

INDIA:

National and state authorities failing to protect IDPs

A profile of the internal displacement situation

2 September, 2010

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Through its work, the Centre contributes to improving national and international capacities to protect and assist the millions of people around the globe who have been displaced within their own country as a result of conflicts or human rights violations.

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OVERVIEW

National and state authorities failing to protect IDPs

In 2009 and during the first half of 2010, at least 650,000 people in central India (Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal), north-east India (Assam, Mizoram-Tripura and Manipur), Jammu and Kashmir, Orissa and Gujarat were living in displacement due to armed conflict and ethnic or communal violence. An unknown number of displaced people were living in Indian cities.

In central India, armed conflict over land and mineral resources in tribal forest areas was ongoing. In 2009, government security forces launched "Operation Green Hunt" against Naxalite insurgents. The conflict led to new displacement of more than 100,000 tribal people from Chhattisgarh state to Andhra Pradesh state between mid-2009 and mid-2010. Of those displaced prior to 2009, 20,000 were still staying in camps in Chhattisgarh and another 20,000 in Andhra Pradesh. In addition, 8,000 people were displaced within West Bengal state, with many of them staying in makeshift camps.

In north-east India's Assam state, about 170,000 people who had been displaced by ethnic violence were living in camps in deplorable conditions. In 2009 and 2010, new violence in Assam displaced more than 16,000 Dimasas and Zeme Nagas and 4,000 Nepali-speakers. 30,000 Brus displaced from Mizoram state in 1997 and living in difficult conditions in camps in Tripura state had not been able to return, and new Mizo-Bru violence in November 2009 displaced another 5,000 Brus. In Manipur state, 1,500 to 2,500 people had to flee their homes in May 2009 due to counterinsurgency operations by security forces. In May 2010, clashes between security forces and Naga protesters displaced 500 Nagas from Manipur state to Nagaland state.

250,000 Kashmiri Pandits displaced from the Kashmir Valley since 1990 because of conflict between the Indian army and Muslim insurgents were still living in displacement in Jammu, Delhi and elsewhere in India. In addition, military border fencing separated 15,000 people from their land in Jammu and Kashmir state in 2009. In Orissa state, at least 10,000 people who had to flee their homes due to Hindu-Christian violence in 2007 and 2008 remained displaced, and in Gujarat state, 19,000 people who had been displaced by Hindu-Muslim violence in 2002 were still staying in camps.

The Government of India has no national policy to respond to internal displacement caused by armed conflict and ethnic or communal violence. The responsibility for protecting the displaced and providing assistance to them generally falls on state governments and district authorities. This has resulted in wide discrepancies between responses from one state to another and even from one situation to another within the same state.

It is very difficult to estimate the total number of conflict-induced IDPs in India as there is no central government agency responsible for monitoring the numbers of people displaced and returning, and humanitarian and human rights agencies have limited access to them. Those whose numbers are known are generally those living in camps and registered there. A conservative estimate of the total number of people displaced by conflict and violence would be at least 650,000 as of August 2010, but the real number, which would include displaced people outside of camps and dispersed in India's cities, is likely to be significantly higher.

Introduction

Armed conflict and communal or ethnic violence have continued to cause internal displacement in India, and hundreds of thousands of people or more were living in displacement as of August 2010. In addition to those who were forced to flee in 2009 and during the first half of 2010, many who had been displaced earlier remained in displacement, as they had not been able to reach durable solutions.

It is very difficult to estimate the total number of conflict- and violence-induced IDPs in India as there is no central government agency responsible for monitoring the numbers of people displaced and returning, while humanitarian and human rights agencies have limited access to them. The displaced whose numbers are known are generally living in camps and registered there, and no numbers are known of IDPs outside camps. A conservative estimate of the total number of people displaced by conflict and violence would be at least 650,000.

In central India, armed conflict over land and mineral resources in tribal forest areas continued in 2009 and into 2010. Fighting between Naxalite (or Maoist) insurgents and government security forces supported by Salwa Judum militia and Special Police Officers affected more than 200 of India's 626 districts in 20 of its 29 states in mid-2010. By March 2009, the conflict had displaced 350,000 members of tribal groups, and over 100,000 were believed to have been displaced between mid-2009 and mid-2010.

In north-east India, there were several situations of new or ongoing displacement. From March to July 2009, violence between Dimasas and Zeme Naga people in Assam's North Cachar Hills (now Dima Hasao) district displaced more than 16,000 people of both communities. Most of them were displaced locally, but several hundred Zeme Nagas fled to Manipur state. All of them had reportedly returned by July 2010. In November 2009, 5,000 Bru people were forced to flee to Tripura state from their homes in Mizoram state when new Mizo-Bru violence broke out. They joined 30,000 Brus from Mizoram who have been living in protracted displacement in Tripura since being displaced by Mizo-Bru violence in 1997.

In Manipur state in May 2009, between 1,500 and 2,500 people were displaced during counter-insurgency operations by security forces. In May 2010, 500 Naga people fled from Manipur to Nagaland state when security forces and Naga protesters clashed during an economic blockade of the state; however, they were able to return after a month. In the Assam-Meghalaya border region, 4,000 Nepali-speakers were displaced by ethnic violence, during which their community was targeted by members of the Khasi tribe.

In Assam state, camps in several districts were in 2010 still hosting more than 47,000 people displaced by ethnic violence between Bodos and Muslims as early as 1993 and between Bodos and Santhals in 1996 and 1998. Another 125,000 internally displaced people (IDPs) were staying in camps in Assam after they had to flee their homes in 2008 due to Bodo-Muslim violence.

250,000 Kashmiri Pandits who had fled the Kashmir Valley from 1990 onwards remained in protracted displacement, with most of them staying in camps in Jammu and Delhi. In 2010, protests in the Kashmir Valley region against Indian rule continued to make their return unlikely.

In Orissa state, 10,000 people remained displaced as a result of Hindu-Christian violence in 2007 and 2008. In Gujarat state, 19,000 IDPs remained following Hindu-Muslim violence in 2002.

Displaced people who left camps, including many who were forced to leave as authorities closed camps, such as in Gujarat and Orissa, have not necessarily been able to achieve durable solutions. For many, sustainable return to their areas of origin has not been possible due to safety concerns and because they have not received land and property compensation. In Orissa and

Gujarat, for example, many perpetrators of the violence who had targeted the displaced communities have not yet been brought to justice. In areas affected by the Naxalite conflict, return has often been impossible because of ongoing armed conflict.

In the absence of government assistance for displaced people outside camps, those with the necessary resources have resettled elsewhere in India, including in urban areas. Others have stayed in the areas they were displaced to, but no information on their numbers or situation was available. Since many who left relief camps are unlikely to have found durable solutions, they should still be regarded as internally displaced. Many others remain uncounted since they have been living outside camps since their displacement. As a result, it can be assumed that significantly more than 650,000 people are currently displaced by conflict and violence in India.

Jammu and Kashmir

The Kashmir conflict between India and Pakistan dates back to 1947, the year of the partitioning of the Indian subcontinent and the independence of the two countries from British rule. Parts of the former princely state of Kashmir came under Indian rule, other parts under Pakistani or Chinese control. The Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) consists of three provinces: Kashmir Valley, Jammu and Ladakh. In the Kashmir Valley region, two to three per cent of the population prior to their displacement were Hindu Pandits, in addition to a Sunni Muslim majority and Sikh and Christian minorities. In the Jammu region, Hindus are marginally in the majority, with Muslims making up almost half of the population (HRW, 1 July 1999; ICG, 21 November 2002, pp.1–2).

Displacement of Kashmiri Pandits

In 1987, flawed elections led to a violent Muslim uprising in J&K. Some insurgent groups sought independence, while others wanted to join Pakistan (ICG, 21 November 2002, p.8). In the Kashmir Valley region, Islamist militants threatened, abducted and killed Pandits and demanded that they leave. From 1990 onwards, tens of thousands of Kashmiri Pandits fled to Jammu, Delhi and other areas in India for fear of targeted killings and abductions (ACCORD, January 2010, p.32; ICG, 3 June 2010, p.3).

As of June 2010, 250,000 Pandits from the Kashmir Valley were living in displacement (Reuters AlertNet, 19 June 2010), with more than 37,000 families staying in Jammu, almost 20,000 in Delhi, and more than 1,000 in other parts of India (Gol-MHA, 2 March 2010, p.9). Fewer than 3,000 Kashmiri Pandits still live in the Kashmir Valley (NYT, 5 June 2010).

While the Government of India continues to consider the displaced Kashmiri Pandits not as internally displaced people (IDPs) but as “migrants” and the assistance provided to them has been found lacking, they have been treated considerably better than other groups of IDPs in India in terms of assistance and protection. The Government of Jammu and Kashmir and the Government of the National Capital Territory of Delhi have provided displaced Kashmiri Pandits with nine kilogrammes of rice and two kilogrammes of wheat flour per person and one kilogramme of sugar per family per month. In March 2010, monthly cash relief for Kashmiri Pandit IDPs was increased to Rs. 1,250 (\$27) per person up to a total of Rs. 5,000 (\$107) per family (IANS, 20 June 2010; ACCORD, January 2010, p.37; Gol-MHA, 2 March 2010, p.9; The Tribune, 4 April 2010).

Displaced Kashmiri Pandits have stayed in one-room tenements, which have deteriorated for a number of years (ACCORD, January 2010, p.37), but some have been allocated more than 1,000 newly constructed two-room apartments in Jammu, out of more than 5,000 planned. In the Kashmir Valley, out of the planned total of 200 apartments, 120 have been constructed and

allocated, including 31 to displaced Kashmiri Pandits living in camps in the Valley (Gol-MHA, 2 March 2010, p.9; India Today, 5 June 2010).

In 1997, the Jammu and Kashmir state government enacted two laws to protect the properties that Kashmiri Pandit IDPs left behind in the Kashmir Valley and to limit “distress sales”. Nevertheless, IDPs have continued to be forced to sell their properties, often at low prices (ACHR, 21 January 2010, p.46; ACCORD, January 2010, p.34).

In April 2008, the Indian Prime Minister announced an incentive package worth Rs. 16.18 billion (\$345 million) to encourage Kashmiri Pandit IDPs to return to the Kashmir Valley. The package includes Rs. 750,000 (\$16,000) per family to build or buy a house or apartment, and other assistance in the areas of housing, transit accommodation in return areas, cash relief, scholarships for students, and livelihoods (Gol-MHA, 2 March 2010, p.10).

By May 2010, 4,400 displaced Kashmiri Pandit families had applied for transit accommodation, but none of them had returned, most likely for security reasons. By March 2010, the Government of Jammu and Kashmir had created 3,000 positions for unemployed internally displaced Kashmiri Pandit youth willing to return to the Kashmir Valley (Gol-MHA, 2 March 2010, p.10; The Telegraph (India), 12 May 2010), and by July, 1,500 candidates had been selected to be posted there. When the Government of Jammu and Kashmir announced in July 2010 that it would suspend the posts for one month because of ongoing protests in the Valley, Pandit leaders demanded that the selected candidates be posted in Jammu until the situation calmed down, instead of prolonging their unemployment (Early Times, 13 July 2010).

In 2010, over 40 per cent of 180 displaced Kashmiri Pandits surveyed in camps in Jammu reported that they would prefer to return to the Kashmir Valley, with around 25 per cent favouring staying in Jammu and 15 per cent preferring to resettle elsewhere in India. Almost 18 per cent would return if a separate homeland for Pandits were created in Kashmir (Shekhawat, 16 August 2010, p.21).

Other displacement in Jammu and Kashmir

In 2009 in Poonch district in Jammu and Kashmir state, 15,000 people living in 22 villages were separated from their agricultural land, education and livelihoods by a fence that the Indian army was erecting five kilometres away from the Line of Control (LoC) inside Indian-controlled territory. The villages of Chaprian, Kerni, Chamber Kinari, Kinari, Shahpur, Salotri and Digwar were particularly affected. People’s movement was also restricted, as they were not allowed to move about after 4pm. Their security was threatened by both the Indian and the Pakistani Armies, as well as by landmines planted by the Indian Army. They had not received compensation for the farmland they could no longer access. People from Gujjar and Bakerwal villages were not able to take their livestock for grazing since they had been cut off from their grazing land by the fence (The Hindu, 20 December 2009).

Assam

Displacement following Bodo-Muslim and Bodo-Santhal violence

In Assam, members of the Bodo tribe, which is among the tribes that settled earliest in Assam, have long fought against Bengali and Assamese settlement in their areas (SATP, July 2002). In 1993, violence between Bodos and immigrant Muslim settlers displaced 18,000 people in Kokrajhar and Bongaigaon districts (MCRG, February 2007, p.7). In August 2008, violence between Bodos and immigrant Muslim settlers broke out in Routa Bagan village in Udalguri district when the All Assam Students’ Union organised a state-wide campaign to evict illegal immigrants. More than 14,000 people fled, taking shelter in nine relief camps. In October 2008, further violence in Udalguri, Darrang, Sonitpur and Chirang districts killed 55 people and

displaced 212,000 from over 200 villages. Muslims as well as Bodos were displaced (NDTV, 17 January 2009; India Today, 10 October 2008; Frontline, 7 November 2008; The Telegraph (India), 21 January 2009; 20 January 2009).

Armed Bodo groups have also engaged in a campaign of violence against other tribal groups within Bodo areas (SATP, July 2002). In 1996 and 1998, clashes between Bodos and Santhal tribal people (also referred to as Adivasis), who the Bodos regarded as “encroachers”, displaced over 500,000 people (The Telegraph (India), 10 August 2009).

As of late 2009, more than 47,000 people displaced by Bodo-Muslim and Bodo-Santhal violence in the 1990s were staying in camps in Kokrajhar, Bongaigaon and Chirang districts of Assam state (ACHR, 6 June 2009; ACHR, 19 November 2009). In addition, almost 125,000 people displaced by Bodo-Muslim violence in 2008 were staying in camps in Darrang and Udalguri districts of Assam state (ACHR, 6 August 2009; AITPN, June 2009).

In several camps where people displaced in 1993, 1996, 1998 and 2008 were staying, ten-day food rations had to last for a month, and in one camp in Kokrajhar district, all children born after the last census of the camp in 1996 were excluded from food ration calculations. In one camp in Udalguri district, rice was distributed only to half of the families and rations were stopped in October 2008, during the sixth month after displacement. Access to drinking water was also limited, with few wells and hand pumps available and the water often contaminated (The Hindu, 21 April 2009; ACHR, June 2009).

Shelter and sanitation were inadequate in these camps: IDPs stayed in small huts that did not provide much protection. They had to sleep on polythene sheets on the mud floor, and women lacked privacy (ACHR, June 2009). Girls and women faced an increased risk of sexual abuse and exploitation because there were no toilets in the camps and they had to defecate in the open field or in the bushes (ACHR, June 2009; The Hindu, 21 April 2009). Chicken pox, malaria, diarrhoea, jaundice and iodine deficiency were common, and there was limited access to health care services. There were no government-run crèches (*anganwadi* centres) in the camps (NCPCR, 24 September 2008; ACHR, June 2009; WFS, 30 October 2009).

Livelihood options were limited for these IDPs, who were working as agricultural labourers, day labourers in construction or domestic workers (ACHR, June 2009). The hostility of the local population made it difficult for some IDPs to find day jobs (WFS, 30 October 2009). Job cards under the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) were not distributed to all IDPs, and not all of those who did receive job cards found a job (ACHR, June 2009).

In camps in Kokrajhar, Bongaigaon and Chirang districts, families were forced to sell their young daughters into marriage due to poverty (WFS, 30 October 2009). Some women had to resort to prostitution in order to make a living (The Telegraph (India), 10 August 2009), and other IDPs were forced to let themselves be trafficked to other parts of India or to Bhutan as sex workers and child labourers (NCPCR, 24 September 2008; NCPCR, October 2008).

Children’s education was also jeopardised by displacement. There was a general lack of schools and teachers, and displaced children were denied access to local schools as these were already crowded (NCPCR, 24 September 2008). Some IDPs were running makeshift schools in camps, and the government had started some schools under a programme to provide universal elementary education. One school in Udalguri district had been occupied by Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) personnel who had been posted there to provide security for the IDPs (ACHR, June 2009).

Displacement following Dimasa-Zeme Naga violence

Ethnic conflict between Dimasa and Zeme Naga people broke out in March 2009 in North Cachar Hills (now Dima Hasao) district of Assam state. By September, 539 houses in 50 villages belonging to both Dimasas and Zeme Nagas had been burnt down (InfoChange, 29 September 2009).

The violence led to the displacement of several thousand people from both communities. Most people were displaced within the district; by August 2009, more than 16,000 IDPs from both communities were staying in 41 camps there. Several hundred Zeme Naga people fled to Manipur state, and in August, 800 displaced Zeme Nagas were staying in camps in Tousem sub-division of Tamenglong district in Manipur state (InfoChange, 29 September 2009; Sangai Express, 8 July 2009; ANI, 22 April 2009; IFP, 4 April 2009; DIPR N.C. Hills, 14 August 2009).

The Assam state government provided food assistance to the IDPs (DIPR N.C. Hills, 14 August 2009). However, some children only received one meal per day, and several were malnourished. There was no access to safe drinking water in the camps, and several children suffered from fever and colds as well as scabies, boils and skin infections. There were no *anganwadi* centres in the camps (NCPCR, 8 August 2009; NCPCR, 24 September 2008; Indian Express, 23 August 2009; Assam Tribune, 23 August 2009). Adolescent girls were forced to stay apart from their families, with relatives outside camps, as there was a lack of safety and privacy in the camps. In addition, some girls were harassed and abused by the army and the police because of alleged links with armed insurgent groups (NCPCR, 8 August 2009).

In August 2009, 6,000 displaced children had been out of school for six months. The use of local schools as camps and their occupation by the armed forces interrupted local children's education, while schools in the areas where IDPs were staying lacked facilities such as toilets, as well as books, stationary items and school uniforms (NCPCR, 8 August 2009; Indian Express, 23 August 2009; Assam Tribune, 23 August 2009).

According to the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), the camps had been closed and all IDPs had returned to their villages by July 2010 (NHRC, 5 July 2010).

Assam-Meghalaya

Displacement following Khasi-Gorkha (Nepali) violence

In May 2010, communal violence between Khasis and Nepali-speakers arose over a contested village on the border between Assam state and Meghalaya state, which is under Assamese authority but claimed by Meghalaya (Himal South Asian, "Dakhar still", July 2010; Republica, 24 May 2010). The violence displaced at least 4,000 Nepali-speakers in Meghalaya state and the Assam-Meghalaya border region. 3,000 of them fled to stay in camps in Jayanti in Assam state, 1,000 to Purdung in Meghalaya, and more than 200 to Nepal. Some also fled to Indian cities (Himal South Asian, "Dakhar still", July 2010; Nepalnews, 26 May 2010; Nepalnews, 21 May 2010; Republica, 24 May 2010).

Manipur

Blockade and displacement of Naga people

In March 2010, the Manipur state government announced elections to the district councils in the six autonomous hills districts. Naga people and non-Naga groups based in the hills districts were opposed to these elections, and on 11 April, the All Naga Student Association Manipur (ANSAM) started an economic blockade of national highways 39 and 53, the main supply routes into

Manipur. The blockade created a humanitarian crisis in the state, including through an acute shortage of fuel and other petroleum products, medical supplies, and food items (Himal South Asian, "After 69 days", July 2010; Himal South Asian, "Unravelling the Manipur tangle", July 2010; IBNS, 10 May 2010; AHRC, 11 June 2010; IDSA, 10 June 2010).

In April 2010, tensions rose when the leader of a Naga armed group was prevented by the Manipur government from entering the state. During Naga protests in the town of Mao in Senapati district, security forces shot and killed two students and injured more than 80 people. About 500 Nagas from Mao, mostly women and children, fled to Nagaland state. They returned to their homes in Manipur in June (BBC News, 6 May 2010; The Telegraph (India), 7 June 2010; UCANews, 10 June 2010; HRA and AHRC, 24 May 2010; AHRC, 11 June 2010).

Other displacement in Manipur

In April 2009, between 1,500 and 2,500 villagers were displaced from the area surrounding Loktak Lake in Bishnupur district of Manipur state. They were forced to flee when the Indian Army, the paramilitary Assam Rifles and the police launched "Operation Summer Storm" against insurgents. After the villagers had left, members of the security forces moved into their houses. The villagers took shelter in camps in Ithai Khunou, Nognmaikhong, Laphupat Tera, Moirang and Ethai. After protests by the displaced, the Bishnupur district administration provided them with food and other basic necessities. "Operation Summer Storm" was concluded on 20 April 2009, but it remained unclear whether the displaced were able to return to their homes (The Telegraph (India), 20 April 2009; E-Pao Net, 20 April 2009).

Mizoram-Tripura

Violence between members of the majority Mizo and minority Bru (or Reang) communities in Mizoram state from 15 October 1997 onwards forced about 30,000 Brus to flee from Mizoram state to Tripura state. They have since been staying in six camps set up by the Tripura state government in Kanchanpur in North Tripura district (AITPN, 20 December 2007).

In 2008, the National Commission for the Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR) criticised the conditions in the camps in Tripura. It reported a lack of health care and immunisation services, clean water supplies, and schools. In addition, food rations were insufficient, there was no safe drinking water, and sanitation facilities were poor (NCPCR, October 2008, p.4). The birth of children in the camps was not registered, and they therefore did not receive food rations for long periods. More than 7,200 Bru children living in IDP camps in Tripura who had not been registered and did not receive rations as of September 2008 were finally registered in March 2009, following an intervention by the NCPCR. However, more than 2,700 displaced children born afterwards had not been registered as of December 2009 (AITPN, September 2008; ACHR, 12 December 2009; AITPN, 12 December 2009).

In November 2009, a Mizo youth was killed by members of the hitherto unknown "Bru Revolutionary Union" (BRU). The ensuing violence displaced another 5,000 Brus to Tripura state (The Telegraph, India, 17 November 2009; ACHR, 20 November 2009).

According to the Asian Centre for Human Rights (ACHR), the killing of the Mizo youth, even if it may not have been carried out with that intention, was nevertheless used to stall the return process of the Brus displaced in 1997 (ACHR, 21 January 2010, p.2). The Mizoram state government, which had previously been opposed to the return of the displaced Bru people, declared that the return process would start in November 2009, but the Mizoram Bru Displaced Peoples Forum (MBDPF) stated that the necessary conditions for return, including security, were not yet in place (ACHR, 21 January 2010, pp.1–3, 14). The MBDPF, the Mizoram government

and the Tripura government further disagreed over the number of displaced Brus in Tripura (AITPN, 20 December 2007, p.2).

