



Operation *Zarb-e-Azb*, IDPs, and the Life in Camps

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Abstract

This article focuses on internal displacement of the tribal people from North Waziristan Agency in the wake of military operation called *Zarb-e-Azb*. It takes Abraham Maslow's model of hierarchy of needs for analyzing the life of IDPs in camps. We argue that the institutions responsible for taking care of the camps tried their best to cope with the situation, nevertheless, keeping in view Maslow's model of hierarchy of needs, the IDPs faced difficulties to overcome their biological and psychological trauma.

Key words: Camp, IDPs, Terrorism, *Zarb-e-Azb*, North Waziristan.

Background: The War on Terrorism and Military Operations in the Tribal Borderland

Soon after the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the US and ISAF air forces began to bomb Afghanistan while, subsequently, also aiding the Northern Alliance to attack Taliban strong holds. Resultantly, Al Qaeda and Taliban fighters yielded on all fronts within weeks and began to flee. A large number of these fighters and their diehard followers managed to slip into the tribal areas of Pakistan after crossing the international border. Here, they kept hiding for several

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years before they started reorganizing gradually. As their organization gained strength, they began to encroach upon the local administrative authority. They appealed to the people in the name of Islam and in that of creating an Islamic *Shariah* system. Partly due to their growing power and their Islamic appeal, the local tribal people responded positively to them.

In 2002, the Pakistani Army started its military operation in South Waziristan Agency (SWA) against Nek Muhammad and his Ahmad Zai tribe for harboring foreign militants. Later in 2004, a peace deal was struck between the Pakistan Army and Nek Muhammad.¹ The deal, however, came apart with the killing of Nek Muhammad in a US drone attack. He was succeeded by Baitullah Mehsood, a tribal Mehsood. He assumed the command of the newly emerging Tehreek e Taliban Pakistan (TTP). So as to put an end to him and his movement, the Pakistani Army carried out a military operation against him and his tribe. Later on February 7, 2005, *Sararogha* Peace Agreement was posited in order to end the operation.² Mehsood and his tribe pledged in this agreement that they will abstain from attacks on government installation and movement across the Pak-Afghan border. However, in 2007, the armed forces started operation *Zalzala* against the Mehsood tribe because they were believed to have violated the agreement. Similarly, operation *Sirat-e-Mustaqeem* in Khyber agency and operation *Sher Dil* in Bajaur agency were conducted in June 2008 and in the month July of the same year respectively.³ In July 2007, operation Silence was conducted against the clerics and students of *Lal Masjid* Islamabad in response to their illegal activities and having challenged the writ of the government. This operation resulted in severe backlash.⁴ Protests and demonstrations began in various parts of Pakistan, especially along the tribal borderland. The Taliban manipulated the religiously charged situation and invited young students of *madrassas* to join their ranks. In what followed, the Taliban movement spread all over FATA, Swat, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Baluchistan, and Southern Punjab.⁵

On the other hand, the Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Muhammadi (TNSM) reorganized in the Swat valley with an armed mission against the state. Under the leadership of Sufi Muhammad and Mullah Fazlullah, it organized large rallies and promised the imposition of *Shariah*. In a short period of time, the TNSM spread

across the valley and started challenging the territorial authority of the government. For the sake of peace and security in the region, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (then NWFP) government made a compromise with them and allowed them to implement *Shariah* in the valley. However, the TNSM soon breached the deal and expanded its control on district Bunir.⁶ Mullah Fazlullah frequently used an FM channel to propagate TNSM's ideology and asked the local people for donations, later on becoming popular as Mullah Radio. Because of a failing judicial, administrative system, the people hoped that *Shariah*'s implementation might improve their condition. Thus, the Swat valley fell to TNSM who successfully installed their own justice system, administration, and policing based on their understanding.⁷ They targeted and killed or chased away many government officials, tribal leaders, and political figures. Those who stood up against them were either tortured or killed. They shutdown shops selling music and films on CDs and DVDs. Cable network was cut off and banned. Media persons also faced victimization. Several journalists were attacked and were forced to project a soft image of the TNSM. Moreover, girls' schools were targeted everywhere in the valley. A campaign was launched in 2009 against girls' schools on account of which more than 400 schools were destroyed.⁸ The worst of their actions was that they commanded every family to provide one of their male members for the movement and a girl to marry one of their fighters otherwise the family could be given severe punishment.⁹

