

**Social and Economic Costs of Armed Conflicts on Children:
Evidence from Displaced Camps in Jammu and Kashmir, India**

By:

Dr. Falendra Kumar Sudan
Associate Professor
Department of Economics,
University of Jammu, Jammu
Jammu and Kashmir, India
Telephone: 91-191-2437907 (O)
Mobile: 91-94192-13190
Fax: 91-191-2450014
E-mail: fk_sud@rediffmail.com

Submitted to:

**International Research Workshop of
the Households in Conflict Network (HiCN) and
the German Institute for Economic Research (DIW Berlin) on
“The Global Costs of Conflict”, 1-2 February 2010 at
DIW Berlin, Berlin, Germany**

Acknowledgements

This paper is based on “A Baseline Survey of Three Non-Kashmiri Displaced Camps in Jammu Region and a Case Study “Forced Migration and its Impact on Children: A Case Study of Khanpur (Nagrota) Camp” funded by Child Rights and You (CRY), New Delhi and completed during April 2008 and March 2009. The financial support received from CRY is deeply acknowledged. The critical comments and suggestions made by Mr. Suwendu Bhattacharjee and Ms. Jaya Singh of CRY have benefited immensely in completing the study.

Abstract

The ongoing armed conflict in Jammu and Kashmir has resulted in displacement of non-Kashmiri households since mid-nineties. On account of displacement, there was no option for them to cope with small living accommodation and livelihood means. Majority of children in displaced camps were adolescents on the verge of transition from the childhood to adulthood. Armed conflicts induced displacement inevitably takes its toll on children's education and increases the pressures on the young children to work, possibly at the expense of their schooling and also leads to under-nourishment and malnutrition, which has caused poor physical growth, inability to learn and poor work performance. Numerous distressed marriages took place to save the young girl children from sexual abuse and exploitation from the members of their own community as well as host community and a large number of them left their studies mid-way. The life in camp was creating psychological problems for the children and impairing their future mental health and personalities. Most of them often experience abuse and discrimination on a daily basis and subjected to physical violence, sexual assault, threats and other forms of coercion. The 'care and maintenance' assistance and aid received by displaced non-Kashmiri migrant families was completely undependable, erratic and inadequate and given the opportunity they would like to move out from the camp as quickly as possible. Most of children were very hopeless of their future career and life and have indicated a need and desire for income generating activities and trade and skill building programmes in addition to literacy.

1. Introduction

Jammu and Kashmir State in India continued to be afflicted by insurgency and violence. Human rights violations both by the security forces and the armed opposition groups (AOGs) continued to be extensively reported from the state. About 20,000 women have been killed due to armed conflict in Jammu and Kashmir during last two decades (NHRC, 2006). There are reports of rape, molestation and abduction of children during the ongoing conflicts by the insurgents and security forces (NCRB, 2006). Children were the disproportionate victims of the armed conflict. About 40,000 children had been orphaned due to the conflict in the state. Most of them have been living in miserable conditions. The security forces also allegedly used children as "human shields" during anti-insurgency operations. About 55,476 Kashmiri Pandit families remained displaced since early 1990s. The government of India and the State government of Jammu and Kashmir regularly announced various schemes to encourage their return but most of the Kashmiri Pandits remained skeptic due to security concerns (Asian Centre for Human Rights, 2007). The data on number of non-Kashmiri displaced families is unavailable, which could be several thousands. The poor non-Kashmiri displaced families are concentrated in various camps. Thousands of others who had been displaced because of conflicts were not provided shelter or housed in camps. Over 45,000 border migrants living along the Line of Actual Control and displaced following the war in Kargil in 1999 had been virtually disowned and were not provided any assistance.

Even for those relatively fortunate ones i.e. those who were housed in government managed camps, the conditions had been abominable. In the absence of any policy on the internally displaced persons (IDPs), different groups of IDPs received different treatment due to political reasons. While a displaced Kashmiri Hindu received Rs 750 per month as aid and assistance, a high proportion of the non-Kashmiri displaced living outside the camps is not provided any aid and assistance. The conditions of the non-Kashmiri displaced families living in camps have been

very deplorable. Displacement has resulted in severe rights violations including right to physical safety, security and liberty and access to basic humanitarian services - adequate housing, food, health care, education and protection of the displaced families specifically women and children. Not only this, the children of displaced families are subjected to various forms of abuse on routine basis by the family members, camp dwellers, fellow children, outsiders etc., which have not been reported and documented earlier and they are suffering from the menace silently since displacement. Existing socio-economic conditions in displaced camps also render some children vulnerable and more at risk to abuse, exploitation and neglect. Lack of empirical evidence and qualitative information on the social and economic costs of armed conflicts on children living in camps and their abuse and neglect makes it difficult to address the issue. It is high time that we should recognize this and take remedial measures. Thus, the present study is an attempt in this direction and examines the social and economic costs of armed conflicts on children and investigates the status of child rights in non-Kashmiri (the non-Kashmiri speaking population from the hills of districts of Rajouri, Poonch, Udhampur, Reasi, Doda and Kistwar) displaced camps in Jammu and Kashmir State in India and recommend some policy measures to mitigate their sufferings.

2. Rationale of the study

The ongoing armed conflict in Jammu and Kashmir has resulted in forced migration of Kashmiri Hindu and non-Kashmiri Hindu and Muslim communities since mid-nineties. Currently, these displaced families are settled in different places in Jammu region and across the country. Living in displaced camps is assumed to present minimal risk to children. Nevertheless, even when exposure to actual armed violence is limited, the effects in terms of loss of security, income and service access, displacement, and other such phenomena are considerable. The discriminatory employment practices, limited access to schools and other facilities may have an immense impact on children living in displaced camps and result in a range of rights violations. The living conditions in camps may contribute to an increased incidence of early marriage of girls and physical, emotional and sexual abuse of children. The circumstances in the camps offer scant opportunity for girls to contribute in any way other than domestically, which rarely requires more than one daughter per household. Additionally, there is a significant threat of rape by locals and other migrants. Those girls who are raped generally find it harder to get a husband due to the social stigma that attaches to them. Thus, by marrying girls off early this danger may be averted. In any event, the conditions of overcrowding, the lack of educational and recreational opportunities, and the consequent boredom are all believed to be important factors accounting for the noted prevalence of sexual activity amongst unmarried adolescents. Marriage at such an early age can impact very heavily upon the psycho-emotional, educational and physical development of girls. With wedlock generally come strong family and societal expectations for children and all this implies for intense physical strain and loss of educational and social opportunities.

Displacement inevitably takes its toll on children's education. Most obviously there is the problem of disruption and loss of access to schools. However, this is not the only challenge. Due to bureaucratic procedures, the displaced children, in particular, are denied access to educational facilities. The most common cause is the lack of a birth certificate (often lost in displacement), which is used by head teachers as an excuse to deny children entry or to prevent them from participating in public examinations and sports competitions. With these limitations in mind it is, nonetheless, possible to make the general observation that conflict appears to marginalise further those who are already vulnerable economically. The most obvious way in which this occurs is through the loss or drastic reduction of capital, income and employment. The impoverishment impacts upon children in a number of ways. It increases the pressures on the young to work, possibly at the expense of their schooling. It also leads to under-nourishment and malnutrition; to

the inability of parents to pay for the basic necessities of a school education, such as uniform and writing materials; and to a child's withdrawal from religious, social and cultural events, including temple festivals, for which some offering is necessary.