In late May 2010, more than 1,000 Brus displaced to Tripura in 2009 returned to Mizoram (ACHR, 10 August 2010). According to a census of camp residents carried out by the Mizoram Bru Displaced People's Forum (MBDPF), more than 31,000 IDPs from Mizoram remained in the camps as of August 2010. More than 29,000 among them had been displaced in 1997 and more than 2,000 in 2009 (PTI, 15 August 2010).

Central India (Naxalite conflict)

The Naxalite movement originated in a peasant uprising in the village of Naxalbari in India's West Bengal state in 1967, which was initiated by a splinter group of India's mainstream Communist Party. The movement grew quickly and attracted landless labourers and student intellectuals. In the 1970s, a government crackdown broke the group into myriad feuding factions. On 14 October 2004, the two largest splinter groups of the original Naxalite movement merged to form the Communist Party of India (Maoist) (or CPI (Maoist)) (HRW, 9 December 2009, p.23; GoI – MHA, 1 June 2009, p.16).

The CPI (Maoist), which the Government of India banned in June 2009 (ISN, 29 June 2009), claims to fight for the rights of the poor and marginalised in India, and its declared aim is to overthrow the current political system in India and to create a new social order in which all of India's citizens have equal access to the country's resources. Its activities include armed attacks against the Indian state, including on infrastructure such as railways, roads, power and communications installations. It is estimated to include from 10,000 to 20,000 armed fighters (HRW, 9 December 2009, p.23; GoI–MHA, 1 June 2009, p.16; Economist.com, 22 July 2010).

The Naxalite conflict has so far affected more than 200 of India's 626 districts (Economist.com, 22 July 2010) in 20 of its 29 states (AFP, 15 May 2010). These areas largely overlap with the Dandakaranya forest covering parts of West Bengal, Jharkhand, Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra, where large deposits of mineral resources such as bauxite, iron ore and uranium are located and where millions of low-caste Adivasis (tribal people) live. The latter have suffered from chronic famine and have had no access to health care, education or judicial procedures (Guardian (UK), 30 October 2009).

Both the Naxalites and government security forces, with their allied militia Salwa Judum and Special Police Officers, have been guilty of human rights violations, including child recruitment (HRW, 14 July 2008, p.25; IHT, 22 May 2008; HRW, 5 September 2008, p.39). Schools have been attacked by Naxalites and occupied by police (HRW, 9 December 2009).

The Naxalites have been responsible for human rights abuses including abduction, hostage-taking, torture, and extra-judicial killings, including after trial by "people's courts" (ACHR, 29 May 2009, pp. 34–37). Their policy to forcibly recruit one person from each Adivasi family has often pitted members of the same family against each other (ACHR, 17 March 2006, p.3).

The Salwa Judum, whose name means "peace hunt" (GoI–MRD, 1 March 2009, p.161), a vigilante force supported by government security forces, was formally set up in 2005 (Guardian (UK), 30 October 2009). Government security forces joined Salwa Judum members on village raids to identify and remove suspected Naxalite sympathisers. They raided hundreds of villages in Chhattisgarh state's Dantewada and Bijapur districts, where tribal communities make up 79 per cent of the population, and used threats, beatings, arbitrary arrests and detentions, killings and burning of villages to force residents to support the Salwa Judum (HRW, 14 July 2008, p.7). Thousands of villagers were forcibly relocated to government-run Salwa Judum camps near police stations or paramilitary police camps (HRW, 14 July 2008, p.7) to prevent the Naxalites

from recruiting them (TIME Magazine, 29 May 2008). Once in camps, villagers were subjected to attacks by the Naxalites (NHRC, November 2008, p.107).

In 2009, the Government of India initiated "Operation Green Hunt" against the Naxalites in Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa and West Bengal, the states worst affected by the conflict (Economist.com, 22 July 2010). Ostensibly aimed at suppressing the rebellion, some have argued that its real aim is to "turn [...] the area into a war zone" to force the low-caste tribal people off their mineral-rich land to make way for large-scale commercial exploitation of natural resources by private companies (Asia Times, 26 May 2010). Since 2005, the Government of India has signed several hundred memorandums of understanding (MoUs) with companies on resource exploitation and large-scale infrastructure projects such as power plants, dams and steel factories (Guardian (UK), 30 October 2009). Between 1999 and 2009, 160,000 people were estimated to have been displaced in Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Orissa because of development projects (Tehelka, 11 July 2009).

As of August 2010, the Government of India was considering the Mines and Minerals (Development and Regulation) Act, 2010, which would oblige mining companies "to allot free shares equal to 26% of a project's equity to the local population affected by the mining project". The proposed legislation met with strong opposition from mining companies (Asia Times, 4 August 2010).

Up to 450,000 people are estimated to have been internally displaced by the Naxalite conflict since 2005 (HRW, 14 July 2008, p.8; GoI-MRD, 1 March 2009, p.161; Deccan Chronicle, 12 June 2010). Many have hidden under false names in order to avoid being identified (HRW, 14 July 2008, p.83). At the end of 2009, 40,000 tribal Adivasis were estimated to be living in displacement in Chhattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh, with 20,000 living in camps in Chhattisgarh and 20,000 scattered across Andhra Pradesh. In addition, 8,000 Adivasis reportedly lived in displacement in West Bengal, some of them in makeshift camps (AI, 27 May 2010, p.167).

In the first half of 2010, almost 800 people had been killed in the Naxalite conflict, which is almost as many as in the whole year of 2009 (Economist.com, 22 July 2010). More than 100,000 were believed to have been displaced by the Naxalite conflict between mid-2009 and mid-2010 (Deccan Chronicle, 12 June 2010).

IDPs staying in camps in Chhattisgarh had limited access to food (HRW, 14 July 2008, pp.74–75), and only some were receiving free rations (NHRC, November 2008, p.106). They also lacked shelter, sanitation facilities, access to health care services, and access to education (HRW, 14 July 2008, pp.72–73; NHRC, November 2008, pp. 105, 107; NCPCR, 27 January 2009, pp.2–5). In January 2009, 40,000 children were out of school in the district, and some schools were occupied by members of the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), which led to increased bombing of these schools by Naxalite insurgents (NCPCR, 27 January 2009, pp.2–4). Few livelihood opportunities were available to these IDPs (NHRC, November 2008, pp.105–106). In one area, the NREGA was implemented as late as 2010 (Express Buzz, 16 May 2010).

In Andhra Pradesh, IDPs from Chhattisgarh had limited access to food and drinking water. As of July 2009, only ten per cent of the IDPs had ration cards, and malnourishment was a problem (Deccan Chronicle, 12 June 2010; NCPCR, 3 March 2010, p.2; Tehelka, 11 July 2009). They were regularly evicted from their makeshift hamlets by police or forest officials, who beat them up, burned their huts and destroyed their belongings. Some were relocated by force to other areas, often in close proximity to the Chhattisgarh border, without being consulted and without receiving adequate alternative housing (HRW, 14 July 2008, pp.85, 88, 91–92; Tehelka, 11 July 2009; Deccan Chronicle, 12 June 2010).

According to the National Commission for Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR), internally displaced children from Chhattisgarh were not being admitted to schools in Andhra Pradesh because they did not have school-leaving certificates and did not understand Telugu, which was the language of instruction in Andhra Pradesh (The Tribune, 2 April 2008). As of July 2009, 1,000 to 1,500 displaced children were out of school, and there were only four Residential Bridge Courses (RBCs) offered, which was insufficient to cater to the needs of all the displaced children who had missed out on schooling (NCPCR, 24 July 2009, p.2).

Gujarat

Violence between Hindus and Muslims in Gujarat in 2002 led to the deaths of more than 2,000 and the displacement of up to 250,000 people (CCT vol. II, 24 October 2002, pp.60, 122). As of December 2009, almost eight years after the violence, just over 19,000 IDPs were still living in 86 "relief colonies" (GoI, 1 December 2009, p.6), and it was unknown whether displaced people living elsewhere had reached durable solutions.

The violence began in February 2002 after 58 Hindu pilgrims had been killed in a fire on a train, which had allegedly been started by a Muslim mob (HRW, 29 April 2002, p.4). The deaths sparked off intense violence in more than 150 towns and almost 1,000 villages, with most victims being from the minority Muslim community (The Independent, 7 December 2007). Hindus also suffered from the violence, particularly economically, with thousands of small Hindu-owned businesses closing down during the violence (HRW, 30 June 2003).

The violence was reportedly orchestrated by Hindu right-wing organisations, and officials of the governing Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) as well as members of the police were allegedly complicit, exploiting existing communal tensions between Hindus and Muslims (Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief, 26 January 2009, p.14; HRW, 29 April 2002, p.4; Tehelka, 12 June 2010). As of mid-2010, criminal investigations by the Supreme Court of India against the perpetrators had been ongoing since 2009 (CJP, 19 July 2010, p.2).

Immediately after their displacement, many IDPs were forced to take shelter in about 100 makeshift camps set up across the state, with little support from the government. The task of providing relief and assistance was largely taken on by the Muslim community and non-governmental groups (HRW, 29 April 2002, p.52). By the end of October 2002, the government had closed most of the camps, forcing some displaced families back into neighbourhoods where their attackers still lived and where they faced threats to their physical security (HRW, 30 June 2003).

Religious groups and civil society organisations attempted to improve IDPs' situation by building houses and offering livelihoods assistance. They built "relief colonies" for displaced families on Muslim-owned land all over the state. However, sanitation facilities, drainage and water supply were poor. Residents of colonies near rubbish dumps had to put up with contaminated ground water, and gastro-intestinal and other diseases were common (Crisis States Research Centre, March 2010, pp.8–9).

IDPs in relief colonies were constantly threatened by evictions, as the land that their dwellings had been constructed on had been declared agricultural land by the government. The residents themselves had neither land nor property titles (Crisis States Research Centre, March 2010, p.8; CJP, 19 July 2010, p.16).

Relief colonies were not connected to the city centres, as there were no paved roads and no transportation facilities, meaning that IDPs had little access to livelihoods, schools and health care services. In addition, the IDPs and the religious organisations providing the bulk of the aid to them had different priorities, with the latter preferring the construction of mosques to health clinics

and *madrasas* or Islamic religious schools to secular schools (Crisis States Research Centre, March 2010, pp.8, 12; CJP, 19 July 2010, p.16).

A committee appointed by the Supreme Court reported in June 2007 that the economic conditions of the IDPs were dire, with their livelihoods having ended since the 2002 riots and their former clients unwilling to use their services (Infochange News and Features, July 2008). Many IDPs were not able to find work in their vocations during displacement and worked as vendors, rickshaw pullers or domestic help (Crisis States Research Centre, March 2010, p.10).

Some displaced children had dropped out of school and worked as labourers as their families could not afford the transport to the nearest schools. Many families in the relief colonies preferred not to send their daughters to schools outside the neighbourhood because during the 2002 violence Muslim girls were sexually abused. Consequently, a generation of displaced Muslim children are growing up less educated than their parents (Crisis States Research Centre, March 2010, p.9).

Orissa

Communal violence in Kandhamal district in Orissa state in eastern India displaced thousands of people in 2007 and 2008. There have been long-standing tensions between Hindus and Christians in the state over the issue of religion conversion. Hindu extremists have claimed that Christian priests have bribed poor tribal and low-caste Hindus to convert to Christianity, while Christian groups have maintained that lower-caste Hindus have willingly converted to escape a stratified and oppressive caste system. The situation is particularly sensitive in rural Kandhamal district where an estimated 150,000 Christians make up 23 per cent of the population. There are 500,000 Christians in the state of Orissa, according to estimates by Christian groups (Reuters, 27 August 2008; AsiaNews, 11 January 2008).

In December 2007, villagers in Kandhamal district had to flee their homes because of violence between Hindus and Christians during an argument over Christmas celebrations (HRW, 27 December 2007). 1,200 people took shelter in four camps in the district, while others fled to the forests (Zee News, 30 December 2007).

In August 2008, violence broke out again between the two communities after the killing of Swami Lakshmananda Saraswati, a Hindu spiritual leader who had opposed the spread of Christianity in the state. A CPI (Maoist) leader claimed that members of his group had killed the Swami, but right-wing Hindu groups including the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which was part of Orissa's coalition government, blamed the Christians (PUCL and KSG, April 2009, p.9).

Mobs ransacked churches, schools, health clinics and houses belonging to Christians. The police did not intervene (NYT, 13 October 2008; Frontline, 25 October 2008; HRLN, 17 December 2008, p.2). The violence lasted for more than two months and affected not only Kandhamal district, but also Gajapati, Koraput, Bargarh, Sambalpur, Kalahandi, Rayagada, Sundargarh, Khurda and Balasore districts. The majority of people affected were Christians (HRLN, 17 December 2008, p.1; PUCL and KSG, April 2009, pp.9, 42). In Kandhamal district, up to 75 people were killed, 4,500 homes burned down, and 100 churches destroyed (Guardian (UK), 23 November 2009; Times of India, 5 October 2008).

Until September 2008, the Orissa government denied politicians, human rights organisations and humanitarian organisations access to Kandhamal district, while allowing the entry of media as well as leaders of the BJP and the Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP), a right-wing Hindu organisation (PUCL and KSG, April 2009, p.10).

Estimates of the number of people displaced by the violence range from over 20,000 (IANS, 29 October 2008) to at least 50,000 (Times of India, 5 October 2008; PUCL and KSG, April 2009, p.42; Guardian (UK), 23 November 2009). It is estimated that between 23,000 and more than 25,000 people took shelter in 19 relief camps in Kandhamal district and in camps in the cities of Cuttack and Bhubaneswar (Times of India, 5 October 2008; Frontline, 25 October 2008; PUCL and KSG, April 2009, p.8). Thousands fled into the jungle, where there was no shelter or security, and little access to food and fresh water. Others were taken in by relatives in and outside of Orissa state (NYT, 29 August 2008; Guardian (UK), 31 August 2008; PUCL and KSG, April 2009, p.18).

Conditions in the camps were described as poor, with IDPs sleeping on plastic mats on the ground, receiving limited food rations and inadequate medical care (IANS, 25 October 2008). Security in the camps concerned observers. For example, three crude bombs exploded in Udayagiri camp on 28 August 2008. As of mid-November 2008, the total number of IDPs in the camps had shrunk to 10,000, not because many had returned, but because they had moved into the forests or to urban areas or taken shelter with relatives in other states, where they felt safer (SACW, 25 September 2008; IANS, 18 November 2008; HRLN, 17 December 2008, p.11; PUCL and KSG, April 2009, p.12).

Hindu groups reportedly put pressure on displaced Christians to convert to Hinduism as a condition of return to their villages (The Hindu, 1 October 2008; NYT, 13 October 2008). Some returned and converted, after being informed that their Hindu neighbours would protect them and they would be able to regain their property if they embraced Hinduism (Hindustan Times, 10 October 2008). Additional conditions for return included agreeing to have no access to the forest or to water from the village well (Tehelka, 18 April 2009). Some who had converted to Hinduism upon return were nevertheless attacked and killed (Frontline, 25 October 2008).

In the run-up to the national and state assembly elections in April 2009, the Kandhamal district authorities started closing the official relief camps. As of March 2009, only 3,000 people were still staying in official camps, and the last camp was closed on 25 August 2009, in spite of the fact that conditions for sustainable return were not in place (CJP, 25 March 2009; Kandhamal District Administration, 10 March 2010, p.1).

By the end of 2009, people were still living in displacement in unofficial makeshift camps, and many had been displaced multiple times, sometimes because authorities moved them to another camp or because their camp was closed (Guardian (UK), 23 November 2009). The government provided assistance to these IDPs, but it was largely insufficient (CSW, May 2010, p.4). Insecurity prevailed in IDPs' villages of origin in 2010, and many perpetrators of the violence had not been brought to justice, with IDPs regarding justice as a precondition for safe return (Tehelka, 18 April 2009 and 27 March 2010; CSW, May 2010, p.22).

Based on available sources, it can be estimated that at least 10,000 people are still living in displacement due to the violence as of mid-2010 (CSW, May 2010, p.20; IANS, 29 October 2008 and PUCL and KSG, April 2009, pp.8, 42).

National response

The Indian government has no national policy, legislation or other mechanisms to respond to internal displacement caused by armed conflict and ethnic or communal violence. The Government of India's proposed Communal Violence (Prevention, Control and Rehabilitation of Victims) Bill, 2009 includes a reference to those displaced by communal violence. However, it is not in line with the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, notably concerning IDPs' rights to education and durable solutions (CSW, May 2010, p.18).

The responsibility for assisting and protecting IDPs has frequently been delegated to state governments and district authorities. The lack of a national policy has allowed representatives of certain states to claim that they are powerless to make decisions to protect and assist displaced people. While there is certainly a need for a national policy, its absence does not absolve state governments from their responsibilities towards IDPs (HRW, 14 July 2008, p.69).

Where state- and district-level authorities do provide assistance, it remains ad-hoc and varied. Displaced Kashmiri Pandits are provided with far more support than the other groups displaced by conflict or violence. For example, displaced Kashmiri Pandits receive monthly cash relief of Rs. 1,250 (\$27) per person, while an adult Bru IDP in Tripura state receives only Rs. 87 (\$2) per month and displaced Bru children receive half that amount (ACHR, 1 August 2008, p.142; The Tribune, 4 April 2010).

The state government of Assam has provided different groups of IDPs with different levels of assistance, allegedly along ethnic lines. For example, it has provided people displaced from "revenue villages" (where inhabitants have land and property titles) with grants of Rs. 10,000 (\$213). People displaced from non-surveyed areas, on the other hand, have not received grants at all. Yet others received grants of only Rs. 1,500 (\$32) (The Telegraph (India), 10 August 2009).

State response has been particularly problematic in Gujarat, where the authorities have been accused of planning and instigating the violence against the Muslim population in 2002 (Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief, 26 January 2009, p.14; Tehelka, 12 June 2010). There, the state government had closed the official camps by October 2002 and did not even acknowledge the continuing displacement until five years after the violence (HRW, 30 June 2003; Himal South Asian, 2 October 2007).

Moreover, the Gujarat state government provided far less assistance to people displaced by the 2002 violence than to people displaced by an earthquake in Gujarat in 2001 (MCRG, October 2005, p.66). IDPs staying in relief colonies were constantly threatened by evictions, as they had no land or property titles (Crisis States Research Centre, March 2010, p.8; CJP, 19 July 2010, p.16).

In Orissa state, the police reportedly did nothing to prevent violence in Kandhamal district and subsequent displacement in 2007 and 2008 (HRLN, 17 December 2008, p.2). In 2008, authorities prevented humanitarian organisations from entering the district during the first ten days after the beginning of the violence (PUCL and KSG, April 2009, p.10). Subsequently, government assistance to displaced Christians in camps was largely insufficient, and many people soon left the camps because they did not feel that the authorities protected them there (HRLN, 17 December 2008, p.11; CSW, May 2010, p.4).

By late August 2009, the Orissa state government had closed the camps (CJP, 25 March 2009; Kandhamal District Administration, 10 March 2010, p.1). However, conditions were not suitable for sustainable return, as many perpetrators had not been brought to justice and were still at large (Tehelka, 18 April 2009 and 27 March 2010; CSW, May 2010, p.22). IDPs who did return were often forced to convert to Hinduism by extremist Hindu groups, with the authorities doing nothing to protect their freedom of religion (Tehelka, 18 April 2009).

State response has also been complicated in the case of Chhattisgarh: thousands of people were forcibly relocated to camps by state security forces and the Salwa Judum, but the state government had neither a policy for facilitating camp residents' safe return to their villages nor a plan to offer them other adequate long-term settlement options (HRW, 14 July 2008, p.71).

Despite the lack of a national policy, the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) has intervened in conflict-related displacement issues related to Gujarat and to Jammu and Kashmir.

It has recommended that in order to protect the basic human rights of displaced people, human rights guarantees for the IDPs in India should be incorporated in appropriate legislation (NHRC, 24 March 2008).

The National Commission for Protection of Children's Rights (NCPCR) has made visits to IDP camps and has been advocating towards district and state authorities on behalf of internally displaced children and IDPs in general. It focused on Mizoram-Tripura in 2008 (AITPN, September 2008), Chhattisgarh in 2008 and 2009 (NCPCR, August 2008 *and* 27 January 2009), Andhra Pradesh in 2009 and 2010 (NCPCR, 24 July 2009; *The Hindu*, 18 December 2009; NCPCR, 3 March 2010) and Orissa in 2009 (NCPCR, January 2009, p.9). Following a recommendation by the NCPCR, authorities in Khammam district in Andhra Pradesh state began monitoring the needs of displaced children from Chhattisgarh in November 2009. Their main objective was immunisation of the children (*Times of India*, 26 November 2009).

The Government of India does not recognise the forcibly displaced status of groups such as the Kashmiri Pandits, referring to them not as IDPs but as "migrants". Kashmiri Pandit IDP groups have continued to demand acknowledgement of their status from the central government, arguing that the "migrant" label implies that the Kashmiri Pandits had a choice in leaving the Kashmir Valley, and hinders, for example, their attempts to get government jobs (IANS, 20 June 2010; IANS, 31 October 2008).

In August 2010, the Government of India announced that it would re-introduce the Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill and the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Bill, which both focus on involuntary displacement due to development projects. The two Bills had been introduced in 2007 and passed by the Lok Sabha (the lower house of the Indian parliament) in February 2009, but had not been introduced in the Rajya Sabha (the upper house) (*Indian Express*, 18 August 2010; *The Hindu*, 12 May 2010). The Bills recognise that development activities may lead to involuntary displacement, but have been criticised for the fact that they would create a framework in which the response to displacement remains at the discretion of the government, denying IDPs the chance to have their rights enforced (*India Today*, 24 July 2009; *India Together*, 4 January 2008).

International responses

International humanitarian agencies have not usually had access to displaced populations in conflict zones of India, and even in some areas where permission has been granted, international staff have been denied entry. In north-east India, for example, international staff who are able to obtain entry may be monitored and have their movements restricted (*Reuters AlertNet*, 22 October 2008).

The ICRC and a few international NGOs, such as Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) and the Lutheran World Service (LWS), have assisted IDPs in some states. MSF has provided healthcare to IDPs in camps in Chhattisgarh and to those who fled to Andhra Pradesh, and it has run four clinics in violence-affected Manipur (MSF, 27 July 2010, p.46). LWS has worked in Assam, setting up drinking water projects in IDP camps, providing returnees with farming material, and employing violence-affected villagers in road construction (*The Telegraph (India)*, 10 August 2009).

