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MAKE IT POSSIBLE

Peoples experiences of security and Justice

A Reality Check Approach Report

Spring 2015

Acknowledgements

The Reality Check Approach study represents the cumulative work of numerous and diverse people. The Reality Check Approach (RCA) was first developed as an initiative of the Swedish Embassy in Bangladesh and was first commissioned in 2007. This RCA study was carried out as a contribution to the mixed methods approach to monitoring, evaluation and learning commissioned by DFID Nepal to complement monitoring and evaluation of the Integrated Programme for Strengthening Security and Justice.

The study was undertaken by a team of Nepali and International researchers. The considerable physical, emotional and intellectual efforts contributed by this team were essential to the success of this study. These efforts are greatly appreciated and acknowledged.

Most importantly, this study was only possible thanks to the many families who opened their homes and community to the study team. We thank these families for contributing their valuable time and allowing the team members to live with them and share their everyday experiences.

Note:

This report presents findings based on information collected in February, 2015 and was analysed in March 2015. As this was prior to the April 2015 earthquake, the text does not reference or engage with the earthquake or any potential impact it may have had on HHH and their surrounding communities.

Executive Summary

This Reality Check Approach (RCA) Study was commissioned by DFID as part of the Monitoring Evaluation and Learning (MEL) component supporting the Integrated Programme for Strengthening Security and Justice in Nepal. The programme aims to i. change social barriers that impede access to justice, ii. increase engagement among communities and security and justice institutions for better prevention of crime and insecurity and iii. Improve response to criminal violence through higher capabilities and performance of security and justice institutions. This baseline RCA study represents the first of a series of data collection processes for the MEL.

The RCA study was designed to find out how people experience and understand security and justice, with particular reference to poor and marginalised groups. It responds to the gap in knowledge on how people experience violence and insecurity on a daily basis, seeks insights into people's perspectives of 'violence' and 'crime' and into access and experience of systems of justice. The study involved in-depth engagement with future intended beneficiaries of the programme so that their perspectives can help shape the design of the programme theory of change (ToC) and baseline data collection. Subsequent RCA studies planned for 2016 and 2018 will provide insights to help interpret subsequent data collection effort to test and validate the programmatic ToC.

The Reality Check Approach is an internationally–recognised form of qualitative research that requires the study team to live with people living in poverty in their own homes for periods of time and use this opportunity for informal conversations with all members of the household and their neighbours as well as frontline service providers with whom they interact. The emphasis on informality in people's own spaces enables the best possible conditions for openness and for the team to triangulate the conversations with first-hand experience and observations.

This RCA study was undertaken in January and February, 2015 in four of the SJ4P programme 'multi-investment' districts (Achham, Kapilvastu, Dhanusha and Morang). A scoping/pilot study was also carried out in advance of the main study in Banke district. These locations are mostly situated in the Terai area which is regarded as an area of rising political tension and insecurity. Two further locations were selected in Achham (Far West hills) to represent the hill districts. The eight study locations (two per district) purposely included areas with geographic, social and ethnic diversity. These included communities near the Indian border, communities in the foothills and the hills. A total of twenty four households (three per community) were selected by the research team with the help of the community to ensure that they were among the least well-off in the community. In addition to the households where study team members stayed, the team had intensive interactions with neighbours and other households as well as local service providers in the community. The views of more than 900 people were included in the study.

This report starts with providing context for the findings and structures the findings in the following themes i. people's perceptions and experience of insecurity, ii. their ways to deal with insecurity, iii. their view and interaction with police and justice providers, with specific attention to providers targeted by IP-SSJ interventions.

Economically, remittances from migrant workers are the main source of cash income in all the study areas while the families remaining at home continue to farm mostly for their own consumption. Some households sell surplus produce but mostly on a very small scale within their village. Migrant workers are mostly men and those from the Terai areas predominantly work in Gulf countries while those from the hills mostly work in India and Kathmandu. The former are connected to their work opportunities by manpower agencies while those in the hills are often continuing a long tradition of migrant work organised through personal and community networks.

No tensions, prejudice or disrespect was apparent in any location between Muslims and Hindus. On the contrary people talked about '*all being brothers'* and *'we are all the same poor people'*. Concerns were only expressed to our team in terms of unwillingness to give offence around norms of custom and were not manifestations of prejudice. There was no discernible difference in economic status or asset ownership between Muslim and Hindu families. There were, however, often deep resentments and prejudice expressed between the hill people and those from the Terai with the former regarding themselves as superior and Terai people resenting this domination.

People indicated that their current development priorities centre on livelihoods and access to education as a means, primarily of availing better migrant work. Other priorities included water and road access. In Achham, people often also noted the problem of high alcohol consumption and in Dhanusha issues around marriage and dowry persist and are a main concern. Although these latter two concerns may have security implications, safety and security per se was not ever mentioned in these or in the other study locations as a priority concern.

People mostly indicated that they felt safe and lived in safe communities and all said that the situation was much better than before. They compared the current situation with earlier times such as the insurgency period which they felt was one of high insecurity and fear and, more recently, to cross border armed banditry which has since declined. The traumas experienced from the insurgency period are still raw in some locations and in some places perpetuates, at least an initial fear of unknown outsiders. At first the study team was concerned that the universal claim that communities were safe was an effort to portray their communities in a positive light. However, further exploration and observation over the period of staying with them indicated that they genuinely experience low levels of crime and violence.

Migration for work was often viewed as a positive influence in relation to feelings of insecurity, Young unemployed idle men were blamed for much of the alcohol fuelled petty crime and abuse of the past. Their absence has led to less of these kinds of problems and during their short home visits relations remain good. In addition, the increase in cash incomes has, according to people, reduced the motivation for theft. Migration for work was also discussed in terms of additional concerns. For example, many families left behind comprise only elderly, women and children and people said this has led to an increased sense of vulnerability. The increase in dog ownership testifies to this. As well as this increased sense of insecurity some women shared that they felt they had become more isolated in the community and the quality of their relationship with their in-laws was sometimes compromised by the absence of their husbands' intermediation. Furthermore, men and women talked about the strains resulting from long term separation and the increase in extra marital affairs on both sides and resultant increasing divorce rates.

Conversations around safety in the hills generally centred around concerns with wild animals and precipitous and dangerous trails whereas in the Terai the concerns were mostly linked to floods. Crime was not a major concern in any area and the study team had to actively probe these topics. Even then, the concerns discussed were mostly considered minor and related to petty theft or livestock theft. There was little knowledge of anyone ever experiencing trafficking and this was consequently not a concern. Helping themselves to the crops of others while acknowledged as potentially leading to disputes was not regarded as a crime. In the border areas, cross border small scale smuggling of mostly household consumables was not regarded as a problem and police harassment for both legal and illegal trade of this kind is complained about. Beatings and fighting are common occurrences and also not viewed as a crime. Women and girls mostly felt they had freedom of movement and girls confirmed they often walk and bike alone. Many indicated that even at night they were not afraid to go out although there were some exceptions to this.

Alcohol consumption is blamed for unruly behaviour and anti-social activities. Alcohol was readily available in all the study locations though consumption was low in Morang. Most small communities of 50-100 households have

at least 5-8 kiosks selling alcohol as well as trade of locally made alcohol from peoples' homes. Men are the main drinkers but we also were aware of women who drink, sometimes to excess. The police in the Achham study locations also drank heavily and people were concerned about them verbally abusing young women. In the border areas Indian police, sometimes still in uniform, regularly came across the border to drink alcohol. The increase in alcohol consumption at festivals and social events was highlighted by people as a time when they might feel less secure.

Land disputes had been a major problem in the past but these are less now since proper registration has been completed but nevertheless disputes are frequent around land boundaries and especially after flood damage. The relatively small scale nature of these disputes and the recognition that the community knows the context, families and history best means that people prefer to resolve these disputes within the community.

People were clearly more at ease talking about public insecurity than concerns about insecurity in the home. It was obvious that in part this was due to efforts to preserve the family image and concerns about revealing issues happening in the home. Only by building trusted relations over several days could the study team engage in conversations around some of these sensitive issues. The moststark problems emerged in Dhanusha where dowry and dowry-related violence are major concerns. This particular problem was not highlighted in other areas either because these issues which existed in the past are better resolved now or in some locations the custom of dowry is not practiced. Abuse and beatings in the home were often discussed with a sense of acceptance and quite often with people pointing out that the victim deserved it or that arguments and disputes are part of living with others in small spaces. During the time the study team members lived with the families shouting, abusive and foul language as well as slapping was common between women, women and their children, women and men and between children. Poor relations between mothers-in-law and other in-laws with their daughters in law were often noted as a source of abuse and exacerbated by the absence of their migrant worker husbands.

Five of the study locations have recently been incorporated within municipalities and people told us they were confused about what this meant for the services provided by Village Development Committees (VDC) as well as authority over public services including the police. Study locations were between 20mins and 1 ½ hours walk from the nearest police stations. Negative or indifferent views about the police predominate. The negative views include that they are unreliable, unresponsive, not trusted and corrupt. Those expressing indifference often had no experience or little interaction with the police, although some increased patrolling was appreciated e.g.at night at markets. Some other reasons affecting the lack of interaction with the police include lack of police transport (limited official transport was available in only two of the eight locations), in some locations police were unable to speak local languages, most police posts were understaffed by about 50% and no police stations had women police officers. The Indian Border Police were compared favourably to the Nepal police and their increased patrols were lauded.

People's preferred option to resolve issues were discussed in detail. Overwhelmingly, people indicated a preference for local resolution because it was convenient, fair, easy and cost effective. Solutions are jointly worked out based on good knowledge of the context and the disputants. Known and trusted people mediate the process and the resolution is endorsed by both sides and the wider community. It also serves to preserve reputations as nobody wants to be seen within their community as a troublemaker and particularly personal issues can be dealt with more discretely. While most issues can be resolved among neighbours and families, people explained that if problems are encountered in the resolution process then they like to involve others with influence. These may be local elders regarded as *'wise'* and trusted or more formalised Panchayat groups. People indicated a recent shift away from these traditional forms of conflict resolution towards seeking help from those within the community who were educated and networked. People also talked about influential political figures or wealthy people and how justice could be perverted in their favour.

In all study locations except Dhanusha, there was evidence of women's or mother's groups which worked on a number of issues, including security, with varying degrees of success and sustainability. Some were local initiatives. Some attempts had been made by some groups to stem alcohol abuse; in one village successfully and in another unsuccessfully. Some of the groups have become defunct through lack of interest and one women's empowerment organisation formerly supported by an INGO has closed because, although they had substantial training, they were never asked to refer a case to court. In several locations there were slogans written on walls encouraging people to prevent child marriage and educate their girls but people told us they could not read these and discussions indicated that people thought these were irrelevant since they already were sending both girls and boys to school.

Involving the police was often linked to lodging a case rather than an expectation of follow up let alone resolution. This was usually explained as serving as a threat to the other party and was often used to move resolution forward. Similarly, police are called for their presence, for example in situations which require dealing with drunk or disorderly people or to provide swift justice to those engaged in fighting with no further follow up anticipated. The police are asked to keep the offender overnight in detention or mete out a beating. Calling the police on these occasions has become easier with mobile phones. People also told us that there was little point to take matters such as theft to the police unless they already knew the perpetrator as they have no expectation of investigation. Murder and suicide are registered with the police as an administrative necessity but again people have little expectation of investigation and even express some reluctance to '*stir things up'.*

People explained that the justice reached through village processes was the best and were concerned about taking matters higher where there was more likelihood of corruption and bribing for preferred outcomes. But most people had had no direct or indirect experience of court system, so much of what they shared was perception and hearsay. However, people indicated that they might need the courts more in the future in view of the increasing separation and divorce rate blamed on increased migration for work. Courts are located many hours journey from all the study sites and many feared escalating costs associated with taking a case to court.

This baseline RCA provides a number of insights which have implications for the future of the programme. The first is people's perception of the issue. Security is not regarded as a particular concern and this may have implications for engaging project participants. However, the findings also imply that there is a degree of normalisation and some issues are simply not perceived as illegal or unacceptable suggesting that there is a need to continue to educate people. The study also points to the problem of making assumptions that violence is predominantly male perpetuated as women were also perpetrators. The programme should ensure that there is access to support for all victims of violence. While people indicated that they felt relatively secure, some new concerns are clearly emerging, with the main one related to increased migration for work leading to increased vulnerability of young wives living in their in laws home, increased infidelity, polygamy and polyandry, increased use of man power agencies and potential for contractual issues in new destination countries which can have serious justice implications. An implication from this is that special 'access to justice' services targeted to migrant workers and their families may resonate as more relevant and with potential greater uptake than generalised services.

The study revealed mostly negative or indifferent views of the police. If the intention is to create enhanced police-community relations, strategies to make people feel the police are less 'outsiders' could be considered, including recruiting more police with local language proficiency and cultural context knowledge, provision of motorcycle transportation to allow greater mobility and more regular presence in the village and trust building efforts. And finally, people had very little knowledge and almost no experience of court procedures. Whilst the study shows that people's need to use the court system is low, nevertheless more information could to be shared about how it operates. People need to be reassured of the fairness of the legal system and legal aid needs to be readily

available. The repository for this information at village level could effectively lie with those in the village who are already trusted with mediation and arbitration.

In order to continue to explore sensitive issues such as domestic abuse, cross border activities and smuggling it is important that the RCA which combines informal conversations with participant observation is undertaken over the course of the programme by the same independent team in order to build greater levels of trust over time and understand change in context as well as the needs and experience of programme interventions from the perspectives of people. The RCA team should work with the survey designers to ensure that issues included in the survey are worded in ways which resonate, questions are appropriately sequenced and enumerators' behaviour is conducive to good quality inquiry.

Contents

Introduction

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Introduction

Background

The Integrated Programme for Strengthening Security and Justice (IP-SSJ) is a DFID-funded, five-year programme aiming to provide “Improved security and access to justice, particularly for traditionally excluded people across Nepal. The programme aims to contribute primarily to three results areas, including:

- Change to social barriers that impede access to justice
- Increased engagement among communities and security and justice institutions for better prevention of crime and insecurity
- Improved responses to criminal violence through higher capabilities and performance of security and justice institutions

As the Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning (MEL) component of IP-SSJ, a consortium of Nepali institutions led by GRM will work with IP-SSJ implementers to provide high quality evidence to feed back into project implementation as part of a ‘structured experimental learning’ approach. This component aims to improve the quality and availability of evidence related to security and justice based on the specific data needs and decision timelines facing the relevant Ministries and decision-making bodies. This document describes the rationale and detailed approach for a thematic study following the Reality Check Approach. This is the first major data collection activity implemented by the IP-SSJ MEL component.

