CHAPTER 3

DISPLACEMENT, MEMORY AND RECOVERY

Conflict-induced displacement took place from Kashmir in 1989-90. Civilians in conflict situations experience violence which leaves its traces long after the violence is over. Individuals subject to conflict-induced displacement have to bear a burden of violence twice once when violence erupts in the form of conflict situations between various communities and secondly even after displacement when the wounds of violence is kept alive by the survivors in their memories. Displacement and consequent “loss of home” is experienced as a form of violence by the survivors.

VIOLENCE AND SURVIVORS

According to Schroeder and Schmidt (2001) we should take a multi-faceted approach to violence that is a combination of operational, cognitive and experimental and cognitive approaches. The operational approach focuses on the etics of antagonism, particularly on the measurable material and political causes of conflict. It implies that violence is never completely idiosyncratic. The cognitive approach, focuses on the emics of the cultural construction of war in a given society; violence is never completely sense or meaningless to the actor. The experiential approach looks at violence as not necessarily confined to individual subjectivity and that violence is never a totally isolated act. Violence is meaningful to all victims, perpetrators and audiences. Thus in visualizing violence in Kashmir we have to take into account the Islamic fundamentalists, the minority community and the national audiences.

Violence is not a rational phenomenon but at the same time crowds consist of people and relationships that exist or have to be mobilized in the making of crowds. In
order to understand violence one has to understand its impact on the survivors of violence (Tilly, 1986, quoted in Das 1990, p.27). A survivor is defined by Lifton (1968) as someone who has been affected by exterminating violence (quoted in Das 1990, p.29).

The impact of violence is different on different people as one’s position within the social stratification system with regard to class and gender is related to the way violence is experienced. It is held that there are three particular areas in which this relation is shaped. First, the social class of the survivors has a crucial impact on the way in which violence affects people and the way social life is reformulated. Second one’s position within the family and kinship structure is related to the type of violence experienced both at the time violence occurs and after it. The very bureaucratization of relief in the resettlement period also forms a dominant pattern of re-victimization.

When one writes about human experience of suffering one is responsible towards those who suffer. In a world exposed to violence, the presence of the survivor has special importance. But the way violence is interpreted, the meaning attached to it in popular perception is different for different sections of society. The civil conflict in Kashmir has not only local but also national dimensions. With the living present in the background certain events of a past are committed to memory while others are forgotten. Similarly, it is in the background of a living present that the future events are anticipated. Some of these conflicts which are communal, ethnic or sectarian show that they do not only have local dimensions but also national or international dimensions (Das, 1990).

Individualized personal narratives of the survivors are crucial to understand how the violence impacted the survivors. But the individualized personal narratives should be linked to the social processes of displacement (Ager, 1999). There should be an analysis
of the causes of the conflict, how it is meaningful to the victims, perpetrators and audiences and an analysis of the subjective experiences of the displaced persons.

CONFLICT AND DISPLACEMENT IN KASHMIR

EARLIER MIGRATIONS OF KASHMIRI HINDUS

It is not the first time that individuals of the minority communities (non-Muslims in Kashmir) migrated from Kashmir. Jammu region has witnessed the influx of Hindus from Kashmir since ancient times. During the Sultanate period in the late fourteenth century or during the Afghan rule in the eighteenth century a number of Hindus fled from the Valley to escape from forced religious conversion. During the period of Dogra ruler, Maharaja Pratap Singh, floods, famine, epidemic and other natural calamities forced many Hindus and Muslims to leave the Valley and settle in Jammu region, particularly in Doda and Rajouri districts (Gupta, 2005). Hangloo (2005, p.33) holds that during the Mughal period especially during the reign of Sultan Sikander a large number of Kashmiri Hindus migrated to various parts of India- Delhi, Agra, Awadh, Lucknow, various parts of Punjab with Lahore as the centre, native States of Central India and Rajputana.

The informants in the camp areas in Jammu and in the apartments in Noida stated that they were economically and politically alienated before displacement and subsequently. The Hindu informants felt that the displacement should have taken place long ago as they were discriminated against and their dominant position in the Valley was slowly being taken by the majority community.

The Brahmins of Kashmir were in past time renowned for their learning and scholastic achievements, and are known as Kashmiri Pandits all over India. As is well known, the Sanskrit world pandit means ‘a learned man’. They refer to themselves by the word b(h)atta, which is the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit bhartri, meaning ‘doctor’, ‘the
The Pandits had enjoyed unfair privileges during the Dogra Raj (Bhati, 2005; Madan, 1965).

In the past the Kashmiri Hindus had a dominant position in Kashmir with regard to politics, economy and education. However, since 1948 after the accession to India Kashmiri Hindus started leaving the valley. After independence the Kashmiri Hindus lost their pre-eminent position in administration and professions to the majority community. Their land was declared surplus because of land reforms of 1972 and 1976 acquired without compensation and redistributed among the landless tillers who belonged to the Muslim community. Thus it was much before 1989 that the exodus of the minority community had started from the valley. After the 1990 conflict induced displacement their population in Kashmir is 9,000 which is 4% of their 1931 population. (Singh, et. al., 2003, p. xxxii)

**RISE OF MILITANCY IN KASHMIR**

Since 1989, the state of Jammu and Kashmir has been engulfed up by a militancy-repression cycle. Indian security forces and Islamic groups that do not want Kashmir to be part of India are involved in this militancy-repression cycle. This political conflict and violence has led to consequent displacement from the valley (Widmalm, 1998).

According to Widmalm (1998) different discourses persist to explain the violent uprising and consequent displacement from Kashmir. Indian, Kashmiri and Pakistani nationalists have given varying viewpoints in order to explain the conflict in Kashmir. In India, Pakistan is frequently denounced as the mastermind of the insurgency in Kashmir. Pakistan describes the uprising in Kashmir as a response to the repression of the Kashmiri peoples’ wish to join Pakistan. On the other hand in the West the conflict is often dubbed as part of the prevailing trend of the spread of global ethnic conflict and Islamization of
Asia. The political conflict in Jammu and Kashmir is rooted in the ruthless manner in which a struggle for power between elites in the state and the central government took place. Jammu and Kashmir has a poor record of democracy which is characterized by the constant rigging of elections and by various forms of government intervention which prevented the development of fair and autonomous political competition between parties. Article 370 of the Constitution of India symbolized the consciousness of Kashmiri people, that their state had been given a special status within the Indian union. Over the years the terms of accession have been diluted and article 370, which defined the special nature of Kashmir’s relations with India. It lost most of its protective clauses with the Centre acquiring powers to make this article defunct. This led to greater alienation of the local people of Kashmir with the central government (G.N, 1990).

