Chapter 4

INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS IN INDIA

4.1 Introduction

An internally displaced person (IDP) is someone who is forced to flee their home but who remains within their country’s borders. They are often referred to as refugees, although they do not fall within the current legal definition of a refugee. At the end of 2006 there were about 24.5 million IDP in some 52 countries. The region with the largest IDP population is Africa with some 11.8 million in 21 countries. They are not given as much international attention as refugees, hence the national recognition and redress of their grievance becomes important. Another reason for individual states’ responsibility is pretty obvious: unlike refugees, IDPs remain under the legal protection of their country of habitual residence and hence should enjoy the same rights as the rest of the people. There are mainly three reasons for displacement i.e., conflict-induced, development-induced and natural disaster. In India displacement is caused mainly through the construction of dams and other projects undertaken for economic development. Another reason behind IDP is internal conflict of Jammu Kashmir, Northeastern state, Naxal problem, and thirdly

\footnote{http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Internally\_displaced\_person}
natural disasters such as flood, earthquake are also a contributor.

The nature and dynamics of events leading to internal displacement has been varying from state to state depending upon the composition of the population and the related context of conflict. For instance, Gujarat and Kashmir have seen waves of religious intolerance in the post independence period. The manifestations have included Hindu-Muslim violence, retaliation attack by Muslims, Hindu Nationalist groups’ attack on Christian communities and so on.

The context in north east India shows a different aspect. Once sparsely populated, in recent decades it has swelled with the arrival of millions of ethnic Bengali Hindus and Muslims from Bangladesh and from India’s West Bengal state. Population growth has led to competition for land, jobs; culminating in tensions among ethnic minority groups as well as between migrants and ethnic groups. These tensions gave rise to ethnic and politically based insurgencies that have battled the Indian Armed Forces, have attacked each other and turned on civilian populations belonging to rival ethnic groups. Thousands of people have been displaced due to this violence. The plight of indigenous people vis-à-vis displacement in India is basically a matter of policy failure and unaddressed alienation in the name of national interest.

Tribals /Indigenous people in India constitute approximately seven percent of the population. The major threat to their livelihood is because of large scale alienation of their lands by state machinery for mega projects such as mining, large dams, industries, highways, army firing ranges, military cantonments etc. With the increasing privatization of resources mining has become a double edged sword-lucrative for the government but destructive for the marginalized people of the region. Most minerals like Baux-
ite, Uranium, Chromite and Coal are in tribal areas of Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Maharashtra. Uranium mining in Jharkhand and Meghalaya has not only led to the destruction of vegetation, water resource, fish etc. but has caused serious damage to the health of Tribals. Narmada Valley project is yet another case in point which raises many valid questions on social justice, common property resource management and conditional foreign aid.

These and many more un-highlighted cases bring out the issue of Internal Displacement as a major development concern in India. This concern in turn is related to certain vulnerable communities, whose life and existence are endangered.

4.1.1 Definition of Internally displaced person:

Internally displaced persons are "persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalised violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognised State border." 11 In India there is no set definition of IDP, however National Human Right Commission has tried to recognise IDP’s definition10 but that is not conclusive. But it is clear that there is no fixed definition for the Internally Displaced National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill 2007 define displaced person. Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill, 2007 under section 3(b) provides:

- a family whose primary place of residence or other property or source of livelihood is adversely affected by the acquisition of land for a project or involuntary displacement due to any other reason;
• any tenure holder, tenant, lessee or owner of other prop-
erty, who on account of acquisition of land (including plot
in the abadi or other property) in the affected area or oth-
wise, has been involuntarily displaced from such land or
other property;

• any agricultural or non-agricultural laborer, landless per-
son (not having homestead land, agricultural land, or either
homestead or b agricultural land), rural artisan, small trader
or self-employed person.