Study rationale

The primary motivation for this study was to improve the evidence base on how people experience and understand security and justice (S&J) in Nepal, with particular reference to poor and marginalised groups

While there is a growing body of literature on security and justice in Nepal, a number of gaps remain. First, little is known about if and how people experience violence and insecurity day to day. Previous studies have indicated that the majority of respondents consider their communities safe and the likelihood of violence low. However, other sources suggest that the incidence of crime has risen significantly since 2005, particularly in the southern Terai region. A number of studies also indicate that sexual and gender-based violence is a common experience for many Nepali women, though is not reflected in official statistics. This suggests that common perception of ‘violence’ and ‘crime’ may not reflect how the individuals most likely to experience these events understand these issues, and require further understanding to accurately assess.

Second, data is particularly lacking with relation to people’s experience and access to formal security and justice institutions, particularly the Nepal Police and Court system. While some evidence suggests that the majority of women see the police as their primary source of security, anecdotal information suggests that Nepal’s most victimised often do not report incidents of crime and violence. These studies also suggest that poor and marginalised populations face significant barriers to accessing these institutions, including for practical reasons of cost and distance, as well as other barriers such as intimidation, political interference and corruption. However, official statistics indicate a consistent rise in the number of cases registered with legal and quasi-judicial bodies. This seemingly conflicting information means that true dynamics behind both crime and reporting remain largely unclear.

DFID has designed IP-SSJ to address the social factors that both fuel insecurity and affect people's access to and function of formal justice and security providers. An in-depth qualitative study is particularly important to ensure that the baseline study for this programme engages with the most pressing yet least understood factors affecting these issues. Framing these security and justice issues in ways consistent with how they are understood by communities will also be an essential factor for success behind this study.

Study objectives

The purpose of the study is to address the above research gaps through in-depth engagement with future intended beneficiaries of IP-SSJ. Overall, this research seeks to understand their current experiences and perspectives on justice and security issues, including both causes of insecurity as well as experience with justice and security providers.

The findings of this study are intended to serve a number of different purposes. In 2015, this information will ensure that the IP-SSJ baseline survey captures all relevant factors associated with change expected from the intervention of S&J as defined by intended beneficiaries. It will also assist in the design of the survey instrument and training of enumerators by flagging up issues to consider when evaluating what can be very sensitive issues.

As a secondary benefit, the findings of this study will also support programme targeting and design by IP-SSJ implementers, as well as contribute to the broader evidence base on these issues. The findings of this and any subsequent RCA studies will also be used to develop and revise the IP-SSJ ToC.

Follow up studies following this same approach in 2016 and then again in 2018 will provide rich qualitative data through which survey findings can be interpreted and contextualised.

Methodology

02

Methodology

Study Design

This study was implemented using the Reality Check Approach (RCA), a qualitative approach in which trained teams gather in-depth qualitative data through a multi-night immersion and participant observation. This approach allows the team member to gain insight into the reality experienced by their host household and community, including but not limited to the clearly defined areas of interest for IP-SSJ. As information and insights are primarily gathered through informal conversations, team members are able to discuss the many aspects of life relevant to S&J, including community dynamics, political events, crime and safety, service provision and social norms and aspirations. This holistic approach privileges the lived experiences and priorities of study participants through observation and participation in community life, rather than through a given analytical or theoretical framework.

This approach is particularly well suited to sensitive topics like justice and security, as interacting with community members in their own homes accommodates private discussions and allows the study team to establish trust with the families with which they stay. These factors also make the RCA well suited for research relating to marginalised groups, who are often particularly hesitant to engage in typical forms of data collection, and may also not feel comfortable to freely express in groups.

Study Design and Household Selection

Focal VDCs and households were selected following established RCA procedures. As opposed to representative forms of 'sampling,' VDCs and host households (HHHs) were selected to include a range of relevant parameters, including geography, social, religious and ethnic. This approach is similar in nature to maximum variation sampling. To ensure relevance of this study to IP-SSJ implementation, study districts were drawn from the IP-SSJ multi-investment districts. Among these, four districts were chosen to represent the project's broad geographical focus, with an emphasis on the Terai.

Two VDCs were selected in each districts to serve as study locations. For Terai districts, these locations included one VDC in the foothills and another on the southern border. In hill districts, one VDC was selected to be closer to the district headquarters, while the other was selected to be further away from the district headquarters. Figure 1 below provides a map of our main study locations.

Figure 1: Main study locations

At the community level, HHHs were purposefully selected to include the poorest in each community, as well as those with multiple generations living in the same house. These broad criteria are consistent with RCA principles, which specifically seek to include the perspectives of the poorest households. This was determined jointly by RCA team members actively seeking the assistance of local knowledge as well as their own observation and included the quality of a house construction, visible assets and ethno-linguistic profile. Multi-generation households were prioritized as these were often able to provide useful reflections on change over time. Overall, 26 HHHs were included in this study. The study team also interacted extensively with a further 900 people surrounding their HHH, including service providers, community leaders and law enforcement agents.

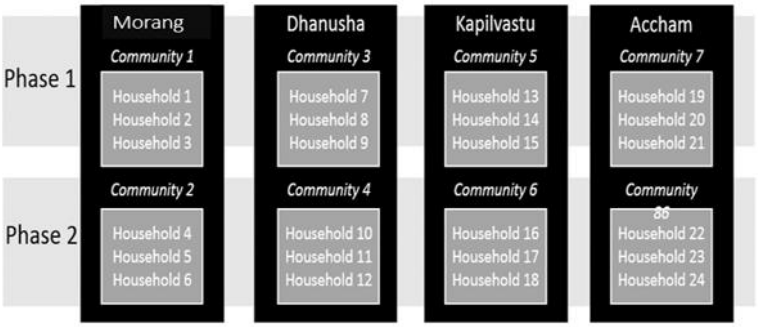
Data collection and entry

Each study sub-team comprised a Team Leader with 3-4 study team members. The Team Leader was responsible for coordinating that team's work within the given district. Where necessary, study team members were paired with interpreters. Interpretation was carried out between both Nepali and English, as well as Nepali and Maithili/Awadhi. All teams reported to the Principal Investigator and participated in a 2-3 day briefing led by the Principal Investigator before going into the study locations. This included training on RCA methodology as well as a specific discussion to develop areas of inquiry. This training also provided researchers with skills to facilitate conversation with family and community members, as well as the most appropriate ways to deal with potentially sensitive topics. A key element of the training focuses on behaviours and attitudes and is intended to develop strong reflexive skills to minimise bias during the execution of the study.

Information and insights were collected through a four night immersion in each study location. During this time, researchers learned about their HHH through informal conversations, participation in their work and other routines, and observation of their habits and everyday lives. Living with HHH provided an informal and often private context which quickly built trust between study team members and communities and allowed them to discuss the areas of conversation, as well as the broader aspects of people's lives that are necessary to contextualise them. This detailed information and first-hand experience constituted the data collected by each research team.

The study was carried out in two phases. Phase 1 included the Terai locations close to the border, while in Achham these were close to the district headquarters. Phase 2 of the study covered a further four communities; in the Terai these were further away from either the border and in Accham they were distant from the district headquarters. Figure 2 below illustrates this sequence:

Figure 2: Study sequence



Given the importance of facilitating informal discussions and fitting in with HHH's everyday life, the RCA does not use formal data collection instruments. Study team members were instructed not to make use of formal discussion guides, questionnaires, or specific research tools that can create power imbalances between them and the families they stay with. Instead, they encouraged free-flowing, informal conversations, following the lead of the host's interests, and took appropriate opportunities to probe into relevant topics. Study team members do not take notes in front of people and only made notes on discussions in private during moments of downtime.

Study team members also use less conventional methods, including drawings depicting family trees, household expenditure, community assets and service providers. These activities along with games and role playing allowed the immersion process to stay lively and varied, breaking up the process of routine conversation.

As formal data collection instruments were not employed, the majority of data was collected through a structured debriefing exercise following the immersion. For this exercise, the Principle Investigator led research teams from each district in a full day sub team debriefing session using the areas for conversation guide (see annex 2) as a prompt . This process provided a rich opportunity for the study team to identify common trends and key differences as well as the recollection of details of their conversations and observations. These sessions provide a key opportunity for further reflexive analysis to challenge bias. A whole team workshop following these individual sub-team de-briefings further served to identify the key themes which form the basis of this report.

All documentation, including notebooks, visual aids, and other physical documents, were brought to debriefing meetings for reference material during the discussion. Following completion of the debriefing process, these materials were collected by the Principal Investigator for further analysis and as reference during report drafting. These will all be archived so that they can be referenced during the subsequent stages of the study in 2016 and 2018.

Debriefing discussions were recorded though detailed, typed notes, which are used as the basis for final analysis and reporting. Debriefing notes are stored electronically on secure GRM servers in the London office; physical documentation is stored securely in the IP-SSJ MEL office in Kathmandu until the conclusion of the programme, at which point it will be destroyed. To ensure the anonymity of respondents, a code was assigned to each research team and location and applied to all written and electronic documentation.

Data analysis

The debriefing notes formed a qualitative data set which served as the basis for a framework analytical approach. These data sets were analysed following using a three phased approach:

Phase 1 - Identification of thematic framework: this phase involves identifying key issues, themes and categories raised by the respondents which emerge from the discussion phase.

Phase 2 - Charting: this phase involves re-visiting the entire set of data and placing summaries of the views and experiences shared by the respondents inside the chart of themes

Phase 3 - Interpretation: this phase attempts to draw inferences from the charted summaries. However, caution is always exercised in RCAs not to overlay the researcher's interpretation of the information.

This process was led by the Principal Investigator with support from the co-investigators and served as the basis of the final RCA report. Findings in this report are written from the perspective of people in our study locations, with every effort made to present the voices of these people where possible. Explicit analysis and interpretation was intentionally omitted from this section, and included instead in discussions on this study's implications.

Ethical considerations

All efforts were made to ensure that this study was carried out in line with the highest research ethics standards. To support this effort, informed consent was gained by explaining that the study team is visiting the community on behalf of programme policy makers and implementers, with the intention of better understanding life in that community. People were clear that while their anonymity would be assured, their views and perceptions would be conveyed to others. Participants were also asked to consent to any photography of their family, home, or other aspects of their community during the study. All participants were informed that their views and identities will be kept strictly confidential and secure.

Throughout the study, researchers joined the daily activities of their hosts in an effort to both build trust as well as to prevent disruption to normal routine. Independence from any organisation including government entities and donor organisations was stressed in order to further build trust.

Host families were also informed that their participation is voluntary, and that they would receive no material benefits for participating. However, they did receive a small compensation package to cover any possible costs they might have incurred. This included rice, salt, sugar, tea, cooking oil, or bottled and was not discussed at the outset but was given discreetly prior to the team member's departure from the household.

Study Limitations

As with other methods, this study has a number of limitations. First, researchers select HHH based on both the purposive sampling criteria, as well as the extent to which the HHH was open to accommodating an outsider. This is determined though initial discussions, often with a number of households in the village, to identify HHH that meet these criteria. However, households that are more engaged or open with our researchers may be more socially active, educated, or less marginalised. The study team specifically considered this potential bias when both selecting households as well as throughout their stay. This bias

was further mitigated through the duration of each stay, as researchers came into contact with a number of neighbouring households as well as other community members, allowing them to investigate areas of conversation with them.

Another potential limitation to this study is researcher bias in recollection during the debriefing process. Inevitably the study team members will tend to interpret conversations, experiences and observations made during fieldwork based depending on personal bias and viewpoints. Though this limitation applies to all qualitative research, the research team mitigated this bias in a number of ways. First, by providing the study team with minimal information on IP-SSJ goals and activities which allowed them to explore the areas for conversation openly and without programme bias. Similarly, the structured debriefing process for both teams as well as all researchers encouraged them to reflect on these biases, and to triangulate their findings with those of other teams.

The study team experienced some difficulty to learn about private aspects of insecurity, relating to the home, the family, or inside small communities. Concerns for family reputation compounded this difficulty, as many HHH are unaccustomed to discussing family problem outside the family. Exploring these topics was generally only possible in the latter part of our stay with families after trust has been established. In some cases, women began discussing domestic violence only to stop themselves mid-way, or be told to stop by others sitting nearby or participating in the conversation. However, in other villages, women who had been physically abused by their husbands spoke freely to our researchers in the presence of other community members.

Main Findings

03

Main Findings

Study Setting

Context

The majority of villages we visited were located in the Terai, with two locations in the hills. Terai locations in the border area were situated 10 minutes or less by foot from Nepal's southern border with India. Communities we visited were generally very diverse, with numerous castes, ethnicities and religious groups living in a single area. The level of NGO activity in each location varied significantly from none at all to many across and within districts. This was largely limited to local or national NGOs, though many were local partners of international NGOs. Table 2 below illustrates these differences.

Table 2: Study location description

Study location	Region	Sub-region	Population	Households	Caste/Ethnicity/Religion	NGO org
Morang (1)	Terai	Border	11305	2230	Brahim, Newars, Thakuri, Sotar, 'Adivasi'	None
Morang (2)	Terai	Foothills	5355	1113	Limbus, rai, magar, Brahmin, Chettri	Few
Kapilvastu (1)	Terai	Border	11575	1584	Muslims, Yadav, madhesi bramins, kewat, kumhar	Many
Kapilvastu (2)	Terai	Foothills	20158	4177	Magar, chhetri, dalits; tharu	Few
Dhanusha (1)	Terai	Border	3377	633	Yadav, musoor, muslims, Sahani, chamar	None
Dhanusha (2)	Terai	Foothills	9449	1562	Tamang, mohato, shaha, magar, musahar, chamar	Many
Achham (1)	Hills	Hills	4281	777	Brahmin	None
Achham (2)	Hills	Hills	2875	532	Thakuri; Chettri	Few

In all study locations families largely depend on a combination of agriculture and remittances to support their families. People in all research sites also told us that they depended on money sent from family members working abroad. In Terai districts these individuals were largely working in the Gulf, specifically Qatar, while in Achham people told us their relatives were mostly working in India and Kathmandu. In Achham (2), people told us that they would share jobs in India with others from their village – one person would work for a year, the second would join for a week of overlap, and the first would then return home, leaving the second to work the job. This, they told us, was one way that they ensure jobs that jobs in India are available for those from the village, as manpower agencies were not present in their village to help with these arrangements. We rarely learned of women working outside of the village

The majority of families grow crops only to support household consumption and mostly grew lentils, cauliflower and rice. Only a small proportion sold produce in the rare cases when they had a surplus, though sugar cane was primarily grown for commercial sale. Though some people mentioned that they did sell these crops in local markets or to buyers, the majority of people told us they sold their surplus crops to neighbours and kiosks within the village. Overall, people in Achham told us that they depended less on agriculture than people did in Terai districts. Table 3 below shows the livelihood patterns across all research locations, with darker shading indicating higher dependence.