The civil conflict in Jammu and Kashmir was initiated because of the failure of political institutions and leaders in Jammu and Kashmir to handle the strain of an interventionist central government. When social scientists search for explanations for what happened in the past, their analysis far too often considers only the present. The factors that first gave rise to the conflict are quite different from the salient features of the conflict today. In the present scenario the conflict in Kashmir is characterized by religious antagonism, the demand for secession or Pakistani intervention, and the competition for scarce resources in the state. Political violence in Jammu and Kashmir has its roots in the malpractices of political elites and the weaknesses of institutions, both in the bureaucracy and in the party organizations (Widmalm, 1998).

Behera (2000) holds that the alienation felt by the Kashmiri people was due to the fact as they felt marginalized due to certain developments in the polity. Successive heads
of state were imposed by the centre, there was arbitrary dismissal of Farooq Abdullah's government, head of the National Conference party, there was the subsequent change in stance by the National Conference to share power with the Congress and there was blatant manipulation of the electoral process in 1987. Hence the demand for secession was raised. The responsibility of safeguarding the political interests of the Kashmiris fell upon the new generation of Kashmiri youth. When the attempt by the young protagonists to capture state power through constitutional means was dashed by rigged state elections, they took to unconstitutional means. It was in the Kashmiri jails where the first generation of Kashmiri militant was born. The first batch of youth crossed over to Pakistan for arms training in 1987-8. Hence the stimulus of the pent up feelings of the Kashmiri youth were expressed in the form of political violence in the state.

Kishwar (1998) states that the common Kashmiri disapproves of the Central government and its armed forces. They display very little anti-Hindu feeling and would not be in favour of driving out Kashmiri Hindus. An interview with Abdul Rashid, a Kashmiri Muslim working in a government department in Kashmir reiterated this point. He held, "Pata nahi yeh Pandit kyun bhag gaye. Yahan ke logon ne unhe kuch nahi kaha. Woh to dar se bhag gaye. Unhe to Jagmohan ne bhagaya hai. Kahte hain Pandit buzdil hota hai. Jab yahan elections mein garbar hua aur thora khub kharaba hua to who bhag gaye." (I do not know why the Kashmiri Hindus ran away. The common people in Kashmir did not trouble them. They ran away due to fear. Jagmohan is the person who is instrumental in their exodus. People say that Pandits are cowards. When the elections were unfair, violence and killings took place as an after effect in Kashmir thus they ran away.) On the other hand the informants interviewed in the Jammu camps disregard the
role of Jagmohan in their exodus. They attribute their exodus to the atmosphere of 'fear' that existed due to the rise of armed conflict in Kashmir.

Although majority and minority conflict over scarce resources existed, most of the Muslims did not support the eventual exodus of Kashmiri Hindus from the valley. Badri Raina (1992) in the article *A Window to India* holds that militancy led to the loss of lives of many Kashmiri Muslims. Therefore Hindus were not the only target of the militants. Most of the Kashmiri Muslims who fled were members of nationalist parties.

Kishwar (1998) holds that sections of the educated elite among the Kashmiri Muslims show a sense of resentment towards Kashmiri Pandits (Hindus) because in spheres of education and employment they were in conflict with the Hindus. The Hindus were better educated and therefore get jobs more easily. The resentment of educated Kashmiri Muslims is because the Pandits had got used to dominating on account of being economically and educationally better off and were not prepared accept to the spread of education among Kashmiri Muslims. The Kashmiri Hindus, a minority in relation to the Kashmiri Muslims had a major share of the economic resources. The politics of the state has been dominated by the Kashmiri Muslims. In the current scenario the Hindus interviewed in the camp regions and in Noida expressed their viewpoint that as far as job opportunities were concerned they were sidelined at the hands of the Kashmiri Muslims. Thus although poor democracy was the cornerstone of the spread of civil violence in the state on the sideline operates the majority- minority dynamics in relation to the access to scarce resources.

There have been a variety of reasons for mobilizing people into protest agitations in Kashmir. The early Kashmiri independence movement, whose roots go back to the
uprising against the Dogra regime in the 1930s, saw itself principally as a nationalist struggle, 'demanding a proper representation for Kashmiri Muslims in the administration of the state'. A combination of external and internal factors led to the rise of sub-nationalism within Kashmir. Pakistan's Inter-Service Intelligence ISI took advantage of the domestic problems faced by India. According to Joshi (1999) the destruction of the Babri Masjid, in 1992, and the alienation of the Indian Muslim community was taken advantage of by the ISI. Efforts to destabilize the loyalty of the Kashmiri Muslims were stepped up. There was an introduction of an Islamic character to the movement by some militant groups. The initial activity, ranging from bomb blasts to other forms of subversion was conducted with the use of Kashmiri militants.

According to Punjabi (1999) the militant movement in Kashmir, in the course of initial few years, had weakened the ethno-cultural edge of Kashmiri identity to a major extent. The nationalistic component of Kashmiri identity was being replaced by the complete Islamic orientation. At one end was one school of thought, which based Kashmiri sub-nationalism on ethno cultural lines. At the other end was another school, which sought to base Kashmir sub nationalism on Islamic lines. Both the political groupings were asserting to organize Kashmir society according to their differential perceptions. However, the nationalist current dominated the socio-political scene.

Punjabi (1999) holds that in the year 1989, the pattern to be followed by the ideologues of a Pan-Islamic society became quite visible. The focus was to bring about structural changes by impacting the culture of Kashmiri society. In the first instance, all cinema houses, beauty parlours, wine shops, bars and video centers were destroyed by the fundamentalists. A large number of official buildings, including schools and colleges all
over Kashmir have been burnt by the militants. The educational institutions for girls became special targets of attack as some militant outfits were opposed to the present system of education for girls. The news media in the Kashmir valley during the initial period of militancy was paralyzed (Verma, 1994).

The fact that the Muslims who helped the Hindus were targeted implies that every attempt was made by the Islamic fundamentalists to weaken the bond between the Hindus and Muslims. Social institutions of the society were targeted and attempt was made to relegate the Kashmiri language to the background- a marker of identity of the Kashmiri people. Therefore all attempts were made to bring about a social transformation in society. In this insecure atmosphere there was no option for the minority communities Kashmiri Hindus and Sikhs, and some members of the majority community the Muslims than to migrate from the valley.

An Islamic code of conduct was formulated for men and women. Expressive articles were published in the local vernacular press to highlight the virtues of Islamic laws over the secular laws. Thus in the year 1990, there was a proliferation of militant groups in Kashmir. Majority of the militant groups preached ‘Nizam-e-Mustafa’ (System based on Islamic Shariat Laws) as the objective of their struggle in Kashmir. Islamic state became the predominant theme of the majority of these groupings. Their aim was to achieve ‘jehad’, which, according to them, was launched “to reorganize the society by imposing the laws of God and inviting the people to truth”. Buildings have also been destroyed in the crossfire between the militants and the security forces.

