

# Insurgency & Displacement

*Perspectives on Nepal*

Sarah Kernot  
with Manjita Gurung

June 2003



# Insurgency & Displacement

*Perspectives on Nepal*

Sarah Kernot

with

Manjita Gurung

South Asia Forum for Human Rights  
Kathmandu

## SAFHR Paper 15

© All rights Reserved

Published by

South Asia Forum for Human Rights  
3/23 Shree Durbar Tole, Patan Dhoka, Lalitpur  
G.P.O. Box: 12855  
Kathmandu, Nepal  
Tel: +977-1-5541026 Fax: +977-1-5527852  
Email: [south@safhr.org](mailto:south@safhr.org)  
Website: [www.safhr.org](http://www.safhr.org)

This publication acknowledges the support of Friedrich-Naumann Stiftung, South Asia Regional Office, New Delhi. It is brought out as part of the course material for the Fourth South Asian Peace Studies Orientation Course.

# *Contents*

Foreword

Introduction	1
I    Scope and Nature of Displacement in Nepal	4
II   Assessing Numbers of Displaced People	9
III  Responses to displacement	16
IV   Ceasefire & Displacement	21
V    Materials on displacement in Nepal	22
VI   Interviews	27
VII  Recommendations	30
VIII. Rights of displaced people	31
Annexure	33
Reference	55

## **Terms of reference**

CDO	Chief District Officer
CWIW	Child Workers in Nepal
DFID	Department for International Development (UK Government)
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
HURON	Human Rights Organization of Nepal
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
INF	International Nepal Fellowship
INGO	International non-government organization
INSEC	Informal Sector Service Centre
NGO	Non-government organization
NHRC	National Human Rights Commission
SAHARA	Social Awareness and Helping Activities in Rural Areas
SNV	Netherlands Development Organization
UNHCHR	United Nations High Commission for Human Rights

## Foreword

Eight years of the Maoist led 'Peoples War' has resulted in a civil war that has left an estimated 8,000 dead and largely in the last couple of years. Economic blockades and dislocation of agrarian activity has produced difficult, near famine conditions in some districts. Infrastructure in the district headquarters and villages has been destroyed and health and educational facilities disrupted. Thousand of people have fled the conflict affected areas.

It is estimated that 150,000 to 200,000 people have been internally displaced in Nepal as a result of the conflict. Thousands more have walked the traditional migratory path across the open border to melt into the cities of India.

On January 29, 2003 a ceasefire was declared by the two controlling authorities in Nepal, the Palace -Army and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). Five months after the ceasefire there is no effective code of conduct in place and the prospect of a political settlement of the Maoist led 'Peoples War' is becoming even more uncertain. In Nepal the writ of state authority and the Royal Nepal Army does not extend beyond the Kathmandu valley, the district headquarters and the bazaar towns, in the villages the controlling authority remains the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) and its armed cadres. Eight years of armed revolution has resulted in a strategic equilibrium between the two armed forces and a virtual border dividing the two systems of authority. The 22 point ceasefire code of conduct agreement of March 13 between the two parties defacto acknowledges the signatories as representing *two sattas* or two governments. It treats the two authorities on a par and provides for no mobilization of armed forces in each other's areas. In effect it means that the 'armed' Maoists will remain in control of the villages and the Royal Nepal Army (RNA) in the district towns.

This has major implications for the people's sense of security and the confidence of IDPs to return as well as the capacity of official and non governmental agencies to assist return and rebuild the infrastructure and facilities destroyed in the conflict. For example, GIZ development agency

officials reported in April that in affected districts like Achham and Bardiya, while the Maoists have lifted the blockade on movement of peoples and foodstuffs, the army had yet to withdraw the blockade and curfew and search and cordon operations. The Maoist leaders have been calling for people to return but the response has been a wait and watch one. Also with the ceasefire peace process under strain, there is little evidence to suggest that people are willing to return.

The plight of the IDPs in Nepal is made all the more grave because national and international agencies have tended to grossly under report and marginalize the phenomenon allowing themselves to confuse it with seasonal migration. Officially, the government recognises only 7343 persons/families, the criteria being - "a person who has been displaced due to murder of a family member by the terrorists". Evidently, this excludes persons fleeing oppression by the security forces. The lack of any systematic and coordinated information on Nepal's IDPs has produced lacunae in policy attention and action by national and international agencies.

The problem lies in the way IDPs have been defined creating institutionalized regimes of rights and exclusion. Who is an IDP? The UN Guiding Principles normatively defines IDPs as persons "been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their home or place of habitual residence, *in particular* as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border". The phrase 'in particular' widens its application but only somewhat as we see in the case of Nepal where national and international agencies have used the continuum between migration' and conflict induced displacement in Nepal as a grounds for not giving priority to the situation of IDPs.

In Nepal as in much of South Asia the pattern is of mixed flows of forced migrants which challenges any neat distinction between or definition of forced migration or conflict induced displacement and raises questions about humanitarian politics. Who is deserving of protection and care- the escapees and victims of violence; of structural violence producing life debilitating situations, of sexual violence, of discrimination, of environmental degradation and of human and man made disasters. Arguably, in Nepal where one out of three persons depends on seasonal migration for family survival, there is need to interrogate the assumption of 'voluntary migration' in a situation of structural violence. When infrastructural facilities especially basic educational and health facilities in the rural areas, have been badly affected by the conflict, agricultural production and local markets have been disrupted and economic blockades have strained an already very fragile

subsistence economy, is it meaningful to view displacement as an increase in normal migration rates?

Agencies like the International Committee of Red Cross (ICRC) in a report on the humanitarian situation on the mid western region claimed that 'clashes have not directly led to large-scale displacements' but rather contributed to an increase in normal migration rates. By implication people have coped by drawing upon the traditional strategy of migration. Therefore in its 2001 annual report, ICRC identified internal displacement as an issue but said that due to difficulties of distinguishing IDPs it was impossible to assess their situation or provide effective assistance.

The phenomenon of mixed population flows fogs Nepal's IDP issue, making them virtually invisible and beyond humanitarian policy action. Anecdotal evidence of masses in flight has been plentiful in the media. Last year, at the peak of the seven years old 'Peoples War' with the Maoist rebels pitted against the Royal Nepal Army, there were reports of crammed busloads of 250 men, leaving daily Mangalsen the district headquarters in Achham district, flattened earlier by a Maoist attack in February 2002. In nearby Jajarkot and Rolpa districts, the Maoist stronghold in the mid west, whole families and groups of families were seen leaving.

Some walked for days from the village to the district headquarters to move on again by bus to municipalities and then to the Kathmandu valley or to relocate in *Sukumbasis* (unclaimed lands). Others went to the *Terai* plains abutting the Indian border and eventually to cross the open border to substantially swell the numbers of those who seasonally migrate to India. Spot monitoring at the border by a USAID team estimated that between Nov- Dec 2003 (peak migration period) over 1200 people were crossing per day in Nepalgunj. In previous years the number would be around 300 to 400 on the *Terai* border. Also children as young as 12 years were conspicuous. Whole villages were left without men and boys, as I found in my travels as early as 1998.

As the cadres of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoists) spread their control over the villages, the security forces fortified district headquarters and bazaars. Generalised violence, forced recruitment, the use of food as an instrument of war, the disruption of agricultural production, food for work programmes, education and health services drove thousands to leave and thousands not to return from seasonal migration. It created the phenomenon of the 'internally stuck'. As Esperanz Martinez in the first structured study of Nepal IDPs observed "vulnerable groups such as women, children and the elderly have been left behind in their villages".

On a trip to Libang the district headquarters of Rolpa in July 2002, I found

a huge run on Citizen's Identity Cards and Passports. The Chief District Officer (CDO) had to expand the staff from 6 to 21 to cope with the pressure. Compared to 2260 cards issued last year, in the last eight months 8990 have been issued and 1336 Passports. Fortified Libang was full of 'escapees' from Maoist violence, largely people associated with Nepal's many political parties. I saw a commercial cum civic complex being constructed in the town's public space. Hard at work digging was a group of IDPs, owing allegiance to the conservative Rashtriya Prajatantra Party. Tek Bahadur Biko was evidently a man of means because the young woman working by his side was his 11<sup>th</sup> wife. The family had first moved from Gam village to the safety of the police post of Sullichaur. After the November attack by the Maoists in Dang, when the police pulled out to Libang, so did Biko. After the Maoists attacked Gam, Biko was taken by the army to Gam to dig up the bodies of 40 Maoists to try and identify them. "I went to perform the last rites", he said.

Working alongside Biko was Amber Singh Buda. He had been in a group of 45 'IDPs' who had trekked for two days and back to Tebang, when the army set up camp there. "We carried explosives and other equipment for which we were paid for three days at Nrs 90/ (going rate for civilian portage is Nrs 250/). The government has not paid them any compensation. Biko and Buda are obliged by their military benefactors, to be guides, informers and porters. The Maoists are accused of using human shields, was the army also crossing the line using 'forced' portage?"

Young IDPs are particularly vulnerable to 'forced' recruitment by both sides. In Libang there was a group of 20 men, from 18 to 40 years waiting outside the army camp. "They're internally displaced people (IDP)", a Major said. The names of sensitive villages were taken. One of them held back, he was not wearing shoes and evidently fast movement was required. They let him go. The others walked into the army camp. The next day we heard of a pre dawn army raid on village Dhabang. Two, suspected Maoists were killed. These 'volunteers' had been their guides, carried equipment even explosives. They were not paid.

From a humanitarian and human rights perspective, displacement in Nepal has impoverished peoples, destroyed social subsistence networks and put pressure on host populations and environments particularly in municipalities. Clearly the phenomenon of conflict induced displacement in Nepal needed attention and intervention. The problem is that evidence has been largely anecdotal, sporadic and dispersed.

A Nepal Red Cross study based on a sample study of 21 districts registered 10,500 IDPs. Extrapolated to all 75 districts, it would be 37,000 IDPs. An NRC official observed that the figure was likely to be barely 10 % of the

actual figure, making it 150,000 to 200,000.

Some useful data is available from the UNDP Rural Urban Partnership Programme (RUPP) census survey of 12 municipalities which account for 36% of urban population in Nepal. Analysis showed a jump in influx to the cities in the last couple of years. Urban population in the decade of the 90s registered a growth of 3.6% which rose to 5.2% in 2001-2002. Factors cited for displacement were education 38% followed by security 24% work 14%, services 12%, business 3% and others 9%. However as we noted the escalation in the civil war degraded all these services and facilities apart from the situation of generalised violence. Sarah Kemot in a sample survey of 8 victims of Maoist violence in Kathmandu found direct victims of torture, extortion, theft and intimidation. Three had family members who had been killed by the Maoists.

In an effort to focus attention on the situation of IDPs in Nepal, SAFHR decided to undertake a monograph study to identify and assess the various studies and initiatives being taken at the national and international level and at the governmental and non governmental level.

The study was undertaken by Sarah Kemot, a graduate student at the University of Melbourne who was doing an internship at SAFHR from January to February 2003. The monograph is a testimony to her initiative and her commitment. Constraints of time, budget and language entailed a severely limited scope and format. Field work was limited to a very small sample survey exercise of displaced persons in Kathmandu registered with the Maoists Affected Victims Association. Manjita Gurung, Sarden Sherpa, Som Niraula and Jagat Acharya of the SAFHR team, assisted in translating and analysing the interviews. Sarden Sherpa assisted in the design and layout.

Meanwhile, in March 2003, the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) took the lead to put Nepal on the map of its Global IDP Project and profile the pattern of forced relocation of IDPs and its co-relation with rapid urbanization in Nepal. It coordinated the various sporadic initiatives of UNDP, GIZ, INF, SNV, NRC and in cooperation with the Nepal Human Rights Commission published the 'Nepal IDP Research Initiative Findings'. Assessing the scale of the problem of displacement remained a crucial and controversial issue.

The SAFHR study was completed before the Nepal IDP Research Initiative Findings were released, however researcher Sarah Kemot had been in communication with a few of the agencies involved in that project.

Return remains a distant option under the present situation of a volatile ceasefire and uncertain peace process. The government's response continues

to be unsatisfactory and blatantly discriminatory. Some international agencies have demonstrated more awareness but others have retreated into the refuge of definitional confusion. At the non-governmental level both national and international, there has been much greater initiative and efforts at developing a more coordinated response. However much more needs to be done to focus attention on the situation of conflict induced displacement in Nepal. Sarah's monograph study, it is hoped will help to draw more attention to need for protecting the rights of Nepal's IDPs, not least by making them visible.