Table 3: Primary source of livelihoods

Study location	Migration India	Migration, Gulf	Agriculture
Morang (1)	Some	Most	Most
Morang (2)	Some	Most	Most
Kapilvastu (1)	Most	Some	Most

Kapilvastu (2)		Some	Most
Dhanusha (1)		Most	Most
Dhanusha (2)		Most	Most
Achham (1)	Most		Some
Achham (2)	Most		Some

According to our HHHs, remittances were both essential for daily expenses, and also allowed people in the village to buy large items, including motor cycles, materials for construction and improvement of houses, and land. People commonly mentioned the large amount of money necessary to pay to a manpower agency in order to go abroad, which they had to cover through loans. In Dhanusha people mentioned these specially frequently, saying that they would borrow anywhere from 100,000 to 150,000 NPR from a local money lender at between 3% and 5% interest, which were often not paid off until after the worker had been abroad for over a year.

Inside of new brick house in Dhanusha built with money sent from family members abroad

Host Households

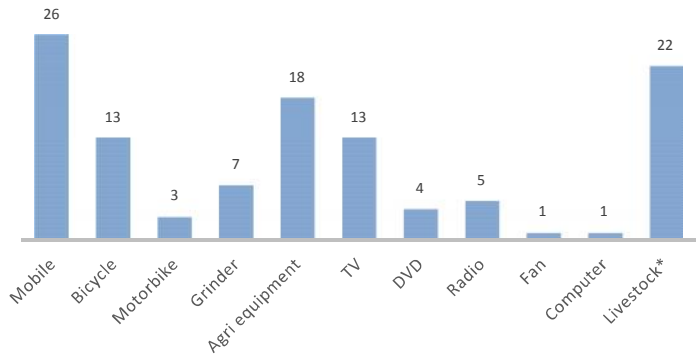
We stayed with 26 HHH in which a total of 181 people were living at the time of our visit. Six of these households were female-headed households, while the rest were generally headed by older men. HHH most commonly had either three or four children living in the house, with the largest number of children being thirteen. Table 1 below shows the total number of people in HHH by district.

Table 1: Total people in HHH by district

	Morang	Kapilvastu	Dhanusha	Achham	
Men	23	26	13	18	
Women	27	32	19	23	
Totals	50	58	32	41	**181**

All HHH had at least one mobile phone and nearly all had livestock, generally used for ploughing. Figure 3 below illustrates assets held by our HHH.

Figure 3: HHH asset ownership



*mostly buffalo/cow for ploughing

All but one HHH had access to electricity, either through meter or solar. This contrasts with access to toilets however, with 65% of our HHH having either no access to a toilet at all, or access only to toilets outside.

In relation to public services, all HHH could arrive at a school in under an hour. Around half of HHH told us that it took them between 30 and 60 minutes to reach a health post and a market.

Further information on HHH profiles, including graphic representation, can be found in **Annex 4** of this report.

Development priorities

We learned about people's priorities through repeated discussions about their concerns, wishes and aspirations, along with open discussion about their lives. We complemented this information by observing what people did and what most impacted their lives. Table 4 below illustrates the most commonly mentioned priorities by each community visited.

Table 4: Priorities of each community

Study location	Road access	Water access	Education	Dowry	Security	Migration	Reducing Alcohol
Morang (1)						X	
Morang (2)		X				X	
Kapilvastu (1)	X					X	
Kapilvastu (2)			X			X	
Dhanusha (1)				X			
Dhanusha (2)			X	X			
Achham (1)						X	X
Achham (2)			X			X	

People most commonly discussed their priorities in terms of improving their livelihood and economic status. Generally, people linked both education and migration to future prospects to earn money and obtain a job that would support them and their families in the future. Parents often told us that their priorities for their children were education and considered migration to be a more guaranteed avenue to earning money in the future. While making plans and acquiring the means to migrate themselves was a priority for many men, women also spoke of the migration of their male family members as a priority for themselves and their children. Beyond migration, people in Morang (2) told us that poor access to roads and water made it hard for them to sell goods in other parts of Nepal.

In addition to this specific concern for livelihood, people in Dhanusha and Achham were also vocal about priorities related to social aspects of their lives. In Achham, people were concerned with alcohol use and prioritised reducing consumption. In some cases these women told us they had participated in social groups aimed to address this issue, and in other cases they hoped that a ban on alcohol would be reinstated in their area. In Dhanusha, people specifically prioritised marriage of girls and paying dowries. In discussions, people linked these issues to many aspects of their lives, including safety and security. However, overall people rarely referenced issues related to crime, safety or security as priorities.

Proximity to Government Services

Each community had a different level of exposure and access to services provided by the VDC, municipality and the police. Table 5 illustrates this variation.

Table 5: Community proximity to government services

Study location	Recently included in municipality		Distance to VDC office	Functionality of VDC (e.g open or not)	Patrol (official visits to village)?			Distance to police post
					Nepal Police	APF[1]	SSB [2]	
Morang (1)	*No information*		*1.5 hr walk*	*No information*	No	Yes	Yes	1.5 hr walk
Morang (2)	Yes - 1.5 mo ago		25min/1 hr walk away	Closed→ municipality	Yes, at night in market areas	No	No	1 hr walk
Kapilvastu (1)	Yes		*No information*	*No information*	No	No	Yes	20-25 min walk
Kapilvastu (2)	2-3 mo ago		15 mins a	Office closed, only used for meetings	No – not enough equipment			1.5 hr walk/20 mins by bus

[1] Armed Police Force

[2] Indian Border Police

Dhanusha (1)	*Not mentioned in notes*		10 mins	Office closed	No	Yes	No	5 min walk away
Dhanusha (2)	Yes – in the process of converting		Municipality capital 1 hr walk away	Office locked	No	Yes	No	1 hr away walking/5 min drive
Achham (1)	Yes –5/6 mo ago		1 hr away	Closed→ municipality	*No mention*	N/A	N/A	1 or 2 hrs walk
Achham (2)	*No*		45 mins/1 hr away	One office not open in Birpat	No but regularly in village	N/A	N/A	5 min walk

Across locations, people told us that on average, the VDC office took about one hour to reach by walking, though there were a few cases where the office as close as fifteen minutes walking from the village. In five of the eight locations visited, we noted that the VDC office was closed throughout our visit. Learning that many of these VDCs had been recently incorporated into larger municipalities may explain this observation, though many people said they had been shut a long while. People in these villages did not understand this change to being under administration of the municipality or what it meant for services that used to be provided in the VDC.

The distance of our study communities from the police post or station varied significantly. Five study locations were one hour or more walking from the nearest police post, the remaining three locations were between five and twenty minutes' walk away. In the majority of locations, the Nepal Police did not make regular patrols. One exception was in Morang (2), where the police patrolled market areas nightly, though did not visit residential parts of the village, In border areas people also mentioned patrols made by the APF and SSB. People in Kapilvastu (1) told us that patrols by the SSB had improved security in the area and made them feel safer, attributed largely to the fact that the SSB had better weapons than the Nepal Police.

Ethnicity, caste and religion

Though in all locations our study communities were diverse, people in each had established different social arrangements to allow all groups to peacefully coexist. These include relationships between different castes, religions and people from the Terai and the hills.

In terms of caste, in Dhanusha (1), we observed difficult relations between Yadav groups and others in the community. People considered this group to have the most power in the village, as they had become increasingly involved in politics, and had access to '*all the benefits.*' People told us that with this power came corruption, with one FHH saying that, '*they take everything that comes from the government, they put it on themselves and on their wives*.' People also told us that the Yadavs acted unfairly toward people in the Mosoor caste, who the Yadavs referred to as 'Mosoor' rather than by their actual names.

We observed the dynamics between Hindus and Muslims by staying in a number of mixed communities and directly with three Muslim HHH in Dhanusha (1), Kapilvastu (1) and Banke. Overall, we learned that these households were not less well off than others we stayed with (poorer households), and owned similar amounts of land and had similar assests as others in their community. Despite this similar economic status, in Dhanusha (1) we observed the complicated nature of relationships between Hindus and Muslims. Though at first one Hindu HHH there told us that Hindus and Muslims were '*like brothers,'* we learned more about relations between these groups once a Hindu researcher began staying in a Muslim home. After this, one Hindu HHH repeatedly offered to make arrangements for the Hindu study team member to stay in a Hindu home, asking '*if she is a Hindu, how could she live there?'* However, the Muslim family was mostly concerned about her comfort, often asking, '*how could you eat things we have touched? How could you stay here?*'. We feel that this was largely to test the situation and attempts not to cause offence to outsiders rather than a reflection of prejudice within the community. Though the Muslim family acknowledged some prejudice in the community, they said that this was largely related to Hindus not accepting food from Muslims, which they understood as ritual rather than ill will.

In Kapilvastu (1) we also stayed in a mixed community that included 10-12 Muslim households. Here, our HHH told us they lived together without conflict, though there were some incidences when *'Hindus put tikka on Muslims.*' The ward president here was also Muslim. Similarly, in Banke a Hindu man told us that '*we are all the same and poor and stick together"* in answer to our interest in how the small hamlets of Hindus and Muslims lived together In conversations with and observations of non-Muslim households, we did not notice any prejudice or lack of respect toward Muslim populations.

In contrast, we observed tension between people that described themselves as from the Hills and people who described themselves as 'Madeshsi' or from the Terai. These were most explicit in Dhanusha, where families from the hills often discussed Madeshi families in negative terms e.g. in Dhanusha (2), one of our Tamang HHH was very critical of Madeshi families for practicing dowry as part of making marriage arrangements.

Perceptions of security

People we spoke with overwhelmingly described their communities as safe places and themselves as feeling safe in them. In addition to broaching this topic in direct conversations, this sense was confirmed through many other conversations around the village history, family activities and past events. Observing people's daily lives and routines also helped to confirm this same understanding of people's feelings about security including their concerns or lack of concern with mobility, locking doors, keeping livestock safe, as well as the factors and events that shaped them.

Changing trends

Across nearly all locations, people were positive and optimistic about the low levels of crime and security in their village, especially in light of previous experiences which were worse. These worse times relate to the conflict period and periods of very low employment either in India or Nepal. These conversations most often began when discussing previous events in the village, most of which the people we spoke with described in negative terms.

The Conflict

People most commonly referenced Nepal's insurgency period as the reason behind expressing relatively better feelings of safety, despite the fact that they had all experienced the conflict differently. Table 6 below shows the range of events experienced by our study communities during this period.

Table 6: Exposure to conflict

Study location	No impact	Maoists asking for refuge/food	Maoist recruitment	Kidnapping /murder	Elite expelled by Maoists / buildings burned	Fighting – Maoist/Army	Residual Concern?
Morang (1)							Fear of outsiders
Morang (2)							Fear of outsiders
Kapilvastu (1)							Fear of outsiders
Kapilvastu (2)							None
Dhanusha (1)							N/A
Dhanusha (2)							Rivalry
Achham (1)							Fear of outsiders
Achham (2)							None

People in nearly all locations mentioned that during the conflict, the Maoist insurgents sought food and shelter from people in their communities. In both locations in Morang and Achham, people told us that the Maoists had destroyed local infrastructure or compelled government, land lords and other 'elites' to leave the area, while both locations in Achham also experienced direct fighting between the insurgents and the Army. Only people in Dhanusha (1) had no direct experience with the army or insurgency during the conflict period.

People in Morang (2) told us that their village had been '*declared a Maoist capture once the Maoists put their flag on the hill*.' According to them, the Nepali army would occasionally fire on the Maoists from the hills above their village. Despite this, people told us that they were most frightened when compelled to store guns for the Maoists, saying '*when the army came to check the houses of people who had hid things, we were afraid of the Army.'* People told us that they felt much safer now that the conflict had ended. Referring to these incidents, people in this village told us that '*we have no issues now'* and '*we are safer than before.'*

When discussing the conflict, in Dhanusha (2), a number of people told the same story of a teacher being murdered –due to 'rivalry' during the conflict period. Unlike other areas we visited, people here continued to discuss these period with fear and did not describe feeling much safer following the end of the conflict. Here people were particularly concerned that our study team might be Maoists, and citing the recent national rhetoric of '*the Maoists going back to the jungle*' as one reason for this intense fear.

Students in Achham sitting next to a burried Maoist bunker near their village, used during the conflict

Though people in Kapilvastu (2) told us that they did not experience any direct fighting during the conflict, they nevertheless mentioned traumatic incidents. In conversations about the past, one HHH told us how their son-in-law, who was a police officer, had been kidnapped by the Maoists during the conflict while visiting from another village. They family told us that '*the Maoists would sit in the village and wait to see which house the police man would enter. Once he went in they abducted him for a week…usually when people were abducted they were found dead, but he was fed and unharmed*.' Though this story ended well, one member of our family mentioned that the family was very disturbed, and the father began drinking alcohol after the incident. Other families in Kapilvastu (2) also mentioned that they chose to send their male children to India during the conflict period once the Maoists began trying to recruit them to join their forces, saying, '*the Maoists came to the school and asked for 10 teachers and 90 students to join them. Our sons were in grade 8 and 10 so we sent them to India*.' However, people told us that these young people have now found better economic opportunities in India and have not yet returned to their village.

Banditry

In addition to the end of the conflict, families in Morang (1) also referenced cross border incidents that occurred as recently as seven years ago when discussing security. One person described these events,

'Bandits would come to take the cattle first and ask for ransom money, after some time they would come back and do it again. They would come almost every day. Would rape women in [neighbouring ward] areas closer to the border, not in our area. They would come and fire guns.'