Notices and warnings, addressed to people against mukhbiri or collusion with the government of India were circulated. The militants spread rumors that they have prepared
a hit list of non Muslims and threatened the minorities to quit the valley. Non-Muslims were threatened through letters, posters and even through advertisements in the press. A big chunk of displaced Muslims were activists of nationalist parties or relatives of political leaders and employees. There was a spurt in the killings of political personalities. Prominent personalities were made frequent targets so that a fear could be instilled among the minority communities and among the Muslims who supported the minorities (Verma, 1994). Panic and fear gripped the valley and the people left to save their lives from the homeland.

The year 1989-90, witnessed a large exodus of the residents of Kashmir valley. The forced migration of the Kashmiri Hindus, Kashmiri Muslims, Sikhs, Dogri Rajputs and non- Kashmiri Hindus mainly who were Punjabis took place. Since then the out-migration of the minority communities from the valley has continued. According to Verma (1994, pp.203-204) the conditions in the state deteriorated to such an extent that by October 1989 people in the valley were virtually seized by an all-pervasive dread of militant violence. Any call from the militants for a civil curfew was followed without any resistance. Meanwhile assurances of safety from the government did not give solace to the people. The militants identified the Indian State and its infrastructure at the local level as their enemy. Thus they initiated a religious propaganda by shouting slogans, sticking posters on walls and poles against India. They spread rumours and engaged in selective killings to instill a fear in the minds of the people.

By January 1990 the state authorities lost control of the situation. Innocent civilians were thus sandwiched between gun-trotting militants on the one hand and state forces on the other (Verma, 1994). Since the beginning of 1989, non-Kashmiri Hindus in
Kashmir, a tiny number, started receiving notices to quit Kashmir. The non-Kashmiri Hindus, professionally a trading were threatened by the militant groups. Panic and fear spread and many of the non-Kashmiri Hindus sold their property at throwaway prices and left the valley. The Kashmiri Pandits were the next target. Secessionist organizations called for a boycott against those opposing the secessionist movement in the state. The minorities were pressurized to join the liberation struggle.

Because of the fear of being targeted by the militants, members of the minority communities left the valley. Most of the informants reported that they were not harmed personally but the fear psychosis that gripped the valley in 1990 caused the exodus from Kashmir, although some target killing did take place. The militants launched a campaign against the minorities. The minority communities were seen as opposed to Azadi or the liberation of Kashmir. They were portrayed as 'agents' of the government and security forces. The people belonging to the minority communities were stereotyped as 'mukhbirs' (spies of the government). Terror spread in the valley and through various measures like press, posters and public announcements the message was spread that the minority communities are to leave the valley. It was reported that the atmosphere was filled with 'dehshat' (fear).

The dispersal of ideology through modern systems of communication technology (audio cassettes, video cassettes, compact discs) and their more continuous spread through television and the media, through public celebrations and speeches has magnified the scale of its reach (Robinson 2005, p.21). Various slogans were shouted by the fundamentalist elements to spread fear and terror in the valley. Some of these slogans are Kashmir main rahna hai, Allah-ho-Akbar Kahna hoga (If you choose to live in Kashmir,
you will have to say Allah-o-Akbar), *Asi gachi Pakistan, Bata ros ta batanev san* (We want Pakistan, with Kashmiri Hindu women and without their men-folk), *Allah-o-Akbar, Musalmano jago Kafiro bhago, jehad aa raha hai* (Allah-o-Akbar, arise and awake Muslims, buzz off infidels, jehad is approaching.), *Kashmir kya banega - Pakistan* (What will Kashmir be - Pakistan), *Zalimo O, Kafiro, Kashmir hamara chhod do* (You cruel infidels vacate our Kashmir), *Yahan kya chalega, Nizam - e - Mustafa* (What will have sway here - Prophet's governance) (Kaul, 2002). This paved the way for the mass exodus of the minority community from the valley.

The case of Aditi depicts how an atmosphere of fear and insecurity was created to trigger the exodus of the minority community. Aditi was a 55 years old woman who lived in the Aravalli apartments in Noida with her husband, son, daughter- in- law and granddaughter. She lived in Habbakadal in Srinagar. They had all their land and property in Kashmir in their village. They ran for their life to Jammu. She said, *ghar chor ke Jammu aa gaye. Kashmir mein militant awaz utha rahe the ki panditian ladkiyo aur aurato ke sath Pakistan banaye ge. Jo Kashmiri bhagh ke aaye aur bad mein vapis gaye thee unko militants ne maar diya.* (We left our house and came to Jammu. In Kashmir the militants were swearing slogans that they would establish Pakistan with the Kashmiri Pandit women. People who ran away from Kashmir but later returned to collect their belongings were killed by the militants.)

Target killing took place in Kashmir when militancy started. Militants even chased Aditi’s brother-in-law’s son who was prominent in Kashmir as a cricket captain. He however managed to escape. Her neighbours were killed by the militants. After that
incident they ran for their life from Kashmir and did not care to get any of their belongings with them.

Kakar (1995, quoted in Robinson 2005, p.19) states that the violence is practiced through the humiliating attacks on body, property, place of worship or monuments. There is frightening repetition of particular kind of violent acts and comparisons can be easily drawn in conflict situations. In this study comparisons can be drawn between how violence was practiced during the partition of India in 1947 and conflict in Kashmir in 1947. It is the masculinity of the crowd is confronted and it is done through punitive murder and pillage (Das, 1990). Thus shouting of various slogans like Asi gachi Pakistan, Bata ros ta batanev san (We want Pakistan, with Kashmiri Hindu women and without their men-folk) Zalimo O, Kafiro, Kashmir hamara chhod do (You cruel infidels vacate our Kashmir) are instances of the ways in which the masculinity of the crowd is challenged.

**ILLUSTRATIONS ON ABRUPTNESS OF MIGRATION**

The decision of persons to flee their home areas, the archetypal form of involuntary movement, may in part be rationalized by the expectation of asylum. According to Parnwell (1993) for the people displaced from their homes the decision to leave is often a spontaneous one, leaving little or no time to make proper arrangements. The actual moment of dislocation is very sudden, denying the subjects any time to comprehend the violence that intrudes into their private personal lives. The abruptness of the event implies that the exodus is far removed from a normal mode of moving from one place to another, in which case one would pack one’s belongings, meet one’s neighbours and take care of any pending commercial or monetary matters (Khan 2006, p.108).

