SHATTERED SOULS

INTERNALLY DISPLACED WOMEN FROM PUNJAB, PAKISTAN

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— Saima Jasam
What greater sorrow than being forced to leave behind my native earth?”

— Euripides, Electra
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Glossary

Al Qaeda A militant Sunni Islamist Multi-National organization founded in 1988 by Osama Bin Laden and Abdullah Azzam and several other Arab volunteers.

Burqa The Burqa is an enveloping outer garment worn by women in some Islamic traditions to cover themselves in public. The garment covers the body and face.

Gurdwara A Gurdwara is the place where Sikhs come together for congregational worship.

Hakeem A physician who treats with herbs.

Hujra Men’s drawing room at Pakhtun houses.

Jazia A per capita yearly tax historically levied on non-Muslim persons, called the Dhimma, permanently residing in Muslim lands governed under Islamic law. For rich Muslims there was a system of Zakat. However, the current tax system has replaced old practices of tax collection. Now only Muslim people give Zakat as religiously binding (but not to the state).

Jirga A Council of elders (only men) in Pakhtun tradition.

Kalma The Muslim confession of faith.

Karo Kari A type of premeditated honour killing, which originated in rural and tribal areas of Sindh, with different names in other parts of Pakistan. The homicidal acts are primarily committed against women who are thought to have brought dishonour to their family by engaging in illicit premarital or extra-marital relations.

Langar Langar (kitchen) is the term used in Sikhism for the community kitchen in a Gurdwara where a free meal is served to all the visitors, without distinction of religion, caste, gender, economic status or ethnicity.

Panchayat Council of elders in village (only men) in Punjabi tradition.

PDMA Provincial Disaster Management Authority (in all four Provinces).

Scheduled Caste Lower caste Hindus or Pakistani Dalits are unofficially untouchable people within a country, which claims equality. They face discrimination in every walk of life from the provision of basic facilities to employment opportunities.

Sevak Someone who offers services for free to a religious cause. It originates from the Sanskrit word sevak (servant).

Sharia Islamic doctrine on the teachings of the Quran and the traditions of the Prophet (Hadith and Sunna), prescribing both religious and secular duties and also retributive penalties for law breaking.

Shia One of the two main sects of Islam, followed by about a tenth of Muslims, especially in Iran and Iraq, that reject the first three Sunni caliphs and regards Ali, the fourth caliph, as Muhammad’s first true successor.

Sunni One of the two main sects of Islam, commonly described as orthodox, and differing from Shia in its understanding of the Sunna and in its acceptance of the first three caliphs.

Tribal Districts Under the 31st Constitutional Amendment (FATA merger Bill) 2018, Tribal Agencies merged in KP such as North & South Waziristan, Momend, Bajour, Kurram, Orakzai and Khyber.

Zakat Payment made annually under Islamic law via money or property and used for charitable and religious purposes, representing one of the Five Pillars of Islam.
BACKGROUND

THE WOMEN’S REGIONAL NETWORK (WRN) was founded in 2011, it is a network of individual women civil society leaders from Afghanistan, India and Pakistan working together to strengthen women’s rights and to ensure peace and security in the region. WRN is animated by a vision of women working collaboratively within and across borders, to listen to and learn from each other to construct a common agenda towards equitable and sustainable development in building a just peace. At its launch, members of the Network identified interlinked areas of concern—militarization, extremism, corruption and lack of security—as a priority for all three countries. WRN networks in Afghanistan, India and Pakistan are autonomous but work in close coordination with each other. Network members in each country have invited others to join and establish working relationships with individuals and organizations working for women’s rights in their respective countries.

The Women Regional Network

The Core Purpose of the Women’s Regional Network is to amplify the voices of unheard, marginalized women, and together address the interlinked issues of peace and security, justice and governance and growing militarization in South Asia. To this end, WRN connects women peace advocates, committed to working collectively within and across national borders in an open, respectful, learning environment. WRN presents an effective flexible platform for collaborating on research and analysis, joint advocacy and representation, and the implementation of well-designed initiatives. WRN develops and delivers specific advocacy campaigns to ensure that grassroots women’s concerns and their voices directly shape political discourse, policy development and program implementation.

About the Region

Afghanistan, Pakistan and India together make up one of the crossroads of Asia. Long before this region became synonymous with protracted conflict and bitter inter-state rivalries, it was a hub for the exchange of goods, ideas and people across the vast Eurasian landmass. Civilisations and strategic regions intersect at this location, placing them forever in a symbiotic relationship with the world around them. In recent decades, it has become hard to narrate an Afghan, Pakistani or indeed, an Indian story entirely divorced from the reality of internecine conflict—internal and international.

Community Conversations (Background)

The “Community Conversations” (CCs) process initiated in 2011 was one of the first activities undertaken by the Women’s Regional Network. It evolved organically in each of the three WRN countries, adapting to different ground realities. The resulting documents reflect this diversity clearly—the methods are different, the questions are different, the perspectives vary; yet at the core, a few things remained the same in every country. We sought out women who live and work in remote and insecure areas to understand their experiences, fears and insecurities. Our objective was to document the impact of militarisation, extremisms and corruption on their ability to access rights and justice. The CCs emphasize women as survivors and make visible their agency in everyday life and in resistance movements. The Conversations acknowledge women’s contributions to the post-conflict processes of justice, peace and social reintegration. This process has generated rich and detailed accounts from Afghanistan, India and Pakistan of the gendered social impact of politicised violence, militarisation and corruption in conflict-affected areas. It anchors WRN’s work firmly in the real world of women’s experiences. While the findings of each Community Conversation process remain context-specific, by identifying the common threads and themes, WRN will create cross-border strategies and seek common solutions.
The Present Residence of IDP Women

Map of Punjab
Origin of the IDPs — Balochistan

Origin of the IDPs — KP

Origin of the IDPs — District Rajanpur

Origin of the IDPs — District Kashmore
UN Guiding Principles for Defining IDPs
Individuals or groups forced or obliged to flee their homes, particularly as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who remain within the borders of their own countries.
1. INTRODUCTION

The world has witnessed unprecedented displacement of populations within and across international borders. Women and children suffer unspeakable violations and are trapped within cycles of displacement as either refugees or Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). Overall, 68.5 million people have been displaced around the world while the largest number are the internally displaced at 40 million and in 2017 11.8 million were displaced due to conflicts.2

In Pakistan, several military operations for example, Operation Sirat-e-Mustaqeem (June, 2008) in Bara Tehsil, Khyber District, Operation Rab-e-Raast (May, 2009) in Swat Mingora, Operation Rab-e-Nijat (October, 2009) in South Waziristan, Operation Keh-e-Suhaid (July, 2011) in Kurram District, Operation Zarb-e-Azb (2013) in North Waziristan and Military operations in the Chalghi area of the Bhamboor Hills of Dera Bugti (April 26th, 2006) were conducted in the Tribal districts, as well as in the Swat Valley and the Province of Balochistan, to root out extremism and insurgencies. These operations pushed the human tragedy of displacement to a new level and left millions of people displaced and in many instances their basic rights violated.

In 2015 1.6 million people were displaced due to the military operation Zarb-e-Azb in North Waziristan.3 Earlier, the Swat military operation Rab-e-Raast in 2009 also resulted in huge displacement where a total of 77,516 families (46 per cent women) moved to reside in numerous host communities, while 14,668 families (91,004 individuals, of which 49 per cent were women) moved to transitional IDP camps.4 The military operations in South Waziristan in 2008 were also responsible for the displacement of 1.7 million people.5

On the other hand, the conflict between the Military dictator Pervaiz Musharaf in (2004-2006), and the Nawab Akbar Bugti, at District Dera Bugti in Balochistan province resulted in displacement of 84,000 people from Dera Bugti only.6

In spite of the massive displacements in Pakistan, due to various conflicts, the legal status of IDPs remained at a dismal state for a number of years on account of the state’s desire to not adhere to internationally recognized principles or standards. The term ‘IDP’ was changed to “TDP” (Temporarily Displaced Persons) by the Federal Government (on advice of the Foreign Office) initially for Tribal Districts (previously called FATA) in 2014, but is now being used in all official documents and statements, thus it is now the official position of the Pakistani State on displacements.7

These Temporarily Dislocated Persons (TDPs) is defined by the state as where civilians are evacuated from an area for a specific period (which could be one to six months), before they are allowed to return home.”8 This term allows the State to sidestep not only obligations under international law but also the cause (conflict) and durations (protracted) of these situations. In reality a huge population has been displaced from the Tribal Districts for more than a decade now, and has not been able to move back to their places of origin due to security and economic reasons. As such the term TDP is a gross misrepresentation of the reality for those forcibly displaced from their homes.

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1. [Link to UNHCR figures]
2. [Link to Global Report on Internal Displacement]
3. [Link to Humanitarian Snapshot by UNOCHA]
4. [Link to Operation Rah-e-Raast liberating Swat valley from extremism]
8. Ibid
Sadly, Pakistan is not a signatory to the Refugee Convention of 1951 and UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, hence not officially obligated, to protect the rights of IDPs, in accordance with international human rights standards either at a national or provincial level.\(^9\)

Pakistan’s commitments under international human rights instruments such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, and Convention against Torture also provides for protection of the rights of the displaced. Despite that Pakistan has ratified these international human rights treaties, international obligations have not been translated into national legislation. Thus making it difficult for internally displaced persons to seek protection and unfortunately due to this the rights of the IDPs are not on the agenda of the official discourse. In the absence of specific domestic legislation recognizing the rights of the internally displaced persons, the rights guaranteed in the Constitution of Pakistan have acquired central importance in the protection of the internally displaced.\(^10\)

The massive earthquake in 2008 and the widespread floods of 2010 forced Pakistan to establish the National Disaster Management Authority at the Federal level and the Provincial Disaster Management Authorities at the Provincial levels, to provide relief to displaced populations. Later on, the FATA Disaster Management Authority was formed for the management of natural disasters in the Tribal Districts, however the reality is that most of the displacement is caused by frequent military operations and conflicts which the State does not officially recognize or recognize as the cause of this displacement.

Since this study focuses on non-Muslim women IDPs, and the Baloch ethnic women IDPs who have moved to Punjab (from the Swat and Tribal districts of KP and from district Dera Bugti, Balochistan and from district Kashmore from Sindh, and from district Rajanpur from Punjab) therefore, the researcher also approached the office of the PDMA Punjab in Lahore, regarding IDP issues. As anticipated it was revealed that displacement was primarily seen through the lens of natural disasters, whereas displacement due to conflict had not been considered that significant, therefore, there is little information available. As the Pakistani State does not officially recognize that there is conflict in the country it hence does not address ‘conflict-induced’ IDPs nor does it see relevant resolutions such as UNSCR 1325 and subsequent resolutions applicable and even bars civil society from using these terms. The PDMA, Punjab claimed that the authority provided food, clothes and other such items to the IDPs in the temporary camps established in different areas of Punjab, until IDPs moved on to other places or returned back home. However, our field work shows that, the PDMA in Punjab had no policy to cater to the needs of IDPs (conflict-induced)

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\(^9\) Introduction, paragraph 2, United Nations Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement.

coming from other provinces and Tribal Districts. The authorities only sprang into action when natural disasters occurred.\textsuperscript{11}

Unfortunately, the Government of Sindh\textsuperscript{12} and Punjab banned the entry of IDPs from the Tribal Districts into their provinces\textsuperscript{13} (through notifications) which not only created a lot of resentment among the Tribal districts and KP province, as well as the IDPs, but violated the freedom of movement article in the constitution of Pakistan.\textsuperscript{14} Those who were allowed to travel from the Tribal Districts to the Provinces had to pass through severe scrutiny, which only added to the miseries of the IDPs as they were looked upon with great suspicion. Moreover, whenever there is a law and order issue, IDPs in Punjab are considered to be a security threat. In the name of security checks the Deputy Commissioner's office issued several notifications where people with a specific identity and their employers were asked to report to their respective police stations at regular intervals. (Attached as annexure).

The dilemma of unregistered (Sikhs, Hindus and the Baloch, both religious minority and ethnic community) IDPs from KP (Tribal Districts and Swat), Punjab (District Rajanpur), Balochistan (District Dera Bugti), and Sindh (District, Kashmore), who have moved to Punjab where the researcher conducted the community conversations is still an unresolved issue. For instance, these IDPs are unable to get themselves registered due to the non-availability of their CNICs as most of them left these cards behind while they were fleeing or have lost the important documents in flight from their homes or places of origin. The CNIC is an important document to receive any support from the government. Women IDPs in particular, have been psychologically and emotionally impacted adversely, due to lack of policies for IDPs, poverty and limited resources in the host communities and social discrimination based on their faith and ethnicities.