In order to warn people of these attacks, people showed us the concrete watch tower they had built over a decade ago with money earned by community members abroad. This, they told us, had helped them see when 'bandits' were coming toward their village. They had also built other wooden watch towers, though these had disintegrated years ago.

People told us that they believed the patrols by the SSB and APF, along with specific efforts by the Indian government had led to these bandits being captured and stopped these incidents five to six years ago. However, some HHH nevertheless told us that they were still afraid that these incidents could happen again in the future. For these reasons, they explained, they still did not have local fairs, even though otherwise people felt safe and slept with their doors unlocked. People in Dhanusha (1) also told us that their villages used to have similar problems with 'bandits' coming from India, though they said that people are not still concerned about this as no incident has occurred for over a decade. The watch tower is no longer in use. People explained this reduction in banditry from India as a consequence of the improved economic climate in India.

Migration for work

Many of our HHHs also described changes resulting from migration as positively influencing safety and security In Kapilvastu (2) and Dhanusha (2), people highlighted that movement of young men from villages to work in the Gulf had made their villages safer and calmer. Those left in the villages told us that they believed that young men often caused problems, including fighting, drunkenness, petty crime and violence against their wives or other members of their family. These problems, according to many people, had improved now that these men had left. One person in Kapilvastu (2) described this, saying, '*young people normally are the ones that start fights when drinking, now that they have migrated there is no one to do this*.' Although they return from time to time, people in Dhanusha (2) told us that past issues did not tend to flare up when these individuals returned home, as they were generally only home for a short time and wanted to maintain 'good relations' with their families and in the community.

Watch tower built in community in Morang 1

People in a number of study locations also told us that increased remittances had also contributed to decreased crime and insecurity in their village. In both Kapilvastu (1, 2) and Dhanusha (1), people explained this by saying that there is less theft now that the majority of families have more money. They told us that crime was worse when there was more inequality among households, with a few rich and many poor. Now that more people have money and the same things, there is '*no need to steal*.' This sentiment was echoed by people in Banke, who linked increased employment to a reduction of crime in their village. Men working abroad in Achham (1) also remarked that they felt that travelling abroad had also become safer recently, as they could now avoid being robbed on their journeys home by transferring money electronically rather than carrying it on them.

In many cases, male migrant workers left households composed of only the elderly, women and children when then went abroad. While some women told us that they felt a sense freedom to live without their husbands, others expressed feeling more vulnerable now that the men in their families were gone. For example, one woman in Dhanusha (1) whose husband had been in Qatar for years called him multiple times a day whenever a decision of any size needed to be made. After the police visited her house to see our researchers, visibly upset, she told us that the '*male police coming here and talking to me would never have happened*' with her husband there. Though she told us she had never experienced a serious incident, she felt that men were freer to approach her in her husband's absence. Women in Achham (2) also mentioned that the absence of men put more emphasis and strain on the relationship between mother-in-laws and daughter-in-laws. One woman told us, '*there are many daughter-in-laws with husbands working in India. If the in-laws don't get along with them*,' one woman told us, '*then they are not happy*.'

What concerns people?

Over the course of our conversations with HHH and communities, we were able to learn what issues were of most concern. Often, these concerns would emerge over the course of our stay as the topics people most often returned to in conversation or focused on. In some cases, these were also the issues people discussed when one-on-one with us in the evenings or in other quiet moments, once others in the village were out of earshot.

It should be noted that people we spoke to were generally not concerned about crime, violence, or security in their villages. When we asked further about this, in most instances, they told us that major theft, violence or kidnapping did not happen where they lived. In Morang (2) people did mention that they were concerned about people from the neighbouring village stealing their cattle, but generally people did not lock their animals away at night or take other precautions to protect their belongings.

Natural Factors

In terms of physical safety, people in a number of locations told us they were most concerned about natural threats rather than man made threats. These concerns related to wild animals including bears, porcupines, tigers and boar in Achham

locations, as well as to snakes in the border areas of Morang (1). In the hills, people also expressed fear of walking on dangerous hills and terrain, while in Dhanusha (1) people also told us about their worries about floods, as one had wiped out the village 7-8 years prior.

Harassment on the Border

In study locations closest to the border, people told us they worried about being harassed while bringing groceries, firewood and households goods across the border from India. Generally people told us that they depended on buying these goods in India for their personal use or to sell, as they were much cheaper than in Nepal. People told us that they generally brought goods across the border on foot, by bike or motorcycle, and without paying any official customs fees. In Dhanusha (1), Kapilvastu (1) and Morang (1), people told us that transporting goods in this way was '*normal*', though varied in their opinions as to what should legally be paid for importing goods. People often told us they were concerned about being harassed by the Nepal Police, APF or SSB in the event that they were caught transporting goods across the border, even when doing so legally. In these cases, people told us that the amounts they were allowed to bring over the border would often seem to change, and in many cases they were asked to pay a bribe. In Morang (1), one person recounted that, *"people were bringing goods across the border saying that they were bringing it for marriage. They tried to make a deal when the police came but the police didn't accept and took the things to the police post, but later ended up making deal together – maybe the police didn't want to make a deal in front of us."* People mentioned a similar example in Kapilvastu (1), saying '*the government has authorised people to bring up to 2 sacks of fertiliser over the border, and people were doing this. A lot of people said that even though they could do this but the police still ask for money*.' In Banke, people talked about the police tying petty smugglers to trees until they paid bribes.

Household goods being smuggled into Morang from Indian border officers.

Nuisance

People often shared with us that they were concerned with disruption and nuisance in the community and often attributed this to alcohol consumption. In Dhanusha (1) and Kapilvastu (2), people told us that teenage boys would become rowdy and start fights with each other. In Dhanusha (1), this extended to boys teasing girls, including throwing stones. Many people connected this behaviour to drunkenness and mentioned that it most commonly occurred during festivals, noting that it worsened as many more people drank during the celebration than would day to day.

Land Disputes

In all locations, people also discussed their concerns related to their land and land disputes. People told us that such disputes often resulted from a lack of documentation of land ownership and boundaries but that recent efforts to regularise the land had greatly improved this. In Dhanusha (2), people shared many examples of long running disputes between brothers regarding inheritance of land which has culminated in one trying to take the other to court. More commonly, people said that these disputes were mostly resolved within the community. The majority of disputes mentioned in Morang and Kapilvastu are related to land boundaries, with police in Morang (1), saying that there, people fight over '*every inch of land*.' In Achham (1), people said that a few decades ago, land disputes were very common as there was no documentation of land ownership or measurement of plots. In this time, people would often fight about land boundaries and ownership, and take these issues to the courts. However, now that all people have certificates for land such disputes have diminished and people now resolve such issues within the community if they arise.

Relationships

Many people in our study communities shared concerns about changes in their personal relationships. Many people connected these changes to migration, telling us that there is an increase in extra-marital affairs initiated by both men and women and the incidence of divorce is increasing now that husbands are spending long periods of time outside of the village. A municipality official in Morang (2) confirmed that divorce had been increasing. He attributed this to the fact that

while men were aboard, they would send money home only to have their wives leave them for another man. He told us that in this sense, 'people are being ruined by migration.' He also mentioned that divorces occur even more frequently when women leave the village to work, as men were then likely to take second wives or have affairs. In Achham (1) we heard two men discussing the problem with one suggesting that the other hide his wife's jewellery before he goes abroad, so that she cannot take it with her if she chooses to leave him while he's gone.

Outsiders

Across all locations, we observed that people were concerned about the motives of outsiders in their village. When we arrived in villages people were often initially concerned and suspicious of our presence, though we ultimately enabled them to feel comfortable with us there by sharing information about ourselves and our purpose in the village. People in Achham (2) mentioned that they were scared of 'robbers' coming from outside their villages, which they said had increased since the construction of a new road nearby. Contrary to this, in Kapilvastu (1) people told us that their fear of outsiders came from living in a very isolated location, saying '*We talk to people who we understand.'*

In Dhanhusa, one household was very vocal about these concerns, warning us that women '*should not walk on the road alone*,' even in the day time as '*girls can be taken away.'* When we asked further, she mentioned that girls in the village had been raped many years ago by someone unknown, but that no incidents had happened recently. She also mentioned the specific concern that men passing by '*could harm you*.' However, this was not an issue for others and women and girls shared in most places that they felt able to move freely.

Trafficking

People in border sites told us that they were generally not concerned about trafficking. In Dhanusha, (1), people told us that '*trafficking is not something for the Terai people, but for the Nepali people.'* In Morang, no one we spoke with was concerned about trafficking, despite the fact that APF officers had recently intervened in a few cases of girls being trafficked from Jhapa. People told us similar things in Kapilvastu, saying that there used to be a lot of '*mainly girls and children being trafficked from hilly areas*.' Local NGO workers we spoke with confirmed this, telling us that these children were largely sold, sometimes by their families, as domestic workers in India or to work in tea shops. No one we spoke with in Achham voiced any concerns about trafficking in their area.

Witchcraft

Similarly, it should be noted that people rarely mentioned concerns related to witchcraft or poor treatment of those accused of practicing it. Though this topic rarely came up in conversation, people in Kapilvastu (2) and Dhanusha (1) mentioned that previously women would commonly be accused of witchcraft, though no incidences had occurred for over a decade. One person explained this change by saying, '*people are now more aware so they now know.'*

Private versus public security

'In terms of security, people overwhelmingly told us that their communities were safe places with 'no problems'. In these conversations, people often focused on public aspects of insecurity, including events or phenomena that occur outside the home like theft, public disputes or fighting, particularly those that had occurred in the past, though overwhelmingly described their communities as 'safe.' Though the research team was initially concerned that this was an effort by HHH to present a positive image of the community, after living with these families the research team agreed that they were largely safe. When people did mention concerns about security, they tended to refer to their community as the victim of theft, violence or other crimes by 'outsiders,' including bandits (in border regions) and Maoists (in the conflict period).

Normalised aspects of private insecurity

We noticed that people were much less comfortable discussing negative events perpetrated by people from their own community. Negative events occurring within the family seemed to be the most sensitive and least likely to be discussed with anyone outside the family. However, after a few days living with our HHHs, they began to discuss a number of typically 'private' or 'family' concerns with us.

Domestic Abuse

Later in our stay, our HHH began to tell us more about their experiences of violence in the home. Though women generally waited to tell us these stories in private, in all locations they nevertheless spoke about them casually and in a tone suggesting that these incidents were 'normal' and experienced by many people. Reflecting on this issue, one woman in Kapilvastu (1) told us that, '*a husband and wife live in each other's house and you get in each other's space, so it happens.'* Women in Achham (1) also told us that their husbands had threatened and hit them after they requested alcohol kiosks to stop selling to their husbands, though made it clear that men from lower castes more commonly abuse their wives. When discussing possible solutions to this problem, she told us, '*women can't do anything. If they go against the man they fear that the husband would leave them*.' Though as discussed below, women are also violent towards others.

In conversations, we learned that women were not only abused by their husbands, but also that women often also abuse men and other women. Our own observations revealed high levels of violent interaction between all members of the family irrespective of gender and in Banke the women were more likely to be quarrelsome and men were the ones to keep the peace. In Morang (1,2) we heard a number of examples of women inflicting violence on each other, e.g people told us that physical abuse and fights between mother-in-laws and daughter-in-laws are the most common physical violence and often disregarded by the rest of the family. In Morang, people told us that women also sometimes beat men. There, we met one man who had recently been 'beaten by his sister and was still bleeding from his head. He told us that he had been "*drunk at the time of the incident but still was a victim."* Following the incident a crowd had formed around the man, though many told us that this sort of incident was not out of the ordinary in their community.

We learned of one incident while staying in Dhanusha (1), of a woman, age 45, who had been beaten by her husband the night before we arrived. Her neighbours told us that this was common and did not react as if it was anything out of the ordinary. One person told that there were times when the woman's saris would be stained so badly with blood that they 'had to be burned.' When discussing the incident, this woman's relatives rationalised the violence, telling us that it '*made sense that she should get beaten up since she drinks so much and alcohol is expensive*,' though also noting that her husband also drinks regularly.

Additionally, local health post workers also shared information on domestic abuse in their areas. For instance, the health post worker in Morang (2) told that she had seen about 15-20 cases where people had been physically abused during the previous year, mostly female victims but also occasionally male victims. She indicated that these cases were most common in the 'adivasi' and dalit communities, though we could not verify this. We learned similar things from the Assistant Nurse Midwife in Dhanusha (1), who, after a long discussion, revelaed that women sometimes come to the health post after being physically abused by their families. She told us that her advice to them is to '*keep their in-laws happy so that they don't get beaten up.'* When we asked if these incidents were ever incidents related to alcohol, she nodded but was hesitant to discuss further. In Kapilvastu, the man working at the health post mentioned that women would sometimes come to him with bruises from their family members, though he told us that these cases were '*not serious*.'

We observed that some women also chose to normalise these issues out of concern for their reputation. Chatting with a group of women in Achham (1), some women started to tell us about their experiences of abuse in the home. However, they soon stopped themselves, and others began to insist that their stories were a 'joke.' After discussing further, one woman explained her concern, saying '*what kind of image would you have about us if we tell you these things'*. Later on, she confirmed that after she was beaten recently she did not seek to do anything, saying '*after I just cried, what else can I do?'*

Dowries

Only in Dhanusha (1, 2) and Kapilvastu (1), a concern that emerged strongly was related to dowries. Though people there had told us about the stresses of paying for a dowry early on, they also later told us that part of this stress related to their concern for the safety of their daughters after they were married. One woman in Dhanusha (2) who had experienced violence from her mother in law, quietly expressed this concern to us,

'M*y husband was supportive, he didn't stop my beatings but would bring me food when my in-laws weren't looking. I still can't sleep at night, I don't have any permanent damage, I feel the pain right now, maybe its because I was hit so much before. That is why I'm really scared for my daughters, because if we cannot provide dowry, I fear they will go through the same things.*

Like this woman, others in Dhanusha also told us that they worried that not providing sufficient dowry would result in their daughters being less safe in their future marriages. One family struggling to pay the dowry for their daughter nevertheless considered it a necessary ritual, telling us that '*we have to give if we want our daughter to be happy*.' For this reason, many people told us they had spent what they consider large sums of money to try to accommodate the requests of the husband's family. For example, many people in Dhanusha told us they'd paid over 60,000NPR for dowry, along with motorbikes, furniture, gold and silver, most of which was funded through loans and contributions from family members abroad. However, one HHH mother told us that she was scared that her daughter's mother in law would continue to beat her daughter even after paying an 85,000NPR dowry.

