CONCLUSION

Over the last decade or so the Indian subcontinent has seen how quickly religious or ethnic chauvinist forces have either taken up arms or allied with the armed forces in order to impose their vision of nation or country on the rest of society. As a consequence of rising civil unrest on issues relating to religious or personal law, we have witnessed the gradual miniaturisation of any number of religions from Sind to Sri Lanka, with attendant brutalisation of all sections of society. It is the rise in revivalism of fundamentalism that signifies the unbridled triumph of violence over all other forces.

Recent history has shown that everytime there is a return to the so called fundamentalism of religion their is at the same time a fundamentalist assault on women’s freedom and identity. The last few years have seen a concerted effort by the more militant religious organisations to revive obscurantist practices in the name of upholding traditions and maintaining identity. Threats have been perceived to the sanctity of religious customs, myths have been recreated and transformed ‘identities’ are daily being arbitrarily constructed and propagated as the truest representations of community.

In all such assertions of identity women are cast in a particular mould both to symbolise the identity of the community and to embody its definition in relation to other communities. Thus, the most evident distinctions between communities often are reflected not merely in how they worship and what they hold sacred but in how they define the status and right conduct of their women.

Women are exposed to consequences of communal violence like men. They suffer in communal violence as members of the attacked community, but they also suffer as women. Rape, abduction, brutal sexual assault are
used commonly by men to bring disgrace and dishonour to the enemy community. Avenging men are glorified in the heroic mode. Women are regarded as a tool to humiliate, to demoralise the enemy. Raping and killing their enemy's wives, daughters, sisters, mothers proves that they are good representatives of their people and nation, patriots and above all "real men with guts". In the patriarchal order women are regarded as both powerful supporters and most important property. Thus, there is no more powerful tool for aggressive nationalistic ideology than to victimise women.

Avenging men are glorified and should they, in process of violence die it becomes an act of valour and thus they are enshrined as *shahids* (martyrs). For women, however, its a different story altogether. Those who become widowed and destitute are faced with the sometimes life-long task of painfully building a future from the ashes of the present. Those who have suffered rape or abduction, far from being glorified are discarded as used goods, owned by no one, condemned by both her own and the other community. Such a woman is a permanent refugee. As we have discussed in the second chapter whole village of Thoa Khalsa, Sikh women of village Thoa Khalsa and adolescent girls were thrown into the well or put to the torch or poisoned to death by their own fathers, brothers or uncles during the partition for fear of their being dishonoured by Muslim men. The women themselves having so internalised this notion of 'izzat', patriarchal honour, often took their own lives in preference to life after rape. For, they knew what to expect from their own kins who would think nothing in abandoning them or, as was often the case, prostituting them to safeguard their own survival. Any number of young girls, Hindu and Muslim, were behind by their families in return for safe passage to or from west Punjab. For such women it becomes difficult to distinguish between one's own men and the other's.

In the third chapter we have tried to discuss the on going phase of violence through the insight of the survivors, women victim who had undergone the trauma and violence (Lifton : 1967). The event has been
relayed through the perspective of women. We discussed earlier how since
980 we have seen a new phase of communal violence. The violence was
however, not a riot in which two antagonistic communities hit out at each
other, or anarchy, in which antisocial took over. It was clearly organised mob
violence against the minority communities: Sikh in the Delhi riots in 1984 and
Muslims in Surat riot in 1992. At times of communal violence, women are
affected as wives, mothers, sisters and daughters. Women live within their
communities and at the time of violence or holocaust they are caught into
conflict situations, because their own safety, dignity of community honour
and fear for the lives of their loved ones become crucial.

In the fourth chapter an attempt has been made to understand
violence in the aftermath. Violence just does not erupt and then vanishes,
those are just moments, points in the life cycle of a riot. Actual violence is in
the aftermath when women are affected by a combination of patriarchy and
communalism in the process of reorganising and reconstructing their lives.
They are shattered by the destruction of their world and they have to build
anew with the pain and agony which follows distraction and dislocation.
Norms and values of patriarchy put social barriers in their way and they are
no more treated with sensitivity but are subjected to social ostracism in case
of sexual violence and pity in case of being widowed, but surely not treated
as respectable human beings. This inbuilt structure of violence is more
painful and equally difficult to reconcile with. The reasons for their
destruction are not natural but man-made which could have been avoided.