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Migration of the minority communities from Kashmir was very abrupt. Panic had gripped the minorities and each day there were stories of who fled the valley. One's safety was of prime concern. Trucks full of people left for Jammu the nearest safe destination. The case of Dinesh of the Muthi camp in Jammu makes this evident. Dinesh a middle-aged man is the president of the Muthi camp. He held that they came in trucks full of people. When people fled, they were desperate to reach, Jammu. Even the truckwallahs (truck drivers) took advantage of their situation and fleeced the public. The women were so anxious to reach Jammu that they gave their jewellery to the truck drivers. The government was unresponsive. Families came packed with or without their belongings. The atmosphere was filled with fear. Till Jawahar tunnel which connects Jammu to Srinagar they kept their fingers crossed so that they are not be attacked by militants. However not even a single truck was attacked because the militants in Kashmir had an agenda of throwing the minority community out of Kashmir.

The migration was a period of excessive tension. Exodus was very sudden. The displaced persons held that it was 'one night of excessive tension' when they decided that Kashmir was not safe and the next day they packed all what they could and left the valley. The people who fled were certain that they would go back to Kashmir one day. Never did it occur to them that they were leaving their homeland for a long period of time. It was felt that the migration was transitory. They felt that the sudden uproar that took place would eventually subside and normalcy would return when the attempt would be made to control the situation by the authorities concerned. The following case of Jayawant reveals how the sudden exodus led to subsequent hurdles after displacement.
Jayawant was a retired government official interviewed in the Nilgiri apartment in Noida who lives there with his wife. He narrated that they left their house in a hurry without any domestic goods. They believed that they were leaving Kashmir temporarily and would eventually return. They were sure that they would be able to go back to Kashmir to fetch their household articles. They could not go back to collect his belongings because it was not secure for the Kashmiri Hindus back in Kashmir. Once they got displaced from Kashmir they never returned home. They left the valley with the false hope that soon they will be returning to their homeland. In a hurry they even left their legal documents and official papers of service back in Kashmir. They could not go back to fetch their legal documents because of fear of being killed. They had to go through enough harassment after displacement. There were many legal hurdles that the displaced persons had to go through in order to get access to their personal documents or financial claims after displacement. They came to Delhi with very little money. At that time even their money from State Bank of India branch in Kashmir could not be transferred to Delhi. It took four years to transfer the bank accounts. Even their son’s school certificates were left behind in Kashmir. It was disappointing that they were government servants but had to file a court case to the Supreme Court to get their service benefits after retirement. Kaul (1991, p.298) states that many of the displaced individuals left their legal documents back in Kashmir and consequently had to face many legal hurdles. After displacement from Kashmir the displaced people had to go through a registration procedure in order to get a migrant certificate.

According to Damiani (1999, quoted in Puggioni 2006) displaced persons do not necessarily flee with the intention of remaining for years in the country of destination, but
until conditions in the place of origin become safer. It is the hope of eventually returning home safely that suspends the persons in an extended condition of between-ness, a condition that is characterized on the one hand, by the strong memories of the social bonds established in his/her place of origin and, on the other, by the lack of any meaningful inclusive socio-economic-political space within the new destination.

There is a minority who did not move out of Kashmir mainly because of economic reasons. Raghunath interviewed in the Noida apartments presents one such case who moved out from Kashmir only in 1996 as he had economic security in Kashmir. In July, 1991, Raghunath was a Principal of Higher Secondary School, Srinagar. He was also more concerned of his mother’s health conditions. He however sent his two daughters to Delhi in 1989 so that they could be safe and could get adequate education. He attended his duty regularly in Kashmir in the years 1991-96. There was fear, threat, explosions, blasts and firing but he kept living there. It became an every day affair for him. Eventually after the exodus a decision was taken by the militant groups that the Kashmiri Hindus who continued to stay in the valley after 1992 will not be targeted.

SOCIAL NETWORKS AND MIGRATION

When conflict occurs there are informal information networks that inform the displaced persons of impending danger or report to them of events occurring in their home villages during their absence (Vincent, 1998). It was reported by a few informants that it was the Muslim neighbours who warned them of impending dangers to them and advised them to leave the valley. Thus the Muslims were a part of the information network that warned the people of the minority communities of the approaching dangers. Similarly after displacement from Kashmir it was the Muslim friends or neighbours who
informed the displaced people if their property was forcibly occupied or was destroyed back in Kashmir.

Chitra narrated how they left Kashmir and they got help from their Muslim neighbours. Chitra is an old woman who lives in the Himgiri apartments. In Kashmir Chitra lived with her family in Baramulla in the town of Sopore. When militancy started they used to feel scared at night in Kashmir. One of Chitra’s friends was killed when they were leaving the valley for Udhampur. It was their Muslim neighbour in Kashmir who advised them to leave for a month but they did not know that they would have to leave Kashmir forever. She got with herself whatever movable property she could. Her Muslim neighbour got their household things for them when they got displaced to Jammu later. However, the Muslims were apprehensive of helping the members of the minority community as they did not want to be labeled mukhbirs (informants/spy). She got displaced to Jammu first after displacement. It was her son who moved to Noida for a job and later married and settled in the Himgiri apartments which provided a migration network for the parents to move to the National Capital Region.

For some of the informants in Noida there was step migration as initially they got displaced to Jammu and successively they moved to Noida as a member in their family found adequate source of employment in Noida. Parnwell (1993) talks of step migration which is one in which the mover arrives at a destination after a series of short-term moves to other locations. On the other hand the people who got displaced to Jammu were mostly those who came in a crowd and agreed to settle in Jammu as it was an area which had a majority of Hindu population.
Networks indicate strong ongoing patterns of exchange and reciprocity with the places and group involved. Such links are crucial to gaining employment in the city, in a context where desirable jobs and housing are in short supply and patronage. In the case of displaced people from Kashmir they went wherever they had some kind of affiliation with a place through friends or relatives who were instrumental in providing access to jobs or housing. Thus, although social networks are invariably important in migrants’ life histories, they are not always composed of ‘primordial’ links.

Ethnic, family or religious affiliations are often the prime determinants of the success with which a displaced population integrates with a local population. The significance of the migration networks in reducing the uncertainty of migration is to be recognized. Migration networks can be defined as sets of interpersonal relations that link migrants with relatives or friends or fellow countrymen, convey information, provide financial assistance, facilities for employment, give support in various forms and accommodation. Migration networks can be seen as a form of social capital, in so far as they are social relations that permit access to employment or higher wages (Mishra, 2001). Thus migration networks exist as a form of social capital providing social support to the displaced Kashmiri people. Similarly Rao (1986) in his study of migration holds that non-economic factors such as access to information, resource networks, and personality of the migrants provide sufficient conditions for people’s decision to migrate.