The TNSM put together an armed wing and carried out several training camps. They attacked several police stations and killed more than 100 policemen. Their control in the area reached its peak when they publicly beheaded several government officials.¹⁰ As a result, people began to flee in thousands; around 300,000 people are reported to have left the area. On February 16, 2009, the government agreed on the *Nizam-e-Adal* (Justice System) in Malakand Division and Kohistan District of Hazara hoping that TNSM stalwarts would surrender arms and refrain from resorting to violence. However, the agreement was soon breached as they slipped into the districts of Bunir and Dir.¹¹ The government called on all parties and religious groups to meet in Islamabad wherein they unanimously endorsed a military action against the TNSM. Thus, the operation *Rah-e-Rast* (The Right Way) was launched on May 1, 2009. After the successful completion of the operation, the IDPs were allowed to return home

from July 13, 2009. The return was successfully completed in ten weeks.¹²

In 2008, an operation called *Sirate-Mustaqeem* (Righteous Path) was launched by the Pakistani Army against the sectarian conflict persisting between two armed groups namely *Lashkar-e-Islam* and its rival *Ansarul Islam* in the Khyber tribal agency.¹³ The *Lashkar-e-Islam* was foreign financed and involved in killings and kidnappings of many local innocent people.¹⁴ By the end of 2008, the Pakistani Army successfully quelled the conflict and established its control.¹⁵ A military operation in Bajaur started followed suit in August 2008. The Human Right Commission of Pakistan reported that around 700,000 people were displaced due to the operation and the resulting conflict, which was the largest displacement ever in Kahr, Mamund and Nawagai.¹⁶

Soon after the successful completion of operation *Rah-e-Raast*, another military operation *Rah-e-Nijat* (the Path to Salvation) was launched by the Pakistani Army against the Al-Qaeda, the TTP and their allies in South Waziristan Agency on June 19, 2009.¹⁷ This operation proved to be the most difficult one for the army. They targeted the TTP leader Baitullah Mehsood on three different occasions in 2004, 2005, and 2008, but he managed to escape. Later, he was killed in a US drone attack.¹⁸ By December 12, 2009, the Pakistani Army announced successful completion of the operation and restored the writ of the government in whole of the South Waziristan.¹⁹ Later in 2011, operation *Koh-e-Sufaid* (the White Mountain) was initiated in central and lower Kurram Agency with the objective to secure the Thall Parachinar road and to end the sectarian clashes between *Sunni* and *Shia* sectarian groups.

Although these various military operations weakened the TTP and other such problematic groups, they were not completely defeated. In 2009, Sri Lankan cricket team was attacked by the militants followed by an attack on the Pakistan Military General Head Quarters (GHQ) Rawalpindi.²⁰ Later in May 2011, the TTP attacked Mehran Naval Air Station, Karachi, Pakistan Navy's headquarter and Navy's Naval Air Arm installations.²¹

After these attacks on the GHQ and the Pakistan Navy headquarters, the government once again decided to fight against the TTP and all other militant groups. Thus, the operation *Zarb-e-*

