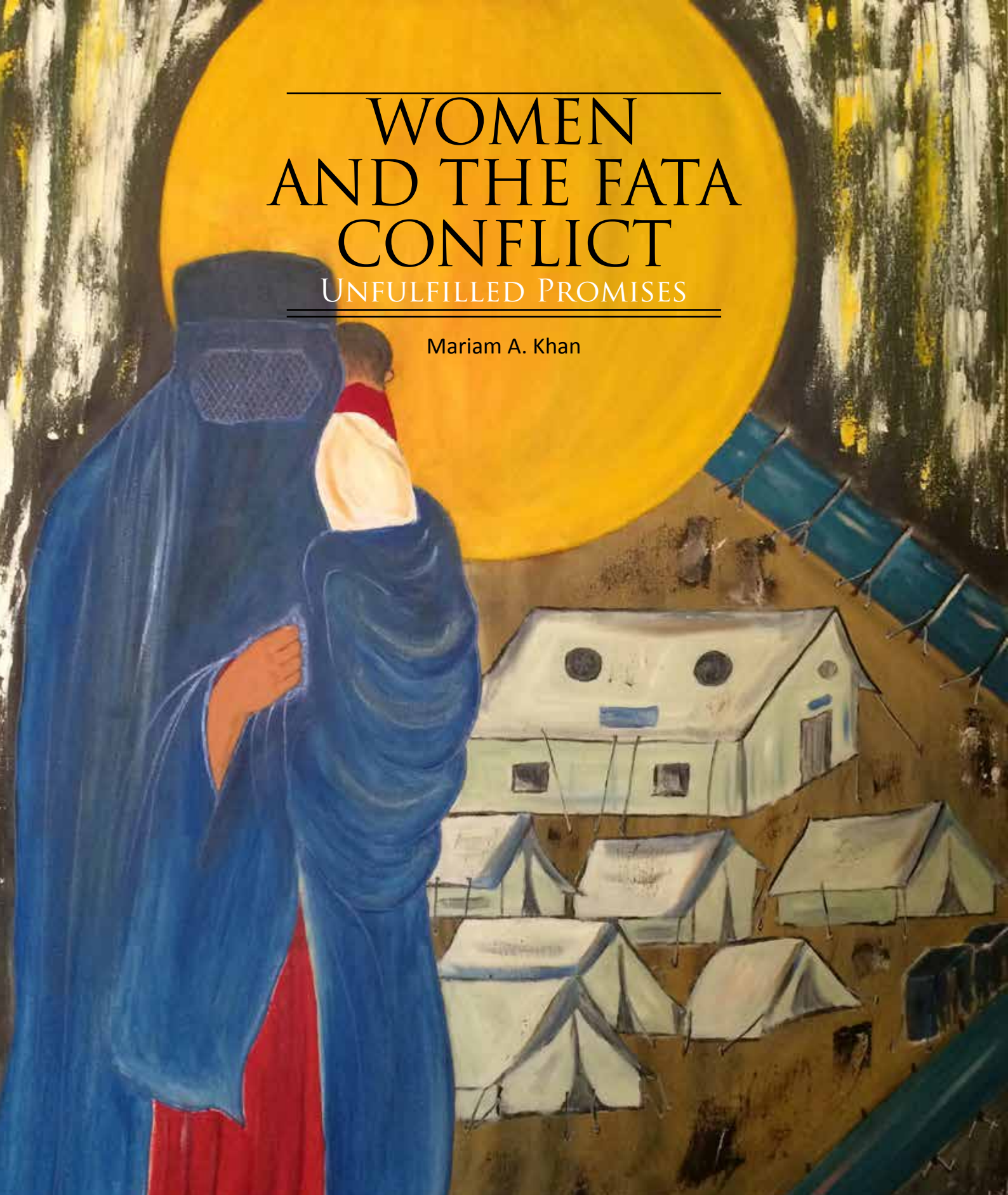

WOMEN AND THE FATA CONFLICT

UNFULFILLED PROMISES

Mariam A. Khan



COMMUNITY APPRAISAL & MOTIVATION PROGRAMME

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Community Appraisal & Motivation Programme (CAMP)

WOMEN AND THE FATA CONFLICT : Unfulfilled Promises

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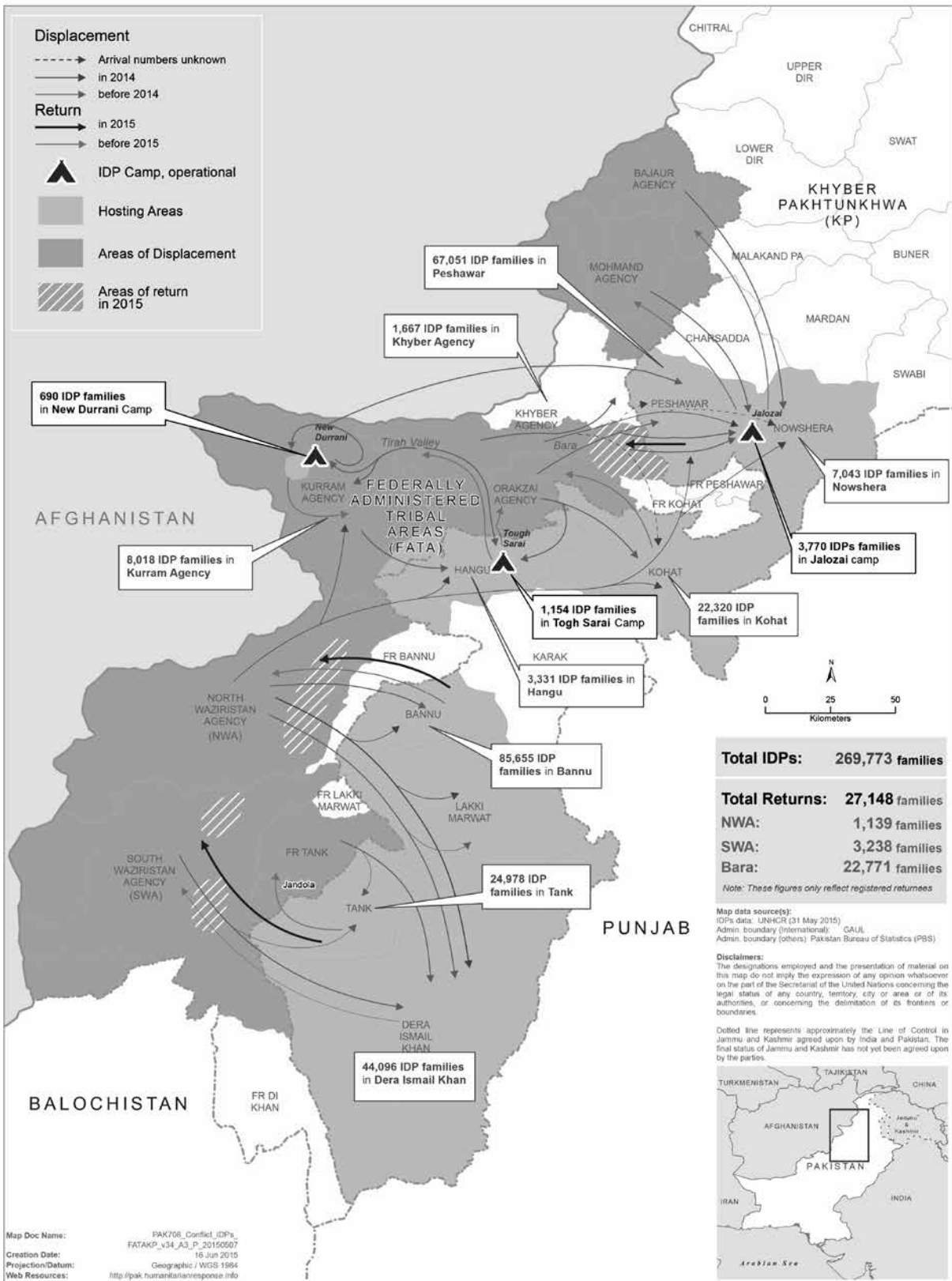


COMMUNITY APPRAISAL & MOTIVATION PROGRAMME

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PAKISTAN: KP and FATA - Areas of Displacement, Hosting and Returns
as of 31 May 2015



List of Acronyms

ACTED – Agency for Technical Cooperation and Development
CEDAW - Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CERD – Centre of Excellence for Rural Development
CNIC - Computerised National Identity Card
CRF - Concern Rapid Fund
DFID –Department for International Development (UK)
FATA - Federally Administered Tribal Areas
FDMA – FATA Disaster Management Authority
FGD – Focus Group Discussion
FIF - Falah-i-Insaniat Foundation
GBV – Gender Based Violence
GoP – Government of Pakistan
ICCPR - International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
IDEA - Initiative for Development and Empowerment Axis
IDP – Internally Displaced Person
IRC - International Rescue Committee
IVAP - IDP Vulnerability Assessment and Profiling
KP – Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
LeT - Lashkar-e-Taiba
MNCH – Maternal, Neonatal & Child Health
NADRA – National Database and Registration Authority
NOC – No Objection Certificate
NRC - Norwegian Refugee Council
TDPs - Temporarily Displaced Persons
TTM - Tehrik-i-Tulaba Movement
TTP - Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan
NDMA - National Disaster Management Authority
PaRRSA - Provincial Relief, Rehabilitation and Settlement Authority
PTI – Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf
PDMA – Provincial Disaster Management Authority
PHC – Primary Health Care
SAFRON – Ministry of State and Frontier Regions
SDPI – Sustainable Development Policy Institute
UNDP – United Nations Development Program
UNHCR - United Nations Refugee Agency
UNICEF – The United Nations Children’s Fund
UNOCHA - United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
USAID – US Agency for International Development
WHO – World Health Organization
WFP – World Food Program

Glossary

<i>guddar</i>	spring or water source where Pakhtun women gather to collect water
<i>kasharan</i>	young people
<i>maliks</i>	elders or influential
<i>dharna</i>	protest
<i>chador</i>	veil
<i>daal</i>	lentils
<i>jawar</i>	millet
<i>qismet</i>	fate
<i>kacha</i>	unpaved (streets) or not concrete (homes)
<i>hujras</i>	A place for male guests/gatherings in Pakhtun communities
<i>purda</i>	veiling
<i>aab o hawa</i>	surroundings, environment
<i>mohalla</i>	locality
<i>armaan</i>	wishes

Foreword

In the recent past, Pakistan has experienced numerous disasters: the October 2005 historic earthquake in North and North-West Pakistan; the 2009 militancy in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) with subsequent military operations against the TTP (Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan) and affiliate armed groups, forcing more than 3 million people to migrate to adjacent districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa so that the military could easily hunt TTP fighters; and the massive flood in 2010 which affected more than 20% of Pakistan.

The military operation against militants in FATA is still underway. The Pakistani military has achieved significant targets and cleared most of the area, however it has yet to reach its final conclusion and must hand over the area to civil administration. IDPs are still lingering in camps managed by Provincial and FATA Disaster Management Authorities and UNHCR. The June 2014 “Zarb-e-Azb” in North Waziristan Agency and December 2014 “Khyber 2” military operations in Khyber Agency, under the leadership of Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif, have forced more than a million people to flee to adjacent districts of KP. This has posed yet another challenge to the Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the United Nations and civil society organisations.

Nonetheless, PDMA, FDMA, the military, the United Nations and the international community are doing their best to bring relief to the conflict ridden communities. However, due to policy gaps and capacity issues, the fruits of all such efforts are hardly reaching the most disadvantaged groups: women/girls and children.

Experience shows that the outcomes of most of these programmes and policies are focused on mixed groups of people rather than targeting men, women, youth, children or other disadvantaged groups who have different needs. Women bear the greatest consequences of conflicts, including torture, sexual harassment, family separation, disappearance and displacement. In addition, they suffer lifelong social and psychological trauma.

Bearing that in mind, this assessment report discusses how an IDP woman is coping with the trauma she

has suffered in FATA and the misery she faced during her transition from her home to a tented village or cramped housing. The report also discusses how this has given her opportunities to learn life skills and knowledge, which she might be able to use when she returns to her home and local life.

This report is unique. It is coming out at the right time as IDPs are still a subject under discussion and nothing of significant value has been published or discussed so far. The report helps to highlight the issue of women IDPs so that policies and programmes are sensitive to women’s needs, priorities and unique circumstances in which they are trapped. In addition, this report is based on primary qualitative data gathered with the help of a scientifically supported method.

In Pakistan, there is a tradition of criticising the government and its departments for their lack of timely understanding of these issues, limited capacity and lack of political will to involve all stakeholders. This report also analyses how the United Nations, the non-governmental sector and the donor community have also missed inclusivity in their programmes and policies.

This assessment report is researched and authored by Mariam A. Khan, the Director Programme at CAMP. Mariam has worked with CAMP for the last six years, developing and managing programmes including emergency and relief projects. During her stay at CAMP and overseeing emergency projects/programmes, she has found gaps in basic services that women IDPs have been receiving from different sources. She also looked at the policies and programmes that are not inclusive and made recommendations accordingly. When she told me that she was interested in conducting an assessment on Women IDPs, all I could do was wonder why this hadn’t come to my mind first. I liked the idea to such an extent that we did not wait for any funding and decided to support it through CAMP’s own resources. Mariam had to face numerous challenges when conducting the field research in some difficult and risky areas of KP.

Thank you, Mariam A. Khan, I never doubted that you could do this. Congratulations!

Naveed Ahmad Shinwari
Founding Chief Executive, CAMP
21 July 2015

Acknowledgements

Displacement is a terrible thing. This was the message I posted to family and friends on my last birthday, as I made my way back to Islamabad from Jalojai Camp in Nowshera, the largest IDP camp in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. I had spent the day with a group of women from FATA, all of whom had a different story to tell about how they had fled the conflict. Their experiences of living in the camp though were very similar.

Having worked with refugees in the past, a lot of these stories were familiar. The quality of the food was poor, the medicines were not effective, they could not return home yet. The only thing that kept bothering me, and does even today after I've compiled this report, is that those displaced within their own country are not refugees. They have not crossed an international border. They are one of us. Why then are they not treated like citizens of this country? Perhaps, I keep thinking, because FATA seems so far away. And what about the women? That was the group that held most interest for me – maybe because being a woman and a mother, I am always fascinated at how accommodating women can be.

A few weeks later, CAMP gave me the opportunity to look more closely into the lives of women displaced by the conflict in FATA by conducting some research. Although the report is very limited in its scope and will certainly have gaps, I have tried my best to reflect the sentiments of women in displacement; their day to day struggles and their dreams for the future. The report naturally creates links with those who are assisting

these women and their families, both in the camps and in the off-camp areas.

I owe the most gratitude to the women who shared their experiences with us, sometimes amidst tears and other times with a glimmer of hope in their eyes. I pray you all find peace and happiness!

I am very thankful to my colleagues Farzana Bibi and Ayesha Zia-ul-Qamar who supported me during the focus group discussions; and to Riaz sb, CAMP's Senior Research Manager who drafted the methodology for the FGDs and gave his input in the questionnaire.

I would also like to thank IDEA (Initiative for Development and Empowerment Axis) for arranging the FGDs at Tarnab, Peshawar. For proof reading the report, I would like to thank Sarah Gillmore.

Most of all, I would like to thank Naveed sb, CAMP's Chief Executive who not only gave me the opportunity and space to conduct this research, but also encouraged me throughout. He took time out to support me during the interviews, reviewed several versions of the report and gave invaluable feedback at every step.

And finally to my family, thank you for your support every day.

I hope this report will contribute towards making a small difference in the lives of those who flee violent conflict in search of safety and security.

Mariam A. Khan

20 July 2015



Executive Summary

Executive Summary

The IDP Crisis in Pakistan

According to the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR), about two-thirds of the world's forcibly uprooted people are displaced within their own country.¹ In Pakistan alone, "an estimated five million people have been displaced by conflict, sectarian violence and human rights abuses in the north-west of the country since 2004."² Internal displacement was at its peak in 2009 when 3 million people were displaced, most of who had fled military operations in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA).³

Of the total displaced from FATA, about 2.2 million are still displaced in 2015.⁴ It is interesting to note that as per the Census report of 1998, the total population of FATA is 3.17 million. The locals estimate the population to be around 7 million.⁵ If taken as an estimate, it still means that a little less than half of FATA's population has been displaced at some point. The majority fled to Pakistan's Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, a region already suffering from a relatively poor economy and weak infrastructure, as well as radicalisation and underdevelopment. Despite the Pakistan Government's efforts to set up IDP camps, almost 95% of the families live in hosting communities while a small percentage opt to live in camps set up by the Government.⁶

Humanitarian assistance and protection activities are coordinated through the Government and UN agencies, and implemented by a wide range of national and international organisations in the field. In 2014, according to UNOCHA (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), the total amount of humanitarian funding for Pakistan was estimated at US \$297,183,760. The US remained the largest funder contributing 37% of the total. The share by the European Commission went up to almost 20% while Sweden was among the largest European

donors contributing 8.4%. Pakistan also increased its share in the emergency response and contributed almost 8% of the total funding.⁷

Despite assistance from home and abroad managing a large caseload including registration protection, timely assistance and return, remains a challenge for all the actors involved. Perhaps most of all for the IDPs themselves.

The focus of this report is women displaced by conflict in FATA and represents the perspectives of a small group of women; how their lives have changed as a result of displacement and their dreams for the future. The women's accounts are supported by the views of those who have been assisting them through various assistance programmes, advocacy and in so many other ways.