In Chapter five we have tried to understand women's perception of the
communal violence. There is no gain saying that women are not only victims
of communal violence but are the worst sufferers in its aftermath. Again
during Surat riots there were reports of women looting the shops of Muslim
and helping their men to attack Muslim homes, but there are innumerable
examples where women have sheltered their endangered neighbours and
provided women with sarees, bindi and sindoors and helped them to reach
safe shelter. This complex dichotomy interface of submission to male order and the immense courage and humanity exemplified boggles our mind. But during eruption of violence women are attacked as members of the attacked community. After every episode of violence, women are pushed further under controls of patriarchy. They might gain economic independence and empowerment, but control of community increases manifold. It is free that. Women's perception of communal violence is affected by perception of males order but is equally formulated by their social background and their experience during the ongoing phase of violence. Consolidation of edentate and re-ghettoisation of dwellings have snapped the earlier ties of friendships. These trends have led to polarisation and fragmentation of the civil society.

In the course of this study of the women victims of violence, we have observed that women are not only victim of violence, but suffer as well as in the aftermath. Their oppression begins with the eruption of violence and then their suffering have no end. It is true that with time the effect may subside, the wound may heal, but the scars are always visible, the loss of companionship, the grief of being unnatural victim never subsides. In fact, women's social-suffering increases. She has not only to bear the social ostracism of her family and community but has also to fight against justice.

**ON GOING PHASE OF VIOLENCE**

**SEXUAL VIOLENCE**

Dislocation, as a result of destruction of her house or place of dwelling
Denial of social space to perform death rituals for the dead.
Violence against women during social conflict has manifestation in rape, sexual harassment, etc. but permanent scar is carved on their lives as they become the physical victim of discrimination and oppression, inbuilt in the social structure. This may cause trauma and agony to women who had been victims of disaster as well as dislocation. Therefore, when we talk of violence against women, we must consider not only the actual events and their antecedents but also those inbuilt structural conditions which promote physical or mental violence.

Women during violence are confronted with role conflict. They land up in situation of conflict where they are expected to play roles simultaneously as custodian of family/community honour, their role as wife and their sacred role of mother.

SEXUAL VIOLENCE AS DESTROYING THE HONOUR OF THE ENEMY COMMUNITY

It is a very well known fact in incidents of social conflict use rape is used as a mechanism to dishonour a community. Gang rape and rape is weapon which not only destroys the honour and dignity but also deconstructs the culture. Women, who are carriers of bloodline and purity become symbolic victims of polluting the community as it is evident in more I had communal conflicts where rape is used for ethnic pollution and ethnic expansion.

In our study of the Surat riot victims, we did come across the victims of rape. Women were also killed after rape in Surat again with aim to eliminate the source of reproduction which produces future members of enemy community in Delhi cases of sexual assault were known to the community members and had a deep negative impact upon the women interviewed for this studies.
CULTURE OF SILENCE

Generally crimes like rape also sexual harassment are shrouded with silence. Since this is a crime in which victims suffer a lot they prefer to live in the domain of the unspeakable suffering, the ultimate humiliation. Silence is maintained as it undermines not only the victim but her family as well as community. In fact silence is a strategy adopted by parents and community to deal with such homes violence (PUDR : 1990). In fact, after analysing the reports of Delhi and Surat riots, the fact emerged that rumour of rape of the women of the majority community played an important role in spreading violence. In fact Surat riots took an ugly turn with the rumour that women of Kathiawari community have been raped and their private parts have been mutilated. Rape itself has an effect on the women of both the communities. Women of the target community are under attack and women of attacking community are further pushed inside as the possible threat of counter attack emerges. Rape amounts to cultural death of the victim, because social ostracism is a punishment given to the victim in the aftermath. Therefore, it is the least mentioned crime during the post-violence phase.