**Rita Manchanda**

June 2003

## Introduction

Eight years of brutal civil war has devastated the kingdom of Nepal. In February 1996 the Maoist launched a 'Peoples War' to effect through armed conflict a structural change in Nepal's politico-economic system. It has left nearly 8000 dead (*Informal, INSEC, 2003*) and untold more victims of human rights atrocities. In November 2001 a state of emergency was declared and the army deployed producing a massive escalation in violence. Civilians have been caught between the barbarity of the two warring factions and the population surrounded by generalised violence and in a state of fear. On January 29, 2003 the Palace backed by the Royal Nepal Army<sup>1</sup> and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoists) declared a ceasefire. However the prospects of a sustainable ceasefire and a politically negotiated settlement look uncertain.

Amongst the victims of the conflict are the displaced, those that have become escapees in their own nation. Forced to flee from violence and deprivation, thousands of people have left their homes for safer grounds. Many have sought refuge in district headquarters whilst others have moved to urban centers or to other countries. It has been estimated that 150,000 to 200,000 people have left their homes as a result of the conflict (Nepal IDP Research Initiative Findings 2003). Many will be absent from their homes and communities for years, leaving their livelihoods, families, homes and social networks in disarray. Age, sex, access to resources and length of relocation will influence whether they return.

The effects of displacement are long-term and far-reaching. Displaced people become impoverished – subject to unemployment, ill-health, interrupted education, discrimination, broken social support mechanisms and vulnerable to coerced recruitment into the armed forces of both sides. Furthermore,

---

<sup>1</sup> On Oct 4, 2003 Nepal's Constitutional Monarch, King Gyandendra dismissed the elected Prime Minister and Council of Ministers and under clause 127 of the Constitution took over all executive powers. Subsequently a government was nominated by the King. The issue of where sovereignty lies is at the heart of the conflict in Nepal. 13 years of multi-party democracy have failed to fundamentally alter the feudal power structure. The Maoists want an elected Constituent Assembly to determine a more representative and just structure.

the impact of displacement extends beyond those displaced. Often it is the most vulnerable who are left behind, children, the elderly and women. The people left behind must adjust and compensate for the loss of family or community members. Indeed the 'internally stuck' need to be recognised as amongst the most impoverished and the most vulnerable (*Martinez 2002*). Not all those who are forcibly displaced are without resources, however the last couple of years of the state of emergency in Nepal has seen the flight of much poorer and younger people who generally would not have been involved in the cycle of seasonal migration and therefore would not have access to the migration coping mechanisms.

The long-term health of Nepal is also at risk. Food security is threatened as farms are abandoned and urban centers decay as insufficient infrastructure struggles to cope with sudden influxes of people. The economy is drained by low productivity, unemployment, falling wages, a generation is at risk of missing out on education. Further, IDPs are tomorrow's refugees with socio-economic and security consequences for neighbouring countries. In the case of Nepal the open border with India disguises the extent and scope of conflict induced displacement as thousands cross over to India. The noticeable fall in daily wages in the cross border districts is an indicator of the pressure of waves of displaced people crossing over.

In some regions of Nepal, entire villages have been abandoned by men and youths, but the problem of displacement has largely gone unrecognised. Generally, both national and international agencies in Nepal have tended to render invisible the scope and scale of Nepal's internally displaced people (IDPs) by regarding them as swelling the pattern of traditional migration in search of employment and education. However after the state of emergency was imposed and violence spiraled, displacement reached crisis levels and entire families began leaving their homes the problem became too serious to ignore.

The response of the government thus far has been unsatisfactory and discriminatory. Although much of the displacement is a direct result of state action, only those people displaced by Maoist violence are officially recognised. And even they are not receiving anything like appropriate levels of assistance. Some international agencies and non-government organisations (NGOs) have demonstrated a greater recognition of the situation. They have initiated efforts to monitor and assess the numbers of IDPs with the intention of developing effective long-term strategies to alleviate the problem. Their efforts are essentially directed at awareness raising. To this end, it is essential that Nepal's IDPs displacement be recognised as deserving serious attention so that a coordinated policy and action can be devised.

The root causes of the Maoist conflict, poverty and inequity, will need to be addressed before violence and displacement in Nepal cease. Currently the ceasefire remains fragile and the peace process has yet to begin. Moreover, once peace is achieved, the problem of displacement will not suddenly disappear. Those who choose to return to their homes will need assistance to re-establish their livelihoods and communities. Infrastructure will need to be rebuilt and farms rejuvenated. Most importantly, trust and emotional well-being will need to be re-created. Many IDPs will not return home. They and their new communities will require long-term assistance to integrate and adjust.

### **Objectives**

- ↑↑ To provide an interim directory of materials on displacement in Nepal.
- ↑↑ To provide information on the causes and consequences of displacement in Nepal.
- ↑↑ To examine the responses of government, non-government and international agencies as well as the media.
- ↑↑ To document the experiences of IDPs in Kathmandu through a series of interviews.
- ↑↑ To make recommendations for action

## I

### **Scope and Nature of Displacement in Nepal**

An internally displaced person has been defined as one who has "been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their home or place of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border" (UN).

Although this definition may seem easily applicable to the situation in Nepal, in reality the circumstances are much more complex. Indeed the situation of Nepal's IDP's requires us to interrogate the above definition, for it predicates an approach which in effect renders thousands of IDPs invisible. Traditional patterns of migration as well as the more recent trends of urbanisation and globalisation are used to muddy the criteria by which a displaced person can be identified. Some international agencies, as discussed below, have stayed away from taking on board their humanitarian agenda Nepal's IDPs, arguing that it is difficult to distinguish conflict induced displacement from seasonal or economic migrants or people who may be shifting for reasons such as the resources available at urban centres.

As civil war has spread across the country, civilians have been caught between the two warring factions. A wave of terror and human rights violations, destruction of health and educational facilities, economic blockades and the use of food as an instrument of war in fragile subsistence areas, has threatened peoples security and livelihood. In these last couple of years especially, the armed forces of both sides have not respected any neutral space. Villagers are afraid of the Maoists, the army and the police. The conflict has left people in a terrorized state - unable to trust their friends, families or the forces sent to protect them. Left without the means to survive, they have become escapees, forced to flee their homes.

#### **Killings, Illegal Detentions & Torture**

In the period preceding the state of emergency, from February 1996- Nov

2001, the Maoists were responsible for over eight hundred deaths and the State for over one thousand. Once the Maoists launched the second phase of the Peoples War and the army was deployed, both Maoists and state security forces mounted an unprecedented killing spree. In 2002 alone, over five thousand people were killed, 1,062 by the Maoists and 4,151 by the State (*Informal, INSEC*)

Maoist attacks during the state of emergency were mainly directed toward security forces and political workers. In 2002 Maoists killed 485 police, 187 army personnel and 118 political workers as well as 57 agricultural workers and 28 teachers. State forces targeted people suspected to be "Maoist". As pointed out by Amnesty International (2002), there is no clear definition of what constitutes a Maoist. Anyone who provides shelter, food or money to an armed Maoist, even if under threat, can be accused of being a Maoist. Taking into consideration the plethora of accounts from people forced to assist Maoist rebels, it would appear that many of the "Maoists" killed by the state in 2002, could be innocent civilians. To further the evidence of wrongful killings, it has become apparent that security forces have adopted a policy of killing suspects rather than arresting them (*Amnesty International, 2002*). Both the state and the Maoists have been brutal in their methods. Killings have been accompanied by torture and rape (including that of young girls and pregnant women). Maiming is a conspicuous punishment meted out to so called informers and is particularly cruel in the circumstances of an agrarian economy. Disappearances, forced recruitment and the withholding medical of treatment and acts of humiliation have been common.

Some examples:

In Patabhar VDC, a 25 year old widow and mother of two infant sons was killed by a group of Maoists. The killers drove nails through her palms and chopped off her legs (*E-Bulletin, INSEC*).

In Bardiya, security forces shot dead a man who ran as he saw them approaching. After the murder they smeared his face with kerosene and set it afire (*E-Bulletin, INSEC*).

In Banke, a man was kept in police custody without trial or prosecution for over a year. The police wanted him to confess to being a Maoist spy. For the first nine days of his imprisonment, he was kept blindfolded and not permitted to speak or move around. He was tortured using electric shock treatment, water was forced through his nose, he was beaten with boots and water pipes and in the cold of winter water was poured on him and he was kept under a fan. He was handcuffed all the time during his imprisonment. The police were drunk while administering much of the torture (*Appeal*,

*INSEC*, 2002). This man is just one of hundreds of suspected Maoists who have been kept in detention for more than one year without being taken to court.

In Bajura, two youths walked down the street were stopped by the army and ordered to strip. Out of fear they complied, stripping down to their underwear. When the soldiers told them to strip completely, the boys protested. The boys were taken away by the army (*Mainali*, 2002).

In exercising their policy of "one family, one member" the Maoists have forcefully recruited members of their armed forces. Youths have been abducted at gunpoint from schools (*E-Bulletin*, *INSEC*). Asia Child Rights News letter (22/01/03) claims that 30 to 40% of the Maoist opposition forces are children between the ages of 14 and 18 years. However this is largely based on unverified anecdotal evidence.

### **Taxes & Extortion**

The Maoists have established a parallel government funded by a system of 'taxes' and donations. In an email interview with Washington-based political analyst, Chitra Tiwari, Maoist leader Baburam Bhattarai openly discussed the Maoist strategies of raiding banks and collecting money from businessmen and industrialists. Teachers, civil servants, contractors, development agency workers, shopkeepers, agriculturalists, goatherds are all 'taxed' in the Maoist controlled areas. These donations or taxes are sometimes given willingly, but there are reports of forcible collection. One of our interviewees Mr Dor (63) an agriculturalist and businessmen in Sindhuli district was regularly hounded for donations. He was chairman of several community level committees and was suspected of being hostile. He was arrested by the Maoists and his hands and legs were broken. His family managed to free him and paid up Nepali rupees 10,000.

Kheema a 'surrendered Maoist' living under the gaze of the police in Libang, district headquarters of Rolpa spoke of doing 'forced' labour in lieu of tax. She was studying in class 8<sup>th</sup> at Shree Bal Uday Middle School, Maddicahur when the Maoists told her to do contributory labour as her three brothers soldiering in India had not paid the Maoists. Her work comprised, household chores, collective cultivation and fetching water for mass meetings. (*Frontline*, September 13 2002) The code of conduct agreement specifically proscribes 'forcible' collection of donations and taxes however, reports indicate that businessmen in particular are still being asked to contribute.

### **Disruption of supplies and essential services**

The Maoists have attacked the symbols of state power destroying hydro-

electric plants, telecom 'repeater' towers, school buildings (used as temporary army camps) agricultural development banks, revenue offices, village development offices and in the process the adjoining primary health centres. In Dang, Rolpa and Rukum alone, Maoists have destroyed 271 VDC buildings, 138 post offices, 16 health posts and 29 bridges. The destruction of the telecom towers has cut off all phone communication (*Sharad, 2003*). Bardiya's Karnali Delta has been without electricity for over one year, and public and private vehicles have been banned (*Bhandari, 2003*). In Barjura, even animals used for transport have disappeared (*Mainali, 2002*).

In effect it has resulted in isolating villages and ensuring that state power is confined to district headquarters and larger towns. Financial institutions, schools, post offices, government offices, telecommunications, bridges, power projects, health posts and airport towers have been targeted. The political affiliations of schools and teachers has made them a prime target for Maoists. Consequently, the education system has been left in disarray as teachers have been killed or forced to leave town, and schools have been looted, burned and used as army barracks. In Bardiya last year, schools were open for an average of 79 days (*Wagle, 2003*). The sudden influx of students to safer districts has meant overcrowding in other schools.

Meanwhile, the state has imposed restrictions on the supply of foodstuffs, medicines, kerosene, shoes, batteries, salt and other essential items. The blockade is intended to starve out the Maoists, however it is the villagers who are suffering the consequences. In order to receive their rations, people must first get a letter of authorisation from the CDO. The journey to his office in the district head quarters can involve days of travel across difficult terrain (*Mairali, 2002*).

In Libang in Rolpa, for June and July 2002, no sanctions were given for medicines and stocks were running dangerously low. In the sister market town of Sullichaur, anti diarrhea drugs, saline solutions, tetracycline, etc had run out. As for village pharmacies like in Maddichaur village, they were closed. Other items on the banned/restricted list are battery cells, pressure cookers, instant foods and Nepal made 'Gold Star' shoes, ideal for running up and down hill slopes. (*FrontLine, September 13 2002*)

### **Social breakdown**

"My own friends killed my brothers. They used weapons they made themselves to kill my father. My mother had no more tears to shed. In the name of politics, I saw my houses burned, my babies killed. I was raped and impregnated by men in arms from both armies. I was not allowed to cry out. The clothes with the semen of my attackers were burned and I was told

to keep my mouth shut. Those we thought to be our liberators and protectors abused us and we could not share our pain because our friends were too afraid to listen" (*Anonymous in Uprety, 2003*).