The report is based on qualitative information gathered: nine focus group discussions with women living in camp and off-camp areas, key informant interviews with government officials, UN agencies' and international NGO staff and a round table meeting with staff from national NGOs. The desk review included an analysis of various reports, strategy papers, media reports, updates from the UN agencies etc.

Fleeing the Conflict

Low intensity military operations in FATA started in 2002 in an effort to weaken militant structures and clear the area of Taliban. Relatively large-scale displacement was triggered in 2007 when the Pakistan Army launched a one month military operation in Mir Ali, North Waziristan, forcing 80,000 people to flee.⁸ The military operations continued in different agencies of FATA, with the most recent operation by the Pakistan Army titled "Operation Khyber II". Operation Khyber II started in March 2015 and is said to be a fight for control of what appears to be the last stronghold of Pakistani militants in Tirah Valley. This is

1. "Internally Displaced People Figures". UNHCR: <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c23.html> (Accessed: 5 January 2015)
2. Global Overview 2014: People internally displaced by conflict and violence, IDMC/NRC 2014. <http://www.internal-displacement.org/assets/publications/2014/201405-global-overview-2014-en.pdf> (Accessed: 5 January 2015)
3. "Crisis of IDPs in FATA. Issues, Challenges and Way Forward." FATA Research Centre, www.frc.org.pk (Accessed on 3 February 2015)
4. FDMA: <http://www.fdma.gov.pk/dps-statistics-as-of-feb-02-2015>
5. Based on CAMP's interaction with local leadership, government officials of FATA Secretariat and common men/women.
6. Return and Rehabilitation Strategy, FATA Secretariat. March 2015, Peshawar
7. Financial Tracking Service: Pakistan emergencies for 2014. <http://fts.unocha.org> (Table of ref: R24c) Accessed on 12 January 2015
8. PAKISTAN: Flooding worsens situation for people displaced by conflict in north-west. IDMC/NRC, September 2015. <http://www.internal-displacement.org/assets/library/Asia/Pakistan/pdf/Pakistan-September-2010.pdf> (Accessed on 11 January 2015)

a sequel to Operation Khyber which started in October 2014 and forced over 45,000 people to flee Bara Tehsil of Khyber Agency.⁹ The large-scale operation “Zarb-e-Azb” which started in June 2014, forced more than a million people to leave North Waziristan Agency, the majority of whom continue to live as IDPs.

In addition to the Pakistani military operations, American drones have frequented the skies of FATA since 2005. They hunt suspected ‘militant’ groups or individuals the United States of America claims pose a continuing threat of attack against its people or interests, killing and maiming militants and civilians including women and children. According to a report, between 2005 and 2015 there were 309 drone strikes over Pakistan (the large majority in FATA), killing 2,743 people and injuring over 343.¹⁰

The Role of the Government

Over seven years into the conflict, in late 2014, the Pakistani Government announced that the law-enforcement agencies had started action in the tribal areas to “re-establish writ of the state” and “that is why the affected population of FATA should be called TDPs (Temporarily Dislocated Persons) and not IDPs.” This announcement was met with criticism from civil society. Other concerns related to the Government include the lack of a legal framework for displaced populations in Pakistan, and inconsistent policies, such as permission for humanitarian organisations to work in conflict affected regions.

Despite the criticism, the Government of Pakistan must be appreciated for the efforts it has made in supporting the IDPs: setting up the disaster management authorities at national and provincial levels, registering IDPs, and providing security and assistance.

Humanitarian Assistance & Protection

With coordination from the UN and its clusters, humanitarian assistance to IDPs includes: shelter, food and non-food assistance, health and water sanitation, education, skills training and protection among others.

The contrast between camps and off-camp areas is quite stark. The main reason for this has been identifying and registering IDPs in off-camp areas where they are living with relatives or renting accommodation. The IDP Vulnerability Assessment and Profiling (IVAP) has overcome this to some extent and IDPs living in off-camp areas are also receiving food and other assistance, however the challenge of dealing with the off-camp caseload is arduous.

Shelter in the camps is very basic - a tent and plastic sheet. Mud structures have been built for extra protection by those who have been displaced for longer. Tents tend to be overcrowded due to extended families sharing one tent registered under the head of the family’s name. In many cases, worn out tents do not offer much protection in the blazing summer or cold winter. On the other hand, rents in off-camp areas are high and with utility bills, most IDP families are struggling to make ends meet. For IDP women living in both camps and off camp areas, in overcrowded rented accommodation or in a tent, it is a far cry from their lives in FATA where they are used to living in open, well-ventilated houses.

The quantity, quality and type of food in the **food assistance** package is criticised by the women. Since family sizes are larger than the average six members, the package is barely enough for the average family who may not have been officially counted, such as second wives or extended family. The challenge in off camp areas is greatest for women heads of households who travel long distances to collect food, if they are fortunate enough to be registered.

With regards to **health**, women and children are the largest beneficiaries of health facilities in the camp. Despite complaints about lack of medicine and sometimes the effectiveness of it, women are generally satisfied with the services and the easy access to clinics. In off-camp areas, visits to health clinics or hospitals are more challenging and expensive. Psychosocial support is limited for IDPs, although a clear need was highlighted during our discussions and from CAMP’s earlier experience. Women have found a support system by reaching out to each other, despite issues of mobility, as well as connecting with local women in the neighbourhood and at times even service providers/staff in camps.

Protection concerns for women include challenges with the registration process due to lack of documentation (in particular National Identity Cards), the issue of *purda* in camps where they feel exposed and vulnerable, and the trauma of displacement.

Security for displaced women is mostly linked to a feeling of safety and easy mobility, whether in the camps or in off-camp areas. Despite security measures at camps, including guards at entrance and exit points and lighting at facilities, most women did not feel safe using latrines, especially at night. In off-camp areas security is the responsibility of the family and reports of harassment are common.

9. Bara sees another military offensive: DAWN, October 26 2011. <http://www.dawn.com/news/1140458> (Accessed on 11 January 2015) See also: 45,000 IDPs migrated from Khyber Agency due to operation: FDMA; The Nation, 24 October 2014. <http://nation.com.pk/national/24-Oct-2014/45-000-idps-migrated-from-khyber-agency-due-to-operation-fdma> (Accessed on 11 January 2015)

10. Drone attack in Pakistan 2005-2015. <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/database/Droneattack.htm> (Accessed on 15 January 2015)

Economic opportunities for women in areas of displacement, as in their areas of origin, remain extremely limited. The main reasons are the low levels of literacy and little or no opportunities for skills development. This makes them completely dependent on male family members.

Return

The FATA Secretariat with technical input from the UNDP launched the Sustainable Return and Rehabilitation Strategy for FATA IDPs in April 2015. This is the first time a formal strategy for return has been developed by the Government of Pakistan. Although return intention surveys show that most people would like to return, there are conditions attached. This was also reflected in discussions with women who highlighted the need to rebuild houses and infrastructure (health and education), restore basic facilities such as water and electricity and improve security in the areas.

Recommendations

The report makes several recommendations to the Government of Pakistan, international community/donors, the UN and national and international NGOs. Some of the key recommendations include: a framework for IDPs in Pakistan to recognise that as citizens of the country, they have rights and responsibilities; the need to support displaced families in off-camp areas based on vulnerability or specific needs; improved security and protection for women in camps/off-camps; support to hosting communities; improved registration process to avoid delays and include women/other vulnerable groups; design assistance based on the social/cultural context such as taking into account real family size and improving *purda* for women in camps; effective and efficient permission to work/NOC process for national/international organisations; inclusive and sustainable return; and take into account the needs of women when developing policies/strategies.

I. Background



Background

Armed conflict continues to be the main reason for internal displacement in Pakistan since 2009, when an estimated 3 million people were internally displaced in the country from the northern province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA).¹¹ The province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the adjacent FATA region, where the prevalence of poverty and food insecurity in rural areas is higher than the national average,¹² continue to bear the brunt of conflict and the resulting displacement, further damaging the relatively poor infrastructure and economy.

The Malakand crisis in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2009 led to one of the largest numbers of displaced people in history, forcing around 2.3 million residents from Malakand to flee the military operations against the

militants. A few months later, almost half a million people were forced out of their homes in FATA where military attacks against the Taliban continued, taking the number of displaced people to over 3 million.¹³

Although the unprecedented floods of 2010 also caused massive displacement in the country,¹⁴ those affected by conflict have continued to grow. According to the UN,¹⁵ the current number of registered IDPs from FATA alone, as of 31 May 2015, is 269,773 families (see table). The highest caseload from North Waziristan Agency remains in Bannu (86,655 families), followed by a mixed population from Khyber, Mohmand, Bajaur and other areas, living in Peshawar (67,051 families). The table below gives a breakdown of the number of families from FATA currently living in the hosting areas:

Area of Origin	Number of IDP Families	Hosting Area/Camps
Mixed	67,051	Peshawar
Mixed	7,043	Nowshera
Bara, Mohmand, Bajaur, others	3,770	Jalozai camp
Kurram and North Waziristan	22,320	Kohat
Kurram and North Waziristan	4,485	Hangu (including Togh Sarai camp)
North Waziristan	85,655	Bannu
North Waziristan	24,978	Tank
North Waziristan, South Waziristan and FR Tank	44,096	D. I. Khan
Kurram agency	8,708	Kurram agency (including New Durrani Camp)
Khyber agency	1,667	Khyber agency
Total	269,773	

11. Crisis of IDPs in FATA. Issues, Challenges and Way Forward.” FATA Research Centre, www.frc.org.pk (Accessed on 3 February 2015)
12. Babar Shabaz, et’al Livelihoods, basic services and social protection in north-western Pakistan- SDPI, 2012
13. “United Nations pleads for more cash for IDPs”, Daily Times, 29 May 2009.
14. According to IDMC, 11 million people were displaced as a result of the floods in 2010. <http://reliefweb.int/report/pakistan/idp-news-alert-4-october-2012> (Accessed 24 May 2015)
15. PAKISTAN: KP and FATA - Areas of Displacement, Hosting and Returns as of 31 May 2015 <http://reliefweb.int/map/pakistan/pakistan-kp-and-fata-areas-displacement-hosting-and-returns-31-may-2015> (Accessed on 16 June 2015)

Community Appraisal and Motivation Programme (CAMP), a national non-Government organisation, has been providing relief and rehabilitation services to displaced populations in Pakistan since the 2005 earthquake. It has implemented over 40 emergency projects, most notably in the health sector. In the current crisis, CAMP has served over 100,000 beneficiaries through its primary health care services alone. CAMP's humanitarian projects have been largely supported by WHO, UNOCHA-ERF, USAID through Concern's Rapid Fund, the Government of Germany through HELP Germany, Swiss Development Cooperation, the Canadian Fund for Local Initiatives (CFLI-CIDA) and IDEALS UK.

While CAMP has continued to provide services to populations displaced by conflict, it has also grown cognisant of the gaps in assistance, and the unmet needs of the population. It is clear that for a country struggling with poverty, terrorism and under development, ensuring the protection and assistance needs of a displaced population of over a million cannot be simple. According to a report by the Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI), "While gender analysis should look at both women and men's needs, the pre-existing conditions in Pakistan provide the foundation for assessing whether women's needs require particular consideration."¹⁶ This need to identify gaps and address specific requirements of women displaced by conflict is echoed at every level. In fact government officials recognise this as a void that needs to be filled.¹⁷

Moreover, like any other population, displaced populations are not identical and have different needs and strengths. Women are generally more vulnerable than men in such situations and are most likely to "fall through the cracks."

Scope of Study

Although the scope of the research was limited geographically as well as thematically, it highlights several issues that IDPs face in general. At the same time, it brings forth women's perspectives on displacement and highlights issues they face.

This assessment therefore focuses on the women displaced by the conflict in FATA: their perception of their lives during displacement, the assistance and protection they receive in camps and in off-camp facilities and their future and the future of their families. The assessment also takes into account the role of the key actors, national and international, who have been supporting these women and their families in providing assistance and protection and will be contributing to the return process in years to come.

Based on this information, the assessment identifies gaps in the humanitarian response for women and makes recommendations to the Government of

Pakistan (GoP), UN and NGO community to improve their response towards women affected by conflict. This includes recommendations on protection, health, food and other assistance.

The impact of conflict on women is undoubtedly a wide-ranging area for research. In order to remain focused, the study highlights how women's emotional and physical well-being is affected as a result of mass displacement from tribal areas (trauma, stress, sense of insecurity), as well as how displacement leads to changes in the economic status of women. The report therefore highlights how women are affected by conflict *emotionally, physically and financially*; their roles, needs and vulnerabilities.

Methodology for Study

This report is based on qualitative data including focus group discussions, key informants' interviews, and round table discussions with relevant stakeholders. It is supported by secondary information gathered from a variety of sources as mentioned below.

Literature Review

The literature review for the assessment included reviewing the available literature on: conflict in the FATA region and consequent displacement; relevant reports from the UN; data from the FATA and provincial disaster management authorities (FDMA and PDMA), national and international reports on displacement, media reports, survey reports, CAMP's internal reports, relevant websites etc. A list of resources referred to in this report are detailed in Annex 1.

Although much has been written on the displacement from FATA, information on women and their specific needs and hopes are difficult to come by. Even the print media has very few stories or reports covering the issues of women. One of the reasons that displaced women are not given much coverage is because very few women are employed in the print media and their male colleagues do not have access to women. Due to cultural norms, women are also hesitant to talk about their needs and concerns believing it is not something for them to indulge in, or because of the fear that male family members may disapprove of them sharing personal information.

Focus Group Discussions

The most important source of information for the report are the groups of women displaced as a result of the conflict. The methodology used to collect information was Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). FGDs were believed to be the best way to collect information as the dynamic within groups

16. Babar Shabaz, et'al Livelihoods, basic services and social protection in north-western Pakistan- SDPI, 2012

17. Interview with Mr. Yousaf Rahim, Additional Director General Projects, FATA Secretariat. Peshawar, 11 February 2015

of women from various agencies of FATA could provide an understanding of the issues confronting them that individual data collection may not have given. Moreover, several issues such as security and protection cannot be “tick marked” as they need to be discussed in a more relaxed environment where women feel comfortable and have built a level of trust with the interviewers. It was hoped that the FGDs would be able to present the women’s perspective on everyday issues they face during displacement and the challenges for return.

Since it was important to gain an understanding of women’s issues in both camp and off-camp areas, FGDs were arranged at Jalozi camp in Nowshera, and two off-camp locations outside Peshawar between December 2014 and February 2015. CAMP conducted a total of 9 FGDs including three at Jalozi camp, three at Charsadda Road in Peshawar and three at Tarnab, Peshawar. Although FGDs with women were planned in Bannu, CAMP was unable to access the area. The numbers and categories of women were kept consistent in order to compare information from one FGD to another.

Within these groups, CAMP arranged to meet with three categories of women including married women, unmarried girls and widows. CAMP had the distinct advantage of arranging and conducting the discussions with women in Peshawar and Nowshera due to its presence in the area. Unfortunately we do not have a NOC to work in Bannu, and therefore accessing the women in Bannu was not possible. However NGOs working in Bannu were interviewed to get a perspective on the challenges women face.

A question guide was developed based on the scope of the study, which was used for the FGDs at all locations. There was some variation in questions for the groups, however the main categories for all groups included questions on assistance and basic needs, physical and emotional health, safety and security, women’s participation etc.

Key Informant Interviews (KIIs)

The assessment also uses information collected from key informants. Key informants include men and women working across sectors and agencies who assist women and their families displaced by the conflict. A total of 16 key informants were interviewed, which included representatives from: the UN; international, national and local relief and development organisations; and government officials (FDMA, PDMA, and the FATA Secretariat). Although those who were interviewed spoke openly, some

of those contacted, particularly in international organisations, did not respond to the request for interview. In such cases, relevant information was sought from other sources including report and website updates. Some key informants requested anonymity when discussing issues around permission to work/NOCs and government-related information.

Interview questions for key informants were drafted based on a literature review and CAMP’s experience of working with IDPs. The author conducted the KIIs herself in order to gain maximum knowledge on the subject. These were conducted from January 2015-May 2015.

Round table Discussion with Local NGOs

CAMP arranged a round table discussion bringing together 13 members from local civil society in Bannu, Khyber Agency, Peshawar and Islamabad. These included local and national NGO representatives, women’s rights activists, media and NGO staff working in the field. After a brief presentation on the key findings from CAMP’s assessment, the discussion was guided by a set of questions which included the needs of women displaced by conflict, gaps in assistance and the role of stakeholders including civil society, the government, the UN and the international community.