PARADOXES OF ACING COMMUNAL VIOLENCE

As the proportion of civilian causalities has risen not has only women's suffering increased but so have their responsibilities. During the conflict they have to perform all the roles simultaneously as they are required to keep the community and family together. Women are placed in a situation of conflict between her role as wife and her role as mother. Women in Delhi and Surat in their respective positions tried to plead for the lives of their, husbands. They confronted mobs with folding hands, begging and falling on their feet but when they had to choose between their role as mother and wife, and most
of the testimonies revealed that women ran with their children. They thought their sacred maternal duty of protecting their vulnerable child was more important (Das, 1991).

In two cases women were guided by the codes of patriarchy. They choose to run with their daughter to save “their honour”, leaving their husbands”, to ‘destiny’. It was not easy for women who left their husband in the hands of the mob to forget the trauma. The shattering moral pain brought about by the thought that they left their husband to die. The women are living with the guilt that they should have faced the mob there and then instead of handing over their men folk. This guilt they have internalised and is the cruelest attack on women’s psyche.

Most of the women could not perform the burial rites for their men, so they can not reconcile that they have not performed the religious duty which survivors ought to perform to free their dead ones from evils of spirit. Death by its very nature is a public affair. Religions parches among Hindus, Sikhs and Muslim provide a space for mourning rituals of death communal riots deny this space for the people. Survivors could not complete the required formalities as their religion and custom would have it (Lifton: 1983). And so the living are left not only with memories of horrible death but also with the guilt of not having been able to complete the rituals. That this denial of ritual space for grief should take place in a tragedy ordained by a conflict over a sacred place is perhaps the most revealing comment on the irreligious nature of communal conflict.

In communal conflict situations women are exposed to the cruelties harshness of the cruel world because when their houses are destroyed and burnt. They have to run with children and old to safe shelters. They don't have time to attend to their own emotional self which is tormented. She has to act spontaneously for the sake of her children. Both life and honour are at stake in such situations.
It is in Relief Camps, when dust starts settling normalcy starts creeping in, then women are perturbed by the future. With their husband killed, their home destroyed, they are deprived of emotional and material security and thrown into an altogether alien environment. From the relief camp onwards women start refraining and reconstructing their world. (Beauvoir, Dc.S., 1975) has rightly pointed out that women by nature are adaptive and adjustive. Or, it is their socialisation to their roles in the society that they have immense power to readjust. It is because their lives are woven around their primary roles as mothers and wives that they have no independent existence. This role preparation in fact equips them with patience which helps them to reconstruct their world forgetting their own wounds.

It is true women of the targeted community suffer tremendous pain during violence, but the on-going phase of violence is equally taxing for women of the attacked community. During riots and specially curfew, when it is relaxed for women only, women of the attacked community have to take longer routes to go for shopping, evading the possible threat of being attacked. Women who belong to the lower segments of society and specially families which are headed by females find it very difficult to provide food to their children, because they can not go to their work. Women workers suffer the loss of their tools and materials during riots which results unemployment in the post violence phase.

Women of daily wage earners husband are more affected because providing food to the family is their responsibility and in such situations of crises the neighbourhood ties do not last for long as every body is compelled to meet the crisis. Women of the majority community also have expressed apprehension for the security of their menfolk during communal-violence. Women may belong to any community, but their woes and worries are the same. Violence is the game played by muscularity and results are born by femininity.
COMPENSATION PROCESS AND ITS IMPACT

Women are often disadvantaged when it comes to claiming compensation. Since most of the women are illiterate and have never stepped out of their houses, so in the process putting forward to claims they have to depend on their male relatives. In Delhi social workers played a very important role in helping widows clam compensation. Women who could not seek the help or advice of social worker were exploited by government officials and as well as by relatives. There were cases where distant male members exploited the ignorance of the women victim. Moreover, gaining access to compensation often requires knowledge of rights and entitlements which many cases suggest women lack. Often they have no experience of dealing with bureaucracy or have to look after children, which make time consuming visits to officers, standing in queues and so on all but impossible.

The other side of the story is that compensation did bring pressures in the family, in fact in many cases compensation had led to family feuds between in-laws and widows. They were harassed by the in-laws for compensation even at places where prior to violence women were staying in a nuclear set-up. This was resolved by intervention of the community Panchayats which in fact upheld the norms or patriarchy and parents-in-law were given a share in the compensation.