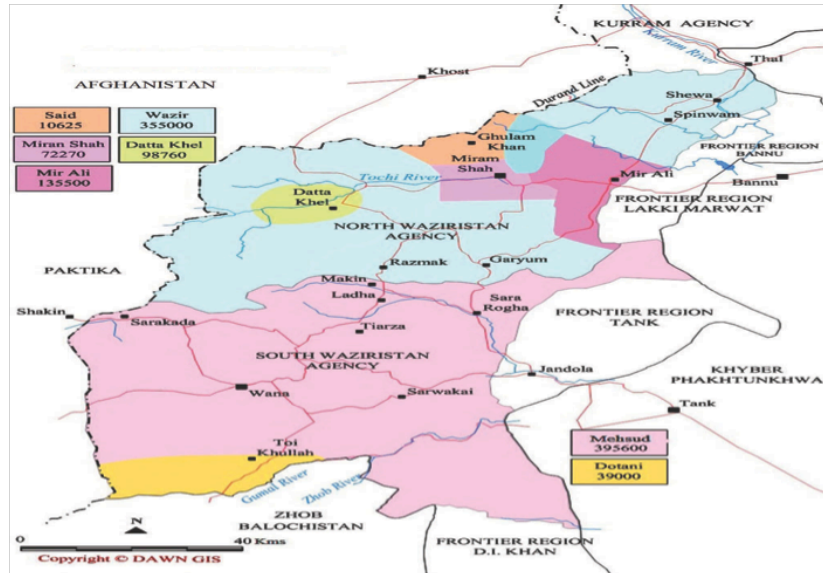
Azab was initiated in the North Waziristan Agency (NWA). On June 15 2014, this operation was launched²² with three objectives: evacuation of the local population from the NWA; elimination of terrorism; and restoration of government's writ.

The operation resulted in displacement of a big number of local tribal people. The neighbouring district Bannu received around 800 thousand Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). This displacement not only severely affected the IDPs but the host population of Bannu and local government offices as well. After their arrival in Bannu, many problems surfaced including the increase in prices of food, house rent, transport fares, utilities as well as crime incidents. On the other side, the government had not made preparations to take care of the large number of people displaced owing to which the IDPs had to face a lot of problems. According to an official estimate, around 450,000 individuals had lost their homes.²³ Interestingly, despite all these problems, the government made it compulsory that the IDPs would go through the enlistment process initiated by the National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA) in order to qualify for relief packages for which they had to wait in lines for hours for inspection. More than 40% amongst them could not get any relief package because either their records would be missing or they would have no identity papers. Similarly, neither the federal nor the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa governments was willing to take the responsibility of these displaced people.²⁴

The arrangements at the food distribution points were quite rough. Men, women and children, irrespective of their age, gender, status and education, had to line up to get food stuff for survival. At the Bannu Sport Complex where one of the major food distribution centres was established, an IDP complained to the author in a talk: "Who am I? What sin did I commit? Why am I compelled to beg here for food?" He further inquired as to why were they being crushed in the conflict between the militants and the government. He also lamented the fact that they were not even allowed to take shelter in their own provinces. It is unfortunate that these tribal people were deprived of their identity and the single term *mutasreen* (suffering people) replaced their entirety of their political identity within their own country.

North Waziristan: Geography and Demography

In order to properly posit a sketch of the displacement that took place in North Waziristan, it is imperative to give a brief description of its geography and demography. North Waziristan became a political agency in 1910. It is connected to Afghanistan in the west and to South Waziristan Agency in the south. On its north lies district Hangu and Kurram agency and parts of Afghanistan. In the east it is



Map 1. Tohid, Owais. "Waziristan: Towns, tribes, lands and population." 2014. *Dawn*.

connected to district Bannu.²⁵ Based on area, it was the second largest agency of the FATA. Geographically, it is a mountainous area having many valleys. Much of the terrain is rugged and rough. Tochi, Khaisora, Kurram and Kaitu are its main valleys. Climate of the area is cold and receives snow in some places during winter. In summer, it has mild hot weather. Only 4% of the total 4,707 km² area is cultivated. Most of the area has no proper roads and people travel on foot.²⁶

North Waziristan is divided into three subdivisions (Mirali, Razmak and Miranshah) and nine tehsils (Datta Khel, Dossali, Gharyum, Ghulam Khan, Mirali, Miranshah, Razmak, Shewa and Spinwam).²⁷ Miranshah is the major town of North Waziristan connecting it to Bannu and other regions. Its total population according to the census of 2017 is 543,254.²⁸

