

**STUDY OF THE CONDITIONS OF WOMEN
AFFECTED BY COMMUNAL VIOLENCE IN
KANDHAMAL DISTRICT, ORISSA**

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Introduction

There was an unprecedented spate of communal violence targeting the minority Christian community and their property and institutions in the Kandhamal district of the eastern state of Orissa that erupted twice within the span of nine months in December 2007 and August 2008. The second wave of anti-Christian violence launched by Hindu extremist groups in the name of retribution for the assassination of an icon of Hindu nationalism, Swami Laxmanananda Saraswati, and four of his disciples on August 23 lasted from August to December 2008. In Kandhamal district alone these attacks killed 93 people – including women, disabled persons and children, adivasis and dalits - mostly burnt alive or hacked to death. Three women were gang-raped and many injured. More than 6500 houses were burnt or plundered and some 350 churches and 45 educational facilities were destroyed, besides rendering more than 50,000 people homeless (Asianews, The Examiner, Vol 161, No.31, July 31,2010, Pg 25). About 25,000 people had to live in relief camps for months. During this period about 2,000 people belonging to minority communities were forced to convert from Christianity to Hinduism. More than 10,000 children had their education cut short because of displacements, fear and severe disruption. Barring a few townships, almost all villages in Kandhamal district were under the control of anti-social elements led by fundamentalist groups. Two years later many of the violence displaced people are still homeless or have not found a real home.

Why Kandhamal ?

Kandhamal, one of the 30 districts of Orissa, is made up of 2,415 villages in one of the most backward areas of India. The development indices for Kandhamal are abysmal. According to the Orissa Human Development Report (OHDR), the HDI (Human Development Index) for Orissa shows Kandhamal in the 29th place for gender development, in the 30th place for reproductive health and 23rd in education. Other relevant statistics are as follows:

Per capita income a year for the district - Rs.4,743

Doctors available- 23

No. of Hospital Beds – 63 for a population of 1 lakh

Kandha tribal literacy rate – 27 percent

Panas literacy rate – 34.5 percent

Kandhamal Population – 6,48,201

(<http://orissagov.nic.in/p2c/humandevlopment/summary/chap01.pdf>.)

According to the 2001 Census, 52% of Kandhamal's population is made up of Scheduled Tribe (ST) (Kandha tribe) while 17% is the Scheduled Caste (Dalit) Panas. The Kandha tribals are predominantly pro-Hindu or Hindus. However, nearly 70% of Dalit Panas are Christians. (Wither Women's Rights? WILPF Report, May 2009). Eighty percent of the entire population of the area is below the poverty line.

In addition to the dismal development in the district, it's hilly, forested terrain means that it is poorly connected to other districts and makes it easy to blockade roads for those who wish to cut villages off from outside intervention. Thus, here a complex mix of economic and social deprivation, religious sectarianism linked to political interests has been allowed to ferment and grow. (Genocide in Kandhamal, Human Rights Law Network, December 2008).

Women – Silent Victims of Violence

Violence against women is one of the most systematic and prevalent human rights abuses in the world. The UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women defines

violence against women as: "...any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life". The term gender based violence has been defined as "acts or threats of acts intended to hurt or make women suffer physically, sexually or psychologically, and which affect women because they are women or affect women disproportionately". (Krantz and Garcia-Moreno, Violence Against Women in

<http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1732916/pdf/v059p00818.pdf>

)

Such gender-based violence against women is a form of discrimination and deeply rooted in power imbalances and structural relationships of inequality between women and men. Violence against women is a global phenomenon, occurring in every continent, country and culture and women are subjected to violence in a wide range of settings, including the family, the community, State custody and armed conflict. It harms families, impoverishes communities and reinforces other forms of inequality and violence throughout societies.

(http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/IndicatorsVAW/IndicatorsVAW_EGM_report.pdf)

Nature of violence against women- The Centre for Diseases Control in the US has defined four different types of violence (<http://sakhikerala.org/downloads/Gender%20based%20Violence%20report.doc>)

Physical violence - This includes the intentional use of physical force with the potential for causing death, disability, injury or harm. Physical violence includes, but is not limited to scratching, pushing, shoving, throwing, grabbing, biting, choking, strangling, shaking, poking, hair pulling, slapping, punching, hitting,

burning, use of a weapon (a gun, knife, or any other object) to inflict wounds, mutilation, tying up or blindfolding a person, and the use of restraints or one's body, size or strength against another person. Coercing or forcing other people to perform any of the above actions has also been classified as physical violence. At times, women are seriously injured and in some cases die as a result of their injuries.

Sexual violence - This includes verbal obscenities, undressing a victim or forcing her to undress, forced sex through the use of physical force, threats, and intimidation, forced participation in degrading sexual acts, abusive sexual contact that includes unwanted sexual touching, striking a person's sexual organs, rape or the threat of rape, sodomy, forcing a victim to submit to sexual relations to survive or to provide basic needs for her family, forcing a victim to witness an act of sexual violence.

Threat of physical or sexual violence - The use of words, gestures or weapons to communicate the intent to cause death, disability, injury or physical harm. This also includes the use of words, gestures or weapons to communicate the intent to compel a person to engage a person in sex acts or abusive sexual contact when the person is either unwilling or unable to consent. For example, statements such as " I'll kill you", "I'll beat you up if you don't have sex with me"; brandishing a weapon; making hand gestures, etc

Psychological or emotional abuse - This includes trauma to the victim caused by acts, threats of acts, or coercive tactics, such as those given in the list below:

Humiliating the victim; controlling what the victim can and cannot do; withholding information from the victim; getting annoyed if the victim disagrees; deliberately doing something to make the victim feel diminished (e.g., less smart, less attractive); deliberately doing something that makes the victim feel embarrassed; using the victim's money; taking advantage of the victim; disregarding what the victim wants; isolating the victim from friends and family;

prohibiting access to transportation or means of communication; getting the victim to engage in illegal sexual activity; forced deprivation of food or water, forced sleep deprivation, confinement or abduction, and forcing a victim to witness an act of violence.

(Adapted from <http://sakhikerala.org/downloads/Gender%20based%20Violence%20report.doc> ; Violence Against Women, Republic of Rwanda, Ministry of Gender and Family Protection, June 2004 - <http://www.grandslacs.net/doc/4005.pdf>)

In situations of conflict, it is understood the world over that women are more vulnerable than men. Armed conflict and uprootedness bring their own distinct forms of violence against women with them and like most violence that occurs in the course of armed conflict, violence against women is not accidental. It is a weapon of war, a tool used to achieve objectives such as ethnic cleansing, spreading political terror, breaking the resistance of a community, rewarding soldiers, intimidation, or to extract information.

(<http://www.amnestyusa.org/violence-against-women/stop-violence-against-women-svaw/violence-against-women-in-armed-conflict/page.do?id=1108213>).

Violence against women in armed conflict situations is largely based on traditional views of women as property, and often as sexual objects. Around the world, women have long been attributed the role of transmitters of culture and symbols of nation or community. Violence directed against women is often considered an attack against the values or "honor" of a society and therefore a particularly potent tool of war. (<http://www.amnestyusa.org/violence-against-women/stop-violence-against-women-svaw/violence-against-women-in-armed-conflict/page.do?id=1108213>) .Also the status of a woman in traditional patriarchal societies means that violating her also insults and degrades the men with whom she is associated.

The general breakdown in law and order which occurs during conflict and displacement leads to an increase in all forms of violence. Many forms of violence that women suffer during conflict / refugee situations are gender specific in both nature and result. They are subjected to crimes including rape, gang rape, abduction, trafficking and sexual slavery, forced marriage, forced pregnancy and forced maternity, sexual assault associated with violent physical assault, sexual mutilation and forced to offer sex for survival, or in exchange for food, shelter, or “protection”. Once termed ‘a fate worse than death’ the future of a raped a woman is one of isolation and stigma even amongst her own community and sympathisers. (Genocide in Kandhamal, Human Rights Law Network, December 2008).

Displacement During Conflict

Sexual violence the most widely recognized form of violence against women during conflict but there are many other ways in which women suffer particular forms of harm or are affected disproportionately when tension degenerates into armed conflict. Less attention is usually given to the fact that women suffer disproportionately and differently from the economic, social and cultural aspects of conflict and war. The impact on women’s right to food, water, housing, employment and education can pose as much of a threat to women’s lives as physical forms of violence. Many women face gender-based forms of abuses in situations of conflict whether as refugees or internally displaced people.

One of the major causes of people being displaced within their own countries or becoming a refugee in a foreign country is conflict. Sometimes people are forced to flee not as an indirect result of conflict but as an intentional strategy of war. In most areas of the world agriculture or fishing are the main livelihoods of communities. Becoming a refugee often implies a complete break with livelihood cycles and a complete dependence on humanitarian and/or the state for basic survival.

Women in flight are often the main providers of food, shelter and care for children and other relatives. Many are coping with the absence of male relatives who have been killed in conflict, are involved in the conflict or have become separated from their families. The anguish of abandoning their homes for an uncertain and often hazardous journey is intense.

Fleeing women and girls who reach refugee camps often find that material assistance is minimum as also protection and safety inadequate. Poorly planned physical layout of the camps exposes women to violence , including sexual abuse, from fellow refugees and camp officials.

(Lives blown apart. Crimes against women in times of conflict

<http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/ACT77/075/2004/en/944d7605-d57f-11dd-bb24-1fb85fe8fa05/act770752004en.pdf>)

In the light of the above discussion, it is pertinent to note that the first news reports of the violence in Kandhamal in August 2008 were of brutal crimes against women - the rape of a nun and the burning alive of a young woman. However there were several other reports of sexual assault and molestation and it is highly likely that many other such cases have gone unreported due to the shame attached. A number of fact-finding missions on violence in Kandhamal and the conditions prevalent in the relief camps revealed that women victims did not have adequate sanitation facility. Many of the camps had a vast number of tents and in each tent, 10-15 families were asked to reside. Young as well as old women were staying without having an iota of privacy. None of these camps had separate bathrooms and toilets for women. In one camp one sari and a blouse were distributed in the beginning to each woman.

Impact of Violence During Conflict on Women

The consequences for victims of violence during conflict are grave and may affect women for the rest of their lives. During conflict and displacement, women's physical and social vulnerability increases.

- The health impact of violence during conflict can be disastrous - Injuries, unwanted / forced pregnancies, sexual dysfunction and HIV/ AIDS are among the physical consequences. Stress and malnutrition endanger the health of pregnant and lactating women and their children.
- The psychological effects include anxiety, post-traumatic stress, depression and suicide. Victims of sexual violence may face stigmatization and/or rejection by family members and communities.
- Women experience distinct economic and social problems as they find it extremely difficult to care and support themselves and their families financially. As men join the armed struggle, are killed or kidnapped, many women have to assume the role of breadwinner, something that they may not be used to or prepared for, and for which they often have little support. This leads to greater vulnerability to hunger, malnutrition, and exploitation.
- The breakdown of family and social networks can leave many households headed by women, who may be forced to offer sex in exchange for food, shelter or protection.
- Young, single, widowed or disabled women may be at particular risk of sexual violence.
- The disruption of basic services during conflict means inadequate access to essential services such as health care, including reproductive health services.

Violence Against Women during Conflict and International Covenants

India, as a member of United Nations, has ratified a number of conventions and signed many instruments. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (1948), the Vienna Declaration (VD)(1993), the Convention on Elimination of all

forms of Discrimination Against Women, (CEDAW)(1976) with the Optional Protocol (2000), and the UN Security Council Resolutions, 1325 on Women, Peace and Security and UNSCR 1820 on Sexual and Gender Based Violence During Conflict. In addition, India has National Human Rights Commission constituted to protect human rights of the people of India as per the Constitution of India or as embodied in the International Covenants and enforceable by courts in India.

The Vienna Declaration (VD) pertaining to human rights asserts equal status and human

rights of women in Part II, 3. It lays down in II.3.36, "The World Conference on Human

Rights urges the full and equal enjoyment by women of all human rights and that this be a priority for Governments and for the United Nations". In view of the vulnerability of women and specific crimes perpetuated against women it is stated in II.3.38, "Violations of the human rights of women in situations of armed conflict are violations of the fundamental principles of international human rights and humanitarian law. All violations of this kind, including in particular murder, systematic rape, sexual slavery and forced pregnancy; require a particularly effective response".

In the preamble to CEDAW, it is noted that despite various instruments extensive

discrimination against women continues to exist.

Article 8 of the UNSCR 1325 calls on actors involved when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, inter alia (a) the special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post conflict reconstruction (b) measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution . . . (c) measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls'.

Article 10 ' of the UNSCR 1325 calls on all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse . . . !

In the preamble to the UNSCR 1820 it is noted that during conflicts “women and girls are

particularly targeted by the use of sexual violence, including as a tactic of war to humiliate, dominate, instill fear in, disperse and/or forcibly relocate civilian members of a community or ethnic group; and that sexual violence perpetrated in this manner in some instances may persist after the cessation of hostilities”.

As recently as June 2008, UNSCR 1820 reaffirms the political commitment of the Security Council to protect women and girls from sexual violence in conflict by demanding the ‘immediate and complete cessation by all parties to armed conflict of all acts of sexual violence against civilians’.

Current Situation

According to reliable sources working in the district, today, nearly two years later, the situation has not significantly improved, although the administration time and again claims it is peaceful and has returned to normal. A visit to the affected villages, to some of the camps and interaction with any of the survivors will reveal a totally different reality, highlights of which are enumerated below.

- The survivors are under threat not to return to their villages unless they agree to change their religion and withdraw cases against their attackers. About 25000 people are still living outside their villages.
- Out of 3300 complaints filed by victims only 831 have been registered (as First Information Reports - FIRs) by the police. Many cases have not been

- investigated and the accused not prosecuted. In other cases, shoddy police investigations have already created a crisis in the dispensation of justice.
- The accused have coerced, threatened, and cajoled the victims and the witnesses. There have been attempts to bribe them, both outside and inside the Fast Track Courts. The real perpetrators, are moving around scot-free and threatening the witnesses time and again, whereas hardly any steps are taken to protect witnesses or ensure their safety. The victims have expressed their deep distrust in the current justice delivery system.
 - There are major lacunae in the administration of relief to and rehabilitation of the victims of the mass arson: Improper identification and assessment of the houses as fully or partially damaged, damaged houses have been left out of the lists, lost or damaged household articles are not mentioned. Even the 837 families, who lost their houses during December 2007 violence, are yet to get any housing. The government has promised only Rs 50,000 as compensation for fully damaged houses; still the actual disbursement till now has only been Rs 10,000. Not a single of the destroyed NGO schools, hospitals, and offices has been compensated.
 - There is no information from the government or the district administration about the whereabouts or livelihood conditions of those affected by the violence. The administration has made not visible efforts to support a revival of dignified livelihoods of the victims, to prevent large-scale migration and pauperisation of victim families, or to bring back the dropout children to school.
 - The long-standing problem of landlessness and land alienation of the dalits and adivasis has been completely ignored. There have been almost no efforts to provide land rights to landless survivors, who are facing difficulties to get a shelter after they lost their houses during violence

Rationale of the Study

The violence that was unleashed in August 2008 on the Christian community disrupted lives of many in Kandhamal, Orissa. Poor families were thrown on the brink of destitution after their houses and modest belongings were savagely ransacked and destroyed. Thousands of men, women and children had to run for their lives leaving their homes, patches of land, small fields on which crops were coming up, poultry, cattle and in some cases their dear ones, trying to reach the safety of the forest. Even there, some were pursued and killed. For the survivors, camps at 18 different places were set up wherein shelter was offered by the State that failed to protect them earlier. They were all huddled together in a small tent, 50 to 60 people in a 15' x 15' tent comprising men, women and children of nine to ten families. Dignified living in a secure home was suddenly lost. Concepts such as right to privacy and non-interference in family life were non-existent. The whole socio-economic fabric of those who were sheltered in camps was ruptured, even the rhythm of life was disturbed; panic reigned and fear dominated all emotions.

All human rights of those who were housed in the camps were stripped away. Bereft of human dignity and suddenly thrown out of their usual surroundings, men, women and children did not know how they were going to survive. Almost all of their rights were suddenly undermined: their right to live, earn livelihood, maintain their self-respect, and even access potable water. They hardly knew when their miseries would be alleviated and whether they would ever be able to get back to their homes and lead independent lives.

Women, the silent, but worst sufferers of violence, had been exposed to all forms of attacks, harassments and suffering during and after the violence. The condition of the affected women in Kandhamal after five months of the violence was studied by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). To quote them *'It is well known that many women are too traumatized to*

even mention let alone report a rape to the police. The shame and also stigmatizing from the society is a huge hindering, and the victims need to get help by trained people. We strongly recommend that resources are allocated to this important purpose,..... to support the development and strengthening of the capacities of national institutions, in particular of judicial and health systems, and of local civil society networks in order to provide sustainable assistance to victims of sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations."

In the above study, the WILPF also found many recommendations were made about improving the camps, for providing protection, compensation, etc while some petitioned the High Court of Orissa and Supreme Court of India with prayers to get succour for the hapless victims who were violently ousted from their homes. However, *'none of these prayers or recommendations specifically mentioned women or their rights. It is true that demands for protection and compensation etc. were meant for both men and women, yet specific mention of women's needs is nowhere noticed. This is what has been happening over years, women specific demands are subsumed within general demands'* (Wither Women's Rights? WILPF Report, May 2009).

In the light of the above, this research is an attempt to understand the background for and consequences of the violence with specific focus on women because in any conflict women are the worst sufferers. It examines ways in which women are affected by communal violence. The focus areas of the study are the nature of attacks on the women, their experiences with the perpetrators of the violence, life in the forests and relief camps, health, sanitation and education, issues of safety and security, displacement, migration and trafficking, compensation and justice issues, response of the law enforcement agencies and the government and the role of civil society.

Main Objectives of the Study:

1. To understand the problems confronted by the women as a result of violence – forms of violence faced, perceived causes of violence, extent of violence, and impact of violence.
2. To analyse the response of the government and civil society to the problems of affected women

Outcome Goals of the Study

1. To draw the attention of the government to the problems faced by women victims of the conflict
2. To undertake advocacy for the rights of women affected due to violence
3. To enable women victims of violence to get justice
4. To place the findings before the proposed National People's Tribunal
5. To use the findings for any other legal purposes

Methodology

This study made use of a mixed methodology drawing from both qualitative and quantitative methods. Interviews with the respondents, Key informant interviews and case studies provided the quantitative and qualitative data.

Sample

The sample size was 355 women respondents in the age group of 16yrs to 80yrs from across 68 villages in seven Talukas (Blocks) in Orissa's Kandhamal district. Purposive sampling was used to identify women who had been affected by the conflict.

Key informants (n=8) consisted of the following:

- 4 police personnel

- 1 Tehsildar
- 1 BDO
- 2 Teachers

Tools of data Collection

The research tool was an interview schedule which included both closed ended questions with a few open ended questions with the view to obtain qualitative and quantitative data. With the majority of the population speaking Oriya or Kui dialect, the interviews with the women were conducted by the data collectors with the help of local translators.

In-depth interviews were conducted with the key informants using a semi structured interview schedule. These interviews were done to understand their attitude and perceptions regarding violence against women during the conflict and to understand the roles and responses of the government.

From among those who reported having experienced violence during the conflict a total of 80 detailed case studies were done utilizing the data from the interviews along with an in depth interview guide that facilitated collecting more detailed information.

Process of Data Collection

The data was collected by 16 trained data collectors including Faculty Members, Research Unit team members and students of College of Social Work, Nirjala Niketan as well as NGO personnel during May 4th 2010 to May 13th, 2010. Being professionally trained social workers, all these 16 members were already sensitive to women's issues. However, they were trained once again before the process of data collection to peruse the schedules in detail and use relevant social work techniques in the interviewing process. This training was also extended to the volunteers who helped in identifying the affected women in the villages and also in translating the responses.

Analysis of Data

As the data gathered was predominantly quantitative in nature it was analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). The qualitative data gathered from the open ended questions of the interviews, the KII and the case studies was analysed using the various principles of qualitative research. Triangulation of both the qualitative and quantitative data was done to complete the final analysis report.