Women's rights were subjugated to accommodate parents-in-law. In fact, in Surat in some cases widows give monthly allowance out of their dividends to their in-laws whereas prior to riots their husbands were free from these obligations. There is no law which makes it obligatory for in-laws to look after the widowed daughter-in-law. In fact, social norms made it obligatory for these widows not only to pay part of compensation to in-laws but to accommodate their necessary and unnecessary demands TO show loyalty to their deceased husbands.
With the announcement of High Court in Delhi to increase the compensation amount from Rs.20,000 to 3,30,000 has brought in additional pressures for windows. Money has not arrived yet, the ruling has yet to be implemented, but pressures have started. Widows have been harassed by their relatives, specially son-in-laws and sons for grabbing compensation. In many cases where in-laws did not have any connection with their daughters-in-law have again emerged to claim their share in the compensation money.

In Surat also compensation had brought in feud for the women. They were trapped into difficult situation which they had never experienced earlier.

**RELATIVE CHANGE IN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STATUS OF WOMEN**

Women who had been widowed during violence had gone through strenuous time. Since widowhood in our society means the life of deprivation. Problem concerning the rigours of widowhood are abused, insulted and discarded women. A widow who is left property less and without livelihood is caught between the complexity of her roles. She is mother and now also has to be father of her children. She has to bring up her children and for that she needs money. This objective change in her status leads to various changes in her social relationships.

It was observed that women first have to fight to hold whatever little they get as compensation as they are surrounded by near and distant relatives who have an eye on the amount of compensation. Holding on to this money for her children's sakes brands her immoral who has lust for money and is enchasing the death of her husband.
After riots it is common that there is divide in the society and community solidarity emerges strong. The social fabric is torn. People prefer to interact within the community network, social relations shrink within the community. For women it's worse. They have been targets of attack at the hands of the other community, so after riots when they are burdened with additional responsibility of bread winner, they are confronted with many problems.

They are sacred to go outside their community, but economic responsibility forces them to step out of the protected fourwalls and interact with the wider society. Women's secondary status in patriarchy and her status of belonging to a minority community leads her to taste bitterness of society. In both Delhi and Surat, it was difficult situation for women they had to face bitter comments & remarks of the society that they got so much for their dead whereas women of the (majority) community did not get anything. In case of Delhi these widows are addressed as 'riot widow', their colony is also known as 'widow colony' so these unconscious modes of addressal have conscious bearing on the minds of these victims who feel discriminated and dejected.

**REHABILITATION THROUGH EMPLOYMENT**

In Surat, Muslim women could not find employment immediately after riots as other community was scared to give them work, because of apprehension of violence and their material being destroyed. So this fear at the part of majority community did not provide work to Muslim women who are major invisible work force of silk city.

In Delhi women got employment as fourthclass employees in offices run by Government but their they had undergone the hostilities of their colloquies specially of the other fourth class employees. In fact most of the testimonies narrate that higher officers or seniors had a considerate attitude
towards them but their colloquies made their lives miserable. This harassment at workplace led to the frustration in women who had real carefree life before the holocaust. To adjust to the life of dejection which came to them as man made and not as natural disaster was very difficult.

There has been relative transformation in social and economic status of the victims of the violence. As far as compensation is concerned, it is only the survivors who belonged to the lower strata had benefited economically from it. Survivors of middle class in the Sikh community did not even claimed compensation. They felt that it was dishonour to those who lost their lives. As far as loss of property was concerned, the compensation was really meagre and the process of claim was tedious which made the whole effort futile. People living in posh colonies and having business or showrooms in major markets did undergo the loss of property but they all were covered under insurance so the loss of property did not affect them much. Then in many places Sikhs in Delhi and Muslims in Surat had bargained with the local dons. They had paid hefty amounts to local goondas to protect their life and property.

In Surat survivors did get compensation of Rs.2 lakh for dead, but they received Rs. 60,000 in cash and rest in the form of security bonds. Compensation for the repairing of the house was Rs.5,000. In fact, this amount did not help the middle class community of Vijay Nagar and Visram Nagar. They all have moved out of their old localities, and have shifted to Muslim dominated areas where they either had to rent a house or purchase a new dwelling for themselves at exorbitant prices.