Women experience wars, conflicts and resulting displacements in a very different way than men. Women's stakes, needs and issues are very specific which in turn need to be resolved accordingly, but it is not uncommon to see their voices go unheard as they are not viewed as important stakeholders. This study collected and documented testimonies in three selected areas of women IDPs whose voices have never been heard or acknowledged before. Their roles are not limited to stereotypes, but they have their own agency and are well equipped to bring about a positive change, if provided their right to participate in the decision making process. These women have witnessed first-hand many violations, and have directly suffered and endured violence, conflict, extremism and various insecurities including militarization. Women have individually developed their own coping mechanisms, as they have survived and sustained themselves and their families. Documenting their experiences is a valuable and worthwhile exercise. It is important to listen to what they have gone through and understand what strategies could be adopted to improve their present plight.

\textsuperscript{11} An interview conducted by the researcher in Lahore with the PDMA Minister and other staff.

\textsuperscript{12} Sahar Baloch, Dawn July 20, 2014 Nationalists plan drive against IDPs entry into Sindh. In Sindh the Sindhi nationals considered Displacement as a threat to demography. They believed displacement is resulting imbalance between Sindhi population and others https://www.dawn.com/news/1120349

\textsuperscript{13} Dilshad Azeem, May 21, 2009, Punjab will not allow camps for NWFP refugees http://www.pakpassion.net/ppforum/showthread.php?73079-Punjab-will-not-allow-camps-for-NWFP-refugees

Background: An Overview of the plight of Minorities and smaller sects of Islam in Pakistan

The Constitution, as it stands today in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, contains certain laws which generate inequalities between the Muslim and non-Muslim citizens. Article 25 of the Constitution of Pakistan guarantees equal rights to all its citizens, but harbours many contradictions and discriminatory provisions relating to non-Muslims.

The basis for generating inequalities are listed below: Article 2 of the Constitution declares Islam as the State religion; Article 41 reserves the Office of the Head of State (President) for Muslims only. Inequality on the basis of religious affiliation was further enhanced by virtue of subsequent amendments in the Constitution. For example, a separate electorate for non-Muslims was introduced. Article 31 requires the State to ensure Muslims are able to live according to the principles of Islam and Part IX of the Constitution provides measures for ensuring that all laws constituted are in line with these concepts. No similar provisions exist to safeguard the rights of other religions.

The process of Islamising the state and society has continued to be a sustained effort since the inception of the country. In fact, all of the State’s machinery has been used in the last 70 years, to indoctrinate religion into every sphere of life, the manifestation of which is not only reflected at the political, but also at the ideological level.

The following few examples below are highlighted to illustrate the plight of minorities, and smaller sects within Islam who have faced various kinds of atrocities.

Shia Muslims being the second largest sect of Islam in Pakistan, have been consistently attacked and one such attack was carried out on the 16 February, 2013. The attack left at least 79 people dead and more than 180 injured, after a bomb hidden in a water tank exploded in a targeted market in the outskirts of Quetta.

Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ), a banned militant outfit, claimed responsibility for this attack while they are known to target Ahmadis, Shias and other religions as well. Although this attack was done by militants, the over years unfortunately sectarian conflict between the Sunni sect (the majority) and Shia sect (the minority) have reached to an alarming proportions in Pakistan. Sunnis being in the majority are able to create public sentiments which are not very favourable for the Shia community, and few even went to the extent of declaring them as non-Muslims. A study conducted in an elite university of Pakistan reveals that most of the students think that Shias are non-Muslim. This trend is increasingly becoming very popular and will create further divisions on the sectarian lines.

The Ahmadi community, with a population of about 4 million people, in particular, have been the victims of severe and systematic persecution and discrimination for the past thirty years when they were declared non-Muslims by the Pakistani State. The extent to which this community is systematically harassed is tantamount to genocide and the State is a silent observer.

On May 28th, 2010, extremist Islamist militants attacked two Ahmadi mosques in the central Pakistani city of Lahore with guns, grenades, and suicide bombs, killing 94 people and injuring over a hundred. Twenty-seven people were killed at the Baitul Nur Mosque in the Model Town area of Lahore; and 67 were killed at the Darul Zikr mosque in the suburb of Garhi Shahu. The Punjabi Taliban, a local affiliate of the Pakistani Taliban called the TTP, claimed responsibility.

On the night of May 31st, unidentified gunmen attacked the Intensive Care Unit of Lahore’s Jinnah Hospital where victims and one of the alleged attackers were under treatment, sparking a shootout which left an additional 12, mostly police officers and hospital staff, dead.

Again, it is not only the militants attacking this community, but general public sentiments against this community are very strong, and they are harassed, looked down upon, insulted and humiliated. There is enough data to prove this, but the scope of the paper does not allow the researcher to go in-depth.

The Sikh community, having lived in the Tribal districts (previously known as FATA region) under KP for decades, was asked by the militants to pay Jazia tax (paid by non-Muslims for living in an Islamic State) after they declared imposing Sharia and on the non-payment they are either

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17 South Asia Terrorism Portal, Lashkar-e-Jhangvi; See: http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/terroristoutfits/lej.html
19 The Economist, ‘State Persecution and Pakistan’s Ahmadi Sect: We decide whether you’re Muslim or not’, (June 10, 2010), See: http://www.economist.com/blogs/banyan/2010/06/state_persecution_and_pakistan_ahmadi_sect
killed or forced to leave their homes. Yet again it is not only the militants, but the general public who comes into contact with the Sikhs, and commands them to convert into Islam. This study will reflect upon this particular point.

It is very unfortunate to see that that the Hindus who did not migrate to India during the partition of 1947 are migrating now specifically from Sindh province. Mass exodus of the Hindu community is triggered by the fear of either being killed or forced to convert to Islam. In the recent past many Hindu girls in Sindh and Christian girls in Punjab have been kidnapped and then converted.21

The plight of the Christian community also remains dismal and they have been subject to great atrocities. However, there have been many debates on the misuse of Blasphemy Law22 (under the pretext of this law many individuals have settled their old grievances, and disputes), in which many non-Muslims and also Muslims are put under trial. According to Amnesty International, in the year 2009 alone, 67 Ahmadis, 17 Christians, 8 Muslims and 6 Hindus have been charged under Section 295 C. Presently Pakistan has one of the harshest blasphemy laws among countries with Muslim majority populations.

The Federal Minister of Minority Affairs (Shahbaz Bhatti) was gunned down in 2011, only because he was asked to look into the procedural changes being explored on the Blasphemy Law.23 On the other hand the two Christian brothers falsely accused of committing blasphemy, were set free by the high court, but were killed by a mob outside the court.24 This certainly shows how extremism has penetrated the fabric of Pakistani society and their readiness to take the law in their hands.

The ambiguity of the legal language and people sitting in the state institutions, who have sympathies with conservative elements in society is also evident when the Former Governor of Punjab, Salman Taseer was assassinated only because he talked about making procedural changes in order to avoid the misuse of the Blasphemy law, and thereby declared to help Asia Bibi (an case which caused international public outcry) a Christian woman, who was charged under the Blasphemy law. This is a classic example of increasing trends of extremist elements within state institutions. Mr. Taseer was killed by his own guard Mumtaz Qadri. The Governor’s assassination was an eye opener for Pakistani society and raised several questions about the penetration of extremist views among the masses. Mumtaz Qadri received overwhelming support for committing murder from various quarters of society especially from the legal community and a few politicians.25


22 Ibid


By and large the minorities in Pakistan do not feel safe and the latest census report shows a decrease in the non-Muslim population as compared to 1947 at the time of Pakistan independence.26 At present Christian community is 1.59%, Hindus 1.60%, Scheduled Caste 0.25% and others are 0.7%.27 There are serious concerns from Sikh and other religious minorities as they are not included in the list as a separate category, and this problem persists even now. However, due to continuous pressure from the religious groups and some right wing political parties the Ahmedya community are included in the list as non-Muslims, representing 0.22 of the population.

Overall in the country at large, women from religious and ethnic minorities are discriminated against in the legal system and often victimized by state institutions. A study on non-Muslim women in Pakistan claimed that, there are “cases of double jeopardy where minority women face discrimination and exploitation on grounds of being members of religious minorities...”28

The overall critical situation of the minorities, led the researcher to investigate the plight of women IDPs belonging to the minority communities, who are one of the most vulnerable segments of the Pakistani society.

1.1 Purpose and Justification

There is hardly any data about conflict affected IDPs available at the Pakistan Disaster Management Authority in Punjab. The only available data UNOCHA and UNHCR Pakistan have is on the basis of their humanitarian response to the IDPs. UNHCR has a number of projects that respond to the needs of IDPs in a crisis situation mainly including the Shelter / NFI cluster and works in close coordination with the FATA Disaster Management Authority (FDMA) and the Provincial Disaster Management Authority (PDMA) in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, as well as SAFRON at the federal level in complex emergencies.29

Therefore, this research firstly strives to identify and locate, particularly women IDPs, belonging to religious and ethnic minorities, who are scattered all over the Punjab province and are living on self and community based help. Secondly this study also endeavors to document their first hand experiences of encountering conflict, extremism and militarization by state and non-state actors through community conversations. Last but not least this study will amplify the voices of women IDPs to a larger audience for resolving their present plight.

1.2 Methodology for Community Conversations

This study is based upon a qualitative research methodology, desk review, and individual interviews. The plan was developed in a sensitive way, respecting local traditions and culture but not compromising on the quality of information gathered in line with the main objectives and themes of the WRN. First of all, a questionnaire was developed in Urdu as well as in English, keeping in mind the main objectives of the WRN and international human rights framework in alignment with major UNSCRs and conventions. This questionnaire played an instrumental role

in gathering information systematically. Some of the IDPs could not speak Urdu (they spoke Pashto, Balochi, and Saraiki) which is the national language of Pakistan, so local interpreters were hired to facilitate the researcher and women during the community conversations.

To avoid any community conflict, prior to conducting CCs with IDP women and selected women from the host communities, the men of the communities were approached, and the purpose of the CCs was explained in detail as it was essential to do so, especially in tribal structures. The primary data was collected via two different methods, firstly through interviews which were carried out prior to community conversations with various stakeholders belonging to civil society organizations, academics, minority representatives and government bodies in Peshawar, Hasanabdal, Lahore, Nankana Sahib and Rahim Yar Khan; these stakeholders provided very useful insights and also helped the researcher make links with representatives from the selected sites.

Secondly, primary data was collected through Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) and ‘one on one’ interviews with women IDPs at the three selected sites. The methodology of this study also entailed a full desk review of existing literature.

1.3 Geographical Coverage and Selected Sites

After exhausting research, the following three areas were selected in Punjab, where a reasonably good size of women IDPs were located.

Hasanabdal: Northern Punjab
Nankana Sahib: Central Punjab
Rahim Yar Khan: Southern Punjab

Selected Sites

Hasanabdal is a city in Northern Punjab, Pakistan, located 40 km northwest of the country’s capital city, Islamabad. It is also home to the Gurdwara Punja Sahib, one of the most sacred sites in Sikhism, and an important pilgrimage destination where Sikhs from all around the world come and pay homage. Hasanabdal hosts many Sikh families who never migrated to India during partition in 1947, and thus are well settled there, huge numbers of Sikhs who left Afghanistan during the Afghan war in 1979, and moved to Pakistan as refugees are also settled in this location. These Sikhs are quite affluent and own large properties.

On the other hand, when the Taliban started the war in the Tribal Districts in Pakistan (2004-17), they imposed jazia (living tax on Non-Muslims living in a Muslim area) and started kidnapping them for ransom, they also looted their shops and harassed the local population thus prompting many Sikh and Hindu families to flee from their homes and become IDPs. Many of them moved to different places in KP however, a good number of non-Muslim IDPs primarily Sikhs and Hindus, moved to Hasanabdal and Nankana Sahib in Punjab. Conversely most of the Sikh IDP families used the Gurdwara for transit stay, because of its organized charity mechanism30, and its adjacent neighborhood, which was predominantly inhabited by the Sikh community. That is why Hasanabdal was chosen as one of the sites to conduct community conversations.