4.1.2 Internal Conflict:

From the late 1980s, ethnic conflict and counter-insurgency
operations to oppose movements for greater autonomy or se-
cession generated hundreds of thousands of IDPs in India. The
affected areas have primarily been in the country’s north-eastern
areas of Assam, Tripura, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh and Mi-
zoram, and in the northern state of Jammu and Kashmir. In the
past few years, violence has surged due to Maoist insurgent groups
in the eastern states, especially Chhattisgarh, which has forced
tens of thousands to flee. There are no comprehensive sources of
figures across the country; based on the number of IDPs living
in camp-like settings and those believed to have returned but not
to have found durable solutions, there are at least 500,000 con-
flict induced IDPs in India12. In addition, an unknown number
are dispersed in urban areas or have fled to other states where
they are no longer traceable. This figure includes those people
displaced since 1990 by separatist violence targeting the Hindu
minority in Jammu and Kashmir, and by shelling between Indian
and Pakistani forces along Kashmir’s “line of control”; those dis-
placed in states of the north-east by conflicts ongoing since 1947
between state and ethnic or secessionist groups, and by inter-
ethnic and intra-ethnic violence; victims of the conflict between
Naxalite insurgents and government security forces and armed
vigilantes in Chhattisgarh; State victims of communal violence between the majority Hindu populations in Gujarat and Orissa States and the States’ respective Muslim and Christian minorities; and people displaced in West Bengal by violence related to a proposed development project.\textsuperscript{12}

In 2009, people were newly displaced by armed conflict and violence in the north-east (Manipur, Assam, and Mizoram States) and in Orissa State. India’s IDPs share urgent protection concerns, particularly relating to access to basic necessities of life such as food, clean water, shelter and health care. Physical security remains a concern for some of the newly displaced groups. Those in protracted situations still struggle to access education, housing and livelihoods. The various groups also face unique challenges. Tribal IDPs in camps in Chhattisgarh face the risk of attacks by both government forces and Naxalite insurgents. Muslim IDPs in Gujarat continue to endure very poor living conditions and they are increasingly at risk of losing their original homes and land, which have been taken over by Hindu extremist groups. Christian IDPs in Orissa risk being forced to convert to Hinduism if they return to their homes. Displaced women in Assam and Manipur have increasingly been forced into prostitution in order to support their families in the absence of husbands who have left in search of work. Conflict-induced IDPs enjoy no recognition under India’s national laws.\textsuperscript{12}

The responsibility to protect them is generally left to state authorities, who are often unaware of their rights or reluctant to offer support, particularly in cases where they played a role in causing the displacement. Where IDPs have no recognised status, they have had difficulties asserting their civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights; for example, after living in displacement

\textsuperscript{12}India: large numbers of IDPs are unassisted and in need of protection, 3 May 2007 by internally displacement monitoring center
for more than 15 years, displaced Kashmiri Pandit families risk losing their cultural identity, while the government refers to them as migrants”.

Prospects for durable solutions for the various displaced groups have been limited by barriers to their return home. In the absence of a national IDP policy, local integration or settlement elsewhere in the country have not been supported, with governments of receiving states generally unwilling to have IDPs settle there permanently. For example, officials in Andhra Pradesh have forced IDPs to return to Chhattisgarh State, and the Tripura State government continues to promote the return.12

4.2 India: large numbers of IDPs are unassisted and in need of protection

Civilians have fled fighting and have sometimes been directly targeted by militant groups in Kashmir, the North-East and in several states of eastern and central India. Insurgency and retaliatory operations by security forces are the major immediate cause of conflict-related displacement in India. A majority of the internally displaced people (IDPs) have not been able to return for several years, due to either protracted conflicts or unresolved disputes over land and property. One example is India’s largest group of internally displaced, the Kashmiri Pandits who have been fleeing the Kashmir Valley since 1989 due to persecution, killings and massacres. Thousands more have languished in relief camps in Assam since the early 1990s, while more than 5,000 families remain displaced after the communal violence that erupted in Gujarat in 2002. During 2006, displacement has been on the rise in Chhattisgarh state, where more than 45,000 people are currently in relief camps and many thousands are thought to have fled to neighbouring states. Ongoing conflict between eth-
nic armed groups and anti-insurgent operations by the national army in the states of Assam and Manipur have also displaced thousands.\textsuperscript{12}

According to reports gathered by IDMC, the number of displaced in India is exceeding 600,000, but as there is no nation-wide reporting on the issue of internal displacement, the number could be much higher. The government’s response to people fleeing conflict is often adhoc and largely insufficient, and the displaced are therefore often left in an extremely vulnerable situation. A first step to improve assistance to IDPs would be to conduct surveys in conflict-affected areas in order to document the magnitude of the problem and to develop a policy for a consistent nation-wide approach for assistance and protection of internally displaced populations.\textsuperscript{12}

