, who struggle to trust and find a sense of security even in supposedly safe environments. The ephemeral nature of the idea of home exacerbates these challenges, as displaced individuals grapple with the loss of their homeland and the complexities of adjusting to new realities built on the foundations of displacement and marginalization.

In essence, addressing the human rights implications of migration requires not only legal and policy reforms but also a broader societal shift towards recognizing and respecting the inherent dignity and rights of all individuals, regardless of their migration status or background. Only through concerted efforts to challenge stereotypes, combat exploitation, and foster inclusive societies can we truly uphold the principles of human rights for all, especially those who have been forcibly displaced from their homes.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ *Supra* note 2.