Nankana Sahib City is the birthplace of Baba Guru Nanak, it is also the capital city of Nankana Sahib District in the province of Punjab, Pakistan. It is named after the first Guru (teacher) of the Sikhs, Baba Guru Nanak who spread the light of the universal message to this world and that’s why it is revered as a holy religious site. It is also a very popular pilgrimage site for Sikhs from all over the world. It is located about 80 kilometers Southwest of Lahore and 75 kilometers East of Faisalabad.

The prime reason for conducting the community conversations at Nankana Sahib was that many Hindus and Sikhs moved to Nankana Sahib City during different conflicts, and military operations, held in KP (from Swat and Tribal Districts, Kurram, Khyber and Orakzi respectively) and in Balochistan (District Dera Bugti). Unfortunately, their narratives had never been chronicled before.

Rahim Yar Khan is situated in South Punjab, to the North is Muzaffargarh District, to the East Bahawalpur District, to the South Jaisalmer District (India) and Ghotki District of Sindh province, and to the West Rajanpur District. This district is divided into three main physical features: (a) Riverside area, b) canal-irrigated area, and (c) desert area called Cholistan. The riverside area of the district lies close to the southern side of the Indus River mainly falling in the river bed. PDMA staff in Rahim Yar Khan knew about two different Baloch tribes who were IDPs and had moved to two different locations of Rahim Yar Khan District in the last 3 years. Therefore, in order to investigate their plight and to listen to the women’s experiences, this site was selected.

30 Inbuilt meal system “Langer” three times a day gave them relief from responsibility to arrange food for the family. They were more focused on creating spaces in the job market.
1.4 Sample size for the Community Conversations

143 Women IDPs participated in 6 Community Conversations (CCs) and one-to-one interviews from Hasanabdal, Rahim Yar Khan and Nankana Sahib. In addition, 36 women from the Host Community participated in 2 Community Conversations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Participants</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hasanabdal</td>
<td>Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td></td>
<td>One-on-one Interviews</td>
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<td>Hindu and Sikh women in 2 CCs</td>
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<td>Muslim women from host communities</td>
<td>36</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rahim Yar Khan</td>
<td>Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)</td>
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<td>Muslim women in 2 CCs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nankana Sahib</td>
<td>Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>One-on-one Interviews</td>
<td>6</td>
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</tbody>
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1.5 Challenges and Limitations of the Study

There were several challenges the researcher encountered while conducting this research. There is very little data on conflict affected IDPs available at the Pakistan Disaster Management Authority in Punjab particularly in relation to women IDPs who have moved from the KP (Tribal Districts and Swat), Balochistan, (Dera Bugti), Sindh (Kashmore District) and Punjab (District Rajanpur) due to conflicts.

Most of the places where CCs were conducted, the women were not even registered IDPs had no documents, not even Computerized National Identity Cards (CNICs); this made it very difficult to find IDPs of different provinces settled in Punjab. Consequently, it was a monumental task to identify and locate religious minority IDPs in Punjab, as they were scattered all over the province and were living on a self-help basis in the host communities.

31 By the time IDPs reached safe places, the Government of Pakistan announced forced return of IDPs and the registration processes were closed down. 'Government announces plan for return of 2 million IDPs to FATA' https://www.tnn.com.pk/government-announces-plan-for-return-of-2-million-ids-to-fata/
The researcher also encountered problems in Punja Sahib Gurdwara (Hasanabadl) even after everything was organised and approved prior to the Community Conversations. During the CC women IDPs were very keen to talk about their issues but the authorities at the Gurdwara wanted us to wrap up the FGD as quickly as possible. In Rahim Yar Khan, where we had the help of the PDMA staff, everything was well organised and planned however, during the middle of the community conversations a few men of that community came and started interfering and asked why we were seeking the signatures of their womenfolk only, who had given us permission to do so and so on; all was settled amicably due to our organisers. These were some of the most important challenges we faced on top of numerous other issues we encountered along the way.

Limitations of the Study

Although there are many other districts in Punjab where women IDPs are living and their voices also need to be amplified the researcher limited the Community Conversations only to three places.

From the minorities only Hindu and Sikh women, and in the ethnic group only women belonging to Baloch tribes, were identified for Community Conversations. The purpose was not to exclude any minority or ethnic group deliberately or to favour one over the other, but due to the shortage of time, funding constraints, key informant’s availability and a good sample size of women IDPs, the research was limited to these places. The Community Conversations with host communities were conducted in Hasanabadl, Rahim Yar Khan Chak 115, where as in Nankana Sahib, and Chak 224 at Rahim Yar Khan. Information of the host communities was gathered through various interviews with the informants and other key stakeholders as it is vital to understand the perspectives of women in the host communities as well.
SHATTERED SOULS
INTERNALLY DISPLACED WOMEN FROM PUNJAB, PAKISTAN
WRN Community Conversation at the Gurdwara (Sikh place of worship), Nankana Sahib
2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT OF THE CONFLICTS

Conflicts, wars, militancy and extremism and eradication of these are as old as humanity itself. The lust for power and control has been a basic human instinct, regardless of their religion, gender, caste or creed.

This section provides a historical background on our focus areas along with the main causes of the conflict. Militancy as well as military operations have been carried out in many other parts of the country as well, but this study only focuses on the below mentioned locations.

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<tr>
<th>Sr.</th>
<th>State of Origin</th>
<th>Destination</th>
<th>Reasons of Displacement</th>
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<td>Balochistan District Dera Bugti</td>
<td>Nankana Sahib</td>
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<td>Sindh District Kashmore</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Punjab District Rajanpur</td>
<td>Rahim Yar Khan</td>
<td>Security</td>
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2.1 Factors behind Conflict — Swat (KP)

Swat being one of the most beautiful serene and scenic places in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has hosted thousands of Pakistani and international tourists. Swat was popularly known as the Switzerland of the East but unfortunately, due to insurgency of the militants and the Taliban’s takeover from 2007-2010, Swat turned into a battlefield and impacted women adversely in every walk of life.

History of the Militant group in Swat

The most organized and lethal militant group, ‘Tehrik -e-Nafaz -e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi (TNSM)’ was established in 1990 by Sufi Mohammad (who at one point was a member of Jamat e-Islami, a right wing religious party) who hails from a Pashtun group and was very close to Al Qaeda (International Militant group established by Osama Bin Laden). He had very close links with the Afghan Taliban and many members from his group fought side by side with them after the fall of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan in 2001. Following the 9/11 incident (attack by Al Qaeda on the World Trade center in New York City), the US-led forces attacked Afghanistan and toppled the Taliban government in 2001. The leadership of the Taliban and Al-Qaeda dispersed and the majority of them went into hiding in the mountains across the border of Pakistan and Afghanistan and so did Sufi Mohammad.

Unfortunately, Pakistan encountered a massive earthquake in 2005 and many of the militant groups who were banned by the Government of Pakistan including Sufi Mohammad’s (TNSM) resurfaced in the tribal districts, disguised under different names during this time. Sufi Mohammad worked his way into mainstream public exposure and acceptance by helping in the relief efforts for the earthquake victims and used this opportunity to radicalize an already downtrodden and desperate populace, by giving them hope through religion.

In 2007 TNSM joined the Tehriq-e-Pakistan (TTP) alliance and Mullah Fazalullah, the nephew of Sufi Mohammad and became the commander in chief of TTP’s Swat Chapter. Their main political goal was to impose Sharia, which Fazalullah managed to accomplish in the District Swat and in many parts of Malakand Division, while

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the government was unable to develop its writ in the region. There was a marked increase in Jihadist activities during this period and militants, local and foreign controlled the Swat Valley. Fazalullah also acquired the nickname “Mullah FM”, for his active use of local FM radio stations to spread his message (Siddique, 2010:1233), this was done throughout the Tribal districts (FATA) region as an advocacy campaign for spreading Sharia.

Between 2007-2009, the militancy in Swat Valley was at its peak, militants attacked and killed security personnel, civil society members, local leaders, elected representatives of the District Government on top of destroying government buildings particularly, girls’ schools and hospitals; they also targeted informal institutions like Hujras (places for informal gatherings of local people for a variety of discussions), Jirgas (councils of elders- local decision-making bodies), and even Mosques, which are symbols of unity in Pashtun society. Further, they established their markaz (center) as a parallel court against the government judicial system, for deciding various civil and criminal cases, and also challenged the local Jirga system, which in the past played an important role in conflict resolution and maintaining peace within tribal societal setups.

Women, by and large, have been the primary victims of conflict due to religious extremisms. Their lives were paralyzed and many women were forced to marry Taliban men, their sons and husbands were abducted and forced to join the Taliban who started to slaughter innocent people openly in the squares of Mingora. Their first targets were schools, especially girls’ schools. They bombed more than 400 schools and approximately 50,000 girls suffered because of that. Women were not secure, especially in areas under Taliban control. The Taliban stopped girls and women from going to schools, markets, public places and even hospitals. It was the worst kind of gender discrimination ever witnessed. Their cruel and faulty interpretation of women’s status in Islam resulted in the destruction of female educational institutions and the death of many working women.

The Pakistani Government made many peace deals with the Taliban, the most prominent and important of them being ‘Nizam-a-Adil’, but it was broken even before the ink dried on paper. In fact, the Taliban became much more ruthless after that peace agreement. Ultimately, the Government of Pakistan in consultation with the Military establishment, initiated a military operation ‘Rah-e-Rast’ in May of 2009 which resulted in the ousting of the Taliban from the Swat Valley. This military operation, brought about the largest displacement of people since Rwanda, approximately 2.3 million people fled for their lives, and now live in camps set up for them in the KP province.

2.2 Factors behind the Conflict — District Khyber (KP)

District Khyber is divided in 3 Tehsils, Landi Kotal, Jamrud and Bara. Tirah is a sub division of Bara, adjacent to Orakzai and Kurram districts, (other Tribal Districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) in the North it borders Nangarhar province of Afghanistan via Kukikhel valley.

The conflict in Khyber Tribal District goes back to Lashkar-i-Islam (LI) which used the same modus operandi of using FM radio broadcasts like Swat, and made inroads in the community in late 2005. Mangal Bagh became the Ameer of the Taliban, after the expulsion of Mufti Shakir and Mufti Saif-ur-Rehman, who had controlled the area. Mangal Bagh enforced sharia by using force and instilled fear in his people. He controlled people’s personal matters by forcing men to wear religious caps, women to wear burqas (a black veil that envelops the entire female form in a heavy covering, leaving barely discernible outlets for the eyes). His prime target was women, who were not allowed to leave their homes unaccompanied, girls’ schools were shut down, and women were not allowed to be treated by male doctors.

Sikhs, Hindus and Christians had lived in Khyber
District, particularly Tirah valley, for generations. They never considered themselves as minorities and used the surname ‘Afridi’. “Historically, the tribesmen of Khyber District have respected the minorities, and the political administration has even granted the status of tribal elders, or Malaks, to Christians and Sikhs in the past. But after Taliban threats, they were told to leave the tribal district, convert to Islam or pay huge sums in jazia (a living tax paid by non-Muslims living in an Islamic State) minority families became IDPs in Kohat, Peshawar and Hasanabdal moving later to Nankana Sahib.

2.3 Factors behind the Conflict — District Kurram (KP)

District Kurram is divided into 3 Tehsils; Upper, Lower and Central Kurram. Parachinar is a part of Central Kurram, and is the headquarters of the District. This district predominantly has a Shia community and sectarian violence had been the main driver of militancy in Kurram. This was due to Pakistan’s role in the Afghan jihad, where Pakistan supported the Sunni-led Taliban who rose to power in Afghanistan. The sectarian violence had a trickle down effect on the religious minorities, in turn making their lives miserable too. Livelihood, education of children, restriction on women’s movement and indiscriminate military operations forced a large number of people to flee from Kurram, including women and children, to other districts of KP and some areas of Punjab.40 Furthermore, Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) forced Sikhs and Hindus to pay Jazia, (a living tax collected from non-Muslim citizens in an Islamic state). When they failed to pay the sum, 11 houses belonging to the Sikh community were destroyed.

2.4 Factors behind the Conflict — District Orakzai (KP)

Orakzai is one of the Tribal Districts (the merged Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) was divided in two subdivisions, Upper subdivision and Lower subdivision. The Upper subdivision is comprised of two Tehsils, Upper Tehsil and Ismailzai Tehsil, and the Lower subdivision also has two Tehsils, Lower Tehsil and Central Tehsil.)