Jammu and Kashmir is profoundly affected by armed conflict and forced migration, with grave implications for the survival, development and well being of children. Consequently, little is known about how children of non-Kashmiri households in displaced camps experience the effects of armed conflict, or what legal and practical means exist to aid and support them. The present paper is an attempt in this direction to fill the information gaps. This has serious ramifications for policy and programmatic interventions, since effective measures require a full understanding of both the overall situation with respect to armed political struggles and the specific circumstances of children lives. This will help raise awareness of the true extent and effects of social and economic costs of armed conflict on displaced children living in camps in Jammu region. It is also an attempt in building capacity in child-focused participatory research in displaced communities living in camps.

3. Objectives and Methodology

The main objective of the present paper has been to analyse the social and economic costs of armed conflicts and status of child rights in displaced camps. The study intends to present the socio-economic conditions of non-Kashmiri families in displaced camps, implications of forced migration on children in camp settings and ascertain the status of child rights in displaced situations and recommend policy initiatives for promoting and protecting child rights. The social and economic implications of armed conflicts on non-Kashmiri families in displaced camps has been analysed using primary data and information collected through a baseline survey conducted in three non-Kashmiri migrant camps located at Belicharana, Khanpur (Nagrota) and Talwara in Jammu region of Jammu and Kashmir in India. A census survey of total of 905 households has been carried out in three selected camps viz Belicharana (284 households), Khanpur (215 households), and Talwara (406 households). Besides, the study presents the implications of forced migration on children in displaced camp using data and resources from "Forced Migration and its Impact on Children: A Case Study of Khanpur (Nagrota) Camp" funded by Child Rights and You (CRY), New Delhi and completed during April 2008 and March 2009. A total of 45 children (21 males and 24 females) have been selected from 225 displaced migrant families living in the Khanpur (Nagrota) camp for collection of primary data and information related to the phenomenon under study.

Keeping in mind the sensitivity of the issue, besides direct interview using pre-tested questionnaire, focus group discussions (FGDs) were used to create an enabling environment for children to respond with ease and share their experiences on social and economic costs of armed conflicts in camp settings. FGDs were conducted amongst a group of 10-12 children (all boys or all girls). Male and female investigators were used respectively for collecting primary data and information. FGD was intended to establish rapport with children and to introduce the issue under study to children in a subtle manner. The investigators were sensitized about the ethical issues including the importance of confidentiality, consent and freedom to participate. Both the unfocused and focused observation techniques have been used. The unfocused initial observations have been used to become increasingly familiar with the insider's world so as to refine and focus subsequent observation and data collection. All the observations have been recorded on site and misunderstanding, if any, has been corrected thereof. Highly formal interviews have been conducted using structured interview schedules. In-depth interviews have also been conducted to elicit opinion of stakeholders with extensive knowledge of the phenomenon under study. The content analysis technique has been used to analyze the data and

information qualitatively and quantitatively (using descriptive statistics). The content analysis technique has been supplemented by use of code and label field notes, sorting, shifting, constructing and reconstructing these materials.

5. Social and Economic Costs of Armed Conflicts: Evidence from Literature

Violent conflicts cause growth to decline (Collier, 2007), damage infrastructure (Rodrik, 1998; Binzel & Brück, 2006; Brück & Schindler, 2007), destruct physical capital, reduce investment (Knight et al., 1996; Imai and Weinstein, 2000), and induce capital flight (Collier, 1999a) and lower personal savings rates (Russett and Slemrod, 1993). Both non-state and state armed forces loot and destroy housing, schools and health facilities (Brück, 2001). During violent conflicts, assets such as houses, land, labour, utensils, cattle and livestock get lost or destroyed through heavy fighting and looting (Bundervoet & Verwimp, 2005; Ibáñez & Moya, 2006; Shemyakina, 2006; Verpoorten, 2003). Farmers often suffer the worst losses (Bundervoet & Verwimp, 2005; Justino & Verwimp, 2006). The insecure socio-economic conditions force vulnerable households into deprivation and distress and occurrence of violent conflict tend to increase insecurity further (de Waal, 1997). The violent conflicts are likely to have a considerable negative impact on individual and household's economic position due to loss of assets and disruption or loss of livelihoods (Humphreys & Weinstein, 2004). There have been breakdowns of customary rights and rules with predatory behaviour leading to resource depletion and environment degradation (Moser & McIlwaine, 1999). Conflict may affect the role of labour in production through distortions of labour markets (Abdullah, Ibrahim & Muana, 1998), slavery (Steiner & Alston, 2000) and altering the skills and abilities (Keen, 2001). During violent conflicts assets get lost or destroyed (Verpoorten, 2003), homes and livelihoods damaged (Shemyakina, 2006), and prices of key staple commodities increased and asset depleted (Bundervoet & Verwimp, 2005), which have unaccountable impacts on livelihoods of individuals and households at micro level.

Violent conflict is likely to affect human capital, namely education and health. The disruption and destruction of infrastructure caused by violence often results in severe cutbacks in states' capacity to provide services such as education and health care (Stewart et al., 2001a, 2001b). The reductions in social services reinforce further the inability of households to fall back on state support in times of crises (e.g. safety-nets). During conflict, the households will tend to deplete their stock of human capital (Deininger, 2003), increase older children engagement in economic activities (Stewart et al., 2001a), and restrict their access to school due to security fears (Shemyakina, 2006) and increase economic and security risks (Shemyakina, 2006). Violent conflict is associated with the destruction of human lives due to violence against civilians, often children, women and the elderly (Dewhurst, 1998; Woodward, 1995) and push previously vulnerable households into extreme forms of poverty which may well become persistent if the household is unable to replace labour (Justino & Verwimp, 2006). Violent conflicts affects health of children (Ghobarah, Huth & Russett, 2003), increase adult and infant mortality (Hoeffler & Reynal-Querol, 2003; de Walque, 2006), increase morbidity and psychological effects (Guha-Sapir & van Panhuis, 2002), reduce the nutritional status (Bundervoet & Verwimp, 2005), increased infectious diseases (Russett et al., 2003), high HIV infection rates (Carballo & Solby, 2001), low breastfeeding by mothers increases the risk of infecting the next generation (Machel, 2000) and arrest physical growth of children (Alderman, et al., 2004).

Armed conflicts have killed people and caused extensive injuries, disability and psychological damage (Ghobarah, Huth & Russett, 2003; Lacina & Gleditsch, 2005). Population levels change due to conflict induced deaths, famine, disease and the destruction of health services (King & Martin, 2001; Stewart et al., 2001a). Violent armed conflicts are often highly correlated with increases in infant and maternal mortality rates, larger proportion of untreated illnesses, reduction

in nutritional levels, and so forth (WHO, 2002). These effects are aggravated by the breakdown of health and social services and increase the risk of disease transmission (such as HIV/AIDS) in displaced camps (Grein et al., 2003), decrease food security and lower probability of children survival (Verwimp & van Bavel, 2004) and girls tend to suffer more than boys given extreme economic stress of households (Grein et al., 2003). The impact of reduction in households' economic and human capital may be long-lasting even after the end of the initial conflict (Ghobarah, Huth & Russett, 2003; Alderman et al., 2004; de Walque, 2006).

The social networks have both positive and negative effects on the lives of the poor in peaceful situations (Fafchamps & Lund, 2002; Durlauf, 2006) and post-conflict settings (Colletta & Cullen, 2000; Varshney, 2002). The community relations and norms strengthen during the conflict (Wickham-Crowley, 1992; Petersen, 2001) and may create important community ties to cope violence and may also (re)enforce some forms of social capital (Petersen, 2001; Pinchotti & Verwimp, 2007; Kalyvas, 2007). Similar effects take place amongst displaced populations. Community networks are fundamental in facilitating the transition of people to new locations. But displacement into areas where productive activities cannot be accessed may also trap households in criminal and violent networks, or in semi-legal and illegal forms of activity (Moser & McIlwaine, 2004; Salehyan & Gleditsch, 2006; Steele, 2007).