In case of Tilak Vihar we can say that these widows who belonged to Labahana and Siglikar castes of Sikh community did benefit on economic front they have moved into flats and received enough monetary compensation and household goods from community. This grant doled in from Sikh community because it is economically prosperous community and
could afford to donate generously. Moreover community sentiments were exploited by the granthis of gurdwara by projecting widows as helpless victims. It in the process helped the granthis to benefit personally from grants.

Economic benefits helped to reconstruct material life but the loss of companion is irreparable. It is middle class women who are the worst hit in such instances of violence since the societal norms had strict control on their mobility and desires. Most of the riot victims were absorbed into fourth class employees by the Government. Middle class women could not opt for such jobs so they remained confined to earning their livelihood by stitching cloths or opening small kiosks in their places. In Surat women were not offered jobs because they are already absorbed into the private sector work for mills and big embroidery industry also survives on the labour of Muslim. After riots these women had problem in finding work, during violence their houses were burnt and the material of mull owners women got was also burnt in that therefore Hindu mill owners were generally scared to give work to these women. But now situation has normalised and they have again been absorbed into these industries.

As far as social status of these widows was concerned, widowhood not only led to stagnation of life but patriarchal norms led to the restriction on their mobility and as well as on their desires. They were no longer treated as human being. Society treats them as inauspicious objects, who only have duties and no rights. Their presence at religious and auspicious occasion is restricted. Even their shadow on newly weds and new borns is considered evil. The widows feel greater poignancy of disaster as their current status is something man-made.
LEVERATE MARRIAGE

In 1984 riot victims, we saw Sikh women were subjected to patriarchal control and exploited in the hands of their own men in the communally volatile situation. Many Sikh widows were compelled to accept the chadar (a form of remarriage to their husbands younger or older brother) Some widows had to buy their divorce from their dead husband's family and gain their freedom to remarry. Of the nine hundred widows settled in Tilak Vihar only a handful of women remain determined to be single and refuse to give up their independence. Women who had re-married outside community equally had bad experience there were many cases where the new husband had deposed the women what ever little they had got as compensation. In few cases their husbands sold the flat and left the women without shelter and money.

Very few have been able to resist the onslaught of these cruel societal norms. Majority have often to face not only ostracism at the hands of their families and society, but have to put with drunken husband. Beating and exploitation are worse at the hands of their second husbands. Responsibilities of children born out of second marriage fall on mother. She has to look after all the children equally. There were many cases were daughter from ex-husbands were sexual harassed by new husbands. The tragedy of these women is the tragedy of spirited women beaten down by multiple trauma.

More often it has been observed these widows have been used as political victims by community leaders and male family members. Since these widows have become sources of charity, doles and government patronage, the members of their families and community get funds and facilities in their names.
Even their personal pain or the loss of companionship has been exploited by community leaders. They are not provided private space to grieve, their loss. Many a times, these widows were forced to meet interviewers, media persons, camera crews to give interviews. Even they were told to appear sad and grim at times or to weep so that their interviews could be published or telecast. This did hurt widows as their suffering, their loss of companion, was something personal to them and they did not want to show it to world.

CRISIS OF OLD WIDOW WOMEN

The important insight which emerged from the empirical data was the trauma of old women who had been widowed earlier the violence, and were staying with sons. They were dislocated permanently and were forced to break kinship norms. After violence many daughter-in-laws disowned their mother-in-laws. Since the bound in between the two women were no more alive so they could not put up with additional responsibility of mother-in-law. This led to crises in the life of these old dependent women. Almost all such women have been taken in by their daughters, where they are counting their last days. Whereas in normal times specially in Punjab it's considered against kinship norms to stay with married daughter (Das 1976).

