

NOWHERE TO GO
FORCED EVICTIONS IN NEPAL





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Cover Photo: "They came to evict us in the morning with four bulldozers. By then, we had already cooked our meals, but we weren't even given a chance to eat. We spent the whole day without food."

Remains of the bulldozed settlement in Bhajani Municipality, Kailali District, where more than 100 families were forcibly evicted on 25 June 2024 by the Forest Sub-Division. © Amnesty International (photo taken 13 July 2024)

This briefing presents the findings of Amnesty International's research into five cases of forced evictions that took place between 2020 and 2024 in Nepal that have disproportionately affected Dalit and Indigenous Peoples and rendered dozens of families homeless. It calls for immediate measures to address due process failures that resulted in violations of the right to housing protected under domestic and international law.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents the findings of Amnesty International's research into forced evictions in Nepal, focusing on five evictions that took place between 2020 and 2024. Amnesty International is deeply concerned about the continued practice of forced evictions in several parts of the country, which have rendered hundreds of people living in informal settlements homeless. The research highlights the authorities' failure to uphold legal safeguards and protect marginalized communities. It also identifies inadequacies in the regulatory and legislative framework. This research forms part of Amnesty International's ongoing advocacy for the realization of economic, social, and cultural rights in Nepal.

The research draws on field investigations conducted during two research trips to Kailali, Siraha, Sunsari and Jhapa districts in 2024, alongside sustained documentation and advocacy efforts by Amnesty International Nepal through its partner civil society organizations (CSOs). The five eviction cases documented in the research are:

- Kusum Khola, Madi Municipality, Chitwan District 18 July 2020
- Chaukidanda, Ghodaghodi Municipality, Kailali District 1 May 2021
- Thapathali, Kathmandu Metropolitan City, Kathmandu District 28 November 2022
- Purano Airport Area, Dhangadhi Sub-Metropolitan City, Kailali District 23 June 2024
- Bhajani, Bhajani Municipality, Kailali District 25 June 2024

The research featured 16 focus group discussions (FGDs) and 15 individual interviews, including interviews with officials from federal authorities such as the Land Issue Resolving Commission and the National Human Rights Commission, as well as provincial and local authorities.

The Nepali Constitution and legislation, specifically the Right to Housing Act 2018 and the Lands Act 1964, contain important provisions to prevent forced eviction, including by granting ownership of land to "landless squatters" (people without registered land ownership) and "unmanaged dwellers" (people who have some registered land, but are squatting on government land). The Right to Housing Act further outlines the procedural safeguards that must be adhered to in any eviction process and, to a large extent, mirror the requirements of international law.

Despite these welcome provisions, the cases documented by Amnesty International reveal the authorities' frequent failure to uphold legal safeguards widening the significant gap between legal protections and the lived realities of marginalized communities. It also points to serious legal loopholes with respect to the rights of compensation and resettlement when the evicted individuals do not possess land ownership.

In the cases documented, the authorities bypassed the obligations set forth in national and international law, including engaging in genuine consultations with affected communities to explore alternatives to eviction and giving communities adequate notice. Furthermore, in three of the five cases, forced evictions were carried out or initiated in blatant disregard for ongoing verification processes initiated by the Land Issue Resolving Commission, which is responsible for data collection, community engagement, land mapping, claim verification and land allocation.

Most people living in informal settlements in Nepal belong to marginalized groups. The research found that Dalit and Indigenous Peoples were disproportionately impacted by the forced evictions in the five focus cases. The powerful testimonies documented during the research highlight the severe emotional, physical, and psychological sufferings caused by the forced evictions, leaving individuals and families in a state of fear, trauma, and instability. Homelessness was apparent in all three of the eviction sites visited, in clear violation of international law, which obligates states to protect all people from forced evictions regardless of land tenure status and to refrain from rendering individuals homeless.

Affected communities in most of the cases documented received no, or wholly inadequate, compensation for the eviction. When resettlement was offered, this happened without prior

consultation with the affected community and without due consideration for their needs, such as the size of the family or the provision of basic services.

The research highlights several factors that are aggravating the occurrence of forced evictions in Nepal. The absence of the necessary regulatory framework to implement many of the provisions of the Right to Housing Act 2018 has left legal protections largely ineffective. The failure to harmonize conflicting earlier legislation with more recent laws enacted to protect fundamental rights has further undermined enforcement, disproportionately affecting residents of informal settlements. Lack of coordination and cooperation between federal and local governments has worsened the situation, with evicting authorities disregarding prior agreements between local authorities and the Land Issue Resolving Commission.

Oversight mechanisms are also largely ineffective. For instance, the National Human rights Commission has monitored some incidents and made recommendations for redress, but has failed to provide a response proportionate to the gravity of the incidents due to resource constraints. This could have included documenting and reporting on systemic patterns of enforced eviction and carrying out independent investigations. Judicial interventions have also fallen short. While the judiciary has, in some instances, played an instrumental role in preventing forced evictions, its conservative, ownership-driven approach has limited the protection available to residents of informal settlements from forced evictions.

Amnesty International has made consistent, concrete recommendations to hold the relevant authorities to account and improve safeguards and processes relating to eviction in Nepal. Amnesty International reiterates its call for prompt and decisive actions by relevant authorities to safeguard the right to adequate housing, end the practice of forced eviction, and ensure due process when evictions are deemed necessary. Amnesty International asks that the Land Issue Resolving Commission be enabled to carry out its mandate, identifying "landless squatters" and "unmanaged dwellers" and offering them land ownership where appropriate. Without urgent and coordinated action to implement the right to adequate housing and establish regulatory frameworks, the cycle of forced evictions and human rights violations in Nepal will persist.

1. METHODOLOGY

This research forms part of Amnesty International's ongoing advocacy for the realization of economic, social and cultural rights in Nepal. It draws on field investigations conducted during two research trips to Kailali district (12-14 July 2024) and Siraha, Sunsari and Jhapa districts (28-30 October 2024). It also draws on the sustained documentation by Amnesty International Nepal and its partner CSOs, including the Community Self-Reliance Centre (CSRC), Justice and Rights Institute Nepal (JuRI-Nepal), Nepal Mahila Ekata Samaj and the Informal Sector Service Centre (INSEC) on the Thapathali (Kathmandu) and Kusum Khola (Chitwan) evictions.

The research team visited six eviction sites: Siraha; Sunsari; Jhapa; Purano Airport, Dhangadhi Sub-Metropolitan City, Kailali; Bhajani, Kailali; and Chaukidanda, Godawari municipality, Kailali. Two other eviction cases that had previously been documented were also examined: Thapathali, Kathmandu and Kusum Khola, Chitwan. This report presents an analysis of five of these cases:

- Kusum Khola, Chitwan (Ward 9 of Madi Municipality) 18 July 2020
- Chaukidanda, Godawari Municipality, Kailali 1 May 2021
- Thapathali, Kathmandu Metropolitan City, Kathmandu– 28 November 2022
- Purano Airport Area, Dhangadhi Sub-Metropolitan City (Ward 1, Hasanpur), Kailali 23 June 2024
- Bhajani, Kailali 25 June 2024

These were selected in consultation with local partners, the Community Self-Reliance Centre¹ and the National Land Rights Forum,² to ensure a representative analysis of forced evictions across diverse regions and contexts, including evictions in urban settlements in the context of development projects and forced evictions in conservation areas in community forests and national parks. Although the evidence gathered during the field trip to Siraha, Sunsari, and Jhapa districts in October 2024 is not presented as a case study, it is referred to for comparison purposes and to establish patterns in the practice of forced eviction.

During the fieldwork, Amnesty International documented evidence, including photographic and video material, and engaged directly with affected communities and stakeholders. Those affected by the different forced evictions were interviewed to document their experiences and perspectives, and relevant documents (certificates, possessions, tax bills, eviction notices, etc.) were collected for analysis. During the research period, 16 FGDs and 15 individual interviews were conducted. Interviewees included three government officials, three community leaders, and nine members of the affected communities. Follow-up phone conversations with local authorities and local partners also took place at the drafting stage to update the information.

Participation in the FGDs was open and spontaneous, allowing for a broad turnout. Venues were identified through consultations with the CSRC and local-level land rights forums. Community representatives were mobilized to gather impacted individuals for the discussions. More than half of the participants in the FGDs were women. The names of participants and interviewees have been changed.

During the field visits, the researchers engaged with federal authorities such as the Land Issue Resolving Commission³ and National Human Rights Commission,⁴ as well as provincial authorities (such as Division Forest Office) and local authorities (such as elected or non-elected municipal officials). These interactions aimed to gather the perspectives of state representatives and assess institutional responses to eviction-related grievances.

A national-level social justice dialogue organized by Amnesty International Nepal was held on 20 February 2023, bringing together affected individuals, CSOs and stakeholders to discuss the impacts of forced evictions and pathways for redress. The Social Justice Dialogue series was primarily designed as an advocacy and exploratory platform to bring together affected communities, civil society actors and stakeholders to unpack the underlying problems related to land and housing rights. The Social Justice Dialogue series was not originally conceived as a formal component of the research, but it played a complementary and influential role in shaping overall understanding of the issues. Many aspects of the dialogues are reflected in the report.

2. BACKGROUND

The Comprehensive Peace Accord signed on 21 November 2006 between the Government of Nepal and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) formally ended the decade-long Maoist conflict (1996–2006) and laid out a roadmap for social transformation. This was subsequently reflected in the Interim Constitution and then in the Constitution of Nepal in 2015. As part of its programme to strengthen democracy and realize social transformation, Nepal vowed to address the root causes of the conflict and other political and social struggles,⁵ with the aim of achieving sustainable peace and equitable prosperity.⁶ However, the persistent occurrence of forced evictions runs counter to this goal, perpetuating historical injustices, including discrimination, exclusion and marginalization.

¹ https://csrcnepal.org/

² https://landportal.org/organization/national-land-rights-forum-nepal

³ Interview with Hari Prasad Rijal, Chairperson of the Commission, and Jagat Basnet, Expert Member of the Commission, 20 December 2024, Kathmandu.

⁴ Interview with Hari Prasad Gyawali, Under Secretary, Sudurpaschim Provincial Office, 12 July 2024, Dhangadhi.

⁵ For example, Dalit Rights Movement, Madhesi Movement, Janajati Movement, Women's Rights Movement, Tharu Movement and Disabled Rights Movement

⁶ Preamble of the Constitution of Nepal (2015).

Amnesty International, jointly with its civil society partners, CSRC, JuRI-Nepal and Nepal Mahila Ekata Samaj, has been monitoring the implementation of the right to housing and other associated rights in Nepal. Amnesty International is deeply concerned about the increase in forced evictions in several parts of the country, which have rendered hundreds of people living in informal settlements homeless.

Despite the welcome advances in Nepal's legal framework relating to housing and land ownership, which is outlined in the next section, forced evictions persist, disproportionately affecting already marginalized communities such as Dalits⁷ and Indigenous Peoples.⁸ Amnesty International has documented incidents across Nepal illustrating the recurrence of forced eviction and the devastating consequences for those affected. The emblematic cases of forced eviction investigated by Amnesty International and documented in this report confirm the continued prevalence of these violations. This research reveals the authorities' frequent failure to uphold legal safeguards, widening the gap between legal protection and the lived realities of marginalized communities.

The Land Issue Resolving Commission highlighted the extension of the practice of forced eviction or threats of eviction by the authorities throughout the country in a public statement in February 2025. The statement called on authorities at all levels – federal, provincial and local – to implement a moratorium on evictions until the process of verification and management of informal settlements is completed.⁹

Amnesty International has made consistent, concrete recommendations to hold the relevant authorities to account and improve safeguards and processes relating to eviction in Nepal.¹⁰ Amnesty International reiterates its call for prompt and decisive actions by relevant authorities to safeguard the right to adequate housing, end the practice of forced eviction and ensure due process when evictions are deemed necessary. Amnesty International asks that the Land Issue Resolving Commission be enabled to carry out its mandate, identifying "landless squatters" (defined as people without registered land ownership) and "unmanaged dwellers" (people who have some registered land, but are squatting on government land) and offering them land ownership where appropriate.

3. LEGAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTERNATIONAL LAW

There is a robust international legal and human rights framework relating to the right to housing and, specifically, authorities' obligations in relation to eviction and the safeguarding of affected communities and marginalized people. The International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) is central for the protection of the right to adequate housing:

"The States parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself [or herself] and his [or her] family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and the continuous improvement of living conditions."

⁷ Dalit Welfare Organization, "Dalits in Nepal", accessed June 18, 2025, defines Dalits as "those communities who, by virtue of atrocities of castebased discrimination and untouchability, are most backward in social, economic, educational, political, and religious fields, and are deprived of human dignity and social justice"; Dalits make up approximately 13% of Nepal's population, although some activists claim the number is higher. The caste groups officially recognized as Dalit include, among others, Badi, Damai, Kami, Sarki, Chamar, Dusadh and Musahar.

⁸ Amnesty International, "Nepal: Authorities must stop ruthless evictions of Indigenous peoples", 21 July 2020; International Tribunal on Evictions,

⁸ Amnesty International, "Nepal: Authorities must stop ruthless evictions of Indigenous peoples", 21 July 2020; International Tribunal on Evictions Facebook post, 23 November 2024, "The ITE call Nepal to comply with legal obligations on the right to housing and other related human rights of Landless Dalit settlements under Forced Eviction in Birendranagar Municipality-7, Kharkholi", 23 November 2024, https://www.facebook.com/story.php/?story_fbid=956059659885002&id=100064429316553&_rdr

⁹ Kathmandu Post, "Do not evict landless squatters, commission tells governments", 9 February 2025,

https://kathmandupost.com/national/2025/02/09/do-not-evict-landless-squatters-commission-tells-governments

¹⁰ Amnesty International, Violations in the Name of Conservation "What Crime Had I Committed By Putting My Feet on the Land That I Own?" (Index: ASA 31/4536/2021), 2021; Amnesty International, Adequate Housing for All: Nepal: Analysis of the Right to Housing Act (Index: ASA 31/0496/2019), 2019.

¹¹ International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Article 11(1).

International law defines the right to housing as encompassing legal security of tenure, access to essential services, affordability, habitability, accessibility, suitable location and cultural adequacy, ¹² with protection from forced evictions and a guarantee of non-discrimination under Article 2(2) of the ICESCR.

The UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR), a body of experts tasked with authoritative interpretations of the rights contained in the ICESCR, defines forced eviction as:

"the permanent or temporary removal against their will of individuals, families and/or communities from the homes and/or land which they occupy, without the provision of, and access to, appropriate forms of legal or other protection. No eviction is permitted contrary to the safeguards and standards set out in the International Covenants on Human Rights." ¹³

International human rights law, in particular Article 11 of the ICESCR¹⁴ and General Comment 7 by the CESCR,¹⁵ as well as the UN Basic Principles and Guidelines on Development-based Evictions and Displacement (UN Basic Principles), clarifies the substantive and procedural guarantees that states must adhere to in all eviction cases. The UN Basic Principles state that:

"any eviction must be (a) authorized by law; (b) carried out in accordance with international human rights law; (c) undertaken solely for the purpose of promoting the general welfare; (d) reasonable and proportional; (e) regulated so as to ensure full and fair compensation and rehabilitation; and (f) carried out in accordance with the present guidelines." ¹⁶

The CESCR stipulates that evictions can only be carried out where the appropriate procedural protections are in place. These include, among others:

"a) an opportunity for genuine consultation with those affected; b) adequate and reasonable notice for affected persons prior to the scheduled date of eviction; c) information on the proposed evictions, and, where applicable, on the alternative purpose for which the land or housing is to be used, to be made available in reasonable time to all those affected; [...] g) provision of legal remedies; and h) provision, where possible, of legal aid to persons who are in need of it to seek redress from the courts." ¹⁷

Failure to adhere to these standards constitutes forced eviction, a gross violation of human rights, in particular the right to adequate housing, ¹⁸ guaranteed by several international human rights treaties enforceable on Nepal. ¹⁹ In particular, access to basic shelter and protection from homelessness for all is part of the minimum core obligations — obligations that states are required to fulfil regardless of the resources at their disposal — of the right to housing, as well as the right to health. ²⁰

3.2 NEPALI LAW

Nepal's 2015 Constitution was praised for recognizing land and housing rights as fundamental rights. ²¹ In the years following this, Nepal adopted various key legislative measures, such as the Right

¹² UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, General Comment No. 4: The Right to Adequate Housing (Art. 11(1) of the Covenant), 13 December 1991, E/1992/23; and General Comment No. 7: The Right to Adequate Housing: Forced Evictions (Art. 11(1) of the Covenant), 20 May 1997, E/1998/22.

¹³ UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, General Comment No.7, The Right to Adequate Housing (Art. 11(1) of the Covenant): Forced Evictions, UN Doc. E/C.12/1997/4, para 3.

¹⁴ United Nations. International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Adopted December 16, 1966. International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights | OHCHR.

¹⁵ UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, General Comment No. 7, UN Doc. E/C.12/1997/4.

¹⁶ UN Doc A/HRC/4/18, Clause 21: The UN Basic Principles and Guidelines on Development-based Evictions and Displacement

¹⁷ CESCR, General Comment No. 7, para. 15.

¹⁸ UN Commission on Human Rights, Resolution 1993/77, UN Doc. E/CN.4/RES/1993/77 (10 March 1993).

¹⁹ ICESCR, Article 11(1); Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC): Article 27(3); International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD): Article 5(e)(iii); Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW): Article 14(2)(h); Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD): Articles 28(1) and 28(2)(d).

²⁰ UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, General Comment No. 4: The Right to Adequate Housing (Article 11(1) of the Covenant), 13 December 1991, UN Doc. E/1992/23; CESCR, General Comment No.14: The Right to the Highest Attainable Standard of Health (Article 12), 11 August 2000, UN Doc E/C.12/2000/4; CESCR, General Comment No. 3. The Nature of States Parties' Obligations (Article 2, para. 1 of the Covenant), Fifth Session, 1990, UN Doc. E/1991/23, para. 10, https://www.escr-net.org/resources/general-comment-3.

²¹ Sabrina Singh, "Realizing Economic and Social Rights in Nepal: The Impact of a Progressive Constitution and an Experimental Supreme Court," October 2020, Harvard Human Rights Journal, Volume 33, https://journals.law.harvard.edu/hrj/wp-content/uploads/sites/83/2020/10/33HHRJ275-Singh.pdf

to Housing Act 2018 and the Seventh (2018)²² and Eighth (2019)²³ Amendments to the Lands Act 1964, aiming to prevent forced eviction, including by granting land ownership to "landless squatters"²⁴ and "unmanaged dwellers".²⁵

The Right to Housing Act 2018 declares that "every citizen shall have the right to appropriate housing, and such right shall be respected, protected and fulfilled" by the state.²⁶ It also guarantees protection from situations where life is threatened due to homelessness, establishing a firm legal safeguard against forced evictions that result in homelessness.²⁷ The Right to Food and Food Sovereignty Act 2018 further strengthens the legal framework against forced evictions by stipulating that any eviction resulting in the deprivation of an individual's means of livelihood constitutes a criminal offence.²⁸

Furthermore, the Right to Housing Act outlines the procedural safeguards that must be adhered to in any eviction process, mirroring international law requirements.²⁹ It mandates that:

"(4) While evicting any citizen from his or her housing for public use pursuant to sub-section (1), the following conditions shall have to be fulfilled: (a) Consultation has been held with the citizen, (b) Sufficient notice, along with the reason, has been given, (c) Person or family to be evicted from housing has been appropriately identified, (d) Authorized official as his or her representative has been present at the time and place of eviction, (e) There has been not a night time or similar inconvenient time".

Reinforcing the human rights perspective, the act further provides additional safeguards for vulnerable groups:

"(5) In the course of evicting from housing pursuant to this Section, protection of elderly citizen, the sick, person with disability, children, helpless, weak and pregnant woman shall have to be properly paid attention to".30

In addition, the Eighth Amendment to the Lands Act provides for the establishment of a commission to resolve longstanding land-related issues.³¹ The commission aims to identify landless people, in particular those living in informal settlements across the country and make recommendations for land distribution and regularization.

Nepal's legal framework around housing and land ownership is fairly robust, but the legal standards are not flawless. In view of the international human rights standards that offer legal protection to every person³² and protect everyone from forced eviction,³³ there are many provisions that require revision. For example, contrary to international human rights standards, Nepal's Constitution and the Right to Housing Act only apply to citizens.³⁴ The Constitution and Right to Housing Act also exclude people living in informal settlements because they require proof of land ownership for legal protection from forced evictions.35

²² The Seventh Amendment mandated for providing ownership of land to landless Dalits as promised under Article 40 of the Constitution of Nepal.

²³ The Eighth Amendment aims to provide ownership of land for "landless squatters" and "unmanaged dwellers"

²⁴ Section 52B(13)(a) of the Lands Act defines "landless squatters" as including "the individual and members of the family dependent on him/her who or his/her family never had any land since generations under their ownership and is unable to manage land through his/her or their family's source of income, sources or efforts"

⁵ Section 52B(13)(b) of the Lands Act defines "unmanaged dwellers" as "the individuals and the members of the family depending on him/her who have a registered private land in his/her or their family ownership within the State of Nepal and are living by building a house, tent in government unregistered, unused or forest lands". ²⁶ Right to Housing Act 2018, Article 3(1).

²⁷ Right to Housing Act 2018, section 3(2)(b). ²⁸ Sovereignty Act 2018, Articles 40 and 42(C).

²⁹ Right to Housing Act 2018, section 5 (4); see, for example, CESCR, General Comment No. 7, para. 15.

³⁰ Right to Housing Act 2018, section 5 (5).

³¹ Lands Act 1964, sections 52A and 52B (6).

³² ICESCR, Article 11(1).

³³ CESCR, General Comments No. 4 and No. 7; ICESCR, Article 2(2).

³⁴ Constitution of Nepal, Article 37(1); Right to Housing Act, Article 3(1).

³⁵ Constitution of Nepal, Article 37(2); Right to Housing Act, section 5(2).

4. FORCED EVICTION CASE STUDIES

This section provides an overview of the five cases of forced eviction documented by Amnesty International and partner organizations. The cases are presented in the report as representative examples of the spectrum of circumstances and impact of forced eviction across Nepal.