Results and Discussion

The data that was collected involved 355 women across 68 villages in seven Talukas (Blocks) in Orissa's Kandhamal district. For the sake of clarity, data has been analysed and summarized in six sections under the following headings:

- I. Socio Demographic Profile
- II. Basic Amenities

- III. Understanding Anxieties among Women
- IV. Impact of the Violence on Women
- V. Justice Rehabilitation and Compensation
- VI. Experiences and Problems faced by Women

I. Socio Demographic Profile

This section details the demographic, social and economic profile of the women. Presented below is information on the number of women covered in each taluka, details of the women religious affiliation, marital status, age group, number of children, educational status, employment status and the nature of employment and their levels of income. Gender wise breakup of household heads has also been included.

Taluka-wise Breakup of Women Respondents- Since purposive, random sampling was employed for the study the number of women varied greatly across the seven talukas depending on the availability of the women. It is evident from the table below that nearly one fourth of the women were from K. Nuagaum (24.50%) and Raikia (23.94%) talukas. Less than ten percent of the women were from Phiringya, Balliguda and Daringibadi talukas.

Table No. 1

Taluka-wise breakup of Women Respondents

Name of the Taluka	No. of Women	Percentage
K.Nuagaum	87	24.50
Raikia	85	23.94
G.Udaigiri	60	16.90

Tikabali	48	13.52
Phiringya	32	09.01
Balliguda	28	07.88
Daringibadi	15	04.22
Total	355	100.00

Profile of the Women: This sub section gives an overview of the women age, marital status and religious profile. The age of the women ranged from 16 to 80 years with most of the women aged between 25 and 35 years (n=107, 30.1%) followed by those in the age group of 35 to 45 years (n=82, 23.1%). The majority of the women were married (n=339, 95.5%) of which 45 were widowed and three were separated. The rest were unmarried. All the women were Christians (n=345) except five Hindus and five who did not respond. Please refer to Table Nos. 2, 3 and 4 for details on age, marital status and religious profile in Annexure 1.

Number of Children per Family: Compilation of the data revealed that a majority of the women had two children (n=95) or three children (n=96) in their family. Just twenty one women had large families comprising five to six children while thirty One woman had no children in their family.

*Educational Status-*It can be discerned from the table below that more than half of the women are illiterate (56.1%). While thirteen percent of the women have completed SSC, forty (11.3%) have studied upto the upper primary level. There are just four graduates among them.

Table No. 5
Education of the Women

Education	Frequency	Percentage
Illiterate	199	56.1
Primary Education(Std 1st to 4th)	29	8.2
Upper Primary Education(Std 5th to 7th)	40	11.3
Secondary Education(Std 8th to 10th)	23	6.5
SSC	46	13.0
HSC	13	3.7
Graduate	4	1.1
No response	1	.3
Total	355	100.0

Employment- Data revealed that half of the women (n=183, 51.5%) are homemakers. One third of the women are labourers (33.5%) while some are engaged in farming (n=11) or are leaf plate makers (n=13). A few of the women are social workers (n=8), teachers (n=4) or in service (n=3) and four are studying. Interestingly one woman is a Pastor. Please refer to Table No. 6 for details on Occupation in Annexure 1

Women's Income- The data on the monthly income of the women showed that fifty three of them earned between Rs 501 to Rs.1000 per month while forty three earned a monthly wage of upto Rs.500. Less than ten percent earned between Rs.1001 and Rs.3000 a month and just One woman each earned incomes of Rs. 5000, Rs.7000 and Rs.14000 respectively. Please refer to Table No. 7 for details on Women's Income in Annexure 1

Head of the family – Based on the data given by the women, sixty one (17.2%) of their households are headed by a woman as compared to more than four fifths of the households where the head of the family is a man (n=294, 82.8%). A further analysis of the data revealed that in 51 of the women-headed households, the women respondents themselves were the heads of their families

out of which 39 women were widows and two were separated. One third of these women were between 55 to 65 years of age and more than one fourth were in the 35 to 45 year age group. When analyzing data on how many years it had been since the women had taken up headship of their households, it was found that the largest number of nine women became heads of their families two years ago thereby indicating that this could have been because they had lost their male household head to the violence that took place in August 2008.

II Basic Amenities

With the conditions in Kandhamal district with regard to the provision of basic services like health and education being very poor even before the conflict began, the researchers felt the need to understand the extent of difficulty that the women were facing with regard to access to basic amenities that are considered essential for daily living. These difficulties, it is assumed, would only exacerbate problems the women were experiencing as a result of the violence. It was assumed that The researchers also felt it was necessary to find out how many women owned a ration card and a voter's ID card, vital documents that every Indian citizen ought to have which establishes identity and facilitates the citizen's assertion of her rights and access to various resources available. Thus in this section, data has been analysed and summarized with respect to the women's access to basic amenities like shelter, water, sanitation, electricity, health, education, their place of worship and the problems they faced therein as also their ownership of a ration card and voter's ID card.

Ration card

Majority of 228 women (64.2%) had yellow cards indicating that they were below poverty line (BPL) families. Nearly 19 percent of the women (67) stated that they did not possess a ration card while six women (1.7%) reported that their cards had been destroyed in the violence. White (Above Poverty Line - APL)and

orange (Antodaya) card holders accounted for 9.6 percent (34) and 4.5 percent (16) of the women respectively. It is pertinent to note that some of the women shared that the ration cards were in the name of their spouse and their names were not included in the same. Please refer to Table No. 8 for details on Possession of Ration card in Annexure 1

Voters ID Card (Election Cards)

Nearly 90 percent (313) of the women stated that they had voter ID cards while rest (n=41) did not have one. Please refer to Table No. 9 for details on Possession of Voter's ID card in Annexure 1

Problems Faced with Regard to Basic Amenities

Women were asked to describe the problems they faced with respect to basic amenities. It was not surprising to note that many of the problems elaborated by the women with regard to the following amenities were in the context of the violence they had experienced. Since this was an open ended question, the responses were multiple and varied.

Housing - For a woman, traditionally, most of her life and activities center around her home. From caring for her family to the daily chores like cooking and cleaning, it reflects her identity and gives her security and protection. The trauma of losing a home is very painful for anyone and more so for a woman who would feel like a part of her very being has been destroyed and she is now exposed to the world bereft of security and her identity.

The problems faced by the women in the area of housing could be categorized into the type and extent of damage to the house, damage to household assets and damage in terms of monetary value.

Nearly one third of the women (98) said that their houses were entirely destroyed, 30 reported that there had been partial damage to their houses while 53 women specifically mentioned that their houses were completely burned down.

A few women (15) said that all their household assets had been burned while 41 mentioned that all or most of their assets had been stolen or looted. The assets most mentioned were cattle like cows and goats, clothes, electronics, two wheelers, jewellery, furniture and food grain.

Some women spoke of damage in monetary terms with 10 women mentioning losses between 1 lakh and 1.5 lakh. While four women pegged their damages between Rs.10,000 and Rs.55,000, One woman suffered damages worth 2,50,000/-. These were probably the women with higher incomes and /savings.

Water – In many societies, water is at the core of women’s traditional responsibilities: collecting and storing water, caring for children, cooking, cleaning, and maintaining sanitation. These tasks often represent a whole day of work.

The data revealed that a little over one third of the women (121) faced problems with regard to water. These could further be categorized into problems with the source of water and the distance from it, problems with the water pumps and social factors.

Around a fourth of the women (33) stated that they did not have access to adequate water with a few specifically mentioning water for drinking and bathing. While some (21) said that this was because the well went dry in summer, a few mentioned that the water from the well or river that they used was unclean. Twenty women expressed difficulties as they had to walk between one and four kilometers to access water.

According to 12 women, having only a hand pump and at times a non- working one meant inadequate or no water.

For a woman whose life is so intrinsically woven around water, having to deal with inadequate water resources due to the above mentioned factors is difficult enough. More difficult, however, is dealing with discrimination in relation to access to water as this could cause her anxiety and mental trauma for being prevented from accessing otherwise convenient water resources.

Social discrimination of one community by another was also the cause of water problems, as narrated by 19 women. More than half of them said that they were not allowed to use the common village well as they were Christians with villagers putting up a sign board near the well that stated 'Christians are not allowed'. Two women stated that the well had been 'poisoned' with petrol/diesel during the violence rendering it unusable to date.

On the other hand, four Hindu women mentioned that they were not allowed to draw water from a well that belonged to a Christian.

Electricity - More than eighty percent of the women (n=298) mentioned that they faced problems related to electricity. All except 12 women had no electrical connection in their houses. Of the rest, ten women admitted that they had illegal connections, while the others either could not pay the bills or had electricity for just 3-4 hours of the day.

Toilet facility - An overwhelming majority of 326 women (91.83%) stated that this was an area where they experienced many difficulties ranging from a little over 60 percent (n=200) of them not having single toilet units in their homes to using open toilets (n=124) to no separate toilets for women or half damaged toilets.

Healthcare - Both the experience of conflict itself and the impact of conflict on access to health care determine the physical health and the psychological well-being of women and girls in very particular ways.

When queried about their access to health care and the problems faced therein, the responses revealed that there was a difference in individual perception of availability of a healthcare facility. Hence while 27 women said that there was no health care facility at all in their village, 262 women stated that there was a PHC (Primary Health Centre) that they could avail of either in their village or by traveling to the nearest one either on foot or by private or public transport. Again there was a difference observed in what constituted distance when 106 women mentioned that the “PHC was far away”. Distances of the PHC ranged from 2 km to 26 km with half of them saying that they had to travel 5 km to the nearest PHC. Forty women explained that the government hospital was far away with distances ranging from 5km to 20km while just six said that the hospital was nearby.

Some women said that the Anganwadi in the village served as a health centre where the ASHA administered polio drops and other immunization and basic medicines were available for the first line of treatment. However in the case of medical emergencies or for their deliveries when they really require medical facilities nearby, they had to travel far away. A few women informed that NGOs in the area ran health care centers whose services they availed of.

Another set of problems enumerated by a few of the women in the area of health care was with regard to the availability of professionals and medicines at the PHC and/or government hospitals. These included the doctor not being available all the time, only a weekly visit by the doctor, only male doctors available, ANM being irregular, inadequate staff and no free medicines. However, ten women said that there were both male and female doctors available.

Thus often women face the double burden of having to travel long distances for medical treatment along with the ignominy of having to be examined by male doctors due to non availability of female doctors.

Education - Almost all the women (n=342, 96.33%) answered in the affirmative when queried if their children had access to education. While most stated that there was education available in their village upto the primary level which varied from Std 5 to Std 7, just a few had a high school in their village as well. While some of the women (n=96) said that secondary school and college education were available, some (n=75) further elaborated that these institution were outside their village, often in the neighbouring town, and this meant that the children had to travel longer distances to pursue higher education. Ten women mentioned that there were boarding schools that offered secondary education while 50 women said that there were no college facilities available at all.

Women are deeply disturbed when their children face discrimination in any forum. However, just eight women disclosed that their children faced discrimination in schools and colleges because they were Christians. This ranged from being threatened by classmates not to attend school to the teachers being told not to allow Christian children into school to not being given admission to college easily and not being given a stipend because of their religion. Although a very small number of women mentioned this problem, there is a possibility that others were reluctant to broach the topic or are in a state of denial about such discrimination.

Place of Worship - When queried as to whether there was a place of worship in their village, over four-fifths, 314 women (88.5%) replied in the affirmative. However, a further analysis of the responses revealed that in many cases the women had to use makeshift sites as places of worship as their churches had been destroyed in the violence. While eighty two women merely mentioned that the church where they worshipped had been destroyed without saying where they were currently worshipping, others were more forthcoming about the latter. Gathering for prayer under a tree or any open spaces available like a *maidan* or

the road (n=43), praying outside the damaged church itself(n=24), using other's undamaged churches (n=23), using one of the relief camp tents itself (n=21) and praying at home itself (n=20) were some of the common responses. Other places enumerated were the community hall, the pastor's or other fellow villagers' homes, in the college premises or a temporary structure erected as a makeshift church.

Forty five women said that there was a church and temple available nearby for worship while nine stated that the same was far away.

It is evident from the findings that inaccessibility to their place of worship and/or inability to pray in the place of worship, was a direct attack on the Constitutionally protected fundamental right of an individual to choose or change one's religion as well as practice the religion of one's choice. Again, in this case, particularly where religion and faith came across as being a very important part of the women's lives, there is a high likelihood that they were adversely affected.

III Understanding Anxieties among Women

In this section an attempt has been made to understand the kinds of anxieties that the women continue to experience as a result of the violence they experienced in August 2008. In order to contextualize this understanding, data on the kinds of violence faced by and /or witnessed by the women themselves during and after the conflict has also been analysed and summarized.

Types of violence faced by women and/or other female family members during and after the conflict

The data revealed that the women and or other female family members had faced violence in varying forms and degrees during and after the conflict. For the sake of clarity, the responses from the quantitative data were categorized in the table below based broadly on the typology of violence elaborated in the

introductory chapter. However, certain types of violence also emerged from the case studies and these have also been included in the analysis below.

Table No.10

Types of Violence faced by the Women

Type Of Violence	Frequency	Percentage
Physical Violence	10	2.81
Beating	06	
Daughter sustained burns	02	
Injury	02	
Murder	12	3.38
Threats of Violence	120	33.80
Verbal abuse	33	
Threats of killing	42	
Threats of rape	10	
Threats to convert into Hinduism	35	
Sexual Violence	05	1.40
Rape	02	
Attempt to rape	03	
Vandalism of Property	70	19.71
Property loss	10	
House damaged	45	
House burned down	25	

N=355, multiple response

Physical violence - Ten women elaborated that they had faced physical violence in some form ranging from beating to sustaining physical injuries to their daughters sustaining severe burn injuries when their houses or property was set on fire. A few women mentioned that incidence of paralysis and malaria reportedly increased during this traumatic time probably due to extreme stress and unhygienic living conditions in the forest and the camps.

When the violence started we all went home because we thought that we would be safe there. But when the mob tried to enter the house, we hid in the bathroom. The mob ransacked the house and then set fire to it. When the mob left, the rest of us got out but before the youngest (10 years old) could escape a blast took place (possibly a cylinder) and she got badly burnt. Since there was a curfew we took

her to the jungle where we stayed for 2 days. We had to cover her mouth with cloth to keep her from crying and to muffle the sounds of pain. Finally, her burns made her smell very bad and so we took her to the PHC. Later with the help of an individual from a Christian organization we took her to Bangalore for treatment. She has now recovered fully physically and studies in class 7th (Women from Panchayatsahi in Raikia Taluka).

Threats of Violence – This accounted for the most common kind of violence experienced by the women (33.80%). Verbal assaults along with verbal threats of rape, killing and conversion back to Hinduism during and after the conflict were narrated by the women. The following statements from the women are illustrative of this.

My husband ran and climbed a tree. People came and threatened to cut down the tree telling him “we are cutting the tree, come down and convert into Hinduism”. We refused- my husband was beaten. They pulled off my saree and threatened me (with rape). (A woman from Ruabanja in Tikabali taluka)

During the violence, the perpetrators came to our village and asked my brother to reconvert to Hinduism. Then they gave him an axe and told him to cause damage to the Church. Somehow, my brother managed to escape from them without doing anything to the Church. A similar thing happen with me, they asked me to destroy the church and abused me because I was working in the convent. I told them, “You kill me but I will not do what you desire.” After that we all fled to the forest. (A woman from Mondasuri in Raikia taluka)

Sexual Violence – Five women reported that they and / or their female family members had been subjected to sexual assaults with two stating that there had been a rape and attempts to commit rape mentioned by three women. One

woman from Mundanaju in Raikia taluka spoke about the brutalities in her village:

One lady was attacked by weapons. One girl was raped and then they poured petrol on her and then burnt her alive. She is still in hospital.

The following narrative by young girl from Bapalomonti-B in Tikabali taluka indicates the plight of many women.

I was living with my uncle and his family. We were told to either go to camp or convert to Hinduism. My uncle refused and was not at home when the mob came. There were 25 people. They asked for my uncle. When they saw that he was not there, one of them bit my grandfather. They forced my grandparents to become Hindu. Then they saw me. They said 'we will take revenge for her uncle on her'. They lifted me and tied my mouth with a dupatta. One man had a sword and he told my grandparents that he would kill me if anyone shouted. They threw me under a tree, my lower back was fractured. Then they raped me. Four men... one after the other... for two hours... I became unconscious... they left me for dead... I knew them- I used to call them uncle- Babula, Manoj, Ranga... four others came later and carried me back to my uncle's house. My grandparents died due to all the trauma. I tried to commit suicide many times. I am so depressed. My parents and brother, sister all love me so much, they are very unhappy when they see me like this. But when I go to the village, people asked me about the incident. I cannot forget it- I think of the way they raped me all the time. I feel I should not live.

Psychological violence related to conversion - An analysis of the case studies revealed that a large number of the women were not recent converts to Christianity but have been Christians for many years and hence do not want to convert back to Hinduism. A widow from Sindrigan in Baliguda taluka explained:

I am a determined Christian and will not change my religion at any cost. I have been a Christian for many years.

We are Christians for the last seven years. Untouchability and no development in life are the reasons for our converting to Christianity. All those who became Christians in our area did so seven years back. (A woman from Muningia in Tikabali taluka).

Many women reported being told to either convert to Hinduism or leave the village. One woman from Budamaha in Raikia stated:

They told us that Christianity is not an Indian religion so we should re-convert to Hinduism.

Yet another women from Mallikapadi in Tikabali taluka added:

Before the violence Hindus had a meeting with the Christians families (total 240 families present in the village) and told them to convert in to Hinduism. They refused and hence were attacked.

The violence however forced a few to convert. A forty year old woman from Pattamana village in Baliguda taluka detailed how her husband was forced to convert to Hinduism:

Eleven perpetrators caught my husband and forced him to convert into Hindu. They told him: "Swamiji has died, so you also have to die". If you want to live then you have to convert into Hindu otherwise you will die. To save himself he said yes, I will convert into Hindu. Then they left him and somehow he came back to our family.

Others explained that though they had converted due to fear, over time (in the past two years) they have reverted to practicing Christianity. One woman from Petopanga (Korubali) in Raikia taluka stated:

The rioters forced me to become Hindu by threatening me with death. So out of fear I converted into Hinduism. But after some time I started going to church and praying and have become Christian.

The conversion process itself was humiliating for many as the following statements show:

*The Christians in the village were told to eat cow dung and urine to purify them.
(A woman from Pirigoda in Knuagaon taluka)*

My husband's head was half tonsured. I and other family members were made to drink water mixed with cow-dung and bow down in Hindu temple. (A woman from Pirigoda in Knuagaon taluka)

Murder- Twelve women stated that female family members had been murdered during the conflict. A 29 year old from Masadikia in Raikia Taluka spoke about the loss of a dearly loved aunt.

My aunt was who was 55 years old was raped and murdered by five young boys in the village of Gudrikia Chanchedi. This has affected me deeply.

Another woman spoke about the death of her mother in law.

At the time of the violence, my mother in law's age was over 70 years. She was not able to walk. So when the mob came, we had to leave her and run to the forest. The perpetrators found my aged mother in law and stuffed her mouth with 'chivda' in an attempt to choke her to death. They left her in that condition and went away. When we returned after three or four hours, we saw that she was in a lot of pain but was still alive. We helped remove the 'chivda' from her mouth and stayed with her for some time. But soon we got afraid and reluctantly left her alone and went back to the forest. I later learnt that all the injuries and trauma she faced caused her death. She died alone... (A woman from Majumaha in G. Udaigiri taluka).

Yet another woman spoke about the gruesome death of a woman in her village

One woman from Sonjuguda village of Bandaguda G.P.(Tikabali) was cut into pieces when still alive. She died due to this.

Murder of male members in the family during the violence- Nine women spoke about how male members of their families were murdered during the violence. The following cases indicate the brutality and hatred that characterized to these murders.

My eldest brother was returning to his village to collect his children. He was stopped by some people who asked him if he was a Christian. When he said yes, they killed him. When we got his body, we found 27 stab wounds on it, all made by different weapons. There were also burns on his body. We learnt that they stabbed him and then dragged his body around before trying to burn it. (A woman from Petapanga in Raikia taluka).

They murdered my brother in front of our aged mother. The police refused to take any action for five days and we had to keep his body at home all those days. My mother has not recovered from the pain of seeing her son killed in front of her eyes. (Woman from Nandagiri in G.Udaigiri taluka)

They shot my son when he was trying to run away to save his life. He was running away and still they shot him. (A woman from Barakhamba in Baliguda taluka).