People shared similar examples in Kapilvastu (1), including one example where people told us that a woman had been beaten by her in-laws because her family had paid a small dowry for her marriage. They explained that she became so distressed that she eventually took her own life. While dowries were repeatedly cited as a source of anxiety and potential insecurity among Madeshi communities in Dhanusha, Tamang communities living nearby did not give dowries. In Morang, people mentioned dowries when discussing their weddings but did not connect them to any cases of abuse. No one mentioned dowries in Achham.

Alcohol and security

When asking people directly, they commonly cite alcohol as the cause of insecurity in the home and the community. Across all locations, we observed that alcohol was readily available and was often a combination of homemade sprits sold from people's houses, as well as bottled alcohol sold from kiosks. In wards of 50 to 100 households, we noticed that there were both houses selling homemade spirits along with 5-8 kiosks also selling it. In areas close to the border, people also told us that they prefer to buy alcohol in India as it is cheaper. In Kapilvastu (1) people told us that 250ml of spirits cost 23NRP in India, as opposed to 30NPR in Nepal.

A shop in Achham selling spirits

We observed that drinking patterns also varied by location. We noticed that this was the particularly true in Dhanusha and Kapilvastu, where some caste and religious groups adhered to traditional abstinence of alcohol, and in other cases they did not. Though people told us that men generally drank more than women, we also observed instances in which women were also drinking, sometimes heavily..

Though people commonly cited alcohol as a cause of insecurity, we observed that the extent to which people believed this did not necessarily correspond to levels of consumption. Table 7 below illustrates these differences.

Table 7 perception of drinking and abuse

Study location	Incidence of drinking	Ever had an alcohol ban)	Perceived link to insecurity outside the home?	Perceived link to abuse in the home?
Morang (1)	Low	No	No	No
Morang (2)	Low	No	No	No
Kapilvastu (1)	High	No	Yes	No
Kapilvastu (2)	High	No	Yes	No
Dhanusha (1)	Moderate	No	No	Yes
Dhanusha (2)	Moderate	No	Yes	No
Achham (1)	High	Yes	Yes	Yes
Achham (2)	High	Yes	Yes	Yes

As shown above, we observed low alcohol consumption in locations in Morang. Though we occasionally observed people in these locations drinking, no one in these locations mentioned alcohol consumption as a concern, nor did they express

concerns about alcohol leading to abuse and violence inside or outside of the home. Across locations, women overwhelmingly told us they were concerned about alcohol as a cause of insecurity both outside and inside the home, while men were most concerned about drunk people harming women outside the home.

We observed other dynamics in attitudes in Kapilvastu and Dhanusha, where we observed moderate and high levels of alcohol consumption, but heard people's mixed feelings on the role of alcohol in insecurity outside the home and abuse within. People in these areas told us they were most concerned about noise at night, saying that fights that had turned violent '*due to alcohol*,' particularly around festival time. In Kapilvastu (1) people mentioned that people from their village often drink, along with many men from over the border who come to drink there. There, some HHH we stayed with locked their doors at night to '*keep drunk people from coming in*.' In these locations, people told us that alcohol did sometimes cause violence within the house, though commented that this had reduced since men had begun migrating.

People we spoke to in Dhanusha also expressed concern about alcohol use in the community, though seemed more concerned about the impact of alcohol on dynamics outside the home. One woman told us that, we '*don't feel safe at night because people are drinking*,' and strongly warned us not to walk alone, while one HHH warned us not to speak with drunk people in the village. Many other people expressed fear and concern about drunk people causing problems in their village, however no one there could remember an incident when alcohol had actually led to violence outside the home. However, a number of people mentioned that it was common for drinking to lead to violence in the home. One woman explained this, saying that '*drinking and beating the daughter-in-law go hand in hand*.'

In Achham, we both observed significant alcohol consumption, as well as heard the most vocal concerns about alcohol consumption from people in the village. In Achham (1), people recounted incidents in which community members had died from drinking too much or in accidents that occurred while drinking. They, citing examples such as husbands '*beat the wife when cooking, even for small mistakes*.' In order to improve the situation, some women told us that they gone to the local alcohol shops to request that they stop selling to their husbands. These women told us that not only had the shops failed to stop selling alcohol to their husbands, but that their husbands also beat them once they learned they had done this. Since then they have stopped complaining.

While people in Achham (2) mentioned that while alcohol used to be a similarly severe issue in their village, this has improved since the police arrived. One man in one HHH told us that, '*because police can oversee the entire village so people don't go overboard with alcohol, more control. Now people are more controlled.'* People also explain the decline in alcohol abuse to the fact that many young men in the village had migrated to work in India, as they believed that young men were the primary consumers of alcohol.

Discarded spirit bottles in Achham

In a number of locations, people also mentioned that the police were often drunk while in their village. People in Achham (1), told us that '*many [police] come for a drink and make problems for a community, sometimes teasing girls*.' These people told us that the people living in the village don't like it when the police do this, so will sometimes beat the police to make them stop, and even complain to the head office in the new municipality. In the border area of Kapilvastu (1) we observed that Indian SSB officers would often visit people's homes in the village and drink for many hours, often still in uniform.

We very rarely observed or learned about drug use in our study communities. One exception was in Morang (2), where a focal household told us of cases where gangs in the market were 'injecting' drugs, but they didn't consider this to be connected to any form of crime or insecurity. In this location we also observed a number of people openly smoking marijuana, though no one expressed any concern about this. No police officer we spoke with in any location mentioned drug use as a prominent crime or safety issue in their area.

What do people do about their concerns?

People told us that a number of factors determine if, how and where they choose to get help for disputes and security issues. Often, this was determined by the severity of the issue, with the issues that people considered to be the most minor dealt with locally, and 'big' or 'serious' issues taken to the police and, rarely, the courts. Table 8 below provides an overview of these distinctions, with least severe cases on the left and most severe cases on the right, according to people.

Table 8: People's resolution option based on dispute/crime

	Petty property	Land – borders, animals	Land – ownership	Loan default	Domestic violence	Drinking	Murder	Suicide
Banke 1	Neighbours	Neighbours/ religious leaders	Neighbours/ religious leaders	*Not discussed*	No one/ Neighbours /women representative	No one	Nepal Police (registration)	Nepal Police (registration)
Morang (1)	No one / among neighbours	Mediation*	Mediation*	*Not discussed*	Mediation*	Nepal Police		
Morang (2)	Mediation*	Mediation*	Mediation*	Mediation*	Mediation*	*Not discussed*		
Kapilvastu (1)	No one/among neighbours	No one/ neighbours	Local political leaders	*Not discussed*	Neighbours	Community group		
Kapilvastu (2)	Traditional elder	Traditional elder	Traditional elder	*Not discussed*	No one/ neighbours/	Nepal Police		
Dhanusha (1)	Neighbours/ Panchayat	No one / among neighbours	*Not discussed*	Panchayat/ police	No one/ acceptance/ Neighbour or community	Neighbours		
Dhanusha (2)	Do nothing	Panchayat	Panchayat	Panchayat	Panchayat	Its accepted/ do nothing		
Achham (1)	Community /VDC officer	No one/ neighbours/ courts	Courts (occasionally)	*Not discussed*	No one/ neighbours/ police/court	Neighbours		
Achham (2)	No one/ neighbours	Family, neighbours	*Not discussed*	*Not discussed*	No one/ neighbours/ women's organisation	Neighbours		

**here 'mediation' refers to mediation groups trained by outside NGOs or other bodies*

In all locations, people most commonly mentioned that they prefer to resolve issues among neighbours, particularly for cases of land and property disputes, along with domestic violence. However, a number of people told us that when they had reliable local alternatives, they may prefer to first resolve problems in this way. In Dhanusha this alternative was a panchayat, while Tharu communities in Kapilvastu (2), told us they preferred the help of the *badghar,* or traditional elder.

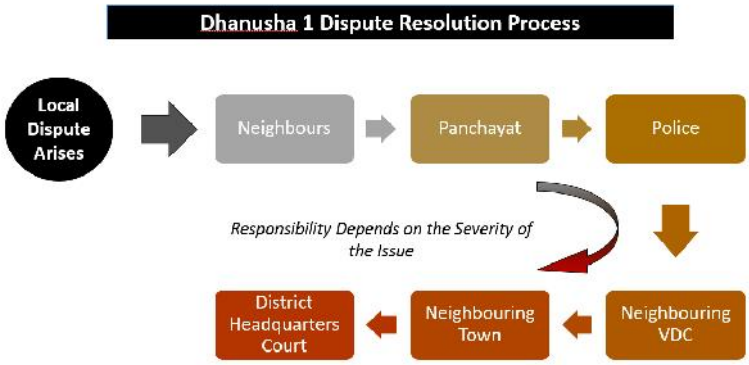
In the case of murder and suicide, people overwhelmingly told us that they would register these cases of 'unnatural death' to the police. However, they told us that they did this as it was an administrative and legal requirement rather than with a view to seeking investigation or justice.

In over half the locations, no one we spoke to had ever been to a court or knew anyone who had. People explained this by saying that courts were for very 'serious' cases, and thus they were not 'necessary' for them. People who had been to courts in Morang (2) went specifically to formalize divorce proceedings, while in Dhanusha (2) and Achham (1), people had gone to settle issues related to property ownership.

In discussions across all locations, we observed that people based their decision on where to resolve cases on where they were likely to get the best outcome. For example, as mentioned above in Dhanusha (2) one man had taken a land dispute case to court in order to pre-empt his brother to take ownership of land currently held by their mother. In this case, the first brother felt that the court would be more advantageous than resolving the issue by the village panchayat, as it would divide the land into three parts, allowing the brothers one portion each and a chance to obtain the last third once the mother died..

People also told us that solving an individual dispute would often involve the services of a number of justice providers. Figure 4 below shows how one man in Dhanusha described this general process as it related to a minor land dispute, though it fits with what many others explained as well.

Figure 4: Dispute resolution process



He told us that he would first attempt to resolve the dispute among 'neighbours,' or the panchayat. If those groups could not help resolve the issue, he said that he would then seek help from the local police post and in cases related to property, may also go to the VDC office. If the issue is still not resolved, he told us they would then either visit the police in a neighbouring town or municipality, who, in rare cases, would then transfer the case to the court. The following section provides more details on each element in this process.

Doing nothing is an option

In many cases, people told us they often did not attempt to resolve their issue anywhere, and instead 'did nothing.' While in many cases people told us they made this decision with minor theft and property issues, this most commonly came up when discussing abuse inside the home.

People explained this in a number of ways. When asking why women did not go to the police, people often described physical abuse in the home as a '*normal,' 'common*,' or an '*every day matter,'* saying that this is *'not something that the police are involved in.*' Other people mentioned examples where women who had gone to the police had later been beaten even more severely by their families, and their perpetrators had never been charged. One woman in Dhanusha (2) said that stories like this '*made her scared'* and that now, '*people here don't take these kinds of issues to the police*.' Another woman in Dhanusha (2) told us that even though she is often 'beaten' if she '*doesn't feel well or can't do housework*,' she 'would never do anything about this.

In other cases, women told us that they would initially begin this process, but stop before the issue was resolved. In Morang (1), one woman gave an example of this, saying '*I asked help from the neighbors but they were tired of helping because my mother in law never changed. I never went to the police.'* In addition to these examples, we also observed many cases who were victims of physical violence, particularly when perpetrated by female family members, who also opted not to try to resolve this matter.

'Local' Resolution Preferred

When people do choose to try to resolve their disputes or problems, in all study locations, they overwhelmingly told us that they preferred to resolve 'normal' problems 'locally' or 'in the community.' 'Normal' disputes included minor theft, land

ownership and land boundary disputes. People also considered it best to resolve minor disputes about inheritance and low level money lending in this way. In some cases, people told us that people sought help from neighbours, while for others this was limited to immediate or extended relatives. In some cases, people told us that they would also specifically seek the help of an older person in the village.

People largely told us that resolving problems 'locally' was the fairest option. In Dhanusha (1), people told us that this process was easy and involved some '*discussion among themselves.*' They also mentioned that they appreciated resolving their problems in this way, as the disputing parties together decide on the solution. In both locations in Kapilvastu, people mentioned that this often meant compensating people for or replacing damaged property. People described this process similarly in Morang (2), saying that they liked that they '*could choose a middle path to settle things'*. All people we spoke to about this way of resolving disputes told us that this was 'fair' and that people generally adhered to the decisions made by their neighbours. People in Dhanusha and Kapilvastu (2) mentioned that this also allowed them to work with people in their own caste and ethnic groups

Additionally, people told us that they preferred to take disputes to people that they knew and who they knew also knew them, often seeking the help of members of their extended family. People said this most often when discussing domestic disputes and domestic violence. In these cases, people told us that they considered these issues to be family issues and inappropriate to discuss with people outside the family. In Achham (1), one person told us, '*domestic issues are solved within the family, no one interferes unless they get really big.'* In these cases, people in Dhanusha (1) told us that women would ask other women for help and men would ask other men. They also mentioned that people living nearby would have the best information about the circumstances of the dispute, and would thus be able to resolve it most fairly.

Lastly, people told us that resolving issues within a community allowed them to resolve their problems without being seen as a difficult person. This was explained by the fact that only 'serious' disputes go to the police and 'outside' the community. People we spoke with in Achham (1) were proud that there were '*no big cases in the community that they can't solve*,' which they interpreted as an indication that they lived in a safe place.

Involving those with clout

When resolving disputes 'locally,' people who had the option often told us that they sought help from prominent people the community. In Banke, people described these individuals as '*wise but not necessarily educated*.' People told us that these people were generally men who are respected for fairness and listening to both sites to help achieve a solution, and had often been filling this role in the community for many years. Members of the Tharu community in Kapilvastu (2) also told us how the previous elder resolved disputes in this way, and were now concerned that his nephew who has now taken over would not be as fair.

However in all locations people told us that they also now increasingly look to people considered 'knowledgeable' rather than 'wise' when they have disputes. In most cases people told us that 'knowledgeable' people were rich and politically connected. One person linked this change in local practice to changes in Nepal's political situation, saying *'before democracy there was one (village) leader now every household has a leader'.* People told us that they sought the help of the politically connected and rich as they were the most powerful and that these people also helped them solve a range of problems, including obtaining government documents in Kapilvastu or finding a new job in Dhanusha. One woman in Dhanusha (2) described them, saying '*rich people can protect our community*,' and noting that she had also been given her current job by a rich person.

