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Rights of Internally Displaced Persons: An Analysis of Migration in Uncertain Times

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ABSTRACT

Internally Displaced Persons are undoubtedly, the most vulnerable section of the Society. They are often mistaken to be refugees due to the lack of a definite and binding legislation work that outlines their rights. Therefore, the states must ensure that special measures are taken to protect the rights of the displaced persons. This study aims to differentiate between refugees and the internally displaced persons. Also, the study seeks to shed some light on the conditions and vulnerabilities of the internally displaced persons in India. Further, the paper tries to analyze the rights guaranteed to the internally displaced persons vide the Constitution of India as well the role of Judiciary in protecting those rights. Also, the paper talks about the plight of internally displaced persons during the times of COVID-19. The paper concludes by giving a few recommendations that can be adopted by the government for providing assistance to the internally displaced persons.

Keywords- Displacement, Refugees, COVID-19, Constitution.

I. INTRODUCTION

Internally displaced persons (IDPs) are persons or group of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee their homes or place of habitual residence to avoid the effects of armed conflicts, situations of violence, violation of human rights or natural or human made disasters and who have not crossed any International borders. These persons are often referred to as refugees, although they do not fall within the legal definition of refugees. There are mainly three reasons for displacement in India i.e., conflict-induced, development-induced and natural disaster.

Displacement associated with conflict is a regular occurrence and mostly localized. They are largely linked to identity and ethnicity. Insurgency and retaliatory operations by security forces are the major immediate cause of conflict-related displacement in India. A majority of the IDPs have not been able to return for several years, due to either protracted conflicts or unresolved disputes over land and property. One of India's largest group of internally displaced are the Kashmiri Pandits who have been fleeing the Kashmir Valley since 1989 due to persecution,

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killings and massacres. Thousands more have languished in relief camps in Assam since the early 1990s and more than 5,000 families remain displaced after the communal violence that erupted in Gujarat in 2002. The conflict between ethnic armed groups and anti-insurgent operations by the national army in the states of Assam and Manipur have also displaced thousands.

Development projects also have the potential to displace large numbers of people. These include dams, mines, industrial plants, urban renewal and environmental conservation projects. The risk of displacement is significant because large-scale land acquisitions can aggravate ethnic and religious tensions and lead to conflict over land access and use.

The nature and dynamics of events leading to internal displacement has been varying from state to state depending upon the composition of the population and the related context of conflict. For instance, Gujarat and Kashmir have seen waves of religious intolerance in the post-independence period. The manifestations have included Hindu-Muslim violence, retaliation attack by Muslims, Hindu Nationalist groups' attack on Christian communities and so on. The lack of a statutory framework on protection of IDPs in India has led to non-uniformity of approaches and policies being adopted by different states, thereby creating differences amongst the services and legal protection that can be availed by them.

Refugees have managed to get international attention through the initiatives of UNHCR, the United Nations refugee agency. The 1951 Refugee Convention has defined the term refugees and their rights have been outlined at various International forums. On the other hand, IDPs are often misunderstood as refugees in their own nation. They are a largely unaddressed category of people requiring immediate attention of the state in which they are displaced. Due to the lack of a uniform law, there is a huge difference as to how each state respond to the needs of the IDPs. Most often, their rights are unprotected and their needs remain unattended. This is mainly because of the difference in strategies adopted by the state governments that differ from one another. Therefore, it is very essential to formulate a uniform legislation in India that guarantees the rights of IDPs.

II. DISTINCTION BETWEEN INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS & REFUGEES

“Internal displacement is the greatest tragedy of our times; the internally displaced people are among the most vulnerable of the human family” ~Kofi Annan

Around the world one person is forcibly displaced every two second on grounds of violence, persecution, conflict, developmental projects, or human rights violations. This count up to the 70.8 million people who are denied nationality and access to basic rights like education,

healthcare, employment, and freedom of movement. Among these stateless population 25.9 million are refugees, 41.3 million are Internally displaced persons (IDP's)³ and another 3.5 million are asylum seekers. Refugees and IDP's are people who are forcefully displaced from their natural habitat as a result of various reasons and share similar condition of life.⁴ IDP's and refugees are mostly forced to move from their naturally established environment and their economic resources. They are vulnerable to abuse from officials and other powerful members of their own and host communities.