One of the most damaging consequences of the conflict has been the breakdown in the social fabric. There is no sense of security – people feel vulnerable, unprotected and are living in constant fear. There is little trust amongst communities and people do not feel free to speak. Curfews restrict communal activities, morale is low and people have been prevented from or are fearful to participate in the socio-religious rituals of weddings and funerals (*Mainali, 2002*). Traditional networks and support systems are being destroyed as families are separated and children grow up in an atmosphere of violence and threat. The pervasive fear of generalized violence, food scarcity and increased deprivation has undermined community networks and contributed to the displacement of people seeking peace and security.

### **Accountability**

The majority of atrocities have not been investigated or dealt with satisfactorily by the authorities. Whilst the Maoists position themselves outside the legal system; the state security forces have been sheltered by a culture of corruption, lack of accountability and impunity. Investigations into cases of human rights violations have lacked credibility and security forces have chosen to ignore district court orders without repercussion. The practice of the CDO issuing pre-signed blank detention orders (*Amnesty International, 2002*) has given security forces a free reign and reinforced their attitude of immunity. Emergency laws like the Anti Terrorist Act have further reinforced a culture of impunity. As demonstrated in the sample interviews, the issue of security is the primary factor in producing displacement.

## II

### Assessing Numbers of Displaced People

Reports of large scale displacement of men from the villages in mid western districts appeared as early as August 1998 (*Manchanda, 1998*). In spite of public protests in 1999, they received little attention (*Maharjan, 2000*). In its 2001 annual report, the ICRC identified internal displacement as an issue but said that due to the difficulties of distinguishing IDPs it was impossible to assess their situation or provide effective assistance. Rather they would stand ready to "respond to any change in circumstances that led to large-scale displacements and acute needs" (ICRC, 2001).

When the state of emergency exacerbated the violence and triggered an increase in displacement, there was a heightened awareness of the problem by both government and non-government agencies but the reaction remained uncoordinated and ad hoc. No over-arching strategies were put into place and government funds for compensation had dried up. Discussions with various agencies suggest that the lack of action from both the government or non-government sectors is partly due to the sudden spurt in the number of displaced. In June 2000 there were 265 people known to be displaced (*Maharjan, 2000*), but in 2002 there were estimates as high as 150,000 -200,000.

To date there is no consensus on the number of displaced people in Nepal and there is a wide discrepancy in the estimates released by the government, NGOs and the media. This inconsistency is reflected in Table 1. The principle reasons that the numbers of IDPs are difficult to assess are firstly, that many displaced people, particularly those displaced as a result of state violence, are reluctant to be identified, and secondly the criteria by which to identify displacement is itself problematic. This has been a crucial factor in the approach taken by some NGOs who argue that the lack of true statistics makes a planned and systematic approach to displacement pointless. In contrast, some organizations have been making a concerted effort to assess numbers of displaced although it has to be conceded that the numbers are constantly changing and can only ever be regarded as a rough guide. The multi agency IDP Research Initiative Findings -March 2003 is one of the

first attempts to map IDPs in Nepal. Given the importance of a 'true' assessment of the scope and nature of the IDP needs situation, NHRC and INSEC are currently using their contacts throughout Nepal to assess numbers. These estimates are likely to be the most accurate gathered so far.

**Table 1: Comparisons of available data on displacement**

District Registered	Officially	Other sources	Source
Banglung	86	200 families	INSEC
Banke	41	47	INSEC
Bardiya	1,051	200 families 8,000	INSEC Kathmandu Post 31/10/02
Dailekh	19	1250	INSEC
Dang	38	40 families Thousands	INSEC Nepali Times 20/12/02
Gulmi	91	300-400	The Himalayan 28/12/02
Ilam	25	150	Kathmandu Post 23/11/02
Jumla	149	Thousands	Kathmandu Post 14/12/02
Kailali	312	More than 200 families	Kathmandu Post 1/02/03
Kavrepalanchowk	493	Most men 52	Kathmandu Post 1/11/02 Asmita Publications
Morang	47	Many	Kathmandu Post 12/12/02
Parvat	19	250	The Himalayan 18/02/03
Ramechhap	110	Over 1,000	INSEC
Rukum	399	20,600 30,000	INSEC Kathmandu Post 19/10/02
Salyan	209	68 families Over 200	INSEC Nepali Times 11/10/02
Sankhuwasava	61	17	Asmita Publications
Sindhuli	58	81	INSEC
Surkhet	766	63	Kathmandu Post 23/11/02
Tanahun	48	150	Kathmandu Post 27/11/02
Udayapur	35	5,000	INSEC
Total	7,438	Unknown	

Source: Official figures obtained from Home Ministry 27/02/03

INSEC figures released in Informal Vol.14, No.1. January, 2003

Only those districts where comparative figures have been released are included.

## Migration and Urbanisation

Difficulties in determining who is displaced by conflict is complicated by inter-linking it with generalized trends in migration and urbanisation. Seasonal migration is a common practice in Nepal, with a subsistence agrarian economy that sustains for barely six months in the fragile mountain districts, obliging men to seek employment. In Nepal, 30% of the population participates in seasonal migration. At the time of the 2001 census, taken in a month of low seasonal migration, 3.3% of the population were absent from their place of residence. By far the majority of these (2.9%) were men (2001 Census).

An indicator of the impact of conflict on migration patterns is anecdotal evidence which suggests that in areas such as Bajura, unusually high numbers of women have left the district in 2002 (Mainali, 2002). Observers at the Nepal/India border have reported that boys as young as 12 are now accompanying their fathers to India in search of work. Spot monitoring at the border by a USAID sponsored team estimated that between Nov- Dec 2003 (peak migration period) over 1200 people were crossing per day in Nepalgunj. In previous years the number would be around 300 to 400 on the Terai border. Also children as young as 12 were conspicuous.

Traditionally, Nepal's internal migration patterns are characterized by rural to rural migration rather than the strong rural to urban patterns experienced elsewhere (Panday, 1999). For those moving internally, agriculture is an important factor and migration trends indicate a shift from high-pressure to low-pressure areas. Since the Terai plains malaria control program of the 1950s, there has been a strong trend for people to move south – the most prominent trend being from the hills to the Terai (Gurung, 2001). This movement had almost stabilised by 1991. However, the large movement of people from lowland districts such as Bardiya, indicates that it is not part of a traditional migratory trend, and can be assumed to be conflict related.

Nepal has experienced growing rates of urbanisation. From 1991–2001 Kathmandu's population grew at a rate of 37% as compared with the national growth rate of 20% for the same period (2001 Census). The jump in urban population growth of municipalities in 2001–2002 indicates the impact of the phenomenon of conflict induced displacement following the state of emergency. The UNDP Rural Urban Partnership Programme (RUPP) census survey of 12 municipalities in Nepal (accounting for 36% of Nepal's urban population) records that urban population in the decade of the 90s registered a growth of 3.6% which rose to 5.2% in 2001–2002.

District offices have reported a large increase in the number of applications for passports and citizen ID. In Gulmi district the number of passports issued doubled between March and December, 2002. In some districts, the demand has been so great that there are not enough passports available to meet all requests (Aryal, 2003). Passport applications can be taken to indicate an intention to leave the country at least temporarily, but once again they cannot be taken in isolation to indicate levels of displacement due to the conflict.

The argument that IDPs cannot be easily distinguished from migrants is partly based on the false assumption that migration was traditionally voluntary and free of violence. An important element of the displacement versus migration debate is based upon the degree of choice or stress associated with the move. The question is how voluntary is migration produced by the structural violence perpetrated by the feudal and quasi feudal structures under the *Panchayat* and subsequent multi-party democracy systems in Nepal. The advent of democracy has made little difference to the absolute levels of poverty, deprivation and discrimination. Nepal as in much of South Asia is characterised by mixed forced migration flows. Nonetheless, it is possible to identify a phenomenal push in forced migration as a consequence of conflict. Definitions must not become an alibi for institutionalising exclusion from protection and care. The important point to note here is that people who have been 'forced' to flee and relocate elsewhere have special needs which must be addressed.

Arguably, many displaced by the Maoist conflict in Nepal, do draw upon long-standing migratory patterns to provide a safety net. Traditional migratory patterns will impact upon the ways that people react to displacement, influencing the choices that they make. That is, people habituated to the practice of seasonal migration can fall back on social networks, housing, employment, medical and schooling opportunities in other districts or countries. These coping mechanisms have disguised the extent of instability caused by displacement. It has contributed to the invisibility of IDPs and given international humanitarian and care agencies an alibi for not addressing the plight of IDPs in Nepal. However, the last couple of years have seen not only a major expansion in numbers but also in the nature, i.e. first time migrants including women and small children.

### **Consequences of displacement**

The major consequences of displacement have been identified as landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation, loss of health, food insecurity, loss of common property resources and the unraveling of the

social fabric (*Cernea in Bhattarai, 2001*). As can be seen from even the small sample of interviews, all of these risks are very real for IDPs in Nepal. Information on the consequences of displacement in the home area is largely anecdotal. The lack of attention to the phenomenon of IDPs in Nepal has meant that there are few initiatives to study the consequences of displacement. Small market towns and rural villages are particularly affected by displacement. Food supplies dwindle as production levels drop, restrictions on movement and food supplies, batteries, 'Gold Star' shoes has meant disruption of the weekly 'haath' bazaar and the dying of bazaar towns. In addition, the use of food and medicines as an instrument of war has consequences for peoples immediate survival and health. The attacks on the rural banking system, the local Village Development Authority and the inter-linked Primary Health Centre has severely denuded people's access to services, minimal at best. In most cases foreign aided development agencies have had to withdraw working in the rural areas.

Infrastructure has been specifically targeted however it needs to be added that the majority of Nepal's villages had minimal access to roads electricity, roads or telephones. Further, with villages denuded of able bodied men cycles of repair and maintenance are disrupted. However, displaced persons in the district headquarters report that in areas controlled by the Maoists, especially in the mid west, community labour is mobilized to build bridges, roads and schools. (*FrontLine September 2003*) The ceasefire has encouraged agencies to resume development activities, e.g. like GIZ to resume road building activities in Achham district, with permission from the local Maoist commanders.

As the term of village and district level bodies (Village Development Committees) have expired, there is no local government structure. The conflict makes early elections difficult. Also, the Maoists have blasted the offices of the VDC and targeted the normal leaders of the community, the teachers, VDC members and local political party. They have been killed or have fled and become displaced. However in the vacuum created by the disruption of local leadership patterns, women have developed new agency in taking initiatives. In Rolpa district in Minrule, a village without men, women had come forward to take on public roles (*Baskota et al in Machanda 2001*). Gendered consequences of displacement need to be studied.

Host communities also suffer. Fragile environments and urban centres with insufficient infrastructure are not able to cope with increases in population. It can produce resentment from the local host community, though as yet, there is no evidence of this in the case of Nepal.

Moreover, displaced people are further affected by continuing sense of insecurity, lack of self esteem, unemployment, decreasing wages, disruption in education opportunities, and are vulnerable to risk of recruitment by the armed forces of both sides.

### **Vulnerable groups - women, children & elderly**

The impact of conflict is experienced in different ways by men, women, children and the elderly. In the incidences of displacement experienced elsewhere, women usually outnumber men. In Nepal there has been no gender sensitive study on displacement. The Nepal IDP Research Initiative fails to pay sufficient attention to this aspect. However anecdotal evidence of the large number of 'internally stuck' women and bus loads crammed with men, suggests that men may predominate in the numbers of displaced. This is to some extent supported by the survey of the National Red Cross Society (NRCS) where 52% of those registered in June 2002 were male and 48% female (*Martinez, 2002*).

For displaced women, the two key areas for concern are protection and participation. In developing countries, it has been found that in times of sudden change, women are more likely to lose their negotiated position, access to resources and revert to a lower social status (*Benjamin and Fancy, 1998*). Gender violence is a common consequence of displacement and women and girls are especially at risk of rape, abduction, and trafficking.

Death of family members, family separations, loss of home and the constant threat of insecurity all increase the likelihood of depression and health problems. In addition they are less likely to receive equal access or full participation in assistance programs (*Benjamin and Fancy, 1998*). However, the societal upheaval caused by conflict and displacement also opens spaces for women to demonstrate agency in taking on new leadership roles (*Banskota et al in Manchanda 2001*). The breakdown of the rigidities of caste hierarchies and social proscriptions can provide more space for women. However, humanitarian agencies and governments in implementing resettlement and rehabilitation policies are locked in a victimhood discourse and tend to ignore this aspect. Post conflict resettlement processes tend to discrimination against women, especially women headed households denying them claim to property and loans.