Madan (1965, p.17-18) holds that the Kashmiri Hindus were not confined to Kashmir but they had migrated to other places in India. When the conflict erupted in Kashmir the majority among the displaced people that is the Kashmiri Hindus migrated to wherever they had friends or family or could find adequate sources of employment.
Ethnicity has assumed an important place in migration studies especially in the urban context. The earlier migrants help the fresh ones in getting jobs and houses, and initiate them into urban ways of life. They also build their places of worship. The migrant groups try to recreate their cultures, of the place of origin at the place of destination, which results in cultural pluralism (Bose, 1968, quoted in Rao 1986, p.21). The exposure to new places, ideas and practices which migrants experience at the place of destination often seems to lead to a questioning of existing forms of hierarchy or a reinvention of the self's place within the social order. In the context of the displaced Kashmiri people their migration to Jammu and Noida has meant that there has been a change in the traditional system of social stratification.

The informants held that they moved to Noida because it was in the National Capital Region which has an abundance of job opportunities. Another added advantage for moving to Noida was the availability of cheap apartments. A large number of the displaced people felt a sense of closeness with Jammu even before displacement. They had connections with the people of Jammu in the form of friends or relatives. Similarly a few of the people displaced to Noida resettled in Jammu first and then after a few years their children provided a migration network. On the other hand there were other people in Noida whose children were already working outside Kashmir when the conflict took place and they provided a migration network for their family members who eventually resettled in Noida after living in rented apartments in the initial years after displacement to the National Capital Region. Interviews with Anjali and Deepa revealed why Noida was an inviting destination for the resettlement of middle class professional families.
The presence of friends and relatives in close proximity to the location of home is thus important for psychological security (Khattak, 2006, p.125) Therefore the resettlement in Jammu and Noida was an obvious choice for the people displaced from Kashmir as migration networks in the form of family provided the psychological security needed to move to a place. This is evident in Anjali’s case. Anjali, a middle-aged woman of the Dhawalgiri apartments in Noida narrated her initial years of experience of resettlement in Noida. Anjali’s family chose to come to Noida as she could get a job there. After displacement she was responsible for taking care of her parents after displacement. She got a job in a private company in Noida. Also to Anjali, Noida was close to the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Anjali’s father’s uncle who lived in Delhi was of some help as he gave utensils, three chairs and a table-fan. They had to live in one-room apartment on rent which was exorbitant for them then. With little bit of resources they tried to make it in the host community. With the passage of years of hard work they bought an apartment in Noida and she married a person of her own community and eventually bought an apartment of her own.

The case of Deepa shows that like her there were some displaced people who lived in Jammu initially for a few years but eventually chose to come to Noida as they thought that the future of the younger generation will be brighter there. Deepa is an old woman interviewed in the Aravalli apartments in Noida. Her brother’s family resettled in Noida who provided a migration network for them. They came to Noida for their sons’ job prospects. On the other hand for the individuals in the camp areas the migration has been from the villages in Kashmir to the city of Jammu. The trend of urbanization has
impacted both the people in Noida apartments and the Jammu camps but it is the scale which varies.

The informants in camps in Jammu were reported to have come in a crowd. Because of the familiarity of the place and for economic reasons the informants could not move beyond Jammu. Lakshmi, a 28 year old woman of the Muthi camp in Jammu explained why some individuals were confined to the camps in Jammu and could not move beyond Jammu. She held that in Kashmir people living in the camp areas mostly belonged to the villages in Kashmir. The village people did not have as much exposure as the city people of Srinagar. The villagers mostly invested in immovable property in the form of land. The people from the city on the other hand had liquid capital. They had some bank savings which they could utilize in the initial years after displacement. The village people could not utilize their immovable property to the same extent as the city people could utilize their savings after displacement.

Further interviews with the camp people and the people in Noida revealed that the informants in Noida were more educated than the people in the camp area. This facilitated their migration outside their state as they had greater access to jobs than the camp people. Thus it was not only economic capital in the form of access to material resources in the form of income or property, but also cultural capital which is acquired through education and exposure which can serve and perpetuate access to economic capital. Thus class concept according to Bourdieu (1984) is a generic term for social groups defined by their conditions of existence and their corresponding dispositions. Class divisions are not defined by differing relations to the means of production but by differing conditions of existence, differing systems of dispositions constructed by
differential conditioning, and differing endowments of power or capital (Crompton, 1998, p.148). The dispositions shared by individuals which are products of conditionings facilitated the movement of the people from rural areas of Kashmir to the camps in Jammu or that of the people from the Srinagar city to the metropolitan region of Noida.

The difference in the educational qualification of the informants which was a form of cultural capital and facilitated migration to the camps in Jammu or the apartments in Noida can be more accurately depicted through the following table on the educational qualifications of the informants in Jammu camps and the Noida apartments. It is clear from the following tables that there is higher level of educational qualification (cultural capital) among the informants from Noida apartments which was an aid to their migration to Noida and consequently access to job opportunities.

Table 3.1: Sex-wise Educational Qualification of Informants in Jammu Camps
(Figures in Absolute Number)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Below School</th>
<th>High School</th>
<th>Secondary School</th>
<th>Graduation</th>
<th>Post Graduation</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1 presents sex-wise educational qualification of informants in Jammu Camp. The table shows that 22% of the male informants were Graduates whereas the figure for the female stands at 0%. The highest level of education among the female informants is up to Secondary school. It is also to be pointed out that the educational level of both the male and female informants did not vary significantly except at the graduation level.
The table 3.2 depicts the educational qualification of the informants in Noida apartments:

Table 3.2: Sex-wise Educational Qualification of Informants in Noida Apartments  
(Figures in Absolute Number)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Below School</th>
<th>High School</th>
<th>Secondary School</th>
<th>Graduation</th>
<th>Post Graduation</th>
<th>Doctoral Level</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2 shows sex-wise educational qualification of informants at Noida Apartments. The data shows that there is little difference among the male and female informants regarding their educational level. The highest level of education both for male and female informants is Post Graduation level. The most striking finding in comparison to Jammu Camps is that the percentage of educated female informants is higher. There are 12% female informants who are Post Graduates whereas it is 4% for the male informants.

**MIGRATION TO A NEW HABITAT**

The persons displaced from Kashmir thus moved to wherever they could fulfill their needs for survival, education and jobs. The registered families in various parts of India are H.P. (11 families), Haryana (929 families), Chandigarh (114 families), Punjab (319 families), U.P. (500 families), M.P. (169 families), Karnataka (38 families), Maharashtra (38 families), Rajasthan (58 families). The total number of registered families living outside India is 21,684. According to the data gathered from the relief commissioner’s office in Jammu, out of 34,878 registered families in Jammu there are around 30,823 Hindu families, 2,383 Muslim families, 1,676 Sikh families and 5 families belonging to other communities.