A more substantial cost arises from the fear that armed violence inevitably generates. The frightened civilians flee from their homes and lose the few assets they possess (Matovu & Stewart, 2001). The displacement severs family and community links and weakens the constraints upon opportunistic and criminal behaviour (Platteau & Andre, 1998), reduces social capital (Colletta & Cullen, 2000), creates massive problems, especially for health, as they are pushed into areas where they lack immunity to disease and they then carry these diseases with them, infecting host populations (Montalvo & Reynal-Querol, 2002). Armed conflict induced displacement increased the share of the subsistence sector (Collier & Reinikka, 2001). The displaced populations are found amongst those living under the most difficult forms of socioeconomic exclusion and deprivation (Chronic Poverty Research Centre, 2005). Displaced populations often struggle to find work (Engel & Ibáñez, 2007; Ibáñez & Moya, 2006) and exhibit lower productivity levels than those that stayed behind (Kondylis, 2005). These effects are aggravated by the breakdown of families and their social protection mechanisms caused by displacement and may affect individual and household welfare for generations to come (Alderman, et al., 2006; de Walque, 2004). The displacement caused by armed conflicts has severe adverse effects on the reproductive health of women, men and adolescents and increase the incidence of sexually transmitted infectious diseases (Guha-Sapir and Forcella, 2001) and increase rate of cervical cancer (Russett et al., 2003). The psychological effects of conflict induced displacement are large and persistent. The survivors of violent conflict have lost their family members, friends, livelihood, familiarity and identity. They have experienced trauma due to intimate exposure to brutality and subsequent displacement leave them psychologically scarred and the intricate network of social interaction deeply torn and undergone low-grade but long-lasting mental health problems (MacDonald, 2002).

The negative effects of violence may be counteracted by opportunities raised by conflict. Some will benefit from violence through looting (Keen, 1998), redistribution of assets during conflict (Brockett, 1990; Wood, 2003), and privileged access to market and political institutions (Richards, 1996). Population movements, migration in particular, may also entail some positive effects on livelihoods and the economic status of households through remittances (Justino & Shemyakina, 2007; Lindley, 2007) and creates a group of people who may have little to gain from a return to peace. Successful integration of displaced populations into society is a key precondition to avoid the economic decline that makes it more difficult to bring conflict to an end

(Walter, 2004). In addition, displaced populations may create competition for scarce resources such as jobs, land, assets, available services like health care and so forth, which may also create new forms of exclusion and sources of further instability (USCR, 2004). However, the households living in risky environments tend to develop a complexity of risk-coping strategies (Townsend, 1994) and move to displaced camps, migrate to safer urban areas or move abroad to survive (Wood, 2003; Steele, 2007).

6. Social and Economic Costs of Armed Conflicts: Evidence from Field Survey

Jammu and Kashmir has been a land of armed conflict and displacement since 1989, which has disturbed personal, social and political life of the state. The displacement has led displaced people to geographical areas grossly incomparable to their original habitation in terms of weather conditions and assets available. From lush green cold environment, they have landed into hot and dry areas, which they find totally uncomfortable. From luxurious open houses, several of them have been forced to reside in small one-room dwelling. From the last about one year, the government is providing relief to those non-Kashmiri families who have registered themselves as displaced and have no other source of income after migration. On the economic front, displaced families have been hit hard. When the intensity of militancy increased in hills of Jammu region, the families were forced to leave their movable and immovable property. Children have suffered from physical and psychological disturbances. The education and upbringing has adversely been affected. The number of dropouts has increased. They have suffered from malnutrition and disease. The girls have been forced in early marriage, which affected their education and future development adversely. Many of them are facing abuses of all sorts, which have shattered the feeling of security in them. Children have gone through trauma of insurgency and displacement in their early life.

6.1. Socio-economic conditions of displaced households

Due to violent conflict, displacement and distress living conditions, 10.24% of females are shouldering the responsibilities of head of households in Belicharana followed by 6.69% in Khanpur (Nagrota) and 5.66% in Talwara. Before coming to the displaced camps, some of the male head of the households have been killed by the armed militants in their native places, some have disappeared, while some of them migrated to other towns and cities to eke out a livelihood, thus, shifting the burden of head of the households on the female member of the households. In such households, females are suffering multiple burden of separation of head of households due to killing, migration, living in camps and managing daily household chores and feeding themselves and their family members including children, taking care of children's education, health and wellbeing. The young women are also at the risk of abuse by the other members of the households, relatives and fellow male inmates of the camps.

The households have 2515 adult members with more or less similar proportion of males (52.29) and females (47.71). A similar is situation in the three camps. On average, there are 2.77 adults per household with significant variations across camps. More number of adults implies more earning members per households. However, due to lack of economic opportunities in the camps and its surroundings, the unemployment and underemployment is reportedly very high and almost all the households are living in abject conditions of poverty and deprivation. Due to forced displacement, the households have left most of the moveable and immovable assets in their native villages. Upon their migration and settling in the camps, initially they were not given any aid and

assistance by the government and they were not considered as displaced population by the government agencies and deprived of any assistance as being given to Kashmiri migrants from the Valley of Kashmir. Recently, with the constant and vigorous efforts made by the non-governmental agencies and social activists, they are now being also given cash and financial assistance. To begin with, such assistance were given to the displaced population residing in Talwara camp only, however, with constant pressure on the government by the social activists and the groups of displaced populations living in other two camps, the households living in Khanpur (Nagrota) and Belicharana are also being given food and financial assistance, which has eased their livings considerably. Earlier, there were reports of selling of children from Talwara camp to nearby States of Punjab and Haryana. As the matter has been highlighted by the civil society, the fresh incidence of selling of children has not come to the limelight. However, the incidence of child labour as domestic servants, small restaurant workers, rag pickers, beggars, manual workers, workshop workers, vendors' helpers, etc is reportedly high to supplement the adult earnings in the households.

There are 3.19 children per households, thus, the child-adult ratio stood at 1.15. The child sex ratio is estimated at 0.97 female per male child. More than two-third (68.09%) of the children are born after displacement and have seen camp life throughout their childhood and deprived of the basic civic amenities like proper schooling, health, drinking water, hygiene and sanitation. The parents have come to realize the difficulties in camp situations and limited the size of family. A higher proportion of the children in the adolescent age group (one-third) have its own repercussions in terms of their needs for higher education, training, health, and recreation, which is virtually absent in all the camps. In the absence of these facilities, their energies and potentialities may go waste and they may indulge in bad habits and abused by the bad elements in and outside the camps. The adolescent male children may trap in drug abuse and stealing and form rouge bands, whereas their female counterparts may lure in sexual abuse. Thus, there is urgent need to open avenues for their active involvement in training and skill development so that their energies and potentialities can be channelized in right perspective for their better growth and development.

Nearly 58% of the households' members are illiterate. The female literacy is very low (43.64%), which has its implications on child development also. The pattern of low female literacy has been visible across the three camps, which is not at all surprising. All the households have rural origin and come from the remote corners of the districts of Rajouri, Poonch, Reasi, Udhampur, Doda and Kistwar, which have poor educational infrastructure even today. So the older and adult members were deprived to accessibility to adequate educational facilities at their native places. Likewise, the younger and child population has low literacy too due to displaced living. Upon displacement, the first tolls the children experience was that of lack of educational facilities resulting in high drop outs. Later on accessibility to educational facilities has improved to some extent and the children are enrolled in these schools, for which they have to travel up to more than 5 km.