After the formation of the Tehriq-e Taliban Pakistan (TTP) in 2007, a Taliban force was organized in Orakzai. Hakimullah Mehsud, the head of the TTP, moved to Orakzai and was appointed its leader. After consolidating its hold on the district, Taliban militias announced the enforcement of Sharia; they established Islamic courts and complaint centers. Through mosque loudspeakers, they urged people to contact the Islamic courts to settle disputes in accordance with Islamic laws. The Taliban established a parallel political administration and levied jazia on local Sikh and Hindu communities. Again, women’s movement was restricted, girls’ schools were demolished, and earning a livelihood became almost impossible. The minority groups were unable to reconcile with such orders from the Taliban and decided to leave the area. During that period the Pakistan military launched a major anti-Taliban operation in Orakzai called “Khwakh Ba dee Shammi”, a Pashto phrase that means “you will get the lesson.” The total number of registered IDPs verified by the National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA) at that time was 22,498 families living in KP districts and in some areas of Punjab.

2.5 Factors behind the Conflict — District Dera Bugti (Balochistan)

Historical Background of Balochistan

The conflict in Balochistan started right after Pakistan’s independence in 1947. All the princely and independent states within the subcontinent were given the choice of either joining India or Pakistan, the same option was extended to Balochistan’s independent and princely territories as well.

The political leader (Khan) of Kalat declared his territory in Balochistan as an independent state and agreed to join Pakistan on certain conditions. Unfortunately, the negotiations between him and the Pakistani State did not materialize and the Pakistani leadership forcibly annexed Kalat. When the army moved to overthrow the Khan of Kalat on treason charges, the locals launched a guerrilla movement that was crushed. This was followed by a series of conflicts between Baloch nationalists and the state. Localized uprisings took place in 1948, 1958, 1962, and then a widespread insurgency in 1973.

Balochistan is located in the Southwest of Pakistan, representing 43% of its land mass and only 4.5% of its population, the literacy rate is 19%. It is also the most mineral and oil/gas rich province yet the people of Balochistan are extremely poor, have the least access to these resources, as a result its people have suffered enormously in every walk of life. According to the World Bank, in terms of poverty reduction, Pakistan ranked low among the other South Asian countries and the Asian Development Bank declares 29.5% of its people lives below national poverty line.

Baloch people, by and large, have four major concerns, which included access to equal distribution of resources as enjoyed by the other provinces; proper compensation to those who have/are being forcefully displaced at Gwadar (shipping port), in Balochistan and employment opportunities for the locals during the development of the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and lastly, to build hospitals, schools and other important infrastructure, instead of

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41 Saba Khattak, Nazish Brohi, Exploring Women’s Voices, women in conflict zones. The Pakistan Study Community Conversations in Balochistan and Swat, published by Women Regional Network,
42 Farakh A.Khan, Pakistan and Balochistan Issue: Human Rights and welfare of the poor (March 5, 2012). http://pakteahouse.net/2012/03/05/pakistan-and Balochistan issue

**Unequal Distribution of Resources**

Baloch people have resentments against all stakeholders who have never looked into their needs and aspirations, be it their tribal leaders (Sardars), the Provincial and Federal Governments or the military establishment. The Baloch people complain that they have always been deprived of their political, social and economic rights. Even though Balochistan is rich with mineral and gas wealth, yet the state policies have not benefited them; the largest natural gas reserves in Pakistan were discovered in Balochistan, yet they were the last to get its supply.

**Development of Gwadar Port**

The Government of Pakistan with the help of the Chinese is developing Gwadar, the coastal area of Balochistan, into a mega shipping port. The China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is a framework of regional connectivity. Hundreds of thousands of Baloch people have been forcibly displaced without proper compensation for their land, which has been acquired for this purpose. To make matters worse, workers from other provinces are being brought in to work on this project, rather than hiring the local population.

**Expansion of Military Cantonments**

The continuous expansion and addition of military cantonments and security outposts over the last 70 years has certainly made Balochistan a security State, and has also created an atmosphere of harassment, which further curtails the rights of the Baloch people to freely exercise their freedom of assembly, speech and association. When they asserted their rights, they were repeatedly suppressed and some of their leaders were arrested or killed.

**Conflict at District Dera Bugti**

Dera Bugti is one of the Districts in Balochistan, ‘Dera’, which means a house or territory and ‘Bugti’ is the main Baloch tribe. The district is located in the eastern part of the Balochistan Province, sharing its boundaries in the north with District Kohlu; District Sibi and Nasirabad are in the west and Jaffarabad district in the south. Dera Bugti is also home to the largest gas fields in Pakistan (Sui) and a major cause of conflict between the Baloch leaders, Militia groups, the Military Establishment and the Federal Government.

The main reason for the conflict in 2004–2006 between the Pakistan Military (during the period of Pervaiz Mushraf, (military dictator) and the Baloch fighters in District Dera Bugti was triggered due to the opening of new military cantonments in “Sui” under the pretext of development. Sui has one of the largest reserves of gas in the world. Moreover there were concerns about its unequal distribution. The Baloch fighters had many social political and economic resentments coupled with the unfair distribution of resources and that led them to attack infrastructure and installations like gas pipelines.

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45 District Development Profile 2011, Dera Bugti, Planning & Development, Department, Government of Balochistan, Quetta, in Collaboration UNICEF Provincial Office Balochistan, Quetta
The conflict further intensified when a female doctor was raped by an army personnel at Sui, the rape of Dr. Shazia Khalid enraged the sentiments of the Baloch nationalists against the army as it refused to allow the local police to interrogate the suspects, which included an army officer. This unleashed a storm of protests in the Sui Tehsil (sub district) of Dera Bugti and was led by former Governor of Balochistan (a very influential Baloch leader), Nawab Akbar Bugti, who also hailed from Sui. He along with many other Sardars, challenged General Pervaiz Mushraf (military dictator at that time) on the case of Ms. Shazia, on opening more cantonments, and the extraction of gas from Sui. Unfortunately, Pervaiz Mushraf paid no heed towards the resentments and demands of the Sardars including Nawab Akbar Bugti, and called them power hungry and anti-national.

A few negotiations were carried out between Nawab Akbar Bugti and the Central Government but unfortunately they bore no results. Thus a full-fledged confrontation started in December 2005 at Dera Bugti and later on Akbar Bugti was killed in a military operation carried out on April 26th, 2006.

It is estimated that at least 84,000 people have been displaced by the conflict in Dera Bugti and Kohlu districts alone. According to a UNICEF internal assessment in July-August 2006 that was leaked to the press, the displaced persons, mostly women (26,000) and children (33,000), were living in makeshift camps without adequate shelter in Jalalabad, Naseerabad, Quetta, Sibi and Bolan Districts. 28% of five-year-old children were acutely malnourished, and more than 6 percent were in a state of “severe acute malnourishment”, with their survival dependent on receiving immediate medical attention. Over 80 percent of deaths among those surveyed were children under five years of age. The government initially dismissed the UNICEF assessment as exaggerated, claiming that almost all the IDPs had gone home. However, it denied aid agencies and media access to the areas to which they had supposedly returned.

The plight of the minorities at Dera Bugti who always enjoyed safety and protection under Nawab Bugti, to the extent of being given titles and commendations, became abandoned souls overnight. Before the operation, the town had over 250 houses and 200 shops owned by local Hindus and Sikhs. Over 13,000 Hindus had to take flight. A large number of Sikh families also relocated to other areas of the country. Many Sikh and Hindu families who were interviewed at Nankana were displaced during that time.

2.6 Factors behind the Conflict — District Kashmore (Sindh)

Kandhkot is a Tehsil in Kashmore District in the Sindh province of Pakistan, it is the 7th largest city in Sindh Province and the 14th, in Pakistan.

Kashmore lies to its east, Tangwani to its north, Shikarpur to the west, and the Indus River to the south, which connects it with Ghotki District. The city is a huge hub for the grain and cattle industry. The Anaj mandi (grain market) of Kandhkot is claimed to be the 2nd greatest grain market in Asia.


[48] Express Tribune Zahid Gishkori, Published: July 30, 2013: Dera Bugti: A hometown in tatters
Kandhkat is located in a rural area and human activity is primarily related to agriculture, although there are some rice and flour mills. Water is not suitable for drinking. Most drinking water is surface water, but some communities and villages are totally dependent on groundwater.

The most common jobs involve harvesting, crop picking, threshing, animal rearing, and transport driving and working as security guards. Local laborers commonly gain employment during the sugarcane harvesting season. Sugar mills in the surrounding area also employ skilled and unskilled labour. Agricultural lands are owned by landlords, and farmers work for a share of the crop.

A Baloch tribe (with whom community conversations took place at Rahim Yar Khan) had moved from Tehsil Kandkot, District Kashmore from Sindh province to Rahim Yar Khan, where they had been working as bonded labourers. Due to the tribal system and bonded labour, life was very difficult for them. They were not able to make ends meet and were not paid their dues. The custom of Karo Kari was also prevalent in that area and they were constantly afraid for their lives and honour. They also constantly worried about being falsely accused under this custom.

2.7 Factors behind the Conflict — District Rajanpur (Punjab)

Tehsil Rojhan is an administrative subdivision (Tehsil of Rajanpur District in the Punjab province of Pakistan. It is administratively subdivided into 8 Union Councils. It lies at the foot of the Sulaiman Range, near the inter-provincial borders of Balochistan, Sindh and Punjab. It is one of the most under-developed and insecure Tehsils. People are mostly poor and rely on agricultural activities for their livelihood. In August 2010 Rajanpur district was immensely affected by floods due to the overflow of River Indus. Subsequently, in 2012 the flood water came from Koh-e-Sultan and Shacher torrent (rivulet) into different union councils of Rajanpur, causing large-scale destruction in Rojhan with a population of 405,774.

People of Rojhan have been living in a tribal environment for ages. The honor attached with women is an old and primitive viewpoint and people attach it with religion rather than customs. Women themselves have got used to the idea of submissiveness and they hardly dare to challenge the customs prevalent in the area.


50 Initial Rapid Assessment Report for Flood in Tehsil Rojhan, District Rajanpur July 31, 2013

51 Impact Assessment Report, public private partnership to “end honor crimes” in pakistan,through the implementation of criminal law (Amendment) Act 2004: National Commission on the Status of women
Women IDPs from district Kashmore, tehsil Kandhkot living in Chak 155-L. tehsil Khanpur, district, Rahim Yar Khan
3. GENERAL FINDINGS OF THE COMMUNITY CONVERSATIONS

The general research findings include the perspectives and views of the host communities towards women IDPs, and also shed light on what women IDPs thought about them. On the other hand, Hindu women IDPs had special/specific concerns which surfaced repeatedly during the community conversations. Therefore, this section also includes some of their most important concerns which had adversely affected them in every walk of life due to the discrimination they face.

3.1 Host Community’s views about IDPs

Hasanabdal

A few women of the host community in Hasanabdal, expressed their concern about the influx of Sikhs that moved there during the Afghan wars of the 70’s and the 90’s. They showed their unease as they experienced a totally changed environment in their city because of them. The Sikh migrants were affluent businessmen in their home towns and as such were able to acquire prime properties and build huge residences there; they also opened a lot of shops and businesses. This created high levels of resentment in the host community as property prices soared and became unreachable for them. The main reason the Sikhs settled in Hasanabdal was the Punja Sahib Gurdwara, which is the one of the holiest of Sikh shrines.

The women of host communities did sympathize with the IDPs who came from the Tribal Districts in the last decade. However, the host communities are also poor so there is a sense of insecurity and resentment as the government was helping those IDPs out with money as well as rations and the rich Sikhs also helped them. The host community felt left out and thought no one cared about their needs.

While some women from the host community said that they were indifferent towards these women IDPs and kept their distance from them mostly because they belonged to different religions; as a result, the host community women did not eat their food and nor did the (IDPs) eat the hosts’ food. Of course, there were a few exceptions. One host community woman said that she went to one of the Sikh’s houses and had a cold drink, later she had to recite the Kalma to purify herself. A few of the host women said that they had been helped by the IDP women and they praised their children and men for being very respectable.

Rahim Yar Khan at Village 244

The host community of village 244 in District Rahim Yar Khan does not have a cordial relationship with the IDPs from district Rajanpur, who had moved to this place after having lost everything in their home areas. This village is located partly in the Cholistan desert area of district Rahim Yar Khan and therefore falls under the Cholistan Development Authority who had granted these IDPs with a piece of land and permission to build on it; though, the process of transferring the land in their names was still being processed [adjacent to village 244].

