CHAPTER- 4

RENEGOTIATING SOCIAL LIFE

In the study of displacement and resettlement it is to be analyzed how places and people are interconnected. The movement of people to new places invariably has an effect upon the more intimate relationships within households and families, especially when those movements involve an increased engagement with the discourses and processes of modernity. According to Stein, migration is linked to strategies of mobility which combine exploitation of new resources along with a re-definition of 'traditional' structures (Stein, quoted in Osella and Gardner, 2004, p.xvi).

Displacement is a social process and cannot simply be analyzed as a sequence of close-ended events like 'flight', 'arrival in a new locale' and 'repatriation'. Its impact lasts much after the individuals are re-integrated into the new locale. Displacement of community members from Kashmir has lead to a consequent dispersal of individuals into the different locations of India. In the new locale the individuals face several constraints.

Due to the fact that the community members are de-linked from their homeland they face several social, economic and cultural constraints. However the IDPs in the new locale use their resources and capabilities to recreate their social world. They employ certain response strategies to recreate their social world. This implies that in the post-displacement phase there are corresponding changes in the form of family, culture and consequent impact of urbanization on the family. In the case of the sample in the camp area the migration has been largely from the villages in Kashmir to Jammu city. While the Noida informants have largely moved from Srinagar city to the metropolitan region of
Delhi. The trends of urbanization have impacted both the locales although in different scale.

**URBANIZATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE**

One of the circumstances likely to affect Internally Displaced Populations and the development of post-conflict communities is that the migration from a rural to urban areas may imply that many eventually end up in urban or semi-urban areas because of promise of greater safety and economic opportunities. Among the people displaced from villages only a few may try to maintain a traditional link with their lands back home. This suggests growing problems of urbanization and displacement (Vincent and Sorensen, 1998). This is in sharp contrast to the case of economic migration in which case studies have shown in the case of India that rural-urban ties remained strong even after migration. Studies exist in the sociological literature in India on the impact of modernization and urbanization of migrants from rural to urban areas such as, Ross, (1955) and Rao (1970). As Vatuk (1971, quoted in Uberoi, 1993, p.388) states that the neo-local urban middle-class family is different from the patrilineages of the countryside, however, despite urbanization rural-urban ties remained strong and communication between kin vigorous even over long distances. Earlier studies in the Indian context thus focused on how ties were maintained between family members despite urbanization.

Yet no significant works look into how the urbanization trends affect the displaced communities whose homeland ties are severed. After displacement the family members of the displaced people have dispersed to different regions in India. Although most kin relatives after displacement wish to settle close to each other as was reported by
the informants, migration in search of job opportunities has led to dispersal of the kin. In most of the cases however it was observed that the informants did have some of the family relatives close to each other whether in the Jammu city or in Noida. But the fact still remains that the internally displaced persons differ from the economic migrants because of the fact that they do not have significant members of their community members back in Kashmir with whom they either have strong bonds, or are a source of support and are obligated.

From the sample studied both in the Noida apartments and in the Jammu camps it was clear that the trends of urbanization have affected both the category of informants although in different scales. In the Jammu camps the migration has been mostly from the rural areas of Kashmir. On the other hand in the case of Noida the migration of the informants was from the Srinagar city to the National Capital Region which is a metropolitan area. Thus there is difference in the scales of urbanization in both the locales. For these internally displaced persons the rural-urban ties do not exist as in the case of economic migrants from the villages to the city.

Face to face primary relationships were predominant in the villages as was reported by the informants in Jammu. One of the informants in the camp area in Jammu said,

*Hum sab jo ek gaon se the bahut pyar ke saath rehte the. Hindu aur Muslim mein farak nahi karte the aur ek dusre ki madad karte the. Ab to sab Kashmir ke alag alag gaon ke log ek sath aa kar is camp mein bas gaye hain. Ab unke saath hamara woh pyar nahi hai. Hamare gaon ke log kahan gaye hame kya pata* (In Kashmir the people of the same village had an affection for each other. The Hindus and Muslims treated each other alike and helped each other. Now in the camp area people from various
villages of Kashmir are living together. The bonding is not the same with the people from the different villages in the camp area. People of our villages got dispersed to different places and their whereabouts are not known).

In Kashmir individuals belonging to the same village had a greater degree of intimacy compared to the camp area where the displaced people from different villages of Kashmir were staying together. The individuals belonging to the same village were dispersed and the emotional attachment that existed among people of the same village back in Kashmir was not there among people of the camp area. In camps in Jammu the informants stated that their relatives are dispersed to camps within Jammu city or in other parts of India. Everyone is so busy in trying to make a living for themselves that the frequency of interaction has decreased in comparison to the case in Kashmir.

This migration from the villages to the urban locales has led to a decrease in the solidarity among the community members. As Jodhka observes (2001) caste, village and religious sects in traditional India displayed such emotional intimacy, solidarity and convergence of interests that they were analogous to natural groupings of people that were based on ties of shared blood, language, history, territory or culture. These social organizations were represented by ‘community’ which was observed as being opposed to the individualism of modern society. Tonnies (1912, quoted in Jodhka 2001, p.18) concept of gemeinschaft community was characterized by a high degree of personal closeness, emotional depth, moral commitment, bonding and continuity in time opposed to gesellschaft society characterized by society.