Only 39.04% of the adult population are economically active and termed as employed and of them 93.79% are male and as low as 6.21% of the female household members are economically engaged in some productive tasks. These working women are also the head of respective households and all the responsibilities of providing food and other facilities lies on them. However, the data clearly reveals under-reporting of female working population. The focal group discussions and participatory appraisals make it evident that most of the women from Khanpur (Nagrota) and Belicharana camps are seeking work outside the homes and camps. Ironically, these poor women from disadvantaged communities along with their children resort to begging on particular days (Saturdays and Tuesdays) by visiting the nearby religious places and

townships. However, such a practice was not reported in Talwara camp, which may be due to the fact that this camp is inhabited by the upper caste groups.

The proportion of unemployed population stood at 51.06%, 64.01% and 64.19% in Belicharana, Khanpur (Nagrota) and Talwara respectively. In Belicharana camp, the proportion of unemployed population is comparatively low, which is due to the fact that the camp is located on the fringe of Jammu city and both the male and female population has easy access to nearby industrial estates, bus stand, ware houses, shops and establishment wherein they find manual wage employment on temporary basis. However, more males than females are employed in Belicharana. In other two camps, the male unemployment rate is quite significant and stood at 30.32% (Khanpur) and 72.11% (Talwara). Thus, the incidence of unemployment is very high in these two camps, which is collaborated with the poor economic conditions. Even those who are employed are earning a very small amount, given the nature of manual wage employment they are engaged in. Overall, the unemployment and underemployment is quite alarming among the displaced population living in these camps and they should be made aware of the National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS) so that at least 100 days of employment could be provided to them.

Due to displaced living conditions and consequent low levels of income, poverty and deprivations, the enrolment of children above the age of 6 years in educational system is quite low and stood at 52.18%. The proportion of children enrolled in schools in the three camps stood at 66.21% in Belicharana, 63.40% in Khanpur (Nagrota) and 36.07% in Talwara. Comparatively high enrollment in Belicharana is due to the fact of nearness to the city of Jammu and availability of private educational institutions in the camp itself. About 53% of male children and 51% of the female children of age group 6 plus are enrolled in educational institutions. The above analysis paints a very ugly picture of enrolment of children in educational system, which is far behind the national goal of education for all. Due to lack of awareness and motivation on the part of parents and abject poverty conditions, they could not send their children to schools. The government-run educational institutions are lacking and if available these schools are without proper infrastructure including teachers. In the government-run schools, the teachers are quite irregular and not taking interests in teaching the students, which results in high drop outs. Distance to better managed private and government run schools is also reasons for low enrolment.

More than 96% of the households belong to the category of below poverty line (BPL). The above poverty line (APL) households are those displaced households, which have a member serving in government or non-government sector and earning comparatively higher income. Majority of the households belonging to BPL category do not possess BPL card and are thus not getting subsidized ration from public distribution system (PDS). In Talwara camp, more than two-third of the BPL category households possess BPL card and all of them are getting subsidized ration. It appears that the displaced population of Talwara camp is comparatively more aware politically and opts for pressurizing the local administration in providing them the minimum basic necessities. They were also the first in the category of non-Kashmiri displaced population who got the food and financial assistance from the government and shown the way to others in Khanpur (Nagrota) and Belicharana) to get the basic minimum relief and assistance.

The displaced are god fearing and fatalist and all of them reported prevalence of social and cultural practices and superstitions in their households, which is due to lack of education and awareness. The older members of households are more orthodox and religious. The displacement and camp situation has not weakened the traditional institutions, rather strengthen them. As such, they possess traditional attitudes and beliefs regarding life, children and institutions governing social moorings. Marriage before the age of 18 is a reality for many young girls living in the camps. In displaced situations, parents encourage the marriage of their daughters while they are

still children in hopes that the marriage will benefit them both financially and socially, while also relieving financial burdens on the family. In actuality, child marriage is a violation of human rights, compromising the development of girls and often resulting in early pregnancy and social isolation, with little education and poor vocational training reinforcing the gendered nature of poverty. Boys are also affected by child marriage but the issue impacts girls in far larger numbers and with more intensity.

More than 18% of the households marry their daughter before the age of 18 years and 10% of marriages of boys took place before the legal age of 21 years. The displacement and living in camp situations does not provide a sense of security to the girls because of lack of opportunities to engage in education and training and productive activities. The threat of sexual abuse of these young girls within and outside camps also looms large on the parents and in order to avoid such threats they marry their daughters at an early age. The young boys with poor economic conditions and improper education and trainings indulge in anti-social activities like theft, stealing, drugs, gangs, etc. The parents due to lack on awareness, in the pretext of setting them right, tied them in marriage knot, which ultimately results in more poverty, large number of children, frustration, domestic violence, divorce, and so on. None of the households faced any types of discrimination within and outside the community and camps. Thus, it appears that displacement promotes social cohesion within the community and the outside communities also realize their distress conditions and thus treat them as one of the member of civil society without any discrimination.

6.2. Child rights in displaced camps

The official recording of the birth of a child by the government is a fundamental human right and an essential means of protecting a child's right to an identity. However, the birth registration may not be seen as important by displaced population living in camps as they are facing severe economic difficulties due to displacement and struggling with day-to-day survival. More female than male babies were born in these camps during the last one year, with minor variations across the camps and of them 52.56% of births have been registered. Proportionately, more male births (47.22%) than female births (13.33%) have been registered, which reflects gender bias in birth registration. Even in cases where birth has been registered, in most cases birth certificates has not been issued. Those of the parents/caretakers who have registered the birth of the baby in the family have approached the chowkidar (watchman) of the locality for registering the birth. In many hospitals and health-care facilities, children are registered immediately after birth. However, women who give birth at home or in alternative locations often do not have the benefit or ease of immediate registration for their newly born babies. Thus, in case the birth of the child has taken place in institutional care, the health professionals themselves have reported the birth to concerned agency for registration. Some of the families find it difficult to register on time due to lack of awareness, preoccupation with daily household chores and survival activities. Some of the parents may even wait until it is necessary for their children to have formal identification, for example, prior to attending school. Thus, displaced living conditions and poverty may negatively affect numbers of registered birth.

Immunization of children against preventable diseases is very low. Only 51.28% of the new born children in the three camps have been immunized completely. Gender disparities in immunization have been reported. 28.57% of the girls have been immunized completely compared to 77.77% of the boys below the age of 12 months. In Belicharana camp, all the newly born male babies below the age of 12 months have been immunized compared to 15.78% of female babies in the same age group. In Talwara camp, 72.72% of the male babies and 30.76% of female babies have been completely immunized during the first year of their life. About 58% of male and 50% of female child below 12 months have been immunized in Khanpur camp. Thus,

there have been noticeable variations in pattern and incidence of immunization in the selected camps. The comparatively better performance of Belicharana camp in child immunization has been due to nearness to the Jammu city, better transport and communication and visit of health professionals and members of voluntary organizations to the camp. Besides, the parents are more mobile and have regular contacts with urban counterparts and are thus aware about the need for child immunization. The camps of Talwara and Khanpur are comparatively isolated and deprived of basic health facilities and visits of health workers in these camps are few and far between. Thus, there is need to improve the basic health facilities in these camps so that both the children as well as the pregnant women could be immunized against the preventable diseases.