Case studies

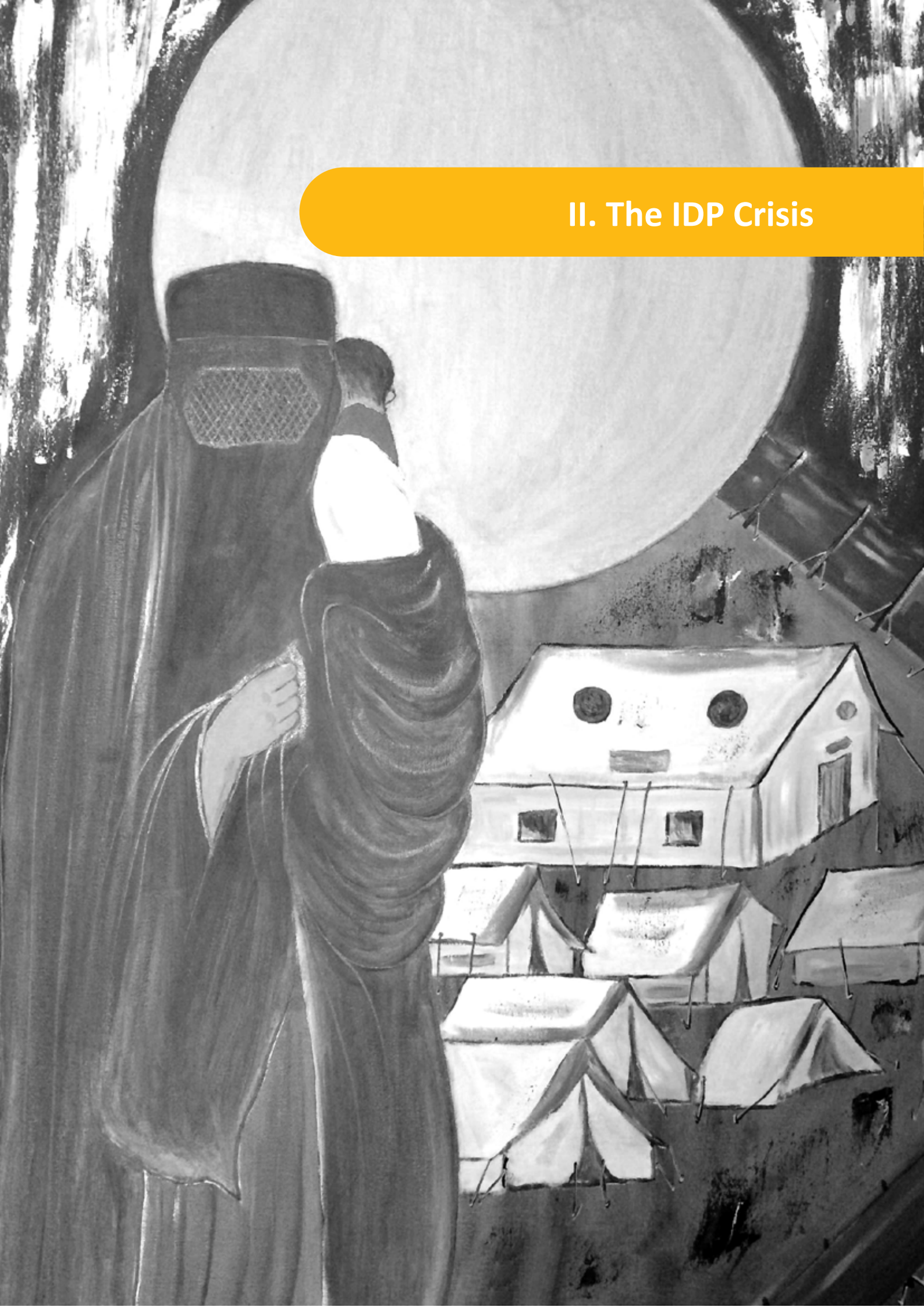
During the discussions with women, six case studies were recorded, three of which have become part of this report. These case studies represent the lives of just a handful of women, however they speak for many more. Information from these case studies has been included in the report where appropriate.

Report Structure

The report is divided into four main sections. The background gives a brief overview of the displacement crisis in Pakistan and explains why and how the research was conducted, including the methodology. The second section gives details of the context of displacement from FATA, the response of various actors and the political developments that affected the response.

The information from the field is presented in the third section and excerpts from the key informants and round table discussion are inserted in appropriate sections of the report. The final section of the report makes recommendations to the Government, UN, international and national NGOs.

II. The IDP Crisis



The IDP Crisis

Why did they flee?

In retaliation to the September 2011 attacks, US-led forces overthrew the Taliban regime in Afghanistan in October 2001. Since then Taliban and other foreign militants, including al-Qaeda sympathisers, have taken shelter in FATA, using the region to regroup, reorganise and rearm, they are launching increasingly severe cross-border attacks on Afghan and international military personnel, with the support and active involvement of Pakistani militants.¹⁸ The local tribesmen, especially the young generation of FATA (*kasharan*) are violently opposed to the Government of Pakistan's decision, under Pervez Musharraf's era, to become a front line ally of the US in the wake of 9/11 attacks. The frontier of Pakistan has therefore become the focus of the Global War on Terror.

In June 2002 Pakistan sent in troops to the Khyber and Kurram agencies in FATA. Since then the military search and destroy operations, using more than 100,000 troops, heavy artillery and aerial support, have reached other tribal agencies. These include Bajaur, Mohmand, Orakzai, South Waziristan, a low intensity operation in North Waziristan, and FR. This was the time when Pakistan witnessed the evolution of the Pakistani Taliban against the army's operations. The Pakistani Taliban provide support to the Afghan Taliban in their *jihad* against US-led NATO forces in Afghanistan. However, the seeds of 'Talibanisation' of locals in FATA had been sown in late 1990, when Maulvi Muhammad Rehman, a local cleric, started a Taliban-like organisation in Orakzai called the Tehrik-i-Tulaba Movement (TTM) that advocated the imposition of Sharia law in the Agency.

With no experience of military presence in the recent past, the people in FATA expressed discomfort at the military operations against militants, who they believe are their own brothers, cousins and sons. However,

when the local people of FATA experienced bomb blasts in their mosques and *hujras* (mens meeting rooms in Pakhtun regions), witnessed beheadings of tribal elders at the hands of the Taliban, the bombing of girls' schools and slaughtering of civilians including women and children in public places, the views of the local tribes in FATA dramatically changed in favour of military operations against TTP and its affiliates. In a survey report by CAMP, the majority (66.8%) of FATA residents supported military operations while 44.6% believed that deploying more troops in FATA would increase their sense of security.¹⁹

On the other hand the American CIA unmanned drones have, since 2005, frequently pierced the ungoverned tribal skies of Pakistan to hunt suspected 'militant' groups or individuals the US claim continue to pose a threat of attack against its people or interests. The attacks are indiscriminate, killing and maiming not only militants but also civilians, including women and children. According to SATP there have been 309 drone strikes over Pakistan (the large majority in FATA), between 2005 and 2015, killing 2,743 people and injuring over 343.²⁰ Human Rights Watch has serious concerns that some if not many US targeted killings violate international law and Obama's own policies, including his assertion that the US strikes only when it has "near-certainty" that no civilians will be harmed.²¹ Public perception in FATA shows that a large majority (63%) believe drone attacks are "never justified".²²

In addition, militants have targeted the limited administrative infrastructure in the tribal areas destroying educational institutions, particularly girls' schools, establishing parallel Sharia courts, and killing and intimidating tribal leaders, or *maliks*. In some areas tribal leaders now consult militant groups rather than political agents, the official authority, for orders.²³

18. International Crisis Group (ICG). 2006. "Pakistan's Tribal Areas: Appeasing the Militants" International Crisis Group, Asia Report No 125, 11 December 2006. <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=4568&1=1>

19. Shinwari, Naveed Ahmad. Understanding FATA V: 2011, pg 81

20. Drone attack in Pakistan 2005-2015. <http://www.satp.org/satporgrp/countries/pakistan/database/Droneattack.htm> (Accessed on 15 January 2015)

21. Tayler 24 March 2014.

22. Shinwari, Naveed Ahmad. Understanding FATA V: 2011. Pg. 87

23. "Aid and Conflict in Pakistan". 27 June 2012. International Crisis Group, Asia Report N° 227.

According to a survey conducted by CAMP in 2010, almost 20% of respondents said they had been 'forced to leave their homes in the recent past'. 21% of female respondents (out of a total of 2000 women who were surveyed) had been displaced. According to the data, most of the displacement at the time had been from Orakzai and Kurram agencies, as well as the Frontier Regions of D.I.Khan, Kohat, Bannu and Tank. The majority of the respondents had moved to Kohat, Peshawar and safer areas of Kurram. It is interesting to note that displacement from Khyber Agency was minimal; about 3% of female respondents said they had been displaced from there.

At present FATA is under the control of the military with a military operation that started in North Waziristan Agency on 15 June 2015. This followed two operations in Khyber called "Operation Khyber" in October 2014, and "Operation Khyber II" which began in March 2015 and continued into June 2015. Although peace negotiations with Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) were initiated by the present government in March 2014, these collapsed soon after a terrorist attack on Karachi Airport.²⁴ According to a media report "the government prepared for a three-front operation: isolating targeted militant groups, obtaining support from the political parties and saving civilians from the backlash of the operation."²⁵

As the air and ground strikes by the Pakistan Military in North Waziristan and some areas of Khyber Agency continued through the summer and into the winter months, the number of displaced people also peaked, as did the frustration among those who had left their homes to make way for the operation. Initial reports from Bannu district, where over 500,000 people had started arriving, stated that "there were reports IDPs protesting over food shortages²⁶ and frustration over lack of facilities."²⁷

Although terrorist attacks and related fatalities fell by 30% in Pakistan in 2014,²⁸ according to a report by ISPR, at least 2,763 militants have been killed in Operation Zarb-e-Azb, a military offensive launched against militants in North Waziristan a year ago.²⁹

Government policy on IDPs

Considering the displacement from FATA started with the earliest arrivals from South Waziristan in 2007, from Bajaur in 2008 and the most recent waves from North Waziristan and Khyber in 2014, the response to the crisis has varied over the years. This is not a surprise, given the lack of a legal framework for displaced populations in Pakistan, donor fatigue and Pakistan's recent political crisis, among other reasons.

IDPs vs TDPs: Merely a change of terms?

According to the United Nations Guiding Principles on Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) "Internally displaced persons are persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognised state border."

Until September 2014 when the term IDP was being used for those displaced from FATA, Pakistan's Foreign Office directed the FDMA and PDMA to use the term "Temporarily Dislocated Persons" or TDPs. According to reports in the media, the FO explained that the displaced from FATA "have not been displaced as a result of war or occupation of their area. Our law-enforcement agencies have started action in tribal areas to re-establish writ of the government that is why affected population of FATA should be called TDPs and not IDPs."³⁰

The civil society has been critical of the new term that was coined as the word "temporary" relates to people who have been evacuated from an area for a certain period of time.³¹ This however is not the case with the IDPs from FATA, some of who have been displaced since 2007. According to some civil society representatives this change in terminology, so late into the crisis, is because the Government of Pakistan has failed to come up with a legal framework for IDPs. Moreover, it has not been able to honour the Guiding Principles on IDPs and is shirking its responsibility of providing assistance to the displaced populations.³²

24. "Gunmen attacked Karachi international airport." Al Jazeera, 9 June 2014. <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia/2014/06/heavy-fighting-reported-at-karachi-airport-201468185852200231.html>
25. BBC Urdu website: 16 June 2014 http://www.bbc.co.uk/urdu/pakistan/2014/06/140615_preparation_waziristan_operation_tim.shtml (Accessed on 11 March 2015)
26. "IDPs protest food shortage in Bannu". DAWN, 24 June 2014. <http://www.dawn.com/news/1114839/idps-protest-food-shortage-in-bannu> (Accessed on 11 March 2015)
27. "Aid scarce as Pakistanis flee conflict" The New York Times. 20 June 2014. http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/21/world/asia/pakistanis-flee-conflict-in-north-waziristan-region.html?_r=1 (Accessed on 17 March 2015)
28. <http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/islamabad/07-Jan-2015/terrorist-attacks-fatalities-fell-by-30pc-in-pakistan-during-2014--pips> (Accessed on 26 Feb 2015)
29. "A year on, 2,763 militants killed in Operation Zarb-e-Azb: ISPR" <http://tribune.com.pk/story/903004/a-year-on-2763-militants-killed-in-operation-zarb-e-azb-ispr/> (Accessed on 17 June 2015)
30. "Call IDPs temporarily dislocated persons" DAWN, 13 September 2014. <http://www.dawn.com/news/1131711> (Accessed on 8 February 2015)
31. Round table discussion with civil society held at CAMP office, Islamabad. 3 February 2015
32. Ibid

The Guiding Principles give “practical guidance to Governments, other competent authorities, intergovernmental organisations and NGOs in their work with internally displaced persons.” These thirty principles include guidance on protection, assistance, return, rehabilitation and reintegration. The assessment report will also broadly also look at these areas.

Although Pakistan has not implemented the UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement through any legislation, the country’s commitments under other international instruments such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the Child Rights Convention and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), all indirectly support the rights of the displaced and the protection and assistance of IDPs. However, since Pakistan lags behind on the implementation of these obligations as well, it makes it even more challenging for displaced populations to invoke their rights. It is also widely believed among civil society that the “reference to rights of the internally displaced has largely been missing from the official discourse on internal displacement in Pakistan. In the absence of specific domestic legislation recognising 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.”³³

The absence of a legal framework was also raised during interviews conducted by CAMP, both with key government officials and NGO representatives. According to one government official, it was not until very recently (2014) that the issue of IDPs became a national issue; until then it was an issue the KP Government alone had to deal with.³⁴ An official at the FATA Secretariat also pointed out that the Government does not seem “interested” in policies for the IDPs. For example he said there is a need to keep track of the displaced population in the off-camp areas, as they are scattered, causing more complications and challenges to deliver assistance.³⁵ Had there been a proper policy for managing IDPs, the registration process and delivery of assistance would have been easier and more efficient.

A study carried out in 2011 by the Brookings Institution in New York and the London School of Economics examined the way in which 15 countries that accounted for 72% of the world’s 27.5 million IDPs including

Pakistan, deals with internal displacement.³⁶ While Pakistan has made headway on certain fronts, such as the establishment of the NDMA and PDMA as focal points for coordinating humanitarian crises, it is the only country out of the 15 countries researched that did not have a legal framework in place.

According to Human Rights expert Mr I.A. Rehman, “What the government does not seem to have realised, despite frequent urging by civil society organisations, is the fact that displacement is no longer a once-in-years phenomenon.”³⁷

The crisis in North Waziristan is a case in point. Perhaps not realising the magnitude of the influx, the Government did not launch an appeal for the growing humanitarian crisis and blocked the UN and others from delivering any aid to the IDPs from North Wazirista. “The federal government has decided that at the moment it could handle the crisis on its own,” said a senior government official who spoke on the condition of anonymity. Using the abbreviation for internally displaced people, he said, “All relevant government bodies who deal with North Waziristan IDPs have been informed not to take any assistance from any foreign humanitarian organisation, including the U.N.”³⁸

A couple of weeks into the crisis the Government launched an appeal for support. The UN and other international organisations came forward to support the IDPs. Such decisions have been criticised by the international and national NGOs working in KP and labelled as rather rash or unexpected.³⁹

Most of the interviews conducted with key informants in the NGO sector highlighted limited funding and accessibility as key concerns. Obtaining No Objection Certificates (NOCs) from the relevant authorities remains a challenge for both local and international organisations. This is also acknowledged by the UN: “The operating environment for humanitarian actors in Pakistan remains volatile, with fragile security, as well as access, social and economic challenges likely to affect humanitarian operations”.⁴⁰ It is unfortunate that the Government is unable to filter the “good from the bad”, according to one official working for an international humanitarian organisation. This official believes the confusion and uncertainty has created space for militant groups to distribute relief items and cash assistance to IDPs.

33. Najam ud Din, “International Displacement in Pakistan: a human rights perspective”, February 2011

34. Interview with FDMA official, Peshawar 11, February 2015.

35. Interview with FATA Secretariat official, 11 February 2015.

36. “From Responsibility to Response”: The Brookings Institution – London School of Economics Project on Internal Displacement, November 2011. <http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/reports/2011/11/responsibility-response-ferris/from-responsibility-to-response-nov-2011.pdf> (Accessed on 13 March 2015)

37. “Displaced and Forgotten” DAWN, 10 May 2012. <http://www.dawn.com/news/717134/displaced-and-forgotten> (Accessed on 15 June 2015)

38. Ibid

39. Round table discussion with civil society held at CAMP office, Islamabad. 3 February 2015; interview with international organisation

40. 2015 UNHCR country operations profile – Pakistan: <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e487016.html> (Accessed 8 February 2015)

Although the government has banned several such groups from providing relief services under the Anti-Terrorism Law, according to the ICG⁴¹ “These groups are hoping to use this crisis to win the “hearts and minds” of the local population. Militant groups, such as the Falah-i-Insaniat Foundation (FIF) and the Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), are actively assisting the IDPs.”

The following section briefly discusses the role of the key stakeholders including the Government, the funding agencies, national and international NGOs, philanthropists and others.

The Role of the Government of Pakistan

The National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA) is the Pakistan Government’s lead agency coordinating the response to natural and man-made disasters and supporting disaster risk reduction. It was established in August 2007. Provincial Disaster Management Authority (PDMA) in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was established in October 2008 to support disaster preparedness and management in the province. It is “based on the National Disaster Management Ordinance (NDMO) of 23rd December 2006 which forms the legal basis for the implementation of the National Disaster Management Frame work (NDMF) provided by the National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA).”⁴² Setting up these bodies showed that the Government accepted there was an urgent need to support the relief efforts for the growing displaced population in the country.