Historically speaking, Waziristan, which now include both North and South Waziristan, was part of the Mughal Empire. After them, Sikh rulers could only reach to the district of Bannu but did not enter Waziristan. In 1849, when the British took over the Punjab, North Waziristan was administered by Afghanistan. Later in 1894, British determined Waziristan's boundary with Afghanistan.²⁹ They divided Waziristan into two tribal agencies: North Waziristan Agency and South Waziristan Agency. Separate political agents were appointed for each tribal agency by the British authority. In the rough terrain of Waziristan, mountainous tribes gave a difficult time to the British Indian Army on numerous occasions. The 1919-1920 Afghanistan invasion of British India sparked revolt in Waziristan. Though the conflict between British India and Afghanistan was resolved through a peace deal, the tribesmen of the Waziristan gave a tough time to Imperial forces.³⁰ In the years to come, Britain decided to change her strategy in Waziristan. A permanent garrison was established in Razmak to maintain regular troops in the area. During 1921-1924, British worked on the construction of a road in the region, which led to another conflict.³¹ Similarly in 1925, Pink's War was carried out by the British Air Force.³² Conflicts between tribesmen and Britishers in the Waziristan lasted till 1939.³³

Wazir and Daur are the two major tribes living in North Waziristan.³⁴ Besides them, Malakshi Mehsud, Kharsins, Saidqi and Gurbaz live there too, but they are small tribes. Except Saidqi, who are considered as Syeds, all other tribes are Pashtun. They are believed to be the decedents of Ghurghust or Karlanri Pashtun tribes. Wazir tribe is further divided into three sections: Mamti Khel, Ibrahim Khel and Wali Khel. They control the hilly area of Kaitu valley, Khaisora, Sherathala Plain and some parts of Tochi valley and Kurram River. On the other hand, the Daur tribe has two subtribes: Upper Daur and Lower Daur. They live in the fertile lands of Tochi valley, Kharkamar and Khajuri. The Saidqi tribe live in Shawal, Zoi, Dande and Dawegar. The Kharsins live near the Durand line near Saidqi and Maddakhel Wazir. Kharsins are associated with Maddakhel and Borakhel Wazir. The Razmak area of the region is occupied by the Bahlol Zai Malakshai tribe—a section of Mehsud tribe surrounded by Torikhel and Borakhel Wazir. Mehsud and Wazir are cousins and have a common forefather.³⁵

In 1894, the Daurs invited British to enter the area to establish peace and protect them from the Wazirs. Upon their invitation the British entered and concluded several agreements with the tribes. They regulated land records and introduced revenue system in the tribal land. During the years 1935 and 1936, a disturbance happened in Bannu and Waziristan, when a *pir* (saint) Mirza Ali Khan, a Torikhel Wazir, married a Hindu girl. Khan was also known as Faqir of Ipi and his tribe remained at war with the British until 1947. Waziristan joined Pakistan after independence. It continued to be regulated under the Frontier Crimes Regulations, 1901, (FCR). On 27 May 2018, the 31st Amendment in the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan merged these tribal areas with the settled districts and the terms political agencies and *Ilaka Ghair* (outside territory) allegedly ceased to exist in the political discourse.³⁶

It is also worth mentioning that Wazir tribes live in a joint family system having a family house or separate houses surrounded by 3-to-5-meter mud or stonewalls called *Ket*. Daur tribes live near each other as well in small areas. Every village or *mohalla* or *khel* has its own mosque and a guesthouse called *Hujra*. Due to low literacy rate, lack of educational facilities, unrest in the area and less opportunities in agriculture and industries, a big number of young people go to other big cities of the country or to the Middle East.³⁷