More than one-half of the children above the age of 5 years are attending schools at various levels. Gender disparities are noticed in child enrolment in schools. 50.75% of boys compared to 49.25% of girls are enrolled in government primary schools. Similar pattern is observed for enrolment in private schools and middle schools across the camps. Talwara camp has the facilities of private schools too and some of the children from displaced households are enrolled therein, whereas other two camps are lacking such facilities. Overall, enrollment and retention is quite low and wastage is high and none of the children were attending high school and above. Besides, none of the child was enrolled in any skill improvement and technical and vocational course. Due to poverty, the parents could not afford to send their children to private schools outside the camps. Thus, there is need to provide basic education along with technical and vocational skills to these children so that they could grow up as well-literate and skilled to enter the labour market and eke out a livelihood to support their families economically. A total of 1029 children were in the age group of above 6 years and below 17 years, who were not attending any schools and of them 773 children were in the age group above 6 years and below 14 years and of them 38.16% are engaged in different remunerative occupations outside the home. None of the children are engaged in home-based occupations as their parents are lacking money, skill and trainings to take up any home based enterprises. High incidence of child labour is attributed to displaced living conditions, acute poverty, lack of education and availability of child specific work nearby the camps. Due to inadequate earnings and aid and assistance, the children are forced into child labour, which is depriving them of basic human rights.

6.3. Forced migration and children in displaced camp

Forced migration is one of the most visible and disruptive effects of armed conflict. Children are forced with their families, or as individuals, to uproot their lives to move to unknown place and often offers harsher living conditions than those they had at home. In Jammu region of State of Jammu and Kashmir, forced migration and displacement has become a problem that has spanned about two decades. In some cases, parents of displaced children were at one time displaced children themselves. All of the displaced population living in Khanpur (Nagrota) camp is linked in one way or another to the ongoing armed conflict. Most of them had fled their homes during fighting or the threat of it. When the attacks developed, they did not always have sufficient warning to relocate, so they quickly gathered what they could and moved to a shelter outside of the affected area, be that a camp, a makeshift site, the homes of family or friends. They move because of insurgents' operations in their areas that created a general feeling of insecurity. Most of them had been displaced since the mid-1990s when violence erupted in hills of Doda, Rajouri, Poonch and Udhampur. While armed violence has often the most dramatic impact on children, the damage that armed conflict and consequent forced migration does to the health of children, psycho-social well-being, access to education, and their families' livelihood assets is frequently excessive.

The displaced families in Khanpur camp are from all the religious communities viz. Hindu, Muslim and Sikh, who were migrated in mid-1990s and living together very harmoniously in the camp. On account of sudden displacement, there was no option for them to cope with small living accommodation and livelihood means, which resulted in break down in traditional joint family structure, where the family needs and care were taken care of by elderly members of the family, especially the child care responsibilities were vested with the grand parents, which is totally devoid of, to the displaced migrants' children. One can notice overcrowding in small dwellings due to large number of children and limited space. The small by-lanes and streets are also flooded with roaming small children. Most of them have lost everything and they had to start from the zero level. Majority of the children have shown their displeasure regarding the asset structure in their household as compared to an average household in local community. Thus, they are suffering from various shortcomings in their life.

The roles and relationships of the family members have been challenged in the wake of altered living conditions in displaced camp. The elderly male members are no longer satisfied with the kind of role they are playing in the family. They are no longer capable of taking the responsibility of running their homes, as they do not have enough income and employment opportunities after their displacement. From the last nearly one year, the government is providing them relief and they are dependent on it. This has produced a feeling of dependence and self-pity and tends to lead to anger, frustration, uncertainty and helplessness among male members and sometimes this translates into violence against women in the family. Women are facing double stress. Firstly, it is the stress of displacement that she has to bear and secondly, being the weaker sex, she also faces stress in family due to internal tension. One-fifth of the sample children were born and brought up in displaced migrant camp. More than three-fourth of them were born in their native village. Some parents were children themselves at displacement and have clear memories of sequences of incidences that took before migration. They revealed that it was no longer safe for their family to stay in their original homes due to constant fear of insecurity and threat to life from the insurgents.

All of the displaced families have a small dwelling in the camp, which is reportedly damaged and destroyed and the repair and maintenance is virtually nil. No shelter assistance has been given initially to these families. Later they were permitted to occupy the current accommodation. All the families of the children (whose parents are without government jobs) were reportedly getting regular financial assistance and food relief to the tune of Rs. 600 per head cash assistance plus food items at the rate of 9 kg of rice, 2 kg of wheat flour and 1 kg of sugar per head. 93.33% of the families reported that the assistance received from the government is just not enough and cater to 25% of their needs. The main source of water available to them is tanker service provided by public engineering department, which is reportedly not sufficient to meet their daily water requirements especially during summer. None of the household has latrine facility, which is available as common facility in all the blocks of the camp.

The children were attending to all the household activities such as washing clothes, cleaning utensils, collecting water, preparing food, maintaining house, caring siblings, etc. on routine basis. More than one-fourth of the children are involved in cooking, washing clothes (35.35%), cleaning utensils (42.42%), house maintenance (33.33%), and water collection (82.22%). Only 15.55% of the female children are not involved in cooking, whereas 40% and 44.44% respectively always assist and sometimes assist in cooking. They spent 2-3 hours a day in household activities, which results in loss of time available for education and other activities and 32.23% of the female children attending household activities are not happy in doing so. The problem of food insecurity and under-nutrition is reported by all of the children. During the last seven days prior to the survey, they have ate rice, chapatti (bread), pulses, and vegetables, but

surprisingly none have reported eaten rich diets such as fish, meat, and cheese, thus, given the precarious living conditions and economic insecurity, the parents are unable to provide rich diets to their children, which is hampering their proper physical and mental growth. Majority of the children faced malnutrition, sub-nutritional diet and epidemic of nutritional related diseases. They also reported poor physical growth, inability to learn and poor work performance as the effects of prolonged state of malnutrition experienced by them.

About half of them are educated up to primary level and 11% are educated up to middle level. None of them are educated up to high school and above. More than one-third of them have no formal education. Small children below the age of 6 are not enrolled in any formal pre-school due to economic reasons. There is no government-run school to cater to educational needs of children of displaced families. Majority of those attending schools are enrolled in non-government/charity schools, for which they have to travel more than 3 km. Even those who never enrolled in schools also value education high for better future. Due to poor economic conditions, none of school enrolled children are taking tuitions and doing their studies on own or under parental care, and in most of the cases even the parents are also ill educated or non-educated. Due to poor economic conditions, they were not getting the services of child care centres and there was no provision of extended school day group or the like to take care of them if need arises.

More than 60% and 7% of children perceived their health as poor and quite poor respectively. None of them perceived their health as very good. Given the prevalence of food insecurity and acute malnutrition, this is not at all surprising. The incidence of body lice has been revealed by 28.88% of the children; of them all have suffered from skin infections during the last 30 days prior to the survey. 57.77% and 40% of them reported problem of cough and cold including running nose or clogged nose during last seven days prior the survey. Besides, they were also suffering from minor ailments like pain in ears, sore throat, and cutting teeth. One of the major health problems reported among them is diarrhea and fever in summer season due to poor quality of water and heat waves. One-fourth of the children have suffered from leukemia. Besides, the children were also reportedly suffering from indoor air pollution. The regular indoor smoking of one or more persons in family was reported by 48.88% of children and out of those who smoke, 41.02% were smoking more than 20 cigarettes a day. Besides, there is also problem of inadequate ventilation and use of solid fuel, which add more to the adverse effects of indoor air pollution and as a consequence, 26.66% of the children were suffering and of them 58.33%, and 41.66% respectively have suffered from cough and cough and breath shortness. Not only this, the children are also living in poor sanitary conditions. Due to paucity of living space in small dwelling, 95.66% of the children are compelled to share bed at home with other family members, which also hinder their studies and comforts. The dampness and dust in home are also reported by all of the sample children, which pose severe health problems for them.

The basic medical facilities were available within a distance of more than 2 km in a government run dispensary at Nagrota town. The doctor consultation in government-run health institutions is free, whereas if the doctor consultation is in a private hospital or clinic, they have paid a fee ranges between Rs. 50 and Rs. 100. None of the children have any additional check up during the visit to health facilities except for the scheduled purpose and illness. 93.44% of the children have been vaccinated against at least one of the killer diseases. Majority of them are vaccinated against diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus and polio. However, none of them were reportedly vaccinated against hepatitis, mumps, etc. More than half of the children were desirous of getting those vaccinations, which they were not able to get earlier and the main reason cited for not vaccinated earlier was expenses involved.