The federal government also set up the “Special Support Group (SSG) under the Prime Minister’s Secretariat to guide and coordinate all activities regarding emergency assistance for displaced people in conflict-affected areas. The Provincial Relief, Rehabilitation and Settlement Authority (PaRRSA) was created in 2009 under the umbrella of the PDMA as a mechanism to coordinate relief, recovery and reconstruction activities in crisis-affected areas.”⁴³

Coordinating with various donors and with the support of the military, the PaRRSA has supported displaced populations in the form of food, cash grants and transport. According to reports, “only 20 percent of the population of crisis affected areas had received some type of assistance during the past year, therefore a significant proportion of displaced persons has yet to receive support. This has been one

of the main challenges for the government – first to raise funds for the displaced populations affected by the conflict in FATA, and second the administration of the funds. One of the reasons according to experts is the “weak local governance structure (the local government), which became even weaker when the tenure of local governments came to an end in 2010.” There is also a clear lack of coordination among the federal and provincial levels, as well as among donors.⁴⁴ Administrators from the state are running the local administration, which means there is little or no room for the local people’s voice in the priorities or processes for delivery of assistance in post-conflict settings (Geiser and Suleri, 2010).

FDMA is responsible for registration of IDPs. According to the FDMA, separate desks have been set up for men and women, keeping in mind the local culture and sensitivities around *purda*. Despite the assistance and support, the most frequently asked questions from IDPs on helplines set up by local organisations included information on how and where to register, questions on assistance and problems with registration and Computerised National Identity Card (CNICs).

The most basic requirement for registering IDPs is that the person must have a CNIC. The IDPs also have to prove that they were residents of areas notified as conflict areas, by security forces. It is no wonder that the registration process is criticised as being cumbersome, and more linked to geographic location than needs. Furthermore, the data from the CNICs is verified by the NADRA, to ensure families benefit from return assistance for IDPs only once.

There have been several issues with the registration of IDPs, including around 40,000 IDP families who were reportedly not registered because they had two addresses on their NICs.⁴⁵ The biggest concern however was the assumption that everyone coming from FATA would have a valid NIC. This is not the case in FATA, particularly for women. According to a report, 51% of the total and 85% of internally-displaced women did not have a computerised NIC.⁴⁶ According to the Secretary Relief, PDMA, “the biggest challenge (for all stakeholders) is that of civil documentation, especially for women.”⁴⁷

A helpline established by Frontier Resource Centre (FRC) as a complaint mechanism for IDPs, received the largest number of calls from women who had challenges in accessing assistance due to issues with NIC and registration. This is confirmed by other NGO representatives and media reports and is forcing

41. “Pakistan’s IDP Crisis: Challenges and Opportunities”. Asia Briefing N°93, 3 June 2009. <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/asia/south-asia/pakistan/B093-pakistans-idp-crisis-challenges-and-opportunities.aspx> (Accessed on 29 December 2014)

42. <http://www.pdma.gov.pk/pdma.php>

43. Suleri, Dr Abid Qaiyum. Displaced priorities, The News on Sunday, Sunday, 27th Jul 2014. Islamabad/Rawalpindi

44. Round table discussion with civil society held at CAMP office, Islamabad. 3 February 2015

45. “IDPs having dual addresses in ID cards not being registered.” The News, 13 November 2014. <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-7-283918-IDPs-having-dual-addresses-in-;8ID-cards-> (Accessed on 9 March 2015)

46. Same as footnote 8

47. Interview with Secretary Relief, Mr. Tariq Rasheed, PDMA, Peshawar. 11 February 2015

scores of women without male family members to go without food aid, and depend on whatever charity or handouts they are given.⁴⁸

The Protection staff at IRC receive several registration related cases every day, and criticise the documentation process for being too complicated. For example, if a woman cannot produce her husband's death certificate, she will not receive a sim card which is linked to the return package. This give the Maliks an opportunity to extort money from people, especially women heads of households who struggle to complete the documentation, to receive assistance.⁴⁹

The National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA) acts as the lead agency in registering IDPs. Initially established under the Ministry of Interior, NADRA 'established itself as a corporation' acting independently from the Government.⁵⁰

Apart from its designated role, NADRA was tasked with registering vulnerable heads of households, in particular widows, to be registered so that they could receive assistance from the Government through a social welfare programme. The assistance was 1,000 Pakistani Rupees (approximately US\$10) a month. With the IDP crisis unfolding, NADRA redesigned its smart card programme to register IDPs at camps. The smart cards were not only a way of keeping track of numbers, but also to support the IDPs with distribution and cash grant disbursement.

The idea was unique and innovative, and received support: "While basic civil services are mandatory for the survival of IDPs, cash based assistance gives the IDP some economic independence." However, registration of IDPs has not been simple, particularly when it comes to women. It cannot be established how many women in FATA have NICs, as no data is available on the NADRA website. However, according to local and national organisations providing assistance and protection services to IDPs in KP, issues with NICs has been one of the highlighted topics at coordination meetings. NGOs are critical of the way the problem of registration has been handled, leaving thousands of women unregistered with no way of accessing basic services.

On the other hand, PDMA staff believe the crisis has been an opportunity for those who did not have NICs before, as they now get them in areas of displacement. This may be true, however the argument is not valid for those who have had to wait months to be registered as IDPs.⁵¹

Despite the Government's funding support to IDPs since the start of operations in FATA, it has been criticised by political parties as well as the IDPs. In June 2014, in the wake of the NW crisis, the Prime Minister claimed to extend all possible help to the IDPs. However, his Finance Minister was criticised for not allocating any funds for the expected influx from North Waziristan in the 2014-2015 budget. The tussle between the ruling party and the opposition is just one example of how much priority is given to the IDPs.⁵² According to media reports, the amount that was eventually released was also not clear: "government sources indicate that the federal government released 1.5 billion rupees to federal DMA - an amount not reconciled with Finance Ministry sources who report a figure of one billion rupees."⁵³

While IDPs protested against lack of services and facilities in Peshawar and Bannu⁵⁴, the political parties "both the PML-N and the Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf (PTI) have been trying to pass on the responsibility of looking after the IDPs to each other."⁵⁵

The positive developments made by the Government are questioned, especially by civil society and the international community, on its "intentions to pursue a rights-based approach to IDPs".

Apart from the civilian Government, the Pakistan Army's role in assisting IDPs and gaining support for the military operation has also been key. The Army has been involved in the crucial activity of evacuating displaced populations, supporting the set up of IDP camps (in Bannu), collection and distribution of relief items etc. According to research conducted soon after the earthquake the international community and local NGOs were generally "very appreciative of the role of the army, in particular for the logistical assistance it provided, such as transport, evacuation, setting up camps and food and shelter distribution" as well as the speedy response. In fact a survey by the Fritz Institute revealed that "most aid recipients identified the government, in particular the military, as the primary provider of food, shelter, livelihood and medical services." However the same report cautioned against the Army's role in man-made crises, saying "it would only serve to exacerbate existing tensions, as is reportedly the case in both FATA and Balochistan in late 2007". This was echoed by the International Crisis

48. "Life at Bannu camp is even harder for women without ID cards." DAWN, 2 August 2014. <http://www.dawn.com/news/1122782/life-at-bannu-camp-is-even-harder-for-women-without-id-cards> (Accessed on 9 May 2015). See also <http://tribune.com.pk/story/743284/without-nics-women-barred-from-aid-centres/>

49. Interview with Maryam Asghar and Sadaf Zaman, Senior Protection Officers; Saima Jan, legal advisor at IRC Pakistan. Peshawar, 5 March 2015.

50. National Database & Registration Authority, <http://www.nadra.gov.pk>

51. FGDs held at Jalozai camp at Nowshera, and Charsadda Road and Tarnab at Peshawar. December 2014/February 2015

52. Round table discussion with civil society held at CAMP office, Islamabad. 3 February 2015

53. "Response to IDPs". 30 June 2014. <http://portal.riphah.edu.pk/newspaper/response-to-idps/>

54. "Khyber IDPs protest against PTI, Jalozai Camp officials" The News, 15 November 2014. <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-2-284448-Khyber-IDPs-protest-against-PTI-Jalozai-Camp-officials> (Accessed on 9 June 2015)

55. "IDPs suffer as KP, centre fight it out." DAWN, 16 November 2014. <http://www.dawn.com/news/1144879> (Accessed on 8 February 2015)

Group in its analysis of the crisis in 2010⁵⁶ and in a report by MSF that states “Humanitarian aid in Pakistan is being held hostage to internal and external military and political objectives.”⁵⁷

Where are the Funds coming from?

Funding commitments and donor funding as tracked by UNOCHA shows this trend. In 2009 the funding, which includes contributions and commitments by donor agencies was US\$784 million. Interestingly, the United States of America (USA) was the largest donor, giving almost 42% of the funding. This was followed by the United Arab Emirates at 13%, the European Commission at 9% and the United Kingdom, Japan and other European countries including Germany, Norway etc. Pakistan contributed around US\$25 million, 3.3% of the total funding for emergencies in 2009.⁵⁸

Fast forward to 2014 and the funding fell drastically to US\$298 million, with the US still the largest funder contributing 37% of the total. The share by the European Commission went up to almost 20% while Sweden was among the largest European country donor contributing 8.4%. Pakistan also increased its share in the emergency response and contributed almost 8% of the total funding.⁵⁹ The drop in funding could be attributed to donor fatigue, as well as donor agencies shifting priorities to other international crisis such as the Syrian refugee crisis.

In 2015, according to Pakistan’s Finance Minister Mr Ishaq Dar, “Pakistan will not beg from other countries for financial assistance and will represent its case in a graceful and respectable manner.” This statement came after the second Donors Conference held at Islamabad in November 2014, where notably the US did not make any commitment to support the Zarb-e-azb operation or the IDPs. However as per the UNOCHA Fund tracking system, the US has committed to contribute US\$66,583,506 in 2015 for emergencies in Pakistan.⁶⁰

Despite the support that has poured in from national and international quarters, the Government’s responsibility in coordinating efforts, gaining public support for the military operation and providing assistance for relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction, remains key.

Role of Donor Agencies

Since 2009 the United States has provided over \$1.4 billion in humanitarian assistance to the people of Pakistan, making it the largest bilateral provider of humanitarian support.⁶¹ In 2009, the US provided almost half of the total funding, which included

support to both the Malakand IDPs as well as the displaced populations from FATA. “The United States Embassy announces an additional contribution of \$9.3 million to help the government of Pakistan meet the health, water, sanitation, and livelihood needs of internally displaced persons (IDPs) from the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). These funds will be provided through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).” This new funding brings the total US contribution benefiting IDPs from North Waziristan to \$17.3 million including \$8 million in food assistance for IDPs in June 2014.

The United Kingdom also continues to support humanitarian interventions in Pakistan. Within its Bilateral Programme for Pakistan (2012/13/14), DFID provided £13.5 million to humanitarian programmes supporting some 1.8m people in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. According to DFID, “The beneficiaries will be both Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) who have been forced to flee armed violence in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), and the communities hosting them in KP.” The funds will support water and sanitation, health and livelihood activities. The funding will also support the IDP Vulnerability Assessment and Profiling (IVAP) programme, which is run by the International Rescue Committee, “and is a key mechanism for monitoring the status and vulnerability of IDPs living off-camp... IVAP is the only reliable source of information for the design of cost-effective programmes in support of IDPs in Pakistan.”

In addition to the \$23 million in humanitarian assistance Australia has given IDPs since October 2008, they responded to an urgent call for support from the World Food Programme (WFP) on 21 November 2014. The Australian Government announced support of a further \$5 million to help people displaced due to conflict in North-West Pakistan.⁶²

The World Bank (together with PaRRSA) is funding and implementing an emergency recovery project to support the government of Pakistan, and more specifically the authorities in KP and FATA, in their recovery efforts. The project, established in 2011 and closing at the end of 2014, has three components:

- i) safety net support grants to poor and vulnerable households affected by the militancy crisis in target areas (US\$180 million);
- ii) conditional cash transfers for human development to poor and vulnerable households (US\$85 million); and

56. ICG Asia Briefing N°69

57. We do not trust that’: Politicised assistance in north-west Pakistan by Jonathan Whittall, MSF. Issue 49 February 2011, Humanitarian Exchange Magazine

58. UNOCHA Financial Tracking System: <http://fts.unocha.org> (Table of ref: R24c)

59. Ibid

60. Pakistan emergencies for 2015, Financial Tracking System: https://fts.unocha.org/reports/daily/ocha_R24c_C163_Y2015_asof__1507030302.pdf

61. <http://www.usaid.gov/pakistan/news-information/press-releases/united-states-provides-additional-93-million-assist-idps-us>

62. Australian High Commission website: <http://www.pakistan.embassy.gov.au/> (Accessed on 17 February 2015)

- iii) capacity-building and implementation support for post-disaster safety nets (US\$20 million). The project aims to reach 250,000 direct beneficiaries (World Bank, 2010).

Since 2009, the European Union's humanitarian aid in Pakistan has totalled €443 million. Relief items have also been channelled to flood victims through the EU Civil Protection Mechanism.

In 2014, ECHO supported displaced populations, providing food assistance, shelter, healthcare, access to safe drinking water, sanitation facilities and protection to conflict-displaced families in camps as well as to those living with host families outside the camps. In 2014, the humanitarian assistance to Pakistan was €45 million.⁶³

The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany has been one of the key donors supporting the IDP crisis in Pakistan. For example, in 2014 4.5% of the total funding to Pakistan's humanitarian sector was made by the German government, who contributed US\$13,521,223.⁶⁴ This includes supporting relief activities of the World Food Program (WFP) for the FATA IDPs through a "twinning-project". The German grant of more than 129,000,000 PKR will be combined with an in-kind grant by the Government of Pakistan of 6,863 metric tons of wheat.

The German Government also signed an agreement to contribute €1 million to support the rehabilitation and return of displaced persons from the North Waziristan Agency of FATA.

Private donors and charity

The outpouring of money and relief during the earthquake of 2005 set a precedent for individuals, the corporate sector and other private donors who now support the humanitarian crisis in the country. According to a report in 2014, charitable donations to NGOs in Pakistan reached 100 billion Pakistani Rupees annually.⁶⁵ Support to the displaced from FATA has come from across the country as individuals networked to send relief items and money. Relief centres were set up by organisations and individuals collected donations through word of mouth. Unfortunately, according to research, "this solidarity within Pakistan has gone almost unnoticed in international circles (PCP, 2009; SPO, 2011)."

Despite the support from the international community and the Government of Pakistan, "A criticism of the international response by communities is that assistance

has been 'supply based' and not 'need based'.⁶⁶ This again highlights the importance of effective need-based assessments that are not only easily accessible but also widely understood and applicable.

UN Agencies

Several UN agencies are involved in coordination, provision of services and protection. The key agencies include UNHCR, UNOCHA, WFP, WHO UNICEF, UNDP and UN Women. Their role is appreciated by the Government and civil society, despite the challenges faced by the UN agencies.

According to an official at the FDMA, the Government should think about what would happen when UN agencies pull out. "We need to build our own capacities, the Government as well as non-government sectors need to be strengthened for conflict/crisis management. Line departments also need to be involved in such large scale displacement. It is too much for FDMA and PDMA to handle alone. Systems and mechanisms are ad hoc and these really need to be developed."⁶⁷

UNHCR is the lead agency in "maintaining IDP camps and protecting their rights including by supporting the Government's registration processes, legal aid/civil documentation support, and monitoring." In 2015, the agency "will continue to lead humanitarian efforts focused on protection, shelter and camp coordination/camp management during the complex emergency as part of a UN inter-agency response."⁶⁸

"OCHA is responsible for bringing together humanitarian actors in Pakistan to ensure a coherent response to emergencies and to assist people when they most need humanitarian assistance." OCHA also supports the cluster system, which was set up in Pakistan after the 2005 earthquake. "OCHA manages two pooled-funds mechanisms, the Central Emergency Response Fund (CERF) and Emergency Response Fund (ERF), which provide assistance for food, water, shelter, health care, nutrition and protection support to people affected by natural disasters and complex emergencies. Since 2007, Pakistan has received more than US\$168 million from the CERF to address urgent humanitarian needs, while the ERF has disbursed over \$42 million since its inception in 2010".⁶⁹ Although the cluster system is generally appreciated for coordination among NGOs, the UN and government, as well

63. Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection, EC website: <http://ec.europa.eu/echo/en/where/asia-and-oceania/pakistan> (Accessed on 17 February 2015)

64. Pakistan emergencies for 2014. UNOCHA Financial Tracking System: https://fts.unocha.org/reports/daily/ocha_R24c_C163_Y2014_asof__1507120300.pdf

65. "Donations to NGOs in Pakistan has reached Rs. 100 billion annually." The News, <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-4-263492-Donations-to-NGOs-in-Pakistan-has-reached-R'9s100bn-annually> (Accessed on 20 February 2015)

66. Babar Shabaz, et'al Livelihoods, basic services and social protection in north-western Pakistan- SDPI, 2012

67. Interview with FDMA official, Peshawar, 11 February 2015.

68. UNHCR Global Appeal 2015 Update

69. United Nations, humanitarian assistance page: http://www.un.org.pk/?page_id=213 (Accessed 5 June 2015)

as raising funds and advocacy, clusters are also criticised for being disorganised and at times ignoring “smaller, local organisations.” This is a particular issue for the Protection Cluster, which has been successful in raising issues but has lacked the support in terms of funding and commitment to pursue advocacy on human rights issues.⁷⁰

The World Food Program (WFP) “is the largest international humanitarian agency providing food assistance in the country and, together with partners, has been closely collaborating with the Government of Pakistan at both federal and provincial levels to align its strategies with national priorities addressing food and nutrition security as well as enhance national disaster preparedness and response.” According to a report in early 2015, WFP was assisting more than 1.6 million IDPs and returnees from conflict affected FATA agencies.