4.1 KUSUM KHOLA, MADI MUNICIPALITY, CHITWAN DISTRICT — 18 JULY 2020

Location: Ward 9 of Madi municipality, Chitwan district

Date: 18 July 2020

Authority responsible: Chitwan National Park

Number of families evicted: 10 Eviction notice/due process: No

Compensation: No

Relocation: 2025, flood-prone land, tents **Official rationale:** Wildlife conservation

The Kusum Khola settlement lies in a remote part of the Madi municipality in Chitwan district. It is mostly inhabited by landless people, particularly people displaced by floods and landslides across the country, including people from Tanahun, Dhading, Makawanpur and the hilly regions of Chitwan, who have been living there since 1992.³⁶ In addition, there are members of Indigenous communities, including the Chepang, Bote, Tamang, Bhujel and Majhi peoples, who were first evicted from their homes in this region to make way for the Chitwan National Park when it was established in 1973.³⁷

Four years ago, 160 families reportedly lived in the Kusum Khola settlement.³⁸ The municipality claims that, in the last two years, it has resettled most of these landless families to other locations, building a total of 192 houses for the resettled families.³⁹ The authorities have resettled landless families from the Kusum Khola area to Pyuli, Thori, Raidanda, Paruikhola and Shivadurbar. Almost all the families living in Kusum Khola went to the relocated areas.⁴⁰ Ten families belonging to the Chepang Indigenous People remained in Kusum Khola pending an offer for resettlement by the municipality.⁴¹

On 18 July 2020, staff from the Office of the Chitwan National Park⁴² burned down two of their houses and destroyed eight others using hordes of elephants, all in the name of wildlife conservation.⁴³ No formal eviction notice was issued and no due process was followed.⁴⁴ Instead, the families were verbally threatened and ordered to leave within a week.⁴⁵

³⁶ Kathmandu Post, "Chitwan National Park once again sets settlers' huts ablaze", 29 March 2022, https://kathmandupost.com/province-no-3/2022/03/29/chitwan-national-park-once-again-sets-settlers-huts-ablaze

³⁷ Mongabay, "Razing of Indigenous hamlet highlights Nepal's conservation challenge", 7 April 2022, https://news.mongabay.com/2022/04/razing-of-indigenous-hamlet-highlights-nepals-conservation-challenge/

³⁸ Dev Kumar Sunuwar, "Chepang families still waiting for housing after conservation officials burned down their homes in Nepal", 4 November 2020, Cultural Survival, https://www.culturalsurvival.org/news/chepang-families-still-waiting-housing-after-conservation-officials-burned-down-their-homes

³⁹ Kathmandu Post, Chitwan National Park once again sets settlers' huts ablaze", 29 March 2022, https://kathmandupost.com/province-no-3/2022/03/29/chitwan-national-park-once-again-sets-settlers-huts-ablaze

⁴⁰ Kathmandu Post, Chitwan National Park once again sets settlers' huts ablaze", 29 March 2022, https://kathmandupost.com/province-no-3/2022/03/29/chitwan-national-park-once-again-sets-settlers-huts-ablaze

⁴¹ Kathmandu Post, Chitwan National Park once again sets settlers' huts ablaze", 29 March 2022https://kathmandupost.com/province-no-3/2022/03/29/chitwan-national-park-once-again-sets-settlers-huts-ablaze

⁴² https://chitwannationalpark.gov.np/

⁴³ Dev Kumar Sunuwar, "Chepang families still waiting for housing after conservation officials burned down their homes in Nepal", 4 November 2020, Cultural Survival, https://www.culturalsurvival.org/news/chepang-families-still-waiting-housing-after-conservation-officials-burned-down-their-

⁴⁴ Dev Kumar Sunuwar, "Violence against Chepang peoples in Nepal sparks outrage at National Park Authorities and Conservation Movement", 4 August 2020, Cultural Survival, https://www.culturalsurvival.org/news/violence-against-chepang-peoples-nepal-sparks-outrage-national-park-authorities-and/

⁴⁵ In-person conversation with Bina Budhacharya, Bimala Tamang, Bhagawati Adhikari and Sabitri Khadka, housing rights activists affiliated with Nepal Mahila Ekata Samaj, February 20, 2023.

The eviction left the families without housing, compensation or resettlement option. Although a building project had been initiated by the municipality in Krishna Nagar and Gaurigau, Bareilly, in Ward 7, it had been obstructed by the national park authorities prior to the July 2020 eviction, leaving the 10 affected families with no alternative but to remain in Kusum Khola. An Ko financial compensation was provided to these families, only land to live on, which the municipality had allocated in unsuitable areas such as the riverbanks. The resettlement of these 10 families took place between March and April 2025; the families are living in makeshift tents and are in a "sorry state", as described by an official Amnesty International spoke to. The resettlement locations are highly vulnerable to hazards such as flash floods.

Although not specifically documented by Amnesty International, it must be noted that again, on 27 March 2022, around 100 members of the Chepang community, who had stayed or returned to Kusum Khola and were living in around 20 huts in Kusum Khola were displaced and 15 huts were burnt down.⁴⁹

4.2 CHAUKIDANDA, GHODAGHODI MUNICIPALITY, KAILALI DISTRICT — 1 MAY 2021

Location: Godawari municipality, Kailali district

Date: 1 May 2021

Authority responsible: Forest and municipal authorities

Number of families evicted: 19 Eviction notice/due process: No

Compensation: No Relocation: No

Official rationale: Clearance of unauthorized structure on the highway

On 1 May 2021, forest and municipal authorities bulldozed and demolished an informal settlement in Chaukidanda, part of Godawari municipality in Kailali district. The action rendered 19 families from the Badi (Dalit) community homeless. The eviction was part of a clearance drive targeting unauthorized structures along the East-West Highway. The authorities did not issue eviction notices, conduct a verification process or offer alternative housing; they completely disregarded the Badi community's socio-economic vulnerabilities. Residents were forced to live in makeshift shelters exposed to monsoon rains, snakes and disease, while their possessions, including school books, clothes and official documents, were destroyed. There was no compensation. According to Godawari Khatri, the Section Officer of the Women and Children Section of the municipality, some makeshift tents remain in the area and to date a few people are still living there.

⁴⁶ In-person conversation with Bina Budhacharya, Bimala Tamang, Bhagawati Adhikari and Sabitri Khadka, housing rights activists affiliated with Nepal Mahila Ekata Samaj, February 20, 2023. See also, Chepang Families Still Waiting for Housing After Conservation Officials Burned Down Their Homes in Nepal | Cultural Survival.

⁴⁷ Interview by voice call with Ganga Bhandari, Ward Secretary of Ward 9, Madi municipality, May 15, 2025.

⁴⁸ Interview by voice call with Ganga Bhandari, Ward Secretary of Ward 9, Madi municipality, May 15, 2025.

⁴⁹ Mongabay, "Razing of Indigenous hamlet highlights Nepal's conservation challenge", 7 April 2022, https://news.mongabay.com/2022/04/razing-of-indigenous-hamlet-highlights-nepals-conservation-challenge/

⁵⁰ Rastriya Dalit Network, "The incident of the demolition of the houses of the Badi community", May 12 2023,

https://www.rdnnepal.org.np/public/index.php/article-details/the-incident-of-the-demolition-of-the-houses-of-the-badi-community

⁵¹ Arthalagani, "हुकुमवासीको जग्गा हडप्ने फण्डाले वास्तविक सुकुम्बासी घरबार बिहिन" ["The land-grabbing schemes of privileged settlers have deprived genuine landless squatters of shelter"], May 6 2023, https://www.arthalagani.com/politics/1946.html/ (in Nepali).

⁵² United Nations Nepal, The Badi Community of Nepal - Issue 50: https://un.info.np/Net/NeoDocs/View/2415

⁵³ Observations from field visit.

⁵⁴ Interview by voice call with Godawari Khatri, Section Officer of the Women and Children Section, Godawari municipality, Attariya, Kailali, May 21, 2025.

4.3 THAPATHALI, KATHMANDU METROPOLITAN CITY, KATHMANDU DISTRICT — **28 NOVEMBER 2022**

Location: Thapathali, Kathmandu

Date: 28 November 2022

Authority responsible: Kathmandu Metropolitan City Mayor, High Powered Committee for Integrated

Development of Bagmati Civilization

Number of families evicted: 0 (eviction stalled)

Eviction notice/due process: Eviction notice issued but inadequate + ongoing verification process

disregarded.

Compensation: No

Relocation: No plans specified

Official rationale: Urban development, beatification of city

The informal settlement in Thapathali, situated along the banks of the Bagmati River in Kathmandu. has faced repeated forced evictions. The riverbank is home to hundreds of landless individuals who migrated to the capital, Nepal's administrative centre, in search of a livelihood through low-paid, menial work. Unable to afford rent, they settled here out of necessity. The majority belong to marginalized indigenous communities from rural areas. 55

The first major eviction took place on 8 May 2012, when the then-Maoist government under Prime Minister Babu Ram Bhattarai decided to "clean" the river corridor in the name of urban development. On the day, more than 2,000 security personnel were deployed to demolish approximately 251 homes.⁵⁶ Although there was news of evacuation and resettlement circulating prior to the eviction day, an official notice was only delivered on 7 May, the night before the attempted eviction.⁵⁷

To relocate people living in the informal settlement, the Ministry for Urban Development constructed the "Ichangu Narayan Housing Project for Squatters and the Urban Poor" at a cost of NPR 230 million (USD 1.7 million). However, families refused to relocate owing to the remote location of the housing and the lack of consultation.⁵⁸ The buildings remain empty.⁵⁹

Prior to the eviction, the government had promised to pay NPR 15,000 (USD 109) to families before the evacuation. ⁶⁰ but reportedly only some families received the compensation payment. One national newspaper reported that the compensation payment was provided to only 67 "genuine" families after the eviction.61

⁵⁵ Gérard Toffin, "Contributions to Nepalese Studies", July 2010, Center for Nepal and Asian Studies, Volume 37, p.157,

https://himalaya.socanth.cam.ac.uk/collections/journals/contributions/pdf/CNAS 37 02 06.pdf

Kathmandu Post, "Five years on, state still undecided on squatter resettlement plan", 9 May 2016, https://kathmandupost.com/valley/2016/05/09/five-years-on-state-still-undecided-on-squatter-resettlement-plan

My Republica, "A year on, squatters still await relocation", 20 June 2013, https://myrepublica.nagariknetwork.com/news/a-year-on-squatters-stillawait-relocation

Baffler, "Down by the River", April 2025, https://thebaffler.com/salvos/down-by-the-river-stephenson

Guardian, "Nepalese squatters evicted from illegal houses in Kathmandu – in pictures", 8 May 2012.

https://www.theguardian.com/world/gallery/2012/may/08/nepal-squatters-evicted-kathmandu

My Republica, "Govt bulldozes Bagmati squatter settlement", 9 May 2012, https://myrepublica.nagariknetwork.com/news/govt-bulldozes-bagmatisquatter-settlement

⁵⁷ Asian Human Rights Commission, "Nepal: No support to children, elderly and pregnant women victims of forced eviction", 24 May 2012, http://www.humanrights.asia/news/urgent-appeals/AHRC-UAU-016-2012/

Kathmandu Post, "The government spent Rs230 million on buildings for squatters. Nobody moved in.", 25 July 2019,

https://kathmandupost.com/national/2019/07/25/the-government-spent-rs230-million-on-buildings-for-squatters-nobody-moved-in ⁵⁹ My Republica, "Ichangu Naryan squatter plan remains a distant dream", 19 July, 2024, https://myrepublica.nagariknetwork.com/news/ichangunaryan-squatter-plan-remains-a-distant-dream

My Republica, "Rs 15,000 to squatters before evacuation: PM", 24 March 2024, https://myrepublica.nagariknetwork.com/news/41937/
 My Republica, "A year on, squatters still await relocation", 20 June 2013, https://myrepublica.nagariknetwork.com/news/a-year-on-squatters-stillawait-relocation

A decade later, on 28 November 2022, the Kathmandu Metropolitan City (KMC) authorities attempted to bulldoze and demolish the area again in the name of a "city beautification" project to be executed by the High Powered Committee for Integrated Development of Bagmati Civilization. 62 The authorities proceeded with the attempted demolition despite an ongoing verification process initiated by the Land Issue Resolving Commission. Multiple notices had been issued by the authorities prior to the eviction, but there was no mention of a relocation plan.⁶³ This could be because the government is still planning to relocate people to the resettlement facility in Ichangu. The eviction was stalled due to community resistance⁶⁴ (reportedly injuring 18 police officials)⁶⁵ and subsequent judicial intervention. Landless people continue to live in the settlement area today.

On 2 August 2023, the High Court of Patan ordered that the verification by the Land Issue Resolving Commission be completed within six months.⁶⁶ Before the verification process was carried out, the Commission was dissolved in March 2024,67 leaving families in a state of ongoing uncertainty about their future. 68 On 14 May 2025, the Land Issue Resolving Commission (re-formed in October 2024) 69 issued a notice stating that it had started collecting official data on landless Dalit individuals and "unmanaged settlers" in Kathmandu Metropolitan City and the Kathmandu Valley. 70

4.4 PURANO AIRPORT AREA, DHANGADHI SUB-METROPOLITAN CITY, KAILALI DISTRICT – 23 JUNE 2024

Location: Ward 1 of Hasanpur, Dhangadhi Sub-Metropolitan City, Kailali

Date: 23 June 2024

Authority responsible: Dhangadhi Sub-Metropolitan City

Number of families evicted: 13

Eviction notice/due process: Eviction notice issued but inadequate + ongoing verification process

disregarded.