The movement of people between states take place in a context in which sovereignty of state remains important, which entitles them the right to exercise prima facie exclusive jurisdiction over its territory and to decide whom among the non-citizen shall be allowed to remain or be forced to leave its territory. These powers of the state shall be exercised within and according to laws which lays down well-defined exceptions in favour of those in search of a refuge. The International law of refugee protection comprise of a range of international and regional treaties, national laws, rules of customary International Law and the developed standards in the practise of international institutions like the United Nations High Commission for Refugees.

Article 1 (A)(2) of the 1951 convention defines the terms refugee as 'someone who is outside his or her country of nationality who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reason of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion.' A person must be therefore outside the country of origin or should have crossed any international frontiers to qualify the definition of refugee. Central to this definition is the concept of persecution which is not defined under the 1951 convention. Another basic principle of the convention is that the refugees should be treated as equal with other foreigners in the host country. It further follows the principle of non-refoulement under Article 33(1) of the convention whereby they cannot be forced to return to their home country when there exists a fear of endangering their life⁵. This principle is a rule of international customary law and irrespective of whether a state is party to the 1951 convention or the 1967 Protocol this protection has to be granted.

The Convention not just define the term refugee but states when refugee status terminates. For

³ UBCHR, statistical Yearbooks, can be accessed <<https://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html>>, accessed on 15 April 2020.

⁴ Luke T. Lee, 'Internally Displaced Persons and Refugees: Toward a Legal Synthesis?', *Journal of Refugee Studies* Vol. 9, No. 1 1, can be accessed <<https://academic.oup.com/jrs/article-abstract/9/1/27/1536272?redirectedFrom=PDF>>, accessed on 15 April 2020.

⁵ Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, General Assembly resolution 39/46 of 10 December 1984, can be accessed <<https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/cat.pdf>>, accessed on 15 April 2020.

certain political reasons the 1951 Convention excludes Palestine refugees and those who are considered national in their state of refuge under Article 1E. Further, under Article 1F the convention excludes anyone from the benefit of refugee if they have committed any war crimes or acts contrary to the purpose and principles of United Nations thereby making sure that terrorist and criminals do not benefit from the international protection. Other than the 1951 Convention, which provides for the status and rights of refugees, there are convention of regional relevance like the legal instrument of refugees applicable in Latin America, Africa, and European Union. There is also a substantial body of international human rights law which complements the rights of refugees under the 1951 Convention. Countries around the world are already committed to protect the human rights of refugees through their human rights obligations which also embraces the right to live in security and with dignity.

(A) PROTECTION OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS

There are millions around the globe who are internally displaced within the territories of a state due to various problems like civil war, natural calamities, religious persecution, government policies or developmental projects. The plight of the internally displaced population is not addressed by any international institutions nor national legislations.

The 1998 Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement defines IDP's as "persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of, or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalised violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognised State border."⁶ Further, the international humanitarian laws and human rights law protects IDP's through instruments like 1949 Geneva Convention and 1977 Additional Protocol which prevents parties of an armed conflict from displacing civilian populations.⁷ However, there is no single International Law which is designed to specifically address the problems of Internally Displaced Persons. Most countries with the IDP crisis have failed to provide protection to this vulnerable category on the ground of national sovereignty. Since the international law upholds the concept of national sovereignty, IDP's being resident in their own country is the responsibility of the government concerned. The guiding principles describes the rights of IDP's as equal to those of other citizen

⁶ Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement. New York: UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 1998. 11 September 2004.can be accessed<http://www.reliefweb.int/ocha_ol/pub/idp_gp/idp.html>, accessed on 16 April 2020.

⁷ Reference Guide to the Geneva Conventions: Texts of the Conventions. Indianapolis, IN: Society of Professional Journalists, n.d. 11 September 2004.can be accessed on < <http://www.genevaconventions.org/>>, accessed on 15 April 2020.

in the country and therefore are protected by international human rights legislations. If observed, the guiding principles could prevent displacement, provide protection, and help IDP's return home after hostilities in their country ceases.