Children are particularly susceptible to the impact of war. In seven years of conflict, 146 children have been killed, 44 of them by landmines and bomb explosions. Nearly 100 children have been seriously injured. It is estimated that over 4,000 children have been displaced and 2,000 orphaned (*Shrestha,*

2003\*). A survey conducted in Rukum found that thirty percent of those displaced in the district were children (*Rai & Nepal, 2003*).

One of the most serious dangers for children in conflict is their susceptibility to recruitment – even the Royal Nepalese Army has accepted children under the age of 18 who have lied about their age (*Pokharel, 2003*). The Maoist rebels have been accused of large scale recruitment of young girls and boys. According to Asia Child Rights News letter (22/01/03) 30 to 40% of the Maoist opposition forces are children between the ages of 14 and 18 years. Information is largely conjecture and reports are based on anecdotal evidence. For example, the claim that nearly 600 students in Doti, Salyan, Surkhet, Sindhuli and Ramechhap were recently taken by Maoists (*Bhandari, 2003*).

The elderly, disabled and infirm are the forgotten victims of displacement. If they have received any attention at all, it is has certainly been minimal. These people are usually the last members of a community to flee and may be left behind when the stronger, younger members of families are forced to leave. The older men who participated in the interviews are amongst those who have left their homes. To find employment in the place of relocation is not likely as 63 year-old Dor asked "Who would want to employ an old man?"

Displacement is not a short-term problem which is resolved once a person returns home or is re-settled. The disruption it causes to people's lives can often have long-term consequences for the displaced, their families and their communities.

### III

## Responses to displacement

### State response

The authorities appear to be in a state of confusion on how to approach the problem. Discussions with various government departments indicated a lack of direction, cohesion or sense of responsibility towards IDPs, suggesting a lack of recognition, or perhaps a denial, that it is an area of crisis. Each department claimed to have little or no information and recommended another department that could assist with queries. The following information regarding measures taken was gathered from discussions with the Ministry of Home Affairs, the National Planning Commission, the Kathmandu CDO, the Lalitpur CDO and the Ministry of Defence.

Measures implemented by the government include a registration process whereby displaced people can register at their local district office. The criteria for eligibility is a person who has been displaced due to the murder of a family member by a terrorist'. According to Amit Dhakal a researcher for the NHRC, the CDO of Bajura district had indicated to him that this was the criteria. Home Ministry sources subsequently claim that there is no such officially stipulated criteria. The government figures show 7343 people registered as IDPs. Initially, compensation and allowances were given to registered IDPs however funds ran out in June 2002.

The Integrated Security Development Program, in which communities participate together with security forces to work on development works such as irrigation and road construction, was set up in seven Maoist affected districts. It is considered that this program is potentially beneficial to IDPs, however the capacity in which they can participate is not clear. The program was halted in all districts except Ghorkha during the state of emergency but has since been reinstated.

The current government has attempted to integrate the roles of the various ministries in dealing with the situation of IDPs. Using this approach they have produced an Immediate Relief Package Program for displaced persons:

- 1 The Ministry of Women and Social Welfare has interest free loans of Rs 5000 available for 200 women from 18 affected districts.
- 2 The Ministry of Women and Social Welfare will provide educational material for 1000 orphans from 18 districts.
- 3 The Ministry of Women and Social Welfare will give Rs. 1000 per child per month for food, shelter and education. (IDPs claim they are not receiving this money.)
- 4 The Ministry of Labour is providing skills training for 25 women from affected areas. The six-month residential courses involves training in needlework, weaving and cutting. The first course began in January 2003.
- 5 The Ministry of Health plans to coordinate a health and education program for orphaned children involving local NGOs

The government has demonstrated some recognition that displacement is an issue deserving of attention and there are policies to provide some relief. However, even those who are registered under the very restricted eligibility criteria of victims of Maoist violence, complain that they have not received any compensation. (see *Interviews*) There is no consideration of the need to develop a long-term strategy or wider approach. Further, government imposed measures such as the restrictions on food supply in the western districts continue to contribute to displacement. State violence and repression created displacement. Today's human rights abuses is tomorrow's IDP or refugee.

### **Response from international agencies, INGOs and NGOs**

Discussions were held with a select number of NGOs and INGOs. These discussions, together with information gathered from newspaper reports, suggest that some initiatives are being undertaken to create awareness of the problem, in particular the multi-agency Nepal IDP Research Initiative which also involves UNDP. In terms of relief, individual organisations have taken measures to assist limited numbers of people. For example in Nepalgunj, SAHARA has set up an orphanage to care for 18 children who have lost one or both parents in the conflict. Similarly, the Red Cross has distributed food, blankets and other essential items to individuals in immediate need.

### **International Agencies:**

↑ In June 2002, USAID released the report *Conflict-related Displacement: Nepal* demonstrating their recognition of displacement as an issue worthy of research. In December, this work was followed up with a survey which monitored the Nepal/India border post in Nepalgunj. Data was collected to assess the number and district of origin of people

crossing the border on specific days.

- ↑ A USAID representative has suggested that the UNDP is the appropriate agency for leading an approach to displacement. USAID is willing to contribute information wherever possible and support the setting up of a system of effective monitoring.
- ↑ The UNDP - RUPP programme in 12 municipalities (36% of Nepal's urban pop) has yielded statistical evidence of substantive influx of people in 2001-2002.
- ↑ UNDP was approached by the Municipal Association of Nepal which requested assistance in formulating a strategy for dealing with IDPs as members of their association are required to directly deal with IDPs on a daily basis. In conjunction with the Norwegian Refugee Council, UNDP organised a workshop with the cooperation of the Mayors of 20 municipalities.
- ↑ The Nepal IDP Research Initiative is a multi-agency effort involving the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), International Nepal Fellowship (INF), GIZ, SNV, Norwegian Refugee Council and others to monitor numbers and assess coping mechanisms of IDPs.
- ↑ ICRC is continuing to supply humanitarian relief where required.

#### **INGOs :**

- ↑ In July 2002, INF developed a concept of 'absorption' which investigated an alternative to IDP camps. Although the paper did aim to suggest a long-term strategy, its primary objectives included those of raising the profile of IDPs, stimulating discussion and encouraging co-ordinated planning. In October 2002, INF convened a meeting of some key development organisations in order to develop a co-ordinated strategy on IDPs. One of the outcomes of this meeting was an agreement that there is a need for further monitoring of IDPs, an idea subsequently followed up by UNDP, SNV, GIZ and INF.

#### **NGOs**

- ↑ In January 2003, INSEC released a preliminary report focusing on its assessment of the number of IDPs in 10 districts (*Informal, INSEC*). INSEC intends to follow this up with a more comprehensive report to be included in their upcoming Human Rights Year Book and it is currently continuing its efforts to assess the number of IDPs throughout Nepal.
- ↑ HURON plans a report on IDPs in 2003.
- ↑ CESOD is currently in the process of completing a comprehensive report which will focus on the effect of displacement on agriculture. Research for the report involved interviews with 2,400 displaced landowners from all over Nepal. The interviews were done over a period of three months

and were intended to assess the ways in which displacement has affected output, production patterns, labour relations etc. in the agricultural sector. The report is due for completion in mid-March, 2003.

- ↑ NHRC in conjunction with the Norwegian Refugee Council and UNDP, will be conducting a workshop on 7 & 8 March 2003 to follow on from that organised for the Municipal Association. Representatives from various INGOs, NGOs and government departments attended the workshop.
- ↑ Non-government agencies have recognised the need for a co-ordinated response from this sector. Some have expressed concern about "rogue" agencies that act independently and inadvertently undermine long-term sustainable solutions by poorly planned emergency relief programs. In its Development and Humanitarian Relief Report for DFID -UK, Huntington Associates emphasised the need for a co-ordinated response (2002).
- ↑ Out of the organisations contacted, the ICRC stands alone in its approach to IDPs. A primary factor of their stance has been the lack of criteria by which an IDP can be identified. In their report on the humanitarian situation in the mid-western region, it is claimed that "clashes have not directly led to large-scale displacements", but rather contributed to an increase in normal migration rates (ICRC, 2003:3). They suggest that, although the situation is fragile, people have developed satisfactory coping mechanisms. Their approach, therefore is to continue to provide humanitarian assistance where required rather than formulate a specific strategy for IDPs.

### **Public and media response**

The reaction of the public to displacement has not yet been documented, but one of the major risks of displacement is marginalisation (*Cernea in Bhattarai, 2001*). Evidence of this was shown in the interview with Anita K who said that she is humiliated by her situation and that she is reluctant to reveal where she has come from or why. Also the continuing sense of insecurity make many hide their identity. The survey undertaken by members of SNV, INF and GIZ has focused on public reaction and reveals acceptance by host communities.

In order to gauge the media response to IDPs, articles were collected from three English-language Kathmandu newspapers (*The Kathmandu Post, The Nepali Times and The Himalayan Times*) from October 2002 to February 2003. By far the greatest coverage of IDPs during this period came from *The Kathmandu Post*. In all three papers, articles mentioning IDPs were primarily concerned with numbers and districts. There were no comprehensive articles addressing issues of definition, survival, assimilation

or long-term impacts of displacement. There have been reports of conflict induced near famine conditions but because of lack of field surveys on impact of agricultural productivity the reports tend to be sensationalist.

Consequently, the public may not be aware of the serious consequences of displacement and the ways in which it will impact upon the entire community. Articles quoting official numbers of registered IDPs have not been qualified with estimates of unregistered IDPs, and many of the reports have referred to schemes such as compensation, allowances, camps and rehabilitation centres as if they are in operation or currently under construction. The result is a false impression that the level of displacement is relatively low and that systems are in place to assist those affected. Although the public is being told about displacement, they are only being given a part of the story, thus increasing the risk of prejudice and reducing the pressure placed on the government to act. In this context it should be mentioned that The Centre for Investigative Journalism has taken some initiative in encouraging field based reports.

## IV

### Ceasefire & Displacement

On the 29 January 2003, a ceasefire was announced and hopes for long-term peace were raised. The ceasefire is not a peace and even five months after the peace talks have yet to begin in earnest. The deliberate delays and lack of urgency and even seriousness have increased the levels of distrust and uncertainty about the peace process. King Gyanendra's move on Oct 4 to dismiss the elected caretaker government and seize executive power has undermined the Constitution and marginalized the political parties which have taken to the streets in protest. The tactical manoeuvring for power between the Palace-Army and the political parties has complicated the capacity and urgency to meet the Maoist challenge.

Confusion continues to prevail about the implementation of the code of conduct with continuing arrests and killings of 'suspected Maoists' and reports of extortion and intimidation in the Maoist control areas. Chairman of the Nepal Communist Party - Maoists, Prachanda, has appealed for displaced people to return home. However with virtually *two sattas* state authorities in place, it is not surprising that few of the displaced have begun the journey back though the out-movement has stopped. Media reports quote seasonal migrants to India feeling confident enough to return. However reports of "hordes" of people "flooding to their homeland" from India are likely to be merely impressionistic (*Kathmandu Post 17 Feb, 2003*).

Moreover, with all but a minimal fraction of the IDPs in Nepal registered, thousands of IDPs remain virtually invisible and beyond policies and action that could assist in return and resettlement or integration. Some of the initiatives mentioned above are a beginning towards a concerted effort to pay attention to the situation of 150,000 -200,000 IDPs in Nepal.

## Materials on displacement in Nepal<sup>2</sup>

***Masses in Flight*, by Roberta Cohen and Francis M. Deng, Brookings Institution, Washington, 1998.**

Francis Deng was responsible for formulating the United Nation's Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement. Together with Roberta Cohen, he is considered one of the world's foremost authorities on the subject from an international standpoint. The book provides information on the causes and consequences of displacement and discusses the legal framework on which the Guiding Principles were based. Although the book deals with complex legal issues, its accessible approach makes it a useful reference for practitioners.

***Conflict-related displacement: Nepal* prepared for USAID by Dr Esperanza Martinez, June 2002.**

This was probably the first comprehensive report on conflict-related displacement in Nepal and thus it has provided a useful springboard for further research and debate. The objective of the report was to gather information concerning the number, type, location and needs of IDPs and to make recommendations for future plans of action. Unfortunately, Martinez was unable to contribute to information regarding numbers of IDPs as much of her data was based on governmental records which she acknowledges were inaccurate. Nevertheless, the report provides information on migration, gendered consequences of the conflict and responses to displacement. The report also makes recommendations on immediate courses of action.