PROBLEM OF YOUTH

It has been observed that children were only inspiration for many women who had seen the wanton destruction of their world. They survived for their children as these vulnerable species need protection, but now as had been noticed in Tilak vihar most of boys have taken to drug addiction.
The explanation given by mothers for this is that since these boys had seen violence and they were witness to the killing of their fathers' uncles and other male relatives so impact of violence led to withdrawal symptom in children. They missed the authoritarian figure, the father, who is the authority in traditional system. The second reason quoted is that mothers had to leave their children to themselves and go out to work which had shattered their traditional system of family life where mother used to be at home and father used to go out to earn. Children were left all alone, many of these children who had been victim of violence need counselling to pick up the threads of life, unfortunately they were left alone to cope up with their problems which many of them could not do so and landed up in to the world of drugs which provided them with temporary solace but made them permanent anxieties for their old mothers, who have to live with these impaired generation.

Perhaps third reason is the loss of traditional occupation also created vacuum in the lives of boys. The general practice in Labhana and Sigliker Sikhs was that son at the age of 13 years use to help their fathers in their occupation, since these victims were uprooted from their original places and thrown into alien environment were due to the death of fathers, mothers had taken up jobs. No one was left to practice that traditional occupation. Drugs filled the vacuum created by the loss of traditional occupation. These widows are living terrible time, as they are growing old their responsibilities are also increasing. Most of them have got these sons married in a hope that institution of marriage will repose sense of duties and obligations in their sons. They failed to realize that addiction is a sickness which aggravates when a person is not able to perform his role and this leads to further problems in life of drug addicts. Since they already are not normal individuals. They live impaired life, they are depended on drugs so they need treatment instead of marriage. Many widows are now forced to looking after the families of these drug addicts sons. These widows have to provide everything to their grand children. Many marriages have broken due to this habit widows are left with the responsibilities of grand children.
CONSOLIDATION OF COMMUNITY IDENTITY

In times of social crisis community identity plays very important role. It's observed that in aftermath consolidation of community identity is more emphasised. It's expected from women to keep the community together, Shah Bano sight to maintenance was sacrifice at the alter of community solidarity, Sati of OOP Kangaroo was upheld to boast the community identity. Women have been always sacrificed at the alters of community solidarity. After the violence intact control of community increases on women as it was observed in both the cases of Surat and Delhi that religious identity became important. So women were expected to discard all such practices and modes of dressing and fashion which had roots into majority community. For instance plucking eyebrows waxing arms and legs putting sindoor was severely criticised by staunch Sikhs. Women were instructed to give up these practices to uphold their religious identities. Muslim women in Surat have taken to veil after the holocaust. Re-veiling of Muslim women is a repercussions of riots. Incidence of one Muslim teacher who was very much Hindu in her mode of dress and looking was quoted who had been killed and raped in Surat. She was used as and example of deviant women to fervour the sentiments of Muslim women not to follow Hindu practices and dressing. During our field trip we did not encounter single Muslim women wearing saree as it is associated with Hindus.

In Sikh families revival of religious practices have led to discontinuing of many ceremonies which had roots in Hindu rituals. For instance Jai-Mala and putting of sindoor during marriages has been banned because both the practices are termed as Hindu way of marriage. In fact Jai Mala and putting sindoor were the occasion which had shown cultural assimilation of two communities. Even some staunch families have stopped the tying of raksha bandhan as it has no reference in Sikh scriptures. It is said that Sikh women "sardarni" is "sherni" she is capable enough to protect her honour with her "kirpan".
ATTITUDE OF STATE TOWARDS WOMEN VICTIMS

State is responsible for the life and property of its citizens. Its responsibility is to maintain law and order in civil society. In fact the episodes of violence in Delhi and Surat were the result of the collapse of law and order machinery of the state. State can not shun away its responsibility for what happened to the members of civil society. In fact non intervention of the state during the phase of on going violence led to the chaos and brutal killing and destruction of property worth crores of rupees. Laxity on the part of the state in post-violence phase has given yet another serious blow to the survivors. The state's foremost duty is to restore the lost respect and dignity of the minority communities by punishing the guilty. This step of state will restore back their (minorities) faith into democratic institution and redeem these communities out of their secluded shells.

Women had very bitter experience as the state also resorted to enforce the patriarchal law by subjecting women to maltreatment. Victims of rape can claim no compensation and there is no readressal of their grievances. Our judicial procedure is full of gaps. A victim of rape has been always re victimised and has been termed immoral lose because rape has to be proved so evidence of rape in itself a mockery of law.