Compensation: Yes, following protests

Relocation: No

Official rationale: Urban development

On 23 June 2024, Dhangadhi Sub-Metropolitan City authorities forcibly evicted 13 families living on an abandoned plot of land owned by the City Development Committee situated in Ward 1, Hasanpur of Dhangadhi Sub-Metropolitan City, Kailali, otherwise known as the Purano Airport area, leaving nine

⁶² Initially established in 1995, the High Powered Committee for Integrated Development of the Bagmati Civilization (HPCIDBC) is a specialized government body tasked with the conservation, restoration, and integrated development of the Bagmati River and its surrounding civilization. It operates under the Ministry of Urban Development and in collaboration with local governments, https://bagmati.gov.np/

Kathmandu Post, "Thapathali squatters thwart another eviction", 29 November 2022,

https://kathmandupost.com/kathmandu/2022/11/29/thapathali-squatters-thwart-another-eviction; Kathmandu Post, "Squatters protest in Kathmandu against ultimatum to vacate their settlement", 18 November 2022, "https://kathmandupost.com/valley/2022/11/18/squatters-protest-in-kathmandu-against-ultimatum-to-vacate-their-settlement

⁶⁴ Online Khabar, "Kathmandu's Thapathali tense as landless squatters fight with city police", 28 November 2022,

https://english.onlinekhabar.com/thapathali-landless-squatters-clash.html

⁶⁵ Kathmandu Post, "Thapathali squatters thwart another eviction", 29 November 2022,

https://kathmandupost.com/kathmandu/2022/11/29/thapathali-squatters-thwart-another-eviction

⁶⁶ New Business Age, "Patan High Court Issues Diktat not to Implement Decision to Use Dozers in Squatter Settlements", 18 April 2023, https://www.newbusinessage.com/article/patan-high-court-issues-diktat-not-to-implement-decision-to-use-dozers-in-squatter-settlements ⁶⁷ My Republica, "Govt abolishes National Land Commission", 22 March 2024, https://myrepublica.nagariknetwork.com/news/govt-abolishesnational-land-commission

⁶⁸ Kathmandu Post, "Court ruling to boost KMC's push to evict riverside squatters", 18 July 2024, https://kathmandupost.com/province-no-3/2024/07/18/court-ruling-to-boost-kmc-s-push-to-evict-riverside-squatters

⁶⁹ My Republica, "Govt forms yet another land commission amid squatters' crisis", 6 October 2024,

https://myrepublica.nagariknetwork.com/news/govt-forms-yet-another-land-commission-amid-squatters-crisis-6702748433476.html

⁷⁰ https://lirc.gov.np/content/28/notice-of-the-term-of-support-by/

of them homeless.⁷¹ Among those evicted were 10 Dalit families and 3 families from Indigenous Peoples.72

Despite an agreement with the Land Issue Resolving Commission to verify the residents' status, the eviction proceeded without due diligence. After the eviction, the authorities admitted that nine out of the 13 families were landless and should not have been evicted. Affected individuals reported that municipal and national police forces were deployed in disproportionate numbers, causing additional trauma. One woman had just given birth and several children lost all their school supplies during the eviction.

Following intense protests during which affected people camped in front of the municipal office, the city agreed to compensate homeless families with NPR 9,000 (USD 65) for three months' rent (NPR 3.000 per month, insufficient to pay for accommodation for a family), but failed to follow through on promises to assist with landownership. 73 Families were left either renting substandard housing or seeking shelter with relatives. Others were forced to live in makeshift tents without basic amenities or protection from harsh weather conditions.

4.5 BHAJANI, BHAJANI MUNICIPALITY, KAILALI DISTRICT — 25 JUNE 2024

Location: Bhajani, Kailali district

Date: 25 June 2024

Authority responsible: Forest Sub-Division Office

Number of families evicted: 100+

Eviction notice/due process: Eviction notice issued but inadequate + ongoing verification process

disregarded. Compensation: No Relocation: No.

Official rationale: Wildlife conservation

On 25 June 2024, the Forest Sub-Division Office in Bhajani carried out a mass eviction that left more than 100 families homeless. Many of these families had been awaiting land ownership certificates from the Land Issue Resolving Commission and already had electricity bills, access to roads and nissa (temporary certificate of land occupation).⁷⁴

Although a notice was issued, the eviction was carried out without completion of the verification process. The forest authorities ignored their obligations under the Right to Housing Act, claiming their role was only to enforce forest laws. Due to the lack of alternative accommodation options, some homeless families continued living there and remained there at the time of writing, fearing future eviction and hopeful of land ownership or resettlement. 75 Families who remain in the area, including postpartum women and elderly individuals, are living in flimsy tents without basic services or adequate protection from the elements.⁷⁶

⁷¹ Press Release by 10 CSOs, "No eviction, Guarantee right to housing", 1 July 2024, demanding for justice to the victims of evictions in Dhangadhi and Bhajani of Kailali district: https://csrcnepal.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/07/Press-Release-No-Eviction-Guarantee-Right-to-Housing pdf (Although the press release refers to 10 families, local activists have confirmed that 13 families were evicted, of which 9 were rendered homeless).

⁷² Observation from field visit.

⁷³ Interview with Dan Bahadur Gautam, one of the eviction victims, 19 February 2025.

⁷⁴ Amnesty International Nepal, "Preliminary findings of the joint monitoring of forced evictions by civil society organisations", 16 July 2024, https://amnestynepal.org/press_release/en-preliminary-findings-of-the-joint-monitoring-of-forced-evictions-by-civil-society-organisations ⁷⁵ Consultation with Sushma Neupane, Land Rights Activist, CSRC, 5 May 2025.

⁷⁶ Observation from field visit.

5. DUE PROCESS FAILURES

Evictions must adhere to the Right to Housing Act, ensuring due process through prior consultation, adequate notice, proper identification and the presence of an authorized official. Evictions at night or inconvenient times are prohibited, and special protections must be provided for vulnerable groups. Fix Evictions should be conducted in line with international human rights law requirements including prior consultations, adequate notice, compensation and resettlement and safeguards against additional hardship caused by the eviction process.

The cases investigated by Amnesty International reveal the Nepali authorities' gross disregard for legal safeguards and due process applicable to evictions. This includes the failure to prevent homelessness⁷⁸ and uphold specific protections for groups vulnerable to discrimination and marginalization, such as older people, children and persons with disabilities.⁷⁹ Authorities also failed to follow procedures stipulated by the Lands Act relating to the identification and verification of landless Dalits and residents of informal settlements.⁸⁰ Authorities were found to have bypassed the obligations set forth in the Right to Housing Act⁸¹ and procedural protections prescribed by international human rights law,⁸² including engaging in genuine consultations with affected communities on alternatives to evictions and provision of adequate notice. In the cases studied, consultations either did not happen at all or they were merely perfunctory.

5.1 EVICTION NOTICES, CONSENT AND LEGAL SAFEGUARDS

In two of the five cases documented, the authorities failed to issue official eviction notices. In Kusum Khola, Chitwan, where 10 Chepang Indigenous families were living, no formal eviction notice was issued prior to the eviction. The Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention 1989, to which Nepal is a party, states that the state must obtain the free, prior and informed consent of Indigenous Peoples who will be impacted by eviction. The families were instead threatened verbally and ordered by national park officials to leave their homes within a week. The absence of official notice illustrates the blatant disregard for procedural safeguards and the state's failure to respect the right to adequate housing and protect vulnerable communities from forced evictions. The same procedural safeguards and the state's failure to respect the right to adequate housing and protect vulnerable communities from forced evictions.

In Chaukidanda, landless Badi families from the Dalit community were forcibly evicted by the Dhangadhi Forest Division Office without any notice; there was also no verification process by the Land Issue Resolving Commission or provision of alternative housing.⁸⁵

In the other cases documented in this report, notices were issued, but those examined by Amnesty International, relating to evictions in Thapathali and Bhajani, as well as other eviction sites visited, contained no reference to prior consultations, resettlement or compensation measures. Notice periods ranged from one month in Bhajani to seven days in Thapathali – albeit with references to prior public notices. One notice issued in Thapathali on 25 March 2023 (prior to a renewed eviction attempt that was later stayed by the High Court of Patan pending the verification process by the Land Issue Resolving Commission) also included punitive provisions, stating that residents would have to bear the cost of dismantling structures if they failed to remove them voluntarily.

⁷⁷ Right to Housing Act, Section 5(3).

⁷⁸ Section 3(2)(b) of the Right to Housing Act, 2018 guarantees the right to be protected from vulnerabilities to homelessness.

⁷⁹ Right to Housing Act 2018, section 5(5).

⁸⁰ Procedure for Collecting Data on Landless Dalits, Landless Squatters, and Unmanaged Settlers, 2081 (2024), Criteria and Standards for Identifying and Certifying Landless Dalits, Landless Squatters, and Unmanaged Settlers, 2081 (2024), Procedure for Providing Land to Landless Dalits, Landless Squatters, and Unmanaged Settlers, 2081 (2024).

Right to Housing Act, Sections 5(2), 5(3) and 5(4).

⁸² CESCR, General Comment No. 7, para. 15.

⁸³ ILO Convention 169,

https://normlex.ilo.org/dyn/nrmlx_en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:55:0::NO::P55_TYPE%2CP55_LANG%2CP55_DOCUMENT%2CP55_NODE:REV%2Cen%2CC169%2C%2FDocument

⁸⁴ Writ petition no 2077-WO-0038 (Raju Prasad Chapagai and others vs Government of Nepal, Office of the Prime Minister and Council of Ministers and others) under consideration of the Supreme Court of Nepal.

⁸⁵ Arthalagani, "हुकुमवासीको जग्गा हडप्ने फण्डाले वास्तविक सुकुम्बासी घरबार बिहिन" [Land-grabbing by those with influence has left genuine squatters homeless], 7 May 2023, https://www.arthalagani.com/politics/1946.html/

5.2 LAND ISSUE RESOLVING COMMISSION AND OBLIGATIONS TO PEOPLE LIVING IN INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

The identification, verification, and management of people who are landless and people living in informal settlements requires a structured and rights-based process. The Land Issue Resolving Commission is responsible for data collection, community engagement, land mapping, claim verification and land allocation.⁸⁶ The process requires that local government enter into agreement with the Commission for the verification process. According to the Land Commission, it has received 1,110,985 applications of which 166,395 are from "landless squatters", and 856,746 are "unmanaged settlers". So far, it has issued 4,839 land ownership certificates⁸⁷.

The commission's process for formalizing land rights involves several key steps aimed at ensuring transparency, accuracy and fairness. It begins with collecting data on land occupation by identifying landless individuals and people living in informal settlements, and carefully recording the areas and settlements they occupy. To promote inclusiveness and transparency, the commission engages directly with communities by training facilitators, conducting household surveys and interviews, and holding public hearings. In the next phase, the commission maps and measures land using satellite imagery, drones, geographic information system (GIS) technology and ground surveys to create accurate digital demarcations. Claims to land are then verified and validated through a rigorous crosschecking process, during which ineligible claims are screened out and final lists of eligible beneficiaries are prepared. Once verification is complete, land is allocated to verified beneficiaries based on set eligibility criteria and landholding thresholds. Finally, the process concludes with granting legal ownership. Land titles are issued with specific restrictions to encourage responsible and sustainable land use, including conditions attached to the use, transfer, or resale of the land.

In Bhanjani, Thapathali and Dhangadhi, forced evictions were carried out or initiated in blatant disregard for the ongoing verification processes initiated by the Land Issue Resolving Commission. In Bhajani, where more than 100 families were forcibly evicted in June 2024, the eviction took place before the Land Issue Resolving Commission had completed its process for management of "landless squatters" and "unmanaged settlers". 88 Many of the evicted people, including postpartum women and elderly individuals, were still living in flimsy tents without basic services or protection from the elements at the time of writing.