***Development and humanitarian relief report for DFID Nepal*, prepared by Huntington Associates, June 2002.**

This report provides a concise examination of the current humanitarian situation in Nepal. Identifying three strands of development/humanitarian activity - long-term programs, quick-impact programs and emergency relief

---

<sup>2</sup> Many of these reports are for internal use

- the report makes recommendations for action at each of these levels. In terms of IDPs, the report identifies problems such as the hostility of local communities toward in-migration, the difficulties faced by those left behind, lack of information and monitoring. The long-term consequences of camps and emergency relief are examined, concluding that they should be a last resort. The report concludes that a "guiding principle" should be that IDPs should not receive curative services that they did not receive before. An exception to this rule is immunisation. The report stresses the need for a co-ordinated response for the relevant agencies.

***Developing conflict solution strategies using local people and their ideas as guidelines, prepared for the Centre for Economic and Social Development (CESOD) by Dr Durgesh Man Singh et al., July 2002.***

This report is based on research conducted in February to July 2002. Extensive surveys were conducted in six districts in order to ascertain people's opinions and responses to the conflict. The report is not intended to address displacement and so contains little data on the subject, however it does provide information that is potentially useful for addressing issues that contribute to displacement. A focus of the report is an investigation into local responses to the Maoist movement and its consequences on development. Unfortunately the section which is considered the most important, that which explores local ideas for bringing peace to their communities, is not well developed and constitutes only a minor part of the report. The findings highlight the difficulty of researching such a topic as many of the questions were left unanswered, probably due to fear of the possible repercussions.

***UNDP 's Rural Urban Partnership Programme (2003)*** has done a detailed survey of the 12 municipalities that participate in the RUPP programme. It is equivalent to 36% of Nepal's municipality population. It provides new census data that enables us to empirically chart the growth in urban population and establish the trend in conflict induced displacement to these municipalities. The new census data it provides is extremely useful.

***Internal Displacement and Urbanisation: A call for action, prepared for INF by Leonard van Duijn & Alastair Seaman, July 2002.***

This report was prepared in recognition that there is a need to raise the profile of IDPs and to develop a co-ordinated approach by concerned agencies. In an effort to stimulate discussion, van Duijn and Seaman developed the strategy of 'absorption', that is, methods for enhancing the ability of urban areas to deal with sudden increases in population. The strategy offers an alternative approach to the establishment of camps which are widely regarded as a last resort.

Subsequent action by international agencies suggests that this report was successful in its aim of stimulating debate. About to be superseded by more recent reports, the strategy of absorption has provided a useful framework for action.

***Voices from Bajura, television documentary by Mohan Mainali, produced by the Centre for Investigative Journalism, November 2002.*** This television documentary contained a series of interviews with people in the district of Bajura. It was filmed in Nepali and later transcribed into English. Research for this report was based on the English transcript. The purpose of the documentary was to investigate the situation of people in the remote district of Bajura giving particular focus to the effects of the conflict on food availability. A range of people were interviewed, including a district officer, a shepherd and representatives of NGOs. The documentary revealed that poor weather conditions have hampered food supplies in the area and that the situation is being exacerbated by Maoist activity and government rationing. The result is a severe shortage of food and other essential items. Low morale is being further reinforced by threats and violence from both Maoist and State forces.

This documentary does not provide information directly related to displacement, however it gives a good description of events which have forced people to leave their homes. As this documentary was made solely in the far western region, the information can be seen as an adjunct to that provided by ICRC in their assessment of the situation in the mid-western districts.

***Nepal: A deepening human rights crisis, Amnesty International, December 2002, [www.amnestynepal.org/index.htm](http://www.amnestynepal.org/index.htm)***

This document provides a useful assessment of the current human rights situation in Nepal. The report gives background information on the war, briefly examining political and developmental outcomes. The main body of the report categorises human rights abuses that have occurred during the conflict. The report then offers recommendations for action by UN member states. Although the report does not provide information on displacement, its descriptions of specific events powerfully present reasons for its occurrence.

***ICRC Field Survey in the Mid-Western Region, International Committee of the Red Cross, January 2003.***

This short but succinct report provides the findings of a survey which was conducted as a response to unsubstantiated reports of a food crisis in six conflict-affected districts. When first released, the report's findings that the food crisis had been exaggerated, caused a degree of controversy amongst

development agencies. Its perceived contradiction of earlier reports was regarded as damaging to the efforts of organisations working in the area. Much of the criticism was unfounded as many people mistook the information as being representative of a wider area than that under observation.

The report does not focus on displacement but incorporates it as part of the overall humanitarian situation. The report suggests that the conflict has not directly led to large-scale displacements but rather has contributed to an increased flow of normal migration. It also makes the observation that the conflict may, in fact, serve to prevent some people from leaving their homes. It concedes that there is no accurate measure of migrant flow and points to the difficulty of identifying IDPs. The report presents the findings on various aspects of the humanitarian situation, thereby assessing factors which would contribute to displacement in the surveyed areas.

**"Nepal in Deepening Crisis" by Bal Krishna Kattel in *Informal*, published by Informal Sector Service Centre (INSEC), Vol. 14, No. 1, January 2003.**

This article provides a quick overview of the Maoist conflict. It briefly examines the causes of the conflict and provides an account of the manner in which it spread. The article examines the consequences of the war, including displacement as an aspect of human rights violations. This article is successful in achieving its stated intent of providing a ' cursory analysis of internal conflict ', but as such, it lacks any depth or new information.

**"Internal Displacement: A Glaring Problem in Nepal", in *Informal*, published by Informal Sector Service Centre (INSEC), Vol. 14, No. 1, January 2003.**

This is an interim report that provides a quick overview of the context of conflict-related displacement in Nepal. It gives information on displacement, briefly outlining its causes and consequences. In response to the lack of data on displacement, INSEC has assessed numbers of displaced in 10 districts. These numbers were sourced from INSEC's own contacts rather than from government accounts and provide a small but valuable contribution to the available material.

***The Nepal Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) Research Initiative, a joint project of concerned agencies in Nepal, March 2003.***

This report, instigated by SNV, INF and GIZ is in cooperation with UNDP, Norwegian Global IDP project and Nepal Human Rights Commission (NHRC) and the Nepal Red Cross. It puts Nepal on the Global IDP map and is the first attempt to develop a coordinated approach to create awareness

about the situation of IDPs in Nepal. At a seminar in Dhulikhel (Nepal) in March 2003, the Findings were discussed, including the difficulties of assessing the scope and nature of the problem. Interviews investigate coping strategies of IDPs, perceptions of host communities, and the absorption capacity of communities receiving IDPs. Its approach is to focus on marginalized communities in arrival areas rather than specifically on IDPs who may be impossible to identify.

***Report for National Human Rights Commission, prepared by Amit Dhakal, March 2003.***

The primary intention of this report is to ascertain numbers of IDPs in Nepal. Its findings are incorporated in the Nepal IDP Research Initiative. His quotation of the Home Ministry criteria for registering IDPs "a person who has been displaced due to the murder of a family member by the terrorists" was challenged by Home Ministry officials at Dhulikhel who asserted that there was no such official criteria.

## VI

### Interviews

In order to document the experiences of displaced people now living in Kathmandu, interviews were conducted with eight IDPs. People of different ages, sexes and districts were selected in order to give a variety of experiences. Due to the reluctance of people to come forward and acknowledge displacement as a result of the state security forces, all the people in our case study are victims of Maoist violence.

The questions were designed to create a personal profile, providing information about current living conditions, reasons for displacement, factors which may impact upon frame of mind, and hopes for the future. The questions aim to determine the status of IDPs by assessing how well their physical and emotional needs are being met. Because no strong relationships were established with any of the respondents, it is recognized that such issues could only be addressed superficially. The small size of the sample means that it cannot be representative of all IDPs in Kathmandu and no conclusions can be drawn about the general status of IDPs. It is useful however, for providing a snapshot of experiences and to personalise the problem of displacement.

Two women and six men were interviewed from dispersed areas of Nepal. The women were young, 20 and 16 years, the men's ages were 26 to 68 years. Four people were from Brahmin caste, one Chettri, one Dalit. Three had no formal education, two had been to primary school, one secondary school and two were currently studying at tertiary level. Prior to leaving their homes, five were farmers, one had worked at a local NGO, and two were students. None of the respondents had previously migrated in search of work.

↑ Majority of respondents left as a result of direct threats of physical violence. Only one respondent left for other reasons - Anita initially came to Kathmandu to study but is now in a position where she cannot return.

- ↑ Most respondents were affiliated with Nepali Congress and one was Chairperson of VDC
- ↑ Six of the respondents travelled to Kathmandu with family members. Two came alone.
- ↑ Three of the respondents left their homes four years ago, two left over one year ago and two left less than one year ago. One, the female student who left home voluntarily, left five years ago.
- ↑ Three of the respondents came directly to Kathmandu, three stopped on the way to raise funds or get a letter of authorisation from the district office, one stopped in Nepalgunj to get medical treatment, and one stayed in Musikot for four years before coming to Kathmandu.
- ↑ Only one respondent has found employment in Kathmandu. The remainder are living on donations, limited government assistance, family support and begging. All but two of the respondents received some form of financial assistance from the government. The level of assistance ranged from Rs10,000 up to Rs1,500,000 which was paid as compensation to the family of Anita whose father was a politician killed by Maoists. Three respondents received a few essential items from the Red Cross and two respondents received a little financial assistance from family. None of the respondents continues to receive assistance and all have financial difficulties.
- ↑ The reasons for choosing Kathmandu over other places were varied. Two saw it as a place of opportunities, two sought medical treatment, three cited security as their primary reason and one came to be reunited with family. Giri, who cited security as one of the primary reasons for coming to Kathmandu, also said that he feels unsafe in Kathmandu and would like to leave for that reason.
- ↑ Four respondents have accessed facilities which may have been unavailable elsewhere. Two have undertaken tertiary education and two have received medical treatment. For at least one, the anticipated employment opportunities have proven to be illusive.
- ↑ Five of the respondents have wives and children who have remained in their village. In the case of Hari, the family has relocated and two of his family's houses have been burnt. The three remaining respondents left their houses empty – one was subsequently burnt and one is being used as an office by Maoists.

↑ Seven of the respondents expressed a desire to return to their homes and believe they can do so when there is peace and security. 2 say they can resume their old professions if they get help from their fellow villagers. Another said he can continue if he is given some funds because One says his land has become a desert and will need to be re-fertilized.. One said he has lost all his property, is disabled and will not be able to work in the fields. Another respondent said he will not return due to fear of being targeted even if the conflict ends.

↑ Three of the respondents expressed concern for the lack of respect they will experience when they return to their villages.

Respect and trust were two recurring themes in the interviews – for example, Harka claimed that although he wants to return home, he anticipates that he “will not get any respect. Fear will always remain because we cannot trust anyone.” Similarly, Bal said that if he returns he expects that “there may be problems at home because people’s attitudes and lives have changed and they may not be able forgive each other.”

## VII

### Recommendations

- ↑ Internal displacement in Nepal needs to be recognized as a priority issue. The hidden nature of displacement does not alleviate many of its consequences and the government and relevant agencies should not let this deter them from addressing the specific needs of IDPs and directing resources appropriately.
- ↑ IDPs in Nepal do not have any legal recognition. The issue of identifying who is an IDP must not be allowed to render invisible thousands of people who need care and protection. People displaced as a direct consequence of Maoist violence can register and are eligible for compensation, but this criteria is discriminatory and institutionalises exclusion of the thousands of victims of state violence. Recognition does not go beyond the administrative level. By giving IDPs legal status, attention can be focussed on their specific requirements and policies and action devised.
- ↑ Internal displacement must be addressed at all levels – locally, nationally, regionally and internationally. Immediate relief packages endanger long-term development and should be avoided wherever possible. For example, when emergency relief is provided in district headquarters, it serves to draw people from the hills. The result is a need for camps with their inherent health and security problems and marginalisation from the host community. Farms are left uncultivated increasing the incidence of food scarcity and when villages are left unpopulated they have the potential to become centres of increased barbarity (*IFID, 2002*). It is essential that resources be directed to co-ordinated, long-term efforts.
- ↑ A coordinated multi agency effort is required. The government and all relevant agencies must develop a long-term strategy on how best to address the issue.
- ↑ Ultimately the problem of displacement will only be resolved when the root causes are rectified. Poverty, inequality, injustice and corruption must be addressed.

## VIII

### Rights of displaced people

In recognition of the growing phenomenon and often tragic consequences of displacement, the United Nations has developed the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement. Presented to the United Nations High Commission for Human Rights in 1998, these principles identify rights and guarantees relevant to the protection of displaced people. Intended to reflect and remain consistent with international human rights law and international humanitarian law, they restate the relevant principles applicable to the internally displaced (*Guiding Principles*). The principles consolidate into one document the norms which are dispersed throughout different instruments of law, providing practical guidance as well as an instrument for public policy education and consciousness-raising. As the needs of IDPs are commonly neglected, principles which specifically address and recognise their particular needs have been identified.