The ICRC, which assisted IDPs in Jammu in 2002, has had other offers to assist IDPs rejected by Indian authorities, as in Gujarat in 2002 (ICRC, 31 December 2002, p.186). The organisation became involved in assisting the IDPs in Assam following the violence between Bodo and Muslim communities in October 2008. In 2009, it provided more than 17,000 of these IDPs with essential household items and implemented water, sanitation and habitat projects for more than 2,000 IDPs (ICRC, 19 May 2010, p.251). The ICRC also carried out humanitarian needs assessments of violence-affected people in Assam and Nagaland as well as in Naxalite conflict areas and

increased its support to the Indian Red Cross Society (IRCS) branches there (ICRC, 25 September 2009).

For the sources cited above, please see the pdf version of the Overview.

CAUSES, BACKGROUND AND PATTERNS OF MOVEMENT

Overview of the causes of displacement in India

Background to the conflicts in India

This profile provides an analysis of on internal displacement due to armed conflict and ethnic or communal violence in India based on available information. No central government agency is responsible for monitoring such displacement, and no UN agency has an overall overview of the situation. Non-governmental and civil society organisations generally focus on specific displacement situations, and access for humanitarian and human rights agencies to the displaced is limited.

It is very difficult to estimate the total number of conflict- and violence-induced IDPs in India as there is no central government agency responsible for monitoring the numbers of people displaced and returning, while humanitarian and human rights agencies have limited access to them. The displaced whose numbers are known are generally living in camps and registered there, and no numbers are known of IDPs outside camps. A conservative estimate of the total number of people displaced by conflict and violence would be at least 650,000.

In central India, armed conflict over land and mineral resources in tribal forest areas continued in 2009 and into 2010. Fighting between Naxalite (or Maoist) insurgents and government security forces supported by Salwa Judum militia and Special Police Officers affected more than 200 of India's 626 districts (Economist.com, 22 July 2010) in 20 of its 29 states in mid-2010 (AFP, 15 May 2010). By March 2009, the conflict had displaced 350,000 members of tribal groups (Gol – MRD, 1 March 2009, p.161), and over 100,000 were believed to have been displaced between mid-2009 and mid-2010 (Deccan Chronicle, 12 June 2010).

In north-east India, there were several situations of new or ongoing displacement. From March to July 2009, violence between Dimas and Zeme Naga people in Assam's North Cachar Hills (now Dima Hasao) district displaced more than 16,000 people of both communities. Most of them were displaced locally, but several hundred Zeme Nagas fled to Manipur state (DIPR N.C. Hills, 14 August 2009; Sangai Express, 8 July 2009). All of them had reportedly returned by July 2010 (NHRC, 5 July 2010). In November 2009, 5,000 Bru people were forced to flee to Tripura state from their homes in Mizoram state when new Mizo-Bru violence broke out. They joined 30,000 Brus from Mizoram who have been living in protracted displacement in Tripura since being displaced by Mizo-Bru violence in 1997 (The Telegraph (India), 17 November 2009; ACHR, 20 November 2009; AITPN, 20 December 2007).

In Manipur state in May 2009, between 1,500 and 2,500 people were displaced during counter-insurgency operations by security forces (The Telegraph (India), 20 April 2009; E-Pao Net, 20 April 2009). In May 2010, 500 Naga people fled from Manipur to Nagaland state when security forces and Naga protesters clashed during an economic blockade of the state; however, they were able to return after a month (BBC News, 6 May 2010; The Telegraph (India), 7 June 2010; UCANews, 10 June 2010; HRA and AHRC, 24 May 2010; AHRC, 11 June 2010). In the Assam-Meghalaya border region, 4,000 Nepali-speakers were displaced by ethnic violence, during which their community was targeted by members of the Khasi tribe (Himal South Asian, July 2010, "Dakhar still"; Nepalnews, 26 May 2010; Nepalnews, 21 May 2010; Republica, 24 May 2010).

In Assam state, camps in several districts were in 2010 still hosting more than 47,000 people displaced by ethnic violence between Bodos and Muslims as early as 1993 and between Bodos and Santhals in 1996 and 1998 (ACHR, 6 June 2009; ACHR, 19 November 2009). Another 125,000 internally displaced people (IDPs) were staying in camps in Assam after they had to flee their homes in 2008 due to Bodo-Muslim violence (ACHR, 6 August 2009; AITPN, June 2009).

250,000 Kashmiri Pandits who had fled the Kashmir Valley from 1990 onwards remained in protracted displacement, with most of them staying in camps in Jammu and Delhi (Reuters AlertNet, 19 June 2010). In 2010, protests in the Kashmir Valley region against Indian rule continued to make their return unlikely (India Today, 30 May 2010; PTI, 6 June 2010; Reuters, 5 August 2010; AFP, 9 August 2010; Frontline, 14 August 2010).

In Orissa state, 10,000 people remained displaced as a result of Hindu-Christian violence in 2007 and 2008 (CSW, May 2010, p.20; IANS, 29 October 2008; PUCL and KSG, April 2009, pp.8, 42). In Gujarat state, 19,000 IDPs remained following Hindu-Muslim violence in 2002 (GoI, 1 December 2009, p.6).

Displaced people who left camps, including many who were forced to leave as authorities closed camps, such as in Gujarat and Orissa, have not necessarily been able to achieve durable solutions. For many, sustainable return to their areas of origin has not been possible due to safety concerns and because they have not received land and property compensation. In Orissa and Gujarat, for example, many perpetrators of the violence who had targeted the displaced communities have not yet been brought to justice. In areas affected by the Naxalite conflict, return has often been impossible because of ongoing armed conflict.

In the absence of government assistance for displaced people outside camps, those with the necessary resources have resettled elsewhere in India, including in urban areas. Others have stayed in the areas they were displaced to, but no information on their numbers or situation was available. Since many who left relief camps are unlikely to have found durable solutions, they should still be regarded as internally displaced. Many others remain uncounted since they have been living outside camps since their displacement. As a result, it can be assumed that significantly more than 650,000 people are currently displaced by conflict and violence in India.

Causes and Patterns of IDP Movements (by region)

Jammu and Kashmir

Background to the conflict and displacement of Kashmiri Pandits

The Kashmir conflict dates back to 1947, the year of the partitioning of the Indian subcontinent into two newly independent states, India and Pakistan. The Kashmiri Maharaja, Hari Singh, was initially undecided on whether to join Pakistan, join India, or remain independent. In reaction to pressure from Muslim militants he signed the Instrument of Accession, which brought Kashmir under Indian control. War ensued between India and Pakistan, UN troops were deployed, and the territory was divided in 1949 by a demarcation line. After two more wars in 1965 and 1971, the two countries concluded the Simla Agreement, providing for a Line of Control (LoC) roughly along the earlier demarcation line. India has since controlled what became its state of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K), while Pakistan has had control over Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) and Gilgit Baltistan (the region previously referred to as Northern Areas) (HRW, 1 July 1999).

Indian-administered Jammu and Kashmir consists of three provinces: Kashmir Valley, Jammu and Ladakh. In the Kashmir Valley region, two to three per cent of the population prior to their displacement were Hindu Pandits, in addition to Sikh and Christian minorities and a Sunni Muslim majority. In the Jammu region, Hindus are marginally in the majority, with Muslims making up the other half of the population. Jammu and Kashmir's "special status" under Article 370 of the Indian constitution, which grants it greater autonomy than other Indian states, has been undermined by the Government of India's regular interventions in Kashmiri politics against pro-independence and in favour of pro-accession groups (ICG, 21 November 2002, pp.1–2; ICG, 3 June 2010, p.3).

In 1987, flawed elections led to a violent Muslim uprising in J&K. Some insurgent groups sought independence, while others wanted to join Pakistan (ICG, 21 November 2002, p.8). Islamist militants threatened the minority Hindu Kashmiri Pandits, who lived in the Kashmir Valley province, and asked them to leave, using direct messages to individuals as well as newspaper advertisements, pamphlets and posters. Threats included an ultimatum from Hizbul Mujahideen published in *Alsaifa* on 14 April 1990, which asked all Pandits to leave "in two days". A number of Pandits were killed (ACCORD, January 2010, p.32). From 1990 onwards, tens of thousands of Kashmiri Pandits fled to Jammu, Delhi and other areas in India for fear of targeted killings and abductions (ICG, 3 June 2010, p.3). As of June 2010, 250,000 Pandits from the Kashmir Valley were living in displacement (Reuters AlertNet, 19 June 2010). Less than 3,000 Kashmiri Pandits continue to live in the Kashmir Valley (NYT, 5 June 2010).

On 5 July 1990, the Jammu and Kashmir Disturbed Areas Act and the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act (AFSPA) came into force in Jammu and Kashmir, granting far-reaching powers to members of the security forces, including the use of lethal force and the power to arrest without warrant, as well as providing for immunity from legal prosecution for them (HRW, 11 September 2006, pp.29–31).

In 1998, both India and Pakistan carried out nuclear tests. International mediation, which aimed at preventing a nuclear hot war, facilitated a dialogue between the two countries, and they concluded a ceasefire in 2003. In early 2004, the Indian Prime Minister and the Pakistani President began a "composite dialogue" which was to deal with all bilateral issues including Kashmir, including confidence-building measures (CBMs) such as the opening of a bus line between Srinagar and Muzaffarabad in April 2005 and the opening of some cross-border trade. Following the 2005 earthquake, parts of the border were opened in order to enable relief. This further facilitated cross-border trade and other CBMs. A second bus line, between Poonch in Jammu and Kashmir and Rawalakot in AJK, was opened in June 2006 (ICG, 3 June 2010, pp.1–2; JAPSS, December 2009, p.979).

In July 2008, the Government of India again imposed Central rule in Jammu and Kashmir when the coalition between People's Democratic Party and Congress which governed Jammu and Kashmir fell apart following protests around a controversial land transfer to the Shri Amarnathji Shrine Board (SASB) (ICG, 3 June 2010, pp.3–4).

After the Mumbai attacks in November 2008, which the Government of India has alleged were carried out by Lashkar-e-Tayyiba, an Islamist militant group based in and supported by Pakistan, India withdrew from the "composite dialogue" (WSJ, 29 July 2009; ICG, 3 June 2010, p.4). In December 2008, state elections were held in Jammu and Kashmir. The National Conference won the elections. In June 2009, there were civil protests in reaction to the alleged rape of two women by the paramilitary Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) in Shopian and Baramulla districts of the Kashmir Valley region (ICG, 3 June 2010, p.4).

Recent meetings between India and Pakistan did not revive the "composite dialogue" (ICG, 3 June 2010, p.2), and in Jammu and Kashmir, low-intensity fighting and human rights violations have been ongoing in 2009 and 2010. In May 2010, the killing by the Indian army of three young

men from Baramulla district sparked protests that lasted for at least two months (India Today, 30 May 2010; PTI, 6 June 2010; Reuters, 5 August 2010; AFP, 9 August 2010; Frontline, 14 August 2010, "Valley on fire").

Other displacement in Jammu and Kashmir

In 2009 in Poonch district in Jammu and Kashmir state, 15,000 people living in 22 villages were separated from their agricultural land, education and livelihoods by a fence that the Indian army was erecting five kilometres away from the Line of Control (LoC) inside Indian-controlled territory. The villages of Chaprian, Kerni, Chamber Kinari, Kinari, Shahpur, Salotri and Digwar were particularly affected. People's movement was also restricted, as they were not allowed to move about after 4pm. Their security was threatened by both the Indian and the Pakistani Armies, as well as by landmines planted by the Indian Army. They had not received compensation for the farmland they could no longer access. People from Gujjar and Bakerwal villages were not able to take their 100,000 animals for grazing since they had been cut off from their grazing land by the fence (The Hindu, 20 December 2009).

Assam (North-East India)

Displacement following Bodo-Muslim and Bodo-Santhal violence

Note:

In western Assam, people displaced at different times and in different contexts were staying in the same camps, while displacement figures for Western Assam have been recorded by camp, not by displacement situation. More than 47,000 people displaced by Bodo-Muslim and Bodo-Santhal violence in 1993, 1996 and 1998 were staying in camps in Kokrajhar and Bongaigaon districts of Assam state (ACHR, 6 June 2009; ACHR, 19 November 2009). In addition, almost 125,000 people displaced by Bodo-Muslim violence in 2008 were staying in camps in Darrang and Udalguri districts of Assam state (ACHR, 6 August 2009; AITPN, June 2009). Where figures specific to each displacement situation are available, they are included in the text below.

In Assam, members of the Bodo tribe, which is among the tribes that settled earliest in Assam, have long fought against Bengali and Assamese settlement in their areas (SATP, July 2002). In 1993, violence between Bodos and immigrant Muslim settlers displaced 18,000 people in Kokrajhar and Bongaigaon districts (MCRG, February 2007, p.7). In October 2009, more than 5,500 Muslim families displaced in 1993 lived in protracted displacement in nine relief camps in Kokrajhar and Bongaigaon districts (WFS, 30 October 2009). In mid-2010, following a controversy over the exact number of those still living in displacement and allegations of displacement relief being distributed to non-displaced people, the Kokrajhar and Bongaigaon district governments were establishing lists of the displaced in order to move forward with measures to assist them (The Telegraph (India), 14 June 2010).

In August 2008, communal violence between Bodos and immigrant Muslim settlers broke out in Routa Bagan village in Udalguri district when the All Assam Students' Union organised a state-wide campaign to evict illegal immigrants. More than 14,000 people fled, taking shelter in nine relief camps. Further violence in October 2008 in Udalguri, Darrang, Sonitpur and Chirang districts killed 55 and displaced 212,000 people, with 54 villages being directly affected and the residents of another 150 villages fleeing for fear of being attacked. The displaced included Muslims as well as Bodos. As of January 2009, 50,000 mostly Muslim IDPs were living in relief camps in Udalguri and Darrang districts because they were afraid to return, and the government extended the deadline for return to 31 January 2009 as the deadline for the return of the

displaced (NDTV, 17 January 2009; India Today, 10 October 2008; Frontline, 7 November 2008; The Telegraph (India), 20 January 2009).

Bodo guerilla groups also became engaged in a campaign of violence against other tribal groups within Bodo areas (SATP, July 2002). Clashes between Bodos and Santhals, who the Bodos regard as "encroachers", in 1996 and 1998 displaced over 200,000 people (more than 42,000 families) and over 300,000 people (more than 48,000 families), respectively. As of August 2009, 23,000 families had not been able to return (The Telegraph (India), 10 August 2009).

Displacement following Dimasa-Zeme Naga violence

Ethnic conflict between Dimasa and Zeme Naga people in then North Cachar Hills (now Dima Hasao) district of Assam state from March to July 2009 led to the displacement of several thousand people from both communities. Most were displaced inside that district, while several hundred Zeme Nagas fled to Tamenglong district in Manipur state. The majority of the Zeme Nagas who fled to Manipur were women and children under 12 years of age, since men and youth stayed behind in order to guard houses and villages (InfoChange, 29 September 2009; Sangai Express, 8 July 2009; ANI, 22 April 2009; IFP, 4 April 2009).

The North Cachar Hills (now Dima Hasao) Autonomous District Council holds most powers in the district, except law and order, which has remained the purview of the state government of Assam. Violence between Dimasas and Zeme Nagas started after the Executive Committee of the NCHADC passed a resolution in February 2009 to rename the district from "North Cachar Hills" to "Dima Hasao Raji" (meaning "Hill Kingdom of the Dimasas"). The NCHADC is dominated by the majority Dimasa ethnic community, and other ethnic communities such as the Hmars, Kukis, and the Zeme Nagas, under the banner of the Indigenous People's Forum (IPF), opposed the NCHADC's resolution. The Dimasas argued that the name "North Cachar Hills" has long been outdated since the district was separated from Cachar district in 1951, and with the name change they aimed to formally link the district with themselves, the district's dominant ethnic group. Nagas, on the other hand, saw this move as a threat to their plans to establish an independent (or at least autonomous) Greater Nagalim, which would comprise the Indian state of Nagaland, parts of Manipur, parts of Assam's North Cachar Hills (now Dima Hasao) district, parts of the Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh, and parts of Myanmar (InfoChange, 29 September 2009).

Violence between Dimasas and Zeme Nagas broke out in a context of limited economic resources and infrastructure. Dima Hasao (formerly North Cachar Hills) district is very underdeveloped, with only one hospital for a population of 186,000 people and with only 136 of a total 552 villages having access to electricity. Most children only attend primary school since they have to help their parents with agricultural work. Development funds provided by the Government of India and the state government of Assam are regularly diverted by politicians linked to armed insurgent groups, and the NCHADC does not keep an official record of incoming and outgoing funds. According to Assam police sources, seven armed insurgent groups, including those that have concluded a ceasefire with the government, have received tens of millions of Rupees (hundreds of thousands of US dollars) in diverted development funds per year (InfoChange, 29 September 2009).

Between 19 and 23 March 2009, four Zeme Naga people were allegedly killed by cadres of the Dima Halim Daogah (Jewel group) (DHD (J)), also known as Black Widow (BW) faction, in the Mahur sub-division of then North Cachar Hills district. Between 28 April and 9 May 2009, suspected members of factions of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) killed seven Dimasas and burned 97 Dimasa houses in the district (GoI, 10 July 2009). As of September 2009, 539 houses in 50 villages belonging to both Dimasas and Zeme Nagas had been burnt down (InfoChange, 29 September 2009).

In August 2009, more than 16,000 IDPs from both communities were staying in 41 relief camps in then North Cachar Hills (now Dima Hasao) district in Assam state. An additional 800 Zeme Naga IDPs were staying in camps in Tousem sub-division of Tamenglong district in Manipur state (DIPR N.C. Hills, 14 August 2009, Sangai Express, 8 July 2009). According to the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), the relief camps had been closed and IDPs had returned to their villages as of July 2010 (NHRC, 5 July 2010).

On 1 April 2010, the state government of Assam renamed North Cachar Hills district into Dima Hasao district (Hindustan Times, 2 April 2010). In July 2010, the IPF demanded that the district be divided into two autonomous council districts: one for the Dimasas and one for the other tribes represented by the IPF, and that the latter should be named North Cachar Hills district (The Telegraph (India), 22 July 2010).

Assam-Meghalaya border region (North-East India)

Displacement following violence between Khasis and Nepali-speakers

In May 2010, communal violence between Khasi tribal people and Nepali-speakers (including Gorkhas and Nepali immigrants) displaced at least 4,000 Nepali-speakers in Meghalaya state and the Assam-Meghalaya border region. 3,000 of them fled to stay in camps in Jayanti in Assam state, 1,000 fled to Purdung in Meghalaya, and more than 200 entered Nepal. Some also fled to Indian cities (Himal South Asian, "Dakhar still", July 2010; Nepalnews, 26 May 2010; Nepalnews, 21 May 2010; Republica, 24 May 2010).

Violence between Khasis and Nepali-speakers arose over the issue of Langpih (Lampì), a village on the border between Assam state and Meghalaya state that is under Assamese authority, but claimed by Meghalaya. While Nepali-speakers want to keep the *status quo*, Khasis argue that the village belongs to Meghalaya. During clashes between the two communities, Assamese police killed four Khasis. The latter subsequently issued quit notices and attacked Nepali-speakers in the coal mine regions of Meghalaya (Jayanshila Hills, Garo Hills, Lathrumvahi and Nangstin), where many Nepali-speakers who are working in the coal mines live. 17 Nepali-speakers were killed; some of them were burned alive when their houses were set on fire (Himal South Asian, "Dakhar still", July 2010; Republica, 24 May 2010).

Manipur (North-East India)

Displacement of Naga people

Manipur state consists of a valley region around the state capital Imphal. The state is mainly inhabited by Meitei, the majority ethnic group (56 per cent of the population), and several hill districts making up almost 90 per cent of the state territory and inhabited by tribes such as the Naga (22 per cent of the population), the Kuki, the Kabui and the Paite. The hills tribes are mainly Christian, while the Meitei are Hindu. The hills tribes have traditionally felt neglected by the valley region, which retains most political power, while the Meitei have accused the hills tribes of being hostile towards state authority. There are insurgent groups in both the valley region and the hills. The two largest armed insurgent groups of Northeast India, the National Socialist Council of Nagaland – Isak Muivah (NSCN-IM) and the National Socialist Council of Nagaland – Khaplang (NSCN-K), are influential in the hills of Manipur. Their objective has been the creation of an independent (or at least autonomous) Greater Nagalim, comprising the Indian state of Nagaland; the Manipuri districts of Tamenglong, Senapati, Ukhrul and Chandel; parts of the Indian states of

Assam and Arunachal Pradesh; and parts of Myanmar (Himal South Asian, "After 69 days", July 2010).

In March 2010, the Manipur state government announced elections to the six autonomous district councils in the hills districts. The more radical Naga groups and some non-Naga groups based in the hills districts were opposed to these elections because these would increase the powers of the autonomous district councils (ADC) in matters that had been the purview of village authorities, such as land and forest rights. ADC elections were also seen as consolidating and legitimising the current governance structure in Manipur, which in the view of the radical Naga groups threatens the creation of a Greater Nagalim and strengthens more moderate Nagas and members of non-Naga hill tribes. On 11 April, the All Naga Student Association Manipur (ANSAM) started an economic blockade of national highways 39 and 53, the main supply routes into Manipur. In organising the blockade, ANSAM was later joined by the United Naga Council (UNC), the apex body of Naga organisations in Manipur. The Nagaland-based Naga Students Federation (NSF), for its part, blocked the movement of Manipur-registered vehicles inside Nagaland. As Manipur's economy is mainly based on agriculture, which makes it dependent on supplies of other goods from the outside, the blockade created a humanitarian crisis in the state, including an acute shortage of fuel and other petroleum products, medical supplies, and food items (Himal South Asian, "After 69 days", July 2010; Himal South Asian, "Unravelling the Manipur tangle", July 2010; IBNS, 10 May 2010; AHRC, 11 June 2010; IDSA, 10 June 2010).

On 28 April 2010, Thuingaleng Muivah, leader of the NSCN-IM, announced that he would visit his birthplace, the village of Somdal in Ukhrul district of Manipur, and other Naga areas in Manipur, but was banned by the Manipur government from entering the state. NSCN-IM immediately joined the economic blockade. Tensions escalated on 6 May when Nagas held protests against the Manipur government in Mao, a town in Manipur's Senapati district close to the border with Nagaland. During the crackdown by security forces on the protest, two students were shot dead by the Indian Reserve Battalion (IRB) and more than 80 people were injured. About 500 Nagas from Mao, mostly women and children, fled to Nagaland. They returned to their homes in Manipur on 6 June (BBC News, 6 May 2010; The Telegraph (India), 6 June 2010; UCA News, 10 June 2010; HRA and AHRC, 24 May 2010; AHRC, 11 June 2010).