They killed my husband- he was a pastor. They killed him in the jungle. I was so scared to go there; I was not sure what I would find. Finally, we only found his spectacles, shirt and some belongings. But not his body. All this affected me and my daughter very badly. And in the relief camp, she got into a relationship and is

now a mother. But has not got married. (A woman from Breka in Tikabali taluka).

We all ran away to the forest on the 25th of August before the violence started. But by the 27th, the children were hungry and thirsty. So we came to the main road, hoping to get something for them. At that time the perpetrators were roaming around on the road and they saw us and caught all of us- my husband, two children and me. They took us to the nearby motho (temple). Then they tied up my husband's hand with rope. Then they twisted a cycle chain around his neck and dragged him, crawling to a field nearby. I ran behind them and so did my daughter. We hid in the forest and saw how they hit him with an axe and then tried to cut off his hands and legs. Then they stabbed him in the stomach with a knife. Then Manoj Pradhan took up the axe and cut my husband's neck. My daughter who is six now could not talk at all for many days after seeing all this. She was trembling and crying all the time because of the fear and shock. (A woman from Tiangia (Budedipada) in G.Udaigiri taluka).

Death amongst family members due to the trauma faced- *Nine* women revealed that members of their families died in the days and months following the violence due to the trauma that they had undergone.

At the time of the riot everyone ran away in the forest. We also ran away in the forest and stayed for 3 day. There were seven of us, including my mother -in-law and father -in-law, both of who were more than sixty years old. It was raining heavily. We had only the clothes that we were wearing. My in-laws found it all very difficult. The stress, the running around to save our lives, the rain and not having sufficient food made them ill. After three days in the jungle, we reached the camp at Raikia. My mother -in-law was very ill. I wanted to get her admitted in a hospital. After being in the camp for one month, we were able to admit her in the hospital with the help of the BDO who provided free medicines

and vehicle. But she died three days later, in the hospital. My father –in –law became seriously ill after hearing about her death. We could not take him to a hospital because we had no money. He too died after one month. We lost both my in-laws because of the mental trauma and sickness due to the violence. (A woman from Totamaha in Raikia taluka).

The rest of the family ran to the jungle. But I remained at home because my old father-in-law was 72 years. When the attackers came, I locked the door from outside and hid in the turmeric field nearby and started praying for the safety of my father-in-law. I saw them break the lock and entre the house. They brought my father-in-law out of his room and laid him on the bed and kept the wooden door on him and light the fire using a wooden rod. But the fire spread very slowly; hence he did not get burnt. The attackers left him to burn to death. When they left, we (other family members and I) immediately removed the burning wooden rod and door. But we were unable to get any food or medical help for two days. Later with the help of Rapid Action Force vehicles, we took my father –in - law to a missionary medical hospital. This trauma affected him very badly and after 20 days in hospital he died. (A woman from Kritangia (Chancheddi G.P.) in K.Nuagaon Taluka).

We went and hid in the jungle. My older daughter who was eight months pregnant was bitten by snake and she died. I contracted brain malaria. My second daughter was traumatized and threatened. She had recently delivered a baby and the stitches after delivery were torn when she ran into jungle with new born. (A woman from Kanjamendi in K.Nuagaon.)

Vandalism of Property - Seventy women narrated that their houses and property had been destroyed including some of their houses being set on fire. This was the

second most common form of violence that was experienced during the conflict. The grimness of the situation is illustrated in the following cases:

Before the riots started, we were in the house. The mob came and destroyed thirty five houses. They attacked our house first. There were more than 200 men in the mob. They were shouting slogans: 'Jai Shree Ram', 'Hindu Hindu Bhai Bhai'. First of all they pushed the door open. We had all run out and were behind the home, hiding in the bushes. The perpetrators collected all our precious things, made a pile of it, poured petrol on it and burn it. We watched all this, hidden in the bushes. (A woman from Hattapada Suhi in Raikia taluka).

The attackers killed our animals. They killed our lambs and spread their blood around our houses. (A woman from Kaikala in G. Udaigiri taluka).

Psychological impact of the violence – Studies have shown that the psychological effects of violence against women include anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorders, depression and suicide. Fifteen women expressed that the conflict and its aftermath had caused intense mental trauma and stress, especially the fear of losing their lives.

(the perpetrators) have said that they will kill us if we return. They say that even if they are put in jail, they will make sure that we are killed. All the violence has made my child depressed- she is behaving abnormal. We gave her psychiatric treatment. Women feel more depressed, we do not feel like doing anything anymore because the threats are always with us. (A woman from Hattapada Suhi in Raikia Taluka).

When the mob came to broke into my house, I was alone. They told me to leave so that they could break it up. But I refused. They then poured kerosene on me and threatened to burn me alive if I did not leave. So I left. But I still feel as sad, depressed, upset and traumatized as I did two years back. I am sad that my home

is no more. I have lost everything that I had worked for. (An 80 year old widow from Bagadi in Knuagaon taluka).

Men urinated in front of me as I tried to run. They made suggestive gestures of raping me. They threatened and traumatized me. (Women from Gunjiwadi, Gutamaha in Knuagaon taluka).

Types of violence faced by other women / girls in the area

The women were asked about the type of violence faced in general by other women and girls in the area during and after the conflict. The following table details the women's description of the various types of violence.

Table No. 11

Types of violence faced by other women / girls in the area

Sr. No.	Types of violence faced	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Beating /maiming of women	37	10.42

2.	Rape of women	12	3.38
3.	Rape of girls	16	4.50
4.	Beating/molesting girls in schools	13	3.66
5.	Beating/molesting girls in community	26	7.32
6.	Verbal abuse of girls/women	180	50.70
7.	Killing of women	19	5.35
8.	Threats	234	65.91
9.	Abduction/confinement	11	3.09
10.	Elopement - due to vulnerability	33	9.29
11.	Exploitation /Extortions (compensation money)	29	8.16
12.	Any other - Attempt to kill, discrimination, thrown out of house.	03	0.84

N=355, multiple response

Threats and verbal abuse were the most widespread forms of violence as reported by nearly two thirds (65.91%) and half (50.70%) of the women respectively.

Thirty seven women said that beating and/or maiming of women had taken place and half that number (n=19,) stated that women had been killed. Twenty six and 13 women, respectively stated that girls had been beaten and/or molested in the community and schools.

Girls falling prey to elopement due to their vulnerable situation was mentioned by 33 women while 29 women spoke of violence in the form of extortion of the compensation money that was received.

Sixteen women said that young girls in the area had been raped while 12 women reported that women had been raped.

The following is a case study that is illustrative of the effect of the violence of a pregnant woman from Raikola in G. Udaigiri taluka.

I was two months pregnant when the violence broke out. When the mob came to my village, I had two small children (a three year old daughter and a seven year old son) as well as two older women, one who was unable to walk and one who was unable to see properly living with me. I first ran with the children to the forest and then came back for the older women. I was alone- my husband was in Kerala. I hid in the bushes and watched the mob set my home on fire. When they left, I tried to put out the fire. But I was all alone and could not save my home. My husband returned and we stayed in Udaigiri camp for six months. Then in smaller camps for eight months. My baby was born in the camp. The Hindus did not allow us Christians to walk outside. There was no special food for pregnant woman like me; some nuns gave eggs bread, biscuits to everyone for 3 days.

Recognition of the Perpetrators

When queried about whether they had recognized the perpetrators of the violence inflicted on them, a little more than half of the women (n=191, 53.8%) answered in the affirmative.

We know all of them. They are all from our own village. They were calling us by our names. They wanted to kill us. (A woman from Hattapada Suhi in Raikia taluka).

All the attackers were from places near my village. I know many of them personally. (A woman from Petapaadar in Tikabali taluka).

Further probing into the identity of the perpetrators revealed a wide range of persons. The data was summarized in the table below on the basis of whether the caste or religion was mentioned, whether they were from within or without the

village and whether they belonged to any political party/legitimate government body.

Table No. 12

Perpetrators of the Violence

Perpetrators	Frequency	Percentage
<i>Based on Caste/Religious affiliation</i>		
SC/ ST	8	4.18
Hindus	42	21.98
Hindu ST	15	7.85
Different caste and religion people	5	2.61
<i>Within or outside the village</i>		
People from outside village	50	26.17
Hindus from outside village	5	2.61
Villagers/local people	80	41.88
<i>Political Affiliation</i>		
Gram Panchayat members	10	5.23
Bajrang Dal	2	1.04
RSS	15	7.85
BJP	2	1.04
Total	234	

N=191,multiple response

The data above shows that the most of the women identified the perpetrators on the basis of whether they belonged to their village or were outsiders. The largest group were people from the same village or local persons as mentioned by 41.88% of the women while a little over one-fourth (26.17%) stated that outsiders had attacked them with a few identifying them as Hindus. Some women specifically mentioned the caste group and/or the religion of the perpetrators with 21.98 percent saying they were Hindus and a few further differentiating them as Hindu scheduled tribes. A few women recognised these persons as members of the Gram Panchayat and others as belonging to political outfits like the RSS, Bajrang Dal and the BJP.

Extent of involvement of the source/ perpetrators in the various kinds of violence faced by the women

The women were asked whether they knew the source of the various kinds of violence described in the previous sub-section. Analysis of the data revealed that for between 60% and 85% of the cases of the various kinds of violence the women were unaware of the source while for the rest of the cases, they were able to describe the perpetrators as also the extent of involvement of these in the various forms of violence. The following is a summary of the findings.

People from same village - Seventy-four women said that their fellow villagers themselves had been the perpetrators of various forms of violence. Nine cases of beatings/ molestations of girls in the school and community, three of the abductions / confinements, one fourth each of the rapes of women (n=3) and girls (n=4) and a little over one fifths (n=4) of the killings of women were carried out by people of the same village. Other forms of violence indulged in by this group were beating /maiming of women, verbal abuse / threats, elopement, and extortion.

Persons from the same community- This group of perpetrators was mentioned by just seven women and according to them was responsible for seven cases of beatings/ molestation of girls in the community, verbal abuse, threats and elopement put together. *Other women* - Ironically two women mentioned that 'some women' had been responsible for one of the killings of women and one case of beating/ maiming of women.

Scheduled Tribe (ST) Hindus- Fifteen women specifically stated this as a separate group of those who had inflicted various forms of violence on women. These included two of the beatings/ molestations of girls in schools, one case of abduction/ confinement as well as six cases of threats, two of verbal abuse and one case each of beating /maiming, killing, elopement and extortion.

Hindus-Ten cases each of verbal abuse and threats as well as two instances of elopement and one case each of beating/molesting girls in community were the forms of violence indulged in by this group, said 24 women.

Men from other villages- According to twelve women, men from other villages had been the perpetrators of five cases of verbal abuse and threats as well as one case each of beating/molesting girls in the community and extortion.

Government-Three women mentioned that government personnel had indulged in incidents of extortion / exploitation especially with regard to the compensation amount

Slogans used by the Perpetrators during the Violent Attacks

It was assumed by the researchers that the affiliations and intentions of the perpetrators could be ascertained from the slogans that they were shouting during the violent attacks. Hence the women were asked if they could recall the slogans that were used by the perpetrators during the violence. The most commonly used ones were 'Jai Bajrangbali' 'Jai Shri Ram', 'Bharat Mata ki jai/ Vande Mataram' and 'Christian Dharam nahi chalega/ kill Christians'. Other slogans heard were 'Bajrang dal ki jai', 'Jai maata di' and 'Swami Lokanand ki jai'. A few respondents said that they were unable to understand the slogans used as they were in the Oriya language.

A Gram Rakhi (Police Patil) from the K.Nuagam taluka was an eye witness to the attacks in the village where he lived and worked

When the violence broke out I was the only policeman in the village. Around 500 to 600 people came . shouting slogans like 'Jay Bajrangbali', 'Hindu Hindu bhai bhai'. They were holding weapons like the axe ,trishul, and sickle and they just started damaging houses. I had no control over them. I could not protect anyone. All the villagers fled to forest. They even damaged and burnt my house and I fled to forest along with my family.

Perceptions of Women on the Reasons for the Violence – Perceptions of the women about the reasons for the violence they had faced was felt essential to study as this would help understand how the women process their experiences of violence. It was important to understand the reasons why the women felt they had been targeted by the perpetrators of the violence. An overwhelming majority of 322 women (90.70%) were of the view that they were at the receiving end of the violence because they came from different clans/ tribes/ castes/ regions than that of the perpetrators. While more than three fifths of them (61.97%) felt that they were attacked because they did not have any protection, an almost identical number (61.13%) however, did not feel that they the perpetrators were punishing their husbands/ husband's clans or tribes by victimizing them. Half of the women each perceived themselves as easy targets for the perpetrators (50.99%) and that they were victimized because they had refused to do what they were expected to do by perpetrators (49.86%). Another noteworthy perception that a few of the women had about the violence was that the Hindus wanted to avenge the Swamiji's murder by killing all the Christians. Please refer to Table No. 13 for details on Perceptions of Women on Violence in the Annexure1

Their (the perpetrators) aim was to kill all the pastors and rape their women and girls. (Women from Bakingia in Raikia Taluka).

Women's Responses when the Violence Occurred

When faced with a dangerous or life threatening event the normal human response is 'flight' or 'fight', where one either runs away to escape danger or decides to confront the situation head on. In the light of this, the women were asked what their immediate response was when the violence broke out. Given that the geographic locale of the region is conducive to protecting people hiding in the forests, it was not surprising that almost all the women (n=334, 94.08%) said that they fled to the forest in fear when the violence broke out while thirty

percent stated that they lodged a complaint with the police. Other responses included seeking help from their neighbours, running away to the fields, dispensary and relatives houses. Five respondents said that they had stayed on in the village. Please refer to Table No. 14 for details on Women Responses when Violence Occurred in the Annexure 1.

Anxieties Amongst Women Due to Violence

Besides the physical impact of violence, women continue to experience the psychological effects long after the conflict has subsided. Almost two years later, the researchers attempted to understand the whether the women had developed any kinds of anxieties as a consequence of the violence they had faced and its aftermath. In this respect they were presented with a series of statements as seen in the table below. The findings revealed that ‘feeling very sad’ topped the list at 87.04% (n=304,). A large majority of between 81% and 86% of the women were dominated by fear for their own lives (n=292) and those of their children (n=296) and other family members (n=298), afraid that someone could harm them (n=300). Nearly four fifths of the women shared that they had stranger anxiety (79.72%), they were feeling tense most of the time (n=275, 77.46%) especially when the children were not with them (n=278, 78.31%) and fearful to let their children go out alone anymore (n=273, 76.90%). On the other hand, just 116 women (32.68%) said that sometimes feelings of not wanting to live anymore would overcome them while a sense of shame or embarrassment to speak to people now was expressed by a little more than one third of the women (n=132, 37.18%).

Table No. 15
Anxieties Among Women Due to the Violence

Sr.	Statements		Disagree	No	NA
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No.		Agree		Response	
1.	I feel scared for my life	292 82.25	60 16.90	3 0.85	0 0.00
2.	I feel scared for my children's lives.	296 83.38	48 13.52	2 0.56	9 2.54
3.	I feel that someone could harm me/my children	300 85.23	46 13.07	2 0.57	7 1.99
4.	When I see a stranger, I feel worried.	283 79.72	68 19.15	3 0.85	1 0.28
5.	I feel tense most of the time.	275 77.46	76 21.41	3 0.85	1 0.28
6.	I am not able to focus on my daily work.	214 60.28	134 37.75	5 1.41	2 0.56
7.	I am scared to go out alone anymore.	289 81.41	60 16.90	5 1.41	1 0.28
8.	I am scared to let my children go out alone anymore.	273 76.90	64 18.03	2 0.56	14 3.94
9.	I feel scared when I have to travel in a bus.	232 65.35	117 32.96	3 0.85	3 0.85
10.	I feel very worried when any of my family members goes out.	298 83.94	52 14.65	3 0.85	2 0.56
11.	I get tense when my children are not with me.	278 78.31	62 17.46	2 0.56	13 3.66
12.	I do not like to meet others/people known to me now.	190 53.52	159 44.79	4 1.13	2 0.56
13.	I feel ashamed /embarrassed to speak to people now.	132 37.18	216 60.85	4 1.13	3 0.85
14.	I feel very sad.	309 87.04	42 11.83	3 0.85	1 0.28
15.	I feel a lot of anger at the people who caused all this harm to us.	180 50.70	168 47.32	4 1.13	3 0.85
16.	I feel angry towards those who were supposed to protect me but did not.	156 43.94	191 53.80	5 1.41	3 0.85
	Sometimes I feel I don't want to live any more.	116 32.68	218 61.41	13 3.66	8 2.25

IV. Impact of the Violence on Women

The onslaught of violence and war affects the security and human rights of men and women in society. In most instances, the basic social, economic, or political rights of men and women are violated, as schools close, healthcare services diminish, the economy weakens and jobs are lost. This section details the repercussions that the violence and its aftermath have had on the various facets of the lives of the women and their families.

Migration – During situations of conflict centered on local and ethnic rivalries, displacement of people and forced migration are not always accidental outcomes, but an intentional strategy of the aggressors. Most often entire families are forced to flee from their homes, communities and abandon their livelihoods. But sometimes the male family members migrate to other places to escape danger to their lives or in search of alternative employment as their traditional means of livelihood are destroyed.

Such situations also serve as catalysts to trafficking in human beings. Although women, children and men are victims of trafficking in human beings, it is however mostly women and children who are more vulnerable to this crime as it has most recently been linked to forced prostitution and sexual slavery. (M. Vlachová and L. Biondi Violence against Women as a Challenge for Security Sector Governance, http://www.dcaf.ch/women/violence_vlachova.pdf).

The study attempted to examine various kinds of migration that had occurred in the women's families as a consequence of the violence.

Forced Migration of family members– When queried as to whether the violence had forced any of their family members to leave home, nearly one third (n=108, 30.42%) answered in the affirmative while more than two thirds (n=247, 69.57%) said this had not happened in their family.

Identifying those who had to leave home, six women said that they themselves and five others mentioned their husbands, while 39 women stated that their entire family had been forced to leave home. As compared to just eight women's daughters / sisters, 44 stated that their sons/ brothers had left home because of the violence. Other family members mentioned were those of the extended family like sister/brother -in-law, son/daughter- in-law.

Nineteen women said that their family members had left home during the violence in 2008 while fifteen mentioned that this happened after the violence right upto 2009.

Most of the 108 women were aware of the whereabouts of their family members who had migrated.. The most common destinations for migration were Bhubaneshwar and Kerala with 20 each mentioning them. Other places included within the state of Orissa itself and metros like Hyderabad, Bangalore, Kochi, Chennai and Mumbai. A few also mentioned boarding school, joining the military, relatives homes and places provided by the government.

The case presented here shows why some women are unable to return home despite wanting to do so.

I am now staying in a rented house in Bhubaneshwar. I pay ` 800 per month. The house has a toilet but no electricity. I received ` 10,000 of the ` 50,000 that was sanctioned. The Government people tell me that I can get the rest of the money once I start to rebuild the house. But the people in the village tell me that if I build my home, they will break it again. I have visited my village three times but each time I was threatened. Our land is there. But we cannot cultivate it. How can we go back if we are in danger? (A woman from Petapaadar in Tikabali taluka)

Migration of people / families from their village -When asked to enumerate the number of persons who had migrated from their villages during and after the violence, some women spoke in terms of the total number of persons and some

in terms of the number of families both of which are represented in the table below

Less than half the women spoke about there being no individuals or families who had migrated from their villages. However, according to some, a maximum of 40 persons and a minimum of one person while some women highlighted that between one to 55 families had left their village. Please refer to Table No. 16 on Number of Persons who have Migrated from their Villages in Annexure 1.

Migration of girls from the women's families

As previous studies have shown that situations of conflict increase the vulnerability of women and girls to trafficking for prostitution, sexual slavery and forced labour, the research attempted to study if there had been any sign of trafficking activity in the region. On the other hand there was also the likelihood that families were aware of this reality especially for their young daughters and opted to send their daughters to other places of safety. Therefore, in order to understand the prevalence and nature of migration of girls from the area, the women were queried about the number of girls who had left home, where they had gone, who had taken responsibility for them, the family's awareness about their current whereabouts as well as identifying any signs of trafficking among these girls were issues that were covered. The following sub-section is a summary of the data collected on the above.