In Thapathali, Kathmandu, a settlement that had already suffered from evictions in 2012, the Kathmandu Metropolitan City authority unilaterally attempted to bulldoze the settlement without verification, despite the mayor's agreement for the verification process. Soon after the eviction was carried out, housing rights activists expressed their deep frustration and sense of betrayal. Bhagavati Adhikari, a housing rights activist from Nepal Mahila Ekata Samaj, reflected on the situation:

"We were encouraged by the agreement between KMC Mayor Balendra Shah and the Land Issue Resolving Commission. The settlers were eagerly waiting for a team from KMC's respective ward office to complete the verification process. On the contrary, the municipal police arrived at the settlement area with bulldozers, prepared to clear the area without verification, consultation, or alternative housing arrangements. This arbitrary move by KMC was shocking for all of us struggling for the dignity and security of the settlers."

In response to a judicial challenge filed by the residents on 30 March 2023, the High Court of Patan stayed the eviction process after an initial hearing on 31 March 2023. At the final hearing on 2 August

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⁸⁶ Procedure for Collecting Data on Landless Dalits, Landless Squatters, and Unmanaged Settlers, 2081 (2024), Criteria and Standards for Identifying and Certifying Landless Dalits, Landless Squatters, and Unmanaged Settlers, 2081 (2024), Procedure for Providing Land to Landless Dalits, Landless Squatters, and Unmanaged Settlers, 2081 (2024).

⁸⁷ Kathmandu Post, "Land commissions come and go, but issues of landless remain", 13 June 2025,

https://kathmandupost.com/national/2025/06/13/land-commissions-come-and-go-but-issues-of-landless-remain

⁸⁸ Procedure for Collecting Data on Landless Dalits, Landless Squatters, and Unmanaged Settlers, 2081 (2024), Criteria and Standards for Identifying and Certifying Landless Dalits, Landless Squatters, and Unmanaged Settlers, 2081 (2024), Procedure for Providing Land to Landless Dalits, Landless Squatters, and Unmanaged Settlers, 2081 (2024).

⁸⁹ Raju Prasad Chapagai & Nirajan Thapaliya, "Open Advice to Mayor Balen", 22 January 2023, My Republica: https://myrepublica.nagariknetwork.com/news/open-advice-to-mayor-balen

⁹⁰ In-person interview with Bhagavati Adhikari, 27 October 2024, Kathmandu.

2023, the court ordered the completion of the verification process within six months of the court order. At the time of writing in 2025, the verification process had still not taken place.

A similar situation occurred in Purano Airport Area, Dhangadhi, where, despite entering into an agreement with the commission for a verification process to be conducted, the local government authorities disregarded the outcome of the verification, including the issuance of *nissa* (temporary certification of land occupation) to the residents. ⁹² While a *nissa* itself does not confer ownership, possession or compensation rights, it is an important procedural document that facilitates the legal process of acquiring land. A *nissa* affirms recognition of the recipient in the administrative process and can be the basis for asserting rights to compensation, legal representation or objection within the land acquisition framework. The authorities admitted that they only realized after the eviction that nine out of the 13 households were landless:

"We carried out evictions assuming that the settlers owned housing elsewhere and were not actual squatters. But we later learned that nine out of the 12 families [activists refer to 13 families] were landless and had nowhere to go."93

This shows complete lack of due diligence by the authorities and disregard for due process. Additionally, as alleged by the people who were forcibly evicted, excessive numbers of municipal and national police personnel to evict only 13 households caused unnecessary trauma and fear. 94

The evicting authority in Bhajani – the Forest Sub-Division – showed complete ignorance and disregard for the legal obligations under the Right to Housing Act and the Lands Act. They informed Amnesty International that they solely invoked the Forest Regulations and the Forest Encroachment Control Strategy 2011⁹⁵, a strategy that was adopted before the constitutional protection of the right to housing was established and gave policy guidance for eviction by forest authorities. ⁹⁶ The strategy specifies that the eviction of people living in informal settlements from forest areas is conducted by giving a designated timeframe (not specified) to vacate voluntarily. If they fail to comply or obstruct conservation efforts, legal enforcement, including the use of force as per existing laws, is to be applied.⁹⁷

Ram Bichari, Chief of the Bhajani Division Forest Office, stated:

"We assumed our duty was limited to protecting the forest by implementing forest laws and policies, irrespective of other legal provisions in place".98

6. IMPACT OF FORCED EVICTIONS

Forced evictions cause manifold negative impacts on individuals and families, including homelessness, loss of property, lack of access to food and water, loss of livelihood, lack of access to education, and mental and physical ill-health. They may result in significant human rights violations, often against marginalized, landless communities, and other vulnerable groups.

The joint monitoring mission by Amnesty International Nepal, INSEC, JuRI-Nepal, CSRC and Nepal Mahila Ekta Samaj conducted a field investigation in July 2024 in Kailali district and documented a shocking pattern of human rights violations perpetrated against people living in informal settlements who have experienced forced eviction.⁹⁹

⁹¹ Januka Pokhrel and Others vs Office of the Kathmandu Metropolitan City, 079-W0-1267, court order dated 2 August 2023.

⁹² A copy of the *nissa* is on file with Amnesty International.

⁹³ In-person meeting with Dhangadhi Sub-Metropolitan City authorities (Narendra Khati, Chief Executive Officer; Kriparam Upadhaya, Head of Mayor's Secretariat), 12 July 2024, Kailali.

⁹⁴ In-person group discussion with evictees, 12 July 2024, Dhangadhi Sub-Metropolitan City, Kailali.

⁹⁵ Forest Encroachment Control Strategy, 2068 BS (2011-2012 AD).

⁹⁶ In-person interview with Ram Bichari, Head of Sub-Division Forest Office, Bhajani, 13 July 2024, Kailali.

⁹⁷ Section 4(3) of the Forest Regulations and the Forest Encroachment Control Strategy 2011.

⁹⁸ In-person interview with Ram Bichari, Head of Sub-Division Forest Office, Bhajani, 13 July 2024, Kailali.

⁹⁹ Himalayan Times, "More than 100 evicted families rendered homeless", 15 July 2024, https://thehimalayantimes.com/kathmandu/more-than-100-evicted-families-rendered-homeless

The experiences recounted in the testimonies documented during the field investigation highlight how forced evictions impact on the rights to food and water, mental and physical health, education, work, security of the person, security of the home, and freedom from cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment. They also show, as emphasized in the report of the UN Special Rapporteur on adequate housing, that "forced evictions are often associated with physical and psychological injuries to those affected, with a particular impact on women and on persons already living in extreme poverty, children, Indigenous Peoples, minorities and other vulnerable groups". ¹⁰⁰ In addition to the cases that were investigated, Amnesty International Nepal has received multiple complaints from communities living in constant fear of eviction.

The powerful testimonies documented during the research highlight the severe emotional, physical, and psychological sufferings caused by the forced evictions, leaving individuals and families in a perpetual state of fear, trauma and instability. ¹⁰¹

6.1 PURANO AIRPORT AREA, DHANGADHI AND CHAUKIDANA, KAILALI

Dalit and Indigenous Peoples were disproportionately impacted by the forced evictions because most people living in informal settlements belong to already marginalized groups. As narrated in the statement issued by the joint monitoring team about the devastating impacts of the forced evictions in Purano Airport Area, Dhangadhi, Bhajani and Chaukidanda, Kailali¹⁰²:

"The majority of those forcibly evicted are from Dalit and Tharu Indigenous communities. Among the victims are postpartum and pregnant women, school-going children, senior citizens and people with disabilities, who are being forced to endure severe mental distress and suffering, so much so that the residents were not even given a chance to secure their grains, clothing, children's books, uniforms, bags, medicines for the sick and disabled, and important legal identification documents, all of which were reported to have been destroyed."

Homelessness was apparent at the eviction sites visited at the Purano Airport Area, Chaukidanda, and Bhajani. This is clear violation of international law, which obligates states to protect all people from evictions regardless of land tenure status and to refrain from rendering individuals homeless.¹⁰³

The experiences of the 13 families forcibly evicted from the Purano Airport Area illustrate how forced evictions plunge marginalized families into deep despair and homelessness. ¹⁰⁴ Following this forced eviction, nine families were rendered homeless and forced to live in makeshift tents, lacking basic amenities and protection from harsh weather conditions. The precarious living situation of these families underscores the urgent need for sustainable housing solutions and immediate relief measures. ¹⁰⁵

6.2 BHAJANI, KAILALI AND KUSUM KHOLA, CHITWAN

The plight of the families evicted at Bhajani and Kusum Khola is similarly distressing. In Bhajani, more than a hundred families forcibly evicted from the community forest area in June last year were compelled to continue living in the same site in makeshift tents because they had nowhere to go. At the same time, the District Forest Office was proceeding with fencing and planting trees as per their unilateral plan, regardless of the impact on the forcibly evicted communities.¹⁰⁶

Some affected individuals reported being exposed to and experiencing recurring fear of multiple hazards such as monsoon rains, snake bites and mosquito-borne diseases. 107 The makeshift tents the

¹⁰⁰ Miloon Kothari for UNHRC, "*Report of the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living*", UN Doc A/HRC/7/16, 2008, para 21.

¹⁰¹ Nishana News, "नगरपालिकाले कर लिन्छ, वनले डोजर चलाउँछ" [The municipality collects taxes, while the forest authority bulldozes], August 8, 2024, https://nishananews.com/news/53267

¹⁰² DMN News. "Preliminary findings of joint monitoring of forced evictions expose dire conditions of victims", 16 July 2024, https://thedmnnews.com/preliminary-findings-of-joint-monitoring-of-forced-evictions-expose-dire-conditions-of-victims/

¹⁰³ UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, The right to adequate housing, General Comment No.7 on Forced Evictions, paras 15 and 16.

¹⁰⁴ In-person group discussion with evictees, 12 July 2024, Dhangadhi, Kailali.

¹⁰⁵ Field observation, 12 July 2024, Dhangadhi, Kailali.

¹⁰⁶ Field observation, 13 July 2024, Bhajani, Kailali.

 $^{^{\}rm 107}\,$ In-person group discussion with evictees, 13 July 2024, Bhajani, Kailali.

families were living in were made from tarpaulins, sticks, and salvaged materials. The shelters observed were extremely fragile and offered little protection against the harsh monsoon rains. Residents described how they slept in wet bedding and struggled to keep food and clothes dry. Without robust shelter, they were at increased risk of snake bites and other threats from wildlife; they had no effective measures to protect themselves. For many, especially children, the elderly and people with disabilities, the situation became a daily fight for safety, dignity, and survival. Their poor living conditions not only violated their right to adequate housing but also exposed them to continuous harm and insecurity.

Similar precarious living conditions are experienced by the 10 families evicted from Kusum Khola in 2020. Authorities confirm¹⁰⁸ that although they were recently resettled to other areas including riverbanks, nearly five years later, they still live in makeshift tents in areas prone to flooding.

6.3 THAPATHALI, KATHMANDU

The forced evictions in Thapathali, Kathmandu, carried out on 28 November 2022 in the name of "city beautification", have had devastating effects on the lives of residents of informal settlements, compounding their struggles with poverty, displacement and trauma.

Januka Pokhrel, a 57-year-old victim of the 2012 and the 2022 forced evictions from the Thapathali settlement area, who returned to and continues to live in the same location due to a lack of other options, has spent decades navigating a life marked by instability and repeated evictions. She said with frustration:

"We had high hopes that the newly elected political leadership of Kathmandu Metropolitan City would listen to our plight and facilitate our settlement properly. But the KMC did the opposite by deploying municipal police force with bulldozers in November 2022 to destroy our settlement. Why are we, the poor, easy targets while the powerful who encroach on public land remain untouched?" 110

6.4 IMPACT OF THREATENED EVICTION

People living in informal settlements are extremely vulnerable to eviction. The fear of potential forced eviction hangs over such communities with detrimental impacts on people's mental and physical health, on top of the precarious conditions in which they are living.