The principles are a guide only and have not been created as a ratifiable convention. Acknowledgement is based on moral and political grounds rather than legal ones. An advantage of this status is that it promotes consensus of the principles by governments which may be unwilling to sign a convention. In the case of Nepal, this factor may be particularly advantageous considering the complex nature of displacement within the country and the apparent reluctance of the government to satisfactorily address the problem. As identified by *Cohen and Deng (1998)*, IDPs have specific requirements including needs for "equality and non-discrimination; life and personal security; needs to maintain personal liberty; subsistence needs; movement related needs; the need for personal identification, documentation, and registration; property-related needs; the need to maintain family and community values; and the need to build self-reliance". These needs have been addressed in the Guiding Principles.

A selection of those principles that have particular relevance to the current situation in Nepal are as follows:

↑ Principle 3:2 - Internally displaced persons have the right to request and

- to receive protection and humanitarian assistance from national authorities.
- ↑ Principle 6:1 - Every human being shall have the right to be protected against being arbitrarily displaced from his or her home or place of habitual residence.
- ↑ Principle 12: 2 - Internally displaced persons shall not be interned in or confined to a camp.
- ↑ Principle 13:1 - In no circumstances shall displaced children be recruited nor be required or permitted to take part in hostilities.
- ↑ Principle 13:2 - Internally displaced persons shall be protected against discriminatory practices of recruitment into any armed forces or groups as a result of their displacement. In particular any cruel, inhuman or degrading practices that compel compliance or punish non-compliance with recruitment are prohibited in all circumstances.
- ↑ Principle 19:1 - All wounded and sick internally displaced persons as well as those with disabilities shall receive to the fullest extent practicable and with the least possible delay, the medical care and attention they require, without distinction on any grounds other than medical ones. When necessary, internally displaced persons shall have access to psychological and social services.
- ↑ Principle 21:2 - The property and possessions of internally displaced persons shall in all circumstances be protected, in particular, against the following acts:
- (a) Pillage;
  - (b) Direct or indiscriminate attacks or other acts of violence;
  - (c) Being used to shield military operations or objectives;
  - (d) Being made the object of reprisal; and
  - (e) Being destroyed or appropriated as a form of collective punishment.
- ↑ Principle 21:3 - Property and possessions left behind by internally displaced persons should be protected against destruction and arbitrary and illegal appropriation, occupation or use.
- ↑ Principle 25:1 - The primary duty and responsibility for providing humanitarian assistance to internally displaced persons lies with national authorities.

Considering the chasm between the guidelines of the principles and the reality of the situation in Nepal, in the short term it will be difficult for authorities both the government and the Maoists (who are running a parallel government) to uphold these principles. However the principles should be seen as a starting point and a yardstick for dealing with IDPs. Although not legally binding, they have the potential to strengthen the advocacy work of agencies and NGOs and governments can use them as a guide for drafting appropriate legislation.

## Annexure

### Interviews

#### Appendix 1: Interview transcripts

##### Interview 1

- 1 **Name:** Anita
- 2 **Age:** 20
- 3 **Sex:** Female
- 4 **Caste/ethnic background:** Brahmin
- 5 **Marital status:** Unmarried
- 6 **Are you the head of your household?**  
Youngest of family
- 7 **What is your level of education ?**  
BA III year student
- 8 **Where do you come from?**  
Arghakhanchi
- 9 **With whom did you live before you left?**  
With parents/family
- 10 **What was your profession before you left home?**  
Student / helped family with household work
- 11 **Did you or anyone in your family have any political involvement?  
Give details.**  
Father was member of Nepali Congress, President of VDC
- 12 **When did you leave your home?**  
5 years ago
- 13 **Why did you leave?**  
To continue higher study
- 14 **Did you travel alone or as part of a group?**  
Travelled with elder sister

- 15 **Did you come straight to Kathmandu? If no, where were you and for how long?**  
I came straight to Kathmandu
- 16 **Why did you choose to come to Kathmandu rather than another place?**  
This is the capital city of Nepal and I thought it would be a land of more opportunities.
- 17 **How did you get to Kathmandu?**  
By bus
- 18 **What were you able to bring with you?**  
Some clothing
- 19 **Have you previously migrated in search of work? Give details.**  
No
- 20 **Is anyone living in your home now? What has happened to your business/farm?**  
None of my family members are living back home. Our house was burnt.
- 21 **Do you remain in regular contact with family/friends at home? Have any members of your family become separated or lost contact due to the conflict?**  
We have had no communication with my sister-in-law in Gulmi for 9 months.
- 22 **Where and with whom are you living now?**  
With my mother, elder brother and sister.
- 23 **Do you like the place where you are living? Are the living arrangements satisfactory?**  
We only have one room which is not enough for four adults. It is very congested.
- 24 **Can you stay there for as long as you want?**  
It is a rented room and we cannot stay long. If the landlord knows where we come from he will make us vacate the room.
- 25 **Have you tried to find employment in Kathmandu? What sort of work? Were you successful?**  
I have tried to find work but not been successful. Given the situation I am ready to work at whatever is available.
- 26 **What are your sources of income?**

I have no income.

**27 Have you officially registered as an internally displaced person?**

I have registered under the name of my father at the Maoist Affected Victim Association as well as at Lalitpur District Office.

**28 Have you received any form of assistance from the government?**

My father was a politician and he was gunned down by Maoists nearly a year ago. My family got compensation of Rs. 1500000 and received Rs 8,000 as daily allowances from April to June 2002. We are surviving with that money.

**29 Have you received any form of assistance from anyone else?**

No

**30 What type of assistance would be of most benefit to you now?**

Work opportunities which are suited to my capacity and level of education. A place to live.

**31 Do you ever send money home to your family?**

No

**32 What are your major concerns regarding your current situation?**

Because of conflict many have lost their siblings, relatives and parents. They have become orphans. I too have lost my father. I wish that from now on, no one should lose their parents. I wish for successful and transparent talks and a safe place to stay.

**33 What has been the most beneficial thing to happen to you since you left your home?**

Nothing beneficial has happened.

**34 Do you like living in Kathmandu? Have you been made to feel welcome?**

I have had a lot of support from friends.

**35 Do you wish to return home in the future? If yes, what will allow you to return? If no, why not?**

I would like to return home if the government takes some responsibility. The State must provide security and help to rebuild infrastructure.

**36 If you return home, will you be able to continue in your previous profession?**

It would not be possible. My family's main profession was farming and it has been nearly a year since they cultivated. The land might have become desert and have to be re-fertilised.

**37 If you return home, in what ways do you think your life will be**

**different from before you left?**

If my family or I return home, our lives will be different from the ones we used to have. We have already lost all of our property and would have to start again. We would have less respect.

**Interview 2**

1 **Name:** Anita K

2 **Age:**16

3 **Sex:** Female

4 **Caste/ethnic background:** --

5 **Marital status:** Unmarried

6 **Are you the head of your household?**

No

7 **What is your level of education ?**

Grade five

8 **Where do you come from?**

Rammechhap

9 **With whom did you live before you left?**

Parents

10 **What was your profession before you left home?**

Agriculture

11 **Did you or anyone in your family have any political involvement? Give details.**

Affiliated with Nepali Congress

12 **When did you leave your home?**

5 months back

13 **Why did you leave?**

The Maoists took our buffalos, cows, clothes and all our grains then threatened to destroy our house. They locked up our house and made us leave the village during Dashain.

14 **Did you travel alone or as part of a group?**

Travelled with my mother, brother and sisters.

15 **Did you come straight to Kathmandu? If no, where else have you been and for how long?**

We stayed with some relatives for 15 days while we collected some donations, then came to Kathmandu

- 16 **Why did you choose to come to Kathmandu rather than another place?**

My father was already in Kathmandu.

- 17 **How did you get to Kathmandu?**

By bus.

- 18 **What were you able to bring with you?**

Nothing

- 19 **Have you previously migrated in search of work? Give details.**

No

- 20 **Is anyone living in your home now? What has happened to your business/farm?**

No one is living in our home. We left it as it was.

- 21 **Do you remain in regular contact with family/friends at home? Have any members of your family become separated or lost contact due to the conflict?**

—

- 22 **Where and with whom are you living now?**

I am living with my family. Surviving with donations.

- 23 **Do you like the place where you are living? Are the living arrangements satisfactory?**

It is good enough for us.

- 24 **Can you stay there for as long as you want?**

We can't stay there for long unless we get some income.

- 25 **Have you tried to find employment in Kathmandu? What sort of work? Were you successful?**

I haven't been able to find any work.

- 26 **What are your sources of income?**

Donations

- 27 **Have you officially registered as an internally displaced person?**

I don't know. My father may have registered.

- 28 **Have you received any form of assistance from the government?**

As far as I know, we haven't received any help from the government.

- 29 **Have you received any form of assistance from anyone else?**

We got Rs 3,000 from relatives when we left our village and some from the Maoist Affected Victim's Association.

30 **What type of assistance would be of most benefit to you now?**

Money and a better place to live.

31 **Do you ever send money home to your family?**

No

32 **What are your major concerns regarding your current situation?**

-

33 **What has been the most beneficial thing to happen to you since you left your home?**

Nothing

34 **Do you like living in Kathmandu? Have you been made to feel welcome?**

I don't like living here. I feel humiliated and we hide our identity. We don't tell people where we come from or why we are here.

35 **Do you wish to return home in the future? If yes, what will allow you to return? If no, why not?**

I want to return home. If the peace talks are successful we can go home.

36 **If you return home, will you be able to continue in your previous profession?**

My father can't work, but if we return home the rest of us can continue our professions.

37 **If you return home, in what ways do you think your life will be different from before you left?**

Life will be different because we will have to start again. Life will be hard for the first few years.

### **Interview 3**

1 **Name:** Bal

2 **Age:** 54

3 **Sex:** Male

4 **Caste/ethnic background:** --

5 **Marital status:** Married

6 **Are you the head of your household?**

Yes

- 7 **What is your level of education?**  
No formal education. Can read and write.
- 8 **Where do you come from?**  
Kalikot
- 9 **With whom did you live before you left?**  
With family members
- 10 **What was your profession before you left home?**  
Agriculture.
- 11 **Did you or anyone in your family have any political involvement? Give details.**  
I was Chairman of the VDC.
- 12 **When did you leave your home?**  
19 months ago.
- 13 **Why did you leave?**  
My son was in the police force and the Maoists threatened to hang me if I didn't bring him to them. They tortured me heavily and two bones in my chest were broken. My son was tied by ropes and thrown from a hill. He got stuck in a tree and so did not die but was badly injured. I took him to India for treatment which cost IRs60,000. Other members of my family were also tortured.
- 14 **Did you travel alone or as part of a group?**  
Alone
- 15 **Did you come straight to Kathmandu? If no, where else have you been and for how long?**  
I went to Kalikot and got a letter from the District Office. I then went to Nepalgunj for seven days to get treatment, then came to Kathmandu.
- 16 **Why did you choose to come to Kathmandu rather than another place?**  
For treatment.
- 17 **How did you get to Kathmandu?**  
By bus.
- 18 **What were you able to bring with you?**  
A few clothes.
- 19 **Have you previously migrated in search of work? Give details.**  
No

- 20 **Is anyone living in your home now? What has happened to your business/farm?**  
My wife, one son and two daughters are still living in our home. I don't know what has happened to the farm.
- 21 **Do you remain in regular contact with family/friends at home? Have any members of your family become separated or lost contact due to the conflict?**  
I don't keep in contact with my family.
- 22 **Where and with whom are you living now?**  
Alone.
- 23 **Do you like the place where you are living? Are the living arrangements satisfactory?**  
I don't like the place where I'm living. Most of the time I go without food.
- 24 **Can you stay there for as long as you want?**  
No
- 25 **Have you tried to find employment in Kathmandu? What sort of work? Were you successful?**  
I have tried to find a job but I am too old.
- 26 **What are your sources of income?**  
I have no source of income.
- 27 **Have you officially registered as an internally displaced person?**  
Yes.
- 28 **Have you received any form of assistance from the government?**  
Rs 10,000.
- 29 **Have you received any form of assistance from anyone else?**  
No
- 30 **What type of assistance would be of most benefit to you now?**  
Going home would be best. Otherwise employment.
- 31 **Do you ever send money home to your family?**  
No
- 32 **What are your major concerns regarding your current situation?**  
Health (eye and knee treatment), food, housing.
- 33 **What has been the most beneficial thing to happen to you since you left your home?**  
Nothing

34 Do you like living in Kathmandu? Have you been made to feel welcome?

I don't like living here.

35 Do you wish to return home in the future? If yes, what will allow you to return? If no, why not?

I would like to go home when there is peace and security at the village.