People told us that having people of this standing resolve your dispute was so important, that it often outweighed other considerations. For example, in Dhanusha (1), members of the Mussor community told us that they took their disputes to members of the Yadav people because they were the 'most powerful,' ignoring their otherwise dislike and distrust of Yadavs as a group. Though people in Kapilvastu (1) told us that they considered teachers to be most fair in resolving disputes, they continued to go to the local political leaders because they were more powerful.

Support of powerful people in the community was also seen as important in the event that the dispute went to the police or courts. In Kapilvastu (1), one person told us, "*land disputes solved through political interference – people come and say I'm affiliated to so and so leader and expect a favour from the police*." This point was reinforced by people across a number

of locations, who told us that these connected people were likely to get 'unfair' outcomes in their disputes because they had the option to 'bribe' the police. People shared similar concerns in Achham (2), with one man telling us that he did not take his friend to the police over his unpaid debts because *'they only listen to rich people*.'

In addition to the changing role of political leaders in dispute resolution, people in Dhanusha (1) attributed changes in the economic and political status of Madheshi people to changes in local dispute resolution. One HHH told us, "*before in the village if an elder gave a decision, all should agree. Now because the Musoors go abroad and earn money, they have no reason to listen to the elders/leaders."* This person explained this change noting that some Musoor people had only been given citizenship by the Government of Nepal in 2008, allowing them to obtain passports and work abroad for the first time.

Involving the Panchayat

Only in Dhanusha, people mentioned the panchayat as an additional possible forum in which to resolve disputes. In many cases the individuals who resolved disputes 'locally' were also members of the panchayat, described as an informal group of men who were considered respected and wise, though not necessarily old or educated. In Dhanusha (1), Muslims and members of the Mallah caste told us that they take their cases to the panchayat despite the fact that most of its members are Yadavs. These people expressed concern that Yadavs had a disproportionate power and unfair advantages in the community, but still sought their help resolving disputes as they were the 'most powerful'.

People told us that these men generally resolved disputes by listening to both parties and coming to a decision. When describing these processes, people told us that these decisions were based on judgement and the stories of the disputing parties and did not mention law or legal procedures. As this process included deliberation by respected people in the community, people told us that their resolutions were considered fair and were generally respected. Generally their opinion is sought on issues which are not serious or considered crimes. One person in Dhanusha (1) gave the example of a loan default case as appropriate to take to the panchayat, while others note that even more serious land ownership cases might be put before the Panchayat.

In Dhanusha (2), a panchayat was called to the police station by the police in order to resolve a case involving a husband physically abusing his wife, which the police had not been able to resolve. The disputing parties favoured calling the panchayat as it eliminated the need to take their personal issue to the court. Doing so, they told us, also reduced the burden for the police, who had not been able to resolve the dispute and did not need to process the case in order to refer it to the court. However in other cases in that village, people speculated that the panchayat was more likely to be biased than the court, as the many people involved in decision making in the Panchayat would be easier to corrupt than the few people who made decisions in court. As only men were members of the panchayat, women generally did not have any experience attending. One woman in Dhanusha (1) told us that it was 'dirty' for a woman to attend a panchayat hearing.

Involving the Police

Reasons for going to police

The majority of people that we spoke with who lived more than 10 minutes away from the police had never been to a police station. In a few cases, people had never encountered a police officer. For those who did use police services, people generally told us that police only needed to be involved in cases that were '*serious*.' In Achham (2), people described serious cases as 'unnatural death,' generally including murder and suicide. In Kapilvastu (2) and Morang (1), people also included traffic and vehicle accidents in this category.' When considering the police in this way, the majority of people told us that for them, going to the police was '*not necessary'*.

Exceptions to this exist when people wanted a more formal or 'official' way to handle disputes or want to threaten the perpetrator. One man in Morang (1) who had been beaten by his sister told us he wanted to file a complaint with the police because he thought they would *'make some papers'* about the case. People also told us that in principle they might go to the police with cases that members of the community had tried but failed to resolve, but few had ever actually done this. In Banke, police shared their case book with long lists of filed cases which had never been taken further but, they explained, had served their purpose as a deterrent.

People often told us that they involve the police to help them deal with drunk people. In Dhanusha (1, 2), people told us that in these cases, '*anyone can call the police,*' including in case of noise or disruption, particularly if someone was injured. This was the case in Kapilvastu (2), where people went to the police following a fight, as some people had sustained 'serious injuries.' In Morang (1), people told us that the police generally put drunks in jail for a few hours.

In addition, people mentioned a number of factors that have stopped them from taking a dispute or problem to the police. People in Morang (1) shared that they preferred not to take their case to the police for fear that doing so would *'make the issue bigger'*. Similarly, in Morang (2), a woman in one HHH told us that though her husband had married another woman, she did not want to turn him into the police as she was concerned would 'sour' the relationship.

Police station in Kapilvastu – without custody area

People in a number of locations also mentioned that fear of reprisal was a factor discouraging them from taking cases to the police. In Achham (2), people told us that they chose not to take problems to the police for fear of retribution, saying '*If you go to the police then there might be retribution in the future by the person who was fighting with you. Better to suppress the feelings so you do not need to deal with it*.' In Dhanusha (1), a woman shared a similar concern telling us about an incident that had happened to her during a robbery she did not go to the police after this incident because she feared the thief would come back '*to kill her child*.' One woman in Kapilvastu (2) told us that she was concerned about reprisals from her husband, who was often physically abusive. She said, *"if I had told my husband I was going to the police he would have obviously beaten me to death."*

We also learned that some women felt awkward to approach the police. In Dhanusha (1), a woman in one HHH whose husband was working in Qatar described her feelings of discomfort when a police officer came to her house to inquire about our visit to the village. She later explained that not only did she find it inappropriate to speak to the police without her husband there, but that she also was upset that the police would question her decision to allow our researcher to stay, but 'would not question the decision of a man.'

Expectations of police

We observed that generally people's expectation of the police often depended on their levels of exposure and interaction. Our locations were largely 30 to 60 minute walk from a police post, with the closest being Achham (2) with a police post in the village. In locations thirty minutes or more away from police posts, people told us that they rarely saw the Nepal police, and many people mentioned that they had never been to the police post. The exception to this is in Morang (2), where police carry out night patrols in the market area. Similarly, in locations close to the border people also mentioned seeing Nepal Police present near the border, even if a police post was further away.

No police post serving our study locations had female police officers or separate custody areas for men and women. No one we spoke with mentioned the lack of female officers as a problem. Most people we spoke with did not mention any vehicles possessed by the police, though when they did this was largely limited to push bikes. In each location, the police told us that between 8 and 13 officers had been assigned to each post, though at the time of our visit a number in Morang (1) and Kapilvastu (2), 1/3 of these officers were away for training. Across Terai locations, we observed very few officers of Madheshi origin. These officers told us they generally communicate with the public in Hindi, as none could speak a local Madheshi language.

Though we visited many police stations during our stay, some were too far away from our villages for us to visit. As such, the above information was also confirmed and complemented by discussions in the village in addition to the police. Table 9 below illustrates the availability of police services along with people's general opinion of the police in each location.

Table 9: Police service availability

Study location	Distance to police post (walking)	Numbers of police (actual/ planned)	Female officers	Language	Mobility (vehicles)	Opinion of police
Banke	20-45 min	No mention	No mention	All Nepali	No vehicles mentioned	Indifferent: rarely used them
Morang (1)	1.5h	7/13	0	1 local officer	Personal bikes	**Negative:** Low, poor levels of trust/reliance
Morang (2)	1hr	10	0	All Nepali	Not mentioned	**Indifferent/negative:** Low levels of interaction between residents and police; some who had interacted considered them corrupt
Kapilvastu (1)	25m	8	0	Nepali/Hindi	Personal bike, motorcycle	**Negative** – corrupt (as for bribes on the border)
Kapilvastu (2)	30-60m	6/11	0	Not visited	Not mentioned	**Negative** – corrupt, biased toward rich
Dhanusha (1)	5m	No mention	0	All Nepali	Not mentioned	**Indifferent/positive:** Low direct experience of Nepal police in the area
Dhanusha (2)	1h walk / 10m moto	No mention	0	All Nepali	Not mentioned	**Indifferent/negative:** Low interaction, **r**elatively low levels of trust, low responsiveness to complaints/crime
Achham (1)	2h	Not visited	Not visited	Not visited	None	**Indifferent/Positive**: Low levels of interaction but residents want a police post
Achham (2)	10m	11	0	All Nepali	None	**Positive:** Some positive views of police, regular presence with nearby post. Little experience of police. Low sense of police bias toward rich

People that rarely came in contact with the police generally told us they were either indifferent about the police or felt negatively. People in Kapilvastu spoke most negatively about the police, linking these negative feelings specifically to experiences when police had acted corruptly, on the border. However, people in Achham (2), where a police post was located in the village, repeatedly spoke most positively about the police and their impact in their community.

In discussions, there was a common expectation that the police could enforce decisions more easily than local leaders or communities, largely because they were more able to use physical violence. People also mentioned this to be particularly effective when it came to drunk people. In Achham (2), a police Sub-Inspector confirmed this, telling us that '*sometimes I need to beat the person in public. In this village we need to do this, otherwise people won't respect us. This is also to send a message to other people.'* People also told us that they expected taking a problem to the police to be a complicated matter. In Achham (2), they described this, saying *'all we need is food and living, don't want complexities, so don't want to deal with the police*.'

Actual experience of police

Those who had used police services told us that police tended to first try to resolve cases informally, generally through a process of 'mediation.' In Kapilvastu (1), the police confirmed this, saying that they tried to first mediate cases as they did not have a custody area in their police station. If they were unsuccessful, they would then send people to a larger police post nearby. People in Morang (1) told us that the police used to seek the help of NGO-trained mediators[3], to resolve cases. However, now that the trained mediators have migrated away from the village, one person told us that the police now do this themselves, saying '*police actually do the same kind of work [as mediators], they call people from the community to resolve cases*.' Similarly, in Dhanusha locations, people told us that police often sought the help of the panchayat to resolve cases.

As part of this informal way of working, police told us that they often do not record cases brought to them. In Banke, police officers we met explained that for all cases that they try to mediate are recorded in a notebook rather than in the police system, providing a record of case details if it recurs in the future. This officer told us that only when the issue escalated to the point of needing to be transferred to the court — would they enter the case formally into the system, and copy the details into their official files. Though the officer asserted that this system allowed him and his colleagues to keep track of cases, he also admitted that this prevented the majority of cases brought to the police from being entered in the official case tracking

[3] This is discussed further in the following sections

system. Similarly, police in Kapilvastu (1) told us that they '*do not have a system to file documents'* and do not record cases either mediated or transferred. Police we visited in Morang (1) did have a recording system, though we noticed that there were no cases filed at the time of our visit.

Among people who had visited the police, the cost of police services varied from location to location. For example, people in Dhanusha (2), told us that it would cost 500NPR for the police to visit their home, while in Dhanusha (1) no one mentioned these costs. People in Morang mentioned needing to pay the cost of a stamp to file an application (between 30 and 50NPR), but no other costs. In both Kapilvastu locations, people also mentioned needing to 'bribe' police for a specific outcome.

People's experiences of the police varied widely across locations. In some areas, people were very positive about the work of the police locally. In Achham (2), people told us they were very happy to have a police station in their village, saying that the '*police station is right here so everything controlled.'* In Dhanusha (2), people mentioned that police respond in *'10 minutes, day or night'* and are '*very helpful'*; a feeling was echoed by many. However, in other cases people said that their encounters with police outside the police station coloured their views of them. This included seeing police officers drunk in the village, often while wearing their uniforms. Experiences of police corruption further negatively affected people's views of the police. In both Morang (1) and Kapilvastu (1), people told us that they had seen *[the police] on the border taking bribes*," and had concluded that the *'Nepal police come here to earn money not to make us safe.'*

Finally, across all locations, people rarely mentioned instances when the police had followed up on details of cases or investigated them. We learned this initially in Dhanusha, when people told us that they would generally not expect resolution or justice for any crime if the perpetrator was unknown as '*the police were unable to identify the criminals responsible*.' This was true for both serious crimes like murder, as well as minor crimes like theft of crops. People in Dhanusha told us that no one was aware of any investigation following the oft cited murder case in the village, which was closed soon after it was reported. 'When reflecting on this process, the family told us that '*nothing could be done by the police'* - or anyone else – if the criminal is unknown.

In serious cases, people told us that they preferred for the police not to investigate. One woman in Achham (1) told us that '*dead is dead, police investigation just stirs things up*.' People in Kapilvastu (1) told us that they felt similarly when a man was found in a nearby river with his legs tied suspiciously. Though people believed this could have been either murder or suicide, they told us that the police agreed to consider it a suicide and record the man as '*mentally disturbed'*. People told us that though no one considered him disturbed, all understood this as a way for the police to help the family avoid an investigation, which would '*bother those who are still living*.'

Police are reactive

People discussed the police largely as justice providers, as opposed to security providers. This emerged from many discussions where people included the police as one of the many places they would consider taking a dispute or other issue if it arose. This is distinct from police being security providers, which was mentioned by only a few people. This includes Achham (2), where people told us that drinking has decreased since police began patrolling. Similarly, people in Morang did reference that police should be protecting them, but specifically mentioned their failure in doing so. In these discussions, we also observed that police largely function reactively. One police officer in Achham (2) described this position, telling us '*I cant do anything about child marriage unless a complaint is lodged*.'

People also told us that the police were less likely to intervene in cases that they considered a 'regular occurrence.' In Dhanusha (1), people gave the example of a husband who drinks often and 'beats her regularly.' Their neighbours told us that although sometimes the police would come and 'tell them not to fight, they would never take them to the police station.'

Involving the VDC

Overall, people very rarely mentioned seeking help from the VDC office or officials for a problem or dispute. People in Banke explained this by saying that the VDC was corrupt. One exception to this was Achham (1), where people told us that they would take a dispute to the VDC office if had gone '*unsolved for a long time.'* In this case, people told us they would ask the VDC secretary to mediate as he '*can be more objective because he is outside the community.'* Only if this is not successful

would people then go to the police. People in Kapilvastu (2) spoke similarly of the VDC, though told us that since the VDC has been absorbed into the municipality fifteen minutes away, they prefer instead to resolve their disputes 'locally.'