4.3 Many IDPs are uncounted

From the late 1980s, ethnic conflict and counter-insurgency operations to oppose movements for greater autonomy or secession generated hundreds of thousands of IDPs in India. The affected areas have primarily been in the country’s north-eastern areas of Assam, Tripura, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram, and in the northern state of Jammu and Kashmir. In the past few years, violence has surged due to Maoist insurgent groups in the eastern states, especially Chhattisgarh, which has forced tens of thousands to flee.

The most common figure for the total number of internally displaced in India is 600,000. This figure comprises:\textsuperscript{12}

- at least 250,000 people displaced from Kashmir (government figure)
- 45,000 people who are still displaced along the Indian side of
Figure 4.1: Internal displacement in India
the Line of Control between India and Pakistan and cannot return despite the ceasefire

- 230,000 displaced in Assam due to the conflict between Santhals and Bodos during the 1990s
- 31,000 Reang displaced from Mizoram to Tripura
- 45,000 displaced in the state of Chhattisgarh due to insurgency

These groups reside in camps and are therefore relatively easy to identify, but they constitute only part of the picture. The number of 600,000 does not include thousands of displaced in the KarbiAnglong area of Assam and in Manipur where fighting between ethnic groups and counter-insurgency operations have displaced whole villages during the past few years. Many are displaced temporarily and are able to return after some weeks or months in displacement while an undetermined number are still displaced and receive no assistance. In Tripura, as many as 100,000-300,000 people of Bengali origin are estimated to have been displaced for the same reasons during the past decade, but no information exists about the return or continued displacement of this group (AHRC, January 2007, “Tripura”). In the state of Chhattisgarh, it is assumed that thousands have escaped the conflict between the authorities and Maoist groups by crossing over to neighbouring states, and they too are not part of the statistics. Nor does the figure take in the flight of migrant workers, as for example in Assam in January 2007 when Biharis were forced to leave in a matter of days due to threats and killings by local insurgents. The current estimate should therefore be seen as representing the camp population only and not those internally displaced who largely live unassisted with friends or relatives, or blend with other slum residents on the outskirts of the urban areas.
It is therefore fair to assume that the total number of displaced is far higher than the figure of 600,000, although it is not possible to give a global estimate.\textsuperscript{12}

4.4 Jammu and Kashmir: thousands await return

India’s largest situation of internal displacement stems from the conflict in the north-western state of Jammu and Kashmir between militants seeking either independence or accession to Pakistan, and Indian security forces and police. The status of Kashmir has been in dispute since the division of British India in 1947 into Muslim Pakistan and Hindu-majority India; the two countries have twice gone to war over Kashmir and the territory remains divided between them. Although security has improved with the ceasefire concluded in November 2003, militant Islamist groups have continued to launch attacks against local authorities and civilians to sabotage the peace process. Since 1989, the insurgency in Indian-administered Kashmir has claimed at least 67,000 lives while some 10,000 people are missing (Swisspeace, March 2007; COE-DMHA, 30 June 2006).\textsuperscript{12}

More than 90 per cent of the Hindu population in the Kashmir Valley, the Kashmiri Pandits, remain internally displaced as a result of this armed conflict. Estimates of the number of displaced vary. The government estimates that 250,000 fled the Valley during the 1990s, while Pandit groups believe at least 350,000 people were displaced. Today, Human Rights Watch says well over 300,000 Kashmiri Hindus remain displaced. Around 100,000 live in the capital New Delhi and up to 240,000 in the city of Jammu (HRW, 12 September 2006, p. 39; ORF 2003).\textsuperscript{12}

An ambitious return plan including cash assistance, interest-free
loans and the building of apartments in the Anantnag district where some of the displaced Pandits would be able to stay until they have repaired their own houses, has still not been implemented. Protection of the remaining Pandit population has been far from adequate and there was further dis-placement during 2003 and 2004 when 160 of the estimated 700 Pandit families remaining in the Kashmir Valley fled an upsurge of violence and killings (HRW, 12 September, p. 121). Militants continue to reject any discussion of a return and one group stated publicly in July 2005: “We impose a ban on the return of Kashmiri Pandit migrants to the Valley” (HRW, 12 September 2006, p. 121). Despite threats from separatist militant groups, the state government of Jammu and Kashmir insists that it intends to ensure the return of the Kashmiri Pandits.