Girls sent To Boarding school- Forty seven women (13.2%) informed that girls from their family had been sent to boarding school. Of these, 35 women mentioned that one girl from their family and ten others that two girls from their family had gone. Pastors and bible teachers along with nuns and priests were the most common persons they had entrusted their girls to for admission to boarding school. Other individuals with whom the girls had gone were parents, relatives, siblings and friends. A few of the women mentioned the locations of the

boarding school which ranged from Jharsiguda, Raikia and G.Udaigiri in Orissa to Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh, Chennai and Cuttack. A teacher from Rotingia corroborated this information when she said that eleven girls from her school had been sent away to boarding school and are in weekly contact with their families.

Girls sent away to work- Just fifteen women said that they had sent their girls away to work. One fifth of these had each sent them with nuns and other villagers. Others persons mentioned included the pastor, friends, neighbours, the priest and relatives.

*Communication with the girls away from home-*In order to know if they knew the whereabouts of their girls, the women were asked if they contacted them regularly. Thirty- nine women said that they had the addresses of their girls while eight did not have the same. When queried as to when they had last communicated with their daughters/ sisters who were away, ten women said that they communicated every week and six were in touch on a daily basis or very frequently. Other responses ranged from a fortnight to three months since their last communication. On the other hand two women said they did not have any direct contact with their girls and one had not heard from the girl since she left home. Thus most families seemed to be in touch with their girls who were away from home or they were at least aware of their whereabouts.

Persuasion by individuals to send girls to cities to escape poverty and have a better life- Just 23 women stated that they had been approached by persons telling them to send their daughters/sisters to cities to escape poverty and have a better life. Ten of these women mentioned that the pastors had made this suggestion, some said that nuns had spoken about giving the girls training in tailoring while some

mentioned that NGO representatives had spoken to them. A few said that neighbours and strangers had approached them but they did not send their girls.

Persuasion of young widows/single women/unmarried women to go to cities for work –

Just fifteen women reported instances of young widows/single women/unmarried women being persuaded to go to the cities for work and this was mostly by pastors and representatives of some organization. Besides these, relatives as well as strangers were also mentioned.

Thus, it is evident that as in the case of other disasters/calamities, there were groups and individuals, who, taking advantage of their social and economic vulnerability, attempted to lure women/girls away from their families.

However, the small numbers of those who actually sent their girls away to work as well as some women mentioning that they did not send their girls with neighbours or strangers who had approached them indicates that probably their knowledge of such practices prevented them from giving in to such individuals.

Difficulties faced by Single Women/Unmarried Women

Documentary evidence suggests that some groups of women and girls are particularly vulnerable in conflict and displacement situations. These include young, single, widowed or disabled women may be at particular risk of sexual violence, more vulnerable to trafficking and with the breakdown of traditional community and social support systems they are most often left to fend for themselves.

Around forty percent of the women (n=143) acknowledged and elaborated on various difficulties that single /unmarried women particularly faced during and after the conflict. While there were 64 women in the sample who were either widows, unmarried or separated and probably spoke for themselves, the rest would have spoken from their experience and observation.

Economic difficulties- According to 51 women, financial problems, lack of employment opportunities and loss of job with Hindu employer were the most widespread difficulties faced by this group of women.

Single women, widow or divorced women are in very bad condition. They are working as a slave in other houses. (A woman from Petapaadar in Tikabali taluka).

Lack of facilities- Lack of basic amenities, water problems and not being given a BPL ration card were mentioned by 29 women.

Feeling Alone- Twenty eight women said that many of these women felt all alone and were worried about how they would survive without any support.

Emotional/Psychological trauma –Receiving threats from the perpetrators, experiencing fear and insecurity as well as depression were some of the problems faced by this group of women as mentioned by 27 women.

Becoming dependant – A few women explained that becoming dependant on their children or extended family was a difficulty this group faced.

Thus, in addition to the problems they faced because of their gender, this group of women had to deal with loneliness, becoming dependant on others and facing threats from the perpetrators

Impact on the lives of the Women and their Families

This subsection summarizes the multiple consequences that the violence and its aftermath have had on the lives of the women and their families.

Economic impact- Seventy seven women (21.69%) explained how they and their families had been affected economically. This entailed loss of employment including NREGA work and a few losing their businesses of dealing in turmeric, aluminum vessels and leaf plates. This in turn meant that there was a shortage of money to buy food and survival was becoming difficult. As One woman from Perigoda in K.Nuangaon taluka stated:

My problem now is bringing up my children. I am single mother. Earlier I used to work for Hindus but now they did not employ us. And even if a Hindu family wants me to work for them, how can I work there? What if something happens? I feel too scared to go work in Hindu houses now. My grandfather's land is in Dharampura but I cannot use it and it is being used by others.

My father was denied permission to work in office by Sarpanch and Hindu co-workers. We were asked to leave village although my father is government servant. They burnt all his certificates were burnt. (Women from Beheragaon in Tikabali).

Almost twenty four percent of the women (n=85) also mentioned that losing their assets had upset them tremendously with five women saying that this had led to depression.

Psychological impact- Nearly one fourth of all the women (n=87, 24.50%) stated that they and their families had been impacted psychologically in one way or another because of the violence. More than half of them (n=50, 57.47%) said that they still felt afraid with some going further to say that they were scared to step out of their homes because of fear of the Hindus and a few saying they were still being gripped by terror.

Depression because relatives had been killed in the conflict, feelings of insecurity, anxiety about the future, stress, feelings of loneliness especially among those widowed during the conflict and loss of confidence were the other striking psychological after-effects elaborated by the women.

I still cry in fear when I hear from other Hindu villagers that there are secret meetings of Hindu villagers. They say that the next time they will kill the people. They won't go about breaking or destroying the homes of Christians but they will

kill the men and then go after the women or use women as a bait to kill their husbands. (A woman from Masadikia in Raikia taluka).

I am still afraid. The people in my village say that in the next five years (there will be more violence till) only Hindus or Christians are left. (A resident of Borakia in Baliguda taluka)

We (I and the villagers) live in constant fear. We are not able to think of the future and are living one day at a time. The men are afraid to leave women alone in the village and go out to cities to work. (A woman from Maudikutti (Pattama) in K. Nuagaon taluka)

Basic Amenities- Forty women expressed that there was a shortage of food, clothing and shelter which was adversely affecting them and their families.

When I came back, I did not have any money. I went to a shop and ordered all that I needed. When the shopkeeper turned away, I took as much provision as I could and ran away. Without paying because I did not have any money. (A woman from Raikola in G. Udaigiri taluka).

We did not have clothes or soap. In the camp, there was only one well which we had to share with so many other women. We used whatever clothes we found lying around since all ours were burnt. We had no money. (A woman from Borikia in Baliguda taluka)

Impact on Relationships- Conflict, especially ethnic or communal, destroys traditional community bonds and relationships replacing these with hostility, suspicion and a lack of trust between community members belonging to the conflicting groups. This was confirmed by around one fifth of the women who said that because of the violence there was a lack of sharing among villagers

which had spoilt relationships among them and that erstwhile friends had become enemies. A few also mentioned that relationships within the family had been disturbed.

A few women (n=11) however said that they had not felt any adverse effects of the conflict as they had received support from their fellow villagers

Other Effects- Some of the other effects enumerated by the women were as follows:

- The entire family had to move house
- Children's education affected
- Son wrongfully arrested
- Important documents lost

Impact on Livelihood

Conflict and displacement often means a distancing from or a complete break from one's source of livelihood, thereby leading to insecurity and poverty. This is especially true of societies where most people depend upon agriculture, fishing and forest produce for their livelihood as in Kandhamal. The study examined more closely the impact the violence had on the livelihood of the women and their families.

Agro based livelihoods – Seventy women (19.71%) elaborated on how the violence had led to a loss of their sources of livelihood. More than one third (n=26) said that they were unable to carry on cultivation of crops like rice and paddy on their lands, they had lost their water pumps and 10 women had even lost their land. Fifteen women each stated that they had lost their livestock/ cattle and how fear had prevented them from going to the forest for their leaf plate work and collecting firewood. A couple of women mentioned that they had lost their dry fish business.

The men in our families are not allowed to cultivate the land. The Hindus are in a majority (SC's & ST's -Hindu) in our area and they threaten us. (An OBC Dalit Christian from Dadingia (Puninago) in Raikia Taluka)

My husband was farming before riots. We have land records. But the villagers are not allowing us to come back to the village. So we cannot cultivate our land. (Women from Petapaadar in Tikabali taluka).

Loss of jobs / job insecurity- Over one third of the respondents (n=126, 35.49%) cited loss of jobs or job insecurity as being the economic fallout of the violence. Thirty five of them (27.77%) stated that Hindu employers were not employing them (Christians) any more, many of them as wage labourers. Some had irregular jobs now as their shops had been burnt down, they had lost their running businesses like tailoring, as also permanent jobs like the post of a teacher. Fifteen women said that while they could only do NREGA work, it was only applicable for men. With a reduced income some women said that they were finding it difficult to survive (n=20).

Depression because of loss of employment opportunities, a feeling of insecurity as no proper jobs were forthcoming and feeling afraid to move out for employment were some of the most widespread psychological effects mentioned by more than one fourth (n=36, 28.57%) of the women as a result of the adverse impact of the violence on their livelihoods.

I lost my business of selling dry fish etc. and my husband is no longer appointed as the ration seller at the GP because the Hindus refused to buy things from him. (A resident of Sindrigan in Baliguda Taluka)

My father-in-law is member of Zilla Parishad, earlier he was Sarpanch. We had a shop which was burnt during the riots. So now it is difficult to make ends meet. (A resident of Rotingia in G.Udaigiri taluka)

Women's Perception of the Current Situation regarding the Conflict

The women were asked about what they thought was the current situation regarding the conflict. While on the one hand nearly 56 percent (n=198) of the women said that the hostilities had ceased and most people had returned to their homes, nearly one third (n=115, 32.39%) also mentioned that people had returned to temporary homes and not their own homes in their villages. However, almost 44 percent of the women (n=155) maintained that the situation was still tense and so most people did not feel safe enough to return to their homes. Around one third of the women (n=111, 31.27%) corroborated this when they said that the camps were safe but not their villages.

Even today the villagers who had left the village have still not returned because they are all so afraid. (A resident of Rotingia G. Udaigiri talkua)

We are staying in rented house paying Rs.600/- per month in Bhuvenshwar. We are not able to go back to our village because of the threats. I am unable to even think of building a new house due to the threats that we still receive. When the survey was being done, I went to the village to enter my name. But the villagers would not allow me to do so. And my daughter (who was raped during the violence) is also scared. So how can we go back? (A woman originally from Magadangia in Nuagaon Taluka).

I don't want to return to my village, because I am still a target. The villagers will kill her. So I want to go somewhere else to earn a livelihood for the sake of my two children. (Pastor's widow from Tiangia (Budedipada) in G. Udaigiri Taluka)

Other responses on the current situation included the development of divisions between Hindus and Christians because of the conflict, distrust and tension

among villagers and deep-seated fears of trouble erupting again at any time at the behest of the RSS, Hindu leaders released from prison or triggers like the Swamiji's death anniversary.

Please refer to Table No. 17 for details on women's Perception of the Current situation regarding the conflict in Annexure.1.

V. Justice, Rehabilitation and Compensation

The impact of violence during conflict and the death and destruction it entails affects women immensely. Being a victim of violence, death or disappearance of a loved one and loss of one's home, livelihood and property is devastating and causes grave emotional, social and economic suffering. Similarly, gender-based violence during conflict and displacement are often ignored and rarely prosecuted. Survivors of criminal acts of violence against women during conflict have many difficulties in seeking justice. As a result the perpetrators generally commit their crimes with impunity. This section explores the steps the women have taken to deal with the situation they are in, to seek justice for the crimes perpetrated against them and their families and also the details of the compensation they received from government and private agencies for the losses they suffered.

Persons with whom Women Shared Feelings / Problems

When human beings are going through a crisis one of the way of coping is to share feelings with social support networks. In situations of conflict and post conflict, with the breakdown of traditional support systems, traumatized women may have no practical or emotional support. In order to assess if the women had any opportunities to share their feelings and problems, they were queried about whether they had done so with anyone. Less than half (42.45%, n=151) replied in the affirmative while 58.47 percent (n=194) said that they had not done so. The former further elaborated on the persons they had spoken to which is summarized below.

Friends, Neighbours: Around one fifth (n=32) of the women said that they had shared their feelings and problems among themselves, their friends or their neighbours.

Spiritual Leader: Pastors and priests were the trusted persons that one fifth (n=31) of the women had laid bare their feelings and problems to.

Government Officials: Thirty two women stated that they had spoken to various persons in the official capacity. The BDO was the most preferred official that the women shared with followed by the Collector, *Tehsildar*, *Sarpanch* and the CBO officer.

NGOs : Some women said that sharing their feelings and problems was done with representatives of NGOs some of whom were at the relief camps and a few others who were charity based.

Family: Immediate family members like husband, parents as well as the extended family were the preferred persons that some women mentioned they bared their hearts to.

Police: Thirteen women said that they had spoken to the police.

Assistance to Women to Cope with /Fight /Get Justice

When it comes to getting justice for women there are many difficulties encountered - women will not bring complaints or testify because they are afraid of being stigmatized or fear further attacks; medical evidence is difficult or expensive to obtain; the authorities responsible for bringing prosecutions are indifferent, loss of or inadequate documents or proof of identity to claim compensation or inheritance or even access to essential services.. These problems are exacerbated in situations of conflict and post conflict when danger, confusion and lack of social order are common.

The study examined whether the women had received any assistance to cope with /fight /get justice both during and after the conflict. A comparison of the findings revealed that NGOs were at the forefront, helping women victims of

violence both during and after the conflict. They were followed closely by religious leaders like pastors, priests and nuns and law enforcement agents such as the police, courts of law and CRPF. A few women mentioned that they received help from men and other women in the village, their relatives / in-laws and Panchayat members. Please refer to Table No. 18 for details on Assisting women to cope with/ fight/get justice during and post the conflict in Annexure 1.

Experiences when Police were Approached for Help

Sometimes problems in natural criminal justice systems arise from indifference and discrimination against women. The common perception is that police, investigators and prosecutors frequently fail to take action on crimes committed against women. In this light specific information was sought from the women regarding their experiences, both positive and negative, when the police were approached for help. Nearly fifty-five percent (n=195) of the women said that they or others they knew had approached the police for help.

Persons who lodged Police complaints: The men folk including husbands, sons and brothers topped the list of those who had lodged police complaints, with more than one fourth (28.20%) of the women mentioning this. One fifth of the women informed that they themselves had been the complainants while an identical number stated that the villagers had done so. Around fifteen percent of the women said the entire violence affected family had lodged a police complaint.

Experiences: The varied experiences that the women shared are summarized below.

When lodging complaints: More than forty percent of the women (n=80) stated that an FIR had been lodged but to date no action has been taken while ten women said that their cases had been registered but no FIR had been filed. According to twenty women when they sought police assistance, the police refused to lodge an FIR and on the contrary a few of them complained that the

police had verbally abused the complainants and in three cases the complainants themselves had been arrested.

One fifth of the women (n=40) mentioned that they did not face any problems when they went to lodge a complaint or file an FIR.

Action taken by Police: While fifteen women said that the police provided them security and sent them to a relief camp, ten women informed that the police followed up their complaint by conducting an enquiry. The police had arrested some of the culprits stated five of the women.

We have made complaint against them, but the government is very slow in taking action against them. None of the perpetrators have been arrested. We do not have a faith in Government that we will get justice. It can happen with us again any time. (Women from Mundanaju in Raikia taluka).

They are farming in our land. We have made complaint that people have encroached our land at Baliguda. Case is going on but no action from court and police. (A woman from Barakhama in Baliguda taluka).

People change their statements in the court because of threats, "If you give our names then you will be burnt alive." Because of this the rioters were left off scot free. (A resident of Rotingia in G. Udaigiri taluka)

Compensation

In any situation of conflict it is incumbent on the government of that country to be the primary agency for restoration of law and order, peace and making reparations to the victims of violence in the form of restitution, rehabilitation and financial compensation. Often humanitarian and aid agencies and NGOs also step in and perform this role. This subsection looks at the issue of compensation in terms of how many women and their families were paid

compensation, the kinds of compensation and the agencies that paid this compensation and this is summarized in the table below. It can be seen that 84.22 percent (n=299) of the women received compensation and the type of compensation varied from monetary to that in kind like food, clothes and house building material. Both the Central and State governments as well as non - government organizations comprised the agencies that paid the women this compensation. A Tehsildar and a BDO interviewed, provided information about the compensation package offered by the Central and State governments which was as follows:

Table No. 19
Compensation Package of the Central/ State Governments

Government	Partially Damaged Houses	Fully Damaged Houses	Death
State	Rs.20,000	Rs.50,000	Amount in Lakhs
Central	Rs.10,000	Rs.20,000	Nil

Table No. 20
Type of Compensation paid by Agency

Sr. No.	Agency	Type of Compensation							
		`.10000	`.20000	`.50000	Amount in Lakhs	Food items	Clothes	Materials to build house	Total
1.	Government (Central)	78	34	0	0	0	0	0	112 37.45%
2.	Government (State)	0	100	38	3	0	0	0	141 47.15%
3.	NGO (Jan Vikas)	1	3	0	0	35	8	10	57 19.06%
4.	NGO (Mana project)	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2 0.66%
5.	NGO (Life Foundation)	1	0	0	0	2	0	2	5 1.96%
6.	Catholic charity/ missionaries	3	3	0	0	6	0	3	15 5.88%

Please note that n=299, multiple response

Based on the information in Table No. 19 and the crosstabulation in Table No. 20 it is clear that both the Central and State Government paid monetary compensation primarily for house damage. The largest agency has been the State government which has compensated almost half the women (n=141, 47.15%). Hundred women were compensated for partially damaged houses, thirty eight for fully damaged houses and three women mentioning that they received two lakh, three lakh and 5 lakh rupees respectively for the death of a son in their family. The Central Government also covered more than one third of the women (n=112, 37.45%) compensating them for partial and fully damaged houses. NGOs also took the initiative to provide compensation to some of the women. This was mainly in kind but also monetarily in a few cases. Jan Vikas assisted nearly one fifth of the women (n=57, 19.06%) with mainly food items (n=35), clothes and house building material (n=18). Mana Foundation and Life

Foundation provided compensation mainly in kind and Catholic charities and other missionaries compensated six women monetarily and the rest in kind.

Assistance provided by the Government

The women were asked to elaborate on the assistance provided to them by the government apart from the monetary compensation they had received. Just 51 women (14.37%) mentioned various forms of government help that they had been given which are listed below:

- Food and Water
- Clothing
- Household articles like utensils, lamps
- Medical help

VI. Problems Faced and Experiences of Women

The nature of contemporary conflicts centered on local and ethnic rivalries has led to specific vulnerabilities of women who are forced to flee from their homes, communities and abandon their livelihoods. Often as a deliberate strategy for ethnic cleansing, the dominant group perpetuates violent gender-based sexual assault, murder and terror in order to attain the objective of mass displacement. Studies have shown that women make up the majority of internally displaced persons and refugees (*M. Vlachová and L. Biason, Violence Against Women as a Challenge for Security Sector Governance*). Refugees and displaced people on the move face journeys involving physical hardship and lack of shelter, food and other basic necessities. Among these, women are often the main providers of food, shelter and care for children and other dependent relatives. Apart from coping with the absence of male relatives who have been killed in conflict or have become separated from their families, the anguish of abandoning their homes, their communities and livelihoods or of watching the destruction of their

homes and property, for an often hazardous journey and an uncertain future is intense. The trauma of those who become separated from their children or families in the chaos and confusion of conflict and flight can last a lifetime. Though camps are built for protection and safety, women and girls' security is most often inadequately provided for. The need to ensure adequate lighting, readily accessible cooking fuel and safe housing is frequently ignored, exposing women to abuse and exploitation from fellow refugees as well as the very officials who are entrusted with their care. Supplies in the camp sometimes fail to address the specific needs of women particularly access to contraception and reproductive healthcare as well as sanitary protection for menstruating women. Many displaced or refugee women do not have access to women doctors or health professionals.