36 If you return home, will you be able to continue in your previous profession?

Yes

37 If you return home, in what ways do you think your life will be different from before you left?

There may be problems at home because people's attitudes and lives have changed and they may not be able to forgive each other.

#### Interview 4

1 Name: Dor

2 Age: 63

3 Sex: Male

4 Caste/ethnic background: Chhetri

5 Marital status: Married

6 Are you the head of your household?

Yes

7 What is your level of education?

Primary level

8 Where do you come from?

Sindhuli

9 With whom did you live before you left?

Family members

10 What was your profession before you left home?

Business & agriculture

11 Did you or anyone in your family have any political involvement? Give details.

Involved in social activities: Chairman of School Management Committee, Chairman of savings and credit activities at community level, Chairman of Community Forest

**12 When did you leave your home?**

15 months ago

**13 Why did you leave?**

The Maoists were demanding donations regularly but I was not in a position to give to them. I was arrested by the Maoists who claimed that because I didn't attend the district and block level meetings, I had demonstrated that I was not for the people's movement.

Whilst under arrest, I was heavily tortured. My hands and legs were broken and I was prevented from seeking treatment. Somehow, my family members were able to assist me, but the Maoists forcefully took a further Rs10,000.

**14 Did you travel alone or as part of a group?**

With son (aged 24) and two daughters (aged 37 & 15)

**15 Did you come straight to Kathmandu? If no, where else have you been and for how long?**

Straight to Kathmandu

**16 Why did you choose to come to Kathmandu rather than another place?**

Security

**17 How did you get to Kathmandu?**

By bus

**18 What were you able to bring with you?**

Some personal items for daily use

**19 Have you previously migrated in search of work? Give details.**

No

**20 Is anyone living in your home now? What has happened to your business/farm?**

My wife, son, grandchildren (a total of nine family members) are still working on the farm.

**21 Do you remain in regular contact with family/friends at home? Have any members of your family become separated or lost contact due to the conflict?**

I am in touch with my family members except for my son-in-law who disappeared seven years ago.

**22 Where and with whom are you living now?**

With my son and daughter in Kathmandu.

- 23 **Do you like the place where you are living? Are the living arrangements satisfactory?**  
The living arrangements are not satisfactory. I have a problem paying theret.
- 24 **Can you stay there for as long as you want?**  
It won't be possible to stay for long due to the lack of finance.
- 25 **Have you tried to find employment in Kathmandu? What sort of work? Were you successful?**  
I have not tried to find employment. Who would want to employ an old man?
- 26 **What are your sources of income?**  
Begging, donations and some money from the government.
- 27 **Have you officially registered as an internally displaced person?**  
I have registered at Sindhuli District Office.
- 28 **Have you received any form of assistance from the government?**  
Rs 18,000.
- 29 **Have you received any form of assistance from anyone else?**  
I have received clothes from the Red Cross and Rs1,000 from the Maoist Affected Victims Association.
- 30 **What type of assistance would be of most benefit to you now?**  
The government should be providing jobs, loans to start a business, or settle us in another country.
- 31 **Do you ever send money home to your family?**  
No. I sometimes ask my family to send me money.
- 32 **What are your major concerns regarding your current situation?**  
Health, food, housing, clothes, employment
- 33 **What has been the most beneficial thing to happen to you since you left your home?**  
Nothing
- 34 **Do you like living in Kathmandu? Have you been made to feel welcome?**  
No
- 35 **Do you wish to return home in the future? If yes, what will allow you to return? If no, why not?**  
I would like to move home when there is peace and security.

36 **If you return home, will you be able to continue in your previous profession?**

I will be able to continue if I have enough cash.

37 **If you return home, in what ways do you think your life will be different from before you left?**

We have all lost our property. I am now disabled and I cannot work

#### **Interview 5**

1 **Name:** Giri

2 **Age:** 26

3 **Sex:** Male

4 **Caste/ethnic background:** Brahmin

5 **Marital status:** Single

6 **Are you the head of your household?**

No

7 **What is your level of education?**

I. Com

8 **Where do you come from?**

Morang

9 **With whom did you live before you left?**

Family members

10 **What was your profession before you left home?**

Student

11 **Did you or anyone in your family have any political involvement? Give details.**

My late father was "Ma Adhibashin Partinidi" of Nepali Congress.

12 **When did you leave your home?**

11 months ago

13 **Why did you leave?**

After the emergency, the Maoist activities increased and I was threatened.

14 **Did you travel alone or as part of a group?**

With my father

15 **Did you come straight to Kathmandu? If no, where else have you been and for how long?**

I went to Dharang where I stayed for two days then came straight to Kathmandu.

- 16 **Why did you choose to come to Kathmandu rather than another place?**

Security

- 17 **How did you get to Kathmandu?**

By bus

- 18 **What were you able to bring with you?**

Items for daily use

- 19 **Have you previously migrated in search of work? Give details.**

No

- 20 **Is anyone living in your home now? What has happened to your business/farm?**

My mother and sister-in-law are living on the farm. It is continuing as usual.

- 21 **Do you remain in regular contact with family/friends at home? Have any members of your family become separated or lost contact due to the conflict?**

I have indirect communication with my family. My father was killed by the Maoists.

- 22 **Where and with whom are you living now?**

Alone

- 23 **Do you like the place where you are living? Are the living arrangements satisfactory?**

It is okay.

- 24 **Can you stay there for as long as you want?**

I can't stay for as long as I want because there is a security problem for me. Kathmandu is not a safe place.

- 25 **Have you tried to find employment in Kathmandu? What sort of work? Were you successful?**

I haven't tried to find employment here.

- 26 **What are your sources of income?**

My family used to send me rice but I did not receive it. I help some of my family members and live on what they give me such as food, shelter, clothing etc.

- 27 **Have you officially registered as an internally displaced person?**

I have applied for registration at the CDO office in Morang but have not yet received a response.

28 **Have you received any form of assistance from the government?**

No

29 **Have you received any form of assistance from anyone else?**

Only family members.

30 **What type of assistance would be of most benefit to you now?**

Security, education, settlement in another country.

31 **Do you ever send money home to your family?**

No

32 **What are your major concerns regarding your current situation?**

Security

33 **What has been the most beneficial thing to happen to you since you left your home?**

Nothing

34 **Do you like living in Kathmandu? Have you been made to feel welcome?**

I don't like living in Kathmandu. No one has welcomed me.

35 **Do you wish to return home in the future? If yes, what will allow you to return? If no, why not?**

I don't want to go home. Even if there is a solution to the problem, my life is in threat. There will always be people who will target me.

36 **If you return home, will you be able to continue in your previous profession?**

No

37 **If you return home, in what ways do you think your life will be different from before you left?**

Not applicable.

#### **Interview 6**

1 **Name:** Jagat

2 **Age:** 43

3 **Sex:** Male

4 **Caste/ethnic background:** Brahmin

5 **Marital status:** Married

- 6 **Are you the head of your household?**  
Yes
- 7 **What is your level of education?**  
Grade 10
- 8 **Where do you come from?**  
Thanau
- 9 **With whom did you live before you left?**  
With family members.
- 10 **What was your profession before you left home?**  
I was working with a rural development NGO.
- 11 **Did you or anyone in your family have any political involvement? Give details.**  
I was an active member of the Nepali Congress.
- 12 **When did you leave your home?**  
4 years ago
- 13 **Why did you leave?**  
A close friend and I were both threatened by the Maoists.
- 14 **Did you travel alone or as part of a group?**  
I travelled with family as far as the district headquarters. They then returned to the village and I came alone to Kathmandu.
- 15 **Did you come straight to Kathmandu? If no, where else have you been and for how long?**  
We stayed at District Headquarters for 2 years. I was also working there but the project was closed due to Maoist threats. I then came to Kathmandu.
- 16 **Why did you choose to come to Kathmandu rather than another place?**  
I have relatives here and there are greater job opportunities.
- 17 **How did you get to Kathmandu?**  
By bus.
- 18 **What were you able to bring with you?**  
A few personal belongings.
- 19 **Have you previously migrated in search of work? Give details.**  
No
- 20 **Is anyone living in your home now? What has happened to your**

**business/farm?**

My family members are looking after the farm as usual.

- 21 Do you remain in regular contact with family/friends at home? Have any members of your family become separated or lost contact due to the conflict?**

I have phone contact with my family.

- 22 Where and with whom are you living now?**

I am staying with a friend who has a small hotel.

- 23 Do you like the place where you are living? Are the living arrangements satisfactory?**

It is not satisfactory.

- 24 Can you stay there for as long as you want?**

No

- 25 Have you tried to find employment in Kathmandu? What sort of work? Were you successful?**

I have tried to find contract work but have not been successful.

- 26 What are your sources of income?**

I have no income.

- 27 Have you officially registered as an internally displaced person?**

I have registered in three offices: Tanau, Lalitpur and Home Ministry.

- 28 Have you received any form of assistance from the government?**

Rs 18,000.

- 29 Have you received any form of assistance from anyone else?**

No

- 30 What type of assistance would be of most benefit to you now?**

Employment

- 31 Do you ever send money home to your family?**

No

- 32 What are your major concerns regarding your current situation?**

Lack of employment

- 33 What has been the most beneficial thing to happen to you since you left your home?**

Nothing

- 34 Do you like living in Kathmandu? Have you been made to feel welcome?**

I don't like living here.

- 35 **Do you wish to return home in the future? If yes, what will allow you to return? If no, why not?**

I would like to return home when there is a solution to the problem.

- 36 **If you return home, will you be able to continue in your previous profession?**

No.

- 37 **If you return home, in what ways do you think your life will be different from before you left?**

If I return home I hope I will have the same respect that I used to get.

### **Interview 7**

- 1 **Name:** Hari

- 2 **Age:** 68

- 3 **Sex:** Male

- 4 **Caste/ethnic background:** Brahmin

- 5 **Marital status:** Married

- 6 **Are you the head of your household?**

Yes

- 7 **What is your level of education?**

No formal education (can read newspapers)

- 8 **Where do you come from?**

Ramechhap

- 9 **With whom did you live before you left?**

With family

- 10 **What was your profession before you left home?**

Agriculture

- 11 **Did you or anyone in your family have any political involvement? Give details.**

I was a member of the Nepali Congress, but I was not seriously involved. My only involvement in politics was to vote.

- 12 **When did you leave your home?**

Nearly four years ago.

- 13 **Why did you leave?**

I was twice attacked by Maoists. I was shot in the stomach and cut with a knife on the back of my head and legs. I was taken by villagers to the Bir Hospital.

- 14 **Did you travel alone or as part of a group?**

I traveled with my wife, elder son, his wife and their children.

- 15 **Did you come straight to Kathmandu? If no, where else have you been and for how long?**

We came straight to Kathmandu

- 16 **Why did you choose to come to Kathmandu rather than another place?**

For medical treatment

- 17 **How did you get to Kathmandu?**

By helicopter

- 18 **What were you able to bring with you?**

Nothing

- 19 **Have you previously migrated in search of work? Give details.**

No

- 20 **Is anyone living in your home now? What has happened to your business/farm?**

I owned two houses in the village but both have been burnt. My younger son and his family are still living in the village.

- 21 **Do you remain in regular contact with family/friends at home? Have any members of your family become separated or lost contact due to the conflict?**

We don't have regular contact. We send and receive information when people we know are visiting the village.

- 22 **Where and with whom are you living now?**

My wife and I are living in *sukumbasi* in small huts on the bank of the river.

- 23 **Do you like the place where you are living? Are the living arrangements satisfactory?**

It is very hard to live. The huts are meant to be free but we have to pay Rs500 per month.

- 24 **Can you stay there for as long as you want?**

No

- 25 **Have you tried to find employment in Kathmandu? What sort of**

**work? Were you successful?**

I am too old to work.

**26 What are your sources of income?**

We have no income

**27 Have you officially registered as an internally displaced person?**

I don't know about government registration. I am registered with the Maoist Affected Victim Association

**28 Have you received any form of assistance from the government?**

I received three month's allowance and health treatment.

**29 Have you received any form of assistance from anyone else?**

We got 2 aluminum utensils, 2 blankets and one pair of trousers from the Red Cross.

**30 What type of assistance would be of most benefit to you now?**

We want food to eat, safety and a place to live

**31 Do you ever send money home to your family?**

No

**32 What are your major concerns regarding your current situation?**

Peace talks or some kind of initiative so that this fighting will stop and we can all go back to our village and spend the rest of our lives peacefully.

**33 What has been the most beneficial thing to happen to you since you left your home?**

Nothing

**34 Do you like living in Kathmandu? Have you been made to feel welcome?**

I don't like it here. Most people hide their identification for fear of being attacked again. People don't wish to disclose who they are.