Motiharwa in Lahan municipality, Siraha district, a place visited during the October 2024 field trip, is home to approximately 100 Madhesi Dalit households who have faced continuous harassment and threats of eviction despite living there for 25-30 years. Participants to a focus group discussion explained that local authorities, favouring powerful landlords, have labelled their homes as "grumpy houses" that are obstructing landlords' property. The residents reported experiencing intimidation and lack basic infrastructure such as street lighting, proper toilets and reliable access to water. The local authorities have denied their requests for essential services, further escalating their vulnerability to forced eviction. 111

In all the eviction sites visited during the investigation, anxiety over potential future harassment and intimidation by authorities was palpable among those affected.

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¹⁰⁸ Interview by voice call with Ganga Bhandari, Ward Secretary of Ward 9, Madi Municipality, May 15, 2025.

¹⁰⁹ Global Press Journal, "Evicted Once, Nepali Squatters Living in the Ruins of a Razed River Settlement Fear a Recurring Nightmare", 5 November 2014, https://globalpressjournal.com/asia/nepal/evicted-once-nepali-squatters-living-in-the-ruins-of-a-razed-river-settlement-fear-a-recurring-nightmare/

¹¹⁰ Experience shared by Januka Pokhrel at a Social Justice Dialogue meeting convened by Amnesty International Nepal, JuRI-Nepal, Nepal Mahila Ekata Samaj, CSRC, February 20, 2023, Kathmandu.

¹¹¹ In-person group discussion with evictees, 28 October 2024, Lahan municipality, Motiharwa, Siraha.

VOICES FROM THE GROUND

The research included FGDs with people who had first-hand experience of the forced evictions documented in this report. The testimonies that emerged during these discussions paint a vivid picture of the devastation and emotional impact caused by the evictions.

I. SYSTEMATIC DEHUMANIZATION

At the Bhajani, Dhangadhi and Chaukidanda eviction sites, participants in our FGDs shared their experiences of the evictions and highlighted the lack of consideration and harsh brutality used in the process. One of the victims in Bhajani said:

"Our homes were bulldozed from all sides. Now, we have nowhere to go and nothing to eat. How will we survive?"112

Similar testimonies were shared at the Dhangadhi eviction site. Pointing at the site, which was cluttered with debris, broken belongings and torn clothing, many victims recounted their experiences with tear-filled eyes and shaky voices. One of the women FGD participants

"They came to evict us in the morning with four bulldozers. By then, we had already cooked our meals, but we weren't even given a chance to eat. We spent the whole day without food."113



The Purano Airport area in Dhangadhi Sub-Metropolitan City was demolished by bulldozers despite an agreement with the Land Issue Resolving Commission to conduct a verification process. Local authorities ignored the outcome of this verification, including the issuance of temporary certificates of land occupation to residents. © Amnesty International (photo taken 12 July 2024)

Victims of the forced evictions said that the authorities had demonstrated a ruthless approach in carrying out the evictions, even uprooting water pumps that had been installed by the municipality itself. Dan Bahadur Gautam of the Purano Airport Area in Dhangadhi reported:

"They not only demolished our homes but also destroyed everything we had worked for. They even destroyed the water pumps which was [sic] installed by the local government itself." 114

Mithu Badi, Treasurer of the Badi Upliftment Committee and the Nomadic and Landless Struggles Committee, and one of the oldest victims of the Chaukidanda eviction, described her lifelong struggle and how the brutality of the recent eviction has affected her:

"My story is all about struggles. I was arrested and tortured during the Maoist conflict on false allegations of being a Maoist. We settled here because of landlessness and the inability to survive through our traditional occupation — providing entertainment by singing and dancing [and practising a nomadic way of life] and earning our livelihoods in return. But the municipal authorities bulldozed and burned our settlements. They even took away the soil from here and sold it to others. Nothing was left."115

 $^{^{\}rm 112}$ In-person interview, 13 July 2024, Bhajani, Kailali.

 $^{^{113}}$ In-person group discussion with victims, 2 July 2024, Dhangadhi, Kailali. 114 In-person interview, dated 12 July 2024, Dhangadhi, Kailali.

¹¹⁵ In-person group discussion with victims, 13 July 2024, Godawari Municipality, Chaukidanda, Kailali.

II. WORTHLESS TEMPORARY CERTIFICATE OF LAND OCCUPATION

Participants in the FGDs emphasized the authorities' thorough disregard for official processes, prior status recognitions or landownership certification. During a focus group discussion in Bhajani, participants expressed their frustration:

"We possess certificates, electricity bills, and access to government-built roads — yet none of these safeguarded us from eviction." 116

"We have *nissa* [temporary certificate of occupation], electricity and drinking water service documents. We were told we could stay, but now we are being kicked out." 117

These documents were shown to researchers and copies are on file with Amnesty International. Despite having evidence of security of tenure, such as land measurements and temporary certificate of land occupation issued by the Land Issue Resolving Commission, the authorities dismissed the residents' claims. "We were hopeful we would receive landownership certificates as our settlement was recognized by the authorities, but none of our documents were acknowledged by the Forest Office," Dhansara Sunar, Secretary of the Struggle Committee of informal settlers lamented. 119 When Amnesty International asked why documents issued by local governments were disregarded by the Forest Office, the Head of the Sub-Division Forest Office in Bhajani stated that such documents were created haphazardly by local authorities and therefore lacked credibility. 120



Following sustained lobbying by activists and local politicians, the local authority permitted nearly 70% of those evicted to continue living at the site. However, no compensation was provided, and no resettlement assistance was offered. © Amnesty International (photo taken 13 July 2024)

People impacted by the Chaukidanda eviction described a similar situation. In 2021, forest and municipal authorities bulldozed an informal settlement leaving 19 families from the Badi (Dalit) community homeless. With deep frustration, Manjari Sunar recounted:

"If they find any land under my ownership anywhere on this earth, I would gladly accept any punishment. I spent 500 rupees just to fill out the form for registering as a landless Dalit household. I even secured the *nissa* of my home. But despite that, they destroyed my house after I obtained it." 121

These arbitrary actions by the state have created an atmosphere of unpredictability and insecurity for people living in informal settlements.

¹¹⁶ In-person group discussion with victims, 13 July 2024, Bhajani, Kailali.

¹¹⁷ In-person group discussion with victims, 13 July 2024, Bhajani, Kailali.

III. ECONOMIC HARDSHIP AND DEPRIVATION

During FGDs in Bhajani, Chaukidanda, and Dhangadhi, participants elaborated on how the forced evictions have aggravated the economic hardship they were already facing and severely impacted their livelihoods, leaving them unable to provide for their most essential needs.

In Bhajani, Ganga Damai explained how the impact of the forced evictions has been particularly severe for those belonging to the Dalit community:

"We relied on manual labour for our livelihood. Our limited supplies for the monsoon were destroyed." 122

Additionally, the demolition of homes resulted in the complete loss of household belongings, further aggravating economic hardship. Tara Kami from Bhajani expressed her experience of economic hardship aggravated by the forced eviction:

"I was in India for medical treatment when my home was destroyed. I had recently replaced my roof with tin by taking an individual loan. Now my home is gone, the loan remains. I am facing unbearable hardship to pay it back. There is nothing to eat in the morning and evening — how will I repay the loan? I am undergoing constant anxiety and stress about how to repay the loan and support my family." 123

In Chaukidanda, Manisha Bishwakarma, shared her livelihoods crisis caused by forced eviction:

"I fixed [set up] a small shop here, spending 1.5 lakh [NPR 150,000, USD 1,09]. They destroyed that too. We can't even afford to rent a home now — we are struggling just to survive. Among the 19 households left homeless, 18 belong to the Badi community, which is already marginalized even within the Dalit community." 124

Similarly, in Dhangadhi, Bishnu Chaudhary from the Tharu Indigenous People said:

"If we are not allowed to take refuge on government land, where else can we go? We can't even afford to rent a room." 125



Due to the lack of alternative accommodation, some homeless families — including postpartum women, children, and older people — continued to live at the eviction site in makeshift tents. © Amnesty International (photo taken 13 July 2024)

¹¹⁸ Copies are available on file with Amnesty International.

¹¹⁹ In-person interview dated 13 July 2024, Bhajani, Kailali.

¹²⁰ In-person interview with Ram Bichari, Head of Sub-Division Forest Office, Bhajani, 13 July 2024, Bhajani, Kailali.

¹²¹ In-person interview with victim, 13 July 2024, Godawari municipality, Chaukidada, Kailali (name changed).

¹²² In-person interview, 13 July 2024, Bhajani, Kailali.

¹²³ In-person interview, 12 July 2024, Bhajani, Kailali (name changed).

¹²⁴ In-person group discussion with evictees, 13 July 2024, Godawari municipality, Chaukidanda, Kailali (name changed).

¹²⁵ In-person group discussion with evictees, 12 July 2024, Dhangadhi, Kailali (name changed).

IV. MOST VULNERABLE AT RISK

In Bhajani, Chaukidanda, and Dhangadhi, those forcibly evicted included children, women, some of whom were pregnant or had recently given birth, newborn babies and older people. In the FGDs, they spoke about their experiences. Bishnu Nepali, a 23-year-old mother and one of the victims of forced eviction in Bhajani recounted:

"I just had a baby, and now we have no roof, no electricity, and no mosquito net. Living like this is unbearable. My sister and mother were even arrested on false charges of obstructing forest conservation efforts." ¹²⁶

Dhansara Sunar, Secretary of the Struggle Committee of People Living in Informal Settlements, added:

"We were evicted from settlements where we have lived since 2006 due to landlessness. Among those displaced were a postpartum woman with her newborn and a 102-year-old woman suffering from mental illness. Were they – postpartum woman, her newborn and a 102-year-old woman – penalized for land encroachment?" ¹²⁷

In Dhangadhi, a young woman who had given birth four days prior to Amnesty International's visit (and was therefore pregnant during the forced eviction) participated in the FGD. She explained:

"We didn't come here out of greed. We were forced to move after a landslide destroyed our home. But the authorities treated us as if we have committed a crime just for seeking refuge in this land." ¹²⁸

Her mother-in-law, Bimala Bishwakarma, added: "We are nine in our family, including this new mother and her baby. We have nowhere to go and no way to care for them." 129

A school girl tearfully recounted how the eviction has affected her education:

"I lost everything — my books, notebooks and school uniform. All I have left is the one set of clothes I am wearing. If we had been given even an hour to gather our things, I could have saved my belongings. It was a shocking experience. I will never forget it." 130



Residents attempt to salvage what they can from their destroyed homes after the eviction in Bhajani Municipality on 25 June 2024. The eviction was carried out while the Land Issue Resolving Commission was still in the process of verifying and managing informal settlers in the area. © Amnesty International (photo taken 13 July 2024)

¹²⁶ In-person interview, 13 July 2024, Bhajani, Kailali (name changed).

¹²⁷ In-person interview, 13 July 2024, Bhajani, Kailali.

¹²⁸ In-person group discussion with evictees, 12 July 2024, Dhangadhi, Kailali.

¹²⁹ In-person group discussion with evictees, 12 July 2024, Dhangadhi, Kailali (name changed).

¹³⁰ In-person interview, 12 July 2024, Dhangadhi, Kailali.