In the light of the above discussion, highlighting the problems that women have to face as victims and refugees in situations of conflict as well as the findings of the study thus far that reveal that almost all the women fled to the forest in fear when the violence broke out and then made their way to relief camps where they were housed during and after the violence; it was imperative for the researchers to study in some detail the problems faced by the women and their experiences of life in the forest and in the relief camps.

Life in the Forest

When the violence broke out most of the Christians fled, out of fear, to the relative safety of the forest. This was true for all except thirty women (n= 325, 91.54%). Of these, 205 women mentioned the amount of time they had spent in the forest which is presented in the following table.

Table No. 21

Time spent in the Forest

Time spent in the Forest	Frequency	Percentage
One to five days	158	77.03
Six to Ten days	37	18.04
Less than one month	7	2.15
More than one month	3	.09

N=205

The data in the table above reveals that more than two thirds of the women had spent between one and five days in the forest and the number went up to more than ninety five percent if those who stayed on for six to ten days are added.

Three spent a couple of months in the forest.

Enumerated below are the various hardships the women faced on their arduous journey into the forest and the traumatizing stay there while in hiding.

- Total lack of food, water, shelter and clothes to wear.
- Braving the vagaries of nature like continuous rain and the threat of wild animals.
- Living in constant fear and experiencing sleep disturbances
- Lack of sanitation facilities
- Various health problems
- Pregnant women and old people especially experienced difficulties like moving quickly in the difficult terrain.
- Experienced distress because of separation from the family

The following case is illustrative of some of the problems faced by the women when they were in the forest.

When the violence started, all the women ran towards the forest. I could not run as I was pregnant. Also I had two children with me. My children did not get any food in the forest so I gave them leaves of tree to eat. There was another pregnant woman with me. At the time of running she was suffering from lot of pain. And she delivered

a child in the forest but that new born baby could not be saved. (A woman from Barakhamba in Baliguda taluka).

Life in the Relief Camps

Many of the Christians were housed in State run relief camps in the aftermath of the violence. Again this was true for nearly eighty five percent of the women (n=301). The table below summarizes the responses of eighty five women who mentioned the amount of time they spent in the relief camps.

Table No. 22

Time spent in the Relief Camps

Time spent in the Relief Camps	Frequency	Percentage
Less than ten days	08	9.41
Less than one month	04	4.70
One to six months	36	42.35
Seven to eleven months	19	22.35
12 to 18 months	18	21.17

n=85

As is evident from the table above a majority of the women lived in relief camps for periods ranging from one to 18 months.

The experiences of the women regarding their life in the relief camps have been described below in limited detail as the responses are similar to those given when they were queried about the problems that they and other women faced and which are discussed in the next subsection.

Basic needs not met – More than two fifths of the women (45.18%) stated that their basic needs of food shelter and clothing were not met at the camp. Seventy five of them said that there was no food and water or that the food was insufficient or was not of good quality. Fifty seven women mentioned that because of overcrowding at the camps there was insufficient or no place to sleep, difficulties

in staying and also no privacy for women. A few women also said that they did not have sufficient clothes.

In the camp there was no place for girls to change. No place to sleep, with 10-15 families in one tent. Husband and wives used to have issues because bodies used to literally touch each other. There was a problem of clothing, some people brought old clothes but they were not in the good conditions. And there were no undergarments, most of the clothes and kits were for woman and younger children. The girls were not used to wearing sarees and they only got sarees from the Government. Many CRPF personnel in the camp would give false promises of marriage, get them pregnant, forced abortions etc. and left later. (A woman from Kaikala in G. Udaigiri taluka).

I was pregnant when the violence begun. I was told that I would have to convert or I would be killed. So I came to the relief camp. Here I slept on the floor with my new born baby, it was raining and there was water on the floor. (A woman from Raikala in G Udaigiri)

Unhygienic Surroundings – Lack of or inadequate sanitation facilities, unclean surroundings, continuous rain and mosquito menace were the kind of conditions in some of the camps as described by thirty seven women.

When we were in the camp, during menstruation, we women could not clean ourselves because there was no water. There was no private place for changing the clothes. There were also no toilet facilities for women. Women had to take bath together. (A woman from Gunjiwadi in Knuagaon Taluka)

We women felt humiliated as relief camp had no roof in the bathroom and men used to leer at us. (A woman from Beheragaon in Tikabali taluka)

Medical Issues – According to nineteen women there were no medicines, no female doctor available and no counseling services in the camp. A few women also mentioned that some women had gynecological problems and skin diseases.

There was one case when one of the pregnant mothers gave a birth to a child in the relief camp. But there was no proper medical facilities available and there was also non-availability of proper food. So the child died after few days. (A woman from Konjamendi in Nuagaon taluka).

At the time of violence there were no camps. After spending some time in the forests, I went to a relief camp. I stayed there for one month. It was winter but I had to sleep on the ground, even though I was pregnant as the camp did not have enough blankets. Later, I was examined by the doctor and admitted in the medical camp and there I delivered a boy. There was no facility of a lady doctor. No nutritious food. Despite all this, we are alive. (A woman from Barakhamba in Baliguda taluka).

Attacks by Majority Community – Fifteen women described how initially Hindus entered the camps and attacked and threatened those who had taken refuge in the camps. They mentioned that in Raikia, the women were threatened while they were bathing. Inadequate security and having to seek permission every time they wanted to leave the tent were some of the other problems they faced.

Life as the camp was tough because there were 5000 people staying with inadequate facilities. We were also scared about a possible bomb and other attacks at the relief camp because we had heard rumors of the same. (A woman from Piserania in Dadingia Taluka).

In the relief campinadequate food, water, unhygienic place, mosquitoes.... few fundamentalists put poison in the drinking water and spoiled the food. The

condition of the latrines was not good. (Gram Rakhi turned victim of violence from K.Nuagam Taluka)

Happy with Camp Arrangements- Contrary to the above, one fifth of the women (n=63) stated that they did not face any problems in the camps. There was adequate food, clothing, shelter and medicines available. They said they felt safer, more secure and peaceful in the camp as compared to their villages. A few women also mentioned that assistance for hospitalization was given to pregnant women and those who were sick

Problems Faced by the Women

When the women were queried about the kinds of problems they were facing, from the nature of their responses it can be presumed that the pain and trauma they had experienced in the past two years because of the violence was still very much part of their present and therefore, they spoke about the problems they had faced while in the forest and in the relief camps along with those they were currently going through. Hence some of the responses are likely to be similar to those in the previous subsections but they have been intentionally retained and elaborated in greater detail in this subsection to emphasize the suffering the women had to and continue to endure because of the disadvantage and discrimination they face because of their gender.

Almost half of the women (47.88%) discussed the various problems they and other women in their area were facing, which have been summarized below.

Lack of Basic Amenities -More than half of the women (n=87, 51.17%) shared that they faced problems like shortage of water or no water facility at all, shortage of food and adequate clothing as well as lack of proper shelter causing them many difficulties including the very personal issue of maintaining hygiene during their menses due to lack of water. A few women also mentioned how only one packet of sanitary pads was given per family though often there was more than one

woman in the family having her menses at the same time. This was contrary to a BDO's information when he said '*sanitary pads were distributed to each girl as per her requirement.*'

Lack of privacy – Thirty eight women stated that the women encountered many problems because of privacy issues. This included a common living space for both men and women which made them feel very uncomfortable. The women could not enjoy any privacy while bathing with some places having just two bathrooms without roofs for 5000 people and no toilet facilities as well.

Health problems – According to nearly one third of the women (30.58%), women were suffering from many health related problems. These included tumor/growth/ pain in the abdomen, bone diseases, reproductive health issues, urinary tract infections and illnesses like TB, malaria and jaundice with a few women having died from the latter three. To add to this was the fact that five women said that there was no female doctor available and fifteen others informed that there were no proper medicines.

Problems specific to pregnant women and new mothers- The problems faced by this category of women were manifold as mentioned by one fourth of the women. These ranged from no protection for these women nor any assistance for them during their delivery to lack of clean drinking water and no special facilities for pregnant women who were suffering from malaria. While five women said that there had been cases of miscarriage, premature deliveries and one abortion case, two pregnant women had died in the camp – one because of a snake bite. A few women informed how due to lack of basic sanitation facilities during delivery, the newborn caught an infection and how difficult it was for new mothers to live in the camp with a new born infant and without proper medical care available for the baby.

Psychological problems- Depression, fear to go out and work, anxiety, no one close to speak to or share their problems with were the psychological problems that one fifth of the women said the women were suffering from. Two women shared

how two old women had died due to shock, one of them on seeing her house burning.

Financial Problems- Twenty eight women spoke of women facing financial difficulties due to problems with their means of livelihood, lack of any financial assistance or support and in some cases widows not receiving compensation.

Physical and sexual abuse – Many women and young girls suffered physical and sexual abuse, stated another twenty eight women. There was a lack of security for the women, they were beaten up, threatened and verbally abused by the men, they were harassed while filling water, younger girls were sexually exploited by policemen while they were bathing and nuns were harassed. Two instances of rape of girls were mentioned. In one case the girl, currently in hospital, attempted suicide by burning herself and the other girl had become pregnant after being raped and the police were trying to take advantage of her.

Other Problems – Some of the other problems that the women faced were overcrowded camps, entire family forced to convert to Hinduism, domestic violence, unable to complete education in standard 12, domestic violence and untouchability.

Despite all this, many added that their faith in God keeps them positive.

Moreover, all the women had accepted the violence meted out to them as a part of life. They only wished to live in peace and wanted to put the memory of the incidents behind them.

It is also written in the Bible that Christians will have to suffer one day for Jesus and this violence is exactly that. It is God's wish and if he wishes for us to suffer we will, when it is time happier days will come.

(A woman from Budamaha in Raikia Taluka)

We women only think about the future of our children. We want peace in life and support so that we can live like before (with dignity). (A Hindu women from Petapaadar in Tikabali Taluka)

We desire peace. Even among the Hindus there should be spirit of friendship. We have forgiven them; we only seek peace. (A woman from Rotingia in G.Udaigiri taluka)

Major Findings

Based on the indepth analysis of the data and the discussions in the previous section, the following are the major findings that have emerged and summarized below.

I. Socio Demographic Profile

- More than half of the women interviewed were in the age group of 25 to 45 years. A majority were married including separated and widowed women with more than half of them having two to three children. This shows that most women were in their most productive years shouldering the responsibilities of marriage and children.
- More than half the women were illiterate and were homemakers while more than one third were engaged in agricultural labour and most of the women earned between Rs500 to Rs 1000 per month. This indicates that most women had probably never stepped out of their home for employment, did not have any specialised skills nor an education that could stand them in good stead in the event of a crisis as well as contributed to their relatively low earning capacity. This probably explains why many women were unable to find employment after the violence that would have enabled them to contribute economically to their families.
- Of the 61 women headed households, 51 were headed by the women respondents. It was found that the largest number of nine women became heads of their families two years ago thereby indicating that this could have been because they had lost their male household head to the violence that took place in August 2008.

II. Basic Amenities

- A majority of the women had had voter ID cards and yellow ration cards, the latter indicating that they belonged to BPL families. Some of the

women shared that the ration cards were in the name of their spouse and their names were not included in the same which was probably indicative of the low status the women had in the family that it was not considered important to add their names. This could also have proved to be a hinderance to them in accessing compensation and other basic services after the violence.

- The women's sharings about their access to basic amenities only confirmed the abysmal development standards in Kandhamal district which were further depleted by the violence.
- With regard to shelter, many women said that their houses had been partially or fully destroyed and all their assets being burned, looted or stolen. Some of the women shared that they had gone into a depression because they had lost their homes.
- In addition to problems faced by the women with regard to the source of water and the distance from it, more difficult and painful, was dealing with discrimination in relation to access to the water source. In a few villages, Christians were not allowed to use the common village well with villagers putting up a sign board 'Christians are not allowed'. There were also instances of the well being 'poisoned' with petrol/diesel during the violence.
- A majority did not have access to safe toilets which probably made them more vulnerable to abuse and exploitation and a majority live without electricity.
- PHC's were not always available in the village which meant that women especially during emergencies and pregnancy had to travel to the nearest health facility enduring varying degrees of hardship depending on the terrain that had to be traversed. Adding to the women's woes were the largely non existent female doctors.

- Education seemed to be the one facility that almost all women said their children had access to. However what was disturbing was the discrimination that their children had begun facing ever since the violence had broken out. This ranged from being threatened by classmates not to attend school to the teachers being told not to allow Christian children into school to not being given admission to college easily and not being given a stipend because of their religion. A very small number of women mentioned this problem indicating a possibility that others were reluctant to broach the topic or are in a state of denial about such discrimination.
- Many women said that as their churches had been destroyed in the violence, they had to use makeshift sites to worship like under a tree or a *maidan* or the road, praying outside the damaged church itself, using other's undamaged churches, one of the relief camp tents itself and praying at home itself. It is evident from the findings that this was a direct attack on the Constitutionally protected fundamental right of an individual to choose or change one's religion as well as practice the religion of one's choice. Again, in this case, particularly where religion and faith came across as being a very important part of the women's lives, there is a high likelihood that they were adversely affected.

III Understanding Anxieties among Women

- The data on violence experienced by women in Kandhamal during and after the conflict covered the whole gamut of violence reflected in the typology of violence against women and confirmed previously documented evidence that conflict situations and displacement bring their own distinct forms of violence against women which is used as a weapon of war to break the resistance of a community among other things.
- The women and/ or other female family members suffered threats of violence most commonly, beatings and burn injuries. Twelve women and

nine male family members were murdered while there were two rapes and three instances of attempt to rape. Many women reported being told to either convert to Hinduism or leave the village and a few were forced to convert to Hinduism and had done so out of fear. A few women revealed that members of their families died in the days and months following the violence due to the trauma that they had undergone. The type of violence faced in general by other women and girls in the area during and after the conflict once again included threats and verbal abuse, beating and/or maiming, killing of women, molestation in schools, rape, elopement, abduction and confinement.

- The most distressing part of the conflict probably was that most of the perpetrators were from the same village itself including members of the Gram Panchayat. They were mostly Hindus or Hindu Scheduled tribals while a few women recognized that they belonged to political outfits like the RSS, Bajrang Dal and the BJP. This probably led to a sense of betrayal felt by the victims and lead to a breakdown of relationships and suspicion among villagers.
- The slogans shouted by the perpetrators like 'Jai Bajrangbali' 'Jai Shri Ram', 'Bharat Mata ki jai/ Vande Mataram' and 'Christian Dharam nahi chalega/ kill Christians' confirmed that they were probably Hindu fundamentalists intent on attacking the Christians. It could also probably be concluded from the remarks of a few women that they were unable to understand the slogans used as they were in the Oriya language that some of the attackers were outsiders.
- A majority of the women perceived that they were at the receiving end of the violence because they came from different clans/ tribes/ castes/ regions than that of the perpetrators while more than half felt they had been targeted because they had no protection and hence were easy targets for the perpetrators.

- Anxiety levels were high, almost two years after the conflict. Feeling sad, a dominating fear for their lives and that of their children, stranger anxiety and feeling tense all the time were some of the overriding psychological after effects of the violence in women. To a lesser degree but significant was being overcome sometimes by feelings of not wanting to live anymore and a sense of shame or embarrassment to speak to people now.

IV. Impact of the Violence on Women

- The violence and its aftermath had several repercussions on the various facets of the lives of the women and their families.
- Various kinds of migration had occurred in the women's families as a consequence of the violence. While in some cases entire families were forced to flee, many stated that the male members of the family had migrated to other Indian towns and Cities. This seems evidently to find employment as the conflict had alienated them from their traditional occupations. According to some women, a maximum of 40 persons and a minimum of one person while some women highlighted that between one to 55 families had left their village.
- Contrary to fears that trafficking of girls and women was one of the adverse outcomes of this conflict, there did not seem to be any signs of this evil. Some women said that the girls in the family had been sent away to boarding schools for their own safety while a very negligible number had sent their girls to work with people whom they regarded as trustworthy. Most families seemed to be in touch with their girls who were away from home or at least aware of their whereabouts. A few women mentioned that some individuals did try to persuade them to send their girls or young widows/single women/unmarried women to go to cities for work. Thus, it is evident that as in the case of other disasters/calamities, there were groups and individuals, who, taking

advantage of their social and economic vulnerability, attempted to lure women/girls away from their families. However, the small numbers of those who actually sent their girls away to work as well as some women mentioning that they did not send their girls with neighbours or strangers who had approached them indicates that probably their knowledge of such practices prevented them from giving in to such individuals.

- Being a particularly vulnerable group during situations of conflict, single / unmarried women, in addition to the problems they faced because of their gender, had to deal with loneliness, becoming dependant on others and facing threats from the perpetrators
- The economic impact included loss of employment including NREGA work, loss of sources of livelihood like farming, cultivating rice and paddy, loss of their livestock/ cattle and loss of family businesses like dealing in turmeric, dry fish and leaf plate making as fear had prevented them from going to the forest for their leaf plate work and collecting firewood. This in turn meant that there was a shortage of money to buy food and survival had becoming difficult. Depression, a feeling of insecurity as no proper jobs were forthcoming and feeling afraid to move out for employment were some of the most widespread psychological effects as a result of the adverse impact of the violence on women's livelihoods.
- Feeling afraid to step out of their homes because of fear of the Hindus, being gripped by terror, depression, feelings of insecurity, anxiety about the future, stress, feelings of loneliness especially among those widowed during the conflict and loss of confidence were striking psychological after-effects elaborated by the women confirming that the psychological scars of war remain long after the physical pain has diminished rang true for the women in Kandhamal

- Two years later it is a matter of grave concern that that almost half of the women say that the situation is still tense, violence can break out at anytime again, they were receiving threats from the villagers and so most people did not feel safe enough to return to their homes and villages and preferred to live in the safety of the camps. Nearly one third also said that people had returned to temporary homes and not their own homes in their villages probably because of the threats they received or that they did not get adequate compensation to rebuild their homes.

V. Justice, Rehabilitation and Compensation

- More than half of the women had not had a chance to share their feelings and problems with anyone since the conflict. It can only be imagined, the kind of psychological trauma and stress these women must be going through and the toll it must be taking on their physical health. This also shows the low priority accorded to mental health issues among victims of conflict. Those women who did get a chance to share, though, did so with friends, neighbours, spiritual leaders, government officials, NGO staff, relatives and the police.
- When it came to whether women had received any assistance to cope with /fight /get justice both during and after the conflict the findings revealed that NGOs were at the forefront, helping women victims of violence followed closely by religious leaders like pastors, priests and nuns and law enforcement agents such as the police, courts of law and CRPF.
- With regard to their experiences with the police, more than half the women said that police complaints had been lodged mainly by the men folk, but in some cases the women themselves had been the complainants thereby indicating that though it is still a patriarchal society, some women did have the courage to lodge a complaint themselves.

- Many reported that an FIR had been lodged but to date no action has been taken while ten women said that their cases had been registered but no FIR had been filed. It is important to note that twenty women said that when they sought police assistance, the police refused to lodge an FIR and on the contrary that the police had verbally abused the complainants and in three cases the complainants themselves had been arrested.
- The Central and State Government paid monetary compensation primarily for house damage as per the compensation package announced. Almost half the women were beneficiaries of the latter and one third were of the former.
- NGOs like Jan Vikas assisted 57 women with mainly food items, clothes and house building material while others like Mana Foundation and Life Foundation provided compensation mainly in kind.

VI. Problems Faced and Experiences of Women

- Problems faced by the women during and after the conflict were manifold confirming the findings of previous studies on the way women are treated during conflict. These problems included the difficulties faced in the relief camps
- In spite of a total lack of basic amenities in the forests, heavy rain, threats of wild animals and treacherous terrain that was difficult for the elderly and pregnant women to navigate, the geographic locale of the region is conducive to protecting people hiding in the forests and hence almost all the women fled to the forest with their families in fear when the violence broke out. More than two thirds of the women spent between one and five days in the forest and the number went up to more than ninety five percent if those who stayed on for six to ten days are added.
- Nearly 85 percent of the women lived in State Run relief camps for periods ranging from one to 18 months.