Impacts of the operation Zarb e Azab

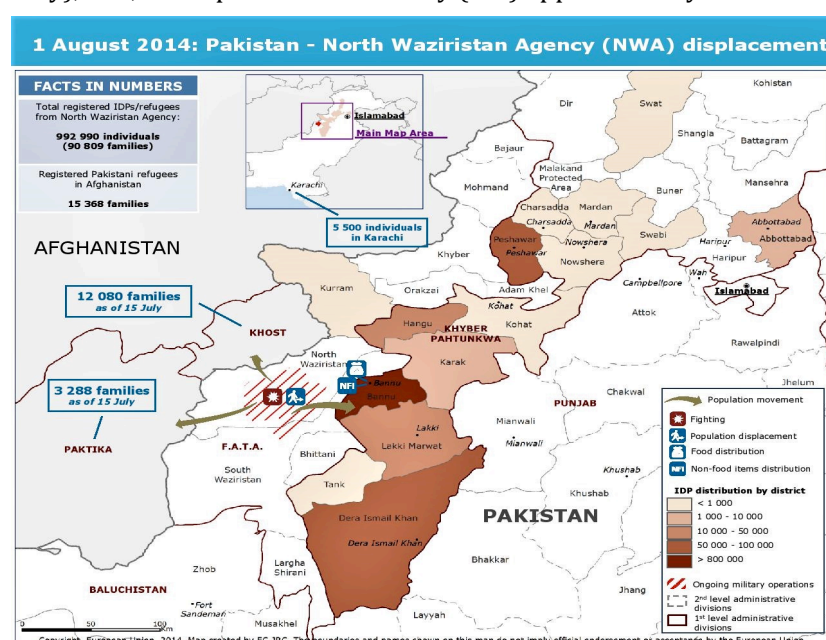
On the south of North Waziristan is located South Waziristan, which share boundaries with the Afghanistan province of Paktika. Paktika and Kandahar used to be the centre of the Taliban and other armed organizations. Whenever they faced operations in these provinces, they slipped back into Waziristan. There were 243 hidden illegal ways between North Waziristan and Afghanistan, while only five of them had checkpoints.³⁸ Shawal valley of North Waziristan is adjacent to the Afghanistan's Tora Bora and provided access across the border. The valley has remained notorious for criminal activities and minimal law enforcement.³⁹

On June 15, 2014, Pakistan Air Force (PAF) started bombing the hideouts of the Taliban in North Waziristan. Later the Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR) announced that Pakistan's armed forces had launched a large scale operation called *Zarb-e-Azb* "against local and foreign militants in the region."⁴⁰ The operation was conducted in

different parts of North Waziristan including Mirali, Miransha, Boya, Degan, Dattakhel, Ghulam Khan etc.

Before launching the operation, the government directed the local tribal people to evacuate the area for which only three days were given to them. Unfortunately, the government did not make arrangements for transportation or logistic support. In 3 days nearly one million people left the different areas and took shelter in Bannu, Lakki Marwat, Karak and Peshawar.⁴¹ According to the Ministry of States and Frontier Regions (SAFRON), 92,702 families consisting of 992,649 individuals were displaced.⁴² The Ministry said that the IDPs were residing in the following districts:

District Bannu (Almost 80%); District D.I. Khan (5%); District Lakki Marwat (6%); District Karak (1%); District Hangu (262 families only), and; other parts of the country (7%) approximately.



Map 2. "North Waziristan Agency (NWA) Displacement, Pakistan". 2014. *Reliefweb*.

In just 72 hours the people had to carry their children and their belongings to neighbouring safer places. Some people even had to travel bare foot in hot weather of June when the temperature is at its peak. Those who had their own vehicles rushed to leave with their families and left everything behind. Some travelled on the back of

their animals while others on the shoulders of their loved ones. Because a big number of men worked abroad, the burden of travel came down really hard on women, children and elders. Moreover, because women have little knowledge of towns outside as they usually take care of household activities, the burden of travel was usually troubling. On the routes, many check posts were established by the authorities to identify sneaking militants from the local tribal people. Therefore, everyone had to pass through a thorough inspection and had to show identity papers. But due to the evacuation taking place on such short notice it was evident that many would miss to bring their identity papers. On the other hand, many women in tribal areas do not have identity papers. This made their journey to safety more difficult. Apart from that the government had not put up shelters for the uprooted people. Although the government had setup a camp at Bakka Khel, the IDPs were scared to take shelter there as they were threatened by the armed groups.⁴³ This camp, however, provided shelter tents, water, food, medicine, security, electricity, and fodder for animals. The government also made a mosque and a children park. The camp nevertheless failed to attract the IDPs and only few families decided to live there.

Defining IDPs and TDPs:

Internally Displaced Persons are those people who leave their homes and cities due to any disaster, danger, or threat inside state territory.⁴⁴ Being compelled to escape their homes does not mean losing their homes and shelter; it is about losing their association with their families, losing access to income source and to the fields one cultivates for living. It is about losing access to work environment and to the individuals whom one would normally approach in times of hardship. When people had to leave their houses and cities due to any threat, they usually experience isolation and abuse.