(B) THE NEED FOR DISTINCTION BETWEEN IDP'S AND REFUGEES

Internally displaced persons around the world are the victims of persecution, discrimination, and forced displacement. They do not enjoy the same rights and protection as refugees as the 1956 convention specifically defines refugees as one who has crossed an international border. This strict insistence on the territorial criterion has prompted concern that there is a mismatch between the definition and the human suffering consequent to involuntary migration. It does not recognise the existence of social, legal, and economic barriers which make it impossible for all to avail international protection. The Convention definition of refugee status therefore responds in a less than even-handed way to the protection needs of persons similarly at risk of persecution.⁸

Any attempt at defining the term 'internally displaced persons' throws up a number of complex inter-related issues. If there is to be a special legal regime for IDP's, then its beneficiaries would have to be clearly identified. Some analysts limit the term to people who have left their usual place of residence in the context of large-scale movements, and in circumstances similar to those which create refugees. Others, however, tend to employ the concept in relation to all those people who have moved within their own country for reasons that are not entirely voluntary. This includes, for example, changes of residence induced by environmental and industrial disasters, as well as the forcible relocation and population distribution programmes which governments often employ to counter security threats and to implement large-scale development projects. A new regime for the protection of IDP's should address many questions including the circumstances under which they are included under the label and when such an individual would cease to be a displaced person. Currently, there is no internationally agreed definition of who constitute an internally displaced person. Determining when internal displacements cease to exist should also go beyond merely registering whether return or relocation has taken place. It should include whether the returns or relocations are reasonably viable and whether basic security and survival.

⁸ Pramod Nair, 'Towards A Regime for The Protection Of Internally Displaced Persons' (2000) ELJ. accessed on 16 April 2020.

III. CONSTITUTIONAL & JUDICIAL PROTECTION TO THE INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS IN INDIA

In India, internal displacement majorly takes place due to the following reasons such as political movements especially due to secession or defection, identity or ethnic crisis, localized or community based violence and environmental or development induced displacement. Article 14 of the Constitution provides that all are to be treated equal in the eyes of law and are equally protected by the laws. Article 19(1) (e) enables every citizen to freely move and settle within any part of the territory of India. Article 21 incorporates many rights within its ambit as right to life includes the right to live with human dignity which is more than mere animal existence⁹. Like every citizen of this country, internally displaced persons are also guaranteed the right to shelter¹⁰, right to livelihood¹¹ and right to rehabilitation as provided vide Article 21 of the constitution. In *Olga Tellis vs. Bombay Municipal Corporation*¹², the Court noted that forceful eviction of pavement dwellers without providing adequate rehabilitation is violation of their fundamental rights. The Hon'ble Supreme Court in *Shantistar Builders v. Narayan Khimalal Totame*¹³ has held that right to life would take within its sweep the right to food, the right to clothing, the right to decent environment and reasonable accommodation to live in. Further, the Court in *Chameli Singh v. State of U.P.*¹⁴ has held that Right to shelter, therefore, includes adequate living space, safe and decent structure, clean and decent surroundings, sufficient light, pure air and water, electricity, sanitation and other civic amenities like roads etc. so as to have easy access to his daily avocation. Moreover, in *P.G Gupta v. State of Gujarat and Ors*¹⁵, Court held that Right to shelter in Article 19(1) (g) read with Articles 19(1) (e) and 21, included the right to residence and settlement. In *Calcutta Electricity Supply Corporation (India) Ltd. v. Subhash Chandra Bose*¹⁶, Court has noted that right to economic and social justice is a fundamental right safeguarded under Article 21 of the Constitution.

The Hon'ble Supreme Court has elaborated the importance of right to resettlement and rehabilitation as a fundamental right under Article 21 of the constitution in *Narmada Bachao Andolan v. Union Of India And Ors*¹⁷. The public interest writ petition was filed seeking for relief and rehabilitation for the construction of the Sardar Sarovar Dam over the Narmada

⁹ *Francis Coralie v Union Territory of Delhi* AIR 1981 SC 746.

¹⁰ *U.P. Avas Vikas Parishad v. Friends Coop. Housing Society Limited*, AIR 1996 SC 114.