On 14 June 2010, the Government of India threatened to send security forces to Manipur to break up the blockade organised by ANSAM and NSF. The groups suspended their blockade on 15 June after their representatives had met with Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in New Delhi (PTI, 14 June 2010; Reuters AlertNet, 14 June 2010).

Other displacement in Manipur

In April 2009, between 1,500 and 2,500 villagers were displaced from the area surrounding Loktak Lake in Bishnupur district of Manipur state. They were forced to flee when the Indian Army, the paramilitary Assam Rifles and the police launched "Operation Summer Storm" against insurgents. After the villagers had left, members of the security forces moved into their houses. The villagers took shelter in camps in Ithai Khunou, Nognmaikhong, Laphupat Tera, Moirang and Ethai. After protests by the displaced, the Bishnupur district administration provided them with food and other basic necessities. "Operation Summer Storm" was concluded on 20 April 2009, but it remained unclear whether the displaced were able to return to their homes (The Telegraph (India), 20 April 2009; E-Pao Net, 20 April 2009).

Mizoram-Tripura (North-East India)

Violence between majority Mizos and minority Brus (also known as Reangs) in Mamit district of Mizoram state led to two recent major displacement events. From 15 October 1997 onwards, about 30,000 Brus fled from Mizoram's Kolasib, Lunglei and Mamit districts (the latter was part of Aizawl district at the time) to Tripura state. They have since been staying in six camps set up by the Tripura state government in Kanchanpur, North Tripura district (in Dashda, Naisingpara, Khakchang, Ananda Bazar, Monpui and Shashadhar Roajapara). In November 2009, further Mizo-Bru violence linked to the planned return process for the Brus displaced in 1997 forced another 5,000 Brus to flee to Tripura state (The Telegraph (India) 17 November 2009; ACHR, 20 November 2009; AITPN, 20 December 2007).

Displacement of Mizoram Brus in 1997

In 1997, Mizo-Bru violence was triggered after members of the Bru National Liberation Front (BNLF), an armed insurgent group, killed a Mizo forest guard inside the Dampa Tiger Reserve in Mamit district on 15 October. Tensions between the two communities had increased when the Bru National Union (BNU) had declared in September 1997 that a Bru Autonomous District Council (BADDC) should be created under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India. This was vehemently opposed by all the political parties in Mizoram and by Mizo civil society organizations such as the Young Mizo Association (YMA) and the Mizo Zirlai Pawl (MZP). The MZP categorically demanded that the BNU should withdraw the demand for a BADDC. As the BNU declined to do so, a "Quit Mizoram" notice was served by the MZP asking the Brus to leave Mizoram, leading to the displacement of about 30,000 Bru people (Indian Express, 9 April 1998; AITPN, 20 December 2007, p.3).

Displacement of Mizoram Brus in 2009

On 13 November 2009, a Mizo youth was killed by unidentified criminals at Bungthuam village under Lokicherra police station in Mamit district of Mizoram state. A letter allegedly written by the hitherto unknown "Bru Revolutionary Union" (BRU) was reportedly recovered from the dead body. The Mizos accused the Brus of killing Zartzokima. In the attacks that followed, about 500 Bru houses in 11 villages were burnt and at least 5,000 Brus were displaced (ACHR, 21 January 2010, pp.1, 8). According to the Asian Centre for Human Rights (ACHR), the Mizoram state authorities, including police who were present in the areas where houses were burnt, did not intervene to stop the mob violence, but "were more interested to appease the miscreants by letting them to burn a few houses [sic]" (ACHR, 21 January 2010, p.12).

The incident came days before the start of the return process of the Brus displaced to Tripura in 1997, which the Mizoram state government had unilaterally scheduled for 16 November 2009. The Mizoram Bru Displaced Peoples Forum (MBDPF) was opposed to starting the return process before conditions were favourable in the return areas in terms of security for the returnees, infrastructure such as shelter and schools, as well as livelihood opportunities. Tripartite negotiations between the MBDPF, the Mizoram state government and the Government of India on 4 November 2009 had not resulted in any agreement on the return process (ACHR, 21 January 2010, pp.1–3; 14).

The question of return

Already in 1999, the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) of India requested that the Mizoram state government repatriate the Bru people displaced to Mizoram in 1997 since they "are lawful inhabitants of Mizoram and the Government of Mizoram is obliged to take them back in accordance with the agreement made with the Union Home Minister in November, 1997" (NHRC, 27 October 1999), including providing security for them when they return. The NHRC further recommended that a committee consisting of representatives of the state governments of Tripura and Mizoram and the Ministry of Home Affairs, in consultation with an IDP representative,

determine the number of displaced Bru people and requested the Government of India to play an active role in the repatriation of the displaced, including the provision of security for the returnees (NHRC, 27 October 1999).

While the Tripura state government stopped providing food rations and other facilities to the displaced in November 1997 in order to force them to return to Mizoram, the Mizoram state government refused until late 2009 to take them back, arguing that not all of them were genuine residents of Mizoram state. In effect, the Mizoram state government stated that only 3,189 of its resident Brus were displaced to Tripura in 1997, while the Brus themselves said that 30,000 had had to flee. The return debate was further complicated by the rehabilitation in Mizoram of about 1,000 former Bru National Liberation Front (BNLF) militants, whose residency right in Mizoram was questioned by Mizo civil society organisations, including the Young Mizo Association (YMA), the Mizo Hmeichhe Insuihkhawm Pawl (MHIP – the apex body of Mizo women) and the Mizo Zirlai Pawl (MZP – the Mizo students' union). The rehabilitation of the former BNLF militants had been agreed upon in a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) signed on 26 April 2005 by the BNLF and the state government of Mizoram, in which the government also admitted its obligation to repatriate the displaced Bru people in principle. No representatives of the displaced Brus were included in the MoU (AITPN, 20 December 2007, p.2).

In October and November 2007, since the Mizoram state government did not take steps to set up the committee recommended by the NHRC to determine the exact number of displaced Bru people, including consultation with a representative of the displaced, the Mizoram Bru Displaced Peoples Forum (MBDPF) carried out a survey among 5,328 displaced families staying in the camps in Kanchanpur in Tripura. According to the survey's results, more than 94 per cent of the IDPs were in possession of at least one document issued by the Mizoram state authorities or Indian national authorities proving that they were residents of Mizoram state (AITPN, 20 December 2007, p.2).

Negotiations between March 2007 and November 2009 which included the Government of India, the Mizoram and Tripura state governments and the MBDPF in different combinations failed to produce an agreement on the return process of the Bru people displaced from Mizoram in 1997 which would also guarantee security for the displaced in the return areas. Nevertheless, after a tripartite meeting of the MBDPF, the Government of India and the Mizoram state government on 4 November 2009, the Mizoram state government unilaterally declared that the return process would begin on 16 November 2009. According to the Asian Centre for Human Rights (ACHR), the killing of a Mizo youth on 13 November 2009, even if it may not have been carried out with that intention, was nevertheless used to stall the return process of the Brus displaced in 1997. Renewed Mizo-Bru violence led to the displacement of a further 5,000 Brus from Mizoram to Tripura after 13 November 2009. The newly displaced included former members of the BNLF who had been rehabilitated in Mizoram on the basis of the MoU between the BNLF and the Mizoram state government (ACHR, 21 January 2010, pp.2, 12–13).

In late May 2010, 1,115 Brus displaced to Tripura in 2009 returned to Mizoram (ACHR, 10 August 2010). According to a census of camp residents carried out by the Mizoram Bru Displaced People's Forum (MBDPF), 31,703 Bru people displaced from Mizoram remained in camps in Tripura as of 15 August 2010. 29,520 among them had been displaced in 1997 and 2,183 in 2009 (PTI, 15 August 2010). An important issue yet to be resolved is whether the displaced Brus should return to their original places of residence in Mizoram (the option preferred by the Mizoram state government) or whether they should return to Mizoram, but be resettled in a compact way (which the displaced themselves would prefer) (ACHR, 21 January 2010, p.19).

Central India (Naxalite conflict)

The Naxalite movement originated in a peasant uprising in the village of Naxalbari in India's West Bengal state in 1967, which was initiated by a splinter group of India's mainstream Communist Party. The Naxalite movement grew quickly and attracted landless labourers and student intellectuals. In the 1970s, a government crackdown broke the group into myriad feuding factions. On 14 October 2004, the two largest splinter groups of the original Naxalite movement, the Maoist Communist Centre of India (MCCI) operating in Bihar and adjoining areas and the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) People's War (the People's War Group) operating in Andhra Pradesh, merged to form the Communist Party of India (Maoist) (CPI (Maoist)) (HRW, 9 December 2009, p.23; GoI – MHA, 1 June 2009, p.16).

The CPI (Maoist), which the Government of India banned in June 2009, claims to fight for the rights of the poor and marginalised in India, and its declared aim is to overthrow the current political system in India and to create a new social order in which all of India's citizens have equal access to the country's resources. Its activities include armed attacks against the Indian state, including on infrastructure such as railways, roads, power and communications installations. It is estimated to include 10,000–20,000 armed fighters (ISN, 29 June 2009; HRW, 9 December 2009, p.23; GoI–MHA, 1 June 2009, p.16; Economist.com, 22 July 2010).

The Naxalite conflict has so far affected more than 200 of India's 626 districts (Economist.com, 22 July 2010) in 20 of its 29 states (AFP, 15 May 2010). These areas largely overlap with the Dandakaranya forest covering parts of West Bengal, Jharkhand, Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra, where large deposits of mineral resources such as bauxite, iron ore and uranium are located and where millions of low-caste Adivasis (tribal people) live. The latter have suffered from chronic famine and have had no access to health care, education or judicial procedures (Guardian (UK), 30 October 2009).

Both the Naxalites and government security forces, with their allied militia Salwa Judum and Special Police Officers, have been guilty of human rights violations, including child recruitment (HRW, 14 July 2008, p.25; IHT, 22 May 2008; HRW, 5 September 2008, p.39). Schools have been attacked by Naxalites and occupied by police (HRW, 9 December 2009).

The Naxalites have been responsible for human rights abuses including abduction, hostage-taking, torture, and extrajudicial killings, including after trial by "people's courts" (ACHR, 29 May 2009, pp. 34–37). Their policy to forcibly recruit one person from each Adivasi family has often pitted members of the same family against each other (ACHR, 17 March 2006, p.3).

The Salwa Judum, whose name means "peace hunt" (GoI–MRD, 1 March 2009, p.161), a vigilante force supported by government security forces, was formally set up in 2005 (Guardian (UK), 30 October 2009). Government security forces joined Salwa Judum members on village raids to identify and remove suspected Naxalite sympathisers. They raided hundreds of villages in Chhattisgarh's Dantewada and Bijapur districts, where tribal communities make up 79 per cent of the population, and engaged in threats, beatings, arbitrary arrests and detentions, killings and burning of villages to force residents to support the Salwa Judum (HRW, 14 July 2008, p.7). Thousands of villagers were forcibly relocated to government-run Salwa Judum camps near police stations or paramilitary police camps to prevent the Naxalites from recruiting them (HRW, 14 July 2008, p.7; TIME Magazine, 29 May 2008). Once in camps, villagers were subjected to attacks by the Naxalites (NHRC, November 2008, p.107).

In 2009, the Government of India initiated "Operation Green Hunt" against the Naxalites in Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa and West Bengal, the states worst affected by the conflict (Economist.com, 22 July 2010). Ostensibly aimed at suppressing the rebellion, some have

argued that its real aim is to “turn [...] the area into a war zone” to force the tribal people off their mineral-rich land to make way for large-scale commercial exploitation of natural resources by private companies (Asia Times, 26 May 2010). Since 2005, the Government of India has signed several hundred memorandums of understanding (MoUs) with companies on resource exploitation and large-scale infrastructure projects such as power plants, dams and steel factories (Guardian (UK), 30 October 2009). Between 1999 and 2009, 160,000 people were estimated to have been displaced in Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Orissa because of development projects (Tehelka, 11 July 2009).

As of August 2010, the Government of India was considering the Mines and Minerals (Development and Regulation) Act (MMDRA), 2010, which would oblige mining companies “to allot free shares equal to 26% of a project’s equity to the local population affected by the mining project”. The proposed legislation met with strong opposition from mining companies (Asia Times, 4 August 2010).

Government forces involved in the Naxalite conflict have included Special Police Officers (SPOs), the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), the Border Security Force (BSF), and the Naga Battalion. In Chhattisgarh state, nine villages in Bilaspur district were to be displaced by a brigade headquarters and seven in Rajnandgaon district by an air base for government security forces (Guardian (UK), 30 October 2009).

According to a report commissioned by the Government of India’s Ministry of Rural Development,

“A civil war like situation has gripped the southern districts of Bastar, Dantewara [*sic*] and Bijapur in Chattishgarh. The contestants are the armed squads of tribal men and women of the erstwhile Peoples War Group now known as the Communist Party of India (Maoist) on the one side and the armed tribal fighters of the Salva Judum created and encouraged by the government and supported with the firepower and organization of the central police forces [...]

The new approach came about with the Salva Judum, euphemistically meaning peace hunt. [...] The first financiers of the Salva Judum were Tata and the Essar in the quest for ‘peace’. [...] It turned out to be an open war between brothers. 640 villages as per official statistics were laid bare, burnt to the ground and emptied with the force of the gun and the blessings of the state. 350,000 tribals, half the total population of Dantewada district are displaced, their womenfolk raped, their daughters killed, and their youth maimed. Those who could not escape into the jungle were herded together into [...] camps [for internally displaced people (IDPs)] run and managed by the Salva Judum. Others continue to hide in the forest or have migrated to the nearby tribal tracts in Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Orissa.

640 villages are empty. Villages sitting on tons of iron ore are effectively de-peopled and available for the highest bidder. The latest information that is being circulated is that both Essar Steel and Tata Steel are willing to take over the empty landscape and manage the mines” (GoI–MRD, 1 March 2009, pp.160–161).

In the first half of 2010, almost 800 people had been killed in the Naxalite conflict, which is almost as many as in the whole year of 2009 (Economist.com, 22 July 2010). Estimates of the total number of people internally displaced by the Naxalite conflict since 2005 range from 114,000 (HRW, 14 July 2008, p.8) to over 400,000 (GoI–MRD, 1 March 2009, p.161; Deccan Chronicle, 12 June 2010; Asia Times, 26 May 2010). For fear of attacks, many displaced people were hiding under false names in order to avoid being identified (HRW, 14 July 2008, p.83). At the end of 2009, 40,000 Adivasis were estimated to be living in displacement in Chhattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh due to the Naxalite conflict, with 20,000 living in camps in Chhattisgarh and 20,000 scattered across Andhra Pradesh. In addition, 8,000 Adivasis reportedly lived in displacement in West Bengal, some in makeshift camps (AI, 27 May 2010, p.167). Furthermore, tens of

thousands were believed to have been displaced by the Naxalite conflict between June 2009 and May 2010 (Deccan Chronicle, 12 June 2010; Asia Times, 26 May 2010).

Gujarat

Violence between Hindus and Muslims in Gujarat from 28 February to 2 March 2002 led to the deaths of more than 2,000 people and the displacement of up to 250,000 people (CCT vol. I, 24 October 2002, p.19; CCT vol. II, 24 October 2002, pp.60, 122). As of December 2009, almost eight years after the violence, just over 19,000 IDPs were still living in 86 “relief colonies” set up by religious organisations and civil society groups in October 2002 after the closure of official relief camps (Gol, 1 December 2009, p.6). It was unknown whether those living elsewhere had reached durable solutions.

The violence began after 58 Hindu pilgrims had been killed in a fire on a train in the Gujarati city of Godhra on 27 February. The fire was allegedly started by a Muslim mob (HRW, 29 April 2002, p.4). The deaths sparked off intense violence in more than 150 towns and almost 1,000 villages, with most victims being from the Muslim community, which makes up 10 per cent of the state’s population (The Independent, 7 December 2007). Hindus also suffered from the violence, particularly economically, with thousands of small Hindu-owned businesses closing down during the violence (HRW, 30 June 2003).

The violence was reportedly orchestrated by Hindu extremist organisations under the umbrella of the Sangh Parivar, and officials of the governing Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) as well as members of the police were allegedly complicit in it, exploiting existing communal tensions between Muslims and Hindus (HRW, 29 April 2002, p.4; Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief, 26 January 2009, p.14; Tehelka, 12 June 2010). Criminal investigations by the Supreme Court of India against the perpetrators of the violence had been ongoing since 2009 and had not been concluded as of mid-2010 (CJP, 19 July 2010, p.2).

Immediately after displacement, many IDPs were forced to take shelter in about 100 makeshift relief camps set up all over the state, with little support from the government. The task of providing relief and assistance was largely taken on by the Muslim community and non-governmental groups (HRW, 29 April 2002, p.52). By the end of October 2002, the government had closed most of the camps, forcing some displaced families back into neighbourhoods where their attackers still lived and where they faced threats to their physical security (HRW, 30 June 2003).

Compensation funds provided to IDPs after the closure of camps were sometimes as low as Rs. 1,200 (\$26) (EPW, 27 October 2007, p.10) and it was believed that the state government was failing to meet its responsibility of providing assistance to the victims (AI, 8 March 2007, pp.9–11). While the state government had provided shelter and assistance to people affected by an earthquake in Gujarat in 2001, in this humanitarian crisis no equivalent provisions were offered to those who had been forced to vacate the camps (MCRG, October 2005, p.66).

Religious groups and civil society organisations attempted to fill the gaps by building houses and offering livelihoods assistance to the displaced. They built “relief colonies” for displaced families on Muslim-owned land all over the state. However, sanitation facilities, drainage and water supply were poor. Residents of colonies near rubbish dumps had to put up with contaminated ground water, and gastro-intestinal and other diseases were common (Crisis States Research Centre, March 2010, pp.8–9).

IDPs in relief colonies were constantly threatened by evictions, as their dwellings had been constructed on land bought by Muslim organisations that the government had declared agricultural land. The residents themselves had neither land nor property titles (Crisis States Research Centre, March 2010, p.8; CJP, 19 July 2010, p.16).

Relief colonies were not connected to the city centres, as there were no paved roads and no transportation facilities, meaning that IDPs had little access to livelihoods, schools and health services. The IDPs and the religious organisations providing the bulk of the aid to them had different priorities, with the latter preferring the construction of mosques to health clinics and *madrasas* or Islamic religious schools to secular schools (Crisis States Research Centre, March 2010, pp.8, 12; CJP, 19 July 2010, p.16).

A committee appointed by the Supreme Court reported in June 2007 that the economic conditions of the IDPs were dire, with their means of livelihood having ended since the 2002 riots and their former clients unwilling to use their services (Infochange News and Features, July 2008). Many IDPs had been forced to abandon their former vocations and work as vendors, rickshaw pullers or domestic help (Crisis States Research Centre, March 2010, p.10).

Some displaced children had dropped out of school and were working as labourers as their families could not afford the transport to the nearest schools. Many families in the relief colonies preferred not to send their daughters to schools outside the neighbourhood because during the 2002 violence Muslim girls were sexually abused. Consequently, a generation of children of Muslim families are growing up less educated than their parents (Crisis States Research Centre, March 2010, p.9).

Orissa

Communal violence in Kandhamal district in Orissa state in eastern India displaced thousands of people in 2007 and 2008. There have been long-standing tensions between Hindus and Christians in the state over the issue of religion conversion. Hindu extremists have claimed that Christian priests bribe poor tribal and low-caste Hindus to convert to Christianity, while Christian groups have maintained that lower-caste Hindus have willingly converted to escape a stratified and oppressive caste system. The situation is particularly sensitive in rural Kandhamal district where an estimated 150,000 Christians make up 23 per cent of the population. There are 500,000 Christians in the state of Orissa, according to estimates by Christian groups (Reuters, 27 August 2008; AsiaNews, 11 January 2008).

For years, extremist Hindu groups in Orissa have been conducting an anti-Christian campaign that has grown violent at times, while government officials have looked the other way. According to an NGO report,

“Poverty, dispossession, land alienation, conflict between two socially and economically underprivileged groups—Christians and Kandho Adivasis—aggressive Hindutva assertion, electoral politics, detrimental state policies, along with the perceived threat of growing Maoist presence by the state have made Kandhamal a seething cauldron.” (PUCL and KSG, April 2009, p.2)

In December 2007, villagers in Kandhamal district had to flee their homes because of violence between Hindus and Christians during an argument over Christmas celebrations (HRW, 27 December 2007). 1,200 people took shelter in four relief camps in Kandhamal district, while others fled to the forests (Zee News, 30 December 2007).

In 2008, violence broke out again between the two communities after the killing on 23 August of Swami Lakshmananda Saraswati, a Hindu spiritual leader who had opposed the spread of Christianity in the state. A leader of the Communist Party of India (Maoist) (CPI–Maoist, or Naxalites) claimed that members of his group had killed the Swami, but right-wing Hindu groups including the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which was part of Orissa's coalition government, blamed the Christians (PUCL and KSG, April 2009, p.9).

Mobs ransacked churches, schools, health clinics and houses belonging to Christians (Frontline, 25 October 2008; NYT, 13 October 2008). The police did not intervene (HRLN, 17 December 2008, p.2). The violence lasted for more than two months and affected not only Kandhamal district, but also Gajapati, Koraput, Bargarh, Sambalpur, Kalahandi, Rayagada, Sundargarh, Khurdha and Balasore districts (PUCL and KSG, April 2009, pp.9, 42). The majority of people affected were Christians (HRLN, 17 December 2008, p.1). In Kandhamal district, up to 75 people were killed, 4,500 homes burned down, and 100 churches destroyed (Guardian (UK), 23 November 2009, "Orissa's forgotten victims"; Times of India, 5 October 2008).

Until 2 September 2008, the Orissa government denied politicians, human rights organisations and humanitarian organisations access to Kandhamal district, while media as well as leaders of the BJP and the Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP), a right-wing Hindu organisation, were allowed in (PUCL and KSG, April 2009, p.10).

Estimates of the number of people displaced by the violence range from over 20,000 (IANS, 29 October 2008) to at least 50,000 (Times of India, 5 October 2008; PUCL and KSG, April 2009, p.42; Guardian (UK), 23 November 2009). It is estimated that between 23,000 (Frontline, 25 October 2008) and more than 25,000 people took shelter in 19 relief camps in Kandhamal district (PUCL and KSG, April 2009, p.8) and in camps in the cities of Cuttack and Bhubaneswar (Times of India, 5 October 2008). Thousands fled into the jungle, where there was no shelter, no security and little access to food or fresh water (NYT, 29 August 2008; Guardian (UK), 31 August 2008). Others were taken in by relatives in and outside of Orissa state (PUCL and KSG, April 2009, p.18).