According to the United Nations Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement 1998, Internally Displaced Persons are those people or groups of people who have been forced or obliged to leave their home or residence, as a result of or to avoid the effects of an armed conflict, generalized violence, human rights violation or any natural or manmade disaster, within the internationally recognized state borders.⁴⁵ According to the UN Human Rights office of the high

commissioner, IDPs do not have any special status as refugees in International Law. Unlike refugees, IDPs remain inside the state borders and their government is still legally responsible for their wellbeing and shelter.⁴⁶ UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) describes two major characteristics of internal displacement: first, that it's coercive in nature, and, second, the fact that IDPs do not cross state border.⁴⁷ Therefore, displacement resulting due to force or threat within state boundaries can be considered as internal displacement.

Displacement from the North Waziristan was due to military operation in the region. The local people were given time and ultimatum to leave the area before the beginning of the operation. As discussed above, Operation Zarb e Azab was a military operation against militants in the region not against the local population. Local people were provided safe passage and were given shelter and rations by the government of Pakistan with the help of international organizations. Therefore, displaced persons from the North Waziristan were called Temporarily Displaced Persons (TDPs) instead of IDPs. Tasnim Aslam, the then spokesperson of foreign office clarified that the term IDPs was a legal term used for displaced persons displaced due to a conflict. IDPs from FATA have not been displaced due to any conflict, war, or occupation of their area. Military operation has been started against the militants in the region, not against the local population. The prime motive behind the operation was said to be the dismantlement of militancy and terrorism in the area and the reestablishment of the writ of the government.⁴⁸

IDPs mostly do not look for asylum in camps and get shelter with receiving families and groups. Some might move to urban areas where they mix with the host population. Having fled their homes and left all their belongings and associations behind, they frequently have needs which can be difficult to fulfil and can become a huge challenge for the state institutes and humanitarian groups. Efforts to help IDPs are oftentimes hampered by unpreparedness of concerned institutes and political disagreements. Moreover, in the areas of active conflicts, access to IDPs can be extremely difficult. IDPs and their needs are controlled by state agencies and institutions, unwilling to permit free access for humanitarian associations. Similarly, instability, fear, and disbelief amongst state institutes

might create more difficulties while responding to the needs of people affected by a conflict or a natural disaster.

State has on its shoulders the essential responsibility to react and accommodate people displaced inside its territories. Be that as it may, if it cannot accommodate them or is unwilling to help, then it must permit philanthropic groups to provide essential goods and services i.e., food, clean water, health services and shelter to the people in need.⁴⁹ Support from governmental and non-governmental institutes is essential as needs of IDPs may not necessarily be few and simple. Usually, they are in dire need of being taken care of and provided for. With training, education and jobs, it is also important to do their proper registration and documentation, which will allow them to proclaim certain privileges and benefits.

Appraising Life in the Camp: Basic Needs and Politics

Let us now appraise the kind of life that the IDPs of NWA had to live in camps at Bannu. To do so, I want to employ a theoretical framework involving Abraham H. Maslow's model of hierarchy of needs in different standards of life. According to Maslow, we see at least five different life levels. These levels depend on the kind of situation of certain human needs. According to him, satisfaction of these needs, is essential for human development and motivation. His hierarchy advocates for satisfaction of lower needs before going for those higher in rank. His model contains physiological, safety, love and belonging, esteem, and self-actualization needs from bottom to top.⁵⁰