UNICEF – the United Nations Children’s Fund works to “make positive differences in the lives of the most disadvantaged children and women”. In Pakistan UNICEF has been providing support to the displaced in the following ways: improving maternal, new born and child health care; providing water, sanitation and hygiene; supporting children’s education; and protection. The scale of UNICEF’s support to the IDPs is evident in the fact that in 2013 “UNICEF supported around 270,000 individuals to access safe drinking water through water trucking and pipe networking in Jalozaï, Togh Sarai and New Durrani Camps, as well as rehabilitation or water supply schemes and installation of pumps in host communities and in areas of return. Almost 90 per cent of the displaced persons supported by these interventions are living outside of the official camps.”⁷¹

Local and International NGOs

The response of NGOs towards the displaced population from FATA has been quite noticeable, despite a challenging environment for international organisations and their staff. Although in this study it was not possible to cover the names and services of all organisations, some of the prominent international organisations that provide a range of services include:

- Health - Merlin, International Rescue Committee (IRC), Concern Rapid Fund
- Protection and legal support - IRC, Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC)

- Distribution of food and other items - NRC, Save the Children, IRC, Oxfam
- Water and sanitation services - ACTED, Oxfam, NRC
- Shelter - NRC, ACTED, Oxfam
- Food security and livelihoods - ACTED, Oxfam

While some organisations work directly in the field, others tend to work through local partners. This has been the case with most international organisations due to the growing restrictions, particularly working in the “conflict affected areas” as designated by the Government of Pakistan, Although working with local partners means they can have more outreach and be better able to identify the needs on the ground, it also means having to rely on a partner that may have issues of capacity or accountability.⁷²

According to an international staff member it is more important for local organisations to be on the ground, while the international organisations should expand their role to advocate and raise funds.⁷³ This would also help local organisations, according to local NGO representatives, to work more freely and without the Government or communities doubting their intentions, as internationals are generally perceived to have a “foreign” or “western” agenda.

One of the greatest challenges for international NGOs has been raising funds. Donor interest declining and other humanitarian emergencies such as the Syrian refugee crisis have certainly affected the funding levels. Another major concern is access both for international NGOs as well as the local partners they work through. This seems to have become increasingly difficult over the last three years and is attributed by many to the case of Dr. Shakil Afridi and the Osama Bin Laden episode.

The biggest issue for women displaced by conflict remains civil documentation, according to staff working with an international organisation that provides protection services at a camp outside Peshawar and in the hosting areas. According to protection staff at IRC, who deal with several such cases every day, many men have more than one wife, which can mean that the husband supports the most recent wife while the others are left to fend for themselves and their children.⁷⁴

Like international NGOs, local and some national NGOs play a key role in supporting displaced families in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa’s districts. The biggest advantage of local organisations is communities accepting them and their presence in areas where IDPs have arrived.

70. KII/RT

71. UNICEF Pakistan, Annual Report 2013 http://www.unicef.org/pakistan/FINAL_UNICEF_Annual_Report_2013_-_Version_11.1.pdf accessed: 22 May 2015

72. KII – CRF/IRC

73. Interview with Ivana Chapcakova, Women’s protection and empowerment Coordinator, IRC Pakistan. Islamabad, 27 February 2015.

74. Interview with Maryam Asghar and Sadaf Zaman, Senior Protection Officers, IRC Pakistan. Peshawar, 5 March 2015.

Organisations such as CERD, CAMP, Khwendo Kor, IDEA, Sawera and others have been working with the displaced families since the beginning of the crisis: distributing food and relief items; providing primary health and MNCH services; livelihood support and protection; education; WASH etc.

The representatives of these organisations echo the concerns of larger international NGOs: one of the biggest issues women face is the lack of civil documentation. The majority either do not have NICs or because of a change of status (widowed or divorced), and so are unable to access assistance.

Gaps in coordination at different levels was highlighted by all the representatives. While some believe there is a gap between the NGOs and the UN, others say there is a lack of coordination among the PDMA, SAFRON and Pakistan Army, which led to delays in facilitating the NW influx in 2014.

Another issue brought up by the representatives was the challenge of employing enough female staff at registration desks, health facilities and other places where women can easily access services. Although the FDMA and PDMA both said that their “Gender cells” ensure women are helped by their female staff and are respected as per the local culture, NGOs believe this is a challenge.

According to Maryam Bibi, the CEO of Khwendo Kor, rights-based organisations are almost non-existent while most local and international organisations are too busy providing aid. Although there is a working group in Bannu chaired by the AC Bannu, Ms Rukhshada Naz (human rights activist) also said that policy issues are forgotten by the Government. She said it was important to take stock of how effective aid really is.

The representatives of local NGOs were also critical of the role of the media. A journalist present at the meeting admitted that the media had failed to cover issues of IDPs, particularly women’s issues, as there are so few women working in the media who could access the IDPs. According to another report however, “The Pakistani media has also played a positive role in terms of fund collection. There are about 50 independent TV channels in Pakistan and many of them ran special earthquake/IDP/flood transmissions on which various celebrities made appeals for donations and collected funds.”⁷⁵

Political Developments

The political environment of the country in 2014 was not supportive of the IDPs who started arriving in their thousands in Bannu district and surrounding areas in June 2014. Since the military operation

Zarb-e-azb had been planned some time before the displacement began, authorities were criticised for their lack of preparedness to receive such large numbers in a region already so underdeveloped. According to one of the national newspapers the humanitarian response was said to be, ““one of the more miserable and haphazard IDP management programmes in memory”.”⁷⁶

“North Waziristan has been on the anvil for a very, very long time and the Government should have been prepared for every eventuality” according to Afrasiab Khattak, a human rights activist and senator from KP. “Unfortunately in our country we only think of military aspects of an operation and no one bothers with the humanitarian crisis.”⁷⁷ Human rights activists also disapproved of the government’s policy on IDPs being stopped from moving into other provinces, restricting their right to freedom of movement.

In August 2014, barely two months into the IDP crisis, the leading party in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI), staged a ‘*dharna*’ or protest against the elected government to accept certain demands including election reforms. The long drawn out *dharna* was certainly one of the factors that sidelined the IDP crisis. “The political crisis triggered by the PTI and PAT sit-ins in Islamabad had shifted the attention of the federal and provincial governments away from their misery.”⁷⁸

The National Humanitarian Network, which is an umbrella of local NGOs, also issued a statement to the media complaining “lack of coordination among government institutions and a poor registration system had increased the misery of hundreds of thousands of IDPs from North Waziristan”. Local NGOs working in Bannu and Peshawar agreed that while the IDPs struggled to get registered and protested delays in receiving assistance, high ranking government officials from KP were in Islamabad to support the party’s protest.

The attack on the Army Public School on 16 December 2015 in Peshawar was one of the most heinous attacks in the history of Pakistan, leaving over 150 children and school staff dead. The Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) claimed responsibility for the deadly attack, saying it was revenge for Operation Zarb-e-Azb, the Pakistani army’s offensive in North Waziristan. The attack was widely condemned by the Government, the public, political and religious groups, the media and others with a unanimous call for a strong reaction against TTP and other militant groups. The attack also received a

75. Floods in Pak is tan: Socio-political and ‘ techno-nature’ challenges – at f first glance. Urs Geiser1 and Abid Qayum Suleri 2, August 23, 2010. http://www.dsgz.geo.uzh.ch/pdfs/Pakistan_FloodChallenges.pdf

76. “Unfolding Crisis”: <http://www.dawn.com/news/1115119>

77. Pakistan ‘unprepared’ for refugees fleeing operation against Taliban: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/26/pakistan-displaced-military-operation-taliban-north-waziristan-humanitarian-assistance> (accessed 17 June 2015)

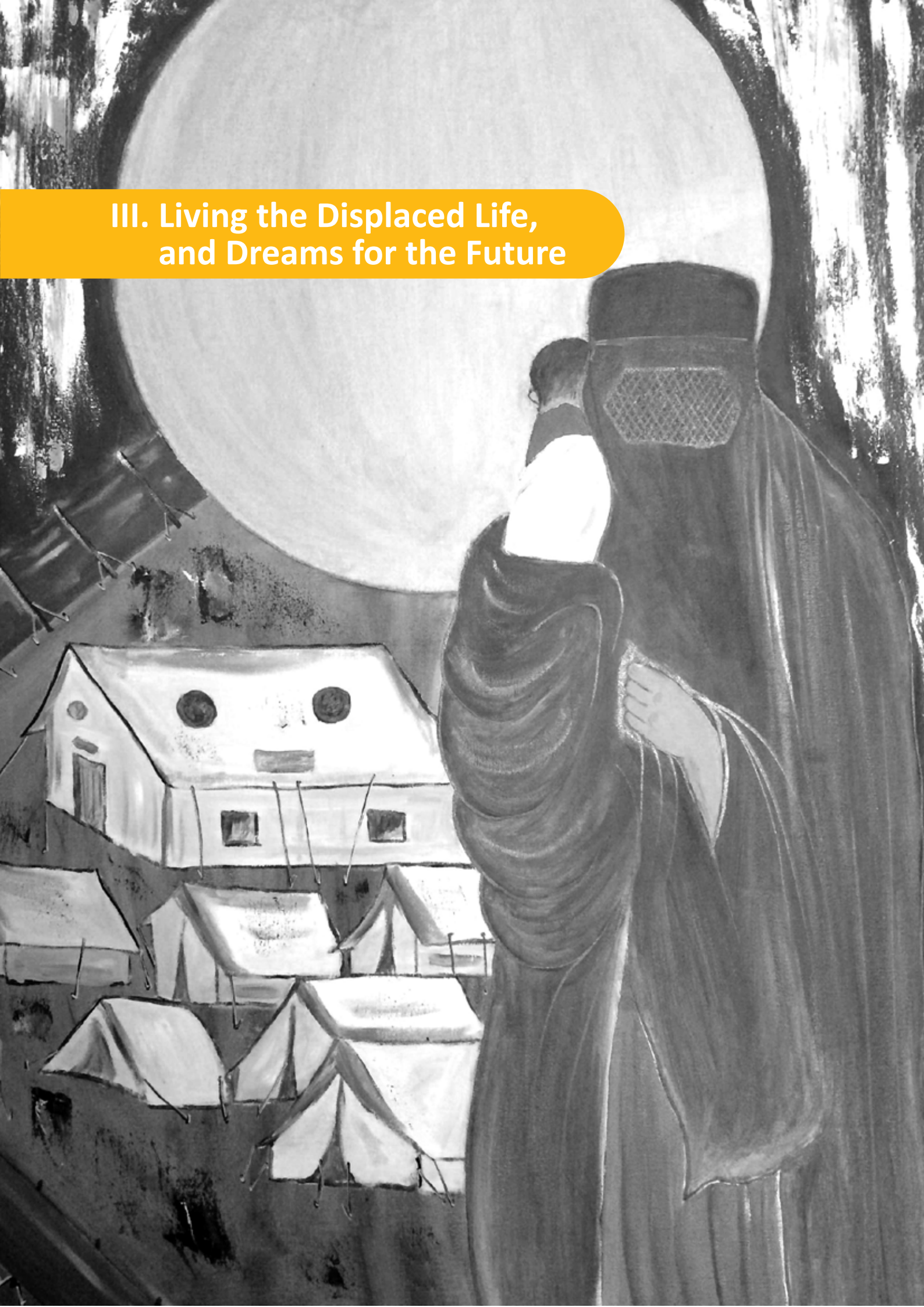
78. Sit-ins shift govt attention away from IDPs’ misery:s <http://www.dawn.com/news/1130848>

strong reaction from the international community. The military played a key role by showing its support to the victims' families as well as the survivors. Moreover, the Chief of Pakistan Army Staff, General Raheel Sharif, met with the Afghanistan Army Chief, General Sher Mohammad Karimi, and commander of US-led ISAF, General John F Campbell, on 23 December 2014,

at the General Headquarters in Rawalpindi. "Both Afghanistan and ISAF assured the army chief they would eliminate militant hideouts after General Raheel shared 'vital intelligence' linking the Peshawar school massacre with TTP sanctuaries."⁷⁹

79. Afghan army, ISAF to share intelligence with Pakistan, conduct coordinated operations. <http://tribune.com.pk/story/811061/afghan-army-chief-isaf-commander-meet-gen-raheel-at-ghq/> (Accessed at 5 July 2015)

III. Living the Displaced Life, and Dreams for the Future



Living the Displaced Life, and Dreams for the Future

This section of the report will broadly cover women's perspectives gathered through nine focus group discussions in Jalozai camp and at two off-camp hosting areas around Peshawar district. There were three groups of women, between the ages of 16 and 60, taking part in the discussions: married women, unmarried girls and women heads of households (mostly widows). The information gathered from FGDs is triangulated by key informants' interviews and secondary information gathered through desk review.

While almost 95% of the displaced population from FATA are living in hosting communities in the districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, either renting homes or sharing with relatives, a very small proportion (5%) are living in formal camps set up by the Government of Pakistan and supported by the UN and national and international humanitarian organisations. Out of the three camps where the majority of IDPs reside, Jalozai is the largest with a population of 3,770 IDP families, followed by 1,154 IDP families in Togh Sarai Hangu district and 690 families in New Durrani camp located in Kurram Agency inside FATA.⁸⁰

District Peshawar has hosted the largest number of IDPs until return began in May 2015. The number of displaced families in Bannu was 85,655 surpassing Peshawar district which hosts 67,051 IDP families.⁸¹

Information on IDPs living in the camps is easier to document and report compared to capturing the data of displaced families living in hosting communities, where they tend to merge into the local population. It is the unregistered or invisible population that is most challenging to find and assist. The IVAP or IDP Vulnerability Assessment and Profiling project was launched in Pakistan in 2010 in an attempt to support organisations "to provide humanitarian assistance in a more impartial and targeted manner".⁸²

Up to 2012, IVAP found around 200,000 IDPs (42% of IDPs who are still displaced) who were not registered, primarily because they never reached the registration desks. As a result, approximately 70,000 IDPs registered for assistance. Thousands more have been found by IVAP up to 2014, which has helped humanitarian organisations plan and deliver assistance in a more organised way. IVAP has also identified vulnerabilities, although according to UNHCR protection staff who preferred to stay anonymous, IVAP has not been successful in identifying the most vulnerable IDPs such as women heads of households living in hosting communities.

The displaced population from FATA receive varying assistance depending on where they opt to live. Those registered in camps receive shelter (tents), food, primary health care and MNCH services, water and sanitation, community and protection services, education and livelihood assistance (for limited numbers). In the off-camp areas, registered IDPs receive food, non-food items, livelihood/skills training (for limited numbers), limited health care such as vaccinations for children and partial MNCH services.

This section covers the key sectors of assistance that camp and off-camp IDPs received:

Shelter and Housing

There is a stark difference in the shelter arrangements between IDPs living at camps and those living in rented accommodation, or with relatives, in host communities. Although the camps have what seems like a well laid out map, with housing and other facilities allocated, it is considered a temporary arrangement. On the other hand, off-camp housing, whether rented or shared with relatives, is generally a proper structure in off-camp localities where facilities such as water, gas and electricity are generally available.

80. OCHA Statistics, PAKISTAN: KP and FATA - Areas of Displacement, Hosting and Returns as of 31 May 2015

81. Ibid

82. "IDP Vulnerability Assessment and Profiling (IVAP) in Pakistan: a report and appraisal". Humanitarian Practice Network, September 2012. <http://www.odihpn.org/humanitarian-exchange-magazine/issue-55/idp-vulnerability-assessment-and-profiling-ivap-in-pakistan-a-report-and-appraisal> (Accessed on 14 February 2015)

It is clear that both arrangements have their own challenges. Coming from a very sheltered life, where women in FATA have little exposure to the outside world,⁸³ life in the camp as well as outside is a whole new trial. Many of the women interviewed during FGDs revealed that they are unable to leave their tents or houses, except to visit the health facility or a sick relative. This naturally leaves women and young girls with a sense of being “closed in” or constricted. Interestingly, while some women said this was different to what they were used back in their villages, for others the displacement had brought a sense of freedom from the Taliban even though they were not very mobile and only left home “when necessary.”

When asked how many people live in their tent, the answers given varied between three and nine. In some cases it was even higher. In rented accommodation, the numbers are also staggering as families try to share space. One of the women interviewed at Tarnab during a FGD for married women counted 21 family members living in a small two room house, including a young widowed daughter with three children. Overcrowded spaces and sharing houses with relatives has led to social problems between young men and women, often turning into conflicts among families and between neighbours.⁸⁴ This concern is echoed by the IVAP survey, in which one of the biggest concerns of displaced families living off camp is “overcrowding and lack of privacy in accommodation”.⁸⁵ Interestingly however, the survey puts the average number of people in a room at four, considerably less than the average number shared by women across all FGD categories in off-camp areas.⁸⁶

Women interviewed in Jalozai camp revealed that their main reason for living in the camp is because they cannot pay the rent for housing. While most of the women interviewed in the married group said their husbands went outside the camp to look for work, they said the little earnings they got, mostly working as labour, were barely enough to buy food. This is also an indication that those living in the camps are worse off economically, however this is not always the case.