Another long-lasting situation of internal displacement exists along the Line of Control separating Indian- and Pakistani-controlled Kashmir. Since the end of the 1990s, clashes between Indian and Pakistani forces and attacks by separatist militant groups have led to several waves of displacement from villages along the Line of Control. The ceasefire has substantially improved the security situation and many have been able to return to their homes. However, reports from the Akhnoor and Poonch districts of Jammu reveal that thousands are still displaced. Among the returnees, many had felt pressured by the authorities to leave the relief camps as water, electricity and different relief measures had been cut without the consent of the camp population and schools had been retransferred to their home villages. Despite the severe cut in services, many people remain in the camps because they no longer have access to their fields due to the fencing along the Line of Control or the fact that their fields have still not been demined as promised and they therefore have no way to earn a livelihood in their home villages. Both returnees and camp residents depend on relief from the government which they
say is largely inadequate, and ad hoc (MCRG, December 2006, pp. 10-12, Shekhawat/Mahapatra, June 2006, pp.4-5).

4.5 The North-East: displacement in Assam, Manipur and Tripura

The eight states in the geographically isolated North-East are home to more than 200 of the 430 tribal groups in India. Between 30 and 40 armed groups are currently active in the region. An influx of migrants from the neighbouring countries of Bangladesh, Nepal and Burma (Myanmar) has caused a massive population increase and subsequent competition for resources and jobs (Nath, January 2005). This has also spurred ethnic conflicts over land and fighting for political autonomy or secession.

Over recent decades, violence has broken out in the states of Assam, Manipur, Nagaland, Tripura and Arunachal Pradesh, involving different ethnic groups and communities (Bodos, Nagas, Kukis, Kar-bis, Dimasas, Paites, Hmars, Khasis, Mizos, Reangs, Bengalis, Chakmas and Bihari among others). The largest forced displacement movements have occurred in the states of Assam, Manipur and Tripura.

Although conflicts regularly displace people in the North-East, no official estimate of the numbers exists. Most information is found in local newspapers, while objective research in terms of assessing the magnitude of conflict-induced displacement in the region has yet to be carried out by either government or non-governmental agencies (IPCS, Routray, 17 January 2004).

In Assam, ethnic clashes over territorial issues, insurgency against the Indian government for separate homelands and communal violence among the Assamese against "foreigners", mostly immi-
grants from Bangladesh, have led to widespread displacement. The approach of the government which has focused on a strong military response to quell the insurgent movements has been largely unsuccessful (Barbora, 3 February 2007). At least 10,000 people in Assam, most of them civilians, have died over the last three decades in fighting between government forces and separatists.\(^\text{12}\)

The largest displacement situation in the state stems from the fighting between Bodos and Santhals which erupted in the early 1990s and displaced an estimated 250,000 persons. As of August 2004, more than 230,000 people were still staying in relief camps in three districts of Western Assam (MCRG, December 2006, p.84). Their situation is desperate, as they have to survive without any help from local, national or international organisations (MCRG, December 2006, p.10).

The Karbi Anglong and North Cachar Hills districts of Assam have been the main scenes of ethnic violence in recent years. Thousands of civilians have been displaced, mainly due to fighting between Karbi, Kuki, Khasi, Hmar and Dimasa armed groups. In 2003, 75,000 people were displaced by conflicts between armed outfits from the Hmar and Dimasa, the Karbi and Kuki, and the Karbi and Khasi populations. In October 2005, clashes between Karbi and Dimasa armed groups, which continued until the end of the year, displaced 75,000 people according to local NGOs. The displaced took shelter mainly in public buildings in safer areas (COE-DMHA, 28 December 2005; MSF, January 2006). They have since left these buildings, but they have received no compensation and many have not been able to go back to their villages.