- There were problems like shortage of or no water facility at all, shortage of food, inadequate clothing and lack of proper shelter. Inadequate sanitary supplies caused women difficulties during their menses..
- A common living space for both men and women in the relief camps, some places having just two bathrooms without roofs for 5000 people and no toilet facilities as well meant a total lack of privacy for women, insufficient or no place to sleep, difficulties in staying and also no privacy for women. This explains the reason why women were being harassed and abused by other refugees, Hindus and even police personnel in the camps while bathing.
- Women suffered from many health related problems including abdominal tumors/ pain, bone diseases, reproductive health issues, urinary tract infections and illnesses like TB, malaria and jaundice. To compound matters, often there was no female doctor available.
- Pregnant women and new mothers were a particularly vulnerable group where the problems faced ranged from no protection for these women, no assistance for them during their delivery to lack of clean drinking water and no special facilities for pregnant women who were suffering from malaria. There had been cases of miscarriage, premature deliveries, forced abortion and two cases where pregnant women had died in the camp – one because of a snake bite while in the forest. Due to lack of basic sanitation facilities during delivery, newborns had caught infections and in a few cases the child had died for want of treatment.
- Women were facing financial difficulties due to problems with their means of livelihood, lack of any financial assistance or support and in some cases widows not receiving compensation.
- Psychological problems like depression, fear to go out and work, anxiety, no one close to speak to or share their problems with were the psychological problems that women were suffering from.

- Physical and sexual abuse of many women and young girls. A lack of security meant that they were beaten up, threatened and verbally abused by the men, they were harassed while filling water, younger girls were sexually exploited by policemen while they were bathing and nuns were harassed. Two instances of rape of girls were mentioned. In one case the girl, currently in hospital, attempted suicide by burning herself and the other girl had become pregnant after being raped and the police were trying to take advantage of her.
- Other problems at the camp included lack of or inadequate sanitation facilities, unclean surroundings, continuous rain and mosquito menace. Some women reported that initially Hindus entered the camps, attacked and threatened the refugees and at Raikia, women were threatened while they were bathing highlighting inadequate security measures at the camp.
- All this points to the fact that, overall, the facilities in the camps were very dismal and the infrastructure very poor making thereby showing that various International guidelines and protocols laid down for treatment of women refugees seemed furthest from the Government's mind.
- A significant finding that emerged from the case studies and the sharings of almost all the data collectors is that inspite of all that the women have been through, all the women had accepted the violence meted out to them as a part of life with many adding that their faith is God keeps them positive. They only wished to live in peace and wanted to put the memory of the incidents behind them. This attitude of acceptance of suffering could probably be attributed the people's strong belief in the teachings of Christianity where Jesus Christ tells his followers that they will have to suffer for His sake.

Conclusion

It was a poignant moment when the data collectors shared that most of the women they met as respondents, expressed that for the first time since the conflict started, someone had chosen to focus on women and the problems they had faced during and after the violence. Merely the fact that someone took the time to speak with them brought a sense of relief, a realization that their stories mattered and so did they as human beings.

As has been seen throughout this study, women are the silent sufferers in situations of conflict and displacement. Whether it is the prosecution of crimes committed during the conflict situation or recommendations made for protection and compensation of victims, there is no specific mention of women's needs - women specific demands are subsumed within general demands.

It is ironical that on the one hand there have been impressive developments at the international level with various declarations, treaties and statutes denouncing all forms of gender based violence against women and declaring that 'Women's Rights are Human rights' while on the other hand this has had little effect on the occurrence of gender based violence which seems to have become synonymous with all contemporary conflict situations cutting across continent, country and community and where impunity is still the norm.

Therefore, it is high time that all governments, organizations and individuals made a comprehensive effort to ensure that women victims of violence during and after conflict receive full reparation. This means rehabilitation, including health care; the opportunity to tell their story in a dignified environment; compensation; restitution of lost homes, livelihood and property; guarantees that the crimes committed against them are not repeated; and forms of satisfaction such as restoration of their dignity and reputation and a public acknowledgement of the harm they have suffered.

In short, women's fundamental right to freedom from all forms of violence both in peacetime and during conflict has to be protected, respected and fulfilled by

the international community, governments, those in positions of influence, organizations and every member of civil society.

Table No. 2
Age of the Women

Sr. No.	Age	Frequency	Percent
1.	Below 25	52	14.65
2.	25 to 35	107	30.14
3.	35 to 45	82	23.10
4.	45 to 55	53	14.93
5.	55 to 65	46	12.96
6.	Above 65	15	4.23
	Total	355	100.0

Table No. 3
Marital status of the Women

Marital status	Frequency	Percent
Married	291	81.97
Unmarried	16	4.51
Widow	45	12.68
Separated	03	0.85
Total	355	100.0

Table No. 4
Religious Profile of the Women

Sr. No.	Religion	Frequency	Percent
1.	Hindu	05	1.41
2.	Christian	345	97.18
3.	No Response	05	1.41
	Total	355	100.0

Table No.6
Occupation of the Women

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Homemakers	183	51.5
Studying	4	1.1
Farming	11	3.1
Labourer	119	33.5
Leaf plate maker	13	3.7
Social Worker	8	2.3
Service	3	.8
Sweeper	1	.3
Pastor	1	.3
Business	2	.6
Teacher	4	1.1
Auxiliary Nurse & Midwife (ANM)	2	.6
Domestic work	1	.3
No response	3	.8
Total	355	100.0

Table No. 7

Women's Income

Income	Frequenc y	Percent
Upto500	43	12.1
501 to 1000	53	14.9
1001 to 2000	24	6.8
2001 to 3000	14	3.9
Above3000	10	2.8
5000	1	0.3
7000	1	0.3
14000	1	0.3
No Response	18	5.1
Not applicable	191	53.5
Total	355	100.0

Table No.8

Possession of Ration Card

Type of Ration Card	Frequenc y	Percent
White(APL)	34	9.6
Yellow(BPL)	228	64.2
Orange(Antodaya)	16	4.5
Do not have a Ration Card	67	18.9
Destroyed during violence	6	1.7
No Response	4	1.2
Total	355	100.0

Table No. 9
Possession of Voters ID Card

Voters ID Card	Frequenc y	Percent
Yes	313	88.2
No	41	11.5
No Response	1	.3
Total	355	100.0

Table No. 13
Perceptions of Women on Violence

Perceptions of women on violence	Agree	Disagree	No Response	Not Applicable
They (women) came from different clans/tribes/castes/regions	322 90.70%	19 5.35%	10 2.82%	4 1.13%
The perpetrators were punishing their husbands/husbands clans/tribes	115 32.39%	217 61.13%	15 4.23%	8 2.25%
They had refused to do what they were expected to do by perpetrators	177 49.86%	159 44.79%	16 4.51%	3 0.85%
They were seen as an easy target by perpetrators	181 50.99%	154 43.38%	16 4.51%	4 1.13%
They were exposed/not protected by anybody	220 61.97%	117 32.96%	13 3.66%	5 1.41%
Any other perceptions				
Hindus wanted to avenge the Swamiji's murder by killing all the Christians	17			
Faced violence from own villagers and others	11			
Christians should convert into Hinduism	6			
Fearful that violence will reoccur	5			
Christians should not live in the village	5			
	44	87	9	215

	12.39%	24.51%	2.54%	60.56%
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N=355, Multiple response

Table No. 14

Women's Responses when Violence Occurred

Responses when violence occurred	Frequency	Percentage
Fled away to the forest	334	94.08
Lodged a complaint with the police	109	30.70
Sought help from the neighbour	21	5.92
Any other responses		
Ran away to the Dispensary	1	
Ran away to the Field	1	
Ran to Relatives house	1	
Stayed in the village	5	
	8	2.25

N=355, Multiple response

Table No. 16

Number of Persons who have Migrated from their Villages

No. of persons who migrated	Frequency	Percentage
<i>No. of individual persons</i>		
None	145	40.84
One to three persons	36	10.14
Four to ten persons	18	5.07
Ten to Twenty persons	13	3.66
20 to 40 persons	6	1.69
<i>No. of Families</i>		
One to five families	58	16.33
Six to ten families	19	5.35
15 to 30 families	8	2.25
55 families	2	0.56

No response	50	14.08
Total	355	100.00

Table No. 17

Women's Perception of Current situation regarding the conflict

Current situation regarding the conflict	Frequency	Percentage
Hostilities/fighting has stopped and most people returned to their homes	198	55.77
They have returned to their villages to temporary homes but not to their own homes.	115	32.39
Situation is still tense and most people have not felt safe enough to return.	155	43.66
Some areas are safe and others are not.	102	28.73
The camps are safe but the villages is not	111	31.27
Any other		
<i>Hindu-Christian rift - Divisions between Hindus and Christians, Hindus jealous of Christians receiving aid, main Hindu leaders have been released from prison.</i>	5	
<i>Fear - that a riot can start again, that the RSS may create problems in the future, that anything may happen on the Swamiji's death anniversary, afraid to worship freely</i>	10	
<i>Strained relationships among villagers- threats from villagers, no talking to and lost faith in each other, no guarantee of peace in the village.</i>	13	
	28	7.88

N=355, multiple responses

Table No. 18

Assisting Women to Cope With/ Fight/Get Justice During and Post the Conflict

Agencies / Individuals Assisting Women	During the Conflict	Post Conflict
Law enforcement agents such as the police/courts of law/CRPF	73 24.75%	73 25.18%
Panchayat Members	10 3.39%	12 4.14%
In-laws/Relatives	16 5.42%	26 8.97%
Pastors/Priests/Nuns	73 5.42%	100 34.48%
Women networks	3 1.02%	8 2.76%
NGOs	89 30.17%	111 38.28%
Children's department	3 1.02%	1 0.34%
Other Women in the village	16 5.42%	6 2.07%
Men in the village	18 6.10%	12 4.14%
Others <i>During Conflict</i> - BDO, Christian leader and lawyer, persons from other villages, from Mumbai Baptist Church and Bangalore, Harijans and Ward members, <i>Post Conflict</i> - Lawyer, BDO, Collector, G. Udaigiri hospital, Mother Teresa mission, Harijans, neighbour.	13 13 6.10%	 9 3.10%

*Please note that for 'During the conflict' N= 295, multiple response as 34 people had not responded to question and for 26 women the question is not applicable

*Please note that for 'Post Conflict' N= 290, multiple response as 34 people had not responded to the question and for 31 women the question is not applicable

Annexure 2-Case Studies

Case Study No.1:

Name of the Village: Maudikutti (Patamaha), Taluka: K. Nuagaum; Dist: Kandhmal.

My house was partially damaged, assets looted and paddy, water pump and cycle was burnt. My cattle were taken away. We were cultivating our own land but all this was Hindu retaliation.

We know who attacked us- it was Hindus from our village. We had identified them and had gone to lodge a complaint but the police refused to take action. We had to go twice before the complaint was lodged but no one has been summoned yet.

On the day of the violence, we heard people shouting 'Jai Bajarangbali', 'Bharat Mata ki Jai' so we knew that it was Hindus mob. We fled to the forest where we stayed for three days. We were so shaken and scared that we spoke in whispers so no one could hear us. We had no food to eat so one night one villager went to the village at night, cooked

whatever rice he could find and came back to the forest. Since we had no plates, we took the rice in our hands and ate it.

We stayed in the relief camp for 3 months, where we were given the same food throughout. One of the villagers died of T.B. at the camp.

My family and the villagers live in constant fear. We are not able to think of the future, living one day at a time. The men are afraid to leave women alone in the village and go out to cities to work. We are angry at the perpetrators and the police who instead of protecting them stood and watched as our lives crumbled.

Case Study No. 2

Name of the Village: Badamaha, Taluka: Raikia; Dist: Kandhmal.

I have six children, out of which the eldest son has gone to Kerala, to work as a labourer. The violence snatched everything from us. Before that we lived quite comfortably with a steady source of income through farming on our own piece of land. We had cattle, farming tools and other essentials.

On the day of the violence, I along with the whole village, fled to forest upon hearing the news of Christians being killed and their houses being destroyed and burnt. We returned at night and spent the night in our houses. But the next morning, we were all worried and so along with the other villagers, I fled to the forest again taking some rice and cooked food with us.

Our houses were looted, destroyed and burned. We walked for two days sharing whatever food we had carried. The next day six gunmen (distant relation) came running after us and warned us to move from there. They told us that we would be killed if we were found near the village the next morning. So we immediately left for the Raikia camp where we stayed for nine months and then moved to Mundakia camp where we stayed for five months and then finally came back to our village where we started rebuilding our lives using the compensation money (Rs.30000/-, half damage).

I am still scared for my life and the lives of my family members. I do not go out alone and when night falls, I worry that something bad may happen.

I feel that the Hindus are doing this because they think we have (the Christians) killed their Swami. The Hindus tell us that Christianity is not an Indian religion and that we should all convert back to Hinduism.

But it is also written in the Bible that Christians will have to suffer one day for Jesus and this violence is exactly that. It is God's wish and if he wishes for us to suffer we will, when it is time, happier days will come. We have accepted their fate and are waiting for God to bring them better days.

Also after the violence a lot of young boys from our village have gone to Kerala and got jobs as labourers. We women did not face any verbal abuses or threats (specifically directed towards them).

We have a common well which is used by both Hindu and Christians. There have not been any problems related to us using water even after our return. Even shop keepers sell us things like before. We do face threats (convert or leave village) but no other violence. Since we have no source of income we are thinking of cultivating their land this year.

Case Study: 3

Name of the Village: Piserama, Taluka: Dadingia;Dist: Kandhmal

I faced many problems. Once during the period when we were at the relief camp, we to the tube well to bring water however the well was locked as by the Kuis who used the water of the tank well.

I also experienced a lot of anxiety when I was separated from my husband during the time when we were in the forest. Many people told me that he had been killed. But I did not believe that. I was also very hungry since I had not eaten for many days. So I returned home to cook some food. I then went back to the forest to look for my husband. Later I went to the relief camp and there I found her husband.

Life at the camp was tough because there were 5000 people staying with any facilities. In addition we were also scared about a possible bomb at their location as we had heard rumors of the same.

Case Study: 4

Name of the Village: Sindrigaon, Taluka: Balliguda;Dist: Kandhmal

I live along with my husband and mother and father in law. I have no children; I had earlier given birth to a still-born child.

My village is situated on the banks of river let which we have to cross in order to access health and other facilities. This is particularly a problem during time of sickness. Health services are available 5 Km away where the facilities are not satisfactory. Our place of worship was entirely damaged and so were our homes.

The conflict situation was a traumatic experience for me. My own husband was calling out to me and I refused to answer because I was full of fear that it could be someone from the other community.

During the time of conflict the Panchayat said that we would be protected and nothing would happen however the opposite was true.

There was an incident where an attempt was made to kill one of my neighbours (female, children). The person who attempted the murder was a person from the same village and another community. We was often threatened that if a men was seen he would be killed and the women in his family would be raped.

The perpetrators include ST, SCs, blacksmith, milkman Rgnasis. I lost her business of selling dry fish etc. and my husband is no longer appointed as the ration seller at the GP because the Hindus refused to buy.

Case Study: 5

Name of the Village: Sindrigaon, Taluka: Balliguda; Dist: Kandhmal

I am a widow with two adult sons who are married; we live in the village situated on the bank of the river which becomes a problem to cross in cases of an emergency. We family have a bicycle.

There was no violence against me or my family as we fled before the mob arrived.

However I am filled with fear and anger because the perpetrators inflicted harm on others in my extended family. I feel more fear when the Hindus have meetings. I am hurt about

the fact that the once cordial relationships that existed in my village are now broken and everything feels uncomfortable. I am also angry with our neighbors who could have protected us but didn't. I fear that the violence may recur. We have also lost opportunities to earn a livelihood. But I am a determined Christian and I will not change my religion under any cost as I have been a Christian for many years.

Case Study: 6

Name of the Village: Betikola, Taluka: G.Udaigiri; Dist: Kandhmal

After our house was destroyed, there was a meeting at which we were told "if you want to stay here become a Hindu. I said that we do not want anything but peace and we would not become Hindus.

Case Study: 7

Name of the Village: Rudagya, Taluka: Tikabali; Dist Kandhmal

I am married to a Hindu man and so we were threatened. I was told I could not live in my husband's village which comprised of a majority of Hindu families. I was told to leave the village or I would be killed.

Case Study: 8

Name of the Village: petapanga, Taluka: Phiringya; Dist: Kandhmal

I am a Hindu living in a village with a Hindu majority.

I was threatened by the perpetrators to be killed if I did not discontinue my association with Jana Vikas, a Christian organization. I was also forced to stop mingling and befriending Christians.

I conformed to all these demands because I feared for my life. I did feel sorry for what was happening to my Christian friends and sometimes felt that it would have been better for me to give up my life rather than the friends. Even now my interaction with this particular Christian friend is limited. But I have restarted working with Jana Vikas. All the perpetrators were people belonging to my caste and area.

Case Study: 9

Name of the Village: Petapanga; Taluka: Tikabali; Dist: Kandhmal

After the riots, my family shifted to Bhuvaneshwar. 25th August riots started in village. Eight people came to my village a midnight. We left and hid in garden. My house was located separately from other houses in the village. They burn all the furniture. I knew all the attackers personally by name. The attackers destroyed all the Catholic houses in my village before attacking my house. I went to inform Sarpanch and Ward Member (they are Hindus), they told me to go to Tikabali Relief Camp.

I am a Hindu but since we are economically better off, other Hindus were jealous of us and so they took this opportunity to destroy us.

Because of this tragedy, I was so depressed that I could not eat for four days. My grand daughters were with me. My husband was a farmer before riots. We have land records. We stayed for a week in the camp. From there we went to Bhuvaneshwar.

Now, I am staying on rent paying Rs.800/. We have a toilet and water in the house but no electricity in the house. Many of my relatives are Christians.

Villagers are not allowing me to come back to the village, my daughters are supporting me. Thrice I went to my village and each time I was threatened. .

Culprits are not cultivating my land because if they cultivate, I can lodge a case against them, because it is on my name.

Ten Christian families shifted to Bhuvaneshwar after riots. I lodged FIR against, but no enquiry was conducted. We were given Rs. 10000/- though the Orissa Government sanctioned Rs.50000/- . The authorities told us to build a house then only will we get the remaining money. There are no chances of going back to the village, and if we build the house, we are sure to be displaced.

We women are always thinking of future of our children. Previously some people from Kandamal district was staying there, so we found easy access to go and stay. Single women, widow or divorced women are in very bad condition. They are working as a slave in other houses.

Though we have to buy everything, we get the feeling that we do not belong to this community. Language is a problem, I only know Kui not even Oriya. All we want is peace in life and support to lead a life with dignity.

Case Study: 10

Name of the Village: Letingia; Taluka: K.Nuagaum; Dist: Kandhmal

The local Hindu and STs threaten us and tell us that they will re-instigate the riots.

Case Study: 11

Name of the Village: Muningia; Taluka: K.Nuagaum; Dist: Kandhmal

When we lived in the village, my younger daughter was studying. But now we are in Bhuvaneshwar and she is not studying.

Our house was totally destroyed. Culprits were all together 30 families traveling by auto. We have T.V. and V.C.R. and other goods with us. They destroyed everything even broke the auto. We stayed in the forest for a whole day.

From the forest we first went to Nuagaum camp. Culprits twisted my neck, when we were on our way from the jungle to the relief. They hit my sister -in-law when we are walking from the jungle to the camp. When we saw them, many ran away but I was not able to run away because of my old mother. The culprits only caught those who were not able to run. After one year my mother died because of the shock and trauma.

We were in the camp for one year and were threatened so we did not go back to the village but shifted to Bhuvaneshwar from the relief camp. We own land for cultivation in the village but cannot do anything about it.

I knew that a survey was going on, so I went to the village but the villagers did not allow me to add my name in survey.

Now we are staying in rented house Rs.600/- per month. We have water, electricity and toilet in rented house.

My elder daughter was raped, rapist was outsiders and villagers. She was engaged at that time and was married to the same person with whom she had been engaged. We did not get any compensation. My elder daughter who was raped is still suffering from chest pain. Doctor suggested operation which we are not able to do because of financial problem. I want to give priority to my daughter's treatment.

No action was taken against those who have raped my daughter. She was not provided any treatment in the hospital, because we don't want people to know about it. My husband knows about it. We have made a complaint of the rape incident. We did not meet these people after the incident.

Government sanctions the compensation but say if you construct house then only we will get the money. Somebody should help me to dialogue with Government Authority. Because of threats, I was not able to build the house.

Twelve families from the village shifted to cities like Bhubaneswar, M.P. and Zarsugnda

Before riots we were earning good labour and worked in our own land. Now we have no future. Sometimes we think we will take revenge. One day we will take revenge. We want to build one cottage in Bhubaneswar but we don't have money. I need support.