¹¹ *Olga Tellis v. Bombay Municipal Corporation*, AIR 1986 SC 180.

¹² AIR 1986 SC 180.

¹³ AIR (1990) SC 630.

¹⁴ 1996 AIR 1051.

¹⁵ 1995 SCC, Supl. (2) 182 JT 1995 (2) 373.

¹⁶ AIR (1992)573.

¹⁷ (2000) 10 SCC664.

river¹⁸. In the instant case, the Court recognized that Article 300-A, right to property is not merely a constitutional right but also a human right. In *B.D Sharma v. Union of India*¹⁹, the court held that people who are uprooted from their inhabitation should be rehabilitated and their fundamental rights should not be violated²⁰. Most of the relief camps where IDPs stay lack basic facilities like food, water, healthcare, free and compulsory education for the children between the age group of 6-14 years under Article 21-A of the Constitution. They do not receive livelihood opportunities and lives in the fear of being evicted from the relief camps at any point of time. Although the Supreme Court has recognized the fundamental rights of the displaced persons, there is a huge distinction between the implementation of judicial decisions vis-à-vis policy outcomes framed by the legislature.

Article 38 of the Constitution ensures promotion of social, economic and political justice for the welfare of the people. Article 39(a) behest upon the State that it shall direct its policy in ensuring adequate means of livelihood for its citizens²¹. Article 41 provides that the state shall secure the right to work, education and public assistance in case of unemployment. Further, Article 45 provides for early childhood care and education for children below the age of six years. Most state governments do not have comprehensive rehabilitation policies nor do they accept the presence of IDPs within their state territory²². IDPs are continuously exploited and ignored by the State governments due to their inability to find jobs and cast votes. Women are sexually abused and children are dropped out of schools. In *P. K. Koul v. Estate Officer*²³, Justice Gita Mittal has held that the sufferings of IDPs goes unnoticed due to the politics involved in the whole system. Due to the lack of an adequate legislation, both the central and state governments ignore the conditions of the IDPs in India.

The Constitution implies adoption of international law into the domestic laws for providing protection of the communities in the absence of an existing legislation²⁴. Article 51(c) of the Constitution mandates the State to foster respect for International Law and Treaty obligations in the dealings of organized people with one another. Also, Article 73 of the Constitution affords executive power to the Union government to make laws for implementing the International treaties or agreements. Hence, there are various principles of international law,

¹⁸ Mathew John, 'Interpreting Narmada Judgment' (2001) Vol. 36, No. 32 Economic and Political Weekly.

¹⁹ 1992 Supp (3) SCC 93.

²⁰ Bulbul Khaitan & Nitya Priya, 'Rehabilitation of the Displaced Persons in India' (2009) 2 NUJS L. Rev.

²¹ *N.D. Jayal and Another v. Union of India*, (2004) 9 SCC 362.

²² Vinai Kumar Singh, 'India and Internally Displaced Persons: Current Legal Avenues and New Legal Strategies' (2012) Vol. 24, No. 3 International Journal of Refugee Law.

²³ W.P.(C) No.15239/2004 & CM No. 11011/2004

²⁴ *Visaka & Ors. v. State of Rajasthan*, (1997) 6 SCC 241

conventions, treaties and guidelines that can serve as a source for determining the rights of the internally displaced persons to be legislated in the framework of a domestic law for them in India²⁵.

The government does not bestow legal status to the Internally displaced persons. This makes them completely depend upon the local governments unlike refugees who are aided by International organizations. Protection of IDPs is the responsibility of the National and state governments since it is the IDPs who represent a larger tome of the vulnerable communities as compared to the refugees²⁶. There are many issues pertaining to the IDPs that are neglected. Although India has strong civil and human rights provisions in its Constitution, there is no body, organization or a ministry that acknowledges and provides relief to the IDPs, especially since international social organizations cannot help the internally displaced persons in India.

The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013 is the only national law for development induced displaced people in India. However, the act is limited to livelihood compensation, and no other basic rights like health or education falls under its ambit, nor do the people displaced due to causes other than development²⁷. Also, there is no displacement policy to protect the rights of people displaced due to armed insurgencies, identity or ethnic conflicts and environment induced displacement.