Conditions in camps were described as poor, with IDPs sleeping on plastic mats on the ground, receiving limited food rations and inadequate medical care (IANS, 25 October 2008). Security in the camps concerned observers. For example, three crude bombs exploded in Udayagiri camp on 28 August 2008 (SACW, 25 September 2008). As of mid-November 2008, the total number of IDPs in the relief camps had shrunk to 10,000 (IANS, 18 November 2008), not because many had returned, but because they had relocated to stay in the forests, in urban areas or with relatives in other states, where they felt safer (HRLN, 17 December 2008, p.11; PUCL and KSG, April 2009, p.12).

Hindu groups reportedly pressured Christian IDPs to convert to Hinduism if they wanted to return to their villages (The Hindu, 1 October 2008; NYT, 13 October 2008). Some returned and converted, after being informed that their Hindu neighbours would protect them and they would be able to regain their property if they embraced Hinduism (Hindustan Times, 10 October 2008). Additional conditions for return included agreeing to having no access to water from the village well nor to the forest (Tehelka, 18 April 2009). Some who had converted to Hinduism upon return were nevertheless attacked and killed (Frontline, 25 October 2008).

In the run-up to the national (Lok Sabha) and state assembly elections on 16 and 23 April 2009, the Kandhamal district authorities started closing the official relief camps. As of March 2009, only 3,000 people were still staying in official camps, and the last camp was closed on 25 August 2009, in spite of the fact that conditions for sustainable return were not in place (CJP, 25 March 2009; Kandhamal District Administration, 10 March 2010, p.1).

By the end of 2009, people were still living in displacement in unofficial makeshift camps, and many had been displaced multiple times, sometimes because authorities moved them to another camp or because their camp was closed (Guardian (UK), 23 November 2009). The government provided assistance to the IDPs, but it was largely insufficient (CSW, May 2010, p.4). Insecurity prevailed in IDPs' villages of origin, and many perpetrators of the violence had not been brought to justice (Tehelka, 27 March 2010), with the displaced regarding justice as a precondition for safe return (Tehelka, 18 April 2009; CSW, May 2010, p.22).

Based on available sources, it is estimated that at least 10,000 people are still living in displacement due to the violence as of mid-2010 (CSW, May 2010, p.20; IANS, 29 October 2008; PUCL and KSG, April 2009, pp.8, 42).

Adivasis versus Dalits

Anti-Christian communal violence in Kandhamal district of Orissa state in 2007 and 2008, rather than being spontaneous, was reportedly orchestrated by Hindu extremist groups under the banner of the Sangh Parivar, including the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), and with the support of the Kui Samaj, a Kandha (or Kondh) Adivasi tribal group. Hindu nationalism was the main motivation behind the violence, but disagreement between (Hindu) Kandha Adivasis and (Christian) Pana Dalits over access to Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe status was instrumentalised by Hindu extremists to justify it (Tehelka, 19 January 2008; CSW, May 2010, p.8).

Under Indian law, Scheduled Castes (SC), including Pana Dalits, and Scheduled Tribes (ST), including Kandha Adivasis, enjoy special protection. In Kandhamal, both Dalits and Adivasis have been poor, disenfranchised and discriminated against, and the SC/ST system includes affirmative action mechanisms on issues such as access to education and livelihoods. However, only Hindu Dalits are included in the SC, which means that Christian and other non-Hindu Pana Dalits have no access to protection as a SC. Non-Hindu Pana Dalits have therefore lobbied for ST status, including by filing a petition in the High Court on 12 July 2007 (HRLN, 17 December 2008, p.4), arguing that they, like the Kandhas, are Kui-speaking. Kandhas have opposed classification of Dalits as STs, as it would oblige them to share privileges, including access to land ownership, with Dalits. It would also re-establish Kandhamal Dalits' access to representation in the Lok Sabha (the lower house of the Indian parliament), as all three seats for Kandhamal district have been reserved for STs since 2006, when the one SC seat was replaced by a ST one (ACHR, 29 August 2008, p.4). Some Christian Dalits hid their being Christian and forged ST certificates in order to ensure their livelihoods (Tehelka, 19 January 2008; Tehelka, 18 April 2009; CSW, May 2010, pp.7, 10, 19).

Hindu extremist groups have instrumentalised the discontent of the Kandhas (who have traditionally practised not Hinduism, but animist religions) to serve their own goals. They have aimed at increasing support for the right-wing Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in Kandhamal district, where Kandha Adivasis make up 52.7 per cent of the population, and ultimately at Hindu supremacy. In 2007 and 2008, Christians from both the Dalit and the Adivasi communities were among the victims of the violence, which shows that Dalit-Adivasi tensions merely served as a pretext that was exploited by Hindu extremists targeting Christians (The Hindu, 1 October 2008; Tehelka, 18 April 2009; CSW, May 2010, p.19).

IDP POPULATION FIGURES

IDP Population Figures: General

Number of conflict-induced IDPs in all of India

It is very difficult to estimate the total number of conflict-induced IDPs in India as there is no central government agency responsible for monitoring the numbers of people displaced and returning, and humanitarian and human rights agencies have limited access to them. In addition, there is no UN agency that has an overall overview of the situation, and NGOs and civil society organisations have generally focused on specific displacement situations in India rather than on the overall situation. The displaced whose numbers are known are generally those living in camps and registered there, and it is not known how many people live in displacement outside of camps. A conservative estimate of the total number of people displaced by conflict and violence would be **at least 650,000** as of August 2010.

It is probable that many IDPs who have moved out of camps have not been able to find durable solutions to end their displacement and should still be viewed as part of India's IDP population. Taking into consideration the IDPs whose displacement has not ended after they have left relief camps, and the IDPs who were living outside relief camps who remain uncounted, including those dispersed in India's cities, it can be assumed that significantly more than 650,000 people are currently displaced by armed conflict, communal and ethnic violence and human rights violations in India.

According to the latest available information, the following people are living in displacement due to armed conflict, communal and ethnic violence and human rights violations in India as of August 2010:

Kashmir conflict: 265,000 people:

- 250,000 Kashmiri Pandits displaced from the Kashmir Valley since 1990 (Reuters AlertNet, 19 June 2010);
- About 15,000 people in Poonch district of Jammu and Kashmir state who were cut off from their land and livelihoods by border fencing in 2009 (The Hindu, 20 December 2009);

Conflicts in north-east India: 208,000 people:

- 47,000 people displaced by Bodo-Muslim and Bodo-Santhal violence in 1993, 1996 and 1998 and staying in camps in Kokrajhar and Bongaigaon districts of Assam state (ACHR, 6 June 2009; ACHR, 19 November 2009);
- 125,000 people displaced by Bodo-Muslim violence in 2008 staying in camps in Darrang and Udalguri districts of Assam state (ACHR, 6 August 2009; AITPN, June 2009);
- 4,000 people displaced by violence between Khasis and Nepali-speakers in 2010 in the Assam-Meghalaya border region (Nepalnews, 21 May 2010);
- 31,703 Brus displaced from Mizoram state to Tripura state in 1997 and 2009 (PTI, 15 August 2010);

Naxalite conflict in Central India: at least 148,000 people:

- 40,000 Adivasis living in displacement at the end of 2009, of whom half were staying in camps in Chhattisgarh and half were scattered across Andhra Pradesh (AI, 27 May 2010, p.167);
- 8,000 Adivasis living in displacement in West Bengal (AI, 27 May 2010, p.167);
- More than 100,000 people displaced from Chhattisgarh since June 2009 (Deccan Chronicle, 12 June 2010);

Communal violence in Gujarat and Orissa states: at least 29,000 people:

- 19,000 people displaced in 2002 by Hindu-Muslim violence in Gujarat state living in 86 relief colonies in Gujarat state (GoI, 1 December 2009, p.6);
- At least 10,000 people displaced in 2007 and 2008 by Hindu-Christian violence in Orissa state (CSW, May 2010, p.20; IANS, 29 October 2008).

Numbers of IDPs (by location)

Jammu and Kashmir

Reason for displacement	Date of displacement	At the time of displacement	Most recently available information			Sources
		Number of people	Number of families	Number of people	Situation	
Conflict between the Government of India and separatist militants in Jammu and Kashmir; fear of targeted killings and abductions	From 1990 onwards	250,000	57,863		37,285 families in Jammu; 19,338 families (100,000 people) in Delhi; 1,240 families in other states and Union Territories	ICG, 3 June 2010, p.5; Gol-MHA, 2 March 2010, p.9; Reuters AlertNet, 19 June 2010
		450,000				
Border fence erected in Poonch district, 5km away from the LoC inside Indian-controlled territory	2009	15,000			People cut off from their agricultural land, livelihoods, educational opportunities	The Hindu, 20 December 2009
<i>IDPs in and from Jammu and Kashmir</i>				<i>265,000</i>		<i>IANS, 20 June 2010; The Hindu, 20 December 2009</i>

According to Express India, 924 displaced Kashmiri Pandit families were staying in Haryana, 319 in Punjab, 222 in Uttar Pradesh, 208 in Maharashtra, 114 in Chandigarh, 57 in Uttarakhand, 43 in Madhya Pradesh, 38 in Karnataka, 48 in Rajasthan, 11 in Himachal Pradesh, and one in Tamil Nadu as of late May 2010. Less than 3,000 Kashmiri Pandits still live in the Kashmir Valley (Express India, 31 May 2010; NYT, 5 June 2010).

Assam and Assam-Meghalaya border region (North-East India)

Reason for displacement	Date of displacement	At the time of displacement			Most recently available information				Sources
		Number of families	Number of people	Disaggregated information	Number of families	Number of people	Situation	Disaggregated information	
Bodo-Muslim violence (Kokrajhar, Bongaigaon and Chirang districts)	1993	3,568	18,000		Kokrajhar district: 6,546	Kokrajhar district: 33,600	Kokrajhar district: in 12 relief camps	Kokrajhar district: 12,714 men; 9,965 women; 10,921 children	MCRG, February 2007
Bodo-Santhal violence (Kokrajhar, Bongaigaon and Chirang districts)	1996	42,214	202,684 (majority: Santhals)	Of those displaced in 1996 and 1998, 44,000 were children	Bongaigaon district: 2,791	Bongaigaon district: 13,722 (ACHR, 6 June 2009 and 19 November 2009)	Bongaigaon district: 12,080 IDPs inside four camps and 1,642 people outside camps (ACHR, 6 June 2009 and 19 November 2009)	Bongaigaon district: 8,765 adults and 3,315 children in camps; 1,013 adults and 629 children outside camps (ACHR, 6 June 2009 and 19 November 2009)	The Telegraph (India), 10 August 2009
Bodo-Santhal violence (Kokrajhar district)	1998	48,556	314,342						The Telegraph (India), 10 August 2009; MCRG, February 2007
Bodo-Muslim violence (Udalguri and Darrang districts)	2008		212,000			Darrang district: 120,545 Udalguri district: at least 3,884 (ACHR, 6 August 2009; AITPN, June 2009)	Darrang district: in 45 camps Udalguri district: in at least two camps (ACHR, 6 August 2009; AITPN, June 2009)		Frontline, 7 November 2008
Dimasa-Zeme Naga violence (North Cachar Hills (now Dima Hasao) district)	2009		16,791 Dimasas and Zeme Nagas About 800 Zeme Nagas	In 41 camps in North Cachar Hills district In camps in Manipur state (most of them women and children)			All IDPs had returned to their villages as of July 2010.		DIPR N.C. Hills, 14 August 2009; Sangai Express, 8 July 2009; Assam Tribune, 23 August 2009; NHRC, 5 July 2010
Violence between Khasis and Nepali-speakers (Assam-Meghalaya border region)	May 2010		3,000 Nepali-speakers 1,000 Nepali-speakers	In Jyanti (Assam) In Purdung (Meghalaya)					Nepalnews, 21 May 2010
<i>People displaced by Bodo-Muslim and Bodo-Santhal violence in 1993, 1996 and 1998 (Assam)</i>						47,000			ACHR, 6 June 2009; ACHR, 19 November 2009
<i>People displaced by Bodo-Muslim violence in 2008 (Assam)</i>						125,000			ACHR, 6 August 2009; AITPN, June 2009
<i>People displaced by violence between Khasis and Nepali-speakers in 2010 (Assam-Meghalaya border region)</i>						4,000			Nepalnews, 21 May 2010

Manipur (North-East India)

Reason for displacement	Date of displacement	At the time of displacement		Most recently available information	Sources
		Number of people	Disaggregated information	Situation	
Crackdown by security forces on protests around visit of NSCN-IM leader to Manipur	6 May 2010	500 Nagas fled to Nagaland	Mostly women and children	Returned to their homes on 6 June 2010	The Telegraph (India), 7 June 2010
"Operation Summer Storm" against insurgents launched by the Indian Army, the Assam Rifles and the police	April 2009	1,500 to 2,500		Unclear whether they have returned	The Telegraph (India), 20 April 2009; E-Pao Net, 20 April 2009

Mizoram-Tripura (North-East India)

Reason for displacement	Date of displacement	At the time of displacement		Most recently available information				Sources
		Number of people	Disaggregated information	Number of families	Number of people	Situation	Disaggregated information	
Mizo-Bru (Reang) violence in Mizoram state	After 15 October 1997	29,545	An additional 7,204 children not previously included in ration cards	5,448	29,520	In camps in Tripura state	14,608 men and 14,912 women	AITPN, 20 December 2007, p.3; AITPN, September 2008; PTI, 15 August 2010
Mizo-Bru (Reang) violence in Mizoram state	After 13 November 2009	5,000 displaced to Tripura state; 132 displaced to Assam state		449	2,183	In camps in Tripura state	1,118 men and 1,065 women	The Telegraph (India), 17 November 2009; The Telegraph (India), 21 November 2009; PTI, 15 August 2010
<i>Brus displaced from Mizoram</i>					31,703			<i>PTI, 15 August 2010</i>

Central India (Naxalite conflict)

Reason for displacement	Date of displacement	At the time of displacement	Most recently available information		Sources
		Number of people	Number of people	Situation	
Violence by Maoists and <i>Salwa Judum</i> vigilante forces in Dantewada district (including the area that is now Bijapur district), Chhattisgarh	2005–2008	36,991 adivasis from Dantewada district and 10,949 adivasis from what is now Bijapur district		In 23 government-run makeshift relief camps in Chhattisgarh	IANS, 3 March 2008; AITPN, 31 March 2009, p.37
		Around 49,000		In at least 24 camps in Bijapur and Dantewada districts, Chhattisgarh	HRW, 14 July 2008, p.8
		Many		Safer parts of Chhattisgarh	HRW, 14 July 2008, p.8
		Around 65,000		In Maharashtra, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh	HRW, 14 July 2008, p.8
		30,000 – 50,000		In reserved forest areas in Andhra Pradesh	HRW, 14 July 2008, p.82
		At least 30,000		In Khammam, Warangal and East Godavari districts, Andhra Pradesh	NCPCR, August 2008, p.5
Violence by the <i>Salwa Judum</i> in the forests of Dantewada district, Chhattisgarh	2005–2008	300,000			Guardian (UK), 30 October 2009
Violence by Maoists and <i>Salwa Judum</i> vigilante forces in Bastar and Bijapur districts, Chhattisgarh	January-June 2008	120,000 Gothi Koya tribal people		In Khammam district, Andhra Pradesh	DNA, 20 June 2008
Naxalite conflict in Dantewada district, Chhattisgarh	2005–2009	350,000 Adivasis (half the population of Dantewada district)	40,000 Adivasis	20,000 in camps in Chhattisgarh; 20,000 scattered across Andhra Pradesh	GoI-MRD, 1 March 2009, p.161; AI, 27 May 2010, p.167
Naxalite conflict in Chhattisgarh	June 2009–January 2010	More than 100,000 tribal people		In Andhra Pradesh (mainly Khammam district)	Deccan Chronicle, 12 June 2010
	November 2009	60-70,000 tribal people		In Andhra Pradesh (mainly Khammam district)	Times of India, 26 November 2009
Fighting between government forces and Naxalite militants in Dantewada district, Chhattisgarh ('Operation Green Hunt')	November 2009–May 2010	Thousands of tribal people			Asia Times, 26 May 2010
Naxalite conflict in Lalgah, West Bengal	2008–2009	At least 20,000	8,000 Adivasis	Some staying in makeshift camps	PTI, 21 June 2009; AI, 27 May 2010, p.167
<i>People displaced by the Naxalite conflict</i>			<i>At least 148,000</i>		<i>AI, 27 May 2010, p.167; Deccan Chronicle, 12 June 2010</i>

Gujarat

Reason for displacement	Date of displacement	At the time of displacement	Most recently available information			Sources
		Number of people	Number of families	Number of people	Situation	
Hindu-Muslim violence in Gujarat	28 February–2 March 2002	Up to 250,000 people in relief camps and with relatives	3,644	19,107	In 86 relief colonies in Gujarat	CCT vol. II, 24 October 2002, p.122; Gol, 1 December 2009, p.6

Orissa

Reason for displacement	Date of displacement	At the time of displacement		Most recently available information		Sources
		Number of people	Disaggregated information	Number of people	Situation	
Hindu-Christian violence in Kandhamal district of Orissa	December 2007	More than 1,200 in 4 camps, many hiding in the forests				Zee News, 30 December 2007
	August-October 2008	More than 20,000				IANS, 29 October 2008
		25,177 as of 4 September 2008	In camps in Tikabali, G. Undayagari, Raikia, K. Nuagam, Phiringia, Balliguda, Phulbani and Daringbadi blocks			Kandhamal District Administration, 10 March 2010, p.1
		12,539 in ten camps in Kandhamal district; 783 in two camps in Rayagada district				PTI, 1 September 2008
		At least 50,000 in 14–15 camps in Kandhamal district and in cities, including Cuttack and Bhubaneswar				Times of India, 5 October 2008
		50,000 (25,177 of them in camps)				PUCL and KSG, April 2009, pp.8, 42
		23,000 in 19 camps in Kandhamal				Frontline, 25 October 2008
	2007 and 2008				It is estimated that half of those displaced (at least 10,000 people) were still displaced at the end of 2009.	In tents, makeshift shelters and unofficial camps.
<i>People displaced by Hindu-Christian violence in Orissa</i>				<i>At least 10,000</i>		<i>CSW, May 2010, p.20; IANS, 29 October 2008</i>

JAMMU AND KASHMIR

Basic necessities of life

Food

Displaced Kashmiri Pandits

The Government of Jammu and Kashmir, through its Relief Organisation (Migrants), and the Government of the National Capital Territory of Delhi have been providing each Kashmiri Pandit IDP with 9 kg rice and 2 kg wheat flour per month, in addition to 1 kg sugar per family per month. With effect from April 2010 and including payment of arrears since July 2009, the monthly cash relief was raised from Rs. 1,000 (\$21) to Rs. 1,250 (\$27) for each individual, and the maximum monthly amount each family could receive was raised from Rs. 4,000 (\$85) to Rs. 5,000 (\$107). More than 16,000 displaced Pandit families in Jammu and more than 3,600 families in Delhi were eligible to receive this aid. Other States and Union Territories have also been providing aid to their resident Kashmiri Pandit IDPs, but no figures were available (ACCORD, January 2010, p.37; Gol-MHA, 2 March 2010, p.9; The Tribune, 4 April 2010).

Shelter and housing

Displaced Kashmiri Pandits

Displaced Kashmiri Pandits have been staying in camps, where each family is living in a one-room tenement built of bricks. After almost twenty years of displacement, these buildings are deteriorated, also because the building materials used were of substandard quality (ACCORD, January 2010, p.37).

In November 2004, the Indian Prime Minister announced the construction of 5,242 two-room apartments for displaced Kashmiri Pandits staying in one-room shelters in camps. These new apartments cost Rs. 3.45 billion (\$74 million) in total and are to be completed by October 2010. The construction of these apartments has been part of the Prime Minister's reconstruction plan for Jammu and Kashmir. However, as of June 2010, only half of the plan, which consists of a total of 67 projects, had been implemented. In Jammu (in Purkhoo, Muthi and Nagrota), 1,024 apartments had been constructed and attributed. The remainder of the apartments is under construction in Jagati (near Nagrota). In the Kashmir Valley (in Sheikhpura in Budgam District), 120 out of a total of 200 planned apartments had been constructed. 31 of these apartments had been attributed to displaced Kashmiri Pandits living in camps in Kashmir Valley. The total cost of the latter project is Rs. 229 million (\$5 million) and is scheduled to be completed by December 2010 (Gol-MHA, 2 March 2010, p.9; India Today, 5 June 2010).

Property, livelihoods, education and other economic, social and cultural rights

Land and property

Displaced Kashmiri Pandits

In 1997, the Jammu and Kashmir state government enacted two laws to protect the properties that displaced Kashmiri Pandits left behind in the Kashmir Valley and to limit distress sales: the J&K Migrants Immovable Property (Preservation, Protection and Restraint of Distress Sales) Act and the J&K Migrants (Stay of Proceedings) Act. Nevertheless, distress sales by displaced Kashmiri Pandits of their properties, often at low prices, have continued (ACHR, 21 January 2010, p.46; ACCORD, January 2010, p.34).

On 25 April 2008, the Indian Prime Minister announced a package of Rs. 16.18 billion (\$345 million) to provide incentives for displaced Kashmiri Pandits to return to the Kashmir Valley (Gol-MHA, 2 March 2010, p.10). The package includes

- assistance in the amount of Rs. 750,000 (\$16,000) per family for the repair or reconstruction of fully or partially damaged houses;
- assistance in the amount of Rs. 200,000 (\$4,300) per family for dilapidated or unused houses;
- assistance in the amount of Rs. 750,000 (\$16,000) per family for purchase or construction of a house for those families who sold their properties after 1989 and before the J&K Migrants Immovable Property (Preservation, Protection and Restraint of Distress Sales) Act came into force in 1997.

The package also provides for the construction of transit accommodation to facilitate the return process (Gol – MHA, 1 June 2009, p.167).

Livelihoods

Displaced Kashmiri Pandits

On 25 April 2008, the Indian Prime Minister announced a package of Rs. 16.18 billion (\$345 million) to provide incentives for displaced Kashmiri Pandits to return to the Kashmir Valley. The package includes the creation of employment opportunities for 15,000 unemployed displaced Kashmiri Pandit youth, of which 6,000 were to be positions with the Jammu and Kashmir state government. The remaining 9,000 positions (self-employment and start-ups in the private sector) were each to receive a grant of Rs. 250,000 (\$5,300) and a loan of the same amount. Farmers were to receive assistance in the amount of Rs. 100,000 (\$2,100), and horticulturalists were to receive Rs. 5,000 (\$107) per 500 m² up to a maximum of Rs. 150,000 (\$3,200) (Gol – MHA, 1 June 2009, p.167).