Discussions with women living in off-camp areas revealed that *purda* is a big consideration for many who decide to rent their own places despite economic hardship. For many families the idea of being in a camp, where women are exposed to a different life in a tent, among strangers is what made them rent accommodation. It is no wonder then that almost 90% of the IDPs from FATA are living outside the camps.⁸⁷

Women heads of households (widows) in Jalozai camp said their main reason for coming to Jalozai,

besides financial problems, was because they have some sort of family support that they “followed”. (In Pashtun society, women are generally not left “alone” to support a family after the husband’s death. Some support is there from the other male members of the husband’s family or the woman’s own family). According to a report about 5% of women who come to the camps have no male support.⁸⁸ This reveals how uncommon it is in Pashtun society for women to be completely on their own.

The discomfort of the tents in the camp was clear. The FGDs were conducted at the beginning of a harsh winter when women of all age groups revealed that the tents are cold and uncomfortable. “It’s so cold my son (8) wasn’t able to sleep at night and I covered him with my *chador*...” revealed a young mother in the married women’s FD conducted at Jalozai camp. Most of the other women, particularly those who had been in the camp for more than two years agreed that a lot of tents are old and torn, with gaping holes that let rain water enter. According to reports children are at risk of pneumonia and other respiratory infections every winter and the number of cases reported are rising.⁸⁹ They are equally uncomfortable in the summer when temperatures are well above 40C and there are frequent power cuts.

The cost of paying for pride and cultural norms, especially *purda*, is high for IDPs particularly for women heads of households. The average rent, discussed with women during FGDs, is 4-6,000 Pakistani Rupees per month. According to the IVAP survey, the average rent is 2,200 Pakistani Rupees per month.⁹⁰ The houses are generally small and have 2-3 rooms which can accommodate up to two families. Under the circumstances however, up to 20 or more people are living in these houses.

The rent does not include monthly utility bills for electricity and gas. According to women at the FGDs conducted in Tarnab, “If families are lucky, they get gas and electricity...locals are afraid that they may leave any time without paying the bills.” This is echoed by a survey of displaced families: 61% reported the conditions of their housing as “poor”.

For some, the high rents and cost of living (despite food assistance), has forced them and their children to work.

According to 28 year old Yasimeen she and her family first went to Karachi when they had to flee Bara Tehsil in Khyber Agency a few months back. When her husband could not find anything suitable or well-paid, they decided to move to Peshawar. She had to sell whatever

83. Zakia Rubab Mohsin: The Crisis of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan and their Impact on Pashtun Women - TIGAH, FRC

84. Round table discussion with civil society held at CAMP office, Islamabad. 3 February 2015

85. IVAP FACTSHEET - Shelter Profile (as of 22 Oct 2014)

86. FGDs conducted in Charsadda Road and Tarnab by CAMP: December 2014– January 2015

87. UNHCR 2012

88. Same as footnote 82

89. CAMP health project reports (2013)

90. Same as 45

little jewellery she owned to rent a house. “We had livestock and land, but I only brought a few personal things with me...I have nothing now” she said.⁹¹

Food Assistance & Basic Needs

Queueing for food rations in the hot summer months or extreme winter becomes a way of life for the displaced. Whether living in the camp or off-camp areas, displaced families are dependent on food packages from the World Food Program (WFP) which supported over 1.7 million people with monthly relief rations in 2014.⁹² While several families are said to sell these packages for various reasons, it can be argued that the majority are still dependant on them, particularly in the first few weeks of displacement when they have no other alternatives.

According to women interviewed both in camp and in off-camp areas,⁹³ the women complained that the size of the food packages are not enough to feed the size of their family. In a survey conducted by WFP about 35% of the families had acceptable food consumption while the majority (63%) had borderline food consumption.⁹⁴ According to WFP however, the average family package is for a family of six members, which is the average family size agreed upon after inter-cluster assessment.

The WFP food package is designed for a nuclear family (a married couple with their unmarried children), registered by FDMA after verification from NADRA. Since extended family members generally share accommodation in hosting districts (especially in rented accommodation), the food is not enough for the extended members. Another reason women gave, in a discussion at Jalozaï camp, for the food package not being enough is that many men have two or even three wives and several children. “Dividing” the food assistance in such large families does not leave enough for everyone. As a result, almost all the men (husbands, sons and young children) are working as labour/brick kilns to fulfil their dietary needs. The women said it was difficult to get by with so little for such large families. This was refuted by WFP representatives who said that multiple wives’ cases had been brought forward by protection Cluster and supported by WFP if they were genuine cases and fulfilled the registration criteria.⁹⁵

According to authorities, the current average IDP family size is closer to 13.5 people (for North Waziristan families), more than double the average family size of six that the UN uses for planning. As a result, family rations originally intended to be monthly must be distributed every two weeks.⁹⁶

As far as the quality of food assistance is concerned, all categories of women (unmarried, married and

heads of households) were not satisfied. According to them, the food package they receive only has *daal* (lentils), wheat flour and ghee/oil. Tea, sugar and milk were initially part of the package, however those are now considered a “luxury” for many of the women and their families.

The WFP receive similar complaints as, even though there is a global standard of food quality, the taste of each community varies. For example, fortified wheat is something FATA communities are not used to eating, but it is considered good for health.

While there is no difference between the food packages, according to the women interviewed in the camp and off camp areas, there are other issues such as accessibility of the food hub/distribution points, difficulty in transporting the food and the time spent travelling to the distribution points and waiting for assistance. These are all issues that the Sphere Standards for humanitarian emergencies laid out clearly and, according to WFP, are followed. For example, WFP reported that the location for distribution points are decided keeping in mind the safety and security of IDPs which is the core responsibility of government, particularly women heads of households who may be travelling alone to get their food package. The points are “centralised” according to WFP and are selected in consultation with the government.⁹⁷

It is clear from the FGDs with women in both camp and off-camp settings that the majority of families had land and livestock in their areas of origin. Women talked about the agricultural produce they grew at home which included opium, wheat, potatoes and red beans/kidney beans. The sudden change in the type of food available to them is difficult to accept. According to one of the women at Jalozaï camp, “We had a fridge in our house, filled with food and fruit... my children could eat whatever they liked. Now when I see them playing outside in the dust, my heart breaks for them.”⁹⁸

Those who could brought livestock with them but they had problems with space, fodder and illness. A couple of women in off-camp areas said they owned livestock for milk, others said they could not afford to have milk in tea. There was a time when they had such an abundance of milk in their houses that they could drink it in every form, but now they have to get used to tea without milk.

At the off-camp areas in Tarnab the women said food assistance had stopped about a month ago. These women came from Khyber Agency (mostly Bara) about six months ago, in October 2014. They have to travel to Taru to collect their food which is an issue for women who are heads of households as they have

91. FGD conducted at Charsadda Road, January 2015.

92. WFP Pakistan Brief: 1 October 2014 – 31 December 2014

93. FGDs conducted with married women and heads of households at Jalozaï camp (Dec 2014) and Tarnab (Feb 2015).

94. WFP report: http://vam.wfp.org/Publication/LFSDB_December_2014.pdf

95. Interview with WFP, 25 May 2015

96. Pakistan – Complex emergency fact sheet #3, Fiscal year (FY) 2014 June 26, 2014. http://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1866/pakistan_ce_fs03_06-26-2014.pdf

97. Interview with WFP, 25 May 2015

98. FGD with married women conducted on 11 December 2015

to pay for transport and then travel some distance before they receive their food package. A survey conducted among women IDPs in Bannu, showed that it took over 2 hours to receive their food package.

Although there are reports of IDPs selling their food packages, this question was not explicitly asked in the FGDs. A few women mentioned during the discussion (off-camp), that certain families sold their food in order to pay for rent. Other reasons for selling their food packages include the poor quality of the food and preference of other food items over the wheat and grains given in the package.

The FGD for women heads of households revealed that the attitude and behaviour of the camp staff was “disrespectful”. They did not behave well during registration or distribution, shouting at people and at times even pushing and hitting them to control the crowd. Although most women in the group said they felt safe when accessing the food distribution points, two women mentioned that they had been “mistreated” by the staff at distribution points in Jalojai camp. The mistreatment was described as verbal abuse, although the women said they have also witnessed physical abuse by the staff. According to an interview with WFP, protection and gender aspects are well considered while establishing the distribution points. There are separate queues for women at distribution points and female staff (including protection staff) to oversee the distribution so that no untoward incidents take place.⁹⁹

According to a report, “FATA IDPs are falling prey to negative coping strategies. The IVAP survey found that nearly 30% of the families have to purchase food items on credit thus increasing liability upon them. 21.7% borrow food. IDPs who have already been forced to leave everything back home have started selling remaining assets as gold and other assets in order to survive and pay the rents.”¹⁰⁰ The report quotes the IVAP survey which also found that some families reduce their meal size and quantity (7.1 percent), or skip meals altogether (3.4 percent). “These strategies most seriously threaten children, whose vulnerability is increased because of malnutrition.”

“Another study funded by the Norwegian government and released in November 2012, found that 57.6% of households reduced the quality of their meals, and 52.5% reduced the quantity.” It is clear that food is an important issue for the displaced, especially for women heads of households who have limited coping mechanisms and are almost completely dependent on food aid to survive.

It is interesting to note that there was a big difference in the two off-camp areas when it came to food assistance. While in Tarnab almost all the women and

girls interviewed (in all categories) were aware of the food assistance and were accessing the food packages from the hub. The majority of women interviewed at Charsadda Road, Peshawar (except two in the widows group) were not registered and did not know where to go for food assistance. One of the women in the married group admitted that her son went to Jalojai camp to get their share of food assistance.

It is clear that lack of information on available assistance and the registration process has left displaced families, especially women, unaware and vulnerable.

Water and Sanitation

According to Sphere standards, “the average water use for drinking, cooking and personal hygiene in any household is at least 15 litres per person per day”.¹⁰¹ The unmarried girls and women interviewed at Jalojai camp all agree that the amount of water available is sufficient for household chores such as washing and drinking. Although all the women agree that the water available is enough, most of them do not feel it is safe sending their young daughters to fetch water from the point alone, as there is not enough *purda*. The issue of *purda* is discussed in more detail below and under the security section.

Women in all three groups at Jalojai camp raised the issue of *purda* when they were asked about latrine facilities. Although there are separate latrines for men and women, there is not enough covering or *purda* wall around most latrines. This makes it very challenging for women using the latrines and they do not feel comfortable allowing their young daughters to use them.

According to a doctor at CAMP’s health facility at Jalojai camp, “Hygiene was a big issue in the camp. Urinary tract infections and skin infections were very common because of unsatisfactory sanitary conditions.”¹⁰²

When asked if the camp was well lit at night, women in the FGDs said most sections of the camp did not have enough light and women did not feel safe using the latrines alone. At night they have to be accompanied by a male family member and young girls are always accompanied by a family member or adult.

One of the young girls narrated a story about a deceased new born baby found in one of the latrines. According to accounts from the neighbours, the baby belonged to a young girl who had an unwanted pregnancy while she was at the camp and had “wasted” the baby in the latrine as her family did not want anyone to know she was pregnant. Others had

99. Interview with WFP, 25 May 2015

100. “Pakistan IDPs find it can get worse” IRIN News, 5 August 2013. <http://www.irinnews.org/report/98524/pakistan-s-idps-find-it-can-get-worse> (Accessed: 21 March 2015)

101. Sphere Standards Handbook. <http://www.spherehandbook.org/en/water-supply-standard-1-access-and-water-quantity/>

102. Interview with Dr. Sohny Gul, Female Medical Officer, February 2015, Jalojai camp.

also heard this account and pointed out that because there was no light near the latrines, they could be used for such “illegal” or “illicit” activities.

Women in off-camp areas reported that access to and amount of water is an issue for them. They said there is no official water collection “source”. Instead, they have to send their children to various houses to collect water in buckets, which is not enough for their everyday needs. They also complained about the poor sanitation in the area. Water ends up flowing in the *kacha* (unpaved streets) leaving a bad smell and is a breeding ground for mosquitoes.

In the other off camp area where three groups were interviewed, the access and quantity of water was not an issue as most of the women agreed that there was enough water for drinking and other household chores. However all of them complained about the quality of water; they said children were sick because the water was contaminated.

It is interesting to note that what seems like a burden to many, when asked what they missed most about being home, many of the married women and some unmarried girls also shared “when we went to get water from the *guddar* (spring)!” Collecting water from the closest source is part of a woman’s household responsibility in rural areas. For many however it is an opportunity to get together with other women and exchange stories, which they miss in a camp setting where they are not comfortable due to *purda* and being exposed to strangers.

According to the IRC Protection team at Jalozai camp, apart from the lack of *purda* walls around the latrines, there are also some washing pads where *purda* walls either do not exist or have not been replaced. This naturally discourages women from using the washing pads. As a result they wash clothes outside their tents, which becomes a health hazard as it creates a breeding ground for mosquitoes.

Health care

According to the World Health Organisation, health indicators in FATA and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are poor (IMR 63/1000 live births and MMR 275/100,000 live births respectively). This is mainly because of the low levels of antenatal care (51%) and births attended by a skilled birth attendant (38%). Immunisation rates in FATA are below that of Pakistan’s as is evident in the number of polio cases, which have remained the highest in the country.

Health issues naturally exacerbate with displacement as families are forced to live in overcrowded and poor living conditions. The conditions lead to an increase in “communicable diseases and epidemic outbreaks, malnutrition, physical (mostly elderly and pregnant women) and mental stress due to insecurity, exposure

to extreme weather conditions, and inadequate health care services.”¹⁰³

One of the greatest advantages of living in the camps it seems is the easy access to health facilities. Most women in all categories interviewed at Jalozai camp agreed that the health facilities were accessible and close enough for them to visit alone, with their children of grandchildren. The majority were also “satisfied” with the services and the staff at the facility.

In Bannu however, where more than 80,000 families continue to reside one year after displacement, it has been a challenge to recruit female doctors which restricts women’s visits to the health centre unless there is an emergency.

Common complaints that women had regarding the health facility included not enough medicine and the fact that only one member of the family is given medical attention each day. When two or more members of the family need medical attention on the same day, they are asked to return the following day.

Although this seems harsh, a staff member interviewed at Jalozai camp¹⁰⁴ said it is policy because they have limited medicines and other supplies. With over 10,000 IDPs accessing one health facility, this is not surprising. The health facility for phase 1 of the Jalozai camp offers primary health care services including MNCH services, a 24/7 ambulance service and a referral service. Other service providers at the camp include Merlin for PHC and CERD who run a MNCH clinic with full labour room facility.

In contrast to the women at the camp, where basic health facilities are both within reach and satisfactory, women in off-camp areas find it much more challenging to access health facilities. While many visit small clinics in the neighbourhood for which they were grateful, they complained that the larger public hospitals were difficult to access, expensive and did not give the right attention or treatment.

Women interviewed in the off-camp areas were not at all satisfied with the government hospitals/health facilities. While most of them had been to Peshawar’s largest public hospital, one of them related an incident of a woman who had been mistreated. The other women agreed with this. Those who visited private clinics said they although had access they could not afford to pay such high fees.

All the women interviewed in off-camp areas reported being satisfied using local clinics for common ailments and vaccinations for children. However many complained that hepatitis is very common and for that and other serious issues they have to visit private hospitals or government hospitals. They also said they cannot afford to buy medicines and there is no support for them in this regard. For more complicated cases/

103. Health Cluster Response Plan for KP and FATA 2012: http://pakresponse.org/pak/sos/uploads/reports/47_Health%20Cluster%20Response%20Plan%20KP%20FATA%20FINAL.pdf (Accessed 8 March 2015)

104. Interview with Dr. Sohny Gul, Female Medical Officer, February 2015, Jalozai camp.

health issues, they visit the government or private hospitals with which they were not satisfied. Expense and accessibility are both an issue.

As expected, women with children are most likely to access health facilities. For example the house in which we conducted the FGD also had a team from a local NGO (IDEA) who register mothers and children in need of medical assistance. They are eventually sent to the clinic to get medicine.

Zaitoon Bibi is a young widow who has been living in Jalozaï camp since 2012. She can never forget the night they had to run from home; she was afraid of losing her children in the upheaval but they all survived.

Living in Jalozaï for more than three years, Zaitoon Bibi believes she is lucky to receive food assistance for herself and her three sons. Despite that, life is tough. "If it had not been for my mother and brother's support, I would not have made it this far," she says. Zaitoon Bibi feels secure at the camp but living at the camp is stressful. She still has nightmares, and feels depressed when she thinks about her life before they came to Jalozaï. She misses her husband and says "There are days when I cannot handle my sons alone."

Zaitoon Bibi believes the food assistance and healthcare she receives at the camp fulfil their basic needs. However she thinks widows should be supported more by the Government of Pakistan and donors. "I only received Rupees 5,000 once" she adds. She does not have any money for warm clothing, and the tent they live in offers little protection.

For now, she has no plans to return until Bara is peaceful. She knows that the assistance she receives will end one day. Her sons go to school and Zaitoon Bibi hopes they will pursue higher education and support her when they start working.

Displacement has proved a blessing in disguise for hundreds of children who would otherwise remained unvaccinated, especially in the inaccessible areas of FATA, according to WHO FATA polio chief Dr Sarfraz Khan Afridi. In KP children have been vaccinated, for example polio drives at Jalozaï camp meant 100% of the children were vaccinated.

Women talked about cases of drug abuse, especially among young men. Although there are no services inside the camp, referrals are made to local clinics and hospitals outside the camp.