Fig 1. Abraham H. Maslow's model of hierarchy of needs

1. PHYSIOLOGICAL NEEDS

This theory believes that the first and foremost need of an individual is the satisfaction of psychological needs. These needs are essential for human existence, e.g. food, water, air, shelter, clothing, sleep, warmth, sex. For realization of a person's full potential, these needs

must be satisfied first. These are the most important needs of a person according to Maslow. In the case of NWA IDPs, people suffered in most of the aforementioned areas. Due to lack of space in Bannu and its own huge population, the situation became difficult to handle for the government after the migration of IDPs to Bannu. The facilities were the same, but the population doubled; the hospitals, doctors, pharmacies, general stores, bus stations and houses were the same, but people were numerous. A camp was established in Baka Khel Bannu but people hesitated to take shelter there since they had been threatened by the Taliban to stay away from government facilities. Similarly, capacity of the camp was not adequate to accommodate a million people. It is also important to mention that the influx of the displacement from North Waziristan was so sudden that government institutions were unable to cope with the situation. Many of them took shelter inside the host community while several inside the school buildings. Fortunately, there were summer vacations and schools were empty. According to an estimate, a part of those people were accommodated inside 1400 schools.⁵¹

Government aided the displaced people in terms of house rent, but due to the arrival of IDPs in Bannu and other areas, the prices of land and rents went high and the assistance of Rs. 3000 per month in terms of rent provided by the government was very low to rent a suitable place for a family. "I have rented a three-room house for Rs. 5,000 per month and sent a portion of the relatives to Rawalpindi where we have leased a place of the same size at Rs. 8,000 per month rent" said Gul who has a family of more than 100 people.⁵²



Fig 2. A Shelter House on the Link Road, Bannu, made of bamboos and bushes. Bannu, Pakistan. Photo by author.

Furthermore, people who were displaced had brought nothing with them. They faced shelter and security problems on one hand and shortage of life substances on the other. Zar Laiq Wazir of Anghar Kale of Babar Sari, NWA maintained that their five families of 30 individuals were living in a place of five rooms. He added that they were paying Rs. 30,000 rent per month to the owner of the house, knowing the fact that their business had been ruined because of the military operation.

After getting sanctuary and shelter, people searched for food, water, cloths, and rest. This huge displacement put immense pressure on the markets and grocery shops. Those who could not afford to buy food items had to rely on government assistance. There was a lack of food, water, medicine and different necessities at the temporary houses and tent towns.⁵³ People were in a hurry to get back home, but they had been limited to tents without adequate facilities and ration.⁵⁴ Pir Kalay was a tent town set up for the displaced people on Mirali-Miranshah Road in which more than 30,000 individuals were living in the tents. They had no proper arrangements for food, water sanitation and other needs. Numerous others complained about the absence of facilities at Baran Camp in Baka Khel. This was also one of the reasons why only a small number of families decided to live in the IDP camps.

2. SAFETY NEEDS

Once the psychological needs are satisfied, individuals need safety and security e.g., law and order, control, social welfare, freedom from fear, social and economic stability, and wellbeing. Hardships test the un-ried faculties of individuals, yet they become sufferings when people are forced to leave their homes and belongings against their will. The hardships of road trip to the mountains are obviously incomparable with the agony of IDPs who may be bare foot, carrying their family burdens on their backs, thinking of their lives and dignities with uncertain circumstances, future and destination. And if the administration has no adequate resources and arrangements, the displaced population is then bound to suffer more. IDPs from the North Waziristan used to live in large families as discussed above, but after the displacement, families were broken and resided in different places. Large houses, as they used to live in, were rare to find in Bannu and other areas. They lived together in large families because they found themselves more secure and protected by so

doing, and this is how their mundane needs were fulfilled. Very few of them had jobs and businesses and the rest stay would at home. This displacement not only divided those large families but also ruined their small businesses. This division made them financially as well as emotionally unstable. Many of them who lived in the mountains were unaware of the norms and traditions of settled areas like Bannu and Peshawar which is why they felt insecure residing in an area that they had very little knowledge about. There was no source of income for them, and they had to rely on government and other humanitarian agencies' assistance.

On the security side, the police and other security agencies had the same strength while the number of people doubled in the area. The people who migrated to Bannu had not enough knowledge about the obedience of laws and regulations. Most of them had little understanding of the laws and regulations of the settled areas as they resided in tribal agencies, creating unintentional problems and issues for the security agencies and district administrations. It was also witnessed that the IDPs who had enmity in their regions were now trying to take their revenges in Bannu.