IV. EFFECTS OF THE GLOBAL PANDEMIC ON THE INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS

Internally displaced persons are highly prone to be affected by COVID- 19 as they cannot follow social distancing and other preventive measures. They live in crowded camps, with less healthcare facilities. The nation- wide lockdown has left most of them financially unstable and unemployed. World Health Organization has stated that around 10 million internally displaced persons in Africa will be contracting COVID-19²⁸. The impact of corona COVID-19 on IDPs are significant in terms of their health, livelihood, living facilities and education mainly due to

²⁵ Madhulika Sahoo & Jalandhar Pradhan, 'Counting Conflict-induced Internally Displaced Persons in India' (2016) vol 11, No. 40 Economic & Political Weekly.

²⁶ Anindita Dasgupta, 'Charred for a lifetime: Internal Displacement in Assam Plains in India' (2002) Vol.3 South Asian Refugee Watch, can be accessed <<http://www.calternatives.org/resource/pdf/%E2%80%98Char%E2%80%99red%20for%20a%20lifetime-Internal%20Displacement%20in%20Assam%20Plains%20in%20India.pdf>>

²⁷ Basu & Sudeep, 'Practising the 'Guiding Principles' for Development's Displaces: Problems and Prospects' (2011) No. 37 Refugee Watch, pp 16–29 can be accessed <<http://www.mcrj.ac.in/rw%20files/RW37/2.Sudeep.pdf>>.

²⁸ Donald Kaberuka & Federica Mogherini, COVID-19 makes addressing internal displacement even more urgent, <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/covid-19-addressing-internal-displacement-urgent-200525080109674.html>, 26 May 2020.

the following reasons:

(i) Healthcare crisis: IDPs are more prone to be affected by the disease during the Pandemic since they lack safe and adequate housing facilities. Most of them live in unhygienic camps and other informal settlements that are densely populated. They cannot practice social distancing, healthcare and other sanitation facilities. They lack access to clean water and nutrition.

(ii) Socio- economic crisis: IDPs work in informal sector and has no job security. They have no access to secured livelihood or other resources. Women and children suffer exploitation, abuse and have no access to any legal services. Many women migrants stated that due to lack of money, they use clothes instead of sanitary napkin during and is prone to more vulnerability due to lack of menstrual hygiene management.

(iii) Identity crisis: It is not clear if the migrant workers can be classified as internally displaced persons. It is the duty of the central government to acknowledge their presence and to determine their rights²⁹. The covid crisis has affected the migrant labourers tremendously. The migrant workers have been subjected to violation of their fundamental rights under Articles 14, 15, 19, and 21 and often to severe police harassment on interstate borders. As per reliable sources, as many as 667 non-COVID deaths have occurred across the country. 205 of these have occurred among migrant workers en route on foot, and 114 due to starvation and financial distress³⁰.

(iv) Legal crisis: IDPs do not have legal protection since they are citizens in their own country as well as migrants. There is no legal and political framework that addresses their concerns as they are not refugees. Their legal position remains unsettled. Most of them lost their jobs during the pandemic as they did not have job security or formal contracts that ensures them adequate working condition, salary etc. They have no money, status quo or legal protection to approach the authorities with their joblessness, homelessness or lack of documents for interstate traveling during the lockdown. Hence, many of them walked through the highways, protested and were beaten by the police. Their plights remain unnoticed even in the times of covid-19 as they did not have any statutory backing.

The COVID-19 outbreak in India has been declared a 'disaster' by The Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) under the Disaster Management Act, 2005 following the order by the National

²⁹ Puja Raghavan, The Covid-19 crisis showed why India needs a policy for its 3.6 million internally-displaced persons, Sunday, August 2nd 2020, can be accessed at <https://scroll.in/article/968372/the-covid-19-crisis-showed-why-india-needs-a-policy-for-its-3-6-million-internally-displaced-persons>

³⁰ Fr Cedric Prakash SJ, Refugees Matter, June 22, 2020, can be accessed at <http://mattersindia.com/2020/06/refugees-matter/>