The children are attending to all sorts of activities ranges from working to supplement households' earnings to attending household chores, however, none of them is doing any work in home garden, as these are non-existent. One-third of them are working outside the home to the tune of less than 3 hours a day to more than 7 hours a day. Those enrolled in schools are spending more than an hour in commuting to attend their school and are spending a significant proportion of their time in studying outside the school. Besides above, the children are engaged in household tasks and care of siblings and old parents and relatives. All of these activities took a heavy toll on their education, which is very necessary for their future career development, however, keeping in view the mental agony and tensions and poor health conditions of their parents, the children are helpless and just sharing their own feelings and concern by attending to all sorts of work within and outside the four walls of households as a part of their moral duty and obligations towards them. One-third of the children are also providing family income. The children, who were labouring for survival and family assistance, are engaged in labouring outside, in the range of less than 14 hours to more than 48 hours a week. The displaced families have reportedly balance income and expenditure pattern though at a low level.

The elderly reveals that there has been substantial increase in the income as well as expenditure of those households whose main occupation was agriculture and allied activities in rural areas prior to their displacement. This is mainly attributed to the fact the manual labouring opportunities are available nearby the camp and in Jammu city, which is at a distance of 8 km, besides, the contribution of children and women to family income is significant, though they are engaged in hazardous activities including begging and incidence of women and child trafficking in drug and commercial sex is also not ruled out, which needs deeper probe. What is worth mentioning is how the earnings are spent. The elderly male members including women and young children are taking drugs and alcohol, which is draining their income in unproductive and hazardous ways, besides; the elderly male members are also reportedly indulged in gambling and other vices. Thus, both the increased income and expenditure after displacement needs to be taken with caution. The level of food security, nutritional status including educational and health status of the households in general and children and women in particular is very poor. There is need to launch a vigorous campaign against child labour, drug and alcohol and gambling and other vices currently prevalent in the camp.

The difficult socioeconomic situation made young girls easy prey of individuals seeking to take advantage of their vulnerability and some of them were subject of sexually abuse. Before displacement too, the girl's age at marriage was reportedly low in their native villages due to lack of educational and other opportunities. After displacement also, the girls are married at early ages than prescribed legally to avoid their abuse by the camp dwellers and outsiders alike. What is worth noting is that some of the girls' marriages took place with persons of comparatively old age, and the age gap has been as high as 10-15 years. Due to early marriage practices, some of the girls become mothers when they themselves are children. At the same time, the expenses incurred on marriage ceremonies have increased after displacement. However, now the marriages are not performed in traditional manner lasting over 5-6 days. Most of the marriages are concluded in a day or so to avoid expenses. Among the young married women, the incidence of extra-marital affairs has also been reported. There have also been cases of marital violence. The practice of separation and divorce due to marital acrimony is a newer phenomenon for most of them, as their lives were very traditional and simpler before displacement. All these trends impact the child development adversely. Overall, the continuing deprivation of basic needs is a serious issue and impacts the well-being of the children in a multitude of ways. Most of them are very hopeless of their future career and life.

6.4. Coping strategies

Displaced households have in some circumstances sought to rebuild or restore what they lost. Some displaced families took up new jobs such as manual workers, domestic workers, watchmen, factory workers, drivers, workshop helpers, etc. Displaced women and children are also reportedly seeking work and engaged in all types of hazardous tasks. Women and child trafficking has also been reported. Due to nearness to the army area, national highway, tourist spots and city, it is possible that some women and girls would have been trafficked into or forced to enter into the commercial sex. Some of the areas from which people fled are zones where poppy and marijuana are grown and where increasingly other types of narcotics are produced. The study did not seek to document whether affected villagers might have become involved in these practices out of necessity or because they offered better economic returns. There is a well-documented flow of drugs, particularly out of the areas from which displaced persons in Doda and Udhampur districts would have fled, but the study did not come across any reports to suggest that the displaced were involved in the transport of narcotics.

Some women along with their children resorted to begging and dependence on charity where alternative sources of employment hard to come by. Children are forced in to begging to survive and supplement family earnings. Some children work alone, meaning that they beg alone, but some work under close coordination of their mothers or elder sister or brother or other children. They use a part of the money they receive by themselves, mostly on smoking and intoxicants; rest of the money is handed over to the parents or senior member of the households. Those who work alone are subjected to abuse by miscreant mainly fellow children, camp dwellers, roadside vendors, workshop workers, restaurant workers and transport workers. While those who begged in groups mainly with mothers and other family members are in general tended to be safe. Thus, due to displacement and abject poverty and deprivation, children worked to support themselves or their families. Some of the children earned money by working in nearby town. Some helped in food stalls, some help with housework, and some sold products by walking door-to-door. After work, they returned to the camp. Because of growing tourism in the region, more information should be collected on the recruitment of children from displaced communities into commercial sex. There is a considerable risk that girls have been drawn into sex work in this area. Some displaced people relied on aid from a variety of sources. Some non-government organizations (NGOs) had been helping them identify sources of aid from the government because not everyone knew what was available or how to access it.

Another strategy some families adopted was to sell their valuables in the hope that they would be able to bridge hard times with this money. Some displaced families explained that they had been forcibly relocated to the camp by co-villagers where they were unable to find work. They sold most of their belongings until they had nothing left, hoping that the period of displacement would soon end and that they would return to their farms. When they had nearly nothing left of value remaining, they venture to work and begging. Some displaced families have risked return to their home areas over the period. Those who returned often lived with continued instability and threats. Some were exposed to violence, killing, looting or other theft of their property, including livestock and/or demands for contributions of food and material to promoters of the conflict. Another group of displaced attempted to return to their home areas to work in their field in secret or to forage in the forest to supplement their diet or to find natural products to sell in the market. Some return within a week, but others, such as those in hills of Doda and Udhampur, live clandestinely in the vicinity of their farms. This coping strategy placed people at considerable risk, since those same areas were still under continued insurgency and many of the returnees have faced the consequences too. Villagers caught in these areas can be detained on suspicion of

supporting an armed opposition group or be shot on site. Some others have utilized a number of other strategies. Some live with family members. Some of the displaced frequently went to stay with relatives or neighbours outside the conflict area. Others resettle in order to re-establish themselves elsewhere.

7. Recommendations

This study has provided an overview of the many ways in which armed conflict and consequent displacement has negatively affected children living in displaced camps. There have been several incidences of child rights' violations suggesting that some concrete mechanisms are required to protect and promote child rights in displaced camps. Likewise, many of the children in the camp are living below national standards, often in great difficulty with limited access to education and health services. Displacement remained a problem not easy to resolve in the face of insecurity and ongoing military operations. Play space is limited and in some households a culture of violence is apparent. The protection of children needs to be built on a strong foundation through which many layers of security surround young people. Government and non-government agencies need to make sure strong measures are in place to protect children. Communities, families, and children themselves need to be equipped to defend against grave abuses of child labour, drugs, alcohol, violence, sexual abuse, and early marriage and cope with impact of displacement. A set of recommendations have been suggested that could help to protect displaced children. Armed conflict and displacement, however, cannot be made wholly child-friendly. Currently, very small efforts have been made to remedy and prevent the problems faced by the displaced children. Thus, the following recommendations would go a long way in mitigating some of the sufferings faced by children and mainstreaming them.