In 2010, the majority of Pandits employed by the government had retired, and Pandits have allegedly faced discrimination when applying for government positions (ACCORD, January 2010, p.36). By March 2010, the Government of Jammu and Kashmir had created 3,000 positions for unemployed internally displaced Kashmiri Pandit youth willing to return to the Kashmir Valley (Gol-MHA, 2 March 2010, p.10; The Telegraph (India), 12 May 2010), and by July, 1,500 candidates had been selected to be posted there. When the government of Jammu and Kashmir announced in July 2010 that it would suspend the filling of the posts for one month because of ongoing violent protests in the Valley, Pandit leaders demanded that the selected candidates be posted in Jammu until the situation had calmed down instead of prolonging their unemployment by suspending their posting (Early Times, 13 July 2010).

Education

Displaced Kashmiri Pandits

While Kashmiri Pandits have traditionally been highly literate, their displacement interrupted the education of thousands of pupils. As a result, literacy rates among Kashmiri Pandits have declined. Immediately after displacement, the government did not respond to their educational needs. Later on, displaced Pandits still had difficulties gaining admission to mainstream schools and universities, and most of them were constrained to attend educational institutions in camps, which lacked facilities and infrastructure (ACCORD, January 2010, p.35).

The incentive package announced by the Indian Prime Minister in April 2008 for displaced Kashmiri Pandits willing to return to the Kashmir Valley includes scholarships in the amount of Rs. 750 (\$16) per month per returned child up to the age of 18 (and up to the age of 21 in exceptional cases), as well as assistance for professional studies for returnees under the scheme of the Rehabilitation Council of Jammu and Kashmir (Gol – MHA, 1 June 2009, p.167).

According to a reply by the Ministry of Home Affairs to a Right to Information (RTI) request by the Asian Centre for Human Rights (ACHR) in 2007, the Ministry of Human Resource Development instructed the vice-chancellors of all universities in India to implement the following preferential conditions for displaced Kashmiri Pandit students, to be extended on a yearly basis:

- extension of admission date by 30 days,
- relaxation of cut-off percentage for admission up to 10 per cent depending on minimum eligibility requirement,
- increase in intake capacity up to 5 per cent per course,
- reservation of at least one seat in merit quota in technical and professional institutions,
- waiving of domicile requirements,
- facilitation of migration in second and following years.

Seats for displaced Kashmiri Pandit students had been reserved in professional institutions in Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra, New Delhi, Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh states (ACHR, 21 January 2010, pp.46–47).

Durable solutions (return, local integration, settlement elsewhere in the country)

Durable solutions

Displaced Kashmiri Pandits

The policy of the Government of India with respect to displaced Pandits from the Kashmir Valley has been based on the assumption that they will eventually return (Gol-MHA, 2 March 2010, p.9). Since Jammu and Kashmir is India's only Muslim-majority state, the government has regarded the eventual return of the Kashmiri Pandits, who are Hindus, as crucial in demographic terms. Consequently, local integration or settlement elsewhere in India have not been understood as alternative options that could lead to durable solutions for displaced Kashmiri Pandits. Neither the Government of India nor the Jammu and Kashmir state government nor other state governments

that have received displaced Kashmiri Pandits have surveyed the displaced people's own preferences in terms of durable solutions.

In 2010, over 40 per cent of 180 displaced Kashmiri Pandits surveyed in camps in Jammu reported that they would prefer to return to the Kashmir Valley, with around 25 per cent favouring staying in Jammu and 15 per cent preferring to resettle elsewhere in India. Almost 18 per cent would return if a separate homeland for Pandits were created in Kashmir (Shekhawat, 16 August 2010, p.21). 4,400 displaced Kashmiri Pandit families willing to return had applied for transit accommodation, but none of them had returned by May 2010 (Gol-MHA, 2 March 2010, p.10; The Telegraph (India), 12 May 2010). With protests ongoing in the Kashmir Valley as of August 2010, it appeared unlikely that Kashmiri Pandit IDPs would be able to return any time soon (India Today, 30 May 2010; PTI, 6 June 2010; Reuters, 5 August 2010; AFP, 9 August 2010; Frontline, 14 August 2010).

ASSAM (NORTH-EAST INDIA)

Basic necessities of life

Food and water

People displaced by Bodo-Muslim and Bodo-Santhal violence

In camps where people displaced by Bodo-Santhal violence in 1996 and 1998 were staying, the food provided was insufficient. IDPs in Joypur camp at Karigaon in Kokrajhar district, most of them Santhals, had to stretch ten-day rations over the whole month (The Hindu, 21 April 2009; The Telegraph (India), 10 August 2009). In Sapkata and Kachugaon camps in Kokrajhar district (housing people displaced in 1996 by Bodo-Santhal violence), this was the case as well. There, each adult received six kilograms of rice per month or 200 grams per day, and each child received four kilograms of rice per month or 133 grams per day. However, in Kachugaon camp children born after the last census carried out in 1996 had not been included in the rations. As of June 2009, more than half of the people living in that camp were children, and 80 per cent of them were born in the camp after the 1996 census and therefore did not receive rations (ACHR, June 2009).

Among the IDPs staying in Hapachara camp no. 2 in Garugaon, Bongaigaon district (housing people displaced in 1996 by Bodo-Santhal violence), only 658 of the total 1,350 families in the camp received rice rations. In this camp, an adult IDP received five kilograms of rice and 200 grams of salt per month. At Kajiamati relief camp in Udalguri district (housing people displaced in 2008 by Bodo-Muslim violence), the state government provided only 450 grams of rice and 100 grams of *dal* per day per person, and that only for the period from 12 October 2008 to 25 March 2009, i.e. during a little over five months. At Rowta Bagan relief camp in Udalguri district (housing people displaced in 2008 by Bodo-Muslim violence), IDPs had to stretch twelve-day rations of rice over the whole month, receiving only five kilograms of rice per month or 166 grams per day. In addition, rations were supplied irregularly (ACHR, June 2009).

As of June 2009, ring wells, tube wells, and hand pumps were the only sources of drinking water in Sapkata and Kachugaon relief camps in Kokrajhar district, in Hapachara camp no. 2 in Bongaigaon district and in Kajiamati and Rowta Bagan camps in Udalguri district. Many of these facilities were either broken or the water that they yielded was contaminated, especially in Kajiamati camp (ACHR, June 2009). In Joypur camp, more than 13,000 people had to share five tube wells, the only source of drinking water (The Hindu, 21 April 2009).

After a visit to IDP camps in Chirang and Bongaigaon districts in September 2008, the National Commission for the Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR) severely criticized the state authorities for not addressing the IDPs' needs and rights in terms of food and water. In these camps, there were many IDPs whose names do not appear in the lists naming those who receive rations. In addition, IDPs who accepted a release grant in the amount of Rs. 10,000 (\$213) also no longer appeared on the ration lists. The Commission further stated that IDPs had no access to safe drinking water, leading to water-borne diseases in the camps. In the absence of proper sanitation facilities, the sources for drinking water and sanitation were located in close proximity to each other, a situation that was likely to favour the outbreak of an epidemic (NCPCR, 24 September 2008).

People displaced by Dimasa-Zeme Naga violence

As of August 2009, the state government of Assam had provided a total of 417 metric tonnes of rice, 83 metric tonnes of dal, 28 metric tonnes of salt and 19,000 litres of mustard oil to the people displaced by Dimasa-Zeme Naga violence in then North Cachar Hills (now Dima Hasao) district in 2009. These IDPs had arrived in camps since 20 March 2009, and their total number had passed 16,000 in August 2009 (DIPR N.C. Hills, 14 August 2009).

Shelter and housing

People displaced by Bodo-Muslim and Bodo-Santhal violence

In Sapkata and Kachugaon camps in Kokrajhar district, people displaced in 1996 by Bodo-Santhal violence were living in small huts with walls made from twigs and with polythene sheets as roofs. Rain water and cold entered the huts easily. People were sleeping on the mud floor, using jute or polythene sacks as bedding. While each family staying in Sapkata camp had received one polythene sheet as housing assistance from the Assam state government, people in Kachugaon camp had not received anything (ACHR, June 2009).

In Hapachara camp in Bongaigaon district and in Kajiamati and Rowta Bagan camps in Udalguri district, people were staying in huts barely 2 meters in height made of galvanised iron sheets. During monsoon, it becomes unbearably hot inside these huts during day time. Here as well, people were sleeping on the mud floor, using jute or polythene sacks as bedding. In Hapachara camp, each family had received ten pieces of galvanised iron roofing sheets from the government, while in Kajiamati camp each family had received 21 such sheets. Rowta Bagan camp had been constructed on swampy land, and the mud floors of the huts were wet and water was flowing through the camp during monsoon season. Only two thirds of the families staying in Rowta Bagan camp had received housing assistance consisting of 21 pieces of galvanised iron sheets from the government (ACHR, June 2009).

Health, nutrition and sanitation

People displaced by Bodo-Muslim and Bodo-Santhal violence

According to Sphere standards, people should have access to toilets that are safe and sufficiently close to where they live (The Sphere Project, 2004, p.71). However, there were no toilets in IDP camps in Kokrajhar, Bongaigaon and Udalguri districts as of June 2009, and the Government of India's Total Sanitation Campaign (TCS), which was launched in 1999 and aims at providing every household in India with a toilet, had not reached the camps. People thus practised open defecation. In Kachugaon camp in Kokrajhar district, those IDPs who were living in abandoned railway buildings had access to toilets there. In Kajiamati camp in Udalguri district, people were using simple sanitary toilets that they themselves had constructed (ACHR, June 2009; The Hindu, 21 April 2009; Gol – MRD, April 2007).

In October 2009, there were still no proper sanitation facilities in camps in Kokrajhar and Bongaigaon districts. In Salabila camp, for example, more than 6,500 people had to share 40 latrines. By Sphere standards, there should be one toilet available for every 20 people (The Sphere Project, 2004, p.71). While there were 56 tube wells, only 22 were functional. There was a lack of water, and the bad hygiene and sanitation conditions led to diseases such as chicken pox, malaria, diarrhoea and jaundice. In Salabila camp, most children were sick with chicken pox during the summer (WFS, 30 October 2009).

Malnutrition and mineral deficiencies were also common in the camps. Furthermore, many IDPs suffered from goitre (lumps on or swelling of the throat due to iodine deficiency). Children up to the age of six, adolescent girls, pregnant women, and elderly people are especially vulnerable to this disease. In addition to goitre, iodine deficiency also often leads to birth defects and delayed mental and physical development (ACHR, June 2009).

In November 2007 already, a delegation of the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) of India visited IDP camps in Kokrajhar district and stated that conditions there, including access to health care, were unsatisfactory. At the time, medical teams visited the camps only irregularly, and the few doctors in the area did not have the capacity to address the health needs of the camp population in addition to those of the local population. There was also a lack of medicine in the camps (Zee News, 15 November 2007).

As of June 2009, the government sent Accredited Social Health Activist (ASHA) volunteers to the camps under the National Rural Health Mission (NRHM). These volunteers were only tasked with informing and convincing pregnant women to give birth at the Government Sub-divisional Hospital in Gossaigaon, as they were not qualified as doctors, nurses or paramedics. Each woman received Rs. 1,400 (\$30) for a delivery at the hospital, but IDPs alleged that they have to pay about half of this amount as bribes to hospital staff, including doctors (ACHR, June 2009).

A doctor visited the Rowta Bagan camp in Udalguri district three to four times a month. IDPs staying in Kachugaon camp in Kokrajhar district had access to a 30-bed hospital half a kilometre away from the camp, but faced discrimination in the delivery of health services as compared to the local population. IDPs staying in Hapachara camp in Bongaigaon district had access to the government health sub-centre at Sidulsuti located about 1km away from the camps (ACHR, June 2009).

Property, livelihoods, education and other economic, social and cultural rights

Livelihoods

People displaced by Bodo-Muslim and Bodo-Santhal violence

As of October 2009, more than 5,500 migrant Muslim families displaced in 1993 who were living in protracted displacement in camps in Kokrajhar and Bongaigaon districts had difficulties finding sustainable livelihoods. Many of them, who had been self-sufficient farmers prior to displacement, had difficulty finding jobs due to the hostility of the local population (WFS, 30 October 2009). IDPs in Kokrajhar, Bongaigaon and Udalguri districts worked as agricultural labourers, as day labourers in construction or had been hired as domestic workers by locals. Demand for their mostly unskilled labour was erratic and dependent on the seasons. IDPs living in Kajiamati camp in Udalguri district worked as farmers. However, many families had not been able to afford a pair of bullocks for ploughing (ACHR, June 2009).

In Devsri camp in Bongaigaon district and Salabila camp in Chirang district, the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) was not in place in October 2008. NREGA is a national employment scheme launched in 2005 that guarantees up to 100 days of paid employment per rural household per year on public works. On average, IDPs staying in these camps found work two to three times a week. In spite of the fact that some IDPs received job cards since up to two

years before the NCPCR's visit in September 2008, they had not found employment. As a result, many IDPs were forced to let themselves be trafficked to other parts of India as well as Bhutan as sex workers and child labourers (NCPCR, 24 September 2008; NCPCR, October 2008; ODI, January 2008, p.1).

In Joypur camp at Karigaon in Kokrajhar district, where displaced Santhal people were staying, the NREGA was in place as of April 2009 and IDPs received job cards through the scheme, but they had not found jobs. In Sapkata camp in Kokrajhar district, which is also a camp for displaced Santhals, 820 IDPs had received job cards in February 2009 in the run-up to the April 2009 elections. In Kachugaon camp in Kokrajhar district, another camp inhabited by displaced Santhal people, all IDPs who had registered for NREGA jobs had not received job cards, and many of the IDPs listed as having received job cards had not actually received them from the Village Construction Development Committees of the Bodoland Territorial Council (The Hindu, 21 April 2009; ACHR, June 2009). This may have been due to discrimination against displaced Santhals by Bodo-dominated local authorities.

Education

People displaced by Bodo-Muslim and Bodo-Santhal violence

Muslim migrant children displaced in 1993 and living in protracted displacement in camps in Kokrajhar and Bongaigaon districts had had no access to education between 1993 and 2003, despite their right to universal free primary education. In 2003, the Sarva Siksha Abhiyan (SSA), the Government of India's programme for elementary education, set up an education centre in Goraimari district, which gave some of the displaced children living in camps access to some schooling. Most of those displaced children who did have access to primary education were unable to pursue secondary education since they had to help their parents with providing livelihoods (WFS, 30 October 2009).

As of September 2008, there was only one Education Guarantee School (EGS) and one Middle School (up to class VIII, or ages eleven to fourteen) in Devsri camp, for example. At this EGS, two teachers were responsible for 198 students. At the Middle School, teachers had not received their salaries since 1994. Many children in that camp were not going to school. There, no mid-day meals were provided under the SSA. In Salabila camp, there was only one school, with two teachers responsible for 572 children aged 0 to 6 years and 1,067 children aged 6 to 14 years. These children did not receive mid-day meals either. Displaced children were denied access to local schools as these were already crowded (NCPCR, 24 September 2008).

As of June 2009, in the absence of a government-run school, the IDPs staying in Sapkata camp in Kokrajhar district were running a school in makeshift huts attended by almost 160 children up to class IV (primary stage, or up to the age of ten). A teacher teaching at this school was appointed by the Assam state government, which had not provided any other assistance in terms of education. There was no school in Kachugaon camp in Kokrajhar district. About 60 per cent of children staying there attended local government schools, but they faced discrimination as compared to local children in terms of admission. In Hapachara camp, three Sarva Shiksha Kendras (schools under the SSA) had been set up in early 2009 (ACHR, June 2009).

At Rowta Bagan camp in Udalguri district, 500 out of a total of 1,100 children attended a makeshift school without benches and desks. On any given day, one among the three teachers appointed by the government remained absent. The local government Lower Primary School, which is located in a solid building ("pucca building") with complete infrastructure, was occupied by the personnel of the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), who were posted there to provide

security for the IDPs. In Darrang district, 47 school buildings had been used as camps during the Bodo-Muslim violence in 2008, but they had been vacated before the scheduled annual school examinations. The government provided Rs. 10,000 (\$213) to each Lower Primary School and Rs. 15,000 (\$320) to each High School used as a camp for repairs (ACHR, June 2009).

People displaced by Dimasa-Zeme Naga violence

In August 2009, 6,000 children displaced in North Cachar Hills (now Dima Hasao) district had been out of school for six months. Non-displaced pupils in the district were also affected since their schools had been transformed into relief camps or occupied by the armed forces. Schools in the areas where the displaced were staying were lacking infrastructure such as toilets, as well as books, stationary items and school uniforms (NCPCR, 8 August 2009; Indian Express, 23 August 2009; Assam Tribune, 23 August 2009).

Protection of special categories of IDPs (age, gender, diversity, minorities)

Gender

People displaced by Bodo-Muslim and Bodo-Santhal violence

Women displaced during Bodo-Santhal violence in 1996 and 1998 had to resort to prostitution in order to make a living (The Telegraph (India), 10 August 2009). Muslim families displaced in 1993 were selling their young daughters into marriage because of increased poverty due to displacement (WFS, 30 October 2009).

According to Sphere standards, people should have access to toilets that are safe and sufficiently close to where they live (The Sphere Project, 2004, p.71). However, there were no toilets in camps in Kokrajhar, Bongaigaon and Udalguri districts as of June 2009. The need to defecate in the open field or in the bushes put girls and women at an increased risk of sexual abuse (ACHR, June 2009; The Hindu, 21 April 2009).

In Sapkata and Kachugaon relief camps in Kokrajhar district, in Hapachara camp no. 2 in Bongaigaon district and in Kajiamati and Rowta Bagan camps in Udalguri district, women lacked privacy because they had to share small huts with other family members (ACHR, June 2009).

People displaced by Dimasa-Zeme Naga violence

Adolescent girls displaced by Dimasa-Zeme Naga violence between March and July 2009 in then North Cachar Hills (now Dima Hasao) district were staying not with their families in relief camps, but with relatives outside of camps, as there was a lack of safety and privacy in camps. Some girls were harassed and abused by the Army and the Police because of alleged links with armed insurgent groups (NCPCR, 8 August 2009).

Children

People displaced by Bodo-Muslim and Bodo-Santhal violence

Children's health in camps in Chirang and Bongaigaon districts was fragile. There were no *anganwadi* centres (government-run crèches that provide care for children less than 6 years of age, lactating mothers, pregnant women and underweight adolescent girls under the supplementary nutritional programme of the Government of India's Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) Scheme) in the camps. The only vaccination that children in the camps received was the Polio one (NCPCR, 24 September 2008; ACHR, June 2009; WFS, 30 October 2009).

People displaced by Dimasa-Zeme Naga violence

The relief provided to people displaced in North Cachar Hills (now Dima Hasao) district did not include items specifically targeting the nutritional needs of children, and there were no *anganwadi* centres in the camps. Several children were receiving only one meal per day, and some of the children were malnourished. There was no access to safe drinking water in the camps, and several children suffered from fever and cold as well as scabies, boils and skin infections (NCPCR, 8 August 2009; Indian Express, 23 August 2009; Assam Tribune, 23 August 2009).

See also:

Food and water
Health, nutrition and sanitation
Education

MIZORAM-TRIPURA (NORTH-EAST INDIA)

Physical security and integrity

Physical security and integrity

The physical security of Brus displaced in 1997 who were staying in IDP camps in Kanchanpur subdivision of North Tripura district in Tripura state was threatened in late 2009. After the killing of a Mizo youth on 13 November 2009 in Mamit district, Mizoram state, which was attributed to a Bru insurgent group hitherto unknown, Mizos aimed at collective revenge against Brus, including those displaced from Mizoram in 1997 and staying in camps in Tripura state. After a failed attempt to attack Khakchang camp on 14 November 2009, a group of Mizo youth managed to attack the same camp on 15 November and beat up Bru IDPs staying in the camp. At least ten IDPs were injured (ACHR, 21 January 2010, p.7).

Basic necessities of life

Food and water

Until October 2007, the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) of the Government of India, through the Tripura government's Food, Civil Supplies and Consumer Affairs Department, provided food rations and other assistance to displaced Bru people in camps in Tripura's Kanchanpur subdivision. This included 450 grams of rice daily for each adult and 225 grams of rice for each child, complemented by *dal*. Every adult also received Rs. 2.90 (6 US cents) per day in cash and every child Rs. 1.45 (3 US cents), in addition to clothes and other items. On 15 October 2007, the Tripura Food, Civil Supplies and Consumer Affairs Department reduced the monthly amount of rice provided to the IDPs in the camps, arguing that the Government of India did not provide rice through a separate allocation (AITPN, 20 December 2007, p.3; AITPN, September 2008).

In addition, most tube wells in the camps did not function, which forced IDPs to drink from streams and ponds. This and the absence of sanitation facilities favoured the spread of water-borne diseases (AITPN, 20 December 2007, p.3).

As of 2009, the daily rice quota was 600 grams for each adult and 300 grams for each minor, in addition to 0.25 and 0.12 grams of salt per day, respectively. Pregnant women received an additional daily 0.11 grams of rice and 0.65 grams of dal for 24 days each month. Children under the age of six received an additional daily 0.6 grams of rice and 0.3 grams of dal (AITPN, 12 December 2009).

Property, livelihoods, education and other economic, social and cultural rights

Land and property, livelihoods and education

As of December 2007, the Mizoram state government had not taken any measures to protect the land and property of its Bru residents that had fled to Tripura in 1997. The displaced Brus had not received any compensation for the damage to their property (AITPN, 20 December 2007, p.4).

In IDP camps in Kanchanpur subdivision in Tripura state, the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) was not in place as of October 2008 (NCPCR, October 2008).

As of December 2007, displaced Bru children in camps in Tripura state had limited access to primary education through the Sarva Siksha Abhiyan (SSA) programme, with 5,000 children having had no access to education at all since 1997. Furthermore, children in camps did not have access to secondary education (AITPN, 20 December 2007, p.3).

Family life, participation, access to justice, documentation and other civil and political rights

Civil and political rights

In 1995, the names of thousands of Bru voters had been deleted from the electoral rolls in Mizoram. After 30,000 Brus were displaced from Mizoram to Tripura in 1997, the Delhi High Court ordered the Election Commission of India to set up two polling booths for the displaced Brus just inside the border of Mizoram and to provide security to the Bru voters on their way to the booths. However, one of the two booths was set up at a distance of about 25 km from the Tripura-Mizoram border (AITPN, 27 December 2009).