Women had been harassed by police during violence. Police has been not only highly communalism but degradation in their moral character is evident by the versions given by women victims. Women who had escaped from sexual harassment from the males of attacking community had to suffer at the hands of police. Police in many instances had made suggestive sexual gestures to women of the minority community who had gone to lodge their complaints. Women had complained not only about the non-interventionist and indifferent attitude of the police but the rudeness shown by the police to handle women victims.
Many women had been targets of police brutalities in riots. Police does not feel hesitant to give blows to women. Normally force was not used on women earlier. All this has changed. Violence has become part of our system which definitely has implications on women since civil society is getting desensitised by the indifferent attitude to violence. Molestation and rape of women went unrecognised in the police records or in the governments surveys for the purpose of compensation. The police and the bureaucrats dismissed all cases of rapes and molestation as false rumours. On the whole, it was easier to seek compensation for destroyed property or lost lives but the violence to women was not made public, perhaps because it was not quantifiable.

Women victims had a bitter experience with bureaucracy in the process of claiming compensation. These uneducated, unaware women were often harassed. Officers did not show sensitivity to their condition and grief. In fact they become the medium of ventilation for pent up feelings of officers who were annoyed by the appeasement of minority women by the Government in the form of compensation.

Judicial proceedings had another telling experiences for women. They had to relate the events. Spelling out their agony everytime they went through the tedious process of judicial inquiry is a hope to get justice. If traumatises them These proceeding have mental impact and are constant source of depression for women as they go through these proceedings.

**GHETTOIZATION OF THE VICTIMS**

Generally it has been observed that where violence is directed at the elimination of the minority community. People prefer to shift to areas inhabited predominantly by their communities. After 1984 West Delhi has
become a Sikh predominant area which is often refereed as mini khalistan. From Tihar Jail up to Rajouri Garden the entire area has emerged as a Sikh residential area.

In Surat also people have moved into Muslim dominated areas like Syed Pura Nan Pura, Begumpura, Rampura. This phenomena has become part of every community. In Delhi also whole stretch from Nizammuddin to Okhla barrage has become predominantly Muslim area, people in search of security of life and property have shifted into these area.

Apart from this, the decision taken by the government to resettle about nine hundred widow-headed families who had lived through the same trauma in one pocket of Tilak Vihar in West Delhi was extremely ill conceived. Grief feeding on itself creates a most un-healing mental environment. It also provides a ready-made breeding ground for religious fundamentalists. Greedy male family members and other interested parties thrive on and exploit the already exploited in a ghetto-like situation.

This ghettoisation also leads to rise in the prices of properties. In Surat and Delhi women were faced with a difficult situation. They wanted to sell their old dwellings and buy new houses in their own community. Price of land in their own community was sky-rocketing and, while they were not getting adequate amount for their old houses due to lack of buyers as people thought that these women were in need of money and would sell away their houses at throwaway prices.

The other demerit of community-centered dwellings is that it tears the social fabric. People do not get an opportunity to interact and thus it further polarise people along community lines and strengthens prejudices and biases against one an other. Interaction in mixed localities provides individual with opportunities to understand one an other’s culture and respect one an others’ rituals. In fact, in both the riots it has been observed
that where the bonds of neighbourhood were strong no violence had taken place. Neighbours played an important role in saving life and property of people of the targeted community. Strong neighbourhood bonds are possible only in mixed localities with interaction among the members of the different communities.

We can safely conclude from our narratives that the survivor's experience have emphasised the process by which the self is reformulated, in our own empirical data we find that the primary concern of the victims of violence was reorganisation of the family. Decision regarding the future of children the need to find safe areas to live to reorganise economic life and to constantly interpret political events as significant signs figured prominently in this reorganisation. The violence did not just erupt and then disappear. Perhaps the difference between threats from natural disasters, and violence coming from human agencies is that the latter is experienced as continuous violence. It is not contained in time, like waves created by throwing a stone in the river, it has repercussion which far exceed the moment of its occurrence.