Disaster Management Authority (NDMA). Whether migrants can be classified as internally displaced persons is an unanswered query dealt during the national disaster. The United Nations Human Right Commissioner has noted the plight of 40 million internal migrants in India who are affected by the lockdown³¹. It is not clear if movements for search of better livelihood and economic opportunities can be classified as displacement. Amidst the lockdown, thousands of migrant labourers are stranded due to the closure of the state borders at the slums and shelter homes and camps since they have lost their livelihoods. The migrants and their families were left with no option but to walk kilometres to reach their homes. This pandemic has brought out the humanitarian crisis undergoing by the migrants in India which is very similar to that of the IDPs. The migrant workers who were forced to flee their present abode due to COVID-19 are not refugees or even displaced persons in strict legal sense, but their misery should not go unnoticed as it brings forward the impact of the pandemic on displaced population. The recognition of migrants as IDPs would help them get legal protection under various international treaties and agreements.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS & CONCLUSION

The recommendations put forth are as follows:

- (i) Enact a legislation- It is high time that our legislators draft a statute for the protection of IDPs in India since the guiding principles on internal displacement cannot be legally enforced in India. The legislators can draft a national legislation drawing inspiration from the UNs Guiding Principles of Internal Displacement under which different state governments can form their own rules to meet the needs of the IDPs staying in that particular state. The law should not focus only on development or environment induced displacement but all forms of displaced persons should be accommodated³².
- (ii) Implementation gap: There should be proper co-ordination between the national, state and local governments. Local institutions or NGOs should work together with the state governments to ensure that the IDPs are given basic facilities like food, water, healthcare and shelter. The implementation gap can be negated if a separate department is formed for the protection of IDPs under the Ministry of Home Affairs. If central ministry is in responsible for protecting the rights of IDPs, then they can easily communicate and co-ordinate with the state governments and district authorities.

³¹ Pranav Tanwar & Akash Chandran, COVID-19: Classification of India's migrant workers as Internally Displaced Persons, <https://www.barandbench.com/columns/covid-19-india-and-its-migrant-workers-as-idps>.

³² Phil Orchard, 'Protection of Internally displaced persons: soft law as a norm-generating mechanism' (2010) Vol. 36, No. 2 Review of International Studies.

(iii) Promote livelihood opportunities- The IDPs should be provided with livelihood opportunities so that they can restart their lives. Unskilled labourers and women should be given vocational training so that they can find manual and odd jobs easily. The government has to ensure that children belonging to displaced groups acquire and continue their basic education that is provided under Article 21-A of the Constitution³³.

(iv) National Survey- The total estimation of the number of displaced persons are not accurate since there is no national survey conducted to collect the number of displaced persons. This can hinder the rehabilitation and resettlement plans as there is no reliable sources that can provide correct numbers³⁴. A proper survey can help the governments to acquire data and figures relating to the number of displaced persons in each state, their age group, gender and causes of displacement. Only if these factors are known, an adequate relief or resettlement plan can be formulated.

(v) Follow the 3-R Principle- Rescue, Relief, Rehabilitation- Persons who are living in conflict prone areas have to be identified and rescued as an initially. As a second step, there should be proper statistics maintained which can be done by registration of the displaced persons under the respective state government. The state government should ensure that the displaced persons get ration cards and voter IDs of the state constituencies in which they are living. Finally, efforts have to be taken to guarantee complete rehabilitation where the IDPs are fully adopted into the new state territory with proper shelter and livelihood opportunities.

Apart from these, the IDPs have to be compensated for all the transitional loses that they incur, they should be given legal aids and efforts should be taken to minimize the need for resettlement in cases of development induced displacement. For any of these changes to happen, the government should acknowledge the presence of displaced persons and proper awareness has to be spread among the people about the miseries and conditions of the IDPs³⁵.

³³ Jai Sen, 'National Rehabilitation Policy: A Critique' (1995) Vol. 30, No. 5 Economic and Political Weekly.

³⁴ J. Devakumar, 'Internal Displacement in contemporary India: Homeless in their own State' (2008), Vol. 69 Indian History Congress, can be accessed <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/44147279>>

³⁵ Elizabeth Ferris, Erin Mooney and Chareen Stark, 'From Responsibility to Response: Assessing National Approaches to Internal Displacement' (2011) The Brookings Institution – London School of Economics Project on Internal Displacement.