Although the researcher was not able to conduct any structured CCs with the host community at this village, she was able to probe and inquire in-depth from the key informants and a few other people from that area concerning the main reasons for the hostility and resentments towards the host communities. She was informed that the gentry’ class felt that they would have to share the already scarce resources with them, especially drinkable water. So, these people belonging to the gentry’ class tried their levels best to harass them by using their influence to not let the land be
transferred to their names. They also threatened them and abused them by calling them obscene names and calling them thieves and robbers. As a result, the women IDPs felt very vulnerable, in addition to being homeless they are extremely poor and are not even registered as IDPs. The majority of them don’t have CNICs. They worry constantly about their safety and that of their children who are constantly under threat of being kidnapped etc.

**Rahim Yar Khan Village 115-1**

The landlord of the host communities of village 115 at Rahim Yar Khan has been instrumental in filing the case for acquiring land in the correct name (the land is barren and not good for agriculture but can be used for residential housing) of the IDPs who came from District Kashmore, Sindh. He also took the pain of giving them shelter on the same land, until all the legal formalities were completed. IDP women appreciated his effort as they were living in inhumane conditions earlier. Further probing by the researcher revealed that these IDPs were working as labourers on the landlord’s fields. This could be a motivating factor for the landlord, nonetheless it turned out to be beneficial for the IDPs. They (the IDPs) were at least much better off than they were in their home villages in Kandhkot, Sindh. When the host community women were asked about their perspectives on IDPs they did not have good views about them. They thought it below their dignity to talk or interact with them. So, it was purely an employer/employee relationship. There was also a trust deficit, but they
(IDPs) were working for less than market rates and as such were financially beneficial to the landlord, so they were being tolerated.

Nankana Sahib

The researcher gathered information on the perspectives of host communities through interviewing various people at Nankana Sahib including a key informant Mr. Kalayan Singh, the facilitator/organizer, Mr. Giyani Singh and Ms. Tarun Kaur, the first woman IDP who moved from Kurram District in 1972. It was not possible to hold CCs with the host communities as the minority women IDPs were scattered all over the area. All the IDPs that came from Tribal districts (KP) and Balochistan (Dera Bugti tribe) fled due to war and military operations primarily from the period of 2004 to 2014 were first hosted by the Sikh community at the Gurdwara, and later on with their support moved to different vicinities in Nankana city.

The host communities in Nankana are accustomed to seeing Sikh and Hindu women IDPs, as Nankana Sahib Gurdwara is one of the most scared of Sikh sites, on the same level as Punja Sahib in Hasanabdal. Moreover, these women IDPs hardly interacted with the host communities and vice versa. These IDP women were not a threat to any community because they were living on a self-help basis and kept a very low profile, most of them were extremely poor anyways. The majority of them were not even registered as IDPs.

3.2 IDPs' views about Host Community

The women IDPs interviewed faced severe discrimination and felt alien among the host communities. The women narrated the stories of their origin, (where they lived normal and peaceful lives), their stay in other districts in the transitory phase and their final destinations. It was observed in the community conversations that there was little acceptance for displaced persons by the local community. Lack of proper documentation, unregistered statuses as internally displaced people and low financial status put them in a lower, suspicious class in the eyes of the host communities. The lack of livelihood opportunities and miserable living conditions added to their woes. They were often considered criminals and the local residents refrained from interacting with them.

Resham Kumari, a middle aged Hindu IDP woman at Nankana sahib shares,

“We have not had a day of peace since we moved from Dera Bugti due to the military shelling, and indiscriminate bombings in 2004, troubles just kept on escalating. We stayed in Rajanpur for almost 9 years, but were always considered as outsiders. Whenever a political row arose between Pakistan and India our lives became miserable, as if we were the culprits; we were always doubted and were never given equal status as other citizens of Pakistan. We were continuously harassed because of our religion and constantly forced to convert to Islam, it feels like we are abandoned souls.”

Rajmeet Kaur a woman IDP at Nankana said,

“We moved from Dera Bugti (Balochistan) in 2004 at a minutes notice, it was a nightmare for us, I had two daughters and a son at that time. We had to stop at several places before reaching Rahim Yar Khan; which was our first transit station, we tried making a life there for three years but people suspected us as we were from Dera Bugti and they considered us rebels and belonging to a minority group, no one was willing to hire us for work either. So with our links at Nankana Sahib we moved here.”
Shehzadi, a Baloch IDP at Rahim Yar Khan said,

“We moved from Rojhan district Rajanpur where we lost everything and took refuge at Rahim Yar Khan. Unfortunately, the host community here thinks of us as thieves and robbers and that is why we have very limited interaction with the local community here.”

3.3 Hindu Minorities — Minority within a Minority

Pakistan appeared on the world map in August, 1947, and became the first Islamic Ideological State in modern times. It marked the partition of the greater ‘Democratic India’ on the basis of a “Two Nation Theory”52, and not as a consequence of any geographical conflict or territorial domination by a group of people. The ‘Theory’ iterated that Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations with different cultures, habits, and identities. On this basis, the Muslim minority wanted a separate homeland where they could practice their religion with freedom, while another school of thought believed economic inequality necessitated a separate country for Muslims.53

The more accepted narrative projected by the Pakistani State and internalized by society seems to be the ‘Two Nation Theory’. To further complicate relations between Pakistan and India, the conflict in Kashmir remains a bone of contention even after 70 years of separation. Pakistan claims rights to Kashmir quoting the division formula devised during the partition of India and has fought this case in the United Nations for the last 70 years or so. This conflict has also been the cause of 3 wars between the two countries.

The Pakistani State, on account of the separation from India on the ‘Two Nation Theory’ and the persisting Kashmir conflict, has been able to successfully create a narrative portraying India as a ‘permanent enemy’ who cannot be trusted, consequently linking the Hindus to India and creating mistrust and hate for both.

It is due to these reasons that the Hindu minority faces additional challenges and problems in Pakistan as compared to other religious minorities. This is distinctly reflected in the comments and concerns voiced by women Hindu IDPs discussed below.54

While discussing inter-religious minority differences, an important finding was that the Hindu women IDPs felt more insecure compared to the Sikh women IDPs. Their greater concern was lack of support from community elders which the Sikhs enjoyed in the Gurdwara. Raj Kumari from Hasanabdal said,

“I wish there was a Mandir (Hindu Temple) here so that we could pray according to our faith. As there is no Mandir in Hasanabdal we have to go to Punja Sahib Gurdwara to pray.”


54 http://hrp-web.org/hrpweb/
We don’t even have a community elder like the Sikhs do, someone who can defend and safeguard us, not even a place to cremate our dead. We have to keep the body in the streets.”

Many Hindu women when probed further shared that although they belonged to Hindu religion, they disguised themselves as Sikhs. Amrit Kaur, from Hasanabdal – came from Batagram, Hazara said

“I read the Granth Sahib (the holy book of Sikhs) to be socially accepted in a Sikh community as there is no Mandir (worship place of Hindus) here, but at times of hopelessness I go back to reciting the Bhagwat Gita (the holy book of Hindus).”

The insecurity of being poorer than Sikhs was another concern these women shared, it put them on a weaker footing. Lack of their own place of worship was also a point of concern for them. In case of death; they did not even have a Mandir (Temple) to keep dead bodies, like the Sikhs who had the Gurdwara. Even cremation facilities were not available in their host city of Hasanabdal, and as such they had to travel to Attock. They further shared that there are two Mandirs in Hasanabdal and neither are functional.

Kamlaish Kaur from Hasanabdal said,

“I am a widow and mother of 3 grown up children. We live in the Punja Sahib Gurdwara at the charity forwarded to us by the Sikh community there. We are looking for a house outside the Gurdwara. We don’t have even an elder like the Sikhs who can defend and protect our civil and religious rights and lead our religious festivals. When someone dies we have to go to Attock or Peshawar to cremate them and perform their last rites as there is no place in Hasanabdal.”

The perception of the people that Hindus are not only non-believers and idol worshipers but are traitors as well makes their life much more difficult. Krishna Devi from Kurram Agency told, “

After the Taliban made our life hell in District Kurram, we moved to Mardan (Dargai). It was not easy for us in Mardan either, people were constantly forcing us to convert to Islam, and so we decided to move to Hasanabdal after two years. Surprisingly, the people in Mardan were way more tolerant towards the Sikhs as they were to the Hindus, the perception being that the Sikhs believed in one God while the Hindus were idol worshippers and believed in a pantheon of Gods. We have been in Hasanabdal for the last 5 years.”

Abeeli a middle aged Hindu woman IDP at Nankana shared that they were asked to change their faith and convert to Islam, so they fled from there and came to Nankana Sahib. She narrated,

“We moved to Nankana Sahib about three years ago; being Hindus, the people in Sadiqabad (where we took first refuge after being displaced from Dera Bugti) started forcing us to convert to Islam and on top of that there was news that Hindu girls in Sindh were being abducted and converted to Islam, this really frightened us and I felt scared for the wellbeing of my daughters. I decided to leave but we had to be very cautious because if anyone saw us it would be very dangerous, we left in the middle of the night and moved to Nankana Sahib. I have always known that Sikhs by and large are much more accepted in Pakistan than the Hindus and as such I am thinking of converting to Sikhism to give my children a secure and better future.”

The women also pointed out that belonging to the Hindu minority was the bottom of the heap, the local community by and large found them less patriotic to Pakistan as compared to the Sikhs, some locals even went to the extent of calling them anti-Pakistanis and Indian spies. A middle aged women IDP from Nankana named Sameena had moved from Dera Bugti. She shared that,

“When the military operation took place in Dera Bugti, we got settled in Jacobabad, we were there for almost 8 years; then the ‘Kashmir Bachao Tehrik’ for the liberation of Kashmir took off in full force and we as Hindus were declared traitors and the only way to survive there was to convert to Islam. We had no option but to leave in order to save our honour and our faith; thus we moved to Nankana Sahib.”
Protection and physical insecurity had been a major cause of distress for IDPs during the conflict and post displacement. The fear of abduction, threat to life, harassment and adjustment in a new place were some of the significant issues they face on a daily basis.
The research findings are collected from all the community conversations that took place at the three selected sites. This section analyses the research findings and its impact on IDP women. The major themes identified from these conversations are as following:

**Safety and Security**
- Physical Security
- Economic Security
- Protection

**Militarization**
- Militarization vs. Military Operation/Action

**Extremism**
- Religious Extremism

### 4.1 Safety and Security – Reflections and Impact on Women IDPs

The analysis of the Community Conversations findings suggests that, security was the primary concern for the displaced persons. It became evident that women in general and IDP women in particular, experienced security issues differently than their male counterparts. Protection and physical insecurity had been a major cause of distress for them, during the conflict and post displacement. The fear of abduction, threat to life, sexual harassment and adjustment in a new place were some of the significant issues they faced on a daily basis. Poverty, access to basic services and identity as a displaced persons had developed unhappiness amongst the families. The communal non-cooperation, considering them criminals, outsiders and a threat to local resources have been the other factors adding to this human tragedy due to displacement.

**Definition of Security**

Protection from physical and psychological insecurities emanating from the confluence of conflict, extremism, militarization and patriarchy exacerbates uniformly insecurities and vulnerabilities of women. It also means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the pattern of our daily lives—whether in our homes, in our jobs, in our communities or in our environment.

**Physical Security**

The major security concern of the respondents was physical insecurity which they faced during the conflict. They viewed that the reason for their displacement was primarily to save their and their family’s lives. An IDP woman Sahiba, living in Nankana;

“I am a mother of 8 children. The journey from Dera Bugti to Rajanpur and then to Nankana was not an easy one. Me and my family were uprooted from our house and encountered life without food and water I have experienced grave insecurity for me and my children for our lives, honour and faith, this journey has taught us a lot.”

The respondents from conflict hit areas of Tribal Districts had severe threats from the Taliban including forced conversions, abduction and molestation of their children. Raj Kaur from Bara Khyber District told us that she had moved to Hasanabdal six years ago, she was widowed by the Taliban in Khyber, Tehsil Barra, when asked about the reason for leaving, she said,

“I moved to Hasanabdal six years ago, I am a widow and a mother of 5 children. My husband was kidnapped and killed by the Taliban. I lived in constant fear and worried about the life and safety of my children and that is why I moved from Barra.”
On the other hand, the displaced families from Kashmore Sindh, (now living in Rahim Yar Khan) left their homes as they were bonded laborers, and lived in constant fear of the local waderas as well as the prevalent derogatory customary practices in their hometowns. An IDP woman in village number 115 Rahim Yar Khan while narrating her story said,

"Life was very difficult at Kashmore Sindh, we were bonded laborers, and the place was also home to various cases of Karo Kari. We lived in constant fear; I was always scared that if we were not able to pay our debts the landlord would kidnap my daughters and us."