Emotional health

"I still remember it was the ninth *roza* (fast in the Muslim month of Ramadan) and we had gone to fetch water, I had half-filled the *mangay* when we heard the loudest of bangs. The tree caught fire in front of our eyes and when we ran home, the hens were running all over the place. We left our homes without anything and opened our *roza* somewhere on the way. We finally reached Darra where we had some relatives. I still wake up from the bad dream about that day..." (Married women FGD, Bara)

Apart from physical health issues, displacement brings emotional health concerns which are generally overlooked because of the most immediate needs of shelter and food. According to a recent survey of IDPs by the FATA Resource Centre "71% of respondents believe that they have suffered depression, anxiety and other psychological issues."

This is not surprising and was substantiated by the FGDs conducted in both Jalozaï camp and the off-camp areas. Unmarried women in Jalozaï camp shared the experience of fleeing their homes in Khyber agency amidst bombing and firing. "These are the last memories I have from five years ago and I hope we never have to go back to more bombing..." said one of the young girls. A couple of young girls whose families had been back recently (only to return again) said their houses had been burned down by the Taliban and there were no belongings to be seen. They were clearly traumatised.

An older woman said that families with disabled children left their children behind because they could not travel fast enough with them. The trauma that such families, particularly the mothers, went through was unimaginable.

CAMP's primary health care programme at Jalozaï camp included psychosocial counselling services (depending on funding). The highest number of cases were of women. Most of them could not cope with their new living environment, the loss of loved ones and an uncertain future. One such case was a young woman who had lost hope and stopped communicating with her husband and children. She was suffering from severe depression. After regular counselling, she started moving towards normalcy and was taking care of her family the way she used to before displacement.¹⁰⁵

105. CAMP Case Study, Primary Health Care Project funded by CRF/OFDA. November 2014

When asked what they missed most about being home the most common responses included: we miss everything, going to collect water, walking around freely, the *aab o hawa* (environment) and open space. One woman added that despite missing home, they are grateful to be alive.

Women's participation in decision making

Conflict can break down the bonds of trust and the social fabric of society, particularly for more vulnerable groups such as women, religious and ethnic minorities, the young and elderly. Discussions with women displaced from different agencies of FATA found that although women continue to bear the burden of being away from home every day, they have created a network around them. They depend on one another for emotional and moral support, especially at times when they are unwell or in need of help. It was also heartening to note that the local residents extended their support in different ways: while some gave charity, others shared their water and food.

It was also interesting to observe the relationships that have developed between female service providers and the women. In Jalozai camp for example where some of the women interviewed had been living in the camp for as long as five years, they said they confided in health staff and school teachers who have heard their stories of suffering and pain. The health staff know some of the women by name and ask about their children and other family members when they meet. Even in off-camp areas, the private health clinics seem to be a "haven" for the women who were interviewed. The clinics are not only a place for diagnosis and treatment, but also a place where they can freely discuss their problems and small pleasures.

Women in both camp and off-camp areas shared that although could not move around as freely as they would in their areas of origin, they visited one another or even accompanied other women to the hospital/clinic when they needed help. This shows the bonds formed among women as a result of fleeing the conflict.

Women's participation in decision making in the household does not seem to have changed much after displacement. This was made especially clear in FGDs with married women. Women in the camp setting and in off-camp areas believe that men are the main decision makers and the role is traditionally held by their husbands, fathers, fathers-in-law and other male family members. They said they are not consulted about decisions, except some older women who said they are asked about decisions regarding their childrens' marriage proposals.

This view is also held by the majority of women who are heads of their own families or households. Even widows are not making decisions on their own but depending on a male family member who supports them and their children. There are cases where women are supporting their families financially,

35 year old Shireen and her family fled from Mohmand Agency in 2009, when it became impossible for them to continue living there as the military operation against militants intensified. The military offensive, also known as 'Brekhnna' or thunder, shook the lives of hundreds and thousands of people who fled to safer areas. Shireen, along with her ailing husband and eight children moved to Charsadda Road on the outskirts of Peshawar.

Although they had heard of camps being set up for displaced families, her family decided not to go there as they heard that conditions were not suitable, especially for women. Soon after arriving in Peshawar, what was to be their new haven, Shireen's husband died. He was suffering from Hepatitis. Left alone to fend for eight children, Shireen had no choice but to live with her brother and his family. "If I had a choice", she says, "I would have lived independently." But it is unheard of in Pakhtun culture for young widows to live without a male family member. The pain of being dependent on her brother and his family was clear on this young woman's face, who looks much older than her 35 years.

Shireen could not be registered as an "IDP" because she does not have a Computerised National Identity Card, which is a prerequisite of receiving assistance. Since she became a widow, Shireen does not remember when she ever stopped working. With tears in her eyes, she talks about the odd jobs she does including washing clothes at a few houses and collecting jawar (millet) during the season. Her sons work as labourers when they can get work, and her daughters sell potatoes in the street. "If my husband had been alive, he would have never let my daughters work but this is their qismet (fate)" she said.

Shireen has no plans of returning to Mohmand. Her future is tied to her brother and his family, at least until her sons are old enough to make these decisions.

but they are living with family members for social protection. This is not surprising given the patriarchal society, particularly in the tribal areas of Pakistan.

Apart from a few older women who said they would take part in making the decision to return to their areas of origin, all other groups of women interviewed said they would have no role in the decision or would not be able to influence the decision. It is clear that most women have accepted that they have no major role in decision making and despite the displacement, which may have changed other social patterns, this is something that has not changed. In fact, displacement may have excluded them further.

According to field staff at Jalojai camp, the confidence levels among young girls who participate in skills training and literacy classes have markedly improved since they arrived at the camp. This is encouraging but it is only a handful of girls and women who get such opportunities due to funding constraints.

Committees for women exist; one woman is on a health committee and another on a protection committee. Their main role is to attend meetings and share information with the community women. It is unclear how effective these committees are as they seem more like a formality.

In urban areas women and girls who were interviewed did not have information on skills training or literacy programmes for IDPs. Most were not aware of any such opportunities apart from a few women who had been involved with a local NGO, Sawera in Tarnab.

On the other hand, it was encouraging to note that children were attending schools at both the camp and off-camp areas. Most women in the off-camp FGDs agreed that admission to local schools had not been a problem. The main problem for off-camp IDPs is the cost of sending children to schools, including the cost of transportation (depending on distance), school uniforms, books and supplies.

Security

There is a clear contrast between security in the camps and security in off-camp areas. Whereas the Provincial Disaster Management Authority (PDMA) is responsible for camp management and security services at the IDP camps in the KP province, there are no formal security measures in place for IDPs in urban areas and they are responsible for their own security.

There have been some good initiatives taken in the camps. For example, a health facility at Jalojai camp has a female guard to facilitate women coming to the BHU. However there is no boundary wall around the camp so the IDPs, especially women and young children, are more vulnerable to intruders as well as wild animals. Dog bites have also been reported at health facilities.

Women who were interviewed in off-camp areas, in all three categories, reported that the biggest concern

in terms of security was the fear of harassment. This restricts freedom of movement, especially in younger women and girls. According to one of the women living on Charsadda Road, who fled the conflict in South Waziristan, "After moving here we decided not to send my daughters to school when I heard about cases of school girls being harassed by young boys in the *mohalla* (locality)." Although her teenage daughters were going to school in Wana, she didn't want to take the risk of exposing them in an unfamiliar neighbourhood. As she couldn't afford to send them in a rickshaw, she decided not to send them to school until they returned home. When that will be, she couldn't say.

Harassment of young girls was also reported to be an issue at the camps. However at Jalojai camp, this was tackled by sending girls to school in a group or encouraging an adult to accompany them. One of the women shared an incident which the other women in the group had also heard about; a young girl from Bajaur was "picked up" by someone in A-block at Jalojai camp in 2013. The case was finally reported to the camp administration but the girl was never returned to her family. It is still not known if the girl left willingly or if she was forced to leave. IRC protection staff in the camp related the same case during an interview with CAMP.

Cases such as the young girl's disappearance are rare and although the unmarried girls said they generally feel safe in the camp, their movement is restricted as they do not feel comfortable walking around the camp. They agreed that more *purda* within the camp would be one way of feeling more secure. According to these young girls, at home they had *hujras* for men and separate spaces for women, while in the tent they have no privacy. They all agreed this is something they miss about their homes, as they live in cramped tents with eight to ten people sleeping in a small space.

In terms of requests for sexual favours, discussions with women in all categories revealed that they had not heard of, or experienced, any requests for sexual favours from the camp administration or NGO staff. Some women did point to "favouritism" among certain men or women in the camp, however they did not say whether this was done in return for favours. According to them some widows had received cash grants while others had not, the amount of medicine given varied from person to person and similar complaints about food packages were also shared. Most women said they had complained about these issues but that their grievances remained unattended.

The issue of the *purda* wall was brought up at every FGD by most of the women. While a few women said there is enough *purda* around women's latrines, most women said they did not have the walls or they were old and torn, offering no protection. This shows an inconsistency in services. According to PDMA and IRC field staff at Jalojai camp, the *purda* wall issue has been brought up at several protection cluster, camp management and other meetings. There have

also been efforts to ensure that women's spaces are protected. However due to funding gaps, it has not been possible to respond to every request.

Since the issue of *purda* is very significant for Pashtun women, it should be given the attention it deserves.

FGDs with married women and women heads of families revealed that they generally feel safe in the community. When asked about any GBV cases, one of them said they had been through their share of domestic violence when they were younger but did not experience it now. The research did not go into detail regarding GBV as that is a specialised area.

In the off-camp areas, women had not heard of any cases of violence against other women, child trafficking or kidnapping. They also said they had not experienced any violence in their homes.

Despite high rents in Tarnab, an off-camp area where IDPs are living, the houses that families are renting are mostly *kacha* (not concrete) and do not have proper doors or windows which leaves many widows feeling scared or unsafe. Many agreed that the lack of weapons and male support makes them feel insecure as they are not used to living in spaces like the village which is their home for now.

In both off-camp areas where FGDs were conducted, women said they felt safe in their respective communities; there is no fear of the Taliban like there was back in their villages.

A few women at the Tarnab FGD mentioned that, because they did not have any weapons here, they felt uneasy at times as they would not be able to defend themselves. It is interesting to note that women brought up weapons although it is men who carry them! However, since this is a part of the culture in FATA, it is not surprising.

The issue of child abuse was not mentioned by any of the women in the FGDs but it was raised by the IRC Protection field team in Jalozai camp. According to the IRC staff, there are several cases of child abuse in the camp. They reported that one of the main places this takes place is in empty tents left behind once families have moved elsewhere. These are breeding grounds for child abuse and other "illegal activities". Although camp authorities are informed about the empty tents, the delay in dismantling them leads to illicit activities. The team also mentioned there have been cases of unwanted pregnancies and GBV. These are referred to UNHCR and the Protection Cluster, who are responsible for further referral and follow up.

According to UNHCR Protection staff, although the referral system is excellent on paper, in reality it is

weak and many cases fall through the cracks. This was also suggested by an international staff member at the IRC who said "The referral pathway needs to be strengthened."¹⁰⁶ The issue of lighting was brought up in all the FGDs and interviews conducted at Jalozai camp. While women reported poor lighting or no lighting in some areas, the PDMA official at the camp said all the tents have light as do other areas in the camp. If there are certain areas that are unlit, it could be because of funding constraints.

Although solar energy panels and lights were installed at Jalozai camp by the administration, there are clearly not enough for the entire camp. Reports of IDPs protesting about electricity breakdowns are not uncommon, especially in the summer months when temperatures are soaring and the tents offer no protection.

The FGDs conducted with women did not cover the issue of rape or sexual abuse since this is a specialised area best dealt with by an expert. However during a discussion with IDP women in Jalozai camp in November 2014, a woman from Bajaur mentioned the "dishonour" women faced during the conflict. She said there were cases of rape which had never been reported due to family honour. Although sexual abuse cases rarely come to the surface in a conservative society, one made it to the media.¹⁰⁷ Such cases cannot be ruled out in conflict or post-conflict settings. During community conversations with women in other areas (Swat and Balochistan), one researcher found that "it is not uncommon for women in these situations to be sexually abused by male in-laws".¹⁰⁸

According to a doctor working at a health facility in the camp, they notice two to three cases of domestic violence each month. The perpetrator is often the husband but at times other family members are involved. Since IRC deal with protection cases, the health facilities do not take up any cases of GBV but refer them to the relevant actor.

Role of Government and Humanitarian Actors

Women's views on the role of the Government of Pakistan and the international community in the IDP crisis, revealed some interesting ideas. Women across all age groups both in the camp as well as off-camp areas believe that despite the support of the Government and donors/NGOs, there is a lot more to be done.

Some of the most common issues that women want the Government and other stakeholders to focus on can be separated in to two categories: support needed while they are displaced and support in

106. Interview with Ivana Chapcakova, Women's protection and empowerment Coordinator, IRC Pakistan. Islamabad, 27 February 2015.

107. <http://tribune.com.pk/story/549493/life-after-rape-not-a-victim-but-a-survivor/>

108. Nazish Brohi and Dr Saba Gul Khattak, "Exploring women's voices – women in conflict zones: the Pakistan study – community conversations in Balochistan and Swat", Women's Regional Network, 2013, p. 34.

their areas of origin. Women highlighted the need for better facilities and services in camps/off-camp areas, skills training and education for women/girls and sources of income for male family members. In their areas of origin, women brought up issues such as restoring peace and getting rid of the Taliban as well as rebuilding basic facilities such as hospitals and schools.

Gulmina was a brilliant student, according to her mother. That was when she was going to school in FR Tank, bordering South Waziristan Agency of FATA. Although her education was interrupted when the region was hit by militancy, the real setback came when Komal's family were forced to leave their home in 2012. Her father decided to move to Karachi to set up his business.

Unfortunately things did not go well and they had to move once again. Living in Peshawar, since the summer of 2014, the family is finding it very difficult to make ends meet. This means Gulmina and her younger sister can no longer go to school. Her mother says she is afraid of her daughters being harassed on their way to school and they cannot pay for a rickshaw to take them to school.

Gulmina wanted to be a doctor but it's a pity that she may not be able to pursue her dream. According to the FATA Education Atlas 2011-12 report released by the Directorate of Education FATA Education Management Information System, the proportion of girls enrolled in educational institutions in FR Tank is one of the lowest in FATA, standing at 1.07%. The region needs qualified doctors, especially women.

Although the disappointment on her face is evident, Gulmina says she still hopes and dreams of being a doctor one day...

Economic support and Unfilled needs

According to an article on women in FATA,¹⁰⁹ "women work in the agriculture fields and look after the livestock which is the main sources of livelihood of residents of FATA, but they have no direct share in the income generated from these sectors." Other than this, women do not work outside the house to earn

an income because of social norms. "Even women-specific chores like tailoring women clothes is not a practice in FATA."¹¹⁰

This was reflected in the FGDs with women across all categories, in both off-camp areas as well as Jalozai camp. Apart from a handful of women who used to stitch quilts or clothes, and one woman who set up a small shop in her village, no other women claimed to have generated an income for themselves.

Unfortunately the trend seems to have continued during displacement. A few women in Jalozai camp and in Tarnab said they had been supported by NGOs to stitch quilts or weave baskets, which were then "bought". However, skills training opportunities are limited due to the funding constraints of national and international organisations. The success of women centres the IRC runs at Peshawar and Kohat, is because "vocational training is acceptable." This is the perfect opportunity to provide young girls and women with an environment for accelerated learning, where they receive literacy and numeracy training along with psychosocial support, health messages etc. According to the IRC staff member who oversees this programme, "Along with basic assistance, such programmes need to be scaled up."¹¹¹

While women have no income of their own, they were asked if they had money to buy personal belongings. As expected, they all complained about the shortage of cash; most of the women could not buy new clothes or shoes. "I have been wearing this *chadar* (veil) for so long now but I cannot afford to buy a new one" said one of the widows during the FGD at Jalozai camp. The threadbare shawl on her head spoke for itself. Many other women voiced the same concerns; they had not received warm clothing in the past two winters.

The main concerns of women in the off-camp areas, as in the camp, are economic related. These include: challenges faced by the male members of the family in finding work; high rents and utility bills; no food assistance, due to issues of registration or lack of information; lack of water and proper sanitation facilities (despite living in rented houses); health concerns (cases of Hepatitis were brought up frequently during FGDs); and limited mobility.

Other concerns among women in the camp included: no fuel for cooking and heating; no warm clothing for the winter months for women (especially women heads of households) and children; not enough food rations including milk, tea and sugar; and extreme weather in summer and winter.

One of the younger girls in the unmarried group became emotional and said they had many *armaan* or wishes, but unfortunately they cannot be fulfilled due to poverty.

109. Khan, Naila Aman. Socio-Economic and Political Status of Women in FATA -The Process of Development and Phenomenon of Militancy. TIGAH, A JOURNAL OF PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT Volume: II, December 2012, FATA Research Centre, Islamabad.

110. Ibid

111. Ivana C.

Positives of Displacement

Despite the hardships and challenges IDP women have faced, there are some positive outcomes. The majority of women in FATA did not have NICs due to cultural reasons and access. Although many more would have obtained NICs due to the Benazir Income Support Programme (BISP)¹¹², it can be safely said that since the conflict started, more have acquired NICs, especially women heads of households who could not have accessed assistance without them. NADRA and the disaster management authorities have played a very positive role in helping women get NICs. For example, mobile registration units were sent to camps and off-camp areas to help women apply for NICs.

The opportunity of sending children to school, particularly girls, has increased during displacement. However this is more so in the camp set-up, where access is easier and families are mobilised to educate their children. It is hoped that these children will continue their education on return to their areas of origin.