a. Education: Education is disrupted by displacement in many ways, placing displaced children at a disadvantage in comparison to many other children. A number of potential strategies can be explored. The access was partially blocked because of lack of funds, particularly among those families who had lost their traditional sources of livelihood. There is need to waive school “development” fees and provide an education stipend to families to meet the expenses on study materials and uniforms. Other forms of cash assistance might be able to help families to cope and ensure that children can attend school.

b. Psychosocial wellbeing: There is need to prioritize and fully implement holistic and integrated psychosocial programmes and interventions for distressed children. The programmes should involve the community, family and children to utilize helpful indigenous practices. The services and interventions should include peace building components. There is need to provide quality of psychosocial services and make them appropriate and more responsive to the need of specific groups, such as abused.

c. Health: One of the main obstacles to access to healthcare, as is the case with education, appeared to be an inability to pay for services. This is not a problem unique to conflict-affected displaced communities, but the impact that conflict had on livelihood and income did exacerbate the problem in some of the situations. Here again a number of strategies could be considered, including cash assistance and health aid.

d. Livelihood: The restoration of livelihood will help families to help themselves while dampening the costs of armed conflict and displacement on children. The ability to pay has a documented impact on access to education and healthcare, while it may also influence a family's capacity to purchase food. Many families lost their principal economic assets and would be in needing help to reconstruct their livelihoods. Micro credit, cash assistance, and/or material

assistance can help families to bridge the gap until they are able to recover. Some of the younger children are forced in child labour including begging. These people could benefit from skills training that would better enable them to earn a decent living in their new circumstances. Thus, there is need to train displaced and conflict-affected persons including grown up children by withdrawing them from child labour and begging practices on how to access state and private aid, and provide training in new skills for those who may be unable or may not wish to return to their farms or who can otherwise not resume their former occupation and to children and women in hazardous tasks.

e. Participatory research: The involvement of children directly in research activities represents an important move away from traditional approaches, according to which children are solely the objects of enquiry. The pursuit of participatory research should be promoted for child research to fulfill the children's right to participate in child rights programming. Children's active participation in research is both a means to improve the quality and relevance of the data and make children themselves more visible within a particular community or within the broader society. Such participation can also improve a child's ability to communicate her/his views and acquire new knowledge. In this way participatory research can contribute to children's empowerment. In displaced settings, working with children may be the most effective way of bringing out issues of concern within the community as a whole, since the young are often less inhibited in their discussion of matters otherwise considered 'sensitive'. This is a contentious view, however, since research pursued with this agenda could lead to the revelation by children of information that runs against the interests of certain adults, thereby putting those children at risk. Overall, participatory research is motivated by the perception of children as individuals with rights and responsibilities of their own; playing an active role in the lives of their families, communities and societies; and having interests, views and priorities which may differ from those of the adults with whom they interact. The role of the researcher is to help children articulate their particular "interests, views and priorities" in a manner that does not create risk.

In sum, displaced non-Kashmiri children have special vulnerabilities and require additional care and protection from disease, hunger, malnutrition and abuse. There is urgent need to meet their physical needs such as water, sanitation, health care, shelter and psychosocial assistance. Education, including literacy training, primary, secondary, tertiary, vocational, life skills, informal and other age-specific educational opportunities is needed for young children. Despite barriers, there is a clear need for appropriate vocational training for young children to eliminate the menace of child labour and forced begging. Child focused participatory research should be promoted understand children's views, experiences and aspirations in depth.

8. References

- Abdullah, Ibrahim & Patrick Muana (1998), "The Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone" in Clapham Christopher, *African Guerrillas*, Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Alderman, Harold, John Hoddinott & Bill Kinsey (2004), "Long Term Consequences of Early Childhood Malnutrition", HiCN Working Paper No. 09, Households in Conflict Network, University of Sussex, UK (www.hicn.org).
- Alderman, Harold, John Hoddinott & Bill Kinsey (2006), 'Long Term Consequences of Early Childhood Malnutrition', *Oxford Economic Papers*, 58(3): 450-474.
- Asian Centre for Human Rights (2007), *India Human Rights Report: 2006*, New Delhi.
- Binzel, Christine & Tilman Brück (2006), 'Analyzing Conflict and Fragility at the Micro-Level', Paper presented at the USAID-HiCN conference on Conflict and Fragility, Nov 5-6, Washington D. C.

Brockett, Charles D. (1990), *Land, Power, and Poverty: Agrarian Transformation and Political Conflict in Central America*, Boston: Unwin Hyman.

Brück, Tilman (2001), 'Mozambique: The Economic Effects of the War', Chapter 3 in Stewart, F., V. Fitzgerald and Associates, *War and Underdevelopment*, Vol. 2, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brück, Tilman & Kati Schindler (2007), 'The Impact of Conflict: A Conceptual Framework with Reference to Widow and Refugee Households', Paper presented at the Second annual workshop of the Household in Conflict Network, Antwerp, 19-20 January.

Bundervoet, T. and Verwimp, P. (2005), "Civil War and Economic Sanctions: An Analysis of Anthropometric Outcomes in Burundi", HiCN Working Paper no. 11, Households in Conflict Network, University of Sussex, UK (www.hicn.org).

Carballo, M. & S. Solby (2001), 'HIV/Aids, Conflict and Reconstruction in Sub Saharan Africa', Paper presented in Durban, March 26-28, 2001 (Conference: Preventing and Coping with HIV/Aids in Post-Conflict Societies: Gender Based Lessons from Sub Saharan Africa).

Chronic Poverty Research Centre, (2005), *Chronic Poverty Report 2004-2005*, University of Manchester: Manchester.

Colletta, Nat J. & Michelle L. Cullen (2000), *Violent Conflict and the Transformation of Social Capital: Lessons from Cambodia, Rwanda, Guatemala, and Somalia*, Conflict Prevention and Post-Conflict Reconstruction, World Bank, Washington D. C.

Collier, Paul (2007), *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries Are Failing and What Can Be Done About It*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Collier, P. & R. Reinikka (2001), *Reconstruction and Liberalization: An Overview*. In: Uganda's Recovery: The Role of Farms, Firms, and Government, Reinikka, R. and PI Collier (eds.) Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

de Waal, A. (1997), *Famine Crimes. Politics and the Disaster Relief Industry in Africa*, African Rights and the International African Institute in association with James Currey, Oxford.

de Walque, D. (2004), 'The Long-Term Legacy of the Khmer Rouge Period in Cambodia', World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 3446, World Bank, Washington D. C. (http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=625324)

de Walque, D. (2006), 'The Long-Term Legacy of the Khmer Rouge Period in Cambodia', paper presented at the First Annual Workshop, Households in Conflict Network (www.hicn.org), Berlin, January 15-16.

Deininger, K. (2003), 'Causes and Consequences of Civil Strife: Micro-Level Evidence from Uganda', *Oxford Economic Papers* 55: 579-606.

Dewhurst, P. (1998), 'Frozen Emotions: Women's Experience of Violence and Trauma in El Salvador, Kenya, and Rwanda,' *Development Update*, 2(2).

Durlauf, Steven N. (2006), 'Groups, Social Influences and Inequality', in S. Bowles, S. N. Durlauf & K. Hoff (eds.), *Poverty Traps*, Chapter 6, Princeton University Press: Princeton.

Engel, Stefanie & Ana Maria Ibáñez (2007), 'Displacement Due to Violence in Colombia: A Household-Level Analysis', *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 55(2): 335-365.

Fafchamps, Marcel & Susan Lund (2002), 'Risk-Sharing Networks in Rural Philippines', *Journal of Development Economics*, 71(2): 261-287.

Ghobarah, H. A., Huth, P. & Russett, B. (2003), 'Civil Wars Kill and Maim People – Long After Shooting Stops', *American Political Science Review*, 97.