The Indian government has come to an agreement with several major rebel groups active in Assam such as the Bodo-land Lib-
eration Tigers and the National Democratic Front of Bodoland. The creation of an Autonomous Territorial Council for the Bodos, for example, led to a major improvement of the security situation in western Assam, although problems start to re-emerge as some non-Bodo groups request more influence. At the same time, other long-lasting conflicts have re-emerged and threaten to destabilize the state further. The outlawed United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) is again in open conflict with the government after the authorities in September 2006 called off peace talks and a six-week temporary truce, and resumed military offensives against the rebels.

Major waves of displacement have also occurred due to violence against seasonal workers, mainly from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. In January 2007, a large number of Hindi-speaking migrant workers fled Assam following murderous attacks by the ULFA. The group ordered all Hindi-speaking migrants in Assam to leave the state, threatening more killings if they failed to comply (BBC, 9 January 2007). Displacement has also been reported among Muslims of Bengali origin who are accused of being illegal migrants from Bangladesh (BBC, 9 December 2005).12

The state of Manipur is one of the most violent in India (SAIR, May 2006). Counter-insurgency operations by the Indian army against local militia groups hiding along the border with Burma (Myanmar), as well as fighting between armed outfits belonging to the Meiteis (the United Liberation Front – UNLF) and other ethnic armed groups have displaced an unknown number of people in the state. The latest major episode of displacement was reported during November and December 2006, when more than 2,000 Kukis from 25 villages were reported fleeing their homes in the Chandel district of south-east Manipur. The cause of displacement was a massive offensive launched by the Indian army to flush out UNLF militants who had set up camps nearby. The
Kukis are still reported to be living in camp-like conditions and receiving assistance from local community-based organizations. One problem hindering return is reportedly a massive planting of landmines in their home areas by the UNLF. In a serious incident, more than 400 displaced people were captured and abducted across the border to Burma by UNLF militants, but they have reportedly been taken back again (SIPHRO, email, April 2007).\textsuperscript{12}

Another major conflict in the North-East has been the Naga people’s 50-year-long struggle for a homeland. More than 20,000 people died in the Naga insurgency until a ceasefire in 1997. This conflict has led to massive displacement of the civilian population, but no estimate exists of how many have been forced to flee over the years. The National Socialist Council of Nagaland is the most powerful rebel group in the region and has for years been engaged in negotiations with the Indian government.\textsuperscript{12}

Little progress has been made on the group’s key demands for the right to self-rule and the creation of a new state containing all Naga-dominated areas, but another round began in December 2006. The presence of important oil reserves thought to lie underneath Nagaland is also a factor in the conflict (Reuters Alertnet, April 2007).\textsuperscript{12}

Indian and Burmese security forces have launched several campaigns against Naga militant camps on both sides of the border. There have been some reports of small-scale displacement of civilians fleeing the security operation, but no figure is available.\textsuperscript{12}

In northern Tripura, it is estimated that more than 100,000 people are internally displaced due to ethnic fighting and attacks by insurgent groups. The main pattern of displacement is attacks on villages inhabited by people of Bengali origin. Considered foreigners by the local tribal population, they have increasingly
be-come the target of local armed groups (Deccan Herald, 22 May 2005; 20 March 2004; Rediff.Com, 21 May 2003). Some 35,000 Bru (also called Reang) from Mizoram also remain displaced in Tripura. They fled Mizoram in 1997 after the Bru National Liberation Front (BNLF) began campaigning for Bru autonomy, which led to ethnic tension with the Mizo population. Despite recommendations from the National Human Rights Commission, the state government of Mizoram has refused to take back the displaced because they maintain that only half of them are citizens of the state. Although a memorandum of understanding was signed between the main Bru rebel group and the Mizoram government in April 2005 and the Indian government has endorsed a rehabilitation package for Bru IDPs, repatriation has yet to begin. The Mizoram government has only agreed to permit the return of some 270 people, consisting of former militant cad-res and their families, while no timetable has been given for the repatriation of the large majority of the displaced. In the meantime, the Bru IDPs live in grim conditions in the camps where they face severe food shortages as well as a lack of medical and educational facilities (ACHR, January 2007, p. 136).