According to the data gathered from the relief commissioner’s office in Jammu there are around 34,878 registered displaced families living in the Jammu region. 5,912
families are living in camps around Jammu region. 28,966 families are living outside the camps in Jammu region. 19,338 families are living in Delhi and the rest in other parts of country. The number of families presently under relief category is 15045 families. The number of families under government employee category is 19833 families. Since a sizeable portion of the Kashmiri Hindu displaced persons even at the time of migration were a government employee that is (15246 individuals) they had a stable monthly income and could avoid staying in uncomfortable camp conditions. At present the number of government employees among the Kashmiri Hindus is only 7713 approximately.

According to the 'Kashmiri Resident Directory', Noida there are around 600 Kashmiri families residing in Noida. It is however to be noted that statistics of the IDPs are at best estimates and are at worst misleading. Many of the displaced persons may not have registered with the state authorities or may prefer to stay anonymous. The displaced people who never receive assistance and who are far from the cameras and notebooks of the international media may never be counted.

After displacement the people have to face loss of material resources as few of the displaced people have transferable possessions. The informants reported that they would have experienced a better ecological environment in Kashmir in their huge houses than they are experiencing after displacement. It was difficult for the displaced people to acclimatize to the climate of Jammu and Noida as for the individuals the migration is from a hill station to the hot plains of India.

Most of the informants from the Jammu camps were displaced from the rural areas of Kashmir, while the most of the informants from Noida apartments were
displaced from Srinagar city. In Jammu camps 68% of the informants belonged to the rural areas of Kashmir, 22% belonged to the Srinagar district while 10% of the child-informants brought up in the host territories did not remember the district to which their parents belonged in Kashmir. 70% of the informants interviewed in Noida belonged to the Srinagar district in Kashmir, 6% of the informants belonged to the rural areas of Kashmir. While 24% of the child informants did not remember clearly in which district they were brought up in Kashmir as they had spent a major part of their childhood in the host territories after displacement.

In this study the informants in the sample are from Jammu camps and Noida apartments who held that they were discontented about the movement to a new setting. Informants who moved out from the city of Srinagar and the villages held that they lived in three-storeyed or at least two-storeyed houses back in Kashmir. Now while the individuals in the camp areas have to adjust in 10 feet by 15 feet One Room Tenements ORTs, the people from the Srinagar city have to live in two to three bedroom apartments in Noida.

In the camps in Jammu region 38% of the informants held that they had a three-storeyed house in back Kashmir. 14% held that they had a two-storeyed house in Kashmir. 10% of the informants stayed on rent in Kashmir, 6% of the informants had a four-storeyed house in Kashmir, 4% had a five-storeyed house, 4% had one-storeyed house and the no response rate was 24% as the sample was inclusive of children below 18 years of age who had no idea of the property of their parents back in Kashmir.

On the other hand in the Noida apartments 28% of the informants had a three-storeyed house in Kashmir. 24% of the informants had a four-storeyed house in Kashmir,
20% of the informants had a two-storeyed house in Kashmir. 2% of the informants were on rent while the no-response rate in Noida was 26% as it was inclusive of children who had no idea of the property of their parents back in Kashmir. A substantial number of informants in the sample left property (in the form of houses) in Kashmir, which were more than two storeys.

Most of the informants reported that they had three storeyed houses in Kashmir. A few displaced from the Srinagar city held that they had two storeyed houses in Kashmir. The term used for different storeys was pore. Every house had many kuths (rooms) and chok which was the kitchen. There was more space for leisure activities as also for work activities at home. In the process of the interview there was constant comparison by the informants of their gans (cowsheds) with their present one room tenements in which their entire family of four to five members was housed. Many of the informants both in Jammu and Noida held that they large kitchen gardens in Kashmir.

Initially for a few months informants in the camps in Jammu lived in cloth tents which would soak in rain or get blown away in the wind. The land on which the tents stood was covered with grass and life in the tents was such that one always had to beware of wild reptiles like snakes and scorpions. Although there was provision of electricity, water had to be fetched from a distance. After much persuasion, One Room Tenements (ORTs) were built for the displaced people.

The ORTs had tinned roofs and were small structures about 10 feet to 15 feet. The informants reported that it was suffocating for entire families comprising of 4-5 members to be residing in one ORT. The term they used for their houses was kabutarkhana (pigeon cage). Different corners of the ORTs are divided into kitchen,
bedroom, dining room and drawing room. Now the government has reportedly made their ORTs pakka (strong) by having a roof made of bricks. The sanitary conditions in the camps in Jammu are unhygienic. In the camp area around 200 people share 10 toilets. The ORTs are dark and dingy without windows and the government initially did not even provide water taps at each ORT. Women had to walk a distance in the Muthi camp to fetch water as each block of (ORTs) had one tap of water. After a lapse of ten years it is only now that the government has provision for water supply to each ORT.

For political authorities the displaced persons require close control and urgent in repatriation. On the one hand the camp conditions are such that they lay stress on vulnerability and helplessness but on the other hand the people faced with these challenges respond in specific ways to the predicaments. For instance, the construction of small rooms by the camp people on their own or the ways in which they try to cope with the changes entailed by displacement are ways in which they utilize their creative energies (Marfleet, 2006).

In the camp area the ORTs are overcrowded. They are separated by narrow lanes just big enough for a person to walk. On the other-hand in Noida are multi-storeyed apartments which are one- three bedroom apartments. In the apartments in Noida the Kashmiri IDPs live in one to three bedroom apartments. These apartments are spacious and have separate kitchen, bathroom, bedrooms and dining room. The apartments have all the basic amenities like water and electricity. There is sufficient space for a family of four to five members to live. The informants reported that they moved here because of economic security of jobs. The younger educated generation moved first and secured
jobs. The children provided a migration network for elder generation who moved later on to live with their children.

The aspirations of the displaced people are rarely taken into account, as is viewed in the provision of the infrastructure in Jammu camps. Attempts to challenge the political authorities are viewed as disruptive behaviour. It is due to these circumstances that displaced people in a large number move away from their initial place of exile, away from camps and relief centres towards towns and cities where new resources can be accessible such as jobs, education, new relationships, and freedom from the camp regime. For young, resourceful people with access to skills who have learned how to survive in the host communities this is the only prospect of onward progress. It is the means to establish a 'social world' which has meaning.

DISPLACEMENT, PAIN AND ‘HOMING DESIRE’

Displacement is not a simple process of exodus and arrival to a new locale. The 'loss of home' is experienced as violence by the survivors. The pain of losing a home is so strong that memories of home stay with the survivors long after exodus and even after resettlement in a new locale. The context in which displacement occurs has to be taken into account. Even in the post- displacement phase the individuals go through pain and suffering which is incommunicable (Das, 1990).