Case Study: 12

Name of the Village: Hatipada Sahi; Taluka: Raikia; Dist: Kandhmal

Before the riots started, we were in the house. The mob came and destroyed thirty five houses. They attacked our house first. There were more than 200 men in the mob. They were shouting slogans: 'Jai Shree Ram', 'Hindu Hindu Bhai Bhai'. First of all they pushed the door open. We had all run out and were behind the home, hiding in the bushes. The perpetrators collected all our precious things, made a pile of it, poured petrol on it and burn it. We watched all this, hidden in the bushes. We know all of them. They are from our own village. This incident took place at 11 p.m. While burning everything, they were calling us by our names- they wanted to kill us.

They destroyed another two houses of my neighbours. After that we went to forest. We were in the forest for 5 days. We kept changing our place of rest. We then learnt about the government relief camp so we went to Riakia camp. We were there for more than one year. We don't know exactly but there are chances of girls being trafficked, some agents had come to camp.

We lodged an FIR in Riakia police station. The police accepted the FIR and registered the case. They conducted an enquiry.

From the camp, we went to a new school building allotted as a temporary shelter by the BDO.

Compensation offered by Orissa Government is Rs. 50000/- to Rs.20000/- . We are not able to reconstruct the house because we are not able to prove that the plot of land is ours - we purchased it 40 years back from Khandahar. Sale Deed was there, we do not have the papers with us and they burnt it.

We produced two witnesses before the court. We had Government Lawyers. There are possibilities of getting justice. We gave witness against the Manoj Pradhan MLA, Dilu Mahanti (leader of riots) and other 26 members. They were planning to kill us, because

we have given witness against them. Outside the court they threatened us. They demarked our land and put a long flag on it. They threatened to kills us and rape me and my daughter. They said all this to the chairman of Rakia block. The current tahasildar of Raikia favors and suggested that we not bear witness. But all of us in the family, each and every member want to give evidence against the culprits.

We are staying in a rented house. Since they have threatened to kill us, we cannot go back to the village. They (the perpetrators) have said that they will kill us if we return. They say that even if they are put in jail, they will make sure that we are killed. All the violence has made my child depressed- she is behaving abnormal. We gave her psychiatric treatment. Fr. Divya is supporting us.

were families who were staying in the village; But even today, the rioters are conducting the meetings and so we cannot go back.

55000 Christians were affected by the riots. I am President of Nari Mohal Mahalla Samiti – Rakia, all the S.T. and S.C. women are there. This organization was registered in 1982. We, women feel more depressed, they did not do anything to us but the threats are always with us.

Case Study: 13

Name of the Village: Muningia; Taluka: Tikabali; Dist: Kandhmal

Police Patil stayed in other village which is 5 Km away from this village and so could not help. Before riots our house was in a very good condition. Compensation of Rs.20000/- is not enough for us to rebuild the house.

We are Christians for the last seven years. Untouchablity and no development in life are the reasons for our converting to Christianity. All those who became Christians in our area did so seven years back.

Case Study: 14

Name of the Village: Bapalomonti-B; Taluka: Tikabali; Dist: Kandhmal

My mother is Christian. I was living with my uncle and his family at Gadenegro. We were told to either go to camp or convert to Hinduism. My uncle refused and was not at home when the mob came. There were 25 people. They asked for my uncle. When they saw that he was not there, one of them bit my grandfather. They forced my grandparents to become Hindu. Then they saw me. They said 'we will take revenge for her uncle on her'. They lifted me and tied my mouth with a dupatta. One man had a sword and he told my grandparents that he would kill me if anyone shouted. They threw me under a tree, my lower back was fractured. Then they raped me. Four men... one after the other... for two hours... I became unconscious... they left me for dead...

I knew them- I used to call them uncle- Babula, Manoj, Ranga... four others came later and carried me back to my uncle's house. My grandparents died due to all the trauma. I tried to commit suicide many times. I am so depressed. My parents and brother, sister all love me so much, they are very unhappy when they see me like this. But when I go to the village, people asked me about the incident. I cannot forget it- I think of the way they raped me all the time. I feel I should not live.

Case Study: 15

Name of the Village: Riabhanja; Taluka: Tikabali; Dist: Kandhmal

We migrated to Bhuvaneshwar. We are living in a rented house for which we pay Rs. 800 per month. They are six of us in the family- my husband, me, my son and his three children. My daughter in law died of kidney failure.

During the violence my husband ran and climbed a tree. People came and threatened to cut down the tree telling him "we are cutting the tree, come down and convert into Hinduism". We refused- my husband was beaten. They pulled off my saree and threatened me (with rape). But we did not convert.

Case Study: 16

Name of the Village: Tiangia(Budedipada); Taluka: G.Udaigiri; Dist: Kandhmal

We all ran away to the forest on the 25th of August before the violence started. But by the 27th, the children were hungry and thirsty. So we came to the main road, hoping to get something for them. At that time the perpetrators were roaming around on the road and they saw us and caught all of us- my husband, two children and me. They took us to the nearby motho (temple). Then they tied up my husband's hand with rope. Then they twisted a cycle chain around his neck and dragged him, crawling to a field nearby. I ran behind them and so did my daughter. We hid in the forest and saw how they hit him with an axe and then tried to cut off his hands and legs. Then they stabbed him in the stomach with a knife. Then Manoj Pradhan took up the axe and cut my husband's neck. My daughter who is six now could not talk at all for many days after seeing all this. She was trembling and crying all the time because of the fear and shock.

I gave a complaint about my husband to BOD and in Police station. Then all the Police force, collectors, BOD, SP, OS, Sub-Inspector came. But they did not take any action immediately because of the strike and fear of perpetrators. After four days, they went to the spot where he murdered and they found that where the body was buried. They dug up the body and took it for the postmortem. Later my husband's body was buried in the Raikia cemetery by one of the priests.

I got a compensation of Rs Two Lakhs after two months. I deposited the money in the Raikia Youth Bank in the name of two daughters only to safe guard their future.

Now for the past one month I have been in Rajiv Nagar. I don't want to return back to my village, because I am still a target. That village people will kill me. I want to go somewhere else to earn a livelihood for the sake of my children.

Case Study: 17

Name of the Village: Budringia; Taluka: Raikia; Dist: Kandhmal

Before the violence, my husband Rasia Nayak had an accident by falling from his bike and injured both his hands and legs. Seeing that he had injuries, the villagers suspected him of being involved in the death of the swami and so they tried to search for him. But before they could come to our home, my brother came and gave us information that people were coming to kill him. So my husband ran away to the forest. After sometime the villagers came and asked for him, and I told them that he has gone for the medicine.

Later, all of us fled to the jungle because of the fear and to save their life. Then we went to the Relief Camp. Now we are in the Chandrashekharpur in Bhuvaneshwar.

Case Study: 18

Name of the Village: Dimriguda; Taluka: Phiringya; Dist: Kandhmal

Rioters thought that we were Christians so they destroyed our house.

Case Study: 19

Name of the Village: Kasinpadar; Taluka: Phiringya; Dist: Kandhmal

I was staying in Kasinpadar village from last one year, after her brother's death. I am helping my brother's wife and son. My house is in a nearby village where my husband and children stay. I often visit my home but most of the times I stay in my brother's house.

Case Study: 20

Name of the Village: Bakingia; Taluka: Raikia; Dist: Kandhmal

Here on 26th morning, the people came- their aim was to kill all the pastors and rape their women and girls. But a RSS who is good terms with pastor informed us before and so we fled to the forest for one night. Next day morning we went to village which is Christian dominated, called Gundhani, gar markia and stayed there for four days. After that we went to Raikia Camp.

We informed the police from the jungle itself but police kept on saying we are coming, we are coming but took their time and did not help us.

Case Study: 21

Name of the Village: Bakingia; Taluka: Raikia; Dist: Kandhmal

Before leaving for the jungle, I told the pastor (Samueed Nayak) to come to the jungle but he refused to go saying we will die, anyway. I left for the jungle. Later she heard pastor was be-headed. After I heard the news, I started getting headaches. I had no money, but some pastors helped us and took us to Cuttak for treatment.

Case Study: 22

Name of the Village: Dalabali; Taluka: Dadingia Beredakia; Dist: Kandhmal

I live with my husband and two children in Piserama. My daughter does not live with us as she is in a boarding school. We do not belong to Piserama -we were brought there by a pastor and his wife because they were ostracized in their village at Dalabali.

At Dalabali there were only four Christian families who were called by the majority and asked to convert, under pressure the other three families agreed while we did not agree, because of which we were ostracized even by the three Christian families. Our house was destroyed and we went to forest where one of our children felt sick. He had brain malaria therefore we had to go back home to prepare medicines to give the child (Ayurvedic medicines). Later my son recovered.

However after our stay at the Relief Camp we could not return to their village. We had to come to Piserama, here we feel secure, however the children (younger 2) were put in the neighborhood school but couldn't continue they were beaten by other children as they didn't belong to there. The eldest child (daughter was sent to boarding after a well known person identified her and approach me with the offer. However the teachers and the quality of education there is not up to the mark. The students are harassed by the Hindu teachers both male and female. The school through Government schools was run by Hindus.

Case Study: 23

Name of the Village: Pattamaha; Taluka: Balliguda/K.Nuagaum; Dist: Kandhmal

I am forty years old. Eleven perpetrators caught my husband and forced him to convert into Hindu. They told him: "Swamiji has died, so you also have to die'. If you want to live then you have to convert into Hindu otherwise you will die. To save himself he said yes, I will convert into Hindu. Then they left him and somehow he came back to our family.

Case Study: 24

Name of the Village: Tatamaha; Taluka: Raikia; Dist: Kandhmal

I am sixty year woman and I lost her husband. Before this violence my husband was fit. But when violence and conflict took place we left our house and ran away to the jungle. When we went to jungle, it was raining and so we suffered a lot more. We stayed in the jungle for three days in wet clothes with only water to drink. My husband saw the incidents of violence and so was deeply disturbed and afraid. The rains also affected him badly and he got fever. We somehow managed to reach Raikia Camp but the facilities in the camp were not good. There were a lot of sanitation problems- these affected my husband's health and he became serious. So I got him admitted in a hospital. After hospitalization doctor gave him a list of medicines, but I did not have money. The people in the relief camp wrote a letter to the BDO, got the money and brought medicines. My husband was in the hospital for one week. Still he was not ok. He did not like being in the hospital and used to force me to take him out from there. I told him, "You still have fever, after going from hospital you won't get medical facilities". But he insisted so I took him away the hospital and went to "Masedikia" relief camp. In camp he was taking medicines, which was given by the sister (in orders). He was happy to stay with all of us. But medicines couldn't affect positively and finally after two weeks he died in that camp.

Case Study: 25

Name of the Village: Tatamaha; Taluka: Raikia; Dist: Kandhmal

I am a sixty year woman and I lost my husband during violence. On the day of violence every one ran towards the forest to save their life. But we did not go to jungle. We hide ourselves in the turmeric farm. I have three daughters who are married and are staying with their husband. Only my husband and I were staying in this house. We spent 2 to 3 days in the turmeric farm, drinking only water and eating only 'chana' and 'biscuits'. My husband saw many violent incidents – people being killed, houses being burnt and other things. Because of this, he was afraid and mentally disturb. He got fever and diarrhoea. When other villagers found that both of them did not come to the camp, they came back to village to meet us. I went with them to the camp to meet others and when we returned we saw that my husband was dead. He did not live for more than fifteen days after the violence started.

Case Study: 26

Name of the Village: Tatamaha; Taluka: Raikia; Dist: Kandhmal

I am forty year old and I lost both my father-in-law and mother-in-law during violence. At the time of the riot everyone ran away in the forest. We also ran away in the forest and stayed for 3 day. There were seven of us, including my mother –in- law and father –in-law, both of who were more than sixty years old. It was raining heavily. We had only the clothes that we were wearing. My in-laws found it all very difficult. The stress, the running around to save our lives, the rain and not having sufficient food made them ill. After three days in the jungle, we reached the camp at Raikia. My mother –in –law was very ill. I wanted to get her admitted in a hospital. After being in the camp for one month, we were able to admit her in the hospital with the help of the BDO who provided free medicines and vehicle. But she died three days later, in the hospital. My father –in –law became seriously ill after hearing about her death. We could not take him to a hospital because we had no money. He too died after one month. We lost both my in-laws because of the mental trauma and sickness due to the violence.

Case Study: 27

Name of the Village: Musumaha; Taluka: G.Udaigiri; Dist: Kandhmal

When riots took place, I was six months pregnant and in that condition , I ran away to the forest and stayed there 3 to 4 days. By God's grace some villagers came from "shirki" and provided some food to us. We used this and finally reached 'G.Udaygiri camp'. After four months in the camp, I delivered a child in the hospital with the help of the Aganwadi workers who were voluntarily working in the camp. Everything was well and I came back to the camp with a healthy child. But there was not enough food, there were sanitation problems and the place did not have a good environment. We have a lot of rituals beliefs and taboos related to child birth but none of these were followed or practiced in the camp. The main reason of this was the fact that the camps were overcrowded. And no one really neglected me or my baby. Today, we are both well and surviving despite limited food.

Case Study: 28

Name of the Village: Musumaha; Taluka: G.Udaigiri; Dist: Kandhmal

I am a forty five year woman who lost my mother –in-law at the time of violence. At the time of the violence, my mother in law's age was over 70 years. She was not able to walk. So when the mob came, we had to leave her and run to the forest. The perpetrators found my aged mother in law and stuffed her mouth with 'chivda' in an attempt to choke her to death. They left her in that condition and went away. When we returned after three or four hours, we saw that she was in a lot of pain but was still alive. We helped remove the 'chivda' from her mouth and stayed with her for some time. But soon we got afraid and reluctantly left her alone and went back to the forest. I later learnt that all the injuries and trauma she faced caused her death. She died alone...

Case Study: 29

Name of the Village: Rudagyaa; Taluka: G.Udaigiri/B-Tikabali; Dist: Kandhmal

I am a sixty year woman and I lost my husband in the riots. My husband was about 70 years old at the time of the violence. We ran away in the jungle and it was raining. We spent 3 to 4 days in the forest in wet clothes as we had no dry clothes. We were prepared food only one day; the remaining days, we only had water to drink. My husband who had witnessed violent incidences was mentally disturbed and stressed. He was full of fear and thought we were going to die. He was also worried that we had lost everything that we had worked for and was anxious about how we would manage financially once we returned to our village. He became sick when we reached the relief camp and had terrible diarrhoea. We could not take him to the hospital immediately because of a lack of transport facilities. It took many hours to get a vehicle and take him to the hospital. In the hospital the situation was the same, he was unable to come out from trauma and slowly became worse. Finally after 15 days he died in the hospital.

Case Study: 30

Name of the Village: Rudagya; Taluka: G.Udaygiri/B-Tikabali; Dist: Kandhmal

I am a seventy year woman. I was beaten by perpetrators during the violence. At the time of the conflict, I was at my daughter's house. I heard that my village had been attacked and wanted to come back to see how my husband was. But my daughter refused to let me leave. After four or five days, I came to know that my husband was safe he in the relief camp. I wanted to go to my village and to know the condition of my house, and see if anything remains. So I went alone.

When I entered the village, I heard the sound of a bell and then some men and tried to kill me. One of the perpetrators slapped me and another one wanted to attack me. But then a CRPF member came and saved me. He took me to the camp and told me not to go alone anywhere next time.

Case Study: 31

Name of the Village: Talatamtingia Biraguda; Taluka: Phiringya Dist: Kandhmal

We were in the jungle for three to four days. Then the police told us about the relief camps so we went there. We stayed there for three months with more than 4000 people. The culprits were shouting slogans like “Hindu Hindu Bhai Bhai, Christain ko maar do”. They pushed and hit my old mother in law. We lost property worth 1.5 lakhs. We received many threats. One person from the neighbouring village told us, “if you are Christians, do not stay here. Better you leave.”

Case Study: 32

Name of the Village: Karndagada;; Taluka: Phiringya; Dist: Kandhmal

I lost my husband during the violence. He was the pastor and so was targeted. He was caught and killed on his way to Bhuvaneshwar. He was killed in Gandhi Market.

I have to bear all the expenses for my son and myself. I sell wood and dry mango seeds – this is my only source of income. I earn Rs.20/-per Kg. of dry mangoes.

I know of another woman who lost her husband. He was killed by two drunken men during the violence. He was attacked while he was running towards the forest.

But today, we have to bear all our expenses. We have not received any compensation from the Government and have been deprived of our rights. We are in a sad state.

Case Study: 33

Name of the Village: Nandgiri; Taluka:G. Udaigiri; Dist: Kandhmal

One of the women in our village was mentally affected by the trauma of the violence. Now, she has lost her senses.

Case Study: 34

Name of the Village: Nandgiri; Taluka: G.Udaigiri; Dist: Kandhmal

I lost my brother in this violence. When the village was attacked, five people were killed, one of whom was my brother.

They murdered my brother in front of our aged mother. The police refused to take any action for five days and we had to keep his body at home all those days. My mother has not recovered from the pain of seeing her son killed in front of her eyes.

I wish justice will be given to us some day.

Case Study: 35

Name of the Village: Hatipada(Lingaon Panchayat); Taluka: G. Udaigiri ; Dist: Kandhmal

In our village, there were only three Christian families. We were not aware that we were going to be attacked. We heard 500 people shouting slogan “Jai Shree Ram” etc. After hearing this, we ran to the forest.

The attackers killed our animals. They killed our lambs and spread their blood around our houses. We all lived in the market square – our houses were not located in remote areas and yet no one helped us. We had a lot of problems as my husband injured his leg.

Case Study: 36

Name of the Village: Dadingia(Puninago); Taluka: Raikia ; Dist: Kandhmal

I am an OBC- dalit Christian. The men in our families are not allowed to cultivate the land. The Hindus are in a majority (SC's & ST's -Hindu) in our area and they threaten us.

There was a lady in our village who had delivered her child on Aug.28, 2008. She fled with her new born to the forest. She suffered a lot and bore a lot of pain. She lived there for four days. There was nothing, no food, no water, no shelter. She was extremely scared of her life for her child. The neighbours helped her during the attack.

Case Study: 37

Name of the Village: Sindrigaon; Taluka: Balliguda ; Dist: Kandhmal

One of the male members of our house is a pastor and he was attacked. We faced many experiences that were threatening to life. But we do not want to talk about the violence

Case Study: 39

Name of the Village: Bagadi; Taluka: K.Nuagaum; Dist: Kandhmal

I am an 80 years old widow and I live with my youngest son. We live near the main road. Before the violence, we lived on the other side of the river that passes behind our current home.

When the mob came to broke into my house, I was alone. They told me to leave so that they could break it up. But I refused. They then poured kerosene on me and threatened to burn me alive if I did not leave. So I left. But I still feel as sad, depressed, upset and traumatized as I did two years back. I am sad that my home is no more. I have lost everything that I had worked for.

Case Study: 40

Name of the Village: Gunjibadi; Taluka: K.Nuagaum; Dist: Kandhmal

I am a 42 years SC Christian. My grand daughter was born while her family was at relief camp.

My husband passed away few days before violence. When the violence started, we (my family and I) escaped to the jungle where we stayed for two days without proper food, water and security. My daughter -in-law was pregnant but we did not have the money to take her to a place where she could avail medical help. When daughter -in-law experienced labour pains; she was taken to the health centre from the camp where she delivered a healthy baby girl. However the camp had no provision for hot or warm water, the needs of the new mother such as nutritious food, supplements etc. I have not received any compensation as I am not on Government list.

Case Study: 41

Name of the Village: Bagadi; Taluka: K.Nuagaumn; Dist: Kandhmal

I am 33 years old and am a BPL category ration card holder.

Before the riots we could farm on common land. Now the Hindus of the village don't let us farm. The children from our village can't go to school during the rains as the school is on the other side of the river.

My daughter aged 18, who is married and lives in Balliguda, was molested and threatened rape. The incident took place soon after the violence when she had gone to collect the rice at the Public Distribution System. We lodged a complaint with the police, giving details about perpetrators but no one was arrested. The FIR was at Sarangota Police Station

At the time of the violence, we moved to the forest. It was raining. There was not enough food. After spending a few days in the forest, we went to the Camp. Bad food in the camp led to diarrhea among many people.