Another situation of displacement in Tripura has developed due to the building of a fence along the border with Bangladesh. Indian authorities are constructing a barbed-wire fence along “sensitive” stretches of the border to increase control over immigration, movement of militants and infiltration from across the border. As of March 2007, 9,000 families in Tripura are reported to need rehabilitation which the Indian government has so far rejected, saying it is up to the state government to provide assistance to the displaced (IndoAsian News Service, 12 March 2007). There has been anecdotal information about people fleeing security operations launched by Indian border forces against insurgent groups believed to be hiding on the Bangladeshi side of the border. This has in some cases also led to skirmishes be-
between Indian and Bangladeshi border guards (The Telegraph, 27 February 2005; Kumar, 8 April 2005).

Nepalis living in north-eastern India are also a particularly vulnerable group in the North-East and have been targeted and displaced in Assam, Manipur and Meghalaya. It is unknown how many remain displaced today. Many have fled to Nepal (Haldar, 1 March 2007; Nath, January 2005).\textsuperscript{12}

4.6 “Naxalite” violence causes displacement in central India

In central India, displacement is on the increase due to clashes between Maoist insurgents, commonly referred to as Naxalites, Indian security forces and government-supported militias, also known as Salwa Judum. Such clashes have been occurring for more than 25 years, but they have increased in intensity during the past few years, especially in the state of Chhattisgarh. Other states where insurgent groups operate include Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Bihar, Jharkhand, Orissa, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. The conflict has brought a wave of killings, human rights abuses and widespread violations against women in the affected areas.

Discrimination against the tribal population (the Adivasis), displacement by large development projects and government failure to ensure food security have been the main reasons for the rapid spread of the Naxalite movement, according to an independent study released in June 2005 (referred to in SAAG, 13 June, 2005). The government’s response to the insurgency has also been widely criticized as being adhoc and piecemeal (SAAG, 13 June 2005). In addition to federal police and paramilitary troops, some states are also believed to use private armies in their hunt for insurgent
groups and sympathizers. In Jharkhand state, for example, it is known that the state government has sponsored village “defense” groups for this purpose (Stratfor, 16 January 2006).  

The Dantewada district in south Chhattisgarh state is the hardest hit by displacement. As of February 2007, more than 45,000 civilians – the majority from Salwa Judum-friendly villages and therefore attacked or threatened by Maoist groups – were in relief camps in this area. There is no estimate of the number of people who have fled to neighboring states like Andhra Pradesh and Orissa or to areas controlled by Maoist movements. One source says that 100,000 people have been displaced altogether (MI, 23 January 2007). Thousands more are threatened with displacement as they have lost their livelihoods and have little access to their land, food, essential health care, or emergency medical services. While the conflict got international attention in March 2007, when more than 50 policemen were killed in a large-scale Maoist attack on a remote security post in the Dantewada district, the NGO Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) has labelled the situation one of the world’s most underreported humanitarian crises. MSF is the only international organization that provides reports from the area as it assists displaced in camps and also provides mobile health services and nutritional support in remote rural areas (AHRC, 10 January 2007, June 2006, p.8, DWB, 9 January 2007; COE-DMHA, 15 March 2007; The Economist, 17 August 2006).

The security situation in the camps for Salwa Judum supporters is alarming. In one reported incident, at least 26 people were killed and 100 kidnapped when Maoists attacked a relief camp in the Arabore village in the Dantewada district (COE-DMHA, 17 July 2006).

Forced recruitment of children has also been reported. One report
states that the temporary relief camps have been turned into centres for military training and anti-Maoist indoctrination education. Several reports say that both parties recruit minors for participation in the hostilities and that the children in relief camps are actively participating in Salwa Judum civil defense groups (AHRC, 17 March, p.4; All India Women, September 2006).\textsuperscript{12}

\section*{4.7 Internal displacement in Gujarat}

More than 2,000 people were killed and as many as 100,000 Indian Muslims were forced from their homes in a major outbreak of communal violence in Gujarat in February 2002. The state’s Muslim population was targeted in retaliation for an attack by a Muslim mob on a train carrying Hindu militants returning from the destruction of a celebrated mosque at Ayodhya. Women and girls were particularly targeted in the reprisal attacks; hundreds were raped, maimed and killed during the riots. The state government organised relief camps, where the internally displaced reportedly lacked the most basic necessities such as food, medical supplies and sanitation (HRW, April 2002). Despite strong international concern, the Indian government refused to solicit or accept international assistance. By October 2002, virtually all the camps had been closed, forcing many to return to their neighborhoods where their security was continually threatened. In rural areas, incidents of killing and looting continued until April 2003. Many were forced to flee to relief camps again, where they remained generally unassisted (AI January 2005, 7.6.a).\textsuperscript{13}