Ram Kaur from Hasanabdol moved from Barra Khyber district told us that,

"We moved from Barra about 6 years ago. For 2 years we lived in Peshawar and for the last 4 years we are living in Hasanabdol. We had a flourishing cosmetics shop in Barra, until the Taliban came over and started threatening us; my children were young then, but I was always worried about them being kidnapped. We belong to an agricultural family and as such the women in our family used to work on our own land but the Taliban stopped us from working there also, that was my tipping point and like many other Sikh families, we decided to leave. We sneaked out in the middle of the night leaving behind everything. Life in Hasanabdol is also not an easy one. We have no money or shelter here and neither do we have the money to start a new business, my husband has not been able to find a job here and we can't go back, regardless of how tough life is here; this is home now."

Bano Kaur who now lives in Nankana Sahib moved from Dera Bugti, said

"I am a mother of nine. We had no time to even take our belongings, I couldn't even take one last look at my house
and now it is a faded memory, like a dream one does not remember when one wakes up; I never thought life would be so harsh. As women we are supposed to take care of everyone else but ourselves, we are only born to bear children and have no desires of our own, I am going to bear my 10th child now; when asked why she did not go for family planning, all the women there laughed and said that it is God’s will, a soul which is destined to be born to me will be born. My husband is a daily laborer and we can’t even make ends meet. After Dera Bugti I feel safe at Nankana, safety is as simple as people not forcing me to convert to Islam and not eying my daughters with ill intentions. I feel that minorities are the most ignored and insecure community of this country.”

One of the respondents shared that even after moving from their home town in Sindh, they are facing several physical threats at the hands of the local influential people. Shehnaz Bibi a Baloch woman IDP living in Rahim Yar Khan Shares that

“A landowner from the nearby area is making our life hell, we live in a constant state of fear; he wants us to leave because of the sweet water resource we share with him. He incessantly threatens us and our families. We are worried what will become of us now, where will we move now whom can we turn for help, will you help us?”

Kalash Kaur a woman IDP from Battagram now living in Hasanabdal. She says

“There are not many opportunities for women to work in Hasanabdal in spite of freedom of movement. If there was any factory here, we could have worked there. There is a vocational training center in “water supply” in Hasanabdal where mostly our young girls go for trainings, we have a good teacher, but we are too old to get that kind of training. We must have a Benazir Income Support Card. We barely have an income and on top of that the monthly rent breaks our back and makes life miserable for us. We wish we had a house even if it has two rooms. The rent has to be paid even if that means not being able to eat.”

Humaira Bibi from (Chak 244) Rahim Yar Khan Shares,

“It is the government’s responsibility to give us financial aid. At least we should have Benazir Income Support Cards. We submitted an application to transfer the land that was given to us by the Cholistan Development Authority, but it is not being processed yet due to the intervention of a local influential person in our host community. A government official (Patwari) came and told us, “We will take action.” No action has been taken yet.”

A Woman IDP Raj Kaur in her 50’s came to Punja Sahib from Tirah (Khyber District) in 2010 shares.

“I had 3 sons and one of them has died. My husband was a Hakeem who passed away 13 years ago. The Taliban made us leave our home while they occupied it, we left in such a hurry that we couldn’t even take our clothes with us. After the death of my husband my only source of income was zakat given to us by some people, my elder son now works with a Hakeem in Community Conversation with the host community at Sakhi Nagar, Hasanabdal

Economic Security

All the respondents collectively shared a narrative about the lack of respectable sources of earning an income and the lack of financial support from the government. They shared that before the displacement, they had some economic security, they had land ownership, small business and other livelihood sources but now they have difficulty in securing a decent meal for the day.
Hasanabadal. Tirah was under the Taliban but unfortunately the army had no control over them. I want to give my children a secure and good future and would like to send them to an English medium school but I have no resources to do so. I have to pay 5000 rupees in rent and my son’s meager income coupled with zakat money is not enough to make ends meet.”

**Education and Health Security**

The respondents had concerns about the education of their children. Women from Tribal Districts shared that the Taliban burnt the girls’ schools and did not allow the girls to seek education. Even in their transit locations and destinations, there is no substantial education facility available for them. Regarding health issues women in all the three places face the same dilemma of not having access to reasonable health facilities. Some suffered from serious diseases like hepatitis, cancer, epilepsy, diabetes and heart diseases etc. and had no means or access to healthcare. Few examples below will highlight their plight.

Sadia from Chak 244 Rahim Yar Khan,

“I am suffering from epilepsy and do not have resources for its treatment. We have to travel 3 to 4 hours for maternity and gynecological related issues too.”

Harjeet Kaur from Hasanabadal moved from Khyber Agency five years ago, shares

“I am a mother to six children. Due to poverty I lost my eighteen-year-old daughter to diabetes, my husband has a hole in his heart and we can’t afford treatment for him either.”

An IDP woman at Chak 224 Cholistan Rahim Yar Khan shares,

“I am very thankful to God that after suffering so much at Rojhan where we lost everything due to floods we moved to Cholistan, District Rahim Yar Khan. Although this is a good area but when the sand blows, it infects and almost blinds our eyes. We have no nearby access to an eye hospital either.”

**Identification Related Insecurities**

It was shared by some of the women IDPs in the Community Conversations that the process of registration for the displaced population was quite a difficult task, and the ones who had been registered were basically the male members of their families. It was also revealed by a few that the Computerized National Identity Card (CNIC) was the prerequisite and mandatory for registration purposes; this posed a serious problem for women IDPs since many of them did not have CNICs because of various reasons including traditional patriarchal culture which didn’t allow these women to apply for CNICs as it bore their name. Male family members did not want the names of their female family members to be known to strangers as this is not culturally acceptable.

Rani from Dera Bugti (Balochistan) lives at Nankana Sahib shares that,

“I distinctly remember the military operation at Dera Bugti. We had to leave, simply to save our lives. After a gruesome journey we finally got to Kashmore, Sindh and after living in transit moved to Nankana Sahib. I have, and still am facing enormous problems, we are not registered IDPs and as such are not entitled to any help from the government and to top it off I don’t even have a CNIC, this puts my Pakistani nationality into question also, creating a lot of suspicion.”

Women who had CNICs, but had lost them, were not registered therefore, no support was given. Upon asking for a solution they were asked to make new CNICs at their native place. Bano Kaur lives in Nankana from Dera Bugti.

“I am a mother of 9. I would be much obliged if you could help the women here, especially the widows, to obtain CNICs as we are not in a position to go back to Dera Bugti and get our CNICs renewed. We can’t avail any help from the government also due to lack of CNICs.”

Sonam Raj a middle aged IDP from Batagram Hazara now living in Hasanabadal says

“We have to go to our native village to cast our vote, we want our CNIC from Punja Sahib since we have been living here for the last 10 years, and 2 of my children were also born here but we even have to register their births in our native village. We continue to live with this problem. We cannot even apply for bank loans at Hasanabadal nor can we renew
our CNICs here and as such can’t apply for passports, we are
told to go back to our native villages for everything. This is
not only my problem but many other IDPs from Swat and the
Tribal districts are encountering the same problem, moreover
whenever sees our present ID looks at us with suspicion which
ultimately has a negative impact on our livelihoods.”

Such response by local authorities is contrary to the
course suggested by the Guiding Principles on Internal
Displacement. Principal 20 (2) states:

“[T]he authorities concerned shall issue to them [internally
displaced persons] all documents necessary for the enjoyment
and exercise of their legal rights, such as passports, personal
identification documents, birth certificates and marriage
certificates. In particular, the authorities shall facilitate the
issuance of new documents or the replacement of documents
lost in the course of displacement, without imposing
unreasonable conditions, such as requiring the return to
ones’ area of habitual residence in order to obtain these or
other required documents.”

Ayesha Kaur, a displaced person from Dera Bugti, now
living in Nankana sahib shares,

“I am mother to 2 children and 6 step children. My husband
passed away and now I live with my step sons. I have no
CNIC and as such cannot apply to any government support
programs. No one is willing to take me to Dera Bugti or Rahim
Yar Khan to get a CNIC. When I inquired with NADRA they
told me that since I come from Dera, nothing can be done
and they cannot issue me the CNIC at Nankana. If I don’t have
a CNIC of Nankana, people will keep on thinking that I am a
rebel from Balochistan.”
Women were desperate for proper CNICs so that they could procure the Benazir Income Support Program cards and to benefit from other government help schemes. Amrit Kumari moved from Batagram and now lives in Hasanabdal. She said that

“Many years ago I applied for the Benazir Income support program and it was accepted, I also received all the related documentation for it. But unfortunately everything was on paper, nothing substantial materialized from that exercise.” (Annexure attached)

Krishna Kumari from Nankana moved from Dera Bugti shared

“I am not like those women who want to stay home and be housewives, but I do not have a national identity card and this is a big hindrance in finding employment or applying to government support programs.”

Mir Bai from Dera Bugti had the same complaint, she shares,

“I am a widow and a Gurdwara sevak, out of all my children only two are married. We are extremely poor and live in a rented house. I have a CNIC but no one is willing to help me to get access to Benazir Income Support Program. I have heard this scheme gives financial support to women who are poor, widows and in distress.”

Shama Mai from Nankana moved from Dera Bugti, She shares that,

“My husband died 9 years ago and I have lost my son as well. My daughters are married and I live with my nephews. I am happy here and I don’t want to go back to Dera Bugti but I do not have a National Identity Card and because of that I not able to avail any facilities or support being provided by the government.”

4.2 Militarization: Reflections and Impacts on Women IDPs

The analysis from the findings suggests that Women IDPs in general could not comprehend the concept of militarization. They were not able to link their concerns with the military being hierarchical, hegemonic or authoritarian. They neither reflected upon militarization as being masculine nor patriarchal even after repeatedly being questioned. They generally talked about the military operations but none of the respondents commented on the military system. They did resent military operations, since they had to leave their homes and faced displacement. Each geographical area had their own view on the impact of military operations which was further divided on a person to person experience.

Definition of Militarization

Militarization as defined in this report has the following salient features “Militarism is belief system that: endorses military values in civilian life; believes in the construction of a strong masculinity that is also a necessary component of state power; legitimizes the use of violence as a solution to conflict and dissent; and closely intersects with patriarchy and nationalism. Militarization involves the increasing use of military power by states to further their national interests, with the option of using military threats.”

Militarization versus Military Operations

The respondents considered militarization and military action/operation as one and the same. Both forcing them to leave their origin and suffer the misery of displacement. Many
respondents considered military operations as the main cause of their current situation. They felt that their debacle started when the military action was carried out in Dera Bugti, they had to flee from the area and move to other districts, where there were massive hurdles and terrifying journeys.

Krishna Kumari, is from Dera Bugti, Balochistan a low income group, now living in a host community at Nankana while narrating her story she said,

“My husband was killed during the military operation in Dera Bugti, I didn’t only lose my husband but we had to leave our home too, this military operation ruined me, I became extremely poor and on top of that my in-laws did not treat me and my children well at all. My brothers and my family moved to Sukkhar (Sindh), we tried making that our home for a few years but it did not work out, the people there were very non-cooperative and we could not find any gainful employment either. My brother had some connections with Dera Bugti people who were living in Nankana so they helped us move there. We have been here for 12 years now and I have done everything to sustain my family, even worked as domestic help in people’s houses. I live with my brother now and he drives a rickshaw which hardly makes his ends meet let alone meet my needs. The only good thing at Nankana is that I do not fear for my life, but this can hardly be called living.”

Raj Kumara from Dera Bugti says

“Surrounded by the firing of rocket launchers and shelling of bullets I looked at my beautiful village. I heard that many Hindus living in the vicinity of Dera Bugti adjacent to Nawab Bugti’s fort were killed on the suspicion of being too close to Nawab Bugti and thus being rebels to the army. We had no enmity with the Bugti tribe and the army and thus I fail to understand why we were being asked to leave. I and my family moved to Rahim Yar Khan and after staying there for a few years we moved to Nankana. Life is very difficult here, even though I miss Dera Bugti a lot but I am sure we will never be able to go back there. My husband is very sick and my 18 year old son is a daily laborer.”