Grein, T., Checchi, F., Escriba, J. M., Tamrat, A., Karunakara, U., Stokes, C., Brown, V. & Legros, D. (2003), 'Mortality Among Displaced Former UNITA Members and Their Families in Angola: A Retrospective Cluster Survey', *British Medical Journal*, 327 (7416): 650.

Guha-Sapir, D. & W.G. van Panhuis (2002), 'Mortality Risks in Recent Civil Conflicts: A Comparative Analysis', CRED.

Guha-Sapir, D. & E. Forcella (2001), "The Reproductive Health Needs of Refugees: Evidence from Three Camps in Ethiopia", CRED.

Hoeffler, A. & Reynal-Querol, M. (2003), 'Measuring the Costs of Conflict', Oxford University: Oxford.

Humphreys, M. & Weinstein, J. (2004), 'What the Fighters Say: A Survey of Ex-Combatants in Sierra Leone', CGSD Working Paper No. 20, Center on Globalization and Sustainable Development, The Earth Institute: Columbia University, New York.

Ibáñez, Ana Maria & Andrés Moya (2006), 'The Impact of Intra-State Conflict on Economic Welfare and Consumption Smoothing: Empirical Evidence for the Displaced Population in Colombia', Households in Conflict Network, Working Paper 23 (<http://www.hicn.org/papers/wp23.pdf>)

Imai, Kosuke & Jeremy Weinstein (2000), 'Measuring the Economic Impact of Civil War', CID Working Paper No. 51, Harvard University.

Justino, Patricia & Verwimp, P. (2006), 'Poverty Dynamics, Conflict and Convergence in Rwanda', Working Paper No. 16, Households in Conflict Network, Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex, Brighton <http://www.hicn.org/papers/wp16.pdf>

Justino, Patricia & Olga Shemyakina (2007), 'Private and Public Transfers as a Coping Strategy under Armed Conflict: the Case of Tajikistan', Paper presented at the Third Annual Workshop of the Households in Conflict Network, IDS Dec 10-11.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. (2007), *The Logic of Violence in Civil Wars*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Keen, David (1998), *The Economic Functions of Violence in Civil Wars*, Adelphi Paper 320, Oxford: Oxford University Press, for the International Institute of Strategic Studies.

Keen, David (2001), 'The Political Economy of War', In Stewart and FitzGerald, eds., *War and Underdevelopment, Vol. 1: The Economic and Social Consequences of Conflict*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

King, Gary & Lisa Martin (2001), 'The Human Costs of Military Conflict', Paper presented at Conference on Military Conflict as a Public Health Problem.

Knight, M., N. Loayza & D. Villanueva (1996), 'The Peace Dividend: Military Spending Cuts and Economic Growth', *IMF Staff Papers*, 43(1): 1-37, Washington D.C, United States.

Kondylis, F. (2005), 'Agricultural Production and Conflict Refugee Status: Quasi-Experimental Evidence from a Policy Intervention Programme in Rwanda', *Mimeo*, April 8th, Economics Department, Royal Holloway, University of London.

Lacina, Bethany & Nils Petter Gleditsch (2005), 'Monitoring Trends in Global Combat: A New Dataset of Battle Deaths', *European Journal of Population*, 21(2-3): 145-166.

Lindley, Anne (2007), 'Remittances in Fragile Settings: A Somali Case Study', Households in Conflict Network, Working Paper No. 27 <http://www.hicn.org/papers/wp27.pdf>

Machel, G. (2002), Conflict Fuels HIV/Aids Crisis, http://www.Ipsnews.net/hiv aids/section1_2.shtml

McDonald, L. (2002), 'The International Operational Response to the Psychological Wounds of War: Understanding and Improving Psycho-social Interventions', Feinstein International Famine Center, Working paper No.7.

Matovu, J. M. & F. Stewart (2001), *Uganda: The Social and Economic Costs of Conflict*, Chapter 9 in Stewart, F., V. Fitzgerald and Associates, *War and Underdevelopment, Vol. 2*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Montalvo Jose G. & Reynal-Querol, M. (2002), 'Fighting Against Malaria: Prevent Wars while Waiting for the Miraculous Vaccine', UPF Working Paper.

Moser, Caroline & Cathy McIlwaine (1999), 'Participatory Urban Appraisal and Its Application for Research on Violence', *Environment and Urbanisation*, 11(2): 203-226.

Moser, Caroline & Cathy McIlwaine (2004), *Encounters with Violence in Latin America: Urban Poor Perceptions from Colombia and Guatemala*, London: Routledge.

NCRB (2006), Annual Report, 2005, National Crime Records Bureau, New Delhi.

NHRC (2006), Annual Report, 2004-2005, National Human Rights Commission, New Delhi.

Petersen, Roger (2001), *Resistance and Rebellion: Lessons from Eastern Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pinchotti, Shanley & Philip Verwimp (2007), 'Social Capital and the Rwandan Genocide: A Micro-Level Analysis', Households in Conflict Network, Working Paper 30 (<http://www.hicn.org/papers/wp30.pdf>)

Richards, Paul (1996), *Fighting for the Rainforest: War, Youth and Resources in Sierra Leone*. London: James Currey Publishers.

Rodrik, Dani (1998), 'Where Did All the Growth Go? External Shocks, Social Conflict, and Growth Collapses', NBER Working Paper 6350, Washington D. C. (<http://www.nber.org/papers/w6350.pdf>)

Russett, B., H.A. Ghobarah, & P. Huth (2003), 'Civil Wars Kill and Maim People-Long after Shooting Stops', *American Political Science Review*.

Salehyan, Idean & Kristian S. Gleditsch (2006), 'Refugees and the Spread of Civil War', *International Organization*, 60(2): 335-366.

Shemyakina, O. (2006), 'The Effect of Armed Conflict on Accumulation of Schooling: Results from Tajikistan', HiCN Working Paper No. 12, Households in Conflict Network, University of Sussex, UK (www.hicn.org).

Steele, Abbey (2007), 'Massive Civilian Displacement in Civil War: Assessing Variation in Colombia', Households in Conflict Network, Working Paper 29 (<http://www.hicn.org/papers/wp29.pdf>)

Steiner, Henry & Philip Alston (2000), *International Human Rights in Context*, 2nd edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Stewart, F., Fitzgerald, V. & Associates (2001a), *War and Underdevelopment, Volume 1, The Economic and Social Consequences of Conflict*, Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Stewart, F., Fitzgerald, V. & Associates (2001b), *War and Underdevelopment, Volume 2, Country Experiences*, Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Townsend, Robert M. (1994), 'Risk and Insurance in Village India', *Econometrica* 62(3): 539-91.

USCR (2004), *World Refugee Survey 2004*, Washington DC: US Committee for Refugees.

Varshney, A. (2002), *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims In India*, London, Yale University Press.

Verpoorten, M. (2003), 'The Determinants of Income Mobility in Rwanda, 1990-2002', Mimeo, KU Leuven, Belgium.

Verwimp, P. & van Bavel, J. (2004), 'Child Survival and the Fertility of Refugees in Rwanda after the Genocide', PRUS Working Paper No. 26, Poverty Research Unit, Sussex, University of Sussex, UK.

Walter, Barbara F. (2004), 'Does Conflict Beget Conflict? Explaining Recurring Civil War', *Journal of Peace Research*, 41(3): 371-88.

Wickham-Crowley, Timothy (1992), *Guerrillas and Revolution in Latin America: A Comparative Study of Insurgents and Regimes Since 1956*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Wood, Elisabeth J. (2003), *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*. Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Woodward, S. L. (1995), *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War*, Washington, D.C., Brookings Institution.

WHO (2002), *World Report on Violence and Health*, Technical Report, World Health Organisation, Geneva.