3. BELONGINGNESS AND LOVE NEEDS

The third need in a hierarchy is the need of social belongingness. According to Maslow, interpersonal relationships like friendship, trust, love, intimacy, and affection motivates individual behaviors. Social belongingness creates the feeling of being part of a family or a group. If we study the case of North Waziristan's displaced community, we realize that those people did/could not merge with the host communities, and although they were welcomed and received well by the host population, but due to their own family setup, traditions, and dialect, they considered themselves different. The same understanding loomed large in the host communities who considered these people as having come from an unorganized *Elage Gher*. During their stay in district Bannu, they remained in touch with their families and tribes and were able to meet them in times of need and festivals. Some had made strong bindings with the host population while few even created new ties with other families from their region and host areas. Their life was not easy in Bannu, but they had no other choice. Their friendship with the hosts were either because of gratitude or to get security and safety of the host families.

4. ESTEEM NEEDS

The fourth level i.e. esteem needs, is divided into two categories: self-esteem which includes dignity, independence and achievement; and the desire for reputation. Maslow believes that status or reputation in children leads to dignity and real self-esteem. Waziristan's people migrated to other places leaving everything behind as there was no time to transport their household items to safe places. Their prime focus was to leave the conflict zone as soon as possible. As discussed, they had to go under several check points where they needed to prove that they were indeed Pakistanis. Lack of identity papers meant they would not get any kind of help from the government and humanitarian agencies. A large number of women lacked identity papers due to which they were unable to get the IDPs card and assistance.

Women in the Pashtun tribal society are dealt with their own customs. They usually stay at home and are not included in any kind of business without. Women represent the idea of honor for the men in tribal areas of Pakistan. At the beginning of this great immigration, there was no separate enlistment office or checking facility for women migrating from the NWA.

Furthermore, people who migrated had brought nothing with them; they had no tents, beds or other household items. Most of the IDPs families were limited to reside in one room houses, or *Hujra*, where they would live like a *Hamsiya* (among the Pashtun dominated areas a *hamsiya* is a term used for a person who lives on the property of a *Malak* or has taken shelter or refuge of a strong person) with little privacy. Hujras or guest houses of the host communities by and large kept them insecure about their life's prestige and status. People otherwise known as *Malaks* became *hamsiyas*. Their status became that of *Mutasreen*. They had their own names, family names, tribes and status, but in the host communities' people invented a single term for all of them i.e. "*Mutasreen*".

5. SELF-ACTUALIZATION NEEDS

To become the best version of one's own self, one needs self-actualization. It is the highest level in the hierarchy of needs which can bring out the best in a person. Self-actualization is the potential through which a person seeks growth and self-fulfillment. It is the stage of accomplishments. After the arrival of North Waziristan IDPs

to Bannu, many of them took shelter in houses of their friends and relatives. Some took refuge in school buildings while others went to different camps, tent towns established by government and humanitarian agencies. Their life was turned upside down. They had lost their family connections, friends, businesses and works and had no security and/or privacy. They were considered as less aware, less disciplined, and less educated people. These were the very people who would otherwise fight for their lives, identity and their own land. The level of self-actualization was dubious. There were little possibilities that someone had reached this level as most of them were fighting for their essential psychological needs. As this theory suggests, if the psychological needs are not satisfied, one cannot function optimally.

Conclusion:

Displacement gives rise to many problems not only for those who become its direct victim, but also for those who adjust them in their houses and look after them. Involuntary displacement especially during war times causes more troubles for the vulnerable sections of the population. Ideally all internally displaced persons who are nationals of the state should be treated on equal basis. Their rights should be respected and protected.

Displacement from NWA was quite problematic and painful. It was distressful for the people as they were given only 3 days to leave their homes and shift their belongings to other far away places. There was no provision of means of transportation to them. After all the troubles when they reached check-points they were searched and were asked for identification proofs. During this short notice of evacuation any person could have forgotten his/her identification papers. There should be some other mechanism to differentiate between ordinary people and militants among them than the search and wait policy. Some of the IDPs also faced severe shortages of food, and shelter while at the camps. If we take Maslow's model of hierarchy of needs to analyse the life of IDPs at the camps then we come to know that the first two stages that require basic biological and safety needs were not fulfilled as needed.

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