V. PSYCHOLOGICAL TRAUMA AND ONGOING HOUSING INSECURITY

The potential for harassment and intimidation by the authorities in the future was a source of stress among the FGD participants. Raja Tharu, aged 61, from Bhajani, conveyed the psychological devastation caused by forced evictions. With tears in his eyes, he recounted:

"I am growing old waiting for land ownership. We have proof of residence from the local government, but every time one authority provides us with documents, another comes along and destroys our homes. I haven't slept since that terrible incident — my anxiety and stress is [sic] eating me up." 131

Some participants referred to evictions in other locations, which revealed how others people's experiences of eviction were compounding their own trauma and sense of insecurity. One victim recounted, "People from Maunyal [who were living in the informal settlement] were evicted before us and coerced into signing documents promising never to return, under threat of penalties." 132

The research revealed a sense of frustration among the affected communities, driven by the perceived injustice and brutality of the evictions. Participants in Bhajani expressed profound uncertainty of their future:

"Where do we go now? What will we eat? How will we care for our children? What happens next? Aren't we citizens of Nepal?" 133

Pramila Nepali had lived in Thapathali for 18 years and had to face the emotional and financial devastation of losing her husband days before the bulldozers arrived in the settlement:

"My husband passed away just eight days before the latest attempted eviction. His dreams and our life's work were tied to this place. While we were in mourning period, we were terrorized due to the KMC's attempt to bulldoze our settlement areas. It was such a cruelty that I can't forget in my lifetime." 134



As in Bhajani Municipality, the evictions in Dhangadhi Sub-Metropolitan City were carried out in clear disregard of the ongoing verification processes initiated by the Land Issue Resolving Commission. © Amnesty International (photo taken 12 July 2024)

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¹³¹ In-person interview, 13 July 2024, Bhajani, Kailali (name changed).

¹³² In-person group discussion with evictees, 13 July 2024, Bhajani, Kailali.

¹³³ In-person group discussion with evictees, 13 July 2024, Bhajani, Kailali.

¹³⁴ In-person interview, February 20, 2023, Kathmandu (name changed).

7. REMEDIES: LANDOWNERSHIP, RESETTLEMENT AND COMPENSATION

7.1 LANDOWNERSHIP: LIVED REALITY OR HOLLOW COMMITMENT?

Nepal is a party to the ICESCR, which guarantees the right to housing, 135 of which legal security of tenure is a key component. According to General Comment 4 on Article 11(1) of the ICESCR:

"Notwithstanding the type of tenure, all persons should possess a degree of security of tenure which guarantees legal protection against forced eviction, harassment, and other threats. States parties should consequently take immediate measures aimed at conferring legal security of tenure upon those persons and households currently lacking such protection, in genuine consultation with affected persons and groups." ¹³⁶

In Nepal, the longstanding denial of legal security of tenure remains a root cause of vulnerability for people living in informal settlements, exposing them to constant threat of forced eviction. The granting of landownership was envisioned by lawmakers as a critical safeguard against such evictions and a means to ensure the right to live in peace, security, and dignity of people living the informal settlement.¹³⁷ Although a legal¹³⁸ and policy framework¹³⁹ exists to address issues related to land tenure security, its implementation remains inadequate.

In some places, including in the Bhajani settlements, steps were taken by local governments to provide some official recognition to the settlements, including *nissa*, access to government-built roads, electricity and water services. Similarly, during the October 2024 field trip to Sunsari, participants to a focus group discussion told Amnesty International researchers that, prior to the forced eviction that affected them, the Dharan Sub-Metropolitan City authorities had also taken steps towards recognizing the informal settlement by numbering houses, charging annual house tax, and offering essential services including drinking water and electricity. However, these fall short of ensuring the legal security of tenure required under international law, as evidenced by the evictions that subsequently took place in Bhajani, Chaukidanda, and the Purano Airport Area, Dhangadhi. Many people interviewed by Amnesty International who had been impacted by forced evictions said that they would feel a sense of justice if they were granted ownership over the land on which they have resided for years – and often for generations in the case of some Indigenous Peoples, including the Tharu. Had they was access to government to ac

Since the establishment of the Land Issue Resolving Commission as a statutory body, following the promulgation of the Constitution of Nepal, the commission has only managed to issue landownership certificates to a negligible number of landless households – 4,993 out of the 1,110,985 households recognized by the commission as "landless squatters or unmanaged dwellers". 142

The Land Issue Resolving Commission has been trapped in a cycle of formation and dissolution driven by political instability. This pattern did not begin recently – it dates to the 1990s, with successive governments forming land-related commissions or task forces that were often short-lived or inactive due to shifting political priorities. A more structured effort emerged in March 2020, when the Unified Marxist–Leninist (UML)-led government reconstituted the commission following amendments to the Lands Act. However, this commission too was dissolved after a change in government. A subsequent commission established by the Maoist-led government faced the same fate, and the current commission, formed in October 2024, remains vulnerable to political shifts. The core issue lies in

 $^{^{135}}$ Article 11(1) of the ICESCR.

¹³⁶ CESCR General Comment No. 4: The Right to Adequate Housing (Art. 11 (1) of the Covenant) para 8(a).

¹³⁷ Elisabeth Wickeri, "Land is Life, Land is Power: Landlessness, Exclusion, and Deprivation in Nepal", January, 2011, Leitner Center for International Law and Justice, https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1001&context=crowley_reports

¹³⁸ Seventh and Eighth Amendment to Lands Act, 1964. ¹³⁹ National Land Policy (2019), Article 6 and 7.

¹⁴⁰ In-person group discussion, 29 October 2024, Pulchowk-16, Pragati Marg, Dharan, Sunsari.

¹⁴¹ In-person group discussion, 12 July 2024, Purano Airport, Dhangadhi; In-person group discussion, 13 July 2024, Bhajani, Kailali.

¹⁴² Land Issue Resolving Commission, Achievement Database, https://lirc.gov.np/services-list/ (accessed on 19 June 2024).

¹⁴³ Kathmandu Post, "Making and unmaking of land commissions continues", 6 October 2024, https://kathmandupost.com/national/2024/10/06/making-and-unmaking-of-land-commissions-continues

the inadequate legal framework governing the formation of these commissions, and their rights, duties and obligations, leaving them dependent on executive orders.

In several informal settlements visited by Amnesty International, frustration has grown in the absence of even an initial verification process. For instance, residents in the Thapathali settlement had been waiting for their verification process to begin, as stipulated by the agreement between the KMC and the Land Issue Resolving Commission. ¹⁴⁴ Instead, they faced attempted evictions by the KMC authorities before the verification process had even started. ¹⁴⁵ Recalling this traumatic experience, Januka Pokhrel, a victim of the forced eviction, stated:

"KMC committed to verification and management, but it did exactly the opposite. It sent municipal police with bulldozers to demolish our homes. We opposed and prevented them from bulldozing. We were ultimately saved by a judicial order; otherwise, we would have been made homeless." 146



Forced eviction of 13 families living on an abandoned plot of land in Dhangadhi Sub-Metropolitan City, Kailali District, on 23 June 2024. © Amnesty International (photo taken 12 July 2024)

7.2 COMPENSATION AND RESETTLEMENT

Compensation and resettlement for people subject to eviction are not discretionary, rather they are enforceable state obligations under international human rights law. The UN Basic Principles on Development-based Evictions¹⁴⁷ require that evicted persons be provided with adequate alternatives, including proper resettlement that must satisfy the following criteria for adequacy: accessibility, affordability, habitability, security of tenure, cultural adequacy, suitability of location, and access to essential services such as health and education. Similarly, the UN Basic Principles explicitly provide that the state, as part of its human rights obligations, must ensure adequate compensation to those subject to eviction.¹⁴⁸ In particular, the UN Basic Principles emphasize that compensation should cover all economically assessed damage in a manner proportional to the gravity of the violation, and that cash compensation should not replace real compensation in the form of land and common property resources.¹⁴⁹ Additionally, those evicted, irrespective of whether they hold title to their property, should be entitled to compensation for the loss, salvage and transport of their properties, including the original dwelling and land lost or damaged in the eviction process.¹⁵⁰ In all five eviction cases documented by this research, however, both compensation and resettlement options fell far short of these requirements under international law.

For example, in the case of the Purano Airport Area, Dhangadhi, eviction on 23 June 2024, although the Dhangadhi Sub-Metropolitan City alleged that "the individuals received some cash payments to

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¹⁴⁴ An agreement between KMC and the Land Issue Resolving Commission was made on 25 August 2022.

¹⁴⁵ KMC's attempted forced eviction as per the notice issued by the High-Powered Committee for Integrated Development of the Bagmati Civilization had taken place on 28 November 2022.

¹⁴⁶ Views expressed at a Social Justice Dialogue discussion convened by Amnesty International Nepal, February 20, 2023.

¹⁴⁷ United Nations Human Rights Council, "Basic principles and guidelines on development-based evictions and displacement", UN Doc. A/HRC/4/18, Annex I (2007), Articles 16, 68.

¹⁴⁸ UN Basic Principles, Articles 60 and 62.

¹⁴⁹ UN Basic Principles, Article 60.

¹⁵⁰ UN Basic Principles, Article 61.

remove and take away the temporary structures built in the land from the sub-metropolis thereby giving up the possession and use of the area"151, it did not specify the amount or produce documentation. The displaced people, after being rendered homeless, staged a protest by occupying the open premises of the Sub-Metropolitan Authority's office and spending nights there. 152 The demonstration exerted significant pressure on the authorities to find an alternative solution. In response, the municipal authorities agreed to compensate the families rendered homeless by the eviction for the cost of renting housing at a rate of NPR 3,000 (USD 21) per month per family for a period of three months. Each family has received a one-off payment of NPR 9,000. In addition, they committed to facilitate the process of securing landownership for the evicted families. 153 Amnestv International Nepal and local partners have confirmed that this amount of financial support is wholly inadequate. In Dhangadhi, a sub-metropolitan city, the minimum rent for a single room (not a flat) is typically between NPR 3,000 and NPR 4,000, with a shared kitchen and bathroom. Furthermore, the authorities have remained silent on the promised facilitation of landownership and at the time of writing no progress had been made. 154 Amidst ongoing financial hardship and in the absence of further assistance from the municipality, some affected families have been compelled to live in rented rooms inadequate for entire families, while others have sought shelter in the homes of relatives. 155

In Kusum Khola, the municipal authorities alleged that the municipality had agreed to build houses but the national park authorities had objected and therefore the project could not be completed. 156 No financial compensation was provided to these families, only land to live on, which the municipality allocated in substandard areas such as riverbanks. 157 These locations are highly vulnerable to hazards such as flash floods, especially on the plains. The ward secretaries of Wards 7, 8 and 9 informed Amnesty International researchers that the Madi municipality had moved the evicted families to Ward 9 in an area called Bandarjhula, where hundreds of other landless people have been relocated. The relocation of these 10 families took place about a month prior to a phone conversation with ward secretary of Ward 9, on 15 May 2025. The families were living in makeshift tents in a "sorry state", according to the ward secretary. 158 Following the Thapathali forced eviction in 2012, authorities embarked on the Ichangu resettlement project, which, despite it being a significant undertaking (NPR 230 million, USD 1.7 million), 159 did not meet the requirements of international human rights law, as outlined earlier in this section. Activists have pointed out that the 300-unit housing project was designed without meaningful consultation with the affected community. Important factors including family size, access to essential daily services such as public transport, and proximity to work were overlooked. Each flat is priced at NPR 2.6 million (USD 19,000), which is unaffordable for most settlers, and no clear payment plans have been provided. Additionally, the buildings, constructed in 2014, were damaged in the 2015 earthquakes and have further deteriorated over years of disuse, raising serious concerns about their safety and habitability.

As a result of this inadequate resettlement provision, a prevailing narrative emerged and has been reflected in the media that even when resettlement opportunities are provided, residents of informal settlements refuse to move to the resettlement sites. This narrative overlooks the significant shortcomings of the Ichangu resettlement project.

¹⁵¹ Dhangadhi Sub-Metropolitan City, Letter No: 2081/2082, 14 July 2025.

¹⁵² Interview with Dan Bahadur Gautam, an eviction victim, 19 February 2025.

¹⁵³ Dhangadhi Mayor Gopi Hamal, Facebook post: धनगढी वडा नं. १ स्थित पुरानो एयरपोर्ट रहेको नगर विकासको स्वामित्वमा रहेको जग्गा अतिक्रमण भई सो अतिक्रमण हटाई ... गरिदेछ। [The land under the ownership of Urban Development in Dhangadhi Ward No. 1, where the old airport is located, has been encroached upon, and the encroachment is being removed...], 25 July 2024, https://www.facebook.com/MGopalHamal/posts

 ¹⁵⁴ Interview with Dan Bahadur Gautam, an eviction victim, 19 February 2025.
 155 Interview with Dan Bahadur Gautam, an eviction victim, 19 February 2025.