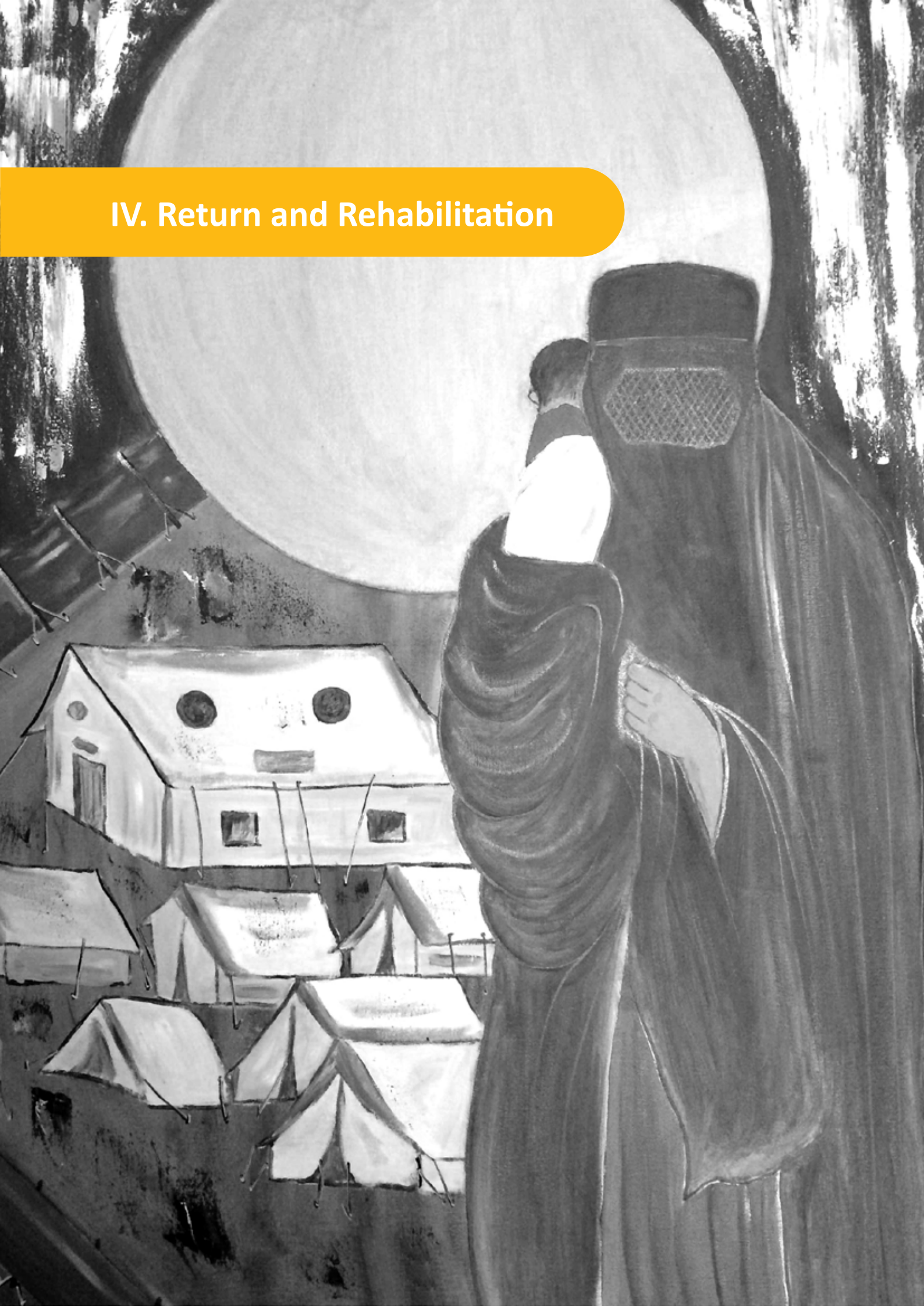
During the FGDs with women, many talked about the knowledge they had gained during the health and hygiene education sessions. For most of them, the information given during the sessions was “new” and “useful”. A survey conducted by CAMP at the end of one of its health projects found that 35% of beneficiaries (women) are practicing what they have learned during these sessions.¹¹³

The most encouraging and heartening stories shared during the conversations with women were about the bonds that they have formed with one another. This came through during the FGDs at the camp as well as in off-camp areas. Women who had never met before found solace in one another; they visit one another when they are unwell, accompany one another to the clinic/hospital and share the burdens of displacement by talking to each other and giving advice. This is important after going through the trauma of losing loved ones and everything that these women called “home”.

112. Information on the number of women in FATA having NICs is not available. However since the BISP requires that the beneficiary hold a valid CNIC to receive cash grants or other assistance, it can be assumed that more women have obtained NICs.

113. CAMP Final Narrative Report: Emergency Relief and Primary Health Care for IDPs in Jalojai IDP Camp, 23 March 2015

IV. Return and Rehabilitation



Return and Rehabilitation

According to a return survey carried out by the Global Protection Cluster in December 2014, “54% of displaced persons indicated their intention to return to their places of origin while 38% of the IDPs indicated they do not intend to return.”¹¹⁴ The report highlights the three main reasons for IDPs not wanting to return to their places of origin as follows: house destroyed or damaged (35%), safety issues/security concerns (17%) and lack of health services (11%). According to the report, many of those who did not want to return “indicated that they do not want to return as they were waiting for any announcement from the government”. This clearly shows a lack of information regarding the return process. A recent assessment by IVAP, shows similar trends with shelter and security being the top two needs on return.

Despite the lack of information and multitude of challenges in their areas of origin 33,811 families (registered) returned while 262,795 families (registered) remain displaced, as of 18 June 2015. While the majority have returned to Khyber Agency (29,169), the overall number of returnees is almost 75% less than the projected figure.¹¹⁵

The FGDs conducted with women in Jalozi camp and in off-camp areas around Peshawar revealed similar feelings about return. When asked if women would be consulted before returning home, most of the women (married and heads of households) said that they would be consulted. However keeping in mind women’s role in decision making, they would have very little influence on the decision of when to return. This is even truer given the complexity of the issue.

The FGDs with women in Tarnab was perhaps the clearest; all three groups said they are unwilling to return at this point. These families arrived in the area in September/October 2014. The main reasons for feeling unready to return include “no houses to go back to, no water or electricity”. When asked if they

had any information about their areas of origin, many said they keep in touch with family and relatives who visit frequently, and reports are not encouraging.

Another reason that women (married) highlighted was the fear of being raped or harassed back home if they go outside. None of them shared any specific incidents but are afraid of such incidents since the Taliban took over their areas.

Most women across all the conversations said they would give anything to go back to a peaceful life before the Taliban. A few women however were not sure if they wanted to return, as life was more comfortable with running water and electricity.

However women agreed that despite this, there was nothing positive in their lives. They talked about how their families were prosperous, had their own livestock and two of the women even had their own small businesses back home. While one was stitching clothes and earning a good amount, the other had a small shop. They said they could not do the same here because they do not have the resources to set up a business.

At Jalozi camp, most women also revealed that they/their families do not have the finances to go back and rebuild their lives and, most of all, their houses. A few said they feared what would happen when they went back. This was clearly due to the trauma they went through before leaving and when they fled.

It was clear from all the FGDs across all areas that although women said their lives are difficult here (as IDPs), they have no fear and their children are living without being haunted by the sounds of bombs and firing.

When asked whether the problems they face here would be gone after they returned, one woman said “even if there is peace, things will stay the same

114. IDP Return Intention Survey for Bara tehsil, Khyber agency. Global Protection Cluster, Pakistan. December 2014

115. Pakistan Weekly Return Factsheet, OCHA June 2015. http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/ocha_pakistan_weekly_return_snapshot_18_jun_2015.pdf

because of poverty... but at least we will be in our own land.”

The FATA Secretariat with technical input from UNDP launched the Sustainable Return and Rehabilitation Strategy for the displaced population from FATA, in April 2015. According to the UNDP, “It (the Strategy) provides sustainable return solutions focused on five pillars: rehabilitation of damaged infrastructure; re-establishment of law and order; strengthened governance; improved livelihoods and social cohesion and peacebuilding. Rehabilitation work in the return areas of FATA will be carried out in parallel to the preparations for return.”¹¹⁶

According to the FDMA, the number of registered returns is 162,338 families, with the highest numbers returning to Bajaur (72,895) followed by Mohmand (36,759) and Kurram Agency (21,937). With this in mind, the Return Strategy would naturally focus on the displaced from North Waziristan and Khyber agencies, which have the largest numbers of displaced. Reports suggest that there is resentment among IDPs from different agencies, with IDPs from Orakzai, South Waziristan and Kurram protesting that the IDPs from North Waziristan receive more assistance than others.¹¹⁷

The most recent draft of the report states “the strategy is comprehensive” and has been developed to “establish an enabling environment for return in the areas of origin in FATA.” The Strategy estimates the budget for reconstruction to be US\$300 million over two years (24 months).¹¹⁸ It is appreciated that for the first time, the FATA Secretariat has designed a strategy for the return of 300,000 families through a phased approach, over four phases. According to the document “In all cases, returns will only take place once the area of origin has been de-notified, the Political Administration is on board and an agreement has been reached with the tribal elders of the returning tribes and sub-tribes where they agree to participate in a voluntary return to their areas of origin and to adhere to a code of conduct which will promote peaceful returns.”

It is encouraging to note that an awareness campaign has also been planned to ensure that all families

are aware of the return plans and timeline. “An information/grievance redressal mechanism will also be set up” according to the document.

Each family will receive a cash grant of PKR 10,000 for transport and a return cash grant of PKR 25,000. Additional assistance of food, non-food items, WASH, health, education, protection and other support will be accessible depending on available funding.

The strategy document gives an analysis of rehabilitation needs (based on needs assessments) and human recovery needs as identified by the FGDs with IDPs and consultations with a range of Senior Government officers, NGOs, UN Agencies and donors. Although these cover a range of issues, there is no specific mention of women’s needs, apart from the increase in female service providers. This is indeed important, particularly given that a report by the HRCP Khyber Pakhtunkhwa chapter for the year 2009-10 noted “The second most serious impact of militant attacks in tribal areas was on health facilities for women. The report stated that almost 80 hospitals were attacked by the militants and military operations against them, and it noted that of 13 sanctioned posts for gynecologists in tribal areas, 10 were vacant and female health staff were reluctant to perform duty in the region due to growing militancy.”¹¹⁹

The document does not specifically highlight the needs of women but in terms of protection, skills development, or other support the guiding principles mention that the approach must be “participatory” and special arrangements will be made to ensure that women and other groups participate. Similarly, “gender mainstreaming and women’s empowerment” states that all programmes will be designed to ensure women’s needs are addressed, including “to ease the women’s access in the peculiar socio-cultural context.”

There is a brief mention of women’s role in agriculture in FATA, and traditional skills they may pass on (midwifery, tailoring etc.). However the document does not capture the true spirit of women’s needs in terms of protection or the important role they can play in rehabilitation and reintegration into the community and at a wider level.

116. <http://www.pk.undp.org/content/pakistan/en/home/presscenter/our-perspective/editorial---development-matters--issue-5.html>

117. “2014: From IDPs to TDPs” DAWN, 6 January 2015. <http://www.dawn.com/news/1155081/2014-from-idps-to-tdps> (Accessed on 23 January 2015)

118. R&R Strategy, FATA Secretariat, March 2015

119. Pakistan Human Rights Report, 2011. US Department of State: <http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2011/sca/186473.htm>

V. Recommendations



Recommendations

The following recommendations are drawn from the findings of field research, including conversations with internally displaced women; staff from national and international NGOs, and the UN; government officials; desk review from reports, media and other publications; and from CAMP's experience supporting internally displaced people from FATA since 2009.

Recommendations for the Government of Pakistan

1. Several issues that IDP women face, and that affect IDPs in general, arise due to lack of legal protection for displaced populations in Pakistan, especially IDPs from FATA. FATA is a special case having a confused constitutional status and a muddled administrative set-up. It is therefore recommended that the Government of Pakistan draft a national legal framework for IDPs in Pakistan to recognise that as citizens of the country, IDPs have rights and responsibilities. A framework could address several issues: who is responsible for supporting IDPs; the federal or provincial governments; registration of IDPs; protracted displacement etc.
2. Computerised National Identity Cards (CNICs) must be made on an urgent basis, particularly for women in FATA. According to an assessment in 2010, 51% of men and 85% of internally-displaced women did not have a CNIC.¹²⁰ Although it is expected that the number of women with CNICs must have increased by 2015 due to the efforts of NADRA (there are no official numbers available), and the Benazir Income Support Programme in FATA, there needs to be a rigorous campaign for all women to get CNICs made.
3. Internal displacement in Pakistan has become a major issue in the past decade caused by the 2005 earthquake, the 2009 military operation in

Malakand and continuing military operations in FATA, and the 2010 floods Comprehensive research needs to be conducted on how populations displaced from natural disasters have been dealt with differently from those displaced by conflict and how IDPs from different geographic areas have been assisted. It is time for the Government of Pakistan to bring together key partners/ stakeholders to document lessons learned on displacement and incorporate the findings for use in future crisis management programmes.

4. The current process for obtaining No Objection Certificates (NOC) from the government authorities is long and tedious. Moreover it is not transparent and no reasons are given to organisations whose NOCs are "rejected" or remain pending for months. While waiting for NOC approval, donor funding is being wasted on staff salaries and other operational costs. Often the NGOs have to return funds to the donor because the project could not begin on time. Inevitably it is the intended beneficiaries who suffer. It is therefore strongly recommended that the Government of Pakistan make the permission to work/NOC process transparent and efficient, especially in emergency situations where projects are generally short term.

Donors and the International Community

5. Complaints from IDPs are registered at various grievance desks/hotlines set up by the Government or INGOs/NGOs. The assessment shows that there is a need to regularly follow up on cases, to ensure that the aggrieved party receives timely and satisfactory feedback. It is therefore recommended that the donors who fund the programmes monitor these systems

120. IDMC NRC Report

and procedures to ensure transparency and accountability.

6. Since almost 90% of FATA IDPs are living with host communities, there is a huge burden on provincial infrastructure and other facilities in off-camp areas. Support is needed for host communities and the provincial government who share the burden of displaced families. For example, the donor community must allocate funding to increase and improve the capacity of local healthcare, water and sanitation facilities and schools through a 'RAHA'¹²¹ type programme.
7. Several international and national NGOs, that are registered under different Acts, cannot get permission to work in conflict-affected areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and FATA. This has made room for smaller and newer local organisations to come forward. Although these organisations are well-meaning, they lack experience and capacity. It is recommended that donors set up independent monitoring mechanisms to verify the credibility and transparency of these local organisations. At the same time, donors and partners should allocate resources for building the capacity of these NGOs.
8. Donors need better coordination to identify overlaps in assistance and gaps in funding projects for IDPs. This would help highlight under-funded areas, particularly for women and other vulnerable groups.

UN/INGOs NGOs

9. Programmes for IDPs should be designed to best "capture" the time they are displaced, particularly women who are disadvantaged when it comes to education and skills development. For this it is imperative that the UN/INGOs/NGOs advocate funding be made available for skills training, especially for women and young people. Livelihood and skills training projects can incorporate literacy, numeracy, health and hygiene messages for women and young girls. Such programmes would contribute to making return more sustainable.
10. The current assistance packages (food and non-food items, cash for return etc.) are clearly not enough for the average family. It is therefore recommended that the international/national NGOs advocate to donors and the Government of Pakistan that assistance packages must be

realistic. For example, food packages should take into consideration the 'real' family size rather than a fixed number that is simply not enough for an average family, forcing them to send their children out to work.

11. It is imperative to understand that women are a separate group with unique needs and vulnerabilities. Although the government authorities have come a long way in addressing women's needs in emergencies (for example setting up of gender cells in PDMA/FDMA, hiring female staff for distribution etc.), the issue of *purda* needs to be considered when the Government of Pakistan and the UN plan IDP programmes. Policies and programmes must take these needs into consideration. It is also the responsibility of stakeholders who are involved in the design and planning of shelter and WASH programmes to consider these needs. Tents, latrines and washing pads etc. need to be accessible and located in well-lit and secure areas where women and young girls feel comfortable.
12. In order to improve the culture of respect and trust between the service providers and IDPs, the UN and international organisations must train staff (government and NGO) in protection and human rights standards. Refresher training should also be provided.
13. The assessment indicates that lack of information causes rumours among displaced populations and can hinder return. An information campaign must be built into every programme so that beneficiaries have clear and timely access to information about their entitlements, and are able to make informed decisions.
14. Although IVAP has been instrumental in collecting data on off-camp IDPs, there is a need for comprehensive research on off-camp IDPs who are not as "visible" as those living in camps, particularly vulnerable groups such as women heads of households. This would give stakeholders an understanding of their coping mechanisms and needs, and enable targeted assistance to those in real need.
15. The trauma of displacement should not be underestimated. In order to support IDPs to overcome this trauma, it is recommended that psychosocial support be an integral component of health programmes, particularly for women.

121. The Refugee Affected and Hosting Areas (RAHA) programme started in 2009, and aims at strengthening the Government of Pakistan's governance and public service delivery, to improve the living standard of more than one million Pakistanis who have hosted or are still hosting Afghan refugees. It also aims to foster peaceful co-existence among Pakistani communities and registered Afghans. http://www.pk.undp.org/content/pakistan/en/home/operations/projects/crisis_prevention_and_recovery/refugee-affected-and-hosting-areas-programme.html

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