For the displaced people there are constant thoughts of returning home and this prevents them from coming to terms with the present. This is evident through the case of Alka who misses her home tremendously after displacement. Alka is an old woman interviewed in the Himgiri apartments in Noida. She and her husband wish to return back to Kashmir but are constrained by the circumstances. Alka misses her rose garden, her
house and she still longs for her home which is her house back in Kashmir. She laments that she could not take care of her garden after displacement. She longs for her house affectionately. As Khattak (2006, p.133) writes,

Their present house is not ‘home’ – it is a place, a mud house, a rented house, a camp or a tent. It is not home. Their refusal to accept their move as final (something their hosts also do not want them to do) makes them feel that the present is ‘temporary’ even though it has affected their lives very deeply and permanently.

She is apprehensive of strangers in the new locale after displacement. She is very depressed and in an emotionally surcharged atmosphere she narrated her experience of displacement. For her there have been no positive consequences of displacement. Her husband became a heart patient after displacement and was suffering from depression. She repeats again and again that her husband is not able to cope with the experience of displacement. Her husband gets repetitive thoughts of Kashmir and everyday he expresses his desire to go back to their home in Kashmir. Everyday her husband reminds her how badly he misses Kashmir. Suddenly, in the process of the interview she broke into tears. She narrated a poem to which expressed her anguish of having lost her homeland.

Sab raja gaya, dhan bhi lootā,
Dharma bhi badla, tahzib mīti,
Vidhya gayi, bhagya bhi paíta,
Kya kya na sahi vipda zarra mān mein
------------------------Vir bano (2) hind ke lalo.
Alka held that the above saying goes well for the displaced persons from Kashmir. They have lost everything after displacement she reported. She held that they have lost their homeland, their wealth, their well-being, belief systems, culture, educational institutions and finally their future. She held that they have sacrificed a lot for their country but they have lost everything.

When there is displacement from home for the displaced people home has two representations for them (Khattak, 2006). On the one hand home is a place from where one derives a sense of security, while on the other hand it is also a place of peril. In the narratives of the displaced people the memories of the home were how big their home was back in Kashmir, the different storeys of their home, their family members who lived together in the home and how they engaged in different courses of their life and the activities which were connected with the home. On the other hand there were memories of the people of the ways they felt restricted in the practice of their religious customs after the spread of Islamic fundamentalism.

Marangoly George (1999, quoted in Khattak 2006, p.123) writes according to Jung the different rooms in a house signify a person’s different selves and states of consciousness. This identification with the house is deeply embedded in the human mind. George explains that this recognition is a two way process whereby the home not only symbolizes how one perceives one’s self, but also stands for how others may perceive one. Therefore, the home is crucial for the perception of identity.

The leaving of home is not only about regaining security associated with identity, a culture, a personal and collective history that one leaves behind (Khattak, 2006, p.122) Displacement from home and country evoke a deep sense of loss. By the people
displaced from Kashmir the word for Kashmir and ghar(home) is used interchangeably. Home is therefore tied with the idea belonging to a place and a community. Thus home is associated with a sense of security and a sense of identity and grounding due to shared values and shared lifestyles as well as experiences.

Displacement is not a simple process of migration from the homeland to the host territory. As the displaced people leave their home, they leave behind various familial relationships in the sense that the family relatives after displacement have scattered to different regions of India. As they leave their homeland they leave behind the larger familial metaphor represented by nation, culture, history and identity (Khattak, 2006).

The home is thus charged with meanings, emotions, experiences and relationships that lie at the heart of human life. The home is not to be seen as a fixed, bounded and confining location. A key feature of research on home has been the way in which home travels across different scales. Home is imbued with nostalgic memories and the love of a particular place (Blunt, 2005). For many even after displacement a sense of identification with the home in the host territory does not exist. But for many of them, these notions have kept shifting. “The question of belonging is a deeply troubled one and one that most migrants confront all their lives—do they belong to the land they left behind, or the one in which they find themselves, or somewhere else altogether?” (Butalia, 2006, p.145).

MEMORIES AS COPING STRATEGIES

Whereas sites of memory often invoke and extend far beyond, spaces of home, nostalgia invokes home in its very meaning. The term ‘nostalgia’ is derived from the Greek nostos for ‘return home’ and algos for ‘pain’, and implies homesickness and yearning for home (Blunt, 2005, p.13). Thus the study of nostalgia that is the yearning
for home is more personal. On the other hand studies of collective memory are also concerned with space and identity, but on a shared, and often public scale. Collective memory not only bind individuals into a wider community but also goes across the past and present and invokes a sense of place, home and belonging (Fortier, quoted in Blunt, 2005, p.13).

Nostalgia includes more than a yearning for literal places or actual individuals. While homesickness refers to a spatial separation nostalgia refers to a temporal separation. Nostalgia exists in the imagination and even if one returns to the home where one grew up one can never return to the original home of childhood. Blunt (2005) also explores a longing for home that was embodied and enacted in practice rather than solely in narrative or imagination. He argues that a nostalgic desire for home is oriented towards the present and the future as well as the past.

Displacement has implications not only about physical security but also anxieties about non-material aspects that form the basis of our identities, of who we are as there is a shift to a new locale. Shift to a new host community involves issues such as shifting identities, change in the meanings and perceptions of ourselves and others’ perceptions of us. For displaced people memory is an important coping mechanism. Memory serves to preserve their class, social and national identities (Khattak, 2006, p.134).

The case of Manohar illustrates how memory serves as coping mechanism after displacement. Manohar an old man interviewed in the Gol quarter camp held that he missed Kashmir. When evening falls he gets home sick. At nights he cannot sleep for he misses Kashmir so badly. He misses the trees, the walnut business. He made good profit by selling walnuts back home. Now he repents that he has lost everything. But his
memories are an important coping mechanism by which he preserves his class and social identity.

The displaced persons’ past is based on both harsh and sweet memories. They remember their childhood days, their belongings and their violent past – a past marked by homelessness. The memories of their past are a mosaic of sweet nostalgia and the bitterness of being “un-homed” (Raychaudhury, 2006, p.169) Thus Manohar a person living in the Gohl quarter camp reminicizes how well his walnut business flourished in Kashmir while at the same time compares it with his little grocery shop in the camp area. There are sweet memories of a comfortable life in Kashmir but at the same time bitter memories of having lost all the resources that he owned in Kashmir.

The displaced people in their narratives emphasize how good life was whether they were rich or poor. “...Descriptions of meals – breakfasts, entertainment when guests arrived – images of plenty” (Khattak, 2006, p.131) were constantly given by the displaced people from Kashmir in their narratives. There is a dreamlike memory of the homeland. Many of the displaced people of Kashmir narrated how grand the traditional festivals. Also the people interviewed remarked on how their traditional life-cycle ceremonies which took place back in Kashmir were celebrated enthusiastically by the community members when even the friends and family were largely involved.