¹⁵⁶Conversation with Bina Budhacharya, Bimala Tamang, Bhagawati Adhikari and Sabitri Khadka, housing rights activists affiliated with Nepal Mahila Ekata Samai, February 20, 2023.

¹⁵⁷ Interview by voice call with Ganga Bhandari, Ward Secretary, of Ward 9, Madi municipality, May 15 2025. Ward 9 is one of the wards where the relocation has taken place.

¹⁵⁸ Interviews by voice call with ward secretaries of wards 7, 8 and 9, May 15 2025.

Kathmandu Post, "The government spent Rs230 million on buildings for squatters. Nobody moved in.", 25 July 2019, https://kathmandupost.com/valley/2019/07/25/the-government-spent-rs230-million-on-buildings-for-squatters-nobody-moved-in Kathmandu Post, "The government spent Rs230 million on buildings for squatters. Nobody moved in.", 25 July 2019, https://kathmandupost.com/valley/2019/07/25/the-government-spent-rs230-million-on-buildings-for-squatters-nobody-moved-in

Other eviction cases in Bhajani and Chaukidanda confirm this persistent pattern in which the authorities have displaced vulnerable communities without providing compensation, resettlement or any meaningful remedy. As a result, affected families have been further marginalized and trapped in deeper cycles of poverty and insecurity. For example, in Bhajani, at the time of writing, around 70% of the evicted families were still living at the eviction site. The authorities allowed this after much lobbying by activists and local politicians. No compensation was provided and there has been no mention of resettlement. ¹⁶¹

The challenges surrounding resettlement and compensation in Nepal are deeply rooted in the ownership-centric frameworks of both the Land Acquisition Act 1977 and the Right to Housing Act 2018. The scope of the Land Acquisition Act is confined to the acquisition of legally owned or registered land. One of the act's main flaws is its ownership-based approach, which prioritizes formal land documentation over the lived experiences and rights of those who depend on the land. Under current legal provisions, eligibility for compensation is limited to those who can present a land ownership certificate or evidence of registered tenancy. This narrow requirement leaves residents of informal settlements, many of whom have lived and relied on *ailani* (unregistered or government land) for their survival for years, without any legal claim to compensation when the land is acquired. This ownership/registration-centric model disregards the diverse realities of those affected by land acquisition and systematically excludes landless or informal settlers.

The Right to Housing Act 2018 follows a similar ownership-driven approach, prioritizing compensation and resettlement for people who legally own the land on which their housing is built. ¹⁶³ This narrow focus leaves vulnerable groups who live on unregistered or public land without protection or support in the event of eviction. By tying resettlement to land or housing ownership, the act overlooks individuals who may not hold legal titles but have significant investments in properties attached to the land, such as structures, crops or personal belongings.



Many of the evicted families had been awaiting land ownership certificates from the Land Issue Resolving Commission, and already held electricity bills, road access, and temporary certificates of land occupation (photo taken 12 July 2024).

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¹⁶¹ Interview by voice call with Raj Budha, local activist. May 28 2025.

¹⁶² Section 2(a) defines "land" for the purposes of the Act as "land owned by an individual". Several other sections—including Sections 11, 20, 23, 24, 26, 27, 34, and 35—refer to the landowner as the subject of land acquisition, while Sections 11, 20, and 25 refer to registered tenants as eligible for compensation.

¹⁶³ Section 5(2) reads: "While evicting any citizen from the housing owned by him or her for the public purpose pursuant to sub-section (1), such eviction shall be made by providing him or her with resettlement or compensation, in accordance with the prevailing law." This approach excludes residents of informal settlements and individuals who do not have legal ownership of the land. For commentary on that provision, see, Amnesty International's Briefing Paper entitled "Nepal: Adequate housing for all: Analysis of the Right to Housing Act 2018", page 19. Index: ASA 31/0496/2019.

7.3 OVERSIGHT MECHANISMS

Oversight mechanisms remain ineffective. National human rights institutions and parliamentary committees (for example, the Law Justice and Human Rights Committee of the Housing of Representatives) have not been effectively mobilized to monitor forced evictions or to issue robust recommendations to the government. Under Article 249 of the Constitution of Nepal, the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) of Nepal has the mandate to monitor, inquire into, investigate, and recommend actions against human rights violations, review related laws, promote human rights awareness, ensure implementation of international human rights obligations, and exercise quasijudicial powers for the protection, respect and promotion of human rights. However, the NHRC has largely failed to carry out pro-active monitoring of forced evictions. Yagya Prasad Adhikari, Head of the Protection Division, NHRC, told Amnesty International:

"NHRC is concerned about the increasing trend of forced evictions. NHRC has monitored some incidents and made recommendations for redress. However, NHRC has not been able to respond to conduct proactive monitoring proportionate to the gravity of the problems due to resource constrains." 166

Parliamentary committees have also failed to prioritize this issue.¹⁶⁷ For instance, despite civil society efforts to draw their attention to forced evictions, parliamentary committees (the Law, Justice and Human Rights Committee and the Agriculture, Cooperatives and Natural Resources Committee of the House of Representatives; the National Concerns and Coordination Committee; and the Delegated Legislation and Government Assurance Committee) have failed to deliberate on the government's prolonged inaction in drafting the regulations necessary to implement the Right to Food and Food Sovereignty Act 2018 and the Right to Housing Act 2018.¹⁶⁸

Judicial interventions have also fallen short. Although the judiciary has, in some instances, played an instrumental role in preventing forced evictions, ¹⁶⁹ its conservative, ownership-driven approach in some cases has failed to protect residents of informal settlements from forced evictions. In the Purano Airport Area eviction case, the High Court of Dipayal upheld the eviction notice on the grounds that the petitioners were living on land owned by the City Development Committee, a government body, and not on land they legally possessed. ¹⁷⁰ No notice was taken of the fact that the residents had been living there for more than 20 years for various reasons including disaster-related displacement and extreme poverty. Public interest litigation pending before the Supreme Court for over four years offers a critical opportunity to clarify several legal and policy issues related to forced evictions through judicial interpretation. However, the prolonged delay in its resolution casts uncertainty over the prospect of obtaining timely and effective judicial remedies. ¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁴ Constitution of Nepal, Article 249.

¹⁶⁵ Conversation with Hari Gyawali, Chief of NHRC's Sudurpaschim Provincial Office, Dhangadhi, 12 July 2024.

¹⁶⁶ Conversation with Agya Adhikari, Head of Promotion Division, NHRC, 9 April 2025.

¹⁶⁷ Petition submitted by Advocate Raju Prasad Chapagai to four Parliamentary Committees, including the Committee on Law, Justice and Human Rights of the House of Representatives, 1 February 2022 (regarding its intervention on the protracted lack of the Right to Housing Regulations), unpublished.

¹⁶⁸ See submission of a petition dated 28 Magh 2078 (February 11, 2022) by Advocate Raju Prasad Chapagai.

¹⁶⁹ See Raju Prasad Chapagai and Others v. Office of the Prime Minister and Council of Ministers and Others, Writ Petition No. 2077-W0-0038 (Supreme Court of Nepal issued an interim order dated 30 July 2020) concerning the prevention of further evictions of Chepang families by the Chitwan National Park Authority at Kusum Khola.

¹⁷⁰ See Bishmapati Tharuni v. Dhangadhi Sub-Metropolitan City Office, Writ Petition No. 2080-WO-0020.

¹⁷¹ Raju Prasad Chapagai and Others v. Government of Nepal, Office of the Prime Minister and Council of Ministers and Others, Writ Petition No. 2077-W0-0038, scheduled final hearing on 21 May 2025. Final hearing was postponed, to be rescheduled.

8. CONCLUSION

As illustrated by the cases investigated by Amnesty International, the persistence of forced evictions in Nepal has been aggravated by multiple factors. The absence of regulations necessary to implement many of the provisions of the Right to Housing Act 2018 has left legal protections largely ineffective. Conflicting earlier laws, 173 and the failure to harmonize them with laws enacted to implement fundamental rights, further undermine enforcement, disproportionately affecting residents of informal settlements. Lack of coordination and cooperation among federal and local governments have worsened the situation, as seen in the Thapathali eviction and the KMC's failure to verify residents' status, disregarding its agreement with the Land Issue Resolving Commission. Commission.

Despite ample opportunities to learn from these failures and shape informed policies on resettlement and compensation, the authorities have consistently failed to address the systemic gaps in the legal and regulatory framework in Nepal. The absence of clear, rights-compliant, legal provisions continues to perpetuate the cycle of forced evictions and inadequate resettlement. Meanwhile, oversight bodies have also been largely ineffective.

The widespread failure to operationalize constitutional and legislative safeguards continues to expose marginalized communities to the threat of forced evictions. Without urgent and coordinated action to implement the right to adequate housing and establish regulatory frameworks, the cycle of forced evictions and human rights violations will persist.

9. RECOMMENDATIONS

In light of the findings of this research into forced evictions in Nepal, Amnesty International urges following actions:

To federal, provincial and local government

- Ensure that there are no mass evictions in informal settlements until proper verification and resettlement measures are in place, as provided by the Eighth Amendment to the Lands Act 1964 and the Right to Housing Act, 2018.
- Address the root causes of extreme poverty and landlessness by strengthening institutional mechanisms such as the Land Issue Resolving Commission to ensure a fair and transparent verification and land distribution process.
- Ensure that victims of forced evictions receive effective remedy including timely, fair, and adequate compensation, and that resettlement initiatives are designed with the active participation of affected communities, ensuring their access to secure housing, essential services and sustainable livelihoods.
- Ensure that authorities at all levels end discriminatory practices and guarantee informal settlers' access to essential services regardless of their land tenure status.

To the Government of Nepal:

 Align domestic legal provisions related to evictions, compensation and resettlement with the right to adequate housing guaranteed by the Constitution of Nepal and international human rights standards.

¹⁷² Sancharakarmi, "Implementation Of Act Related To Right To Housing Gets Affected Without Regulations", 3 January 2022, https://sancharkarmi.com/english/news-details/71291/2022-01-03

¹⁷³ For examples, Sections 9 and 10 of the Local Administration Act, Sections 24, 25 and 29 of the Land Revenue Act, and Section 306 of the Muluki Civil Code Act, 2074, criminalize the use of public and government land for the purpose of informal settlement.

¹⁷⁴ Nepal Minute, "No solution in sight to resettle Bagmati squatters", 30 November 2022, https://www.nepalminute.com/detail/1209/no-solution-in-sight-to-resettle-bagmati-squatters-2022-Nov-30-274700

 Adopt the Right to Housing Regulation without further delay to ensure the effective implementation of legal standards under the Right to Housing Act, including due process requirements for evictions.

To national human rights institutions:

• Strengthen the proactive monitoring and oversight of evictions, compensation and resettlement processes and hold authorities accountable for violations of economic, social and cultural rights, including the right to adequate housing.

To parliamentary committees:

 Prioritize legislative scrutiny of the implementation of the laws (e.g. Lands Act, Right to Housing Act and Right to Food and Food Sovereignty Act) giving effect to the right to adequate housing, right to adequate food and access to land.

To the judiciary:

- Ensure that the judiciary promptly and effectively adjudicates public interest litigation cases aimed at preventing forced evictions and holding authorities accountable for failing to uphold the right to adequate housing.
- Implement judicial sensitization measures on the adjudication of economic, social, and cultural rights (ESCR) issues, including through the National Judicial Academy.

Amnesty International is a movement of 10 million people which mobilizes the humanity in everyone and campaigns for change so we can all enjoy our human rights. Our vision is of a world where those in power keep their promises, respect international law and are held to account. We are independent of any government, political ideology, economic interest or religion and are funded mainly by our membership and individual donations. We believe that acting in solidarity and compassion with people everywhere can change our societies for the better.



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