The respondents blamed the displacement on both military operations and the militants, which forced them to leave their homes and livelihoods. Presence of the military personnel and check posts were another cause of distress amongst girls, ultimately forcing them to move. Chand Kaur, from Swat, living in Hasanabdal said,

“Bomb blasts were happening everywhere in Mingora (Swat), and our children could not go out. We moved here because of fear and many people helped us during that period, including military personnel. The main problem was created by the Taliban. Women were not allowed to go out and in extreme cases they would have to wear a burqa. Though my children have completed their education after moving to Hasanabdal, but we still have problems in finding livelihoods because of our religion. We had our own house in Mangora, but here we live in a rented house, two of my daughters are married- one in Mumbai and the other in Sindh. We left in such a hurry that we couldn’t even bring our clothes with us.”

The respondents from tribal districts at KP had different views, some of them disapproved the actions of military, yet others found it significant to crush the Taliban and considered military personnel as helpful. The respondents from Swat had a different view, although they criticized the military operations but felt that before the operations, the terrorists had made their life hell by bombing their villages and restricting the movement of women and school going
the IDP women; women from Swat, Dera Bugti and Tribal districts of KP found the check posts a painstaking exercise and some went to the extent of calling them gruesome. The respondents shared their dismay about being forced to leave their homes and face excruciating pain.

Sonia Kumari mother of 3 daughters and 1 son from Nankana said

“it was during Musharraf’s period (2004) that the conflict between the army and the Bugti tribe started. The army targeted Nawab Akbar Bugti, but there were Hindus living near Bugti’s fort and unfortunately 27 of them died due to shelling by the army, the army thought that Bugti was hiding there. This was the first time we felt the strong presence of the army, mostly we just read about it in the newspapers. After this horrific incident the army announced that all people have to leave immediately and we did. We left without taking a single thing from our house and after hiding at various locations we finally made it to Jacobabad. I was very young then and terrified of being kidnapped. We then stayed in Jacobabad for a few years. I got married in 2008, but we always knew that this place was a temporary resort, I never felt as secure here as I had felt in Dera Bugti, but Dera Bugti was a different place now. During the floods of 2009 we had to move to Shikarpur where we stayed for 4 days, then a few days in Saddiqabad and finally to Nankana. My husband cooks at the Gurdwara. I feel secure here as far as my faith and honour is concerned but we live hand to mouth in a rented place where we pay 6000 rupees as rent. I have done my matriculation but am not able to work because my CNIC is not from Nankana.”

4.3 Extremism — Religious and Political: Reflections and Impacts on Women IDPs

The analysis of all this information suggests that there is a different connotation of extremism within the targeted districts. In KP the Tribal Districts and in Swat, sectarian violence talibanization and religious extremism caused them to leave their homes. On the other hand, political extremism affected the minority groups from Dera Bugti. Displacement of women from Kashmore and Rajanpur was due to social injustice, as they worked as bonded labor and faced extremism on their hands of the local wadera who showed disregard for their life, liberty and human rights.55

Definition of Extremism

Extremism can be used to refer to political ideologies that oppose a society’s core values and principles. This could be applied to any ideology that advocates racial or religious supremacy and/or opposes the core principles of democracy and universal human rights. The term can also be used to describe the methods through which political actors attempt to realize their aims, that is, by using means that ‘show disregard for the life, liberty, and human rights of others.

The respondents shared how extremism made them leave their homes where they had lived for generations. They shared stories of abductions and of torture of their male family members and how religious extremism destroyed their peace of mind.

Laila a Women IDP in Nankana said that

“I am a mother of 13 and like many other IDPs I made it to Nankana. Our first transit from Dera Bugti was at Rajanpur, we encountered a lot of harassment at the hands of the ‘Wadi Qaum Sariki’, there they forced us to convert to Islam, we kept on resisting but when one of my sons was kidnapped and we never found him; we moved to Nankana Sahib, I didn’t want to lose any more children to kidnapping or compromise the honour of my daughters. I feel like I am part of a lost tribe that will never be able to go back to their ancestral homes.”

Piyari Kaur, living at Nankana Sahib, originally from Khyber Agency shared the incident about, how her husband was killed by Taliban, and how they had to leave their homes to save their lives,

“They shot him 70 times and every single bullet reverberated through my heart. It was with great difficulty that they handed over his dead body to us for his last rites. I was pregnant with my 4th daughter at that time.”

Krishna Kumari, an IDP from Parachinar had her own unique experience of religious discrimination. She claimed that the Taliban’s restricted the movement of women in her area and didn’t even let the girls go to schools. Their transitory stay in Dargai wasn’t any easier either, they were incessantly being forced to convert to Islam, yet on the other hand the Sikhs were left alone to practice their religion. Then she moved to Hasanabdal, where her financial status did not change but she is not afraid for her life anymore.

Prem Kaur shared that she is from Khyber agency and lives in Hasanabdal now,

55 Definition of Extremism adopted in this report
“I have a daughter and a son, and I am my husband’s second wife. His first wife passed away and her children are married. The story of my life is horrifying and has left deep psychological scars on me and my family. We were very affluent and had our own house in Tirah, but in 2013 my husband along with his brother were kidnapped by the Taliban. We remained in a state of shock while the war on terror continued with missiles being fired all around us. My children were very young and it was very hard to take care of them on my own. My husband’s brother finally returned with a lot of torture marks all over his body but my husband didn’t. They took away our shops and kept on harassing us, we paid a lot of money to a lot of people for my husband’s freedom but after a month and a half we found his dismembered body with his head cut off. Due to fear of the Taliban we weren’t even able to perform his last rituals and finally had to take (whatever was left of him) him to Jogan Shah near Peshawar. We took refuge in Peshawar. In 2014 we finally moved to Hasanabdal. Ever since we came here I have developed Hepatitis. We lived in a huge house and had never experienced poverty in our life, the government did give us some financial help but all of that went into repaying my debts.” (A press clipping of her husband is attached as an Annex)

The respondent from Parachinar, Kurram District, Sri Devi, shared how her husband was abducted for being a Sikh and tortured for 20 days,

“My husband was kidnapped and tortured for 20 days in 2013. I had an unmarried asthmatic sister-in-law, an aging father-in-law and young children to take care of, and on top of that the terror of seeing dead bodies in front of my house all the time broke my spirit.”

Religious extremism affected another women Narindar Kaur an IDP at Hasanabdal displaced from (Tirah) Khyber District, a mother of 5 daughters and 1 son, shared

“I don’t have the words to express my feelings as they are extremely painful, life has been a nightmare for our family. The Taliban came to our area with full force, they forced us to convert to Islam and join them in jihad, we resisted as much as possible but our life changed when they kidnapped my father-in-law and looted everything we owned; besides the monetary loss we got very concerned about the safety of us women and the sanctity of our religion.”
Pakistan is witness to a wide spectrum of conflicts resulting in displacements, they are not only limited to militancy, militarization or religious extremism but also include feudalism.
5. CONCLUSION

Displacement within one’s country or refugee status externally, has an equally adverse effect on men, women and children although women bear the brunt of the flight facing myriad additional threats and often left to fend for themselves with their dependent children. Threat to life forces people to leave their homes and live in places where they have never been before. The horror of travelling, the suspicious looks of host communities, alien environments, on top of that, no resources only adds to the mental and emotional turmoil of displaced persons. Pakistan is witness to a wide spectrum of conflicts resulting in displacements, they are not only limited to militancy, militarization or religious extremism but also include feudalism; it is the epitome of the patriarchal system of governance, treating its most vulnerable worse than slaves; it includes bonded labourers whose movements are restricted and yet again it is the women who are affected the most.

This study therefore, analyzes different kinds of conflicts forcing women to become IDPs; this study also reflects upon the causes and impacts of conflicts on minority women IDPs (Hindus and Sikhs), from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Swat and Tribal Districts (Khyber Orakzai and Kurram) and from District Dera Bugti Balochistan. To save their lives these IDPs were forced to flee to various transit districts such as Peshawar, Swabi, Hasanabdal, Jacobabad, Rajanpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Kashmore, Bannu, Mardan and Nankana Sahib.

This study also reveals the plight of Muslim Baloch women displaced from Sindh and Rajanpur, who moved to Rahim Yar Khan, leaving behind their homes due to floods, extreme poverty, massive exploitation and blatant human rights violations at the hands of their feudal lords. They had no choice but to flee in order to save their lives and honour.

The research was undertaken to explain IDP women’s plight and understand their level of suffering during all stages of displacement. The study has enabled us to fathom the emotional suffering of displaced women, belonging to both Muslim and minority groups, who are currently living in Nankana, Rahim Yar Khan and Hasanabdal. Women of these communities face scores of problems e.g., insecurity, lack of services, lack of acceptance in the host communities, absence of livelihood opportunities, non-availability of required documents for registration are only a few of the challenges that are restricting IDPs from acquiring the government offers, in spite of their diverse backgrounds, religions, ethnicities and places of origin.
There is no doubt that the minority community on account of having no strong communal structure or support system and deeply entrenched discrimination within the legal, security and societal structures of Pakistan, most certainly, suffer much more due to religious grounds. The Hindu minority suffers a great deal, on top of having no cremation place or temples for worship they are labeled as anti-Pakistani, pro-Indian, idol worshipers, which takes their miseries to another level and even puts their citizenship in question.

Disinterest of the government for the relief and rehabilitation of the religious minorities is evident from the state of women interviewed. Commitment to the UN guiding principles on internal displacement has been relinquished by the Government of Pakistan as it totally abstains from taking responsibility towards the internally displaced minority groups. By labelling IDPs ‘Temporarily Displaced Persons’ or “TDPs” the government tries to renege on their obligation to their people. There is a dire need to pay special attention to the further needs of minority IDPs by International Agencies, civil society and most important of all, by the Government of Pakistan. The PDMAAs must recognize the human rights of minorities including protection, better services, livelihood opportunities, proper housing and right to places of worship.

The importance of women IDPs’ role in contributing to, and solidifying peacebuilding efforts, security and development, should not be underestimated, efforts should be put in place to ensure they play a meaningful role in all decisions that affect their lives and the lives of their families and communities. There is also a need for effective coordination and co-operation within the provincial governments and the women IDPs themselves, a role that should be more effectively played by NGOs.

Last but not the least, intensive advocacy should also be undertaken by civil society, to take up the issues of displaced women to the right quarters. The media (print and electronic) should also shoulder the responsibility to bring their issues to the limelight as they have been largely ignored by them (media) so far.

The women IDPs have shown great courage in ensuring the safety of their families and communities, they play an active role and it is vital that the concerns and strategies that have been documented in this report be heard and most importantly action be taken to improve their situations.
SHATTERED SOULS
INTERNALLY DISPLACED WOMEN FROM PUNJAB, PAKISTAN

WRN Community
Conversations, Punjab
Absence of any national policy and legal framework to address the issues of IDPs in line with the guiding principles of the UN, is one of the main reasons for the invisibility and plight of the IDPs.

Women and children IDPs from Rojhan, District Rajanpur and now residing in Chak 244 Tehsil, Rahim Yar Khan, district Rahimyar Khan
6. RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Recommendations to the State

Absence of any national policy and legal framework to address the issues of IDPs in line with the guiding principles of the UN and Pinheiro principles on housing and property restitution for refugees and displaced persons, is one of the main reasons for the invisibility and plight of the IDPs living in Punjab. Moreover, the term ‘IDP’ has been replaced by ‘TDP’ by the Federal Government for displaced persons from the Tribal Districts. The term IDP is not applicable for those displaced persons, who have been living in camps or in the Gurdwara or at a relative’s places or in rented houses for the last 10 years. Calling them TDPs is a deliberate attempt to renege on a State’s obligations to its citizens and is causing the displaced people countless problems.

PDMA Punjab

Establishment of the FDMA and PDMA is certainly a way forward for the displaced persons, because of a variety of reasons. However, it is observed that the PDMA in Punjab, primarily caters to displacements in relation to natural disasters such as floods, earthquakes etc...related to the denial of the state of Pakistan of any official “conflict” in the country. PDMA has also established early warning mechanisms for repatriation and have built houses for low income groups of the population living in displacement. They neither take into account displacements caused by various conflicts that arise on the basis of faith, religion caste, creed and gender, nor do they have any proper mechanisms, to extend any help to the displaced persons due to extremism, war, military actions etc.