Raychaudhury (2006) states that away from their homes the stories of abundance of the survivors of conflict and forced migration may be imaginary. Indeed being dispossessed from everything they had, at least some of the persons far removed from their homeland have a tendency to exaggerate the size of the property they had. It has to be noted that though the displaced people living in the camps had substantial amount of
property in the form of land and houses back in Kashmir the majority of them have a
tendency to identify themselves with the upper class as they are dispossessed of
everything they had and are living a substandard living in the camps in Jammu. On the
other hand the people displaced to the apartments in Noida see themselves as belonging
to the middle class back in Kashmir and continue to belong to the same class in the host
territory. The reason being that for the people displaced to Noida their status is not altered
to the same extent unlike the people displaced to the camps who now see themselves as
belonging to the working class.

Men and women moved back and forth through their memories to assess and
reassess their past in relation to the present and visions to the future. In the process, they
formulated new understanding, developed new ideas and meanings and asked new
questions concerning gender roles (O’Kane, 2006). In the oral narratives what is evident
is that the structure is essentially dialectical operating between the two extreme points of
trauma and triumph. None is the absolute winner. For even when trauma ends, its
memory calms the quality of triumph or reconciliation. Memoirs, oral evidence as well as
creative statements on partition explore this tense conflict between trauma and
reconciliation and resolve that the experience of Partition, disregarding the violence and
death it resulted in, appealed to life as its only refuge (Dasgupta 2004, p.176).

INITIAL NEGOTIATIONS

The inflows of displaced people augment pressure on resources and scarce social
services such as competition for employment. Cultural clashes are probable, and social
tensions tend to continue for a long time (Cernea, 2000, p. 32). Most of the informants
reported that the initial reaction of the host community towards displacement was
unfavourable. The host community of Jammu looked at the displaced people as a threat as they were a potential competition to their scarce goods and resources. Informants who moved to Jammu initially after displacement held that first the host community people were skeptical of renting their houses as they thought that they would occupy their houses forever and would not move out. So it was even difficult to find houses on rent she said.

Bharati a thirty-five year old woman interviewed in the Nilgiri apartments in Noida narrated the family's experience of displacement when they first came to Jammu. They migrated to Jammu before they came to the Noida apartments. In Jammu they stayed on rent but they had a problem initially as the rent was increased by the house owners in the host community. The members of the host community realized that the displaced people were in need of a place to stay and took advantage of their predicament. They had to face harassment by the local people. The people in Jammu even counted their slippers to check if extra people were staying in their house. Even stores were given on rent. When they came they went from place to place in search of livelihood and housing. They went through troubled times. In Jammu when a family member died, the family was told to go to the temple and have thirteen days of mourning there. They would say, “Please do not mourn in our house.” When the displaced people came to Jammu, the Shiv Sena wanted to throw them out. The Shiv Sena stated that the displaced Kashmiri people will “eat everything in Jammu”. They were denied houses by people in Jammu. Later the mindset of people changed when they realized that additional money was being poured into the economy of Jammu.

Situations of migration to an urban area lead to conflict between the migrant ethnic groups and the locals which go by the name of sons-of-the-soil movements
(Weiner 1978; Gupta 1977, quoted in Rao, 1986). In the process ethnic groups get politicized, act as vote-banks and pressure-groups articulating their interests, and compete for various benefits of urban life.

Weiner (2003) views migration as an important element in the social construction of an identity. The entrance of migrants from another region may lead the local population to create for itself an identity based on an exclusive claim to its own territory. The ‘sons of the soil’ movement of the 1960s and the 1970s was rooted in the increasing competition between the local people and the migrants for jobs in the modern sector. The initial reaction of the Shiv Sena to the migrants from Kashmir can be seen in the light of the ‘sons of the soil’ movement in the other regions of India like that of the local Assamese attacking Bengalis who had illegally migrated from Bangladesh.

Weiner holds that there are several anti-migrant political parties which have won local support in some states like the Shiv Sena in Maharashtra, Ahom Gana Parishad in Assam, and the Jharkhand party in Southern Bihar. In this case it is viewed how the politics of regionalism is operative. The Shiv Sena in Jammu initially opposed the resettlement of the migrants as it went against its ideological interests. The Shiv Sena in Maharashtra, on the other hand a party with right-wing political inclinations was sympathetic to the cause of the displaced Hindus from Kashmir and has actively provided for reservations of seats in the educational institutions in Maharashtra.

The locale of home is also not without the larger politics that took place in the place of origin of the displaced people. Back in Kashmir the people of the minority community were seen as occupying a large amount of the service sector and there was competition with regard to the scarce resources between the majority and the minority
communities. Similarly after displacement initially the displaced people were seen as a potential source of competition with regard to jobs and education. There is a tendency of reproduction of the politics of their homeland in the host territories after displacement.

The people displaced to Noida have moved to the National Capital Region. There are abundant economic opportunities in Noida as it falls in the National Capital Region. It was remarked by one of the informants that “Noida is a sea where everyone got absorbed.” This implied that Noida falling in the national capital region had migrants from all over India who came to metropolitan cities mainly in search of educational and job opportunities. According to Weiner (2003) the major urban centres that have shown the highest population growth are districts surrounding Delhi, Calcutta, Mumbai, Chennai, and Ahmedabad areas with substantial industrial and commercial activities. Thus Noida, a city on the suburb of Delhi has migrants of diverse ethnic backgrounds; people live in a multicultural set up in the apartments, and in the work sphere rub shoulders with people of diverse ethnic backgrounds.

‘SENSE OF DIASPORA’

When referring to the displaced Kashmiri Hindus the term diaspora in this context is not used in the literal sense. However, it is to be pointed out that the term is used to refer to a ‘sense of diaspora’ that the displaced communities experienced after getting scattered to various places in India. They shared the likeness of being displaced Kashmiri Hindus. The term diaspora is applied to describe any group of people who are dispersed (Jayaram, 2004). The term implies a scattering of people over space and transnational connections between people and places. Geography lies at the core of diaspora both as a concept and as an experience that is lived. Place, home, culture and identity are not
located and bounded. A homing desire is different from a desire for a “homeland” and thus the concept of diaspora offers a critique of discourses of fixed origins (Blunt, 2005, p.10).

Thus the impact of violence lives much after the violent event is over. The scars of violence remain which is expressed in repetitive thoughts. Loss of home is also experienced as a form of violence by the displaced persons. Home is deeply linked with one’s sense of identity, belonging and culture. But memory serves as an important coping mechanism by helping one to preserve one’s class as well as social and national identity.