Before the Mizoram state assembly elections in 2004, the Election Commission of India introduced the postal ballot for displaced Bru people staying in Tripura. In 2008, only a little more than 8,000 displaced Brus were included in the voters' lists, and only about 6,500 received electoral photo identity cards (EPICs) and were able to vote in the Mizoram state assembly elections on 2 December 2008. The Mizoram Election Department included photographs of candidates in postal ballots only after the Bru IDPs had initially boycotted the elections. Before the April 2009 elections, displaced Brus demanded the right to vote through electronic voting machines (EVMs) (AITPN, 27 December 2009; Kaladan News, 16 September 2008; Assam Tribune, 2 April 2009).

Protection of special categories of IDPs (age, gender, diversity, minorities)

Children

A survey carried out by the Asian Indigenous & Tribal Peoples Network (AITPN) in January and February 2008 in camps in Kanchanpur subdivision in Tripura state hosting displaced Brus found that 7,204 Bru children did not receive relief rations since they were not registered. After a complaint by the AITPN, the National Commission for the Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR) visited the camps in September 2008 (AITPN, September 2008). The NCPCR described the conditions in the camps as "subhuman" and stated that

“There was none or little, if any, registration of births and deaths, marginal immunisation, no health facilities or primary health centres, no functional schools, no safe drinking water, poor sanitation and inadequate rations” (NCPCR, October 2008, p.4).

On 27 March 2009 the Sub-Divisional Magistrate of Kanchanpur registered the 7,204 displaced Bru children. However, 2,710 babies born after 27 March 2009 had not been registered and did not receive food rations as a result, according to a survey carried out by the Asian Indigenous & Tribal Peoples Network (AITPN) (AITPN, 12 December 2009).

The Commission further noted that the health state of children in the camps was highly problematic. No *anganwadi* centres (government-run crèches) had been set up in the camps. The polio vaccination was the only vaccination that the displaced children received (NCPCR, October 2008, p.4).

Durable solutions (return, local integration, settlement elsewhere in the country)

Durable solutions

In late May 2010, 1,115 Brus displaced in 2009 returned to Mizoram (ACHR, 10 August 2010). According to a census of camp residents carried out by the Mizoram Bru Displaced People’s Forum (MBDPF), 31,703 displaced Bru people from Mizoram remained in camps in Tripura as of 15 August 2010. 29,520 among them had been displaced in 1997 and 2,183 in 2009 (PTI, 15 August 2010). An important issue yet to be resolved is whether the displaced Brus should return to their original places of residence in Mizoram (the option preferred by the Mizoram state government) or whether they should return to Mizoram, but be resettled in a compact way (which the displaced themselves would prefer) (ACHR, 21 January 2010, p.19).

CENTRAL INDIA (NAXALITE CONFLICT)

Physical security and integrity

Physical security and freedom of movement

Chhattisgarh

Inhabitants of Dantewada district in Chhattisgarh state had difficulty finding safety, as they were caught between Naxalite militants on the one hand and the Salwa Judum vigilante force and government forces on the other. Salwa Judum members forced them to move to Salwa Judum camps and also forced them to participate in Salwa Judum activities, including carrying out raids on villages (HRW, 14 July 2008, pp.39–41). Once in camps, they were subject to attacks by the Naxalites, who accused them of being Salwa Judum supporters (NHRC, November 2008, p.107; Tehelka, 11 July 2009).

Contrary to statements by Salwa Judum and government representatives, IDPs in camps in Chhattisgarh were not free to leave the camps and return to their villages, be it permanently or periodically, for example to rebuild their houses or to work in their fields. When they attempted to do so, members of Salwa Judum and government security forces beat them up, burned the IDPs' grain or took away their livestock (HRW, 14 July 2008, pp.41–43).

Andhra Pradesh

Those who had managed to flee from Chhattisgarh's Dantewada district to reserved forest areas in Andhra Pradesh state were not ready to go back to their homes because of the prevailing violence there. On the other hand, tensions between local tribal people and those displaced from Chhattisgarh were increasing because of limited resources (Tehelka, 11 July 2009). In some cases, forest officials allegedly instigated harassment of IDPs from Chhattisgarh by locals (HRW, 14 July 2008, p.85). Some IDPs staying in Andhra Pradesh were also abducted by Salwa Judum militia who had crossed the border from Chhattisgarh (HRW, 14 July 2008, p.92).

In Khammam and Warangal districts of Andhra Pradesh state, forest officials reportedly evicted IDPs from their makeshift hamlets, including by burning their huts, destroying their personal belongings and beating up IDPs, including children. The displaced were also forcibly relocated to other areas, often in close proximity to the Chhattisgarh border, without being consulted and without receiving adequate alternative housing. These practices continued even after the Andhra Pradesh High Court had passed interim orders in September 2007 instructing forest officials not to demolish or burn the huts of IDPs (HRW, 14 July 2008, pp.85, 88, 91–92; Tehelka, 11 July 2009).

Children

Chhattisgarh

Children in Chhattisgarh were vulnerable to recruitment by the Naxalites, government security forces and Salwa Judum groups. The Naxalites use children to gather intelligence, for security duty, to make and plant landmines and IEDs, and to fight against government forces (HRW, 5

September 2008, p.21). They had persuaded poor families to hand over their children, aged mostly between 10 and 15 years, with promises of food and a better life in training camps. In some cases children were been taken without the consent of their parents (IHT, 22 May 2008). Naxalite insurgents also recruited children along the Andhra Pradesh–Orissa border, demanding that each family give them one child (Times of India, 8 December 2008).

Children in camps in Chhattisgarh were ordered by Salwa Judum leaders to carry arms and participate in raids on villages. Prior to March 2006, the Chhattisgarh state police was actively recruiting special police officers (SPOs), whose monthly salary was Rs. 1,500 (\$32) (ACHR, 17 March 2006, p.17). While the minimum age for SPOs is 18, the police did not deny that children were initially recruited (HRW, 5 September 2008, p.37). In some cases Salwa Judum leaders, village headmen or the police approached camp residents and asked them to become SPOs, and children in the camps chose to do so as it provided a livelihood (HRW, 5 September 2008, p.39).

Basic necessities of life

Food and water

Chhattisgarh

While the Chhattisgarh state authorities claimed in 2007 that IDPs in eleven camps in Dantewada district received free food rations and that in all other camps only the old and the disabled received them, IDPs themselves said that rations had either been reduced or were no longer distributed at all, sometimes due to a lack of security for government deliveries to camps. During displacement, many people had lost their ration cards, which they need in order to buy subsidised food at ration shops, and the government had not replaced the lost cards. Lentil and rice rations that government authorities did distribute did not correspond to the IDPs' habitual diet, which is based on meat, fish and forest plants (HRW, 14 July 2008, pp.74–75). According to the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), IDPs living in camps in Dantewada district received free rations, while those in camps in Bijapur district did not have access to free rations (NHRC, November 2008, p.106).

Andhra Pradesh

IDPs from Chhattisgarh who fled to Andhra Pradesh were facing acute lack of food (Deccan Chronicle, 12 June 2010). They were not included in food subsidies provided by the Andhra Pradesh state government under its Targeted Public Distribution Scheme (TPDS) because the government did not consider them to be “local residents”. Under the TPDS, the poor receive ration cards, which enable them to buy food grains at subsidised prices. IDPs applied for ration cards, but most did not receive them because local government authorities accused them of being supporters of the Naxalites (HRW, 14 July 2008, pp.93, 95). In Khammam district, only ten per cent of the IDPs had ration cards as of July 2009 (Tehelka, 11 July 2009).

Some residential schools and non-residential centres run by the NGO Agriculture and Social Development Society (ASDS) provided food such as cooked lentils, rice and coconut oil, as well as soap to young children and pregnant and lactating mothers displaced from Chhattisgarh due to the Naxalite conflict. However, in Guttani village, for example, twelve out of 19 displaced Koya families were malnourished (Tehelka, 11 July 2009).

Access to drinking water remained a problem for IDPs in Andhra Pradesh (Deccan Chronicle, 12 June 2010), with many of them having to walk between one and five kilometres to access it

(HRW, 14 July 2008, p.95). According to the National Commission for Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR), IDPs from Chhattisgarh who were staying in Khammam district of Andhra Pradesh state still did not have access to safe drinking water as of February 2010 (NCPCR, 3 March 2010, p.2).

Shelter and housing

Chhattisgarh

The Dantewada district, authorities stated in 2007 that permanent camp residents were provided with free housing at a rate of Rs. 12,000 (\$256) for each individual and those who wanted to return received temporary tin sheds. In reality, however, camps reportedly consisted of huts that the IDPs had built themselves immediately after having been evicted from their villages by Salwa Judum and government security forces. Only at a later stage did every household receive Rs. 5,000 (\$107), and some also received tin sheets and tiles. Camps were overcrowded, and IDPs were unable to keep their livestock as space was too limited (HRW, 14 July 2008, pp.72–73). According to the National Human Rights Commission, conditions in the camps had deteriorated over time and the response of the Chhattisgarh state government was insufficient (NHRC, November 2008, p.107).

Andhra Pradesh

The plight of the tribal IDPs in Andhra Pradesh worsened after the killing of more than 30 Greyhound police commandos by the Maoists in an ambush at Chitrakonda reservoir in Orissa, close to the Andhra Pradesh border, in June 2008 (The Hindu, 30 June 2008). The Andhra Pradesh state government branded the IDPs as “Maoist supporters” and stopped the provision of shelter to them (Deccan Chronicle, 8 July 2008).

Health, nutrition and sanitation

Chhattisgarh

Camps in Chhattisgarh lacked appropriate bathrooms, toilets, and sanitation facilities. Toilets existed only in a small number of camps (HRW, 14 July 2008, p.73; NHRC, November 2008, p.105).

IDPs also had only very limited access to health care services (HRW, 14 July 2008, pp.73–74). According to the National Human Rights Commission, “Barring in a few camps, the medical facilities exist only on papers” (NHRC, November 2008, p.105). Health workers visited camps only irregularly, and there were insufficient supplies of medicines. In Bijapur district, there was only one doctor, and in Dantewada district, many posts of health staff, including doctors and nurses, were vacant as of January 2009. IDPs also lacked mosquito nets in order to protect themselves against malaria (NHRC, November 2008, p.105; NCPCR, 27 January 2009, p.5).

Andhra Pradesh

As of February 2010, health workers’ visits to IDPs from Chhattisgarh staying in Khammam district were irregular, and many children were lacking immunisation and had not been issued immunisation cards. *Anganwadi* centres (government-run crèches) were accessible to IDPs staying in Khammam district, but *anganwadi* workers’ salary was insufficient and they were in need of training and capacity building, including in the language of the displaced Gothi Koya tribal

people. While the Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) recommends one supervisor for 25 *anganwadi* centres, in Khammam district there was one supervisor for 40 to 50 centres in addition to a number of mini *anganwadi* centres (NCPCR, 3 March 2010, pp.2–3).

Property, livelihoods, education and other economic, social and cultural rights

Land and property

Violation of tribal people's land and forest rights

India's Recognition of Forest Rights Act was passed in 2006 and came into force in 2008. It aims at protecting the land rights of tribal people who live in the forests. In states such as Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Orissa, the Act has been slowly implemented, ignored or even violated in favour of the interest of extractive industries, which has contributed to the grievances of Adivasi forest dwellers and has helped the Naxalite movement gain ground in these areas (TrustLaw, 28 June 2010).

Private corporations had acquired more than 400,000 km² of land in Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Orissa, and almost 80 Special Economic Zones (SEZ) – areas with more liberal economic laws than those in the rest of the country – were planned in the four states. In Chhattisgarh, more than 600,000 km² of land had already been designated for SEZ (Tehelka, 11 July 2009).

Denial of land and forest rights to IDPs

In Andhra Pradesh, the state government denied IDPs land and forest rights after branding them as "Maoist supporters" (Deccan Chronicle, 8 July 2008) following the killing of more than 30 Greyhound police commandos by the Maoists in an ambush at Chitrakonda reservoir in Orissa, close to the Andhra Pradesh border, in June 2008 (The Hindu, 30 June 2008).

As of July 2009, most Koya tribal people displaced to Andhra Pradesh by the Naxalite conflict had not been able to reclaim their land. This land was at risk of being taken over by private corporations exploiting natural resources such as iron ore that are abundant in tribal areas in Chhattisgarh state (Tehelka, 11 July 2009).

Livelihoods

Chhattisgarh

Livelihood opportunities for IDPs living in camps in Chhattisgarh were insufficient. The few opportunities available included work as daily labourers in government-run construction projects and the collection of forest plants. The situation was difficult in particular for IDPs staying in Bijapur district. IDPs stated that they had not received financial assistance or loans nor training to facilitate sustainable livelihoods (NHRC, November 2008, pp.105–106).

IDPs returning from Salwa Judum camps to Basaguda village in Bijapur district of Chhattisgarh state in 2009 had to rebuild their lives from zero. Only in 2010 was the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) set up in Basaguda (Express Buzz, 16 May 2010).

Andhra Pradesh

Among the tribal people who had fled from Chhattisgarh to Andhra Pradesh because of the Naxalite conflict, many had not been able to find sustainable livelihoods. Having lost their farmland in their home areas, some of them found work as farm labourers, with men earning Rs. 50 (\$1) and women only Rs. 30 (64 US cents) per day. Forest officials regularly dismantled IDPs' makeshift homes in the forest areas. Often they also took away the farming equipment needed for farming work, thereby further endangering IDPs' already fragile livelihoods (Tehelka, 11 July 2009).

Until recently, the Andhra Pradesh state government excluded IDPs from Chhattisgarh from National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) since it did not consider them to be "local residents". This was in spite of the fact that the NREGA does not include any requirement concerning beneficiaries' minimum length of residence (HRW, 14 July 2008, pp.93–94). IDPs living in Khammam district were scheduled to receive job cards under the NREGA as late as 1 March 2010 (NCPCR, 3 March 2010, p.1).

Education

Chhattisgarh

Displaced children staying in camps in Chhattisgarh did not receive proper education. Facilities, including most *anganwadi* centres (government-run crèches), were inadequate, as there were not enough teachers and basic infrastructure was lacking (NHRC, November 2008, p.105).

As of January 2009, the Chhattisgarh authorities had initiated Residential Bridge Courses (RBCs) for children who had missed out on their education because of the Naxalite conflict, including displaced children, but the transfer of children from RBCs to regular schools was not functioning smoothly. In addition, 400 new ashram (residential) schools needed to be built to cater to the needs of 40,000 children who were out of school, and the existing ones were lacking urgently needed funds. Ashram schools were preferred by conflict-affected families as they provided children with food, clothing and shelter and were safer than non-residential schools since they were located in areas less affected by the armed conflict. Because of the security situation, teachers as well as pupils attended ashram schools more regularly than non-residential schools. Nevertheless, some ashram schools were occupied by members of the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), which led to increased bombing of these schools by Naxalite insurgents and denied children their right to education (NCPCR, 27 January 2009, pp.2–4).

Andhra Pradesh

Residential Bridge Courses (RBCs) for children displaced from Chhattisgarh who were staying in Andhra Pradesh had been in place since before December 2009, but the transfer of children from RBCs to regular schools was not functioning well. In addition, children attending the RBCs did not receive meals there as the NGOs running the RBCs could not afford to buy rice (NCPCR, 3 March 2010, p.2; The Hindu, 18 December 2009).

According to the National Commission for Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR), displaced children from Chhattisgarh were not being admitted to schools in Andhra Pradesh because they did not have school-leaving certificates and did not understand Telugu, which was the language of instruction in Andhra Pradesh (The Tribune, 2 April 2008). As of July 2009, 1,000 to 1,500 displaced children were out of school, and there were only four Residential Bridge Courses

(RBCs), which was insufficient to cater to the needs of all displaced children (NCPCR, 24 July 2009, p.2).

Durable solutions (return, local integration, settlement elsewhere in the country)

Durable solutions

While some people displaced since 2005 by the Naxalite conflict in Chhattisgarh started returning to their homes in 2008 and 2009 (Express Buzz, 16 May 2010), the Naxalite conflict has been ongoing in Chhattisgarh, and conditions have not been conducive to sustainable return due to prevailing insecurity. People in displacement in Andhra Pradesh have not been able to integrate locally because of the government's discrimination against them compared to non-IDPs in the state. No information was available on whether those IDPs who moved to other places in India, including cities, found a durable solution.

GUJARAT

Basic necessities of life

Shelter and housing

Immediately after displacement, many of the IDPs were forced to take shelter in about 100 makeshift relief camps set up all over the state, with little support from the government. The task of providing relief and assistance was largely taken on by the Muslim community and non-governmental groups (HRW, 29 April 2002, p.52). By the end of October 2002, the government had closed most of the camps, forcing some displaced families back into neighbourhoods where their attackers still lived and where they faced threats to their physical security (HRW, 30 June 2003).

Compensation funds provided to IDPs after the closure of camps were sometimes as low as Rs. 1,200 (\$26) and it was believed that the state government was failing to meet its responsibility of providing assistance to the victims. While the state government had provided shelter and assistance to people affected by an earthquake in Gujarat in 2001, in this displacement crisis no equivalent provisions were offered to those who had been forced to vacate the camps (EPW, 27 October 2007, p.10; AI, 8 March 2007, pp.9–11; MCRG, October 2005, p.66).

Religious groups and civil society organisations attempted to fill the gaps by building houses and offering livelihoods assistance to the displaced. Such “relief colonies”, where IDPs were living in one-room tenements, were built for displaced families on Muslim-owned land all over the state. Tenements had no windows and heated up quickly in the summer. IDPs were constantly threatened by evictions, as their dwellings had been constructed on land that the government had declared agricultural land. The residents themselves had neither land nor property titles (Crisis States Research Centre, March 2010, pp.8–9; CJP, 19 July 2010, p.16). In November 2009, one of the relief colonies, the Siyasat Nagar Colony in Ahmedabad, was reportedly demolished by the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation without prior notice to the residents (TwoCircles.net, 29 November 2009).

According to an NGO report, those whose house had been destroyed in the violence received only Rs. 15,000 (\$32) on average in compensation, and some had received significantly less, while the construction of a house costs about Rs. 100,000 (\$2,100) in rural and Rs. 200,000–300,000 (\$4,300–6,400) in urban areas (CJP, 19 July 2010, p.17).

Property, livelihoods, education and other economic, social and cultural rights

Livelihoods and education

Relief colonies were not connected to the city centres, as there were no paved roads and no transportation facilities, meaning that IDPs had little access to livelihoods, schools and health services. The IDPs and the religious organisations providing the bulk of the aid to them had different priorities, with the latter preferring the construction of mosques to health clinics and

madrasas or Islamic religious schools to secular schools (Crisis States Research Centre, March 2010, pp.8, 12; CJP, 19 July 2010, p.16).

Some displaced children had dropped out of school as their families could not afford the transport to the nearest schools. Many of these children worked as labourers. Many families in the relief colonies preferred not to send their daughters to schools outside the neighbourhood because during the 2002 violence Muslim girls were sexually abused. Consequently, a generation of children of Muslim families are growing up less educated than their parents (Crisis States Research Centre, March 2010, p.9).

A committee appointed by the Supreme Court reported in June 2007 that the economic conditions of the IDPs were dire, with their means of livelihood having ended since the 2002 riots and their former clients unwilling to use their services (Infochange News and Features, July 2008). Many IDPs were not able to find work in their vocations during displacement and worked as vendors, rickshaw pullers or domestic help (Crisis States Research Centre, March 2010, p.10).

Durable solutions (return, local integration, settlement elsewhere in the country)

Durable solutions

IDPs displaced by Hindu-Muslim violence in 2002 who were living in relief colonies had not reached durable solutions, as they had little or no access to livelihoods, education and health services. Their relief colonies were located too far away from the city centres where such services are concentrated. They had to live in one-room tenements without windows, were constantly at risk of eviction and had to put up with poor sanitation facilities (Crisis States Research Centre, March 2010). It is not known whether those displaced in 2002 who were not staying in relief colonies had reached durable solutions.

Eight years after the violence, most perpetrators have not been brought to justice, and some remain in positions of power in Gujarat, which maintains IDPs' insecurity and prevents them from reaching durable solutions. In January 2009, the UN Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief stated that on the state level,

“A large number of criminal cases relating to the communal violence in 2002 remain un-investigated or have been closed by the Gujarat police and the plight of those internally displaced from their home continues” (Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief, 26 January 2009, p.14).

Criminal investigations by the Supreme Court of India against the perpetrators of the violence had been ongoing since 2009, but had not been concluded as of mid-2010 (CJP, 19 July 2010, p.2).

ORISSA

Physical security and integrity

Physical security and integrity

Following Hindu-Christian violence in Orissa state in 2007 and 2008, security has been an issue for IDPs as well as returnees. IDP camps were under threat of attack. For example, three crude bombs exploded in Udayagiri camp on 28 August 2008 (SACW, 25 September 2008). In September 2008, Hindu extremists burned houses of Christians in retaliation for Christians' refusal to 'reconvert' to Hinduism. This included the houses of Christians in relief shelters (Indian Express, 4 October 2008). As of late 2009, after the government-run camps had been closed, IDPs staying in makeshift shelters and unofficial camps in Kandhamal district were vulnerable to threats from villagers living nearby (CSW, May 2010, p.20). Those who had returned to their villages were not safe either (Tehelka, 18 April 2009), and some had not been able to return to their villages for fear of being attacked anew, as Hindu extremists had repeated their stance that conversion to Hinduism was a precondition for safe return (Guardian (UK), 23 November 2009).

Basic necessities of life

Food and water, shelter and housing

Not all people displaced in 2007 and 2008 staying in camps received relief cards, which was a precondition for receiving basic supplies, including food rations, and there was a general lack of food and drinking water. Food rations consisted of rice and *dal*, which was sometimes rotten. In one camp, food rations were no longer distributed as of 11 October 2008 (HRLN, 17 December 2008, pp.11, 22; PUCL and KSG, April 2009, p.10).

Because of curfews set up due to the violence, farmers were no longer able to sell their products. Their products therefore perished, which created a significant humanitarian crisis (PUCL and KSG, April 2009, p.12). IDPs who tried to find work in order to be able to buy food often did not succeed due to discrimination by the communities near their shelters (Guardian (UK), 23 November 2009). After official camps had been closed since early 2009, IDPs living in makeshift shelters and unofficial camps in Kandhamal district did not receive food assistance (CSW, May 2010, p.20).

IDPs returning to their villages received Rs. 10,000 (\$213), 40 kg of rice, sugar and other food items from the government (Tehelka, 18 April 2009). They often used the financial compensation that was intended for the rebuilding of their houses to procure food and other basic necessities. This made them ineligible to receive the second instalment of financial housing assistance, which was only given provided there was evidence that the houses were being rebuilt (CSW, May 2010, p.20).