To cater to the needs of displaced persons, linkages between the NDMA, FDMA and PDMAs should be strengthened in terms of sharing information on a regular basis. Moreover, the District Disaster Management offices need to be better equipped financially and also need capacity building for their staff to address the serious issues of displacements. Pakistan should adhere to the Guiding principles of the UN for resolving and addressing the issues of IDPs; it is prone to conflicts and disasters due to its geographical placement and as such the probability of such occurrences happening in the future is high.

The Government should first undertake a mapping exercise by collecting data of unregistered IDPs including, women, religious minorities, ethnic and marginalized groups, who have been completely ignored and are living primarily on their own meagre resources in different parts of Punjab; this research points out to the fact that these IDPs are not being accounted for and as such remain invisible. Many Hindu and the Sikh IDPs living in Hasanabdal for a long time, are not even registered IDPs, since they could not fulfill the prerequisites required for registration; this phenomenon is more prevalent amongst women - who despite their various attempts were unable to be registered.

All of the women IDPs who moved (to Nankana Sahib) from Dera Bugti (Balochistan) due to military operations and from Tribal Districts due to extremism and militancy, have never been registered as IDPs, thus depriving them access to all kinds of help and assistance that is forwarded to registered IDPs. These (non-registered) IDPs were initially supported by the Sikhs at the Gurdwara, and now live on a self-help basis. All women IDPs interviewed belonging to the ethnic Baloch tribes moved from District Kashmore, Sindh and from District Rajanpur, Punjab to Rahim Yar Khan in the last three years due to feudalism, customary practices, human
rights abuses, and floods, they should be registered as IDPs and be included in the database.

On the other hand, a few registered IDPs, especially in Hasanabdal were provided assistance at the time of displacement several years ago and now under the ‘Repatriation Plan’ they were offered Rs.35000 each for the re-construction of houses in their places of origin although they did not feel safe to go back, while forcible return is illegal under international law n case of non-acceptance, they are deprived of their status as an IDP. No proper mechanisms were set up to gauge the actual losses these IDPs encountered.

The PDMA and the Cholistan Development Authority (CDA) should have a close liaison to address the issues of IDPs coming from Rajanpur and Kashmore as they are partly living in the Cholistan area of Punjab.

**NADRA**

The policy to obtain various documents such as National Identity Cards, marriage certificates, birth certificates, passports etc. (in case of renewal or getting a new one) remained a problem for women IDPs and, was a major concern for the majority of IDP women in all the three locations. For every document they had to go back to their place of origin, which in most of the cases was impossible due to extreme danger. Although clause 2 within the UN guiding principles especially relates to this issue and shifts the responsibility onto the State to provide them the relevant documentation so that they are not deprived of the legal and fundamental rights, but as Pakistan is not a signatory to this nor have any other mechanism in place, the women IDPs continue to suffer on these accounts. Without CNICs, they cannot be registered as an IDP; therefore they can’t avail support provided by programs like BISP; this was one of the major concerns of women IDPs as many of them are widows heading households or too old to work. It also affected their chances of securing livelihoods and restricted them from travelling etc. NADRA should provide special facilities to make the life of the already suffering IDPs easier.

**Department of Religious Affairs Religious Sites**

While conducting CCs it became clear that there were three Mandirs (place of worship for Hindus), two in Hasanabdal and one at Nankana Sahib, both sites were included in CCs, yet those places were not functional at all and had been taken over by the local community for commercial purposes. This was of great concern for the Hindu IDPs as they had no place to pray or celebrate their religious functions. Even more important is the availability of a Shamshan Ghat (cremation place) where Hindus can perform the last rites of their dead. This matter needs to be taken up by the Auqaf Department, which is responsible for the maintenance and running of religious sights. The Constitution of Pakistan gives the right to congregate, practice and profess their religion, to all minorities; and are also protected by several International Conventions on civil and political rights. A substantial action is required to be taken on the issue of a worshiping place for Hindus.

**Healthcare**

Women IDPs who suffer from serious health issues should be provided with health facilities by setting up an accessible healthcare service system so that the suffering of these women could be reduced.

**State Authorities**

Last but not least the de-weaponization of society is a necessary prerequisite for building peace, no individual, organization or state/non-state institution should have impunity on this issue.

While developing any program around the “National Action Plan” to curb militancy, hate speeches and countering violent extremism based on religion, sectarianism and ethnicity, women should be equally involved in all stages, starting from its inception to development and implementation so that their issues and concerns are not left out for establishment of peace.
6.2 Recommendations to Civil Society

- Advocacy and lobbying could be done by Civil Society Organizations for including the UN guiding principles in relation to displaced people, and in domestic legislation so that the IDPs have a legal framework in place to protect them and give them their due status.

- Awareness campaigns should be carried out at a national level, regarding the IDPs, in order to educate the general masses, particularly perspective host communities so that they can learn tolerance, and acceptance of displaced people.

- Identification and a mapping exercise of IDP women in general and minorities women in particular (specifically in Punjab), should be carried out, without any delay as most of them are not even registered. This exercise needs to be done exhaustively in each district so that proper segregated data is collected for future interventions.

- Field research and scoping studies should be conducted regularly, by Research Institutes, Universities, think tanks and women led organizations including NCHR, PCSW and NCSW, on the IDPs, so that enough material is available, to lobby with the concerned departments on behalf of these IDPs.

- Documenting and disseminating the human-interest stories of courageous women IDPs coming from various conflict zones should be carried out, for encouragement and development of mechanisms for peacebuilding.

- Creating open spaces where women IDPs can speak for themselves and convey their problems to the general public and the concerned departments of authority.

- Create space for host communities and IDP women to discuss their concerns and amicably resolve their issues.

- Inclusion of women IDPs (including minorities and other ethnic groups) voices and concerns in all peacebuilding, rehabilitating and reconciliation processes at all levels.

- Enhancing the capacities of these women, by providing skill-oriented workshops and trainings in order to overcome their economic concerns.

- Civil society should ensure that the women’s Caucus, NCHR, NCSW and PCSW includes the voices of theses IDP women into their projects and future plans so that they are not forgotten while making policies.

- Lobbying with different departments of the state, such as the NDMA, NADRA, PDMA, CDA, Auqaf and Bait-ul-Mal Department who are directly linked with IDPs, to ensure their protection.

- Developing projects on peacebuilding to counter extremism on the basis of religion, sect, caste and gender.

- Including women (of different faiths, religious sects and ethnicities) in peacebuilding projects programs, plans at the local national and regional level.

6.3 Recommendations for Regional and International Actors

- Advocacy for adoption of the UN guiding principles on the issues of IDPs and the Pinheiro Principles.

- Highlight that the term IDP must be used as the legal term for the IDPs rather than TDP ensuring their rights and entitlements are properly addressed.

- Pressurize the Pakistani state to ensure basic human rights for the minority populations, highlighting gross rights violations, against minority women IDPs.

- Collective actions by all human rights, women rights, peace groups and all other stakeholders at National and Regional levels to lobby and advocate for de-weaponization of the region, which is essential for peacebuilding processes.

- Strengthening SAARC for building peace at the regional level

- Easy visa policies in the region, so that peace builders can meet each other on a regular basis.

- Lobbying for making National budgets benevolent to human/women security as well, not just National security.

- Developing laws which safeguard the least privileged of our society, namely women minorities, so that they can play an effective role in peacebuilding exercises.

- Run solidarity campaigns and take affirmative action for women at regional and international levels, ensuring to include women in all national and regional peace building processes.

- Collecting, documenting and amplifying the voices of women at the regional and international levels, making joint tribunals enabling them (women) to raise their voices at the highest of forums.
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Annexure – B: Questionnaire

1. Women's perspectives on “Security”

What does the term security mean to you?

Would you like to share your concerns regarding security?

Which place made you feel most secure/insecure: your place of origin, transit places or your present place of residence?

Could you share your fears during displacement, as a woman? Were your concerns different than your male counterparts?

What kind of insecurities were experienced by you during and after displacement:

- **Psychological:** Loss of family by the hands of military personnel, militants, feudal lords and/or other stakeholders

- **Physical:** Fear of being kidnapped, sexually harassed/abused, given in exchange and/or suffered because of customary practices like karo kari

- **Economical:** Insecurity of livelihood, basic needs

- **Social:** Socializing with the local communities, attending festivals, marriages, deaths etc.

- **Health related:** Access to hospitals, medical care

- **Identity related:** Access to government issued documents like registration as IDPs, issuance of CNIC’s, marriage certificates, death certificates, passports etc.

- **Ethnicity, Sectarian and faith based:** Access to worship places, and freedom to practice one’s religion

Where do you feel most insecure:

- **At home:** At the hands of your father, husband, brother, due to patriarchy

- **The work place:** Working in the fields as a bonded laborer, working as a domestic worker or working any job for earning a livelihood

- **Host Community:** Fear of interacting with host communities as IDPs or due to religion, faith or ethnicity

What kind of strategies have you developed to cope with your mental/physical insecurities?
2. Women’s perspective on “Militarization”

What does militarization mean to you, could you describe how it impacts your life?

Have you ever been the victim of this system?

Have you encountered any military/paramilitary presence at your place of origin and/or during your displacement?

Do you think that the military and the militants, for different reasons have invaded civilian places and in the process have directly/indirectly had an adverse effect on your civil and human rights?

Do you think that military personnel have impunity and cannot be challenged?

How are women/girls in your area being impacted by the presence of military and their check posts?

Do these check posts effect the mobility of school going girls or women running errands?

Do military personnel make you feel secure or insecure?

3. Women’s perspective on Extremism

What does the term extremism mean to you?

What kind of extremism have you encountered, physical, material or psychological?

Do you experience extremism on a widespread or consistent basis? Is it more along the lines of caste, community, ethnicity or religion?

Were you displaced due to political, religious or any other reason?

Who were the main perpetrators of violence and extremism: the State, militants, military personnel, feudal lords, host communities or your own family members?
Thursday, May 21, 2009
By Dilshad Azeem

ISLAMABAD: The Punjab government has decided in principle not to allow camps for the internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the province, The News has learnt. “The IDPs can cause trouble for the province just like the Afghan refugees. So, we have decided not to permit their entry or setting up of camps for them in the Punjab,” sources in the provincial government said.

However, the Punjab government has formed an inter-provincial coordination committee (IPCC), after consultation with the ANP-led Frontier government, to provide aid to the IDPs at their camps in the NWFP.

The IPCC comprises two members each from the Punjab and the NWFP. “The NWFP members will inform the Punjab government of the requirements of the IDPs.” The director general relief and the district coordination officer (DCO), Attock, would coordinate with the NWFP members of the IPCC as representatives of the Punjab.

“If it becomes mandatory for us to accommodate the IDPs anyway, a computerized registration system would be set up to ensure strict check on their activities till their return,” the Punjab official sources said.

As the Punjab describes such restrictions as part of its security policy, the Frontier government believes that such a step would create provincial disharmony as no Pakistani citizen could be barred from staying at any corner of the country.

Director Public Relations (DPR), Punjab, Mohiuddin Wani, while speaking on behalf of the provincial government, said any final decision about the issue would be taken once the IDPs started migrating to the province.

Responding to a query, the DPR said the Punjab government would welcome the displaced persons whenever it deemed necessary. Presently, the NWFP government is absorbing all the IDPs.

Also, Director General Relief, Punjab, Rizwanullah Baig, said the people of the province were donating generously for the IDPs. We will provide all kinds of material assistance to the displaced persons through a coordination committee.

However, ANP Vice President Haji Muhammad Adeel said: yes, we have heard that the Punjab is not willing to take the IDPs and this step will send a wrong message to other provinces. Adeel said the Punjab should also declare war on terror as the Frontier province had done. “Punjab Chief Minister Shahbaz Sharif has announced assistance for the IDPs, which is only peanuts in view of the fact that Punjab is the elder brother.”

PML-N Chairman Raja Zafarul Haq, in his talk with this correspondent on Monday, had given “rising temperature” as the major reason for not allowing the establishment of the IDPs’ camps in the Punjab.

A PML-N consultative round held in Islamabad last Monday with Nawaz Sharif in the chair had first discussed to adopt a policy of extending help to the displaced persons while retaining them within the NWFP.

Source:
Annexure – D

Letter from Merchants to Government Officials

Benazir Income Support Programme Letter
Permission Letter — IDPS of Balochistan to Stay in Nankana Sahib

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News clipping about brutal murder of Prem Kaur’s (IDP Woman from Nankana) husband
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