Even today we are threatened – we should either leave this home or become a Hindu.

Case Study: 42

Name of the Village: Pirigada; Taluka: K.Nuagaum; Dist: Kandhmal

I am a 32 SC Christian who used to reside in Dharampur but am now based in Pirigoda. My home is a make shift tent and my husband has moved to Bhuvaneshwar after the violence. In Dharampur there were only five Christian families and hence the perpetrators came with axes and sticks etc. and told us to reconvert. All of us agreed but once the mob left, we all ran away to the city.

The Christians in the village were told to eat cow dung and urine to purify them. I refused but one person agreed to do so. Earlier one of my family members was working for Hindu families. But now Hindus don't employ us.

I feel that the people attacked me because I am the leader of a project at a local NGO. The compensation money for the home has not come through, as I was not on the Government list of beneficiaries/victims. Hence even when non government agencies come, they do not reach this place as we are not on any list.

Case Study: 43

Name of the Village: Borakia; Taluka: Balliguda; Dist: Kandhmal

I am a 47 year old woman whose son was illegally detained and taken away from home during the violence. He was blamed for causing the violence. During the time, we (my family and I) went to police station asking them to release him but Police did not listen. We also have two young daughters and we have been approached by the people to send our daughter to Bhuvaneshwar and Cuttak. All those who ask us are usually middle aged men, but we never send our girls.

Case Study: 44

Name of the Village: Borakia; Taluka: Balliguda; Dist: Kandhmal

I am a 55 year old woman. In my village, the violence was in the form of homes of Christians being destroyed. We people however ran away to the forest when the mob

came as they came with drums and we heard the drums beating before we saw the mob. All of us then went to camp from the forest, where the living facilities were not proper, men and women were kept separate which was difficult for married couples. There was no proper water supply. Even a woman who delivered at the camp was given supplement only for two days and then same food as the others.

I am still afraid. The people in my village say that in the next five years (there will be more violence till) only Hindus or Christians are left.

Case Study: 45

Name of the Village: Raikola; Taluka: G. Udaigiri; Dist: Kandhmal

I am an 18 years old girl. When the violence started I was in Std.10th, but had to leave my education because of the violence as the higher school is 3 Km. away and I need to pass the Hindu Colony to reach the school. In school we were threatened and teased so I quit the school and took six months course in Bible study. I have a younger sister who is 16 years old.

There is an old Hindu man in my village who tells us not to "come in front of his eyes". He keeps commenting on how we girls roam around so stylishly even after all the violence.

I knew that something would happen because we had heard of violence in other places as well. I saw my own classmates in the mob.

In the camp there was no place for girls to change. No place to sleep as 10-15 families were allotted one tent. Husband and wives used to have issues because people slept so close to each other that their bodies were touching each other. This was the case for the first two months until people moved away to cities.

The CRPF men used to tease girls and there was a problem of clothing, some people brought old clothes but they were not in good condition. And there were no undergarments, most of the clothes and kits were for women and younger children. There were not too many available for young girls like me.

We were not used to wearing sarees and we were given only sarees by the Government. Many CRPF personnel in the camp would give false promises of marriage to girls, get them pregnant, forced abortions etc. and left later.

I am now waiting to finish my education and that is what my sister also wishes to do. It would be good if someone could help us with that.

Case Study: 46

Name of the Village: Raikola; Taluka: G. Udaigiri; Dist: Kandhmal

I was two months pregnant when the violence broke out. When the mob came to my village, I had two small children (a three year old daughter and a seven year old son) as well as two older women, one who was unable to walk and one who was unable to see properly living with me. I first ran with the children to the forest and then came back for the older women. I was alone- my husband was in Kerala. I hid in the bushes and watched the mob set my home on fire. When they left, I tried to put out the fire. But I was all alone and could not save my home. My husband returned and we stayed in Udaigiri

camp for six months. Then in smaller camps for eight months. My baby was born in the camp. The Hindus did not allow us Christians to walk outside. There was no special food for pregnant woman like me; some nuns gave eggs bread, biscuits to everyone for 3 days. When I came back, I did not have any money. I went to a shop and ordered all that I needed. When the shopkeeper turned away, I took as much provision as I could and ran away. Without paying because I did not have any money.

Case Study: 47

Name of the Village: Padasahi; Taluka: Raikia; Dist: Kandhmal

When the violence started we all went home because we thought that we would be safe there. But when the mob tried to enter the house, we hid in the bathroom. The mob ransacked the house and then set fire to it. When the mob the left, the rest of us got out but before the youngest (10 years old) could escape a blast took place (possibly a cylinder) and she got badly burnt. Since there was a curfew we took her to the jungle where we stayed for 2 days. We had to cover her mouth with cloth to keep her from crying and to muffle the sounds of pain. Finally, her burns made her smell very bad and so we took her to the PHC. Later with the help of an individual from a Christian organization we took her to Bangalore for treatment. She has now recovered fully physically and studies in class 7th.

Case Study: 48

Name of the Village: Masedikia; Taluka: Raikia; Dist: Kandhmal

I am a 29 year old, Christian SC woman. My husband works with an NGO, and we belong to a middle class family. The biggest difficulty I faced dealt with the loss of status, and all my worldly belongings. I was not a direct victim of the violence but my aunt was who was 55 years old was raped and murdered by five young boys in the village of Gudrikia Chanchedi. This has affected me deeply.

When the violence started, my family went to the jungle, it was raining and I had only one set of clothes. I would wear wet undergarment one day and dry them one day. I had to shut my mouth by stuffing my kerchief into it to prevent my cries for being heard by all.

We then went to Raikia camp where there were around 5000 families. There was not enough water, which was especially an issue during the women's menstrual cycle. There were 7 to 8 families in one room with no means of separation of space between them (such as curtains etc.). Women found it hard to adjust as changing clothes and other habits are harder to perform in front of people as compared to men. I used to cry a lot, and had no one to talk too. My husband was to tell her to keep faith what has gone will come back tenfold.

After leaving the camp, we moved to Bhuvaneshwar for twelve months but now we are back in our village. Our home is half constructed. I want my children to have a safe future. But the fear is not gone. I still cry in fear when I hear from other Hindu villagers that there are secret meetings of Hindu villagers. They say that the next time they will

kill the people. They won't go about breaking or destroying the homes of Christians but they will kill the men and then go after the women or use women as a bait to kill their husbands.

Case Study: 49

Name of the Village: Pirigada; Taluka: K.Nuangaum; Dist: Kandhmal

I am a 23 years old single mother with two children; a three year old girl and a two year old boy. I live in a temporary make shift house with my father and two children. I am a daily labourer. My husband has remarried and I was at my father's village when the violence took place.

There were five Christian families in their village Dharampur. The Hindus asked all of us to reconvert. They came with sticks and axes and threatened me with rape, so I initially agree to convert but once the mob left I ran away to the camp with my children. In the camp there wasn't enough water or good food or even space to live.

My problem now is bringing up my children. I am single mother. Earlier I used to work for Hindus but now they did not employ us. And even if a Hindu family wants me to work for them, how can I work there? What if something happens? I feel too scared to go work in Hindu houses now. My grandfather's land is in Dharampura but I cannot use it and it is being used by others.

Case Study: 50

Name of the Village: Borikia; Taluka: Balliguda; Dist: Kandhmal

We fled to the forest when we heard about the violence. We stayed in the forest for four to five days and then went to the camp. We had difficulties in the camp because we did not have enough clothes or soap. There was only one well and all of us women had to share the water. Our clothes were burnt in the fire and so we had to use the clothes that we found lying around. We had no money.

Case Study: 51

Name of the Village: Letingia; Taluka: K.Nuangaum; Dist: Kandhmal

I was selected as a counselor member of Church and there were rumors that I helped plan the murder of Lakhnand. One man from Shakhigerda threatened me; he tries to follow me whenever I am alone. I have not made any police complaint because I am afraid that they may resort to violence again. Then people will feel that they face violence because of me.

Case Study: 52

Name of the Village: Mandasoru; Taluka: Riakia; Dist: Kandhmal

Even today when we see riots and the people who caused the riots, we feel scared. They are in our village. Even today they threaten us that they will kill us and break our house. We have registered a complaint against them, but the government takes action against them very slowly.

None of the ST perpetrators are arrested. We do not have faith in the Government; we do not think that we will get justice. All this can happen with us again any time. One lady was attacked by weapons. One girl was raped and they put petrol on her and then burnt her. She is still in hospital. One Catholic institution in Barampur is paying for her treatment.

Case Study: 53

Name of the Village: Barakhama; Taluka: Balliguda; Dist: Kandhmal

All the things disappeared from our house. Government did not give us another ration card. They (the perpetrators) were burning everything. I was shouting for help. I was crying. They threatened me and told me leave the place. R.S.S., B.J.P., Bajarang Dal and other Hindu people were with them.

Even after so many days we have not able to do any farming. They are saying that this land belongs to them. They are farming in our land. We have registered a complaint that people have encroached upon our land at Baliguda. The case is going on but no action has been taken by the court and police.

Case Study: 54

Name of the Village: Letingia; Taluka: K.Nuagaum; Dist: Kandhmal

My husband was hiding under the turmeric tree. From there he listened to everything that the perpetrators were saying. They were planning to catch us and kill us.. They have taken all the valuables, all our documents and also all the things from our shop.

Case Study: 55

Name of the Village: Barakhama; Taluka: Balliguda; Dist: Kandhmal

During the time of the violence, the rioters put the some poison in the well which was used by all the Christians families. So we could not use the water from it. Now also we are unable to use that well. A hand pump has been provided by the government to the people after the riots, so we are using the hand pump to get the water.

Case Study: 56

Name of the Village: Barakhama; Taluka: Balliguda; Dist: Kandhmal

After the violence, one of my daughters went to Indore with some of other girls in the village. I am not aware what exactly she did in Indore- it was some kind of training and my daughter returned home in March 2010 after completing the training.

Case Study: 57

Name of the Village: Kanjamendi; Taluka: Nuagaum; Dist: Kandhmal

In the relief camp where I stayed, there was one case when one of the pregnant mothers gave a birth to a child in the relief camp. But there was no proper medical facilities available and there was also non-availability of proper food. So the child died after few days.

Case Study: 58

Name of the Village: Petapanga(Korubali); Taluka: Raikia; Dist: Kandhmal

The rioters forced me to become Hindu by threatening me with death. So out of fear I converted into Hinduism. But after some time I started going to church and praying and have become Christian.

Case Study: 59

Name of the Village: Damba; Taluka: Raikia; Dist: Kandhmal

My son-in-law was killed during the violence in the Guntingia village (Tikabali). My daughter has six children (4 girls and 2 boys). She is staying in a rented house at G.Udaygiri. She works as a daily labourer and earns her living.

Case Study: 60

Name of the Village: Pinglangia; Taluka: Tikabali; Dist: Kandhmal

My brother-in-law was working in Mumbai. When he came to know about the riots he immediately returned to the village. After two days he went to the relief camp to get rice. There was one river that he had to cross. The river was in spate due to the rains and they were unable to cross it. So my brother -in -law and his friend decided to stay overnight in the village. Once the others in the village got to know about the presence of these two men, they held a meeting and threw the two of them out of the house where they had lodged. They tied ropes around the necks of my brother-in-law and his friend and dragged them to the river. They killed them using swords and threw their bloodied bodies into the river. The family in whose house my brother -in -law stayed left for Bhuvaneshwar immediately. They also refused to act as witness of the crime.

Case Study: 61

Name of the Village: Gunjibadi; Taluka: K.Nuagaum; Dist: Kandhmal

We faced a lot of problems in the camps. There was a bomb blast in the camp. Later, the police found a live bomb from the camp. There was no water and we women could not clean ourselves during menstruation due to this. There was no private place for changing clothes. There were also no toilet facilities for women. Women had to take bath together. One lady delivered her child under the tree but child died. Many misunderstanding and fights took place between husband and wife because there was no separate place allotted to women and men.

Case Study: 62

Name of the Village: Letingia; Taluka: K.Nuagaum, Dist: Kandhmal

During the violence in our village, a group of Hindus attempted to rape a Christian woman but one man from the Hindu group rescued her and also provided her shelter. There was a bomb blast in the camp. The police found a live bomb in our camp.

Case Study: 63

Name of the Village: Mandasoru; Taluka: Raikia; Dist: Kandhmal

We had been living there for several years as it was our ancestral land/property. We were driven out from that place. The culprits are not allowing us to live in our ancestral place. We cannot complain to the police. The villagers told the Tahsildar and B. D. O that it was their responsibility to make sure that we got a proper place to stay. They would not allow us to stay there.

Case Study: 64

Name of the Village: Raikiya; Taluka: Raikia; Dist: Kandhmal

We feel that these attacks were completely wrong. We would not oppose them (the perpetrators) because they have lots of power. We think that this attack was planned or targeted, not an accident – they aimed not only at beating us but at robbing us too.

Case Study: 65

Name of the Village: Pinglangia; Taluka: Raikia; Dist: Kandhmal

In our village, nearly 75 people were arrested by police. But when they were set free, they indulged in a lot of violence. They did not even allow our women to go pluck mangoes. When we women went to pluck the mangoes without listening to them, they abused us verbally.

Case Study: 66

Name of the Village: Mallickapada; Taluka: Tikabali; Dist: Kandhmal

Before the violence Hindus had a meeting with all the Christians families (total 240 families present in the village) and told us to convert in to Hinduism. We refused and hence we were attacked. Men from many families (around 125) are working outside in places like Kerala and Bhuvaneshwar and hence many women stay alone in the village.

Case Study: 67

Name of the Village: Petapanga; Taluka: Raikia; Dist: Kandhmal

My eldest brother was returning to his village to collect his children. He was stopped by some people who asked him if he was a Christian. When he said yes, they killed him. When we got his body, we found 27 stab wounds on it, all made by different weapons. There were also burns on his body. We learnt that they stabbed him and then dragged his body around before trying to burn it. No postmortem was done.

Case Study: 68

Name of the Village: Barakhama; Taluka: Balliguda; Dist: Kandhmal

I was at home and the mob came suddenly, without any warning. Many had arms and weapons, swords, guns, axes, dagger, sickle, Kerosene and petrol. I was unable to even try to protect myself. They threw away my children and beat my children, niece and beat me also. My husband was out, could not come to village as he could have been beaten. I was beaten- struck at 5 different places on head. I was senseless for 2 days and in a hospital in Phulbani. Fifteen days after I returned home, my stomach perforated. There was pus inside the stomach but we could not go to the hospital as a bus strike had been

organized by Hindu fundamentalist. When we finally got to the hospital, I was admitted for two or three days. Each day 2 liters of pus was drained from my stomach.

Case Study: 69

Name of the Village: Barakhama; Taluka: Balliguda; Dist: Kandhmal

When the violence started, all the women ran towards the forest. I could not run as I was pregnant. Also I had two children with me. Her children did not get any food in the forest so I gave them leaves of trees to eat. There was another pregnant woman with me. At the time of running she was suffering from a lot of pain. And she delivered a child in the forest but that new born baby could not be saved.

At the time of violence there were no camps. After spending some time in the forests, I went to a relief camp. I stayed there for one month. It was winter but I had to sleep on the ground, even though I was pregnant as the camp did not have enough blankets. Later, I was examined by the doctor and admitted in the medical camp and there I delivered a boy. There was no facility of a lady doctor. No nutritious food. Despite all this, we are alive.

Case Study: 70

Name of the Village: Brakhama; Taluka: Balliguda; Dist: Kandhmal

During the violence, the police arrested my husband – they gave no reasons, just arrested him. They shot my son when he was trying to run away to save his life. He was running away and still they shot him. I was a labourer before the riots- now I am unable to get any work. Another boy aged about 22 was also killed during the riots.

Case Study: 71

Name of the Village: Barakhama; Taluka: Balliguda; Dist: Kandhmal

We were in the forest for a few days without any food or water. There were no shops open where we could get any food and anyway we had no money. I had two children with me. My daughter was eight months pregnant. All the ladies in the forest helped us a lot. Later a very short spotted snake bit my daughter. We had to take her to the Balliguda hospital.

Case Study: 72

Name of the Village: Mandasoru; Taluka: Raikia; Dist: Kandhmal

During the violence, the perpetrators came to our village and asked my brother to reconvert to Hinduism. Then they gave him an axe and told him to cause damage to the Church. Somehow, my brother managed to escape from them without doing anything to the Church. A similar thing happen with me, they asked me to destroy the church and abused me because I was working in the convent. I told them, "You kill me but I will not do what you desire." After that we all fled to the forest.

Case Study: 73

Name of the Village: Breka; Taluka: Tikabali; Dist: Kandhmal

My husband, the pastor went to the church for prayer on Saturday, 23rd August 2008. The perpetrators caught him on his way back from the church. They hacked his body and burnt in the jungle. We could not go to the jungle to bring his body. I was so scared to go there; I was not sure what I would find. Finally, when we went there, we only found his spectacles, shirt and some belongings. But we did not get his body. And when we were in the jungle, they robbed my house and burnt it down. All this affected me and my daughter very badly. And in the relief camp, she got into a relationship and is now a mother. But she has not got married. This pains me a lot.

Case Study: 74

Name of the Village: Katingia(Chanceddi G.P.); Taluka: K.Nuagaum; Dist Kandhmal

The rest of the family ran to the jungle. But I remained at home because my old father-in-law was 72 years. When the attackers came, I locked the door from outside and hid in the turmeric field nearby and started praying for the safety of my father-in-law. There were 400 – 500 people in the mob, all shouting slogans like 'Jai Bajarang Bali' and 'Lakahmand Swami Amar Rahein'. They attacked our church first and then came to our house. I saw them break the lock and enter the house. They brought my father-in-law out of his room and laid him on the bed and kept the wooden door on him and lit the fire using a wooden rod. But the fire spread very slowly; hence he did not get burnt. The attackers left him to burn to death. When they left, we (other family members and I) immediately removed the burning wooden rod and door. But we were unable to get any food or medical help for two days. Later with the help of Rapid Action Force vehicles, we took my father –in - law to a missionary medical hospital. This trauma affected him very badly and after 20 days in hospital he died

In our scriptures we are taught that we will suffer for doing right and for being just but if we keep praying in Jesus' name, we will get heaven.

Case Study: 75

Name of the Village: Rudagya; Taluka: Tikabali; Dist: Kandhmal

We all fled to the forest before the violence started but we would come back to the village at around 6 a.m. to let our cattle out to graze and then go back to the forest. So the attackers came in the morning when we were attending to our cattle and so were spread out in the village. Since we were not together we could not help each other. Around 10 people and one woman were injured. A 45 years old from Sonjuguda was killed. Since he was a drunkard they called him to a lonely place and killed him. One woman from Sonjuguda village of Bandaguda G.P.(Tikabali) was cut into pieces when still alive. She died due to this. This was terrible.

Case Study: 76

Name of the Village: Rudabidingia; Taluka: G.Udaigiri; Dist: Kandhmal

The atmosphere during the riots was so horrific and scary that we cannot describe it in words. If every detail is narrated then it would take the form of a thick book (Granth). The villagers were dragged from their house and beaten like animals. Such incident has occurred thrice in my village.

We desire peace. Even among the Hindus there should be spirit of friendship. We have forgiven them; we only want peace. Whenever we are given the news of relief/help, other people feel jealous. When government prepared the list for compensation, most of our people were outside the village hence their names were not included in the list. Because of this they could not get any help/assistance.

We feel that the survey should be conducted once again so that people whose names were not in the list are able to get the necessary relief.

Case Study: 77

Name of the Village: Rudabidingia; Taluka: G.Udaigiri; Dist: Kandhmal

My father-in-law is member of Zilla Parishad, earlier he was Sarpanch. We had a shop which was burnt during the riots. So now it is difficult to make ends meet. Even today the villagers who had left the village have still not returned.

People change their statements in the court because of threats, "If you give our names then you will be burnt alive." Because of this the rioters were left off scot free.

Case Study:78

Name of the Village: Kanjamendi; Taluka: K.Nuagaum; Dist: Kandhmal

My mother was suffering from mumps (Galgund) but government did not provide any medical help to us. I and my younger sister fell when running in the forest. She has a huge wound under the ear. Our house was totally destroyed. But we have built it again. I am now working as a labourer. Our day to day food depends on the daily wages that we get. I hope to have a secured future and provide education to my siblings.