Official relief camps for people displaced by Hindu-Christian violence in 2007 and 2008 were set up in schools and in the open fields and consisted of tents. There was a lack of shelter, and in at

least one camp, twelve to 20 people were sharing one tent (HRLN, 17 Decembre 2008, pp.11, 17; PUCL and KSG, April 2009, p.10).

Health, nutrition and sanitation

People displaced by communal violence in Orissa in 2007 and 2008 living in displacement did not have access to free hospital treatment, nor were they provided with free medicine (HRLN, 17 December 2008, p.18). Since they were unable to find work due to discrimination by the communities near their shelters, they were not able to buy medicine for lack of income (Guardian (UK), 23 November 2009). Several families had to share one mosquito net, and there were outbreaks of malaria. Diarrhoea, measles, chicken pox, flu and thyroid diseases were also common (HRLN, 17 December 2008, p.18).

Sanitation facilities were limited or not available at all, and children defecated in the open. Gastroenteritis and fever were common. In some camps, 3,500 people had to share five to ten latrines, which were poorly maintained and closed at night (HRLN, 17 December 2008, pp.17–18; PUCL and KSG, April 2009, p.10).

As of late 2009, IDPs staying in makeshift shelters and unofficial camps in Kandhamal district were not provided with healthcare (CSW, May 2010, p.20).

Property, livelihoods, education and other economic, social and cultural rights

Livelihoods and education

People affected by communal violence in Orissa in 2007 and 2008 had limited livelihood opportunities. Daily labourers' mobility was restricted, and farmers were not able to sell their products because of curfews (PUCL and KSG, April 2009, p.12). IDPs living in camps did not find work because they were being discriminated against by the communities near their shelters (Guardian (UK), 23 November 2009).

As of December 2008, children displaced by Hindu-Christian violence in 2007 and 2008 had missed school for up to one year, and children living in camps received only minimal schooling, which could not substitute for the schooling missed (HRLN, 17 December 2008, pp.20–21).

65 Christian institutions, including schools, were destroyed by the violence (ACT, 10 February 2009, p. 4). 21 schools in Kandhamal district served as relief camps for IDPs or as bases for the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), which interrupted children's schooling (NCPCR, January 2009, p.9).

Protection of special categories of IDPs (age, gender, diversity, minorities)

Gender

Among the IDPs staying in camps, pregnant women suffered particularly since they had to sleep on the ground, lacked nutritious food and had only limited access to health services. Because they were traumatised by the violence, several delivered miscarriages. An Auxiliary Nurse-Midwife (ANM) and several health workers catered to the needs of pregnant and lactating mothers and their children in every camp, but no female doctor visited the camps. Not all had received National Rural Health Initiative (NRHI) cards, a precondition for receiving food supplements and ante- and post-natal care, nor delivery report cards. They did not receive fruit, vegetables or milk and had to live on rice and dal only. Women in general did not receive sanitary napkins (HRLN, 17 December 2008, p.17; IANS, 25 October 2008; PUCL and KSG, April 2009, pp.10–11).

Durable solutions (return, local integration, settlement elsewhere in the country)

Durable solutions

After the 2008 violence, many Christian families who left the camps did not return to their areas of origin but to safer places, including cities such as Bhubaneswar and Cuttack (NYT, 13 October 2008; PUCL and KSG, April 2009, p.12) because many perpetrators of the violence were still at large in their villages as they had not been brought to justice (HRLN, 17 December 2008, p.12). It is not known whether these IDPs have been able to find durable solutions.

Those who wanted to return in order to regain their property and tend to their crops were reportedly pressured into converting to Hinduism by extremist Hindu groups (The Hindu, 1 October 2008; Hindustan Times, 10 October 2008; NYT, 13 October 2008). Additional conditions for return included withdrawing criminal complaints against perpetrators of the violence, agreeing to having no access to water from the village well nor to the forest, as well as “proving” one’s conversion to Hinduism by destroying Christians’ possessions (HRLN, 17 December 2008, p.14; Tehelka, 18 April 2009). Some who did convert to Hinduism upon return were nevertheless attacked and killed, and some who had returned went back to the camps for security reasons (Frontline, 25 October 2008; HRLN, 17 December 2008, p.22). Some who had returned to their villages were faced with a social and economic boycott: They were not given access to government shops selling subsidised products nor to schools and in some cases had to ask permission from local authorities to harvest their own crops (HRLN, 17 December 2008, p. 23).

Officials also reportedly forced IDPs to leave the camps and return to their villages, providing them with Rs. 10,000 (\$213), 50kg of rice as well as polythene sheets, which was clearly insufficient in terms of compensation for material loss. In addition, no security was provided to the returnees (HRLN, 17 December 2008, p.16; The Telegraph (India), 12 January 2009).

In the run-up to the national (Lok Sabha) and state assembly elections on 16 and 23 April 2009, the Kandhamal district authorities started closing the official relief camps. As of March 2009, only just above 3,000 people were still staying in official camps, and the last camp was closed on 25 August 2009, in spite of the fact that conditions for sustainable return were not in place. Insecurity prevailed in IDPs’ villages of origin, and many perpetrators of the violence had not been brought to justice, with IDPs regarding justice as a precondition for safe return (CJP, 25 March 2009; Kandhamal District Administration, 10 March 2010, p.1; Tehelka, 27 March 2010 and 18 April 2009; CSW, May 2010, p.22).

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE

National response

National response: General

The Indian government has no national policy, legislation or other mechanisms to respond to internal displacement caused by armed conflict and ethnic or communal violence, even though there are IDP populations in several regions of the country. The Government of India's proposed Communal Violence (Prevention, Control and Rehabilitation of Victims) Bill, 2009 includes a reference to those displaced by communal violence. However, it is not in line with the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, notably concerning displaced children's right to education and durable solutions (CSW, May 2010, p.18).

The responsibility for assisting and protecting the displaced has frequently been delegated to state governments and district authorities. The lack of a national policy has allowed representatives of certain states to claim that they are powerless to make decisions to protect and assist displaced people. While there is certainly a need for a national policy, its absence does not absolve state governments from their responsibilities towards IDPs (HRW, 14 July 2008, p.69).

The National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) has intervened in conflict-related displacement issues related to Gujarat and Jammu and Kashmir. It has recommended that in order to protect the basic human rights of displaced people, human rights guarantees for the IDPs in India should be incorporated in appropriate legislation (NHRC, 24 March 2008).

The National Commission for Protection of Children's Rights (NCPCR) has made visits to IDP camps and has been advocating towards district and state authorities on behalf of internally displaced children and IDPs in general. It focused on Mizoram-Tripura in 2008 (AITPN, September 2008), Chhattisgarh in 2008 and 2009 (NCPCR, August 2008 and 27 January 2009), Andhra Pradesh in 2009 and 2010 (NCPCR, 24 July 2009; The Hindu, 18 December 2009; NCPCR, 3 March 2010) and Orissa in 2009 (NCPCR, January 2009, p.9).

In August 2010, the Government of India announced that it would re-introduce the Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill and the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Bill, which both focus on involuntary displacement due to development projects. The two Bills had been introduced in 2007 and passed by the Lok Sabha (the lower house of the Indian parliament) in February 2009, but had not been introduced in the Rajya Sabha (the upper house) (Indian Express, 18 August 2010; The Hindu, 12 May 2010). The Bills recognise that development activities may lead to involuntary displacement, but have been criticised for the fact that they would create a framework in which the response to displacement remains at the discretion of the government, denying IDPs the chance to have their rights enforced (India Today, 24 July 2009; India Together, 4 January 2008).

Jammu and Kashmir

Displaced Kashmiri Pandits

While the assistance provided by the Government of India and State governments to displaced Kashmiri Pandits is insufficient, it is more comprehensive than that provided to other IDPs

displaced by conflict, communal violence or human rights violations in India. Nevertheless, the Government of India considers Kashmiri Pandit IDPs as “migrants” (implying that they left voluntarily) and not as “internally displaced people” (which would imply that they were forced to flee). In June 2010, Kashmiri Pandit IDPs living in Delhi held protests, demanding that the Government of India recognise their status as IDPs. In Jammu, the Jammu and Kashmir Vichar Manch (JKVM) asked the Government of India to include displaced Kashmiri Pandits in the planning and implementation of the return process and not to ignore the issue of security (ACHR, 21 January 2010, p.45; IANS, 20 June 2010; Early Times, 6 June 2010).

In Jammu and Kashmir, an apex-level committee chaired by the Jammu and Kashmir Revenue, Relief and Rehabilitation Minister has looked into the situation of Kashmiri Pandit IDPs. In Delhi, a committee that includes representatives of the Kashmiri Samiti Delhi (KSD), the central agency representing Kashmiri Pandits in Delhi, is responsible for dealing with displaced Kashmiri Pandits’ issues. The Government of India set up a standing committee under the Ministry of Home Affairs, which reviews the situation of displaced Kashmiri Pandits on a quarterly basis (ACHR, 21 January 2010, p.47).

In 1997, the Jammu and Kashmir state government enacted two laws to protect the properties that Kashmiri Pandit IDPs left behind in the Kashmir Valley and to limit distress sales: the J&K Migrants Immovable Property (Preservation, Protection and Restraint of Distress Sales) Act and the J&K Migrants (Stay of Proceedings) Act. Nevertheless, distress sales by displaced Kashmiri Pandits of their properties, often at low prices, have continued (ACHR, 21 January 2010, p.46; ACCORD, January 2010, p.34).

The Government of Jammu and Kashmir, the Government of the National Capital Territory of Delhi and the governments of other States and Union Territories where Kashmiri Pandit IDPs are living have provided the displaced with food rations and cash relief (ACCORD, January 2010, p.37; Gol-MHA, 2 March 2010, p.9; The Tribune, 4 April 2010). Construction of more than 5,000 two-room tenements for Kashmiri Pandit IDPs staying in one-room shelters in camps in Jammu is planned to be completed by December 2010 (Gol-MHA, 2 March 2010, p.9; India Today, 5 June 2010).

On 25 April 2008, the Indian Prime Minister announced a package of Rs. 16.18 billion (\$345 million) to provide incentives for Kashmiri Pandit IDPs to return to the Kashmir Valley. The package includes assistance in the areas of housing, cash relief, scholarships for students, and livelihoods, as well as an assistance of Rs. 750,000 (\$16,000) per family to construct or buy a house or apartment (Gol-MHA, 2 March 2010, p.10).

The details of the package are as follows:

(i) Housing

- a. Assistance @ Rs. 7.5 lakh [\$16,000] per family for repair/reconstruction for fully or partially damaged houses.
- b. Assistance @ Rs. 2.00 lakh [\$4,300] per family for dilapidated/unused houses.
- c. Assistance @ Rs. 7.5 lakh [\$16,000] per family for purchase/construction of a house in Group Housing Societies for those who have sold their properties during the period after 1989 and before the enactment of “The J&K Migrant Immovable Property (Preservation, Protection and Restraint of Distress Sale) Act, 1997” on May 30, 1997.

(ii) Transit Accommodation

- The returnee migrant families will be provided transit accommodation during the interim period when they undertake the reconstruction/repair of their houses. For this purpose, construction of transit accommodation at three sites @ Rs. 20 crore [\$4.3 million] for each site, totalling Rs. 60 crore [\$12.8 million] has been approved. Alternatively, Rs. 1 lakh [\$2.1 million] per family towards rental and incidental expenses will be provided to those families who may not be accommodated in transit accommodation.

(iii) Continuation of Cash Relief

- Migrants families at Jammu and Delhi who are recipients of cash relief and free ration would continue to

(iv) Students Scholarships

- Children of migrant families will be provided assistance @ Rs. 750 [\$16] per month per child up to the age of 18 years (extendable up to the age of 21 years in exceptional cases). Assistance for professional studies under the scheme of Rehabilitation Council of J&K will also be provided to the eligible students.

(v) Employment

- It has been decided to provide employment opportunities to 15,000 unemployed migrant youth. Out of which, 6,000 youth will be accommodated in State Government jobs. To assist the State Government in providing such employment opportunities, the Central Government will bear the cost towards salary for 3,000 youth till they are absorbed against regular posts in the State Government, within the specified time-frame.
- Remaining 9,000 unemployed youth would be facilitated to get financial assistance to come up with self-employment/business ventures. For this purpose one-time assistance of Rs. 5 lakh [\$10,700] in each case will be provided out of which 50% will be grant & 50% as loan.

(vi) Assistance to Agriculturists/Horticulturists

- One-time financial assistance of Rs. 1 lakh [\$2,100] would be provided to those having agriculture holdings. Assistance @ Rs. 5,000 [\$107] per kanal [500 m²], subject to maximum of Rs. 1.5 lakh [\$3,200] would be provided for restoration of orchards.

(vii) Waiver of interest on loans

- Waiver of the interest component of the loans taken by Kashmiri Pandits before migration from the Valley.

An amount of Rs. 8.35 crore [\$1.8 million] has been released to the State Government as first instalment for implementation of the package during the financial year 2008-09.

Source: Gol-MHA, 1 June 2009, p.167

Assam and Manipur (North-East India)

Assam

The state government of Assam has provided different groups of IDPs with different levels of assistance, allegedly along ethnic lines. For example, it has provided people displaced from “revenue villages” (where inhabitants have land and property titles) with grants in the amount of Rs. 10,000 (\$213). People displaced from non-surveyed areas, on the other hand, did not receive grants at all. The latter are often regarded as “encroachers” by other communities, and many have been subject to discrimination and violence-induced displacement. Others received grants of only Rs. 1,500 (\$32) (The Telegraph (India), 10 August 2009).

In February 2009, the Society for the Rehabilitation of Violence-Affected Families living in relief camps in Kokrajhar and Bongaigaon districts, which had been founded by the state government of Assam, was planning to purchase land for 12,000 families displaced by Bodo-Muslim violence in 1993 and by Bodo-Santhal violence in 1996 and 1998 displaced families. In December 2009, the state government of Assam announced that these families would each receive an assistance package comprising a grant of Rs. 50,000 (\$1,000) and a house (The Hindu, 8 February 2009; The Hindu, 12 December 2009).

In mid-2009, the state government of Assam was planning to relocate 10,000 IDPs from 40 villages in then North Cachar Hills (now Dima Hasao) district to 12 “safe clusters”, with six clusters for displaced Dimasas and six for displaced Zeme Nagas (The Telegraph (India), 10 August 2009; Gol, 10 July 2009).

Manipur

As of July 2009, the state government of Manipur had released about Rs. 364,000 (\$7,800) for relief material for about 800 Zeme Nagas who were staying in relief camps in Tousem sub-division in Tamenglong district in Manipur state. They had fled Dimasa-Zeme Naga violence between March and July 2009 in then North Cachar Hills (now Dima Hasao) district in Assam state (Sangai Express, 8 July 2009).

Mizoram-Tripura (North-East India)

Brus displaced from Mizoram in 1997

As of April 2010, the Government of India had agreed to extend its funding to Mizoram state that would be used for return and assistance to the IDPs displaced to Tripura in 1997, including a cash grant of Rs. 41,500 (\$885) and housing assistance in the amount of Rs. 38,500 (\$821) for each family, free food rations during one year beginning after return, as well as transportation costs during the return process (GoI-MHA, 20 April 2010).

Brus displaced from Mizoram in 2009

On 18 November 2009, the Mizoram state government announced that every family who had been displaced due to Mizo-Bru violence since 13 November would receive Rs. 10,000 (\$213) in compensation, in addition to Rs. 3,000 (\$64) upon return. However, no measures to provide security to the returning IDPs were promised (The Telegraph (India), 19 November 2009; The Telegraph (India), 21 November 2009).

As of April 2010, the Mizoram state government had applied to the Government of India for funding in the amount of Rs. 23.4 million (\$500,000) in order to finance the return of and assistance to the displaced Brus displaced to Tripura in 2009. This amount was to include, among other things, housing assistance in the amount of Rs. 38,500 (\$821) for each Bru family whose house had been burnt, free rations for these families for nine months, transportation costs for returning IDPs during the return process, preparation of agricultural land for Jhum (slash and burn) cultivation for Bru families who had not fled to Tripura, household kits, as well as sentry posts for State Armed Police and Indian Reserve Battalion (IRB), who were to be deployed in order to provide security during return (GoI-MHA, 20 April 2010).

Central India (Naxalite conflict)

Chhattisgarh

In Dantewada district, authorities did not have a policy for facilitating camp residents' safe return to their villages nor a plan to provide adequately for camp residents in the long term (HRW, 20 July 2008, p.71). By January 2009, they had created a district-level committee on child protection (NCPCR, 27 January 2009, p.5).

Andhra Pradesh

In November 2009, authorities in Khammam district in Andhra Pradesh state began monitoring the needs of children displaced from Chhattisgarh following recommendations by the National Commission on Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR) and in response to an increased influx of IDPs. Their main objective was immunisation of the children (Times of India, 26 November 2009).

Gujarat

Officials of the governing Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) as well as members of the police were allegedly complicit in the 2002 Hindu-Muslim violence that led to large-scale displacement, exploiting existing communal tensions between Muslims and Hindus (HRW, 29 April 2002, p.4; Tehelka, 12 June 2010).

Immediately after displacement, many of the IDPs were forced to take shelter in about 100 makeshift relief camps set up all over the state, with little support from the government (HRW, 29 April 2002, p.52). By the end of October 2002, the government had closed most of the camps, forcing some displaced families back into neighbourhoods where their attackers still lived and where they faced threats to their physical security (HRW, 30 June 2003).

Compensation funds provided to IDPs after the closure of camps were sometimes as low as Rs. 1,200 (\$26) and it was believed that the state government was failing to meet its responsibility to provide assistance to the victims (EPW, 27 October 2007, p.10; AI, 8 March 2007, pp.9–11). While the state government had provided shelter and assistance to people affected by an earthquake in Gujarat in 2001, in this humanitarian crisis no equivalent provisions were offered to those who had been forced to vacate the camps (MCRG, October 2005, p.66).

Only in October 2007 did the Gujarat state government acknowledge that thousands of people displaced by the 2002 violence remained in displacement in relief colonies set up by Muslim organisations and NGOs (Himal South Asian, 2 October 2007). Criminal investigations by the Supreme Court of India against the perpetrators of the violence had been ongoing since 2009, but had not been concluded as of mid-2010 (CJP, 19 July 2010, p.2).

Orissa

While Orissa's government did not do anything to prevent the violence or to protect those affected, some communities showed solidarity with the victims of the violence on the local level. In Malikapodi and Bodukia Panchayats, for example, local leaders prevented Hindu extremists from entering villages and succeeded in protecting Christians and their homes from the violence (PUCL and KSG, April 2009, p.18).

After the December 2007 violence and displacement, the Orissa state government did not take action to bring those responsible to justice and to provide protection to the victims. Judicial procedures that had been initiated were moving forward slowly. The anti-Christian climate prevailed, which facilitated new Hindu-Christian violence and resulting displacement from August to October 2008 (HRLN, 17 December 2008, p.7).

Until 2 September 2008, the Orissa government denied politicians, human rights organisations and humanitarian organisations access to Kandhamal district, while media as well as leaders of the BJP and the Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP), a right-wing Hindu organisation, were allowed in (PUCL and KSG, April 2009, pp.9–10). Security forces did not intervene to protect the victims of the violence, including in cases where they had received explicit demands for protection by representatives of Christians (HRLN, 17 December 2008, p.10).

IDPs in camps had to attend "peace committees", where representatives of local authorities were present and where extremist Hindu leaders reportedly asked displaced Christians to withdraw court accusations, convert to Hinduism and return to their villages in order to restore peace. In some cases, Christian IDPs were not allowed to speak (HRLN, 17 December 2008, p.13).

Following the violence in 2008, the state government set up two fast-track courts, but many of the accused, including extremist Hindu leaders, were acquitted of charges such as murder, rape and the burning of houses (Tehelka, 27 March 2010).

The state government announced that the victims of the violence would receive the following assistance: Rs. 200,000 (\$4,300) for the next of kin of a deceased person, Rs. 20,000 (\$427) for each partially damaged house, Rs. 50,000 (\$1,000) for each fully damaged house, Rs. 15,000–40,000 (\$320–853) for each damaged shop and Rs. 2,000 (\$43) for each bicycle lost. In addition, it announced financial support for the building of churches and prayer houses (PUCL and KSG, April 2009, p.12).

As of March 2010, the Orissa state government explicitly excluded Christian Pana Dalits from the category of Scheduled Tribes (ST) while keeping up their exclusion from the category of Scheduled Castes (SC) because they are not Hindus. This measure perpetuated the divisions that were exploited to fuel the violence in 2007 and 2008, and it further discriminated against Christian Pana Dalits, which bore the brunt of the violence and were forced to flee. A number of relief, assistance and reconciliation measures taken by the Orissa state government and the Kandhamal district authorities post-violence were aimed at the population of Kandhamal district as a whole instead of specifically targeting IDPs (Kandhamal District Administration, 10 March 2010, p.5). It remains unclear whether the latter have access to these measures in practice, given their religious affiliation and the prevailing anti-Christian climate in the district.

International response

International response

International humanitarian agencies have not usually had access to displaced populations in conflict zones of India, and even in some areas where permission has been granted, international staff have been denied entry. In north-east India, for example, international staff who are able to obtain entry may be monitored and have their movements restricted (Reuters AlertNet, 22 October 2008).

The ICRC and a few international NGOs, such as Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) and the Lutheran World Service (LWS), have assisted IDPs in some states. MSF has provided healthcare to IDPs in camps in Chhattisgarh and to those who fled to Andhra Pradesh, and it has run four clinics in violence-affected Manipur (MSF, 27 July 2010, p.46). LWS has worked in Assam, setting up drinking water projects in IDP camps, providing returnees with farming material, and employing violence-affected villagers in road construction (The Telegraph (India), 10 August 2009).

The ICRC, which assisted IDPs in Jammu in 2002, has had other offers to assist IDPs rejected by Indian authorities, as in Gujarat in 2002 (ICRC, 31 December 2002, p.186). The organisation became involved in assisting the IDPs in Assam following the violence between Bodo and Muslim communities in October 2008. In 2009, it provided more than 17,000 of these IDPs with essential household items and implemented water, sanitation and habitat projects for more than 2,000 IDPs (ICRC, 19 May 2010, p.251). The ICRC also carried out humanitarian needs assessments of violence-affected people in Assam and Nagaland as well as in Naxalite conflict areas and increased its support to the Indian Red Cross Society (IRCS) branches there (ICRC, 25 September 2009).

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