**35 Do you wish to return home in the future? If yes, what will allow you to return? If no, why not?**

If the government can provide the safety of the panchayat I would like to return home.

**36 If you return home, will you be able to continue in your previous profession?**

I cannot work because of my age and I have to wear a waist belt because of the gunshot wounds.

**37 If you return home, in what ways do you think your life will be**

**different from before you left?**

Life will obviously be different. I won't be able to walk in the hills or plough. I will have to depend others.

### **Interview 8**

1 **Name:** Harka

2 **Age:** 29

3 **Sex:** Male

4 **Caste/ethnic background:** Untouchable

5 **Marital status:** Married

6 **Are you the head of your household?**

Yes

7 **What is your level of education?**

Can read and write but no formal education

8 **Where do you come from?**

Rukum

9 **With whom did you live before you left?**

With family, wife, 2 daughters, 1 son

10 **What was your profession before you left home?**

Agriculture

11 **Did you or anyone in your family have any political involvement? Give details.**

I was a member of Nepali Congress, but not active.

12 **When did you leave your home?**

Four years ago.

13 **Why did you leave?**

I was kidnapped and kept in the jungle for three months. One day I was able to escape and went to Musikot. I was there for almost four years. My family used to come and visit me there. After that I was sent to Nepalgunj and from there I came to Kathmandu.

14 **Did you travel alone or as part of a group?**

With family

15 **Did you come straight to Kathmandu? If no, where else have you been and for how long?**

I came to Kathmandu nine months ago after spending four years in

Musikot.

- 16 **Why did you choose to come to Kathmandu rather than another place?**

The capital is little safer than other districts and there is more hope of finding work.

- 17 **How did you get to Kathmandu?**

By bus

- 18 **What were you able to bring with you?**

Nothing

- 19 **Have you previously migrated in search of work? Give details.**

No

- 20 **Is anyone living in your home now? What has happened to your business/farm?**

All of my family members have left our house and Maoists made it into an office.

- 21 **Do you remain in regular contact with family/friends at home? Have any members of your family become separated or lost contact due to the conflict?**

I contact them sometimes.

- 22 **Where and with whom are you living now?**

I have a tent at the factory where I am working. I live there with my family.

- 23 **Do you like the place where you are living? Are the living arrangements satisfactory?**

I am living under a false identity because I am afraid of attack.

- 24 **Can you stay there for as long as you want?**

I can stay there as long as I am working at the factory.

- 25 **Have you tried to find employment in Kathmandu? What sort of work? Were you successful?**

I am working at a bricks factory where I get paid Rs150 per thousand bricks.

- 26 **What are your sources of income?**

Just the work at the factory.

- 27 **Have you officially registered as an internally displaced person?**

I am registered at Musikot VDC but my family isn't.

- 28 **Have you received any form of assistance from the government?**  
I received Rs. 36,000 allowance for nine months.
- 29 **Have you received any form of assistance from anyone else?**  
We got 2 blankets, 2 sarees, blouse, dress material for kids and some pots from the Red Cross.
- 30 **What type of assistance would be of most benefit to you now?**  
A camp or a clean place to live.
- 31 **Do you ever send money home to your family?**  
No
- 32 **What are your major concerns regarding your current situation?**  
The government should find some way of solving the problem.
- 33 **What has been the most beneficial thing to happen to you since you left your home?**  
Nothing
- 34 **Do you like living in Kathmandu? Have you been made to feel welcome?**  
I don't like it here. We are living beside the road.
- 35 **Do you wish to return home in the future? If yes, what will allow you to return? If no, why not?**  
I would like to go back home. Successful and transparent talks will allow me to return.
- 36 **If you return home, will you be able to continue in your previous profession?**  
I can continue with the help of some villagers.
- 37 **If you return home, in what ways do you think your life will be different from before you left?**  
Life will be different. I will not get any respect. Fear will always remain because we cannot trust anyone.
- \* *The questionnaires were written in English and translated into Nepali by the interviewers. They were conducted in private at the offices of SAFHR in February, 2003.*

*Interview taken and edited by SAFHR Team*

1. Jagat Mani Acharya
2. Manjita Gurung
3. San Niroula
4. Sanden Sherpa

## References

Amnesty International, 2002, *Nepal: A Deepening Human Rights Crisis*.

Aryal, Madhav, 2003, "Terrorised by Maoists, they seek passports to a safer life" in *Kathmandu Post*, 9 January p3.

Benjamin, Judy, A. & Fancy, Khadija. 1998, *The Gender Dimensions of Internal Displacement*, Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children. <http://www.unicef.org/emerg/IDPgen.pdf>.

Bhandari, Arjun, 2003, "In the eye of the storm" in *Kathmandu Post*, 19 February, 10 Anniversary Special Supplement.

Bhattarai, Anand, Mohan, 2001, *Displacement and Rehabilitation in Nepal*, Arnol Publications, New Delhi.

Bhattarai, Baburam. 2002, Interview by Chitra Tiwari by email.

Chunakara, Mathews George, *Rights of Internally Displaced People and the Relevance of Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*, from (DAGA), Documentation for Action Groups in Asia 2003, [www.daga.org](http://www.daga.org).

Cohen Roberta & Deng M. Francis, *Masses in Flight*, Brookings Institution, Washington, 1998.

DeVries, Lucia, 2003, "The real struggle has just begun" in *Kathmandu Post*, 19 February, 10 Anniversary Special Supplement.

DFID, 2002, Development and Humanitarian Relief Report for DFID Nepal, Unpublished report.

Gautam, Shobha. 2001, *Women and Children in the Periphery of the People's War*, Institute of Human Rights Communication Nepal ( IHRICON), Kathmandu.

Gautam, Shobha, Banskota Amrita and Manchanda Rita. 2001, "Where There

Are No Men: Women in the Maoist Insurgency in Nepal " in Women War and Peace in South Asia edited Rita Manchanda.

Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, June 2001, United Nations Publications, New York.

Gurung, Harka. 2001, *Nepal Social Demography and Expressions*, New Era, Kathmandu.

Himalayan Times, 2003, "Maoists call locals home", 18 February, p4.

Human Rights and Peace Society HURPEC, 2002.

International Committee of Red Cross, 2001. Annual Report, [www.icrc.org](http://www.icrc.org).

International Committee of Red Cross, 2003. *Nepal: ICRC Field Survey in the Mid-Western Region*. Unpublished report

INSEC, 2002, E-Bulletin, 22 December

INSEC, 2002, Appeal, 30 December.

INSEC, 2003, *Informal*, Vol 14, Iss 1, January.

INSEC, 2003, E-Bulletin, 3-17 January.

Jayshi, Damakant, 2003, "Children of conflict face bleak future", in *Kathmandu Post*, 9 February, p1.

The Kathmandu Post a, 2003, "Armed Maoists launch meetings in rural areas" 10 February, p3.

The Kathmandu Post b, 2003, "Prachanda orders cadres to halt extortion", 17 February, p1.

The Kathmandu Post c, 2003, "Ceasefire raises hope of peace in rural areas", 3 February, p3.

The Kathmandu Post d, 2003, "Nepalis returning in hordes after truce", 17 February, p3.

The Kathmandu Post e, 2003, "Rebel women were sexually abused: NWC", 7 February, p12.

- Kattel, Bal Krishna. 2003, "Nepal in Deepening Crisis", in *Informal* Vol 14, Kathmandu, Iss. 1.
- Khadka, Rudra. 2002, "Insurgency, poverty lead to mass migration" in *Kathmandu Post*, 18 December.
- Maharjan, Pancha, N., 2002, "The Maoist Insurgency and Crisis of Governability in Nepal" in *Domestic Conflict and Crisis of Governability in Nepal*, edited by Dhruba Kumar, Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Kathmandu.
- Mainali, Mohan, 2002, *Voices from Bajura* (English transcript from TV documentary), unpublished.
- Manchanda, Rita, 1998, "A spreading insurgency in Nepal" in *Frontline*, 25 September.
- Manchanda, Rita, 2002, "Through Maoist Country" in *Frontline*, 13 September, 2002
- Martinez, Esperanza, 2002, *Conflict -related displacement*, Prepared for USAID, Kathmandu.
- Nepal Census, 2001.
- Nepali Times, 2003, "100 Days", 17-23 January, p2.
- Paffenholz, Thania, 2002, *Peacebuilding in Nepal*, report by swisspeace, unpublished.
- Panday, Devendra Raj, 1999, *Nepal's Failed Development*, Nepal South Asia Centre, Kathmandu.
- Phuyal, Surendra, 2003, "No military solution" in *The Kathmandu Post*, 19 February, Special Supplementary.
- Pokharel, Tilak, P, 2003, "Battle scars young lives and minds" in *The Kathmandu Post*, 19 February, 10 Anniversary Special Supplement.
- Rai, Hemlata & Nepal, Janak, 2003, "Leave the kids alone" in *The Nepali Times*, 17-23 January, pl.
- Seddon, David, 2002, *The Maoist Insurgency in Nepal: Revolutionary Theory and Practice*. Adroit Publishers, Delhi.

Sharad, KC, 2003, "Is it for real this time?" in *Nepali Times*, 14-20 February, p1.

Shrestha, Saurav Kiran, 2003, "Culture of peace for children", *Kathmandu Post*, 20 February, p5.

Kathmandu Post a, 2003, "Maoists request locals to return home", 29 December.

Kathmandu Post b, 2003, "CWIN launches programme for child victims of conflict", 16 February, p9.

Kathmandu Post c, 2003, "Security personnel, Maoists on the run to win over public" 9 February, p9.

Updety, Aruna, 2003, "Women in war and conflict" in *The Kathmandu Post*, 19 February, 10 Anniversary Special Supplement.

Van Duijn, Leonard & Seaman, Alastair, 2002, *Internal Displacement and Urbanisation*, Unpublished report prepared for INF, Kathmandu.

Wagle, Manna Prasad, 2003, "Rote learning or parrot teaching?" in *The Kathmandu Post*, 31 January, p5.

## **South Asia Forum for Human Rights (SAFHR)**

Human rights, peace and democracy are the main areas of concern of the South Asia Forum for Human Rights. SAFHR's programmes promote respect for the universal values of human rights, the interdependence of rights and the indivisibility of rights. In the strife torn region of south Asia, SAFHR is committed to promote these values through a new culture of dialogue - a dialogue which is not concerned with the culture of 'national security' but with the culture of peace, tolerance and coexistence.

"Peace as a value" is the vision which informs SAFHR's regional dialogues. Peace is not the absence of war or a management of crisis but an absolute value to be fundamentally integrated in the approach to realising a peoples' security. The notion of peace is as a space for the enjoyment of rights of all peoples. Without peace there can be no rights.

SAFHR's dialogues seek to redefine security in terms of peoples' security, that is, security of food, shelter, health and livelihood in a non-hegemonic democratic regional order. SAFHR's regional dialogues have addressed some of the core concerns of the human rights agenda - women, refugees, migrants, impunity, minorities, intolerance, inter-state and intra-state conflicts, militarisation and lack of regional cooperation. The objective is to link these issues in a framework of human rights, peace, tolerance, governance and democracy.

SAFHR's programmes reach out to civil society groups, academicians, journalists, professionals and policymakers to build solidarities to promote a culture of peace through a network of 35 partners.

SAFHR's paper series is part of the programme to develop a culture of peace and human rights through research, publications, education and people to people dialogue.

### **SAFHR Paper Series**

- |     |   |      |
|-----|---|------|
| 1   | Girl Trafficking in Nepal: An Overview  | 1997 |
| 2   | The Mahakali Integrated Development Treaty: An Evaluation of News Coverage                      | 1997 |
| 3   | Refugees in South Asia: A Report  | 1998 |
| 4   | "Those Accords"<br>A Bunch of Documents   | 1999 |
| 5   | Peace Process in Nagaland and Chittagong Hill Tracts – Peace Audit Report - 1                   | 1999 |
| 6   | Protection of Refugees in South Asia: Need for Legal Framework                                  | 2000 |
| 7   | Ten Week War in Kargil<br>From the News Files   | 2000 |
| 8   | Peace Process in Sri Lanka<br>(Peace Audit Report II)   | 2001 |
| 9   | Reporting Conflict: A Radical Critique of the Mass Media by Indian & Pakistani Journalists      | 2001 |
| 10. | A Complex Denial: Disappearances, Secret Cremations & The Issue of Truth and Justice in Punjab  | 2001 |
| 11. | Revisiting the Constitution of a Hindu Public: Militarized Hindu Nationalism and the Mass Media | 2002 |
| 12. | Three Essays on<br>Law, Responsibility and Justice  | 2002 |
| 13. | The Current History of<br>Peace Politics  | 2002 |
| 14. | Chronicles of a No-Where People<br>On the Indo-Bangladesh Border                                | 2003 |