Both the state authorities and officials of the formerly governing Bharatiya Janata Party have been accused of planning and instigating the violence against the Muslim population. Furthermore,
the failure of the police to intervene and stop the violence is believed to have been decreed at the highest level (AI, January 2005, 7.5.b). Reports by Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International conclude that both the Indian government and the state government of Gujarat have failed to provide sufficient protection, assistance and compensation to the displaced. Since the riots, there have been several clashes between Hindus and Muslims, but rarely lasting more than two days. The state government is still being accused of complicity in the ongoing violence against the Muslim community in Gujarat (AI, 8 March 2007; Communalism Combat, June 2005; p.51; AI, January 2005, 7.6.c).  

The latest available information says that more than 5,000 families remain displaced in camps in Ahmedabad and Sabarkantha districts of Gujarat. However, the total figure is thought to be much higher. Many displaced are not counted because they have blended into the slums surrounding the major towns. The National Commission for Minorities recommended after a visit to the Gujarat camps that those displaced by the riots should receive compensation and rehabilitation. The government has now officially agreed to provide a relief package to the victims, which has been acknowledge by several organizations as an important step in the right direction, but the package regrettably does not include relief, rehabilitation and reparation for the internally displaced (The Hindu, 25 March 2007; AVHRS, 24 March 2007; Bisht, 16 January 2007).  

4.8 Displacement of ‘Dalits’

Dalits (or so-called “untouchables”, known in Indian legal terms as scheduled castes) are vulnerable to forced displacement in the aftermath of episodes of caste violence. In a report submitted to the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimi-
nation (CERD), it is argued that the typical scenario is one where Dalit villages are attacked and looted by neighboring upper-caste villagers, forcing them to settle for months in temporary homes on government property. The perpetrators largely enjoy full impunity and little is done to help the displaced Dalits return home or to prosecute those responsible for the attacks (Centre for Human Rights and Global Justice Human Rights Watch, February 2007, pp. 45-46; AHRC, January 2007, p.2).13

4.9 Humanitarian conditions

A large number of the displaced from the Kashmir Valley have been housed by relatives or in relief camps in Jammu or Delhi. Hindu schools for the displaced children have been constructed and medical care provided, although the displaced population says it is not enough to cover their needs. The remaining displaced population from villages along the Line of Control continue to live in miserable conditions in camps that lack basic services (Shekhawat/Mahapatra, June 2006, pp.4-5).13

The relief camps for internally displaced in the North-East are reportedly in a deplorable condition. Camps for the displaced across the region are said to lack adequate shelter, food, health care, education and protection. This pattern has been confirmed by earlier reports which have documented that displaced throughout the North-East face severe hardship. Many of them live in public buildings and makeshift shelters, with little health care and no access to formal education (SAHRDC, March 2001). Both in Assam and in Tripura, acute food shortages and lack of health care leave internally displaced in acute hardship (MCRG, December 2006; AHRC, January 2007, p.136). The state governments say they have no money to provide relief to the displaced population and that they depend on support from the central
government. Furthermore, thousands of those displaced by local insurgent groups in the state are reported to have received no relief at all, and are camping alongside roads in makeshift houses seven years after having been displaced (Deccan Herald, 22 May 2005). In Assam, it has been documented that the relief camps in the region are a major recruitment ground for trafficking of women to other places in India (BBC, 10 April 2007; IRIN, 17 May 2006).13

The same situation is reported from other relief camps for internally displaced in India. In Chhattisgarh, several reports have documented that the relief camps offer neither adequate assistance, nor protection to the internally displaced. In Gujarat, there are reports of immense trauma among children and women who witnessed atrocities or were victims of the 2002 riots (IIJ, December 2003, pp.64, 67; HRW, July 2003). Also, the displaced Muslim population faces acute poverty as their livelihoods were largely destroyed during the riots. Continued discrimination has left most of them unemployed, with female-headed households being particularly vulnerable. The relief camps have inadequate basic amenities such as potable water, sanitary facilities, schools and primary healthcare centres (AHRC, 10 January 2007, pp. 19-20; Bisht, 16 January 2007; AI, January 2005, 7.6.c; IIJ, December 2003).13