In discussing this shift, we learned that five of our nine locations[4] had recently been converted from VDCs to municipalities. People generally did not approve of this change, telling us often *that 'their taxes on houses and land had 'nearly doubled'* as a result of this change. Adults in Achham (1), told us that they were concerned that less money would come to the VDC in the future now that there will no longer be a dedicated VDC budget. People also told us in Kapilvastu (2) that they were concerned about being neglected, saying, '*now that we don't have a VDC office in the village, we won't know about any services*.' In Dhanusha (2), while older people disliked the change to a municipality, younger people told us that they liked the change as they thought it would mean less corruption, saying, '*before in the VDC office there were people only from the same community so people could just take resources, but it is so much harder to influence the municipality.'*

VDC building in Morang closed due to recent conversion to Municipality

Involving Community Groups

In addition to community members and the police, we heard that in some study locations people also have the option to seek the help of a community group to help deal with a dispute. These groups included either women's and mother's groups, or mediation groups. We learned that these groups worked on a variety of issues, with varying degrees of success and sustainability in each location. We did not encounter any women's groups or mother's groups in Dhanusha, or in Morang (2), and only learned of mediation groups in Morang (1, 2) locations.

In the realm of disputes, people told us that women's/mothers groups largely gave advice to women on how to deal with domestic abuse rather than resolving disputes themselves. This was the case in Achham (2), where the 'women's empowerment organisation' used to give advice on to the community on how to treat women and helped to resolve domestic violence cases. However no one could remember an instance in which this group had ever sent a domestic violence case to higher authorities. Additionally, in villages in Banke people mentioned that there were some women's groups present, but no one knew what they did. In a number of cases, we heard that these groups primarily served as savings and micro-lending groups.

Mediation center housed in the VDC building in Morang, which no longer functions now that the mediators have migrated.

Beyond giving advice to women, people told us that these groups sometimes take social action to deal with issues that they believe cause problems for women. In Kapilvastu (1), people told us that local mother's groups used to '*go into the houses [in the community] and tell the husbands not to drink*.' However, members of the group mentioned that this work has since stopped as, '*male members of the community stopped listening to us. They never actually listened and kept drinking.'* People also told us that women's groups in Kapilvastu (2) had also attempted to deal with the issue of alcohol abuse by threatening to exclude men who drink from social events in the village, which people in the village also described as unsuccessful. In some cases, these groups were self-organised, while in other cases people told us that they had received some training from people outside the village.

Unlike women's groups, people in both Morang locations described mediation groups as having an impact in their communities. People told us that these groups were composed of local people trained in mediation by 'lawyers', who would help solve disputes by bringing both sides together to negotiate a resolution. In both cases, people told us that they

[4] Nine includes the pilot area

considered mediation to generally give fair resolutions and were preferable to the police for disputes related to land and domestic violence and marital problems. People told us that these groups used to actively resolve 'small scale disputes' related mostly to land, property and domestic issues, but in both cases these groups no longer function as the trained mediators have either left the village to work in Kathmandu or abroad, or stopped working all together. Though a number of people in both locations mentioned these groups to us, we observed that those living closest to market areas and the VDC office were generally the ones who knew about these groups.

Perception of Border Security Forces

Opinions of the APF, charged primarily with patrolling and protecting the border with India, varied widely in our research sites. In Dhanusha (1), people attributed improved security – specifically reduced crime - in the village to the initiation of APF nighty patrols. People spoke of crime in this sense as related to smuggling goods and theft across the border. They contrast the APF to the under-resourced and ineffective Nepal Police, who prior to the APF's arrival were the only security available in the area.

However, in Morang (1), people viewed the APF as corrupt and had witnessed and experienced APF officers solicit bribes from people transporting goods across the border. In this case, people had the most confidence in the SSB, as they cited the Indian SSB's arrival as the key factor in reducing cross border crime and banditry, largely resulting from patrols. In this study location people felt that the APF had too few people to patrol its 30km of border, compounding people's lack of confidence in them. In Dhanusha (1) and Morang (1), people understood that the APF and Nepal Police are different entities. In both cases, people said that the APF was concerned with the movement of goods and patrolling the border, and did not carry out mediation or other types of dispute resolution.

Perception of justice

Across study locations, people we spoke with varied in their opinions on the fairness of the various dispute resolution options available to them. People most often told us that decisions made 'locally' were the fairest, particularly when they are negotiated between the disputing parties. One person in Kapilvastu (2) said that fairness comes from people '*who will listen*.' but also '*know the circumstance'* In Morang (2), people described decisions in mediation as 'fair' when both parties had an '*equal chance to talk'* and '*choose a middle path*.' In other cases, people told us that they were most satisfied with the resolution when the person in the 'wrong' provided restitution in kind to the other party, including replacing damaged property or paying for necessary medical treatment necessitated by the incident.

However, people also mentioned a number of occasions in which they considered the fairest outcome was for the guilty party to be beaten physically, either by the community or the police. For example, in Dhanusha (1) people mentioned the example of a driver who had injured a man while on a motor cycle and was later 'beaten up' by the police. People we spoke to about the incident told us that they thought it was '*right that he had been beaten by the police because he was wrong*.' Even his mother told us that she considered this fair. Similarly, in Kapilvastu (2), people told us that the police had forced a man who had started a physical fight to stay in jail for seven days and pay the police fuel cost and the hospital bills for those injured, which people also considered fair. We most commonly heard members of the community pass these judgments when discussing public drunkenness and disruption related to alcohol. Across most locations, people mentioned cases in which either members of the public, the police, or both would punish people for being drunk by beating them physically for being '*in the wrong.'* This was most apparent in Morang (1), where though a man had been beaten severely by his sister, they believed he 'deserved it' for being drunk. Police in Banke were similarly judgemental, telling us that they '*know who the criminals are*.'

When discussing their numerous options where disputes can be resolved, people mentioned that it is easiest to obtain a 'fair' result in the community when the two parties are of similar standing in the community, and harder when one party was richer or better connected. People told us that this was particularly true when resolving things in the community, as people were less likely to involve rich or politically connected individuals to support them.

However as the case moved from the community to the police or courts, people were often more concerned about external influence. People in Dhanusha (1) related this concern to a murder committed a few years ago,

'When the police caught [the perpetrator] – it turned out he had a brother in the UML[5]. He was sentenced to 6 years in jail but only served 3.5 yrs'. People assume the brother had used political connections to get out earlier.'

People in Kapilvastu (2) reinforced this observation, telling us that though they had never used police services, they believed that '*rich people get better outcomes'* with the police as they can bribe them.

Constraints to accessing courts

Many people had not heard of courts and often did not understand that any dispute resolution mechanism existed beyond the police. People who mentioned courts spontaneously did so last when discussing the range of dispute resolution options they had to choose from. More often people did not mention courts until we asked specifically, in which cases they did not understand their purpose or remit. In Morang and Kapilvastu, no one we spoke to had ever experienced or been to a court.

In cases where people did mention the courts, they viewed them negatively. For instance, in Banke, people told us that courts were where corruption happens, and that '*the defendant will bribe the lawyers to purposefully extend the case and force the other party to withdraw*.' The one exception to this was Achham (1), where people told us that many decades ago they had used the local court to help settle land ownership disputes. However, now that these are resolved, they said they no longer have any need to use the court.

People also mentioned the difficulty in physically accessing courts, as in most cases they were many hours away in the district headquarters, even when using public transport or motorbike. In most cases people told us that courts were over 1.5 hours away by car. Many people told us that they would not seek help from the courts for fear that proceedings would be too expensive. These people attributed this cost most directly to lawyers' fees, whom they suspected would charge unpredictable fees and arbitrary amounts for assisting them. People in Kapilvastu (1) also mentioned that court cases *'would take a long time*,' which increased their concern that taking a case to court was unaffordable. Similarly, people in Banke told us that going to court was risky, as lawyers who charge 500-1000NPR a day could purposefully extend the case in order to earn more money. Across all study locations, no one we spoke with mentioned legal aid to us when discussing courts.

[5] United Marxist-Lenninist Party, a mainstream national political party

Implications

04

Implications for Programming

People are more secure than in the past

Throughout the study people noted that they felt more safe than in the past, usually in comparison to the conflict and immediate post-conflict period. Security was not identified as a priority in any of the study locations. This poses challenges for the programme as the relevance of a focus on these issues may be questioned especially in some locations where basic needs such as access roads, water supply, education and economic needs such as access to migrant work are regarded as more important. It also may require the programme to adopt a more nuanced understanding of how individual communities understand public security. Where people see less relevance, their willingness to commit time and engage with programme interventions may be limited.

Private security issues may have become normalised

It can be argued that safety and security issues do exist for people which do not surface because they have become normalised or people prefer to keep silent. The intimate and informal interaction created in the RCA study enables people to talk about issues they face in the home more freely than in public spaces such as focus group discussions. Under these conditions, the RCA team felt that there was less a sense that people keep quiet than the issues are normalised. For example, people talked about nuisances rather than crimes making the distinction that the latter were illegal. Nuisance included disorderliness, drunkenness, harassment by authorities, corporal punishment at school, neighbour and family disputes and beatings, a few of which were described to us in terms which suggested it included actions which could be deemed criminal. Some cultural practices, such as dowry and *chaupadi* still occur in a few of the study locations and are not perceived as injustice. This implies that there is a need to continue to educate people about the law and their rights. However, this should not be universally applied across the project districts as we found considerable differences in cultural practices, for example dowry and dowry-related violence was very significant in Dhanusha but not practiced in Morang or Achham.

The study highlights the problem of making assumptions that violence is predominantly male perpetuated. Even this small study revealed several cases of women inflicting injuries on each other in disputes and on male members of the family. It is important for the programme to recognise this and provide support and access to justice to all victims of abuse not only women.

Migration has changed security dynamics in villages

While people indicated that they felt relatively secure, some new concerns are clearly emerging. The main one seems to be around migration and impacts this is having on families. Most migrant workers are men and their absence was explained to us as having both positive and negative consequences for security. Since young formerly unemployed men have left, people say there is less anti-social behaviour and less theft. But there are more women living on their own without male relatives and increased vulnerability of young wives living in their in laws home without the protection of their husbands. And both men and women shared fears that long absences can result in infidelity, polygamy and polyandry. These can have serious justice implications as people may have to face problems of divorce, property re-distribution, child custody which they are ill-prepared for.

The recent spike in increase in migration on long term contracts to the Middle East, Malaysia and other destinations also raises the potential for migrant workers to face justice issues related to their contracts, intermediaries and in-country work

conditions. An implication from this is that special ‘access to justice’ services targeted to migrant workers and their families may resonate as more relevant and with potential greater uptake than generalised services.

People largely feel indifferent about the police and expect little

The study communities mostly felt indifferent to the police and view them as a route to register cases and provide authority in meting out immediate justice, for example, in cases where people are drunk and disorderly and in minor fights. Their actions are seen as reactive rather than protective/preventative. There is no expectation to investigate cases. While Nepal prolongs its post-conflict transition state there continues to be limited trust in the provision of accountable security and justice and this further supports people’s preference for local trusted mediation and resolution. If the intention is to create enhanced police-community relations strategies to make people feel the police are less ‘outsiders’ could be considered , including recruiting more police with local language proficiency and cultural context knowledge, provision of motorcycle transportation to allow greater mobility and more regular presence in the village and trust building efforts.

Village-level support services were appreciated but not sustained

The provision of support services through women’s and mothers groups or mediation centres at village level does not appear to be sustainable. The low incidence of cases of, for example, domestic violence has led to some of the groups in the study locations to admit they rarely dealt with and never referred a case. Many had closed. Since people repeatedly suggested to us that traditional systems of mediation were trusted and appropriate, an alternative to consider is to identify, recognise and equip these people with enhanced knowledge of the current law and the wherewithal to refer cases beyond their competence appropriately rather than establish new groups.

Many female victims of abuse who did not take their case to the police did seek help from healthcare providers. Healthcare providers are one avenue though which this population can be reached with information and counselling and advice on rights and recourse options, as well as more information on the nature of abuse that is experienced.

People have little knowledge and experience with courts

People had very little knowledge and almost no experience of court procedures. Most shared concerns about the potential for escalating costs with little guarantee of favourable outcomes if they did avail the court system. They often suggested that verdicts would be in favour of those with money and influence and may be politically manipulated. Whilst the study shows that people’s need to use the court system is low, nevertheless more information could to be shared about how it operates. People need to be reassured of the fairness of the legal system and legal aid needs to be readily available. As indicated above, the repository for this information at village level could effectively lie with those in the village who are already trusted with mediation and arbitration.

Implications for Future Research

One goal of this research was to provide a basis of information to support the development of the quantitative baseline survey for IP-SSJ. The following implications are captured to support this goal and focus on the practical aspects of researching security, justice and other topics covered in this study.

In terms of background information, we learned that power differentials can influence people's levels of openness relating to sensitive issues. As such, survey questions revealing these disparities, real or assumed, between researchers and respondents including education, livelihoods, asset and caste should be asked at the end of any survey so as not to make people feel uncomfortable. Including questions on Hill/Madheshi origin should also be included to give a more full profile of respondent communities.

Over the course of this study, we learned that for many people safety and security are not central concerns to their lives, and often irrelevant. The survey would benefit from opening with questions related to people's broader concerns which will help contextualize security among other priorities and show its relative importance. Monitoring changes in priorities over time will also provide insight into broader shifts in these research locations.

People were hesitant to discuss issues related to private insecurity in the early parts of our visits, suggesting that this topic would be particularly difficult to discuss in a survey. In some cases people feel hesitant to share these issues with others, and in other cases people do not consider issues like domestic violence a crime. We learned that discussing behaviour found to be associated with these issues and the reasons behind provided an easier way to explore these issues, which could be integrated into a survey. For example, as victims of abuse maybe more likely visit a health centre than the police, asking about frequency, nature, history of using health services (and why) may provide insight into patterns of abuse. Similarly, asking about recent injuries, severity, and the circumstances behind them may also provide insight into these issues. Likewise, exploring practice and attitude toward behaviors associated with feeling safe could serve as indicators of people's feelings of personal (though not private) security. A few examples include locking doors, leaving children/wives home, walking alone, dog ownership and locking up livestock and assets.

This study has also identified practices which were associated with insecurity and vulnerability, most notably dowry and smuggling. A future survey should explore these topics as they relate to different sections of the population, though should take care to not assign a value judgment to these practices. For instance, 'smuggling' should be described as 'bringing goods across the border,' as the former has illegal connotations which people.

As people's impressions of police came from their use of police services as well as other interactions, future surveys should explore the nature of these interactions, including patrols, social presence in village (alcohol/non-alcohol related), encounters on the border, etc.

Lastly, given people's concerns about '*Maoists returning to the forest'* and Nepal's continuing unstable political situation, it will be important to include questions exploring people's perceptions of both national and local politics and the link between these issues and changes in broader security.

Annexes

05

Annexes

Annex 1: RCA Team

Scoping (Banke)	Team Leader	Dee Jupp
	Members	Danielle Stein Neha Koirala Arya Guatam Bijay Kumar Shahi Abijit Sharma
Team A (Kapilvastu)	Team Leader	Neha Koirala
	Members	Ram Chandra Adhikari- Manis Verma Gita K.C. Bijay Kumar Shahi (Site 2)
Team B (Morang)	Team Leader	Pooja Koirala
	Members	Subita Pradhan Toran Singh
Team C (Dhanusha)	Team Leader	Arya Sarad Gautam
	Interpreter	Trishna Jha
	Members	Sanju Sah Paras Dotel
Team D (Achham)	Team Leader	Revyani Sjharial
	Interpreter	Avisha Tuladhar
	Members	Bikram Sherchan Kamal Prasad Khanal
Report Drafting	Lead Writer	Danielle Stein
	Contributors	Dee Jupp Neha Koirala Sean Mulkerne Coralie Blunier

Annex 2: Areas for Conversation

Context
Location – access (ease/cost)/distance from main admin. incl VDC, CDO, mobility
Village socio-economy; ethnicities, main livelihoods, public poverty (village resources; schools, health, police).
Organisations active in the community; *external* : INGOs, NGOs, GON prog, *internal* local groups (old, new, changes in how these operate/respect /trust) effect of external facilitation on groups.
HH- type, size, arrangement, family living arrangements, supplementary cash income.

Insecurity
Understanding what people view as insecurity-is this actually an issue? Relevance cf others priorities (women, men , youth, kids pwd, elderly, 'post war traumatised') differing perspectives. Gender/age related concerns. Do people make distinction between what happens in the and public domain, personal and community insecurity.
Nature of insecurity. What makes one feel insecure, incidence, severity and experience of insecurity (range of concerns; theft, sexual crimes and harassment, extortion/bribes, fraud, threat and bullying, disputes, superstition, recklessness, political instability, terrorism, kidnapping, trafficking, drugs/drunkenness, coercion into illegal activities, witchcraft) (BEWARE incidence)
Geographical nature of insecurity. Comparisons of Town/village, terai/hills, India/Nepal, - impact of moving home, displacement due to disaster, migration, effect of borders, insecurity in travel, marriage across borders, places where feel more insecure e.g. markets, crowds, isolated places, the type of neighbourhood & the dynamics of this.
Time; time of day (night, early mornings), seasons, festivals- times when people feel more insecure
Livelihood related –travelling, domestic work, carrying cash, night shifts, competition for/ownership of resources, migrant worker exploitation
Social/cultural –drunkenness, addiction, gangs, exclusion/inclusion, ethnic tension/prejudice, strangers, political activity-possible impact of federalism, protection by ethnic and political patronage. Post conflict feelings – effects of relocation of ex combatants , security services
Who do people feel are most insecure, most vulnerable.
Whom do they most fear? Whom do they feel are perpetrators or collaborators? Levels of trust in those who are supposed to protect.
Connectivity and feelings of insecurity-phones, roads-positive and negative aspects

Coping strategies
Management/mitigation How do people manage risk, deal with/avoid insecurities (public, workplace and home). How well do people cope- support networks, God and religious support, karma, avoidance, access to information, seeking help, ignoring, acceptance (normalisation). Family advice/norms . Affect of the trauma of war.
Knowledge of means for support and redress. Who can help? (range of people, organisations

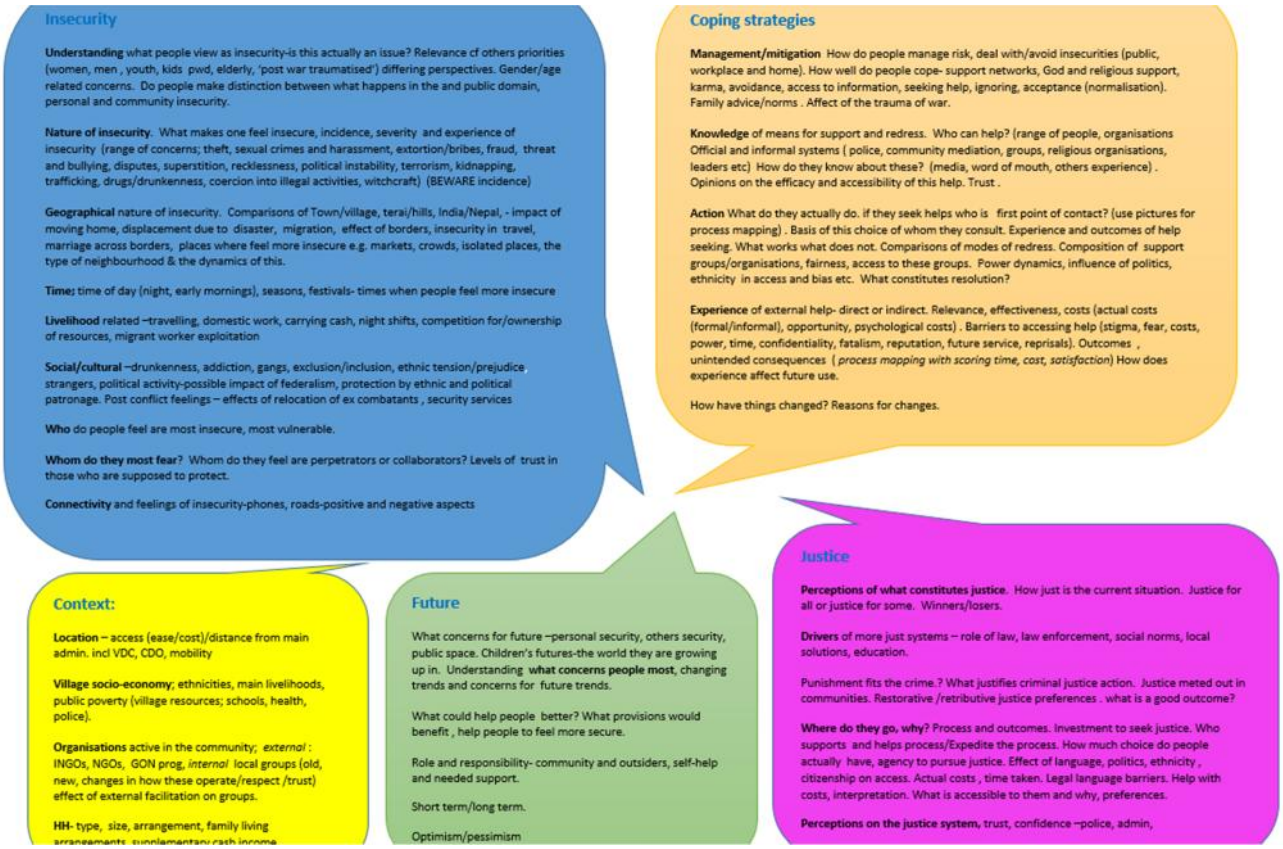
Official and informal systems (police, community mediation, groups, religious organisations, leaders etc) How do they know about these? (media, word of mouth, others experience) . Opinions on the efficacy and accessibility of this help. Trust .
Action What do they actually do. if they seek helps who is first point of contact? (use pictures for process mapping) . Basis of this choice of whom they consult. Experience and outcomes of help seeking. What works what does not. Comparisons of modes of redress. Composition of support groups/organisations, fairness, access to these groups. Power dynamics, influence of politics, ethnicity in access and bias etc. What constitutes resolution?
Experience of external help- direct or indirect. Relevance, effectiveness, costs (actual costs (formal/informal), opportunity, psychological costs) . Barriers to accessing help (stigma, fear, costs, power, time, confidentiality, fatalism, reputation, future service, reprisals). Outcomes , unintended consequences (*process mapping with scoring time, cost, satisfaction*) How does experience affect future use. How have things changed? Reasons for changes.

Justice
Perceptions of what constitutes justice. How just is the current situation. Justice for all or justice for some. Winners/losers.
Drivers of more just systems – role of law, law enforcement, social norms, local solutions, education.
Punishment fits the crime? What justifies criminal justice action. Justice meted out in communities. Restorative /retributive justice preferences, what is a good outcome?
Where do they go, why? Process and outcomes. Investment to seek justice. Who supports and helps process/Expedite the process. How much choice do people actually have, agency to pursue justice. Effect of language, politics, ethnicity , citizenship on access. Actual costs , time taken. Legal language barriers. Help with costs, interpretation. What is accessible to them and why, preferences.
Perceptions on the justice system, trust, confidence –police, admin.

Future

What concerns for future –personal security, others security, public space. Children's futures-the world they are growing up in. Understanding **what concerns people most**, changing trends and concerns for future trends.
What could help people better? What provisions would help people to feel more secure?
Role and responsibility- community and outsiders, self-help and needed support; Short term/long term? Optimism/pessimism?

Areas of Conversation Aide Memoire used during the study



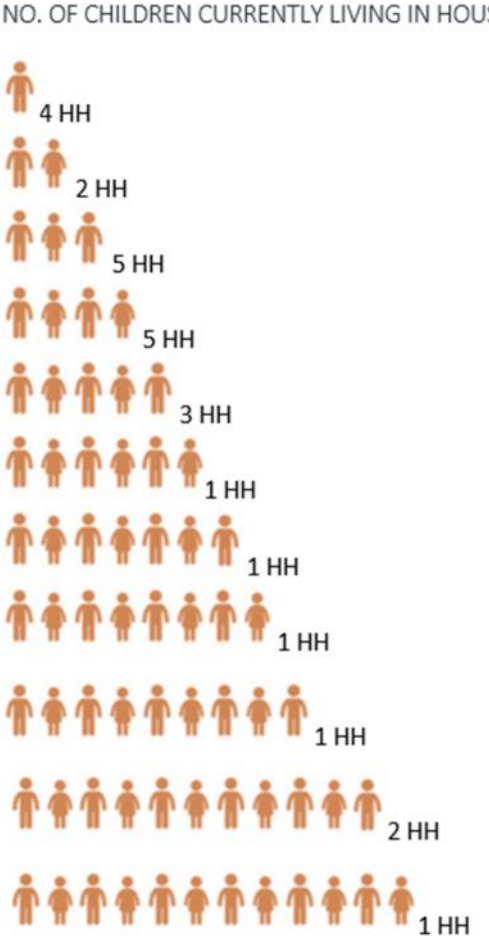
Annex 3: List of People Met

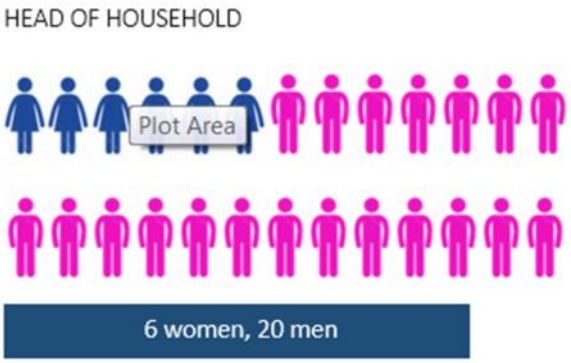
The following is a list of the range of people met in addition to the host families and their neighbours. More than 900 people were included in the study.

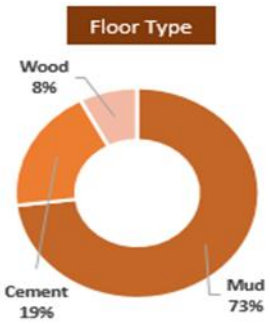
- Teachers
- School Head Master
- Health Post Workers
- Political Leader
- Member of local Forest Group
- Health Post Worker
- Security personnel
- Customers at tea shop
- Land Measurement Officer
- Liquor/Tea Shop owner
- Road maintenance officer
- NGO Officer (RUDEC)
- Local Contractor
- Local Fruit Sellers
- Local/traditional leader
- APF driver
- Kiosk owners
- Assistant Sub Inspector
- CFUG member
- CMA
- Assistant
- Shop owner
- VDC sectary
- Traditional leader
- Medicine shop owner
- Armed Police Personnel
- Police Personnel
- Municipality Personnel
- Youth Activist
- Member of Mediation Centre
- Health Volunteer
- CFUG- Secretary
- Migrant returnees
- Students
- Agriculture Technical
- Pharmacist
- Traders

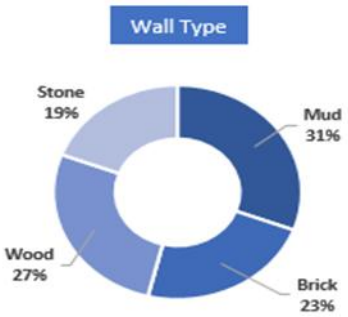
Annex 4: Household Information Graphics

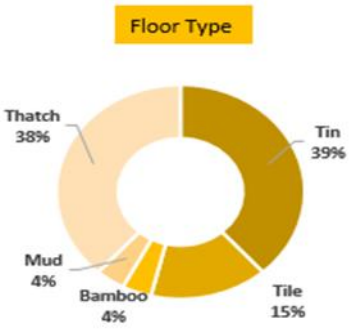
Based on 26 HHH











DISTANCE FROM FACILITIES

	Time to access		
	< 30 mins	30-60 mins	>60 mins
School	20 HH	6 HH	-
Health centre	6 HH	16 HH	4 HH
Market	4 HH	14 HH	8 HH

% WITH ELECTRICITY

Metered electricity	62%
Solar electricity	35%
No electricity	3%

% WITH TOILET

No toilet	30%
Toilet outside	35%
Toilet inside	35%

MAIN LIVELIHOOD

Farming	Migrant worker	Government worker	Teaching
12	11	1	2

Only 2 of 26 HH has single livelihood

NO. ADDITIONAL JOBS

	none	+1 job	+2 jobs	+3 jobs	+4 jobs
Farming	1	6	4		1
Migrant worker		3	8		
Government worker	1				
Teaching		2			