### 4.10 National and international response

The Indian government has repeatedly expressed reservations in international fora about the UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, which it sees as infringing its national sovereignty. India has no national IDP policy targeting conflict induced IDPs, and the responsibility for IDP assistance and protection is frequently delegated to the state governments. Further-
more, although it is well documented that Indian military, para-
military and police forces have engaged in serious human rights
abuses in conflict zones, there have been no attempts at trans-
parent investigations or prosecutions of those responsible (HRW,
12 September, 2006).13

Although the Indian government provides support to conflict-
affected populations, such assistance is mostly ad hoc and does
not correspond to the needs of the displaced. State governments
are assigned the main responsibility to assist and rehabilitate
the displaced, but practices vary significantly from state to state
(Nath, January 2005, p.68). The Indian government has been
accused of discriminatory treatment of internally displaced be-
cause the displaced Kashmiri Pandit population overall receives
much more support than displaced communities elsewhere in the
country (NNHR, 19 February 2007).13

While access to affected populations in conflict zones has fre-
quently been denied, international NGOs have assisted IDPs in
Assam and, occasionally, in Kashmir. Medecins Sans Frontières
works with Santhal displaced in Assam and started programmes
in the Karbi Anglong area when violence erupted there in Octo-
ber 2005. The organisation also works in Chhattisgarh state in
camps for internally displaced.

The Indian government has been accused of failing to adhere to
the UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement and other
international human rights stan-dards in its response to displace-
ment in Kashmir and Gujarat (AI, January 2005; HRW July 2003,
p.38; ORF, September 2003). One survey conducted among dif-
ferent displaced communities in India reveals that over 55 per
cent of the internally displaced do not receive any sup-port at
all and only 13 per cent receive any assistance from the author-
ities. The report also reveals that more than 70 per-cent of the
surveyed population believe that return will be impossible, a fact that underlines the need for the government to work out sustainable solutions (MCRG, December 2006, p. 16). In Gujarat, human rights organizations blame local authorities as well as the state government for failing to address the needs of the dis-placed altogether, despite promises made by the government with regard to rehabilitation (IIJ, December 2003; HRW, July 2003).

The international community has largely failed to address issues of internal displacement in India. In the case of Gujarat, Amnesty International accused UN and other international aid agencies of failing to put sufficient pressure on the State authorities to provide relief to thousands of internally displaced victims, many of them women and children. Governments around the world by and large ignored the humanitarian crisis in Gujarat, providing no relief to the thousands of dis-placed persons in the state (AI, January 2005, 7.6.a).

The lack of credible information on numbers and subsistence needs of the dis-placed leaves large numbers of people unassisted and unaccounted for. There is thus an urgent need for national authorities to conduct surveys in conflict-affected areas to document the number of internally displaced and their specific needs. A more coherent response to situations where people flee conflicts would also include the creation of a national institutional focal point on internal dis-placement and a national legal framework upholding the rights of internally dis-placed. A draft national displacement policy has been formulated that addresses the rehabilitation of people displaced by development projects, but has been severely criticised for failing to acknowledge the rights of the displaced (AHRC, 18 April 2007).
4.11 Displacement due to development projects and natural disasters

Available reports indicate that more than 21 million people are internally displaced due to development projects in India. Although the tribal population only make up eight percent of the total population, more than 50 per cent of the development induced displaced are tribal peoples – in India also known as Scheduled Tribes or Adivasis (HRW, January 2006). Ongoing research indicate that between 1945-2000 the number of displaced who did not receive rehabilitation could be as high as 50-60 million people. While the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre focuses on conflict-induced displacement, a brief background note and links to further information on development induced displacement is included in the background section of the profile (link included in list of sources).12

Floods and other natural disasters also displace millions every year. The Indian Ocean tsunami, which hit southern India in December 2004, devastated the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and a 2,260-km stretch of the mainland coastline in Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Pondicherry. An estimated 2.7 million people were affected by the disaster and hundreds of thousands were displaced (ADB, 29 December 2006). Indian-controlled Kashmir was also badly affected by the South Asian earthquake in October 2005, which made thousands of people homeless.12