In the apartments in Noida, the informants reported that the emotional bonding was not there between the neighbours as was way back in Kashmir. Secondary
relationship were dominant. There is isolation felt by the elder generation who are used to a closed community. In Noida, the displaced people have moved to a multicultural set-up as in the apartments people of different regions of India are staying together. Most of the people interviewed in the Noida apartments remarked that they had little social interaction with their neighbours. Impersonal and secondary relationships are dominant. The distances in the National Capital Region were huge and they could not visit their relatives often who were dispersed to far off places in Delhi.

The displaced families from Kashmir are thus in a stage of transition. Urbanization also impacts different generations differently as the young generation typically integrate faster with the host communities. The elderly generation both in the Noida camps and in the Jammu apartments were vocal that they faced anonymity and a sense of alienation in the host territory after being displaced from Kashmir in where they spend most of their lives. The same kind of isolation and anonymity was not experienced by the younger generation as they were busy in jobs and education and had friends belonging to various communities in the work sphere or in the schools.

This alienation and anonymity experienced by the elderly generation is illustrated through the case of Sadhana, who is a sixty years old woman residing in the Noida apartments. She held that in Kashmir all places were close. It was easy to be in touch with the relatives. Now because of the long distances it is not easy to meet the relatives often. They just visit them on rituals and ceremonies. The bonding between the relatives has not decreased but the new generation is just so busy with their jobs or education that it is hard for them to find time to meet with their relatives. This is because the younger generation is largely constrained to make a living in the new setting. Sadhana’s relatives
are displaced to far off places within India like Bombay, Poona, Jammu, Delhi, Bhopal, and Jaipur and it becomes impossible for her to meet her relatives frequently.

After displacement the community members are so busy to eke out subsistence that they have time and money constraint. Apart from socio-economic constraints, distance and climate were other factors that were viewed as responsible for the decrease in interaction between the community members in the post-displacement phase. After displacement the family relatives are dispersed all over India. Radhika, a 25 years old woman of the Muthi camp in Jammu narrated,

We came like a herd of sheep and later the herd scattered to far off places like Delhi, Jammu, H.P., Bombay. Now I meet my relatives once a year. My dear sister is displaced to Delhi. It is a case of out of sight, out of mind.

Thus displacement to a new ecological setting with unfavourable climatic and geographical conditions may serve as an impediment to the social-interaction between relatives and friends. Gopal, a fifty years old person of the Aravalli apartments clarified how distance and high temperatures of the plains of Noida or Jammu acted as constraints to their frequent interaction with their relatives dispersed in the city. He said,

_Noida se Delhi/ Ghaziabad rishedar ke paas jana ho to pehle hame car ke petrol ka tank bhar na pare ga. Phir is dhoop mein ristedar se milne door jana pare ga. Kashmir mein to hum pedel hi apne ristedar se ja kar mil aate the. Wahan par distance bhi zyada nahi the aur climate bhi aacha tha. Ab to hum ek dusare se zyada telephone se baat kar lete hain"_ (If we have to go to visit a relative in Delhi or Ghaziabad then first we have to spend money on the gas for the car. Then we have to travel far in this heat to meet our relatives. In Kashmir we would go and meet our relatives on foot. In Kashmir the distances were not huge and the climate was
favourable. Now we communicate with each other more through the telephone).

In Noida it was held that most of the displaced people were in touch with their relatives through the medium of the telephone. In Jammu the people living in the camps held that the frequency of interaction with the relatives was not that much as compared to Kashmir but whenever they get time out of their busy routines they try to get in touch with their relatives and friends.

Both the overload and subculture theory thus apply to the displaced persons resettled in urban locales with specific areas of influence. According to the overload theory instead of indiscriminately reducing all social contacts, urbanities reserve their limited time and cognitive capacity for those interactions which are most rewarding and fulfilling to their personal needs. This caters to their participation fully in their networks of family and friends (Korte, 1980, quoted in Amato, 1993, p.249). They distinguish cautiously between strangers (low-priority inputs) and friends and family (high-priority inputs) than do people in small towns. Overload theory therefore predicts that although urbanism is associated with less helping of strangers, levels of helping between family members are similar in large cities and in small towns (Amato, 1993, p.250).

Subculture theory is based on the work of Fischer (1976; 1982 quoted in Amato, 1993, p.250). According to subculture perspective, the heterogeneity of large cities results in the absence of communitywide integration and consensus on norms. The less contact with relatives in large cities than in small towns usually diminish when statistical controls for geographical distance are introduced (Bultena 1969; Koyama 1970, quoted in Amato, 1993, p.250). Contact with relatives among urbanites may be comparatively
impersonal in relation to people from rural areas if it takes place at a distance—that is, through correspondence or by telephone.

According to Amato (1993: 249), the aged are the only group for whom disorganization perspective applies as for them urbanism is associated with a decrease in support from family and friends. Thus for the internally displaced elderly a disorganization perspective is relevant. A disorganization perspective suggests that people in large cities, in contrast with people in small towns, experience general deficits in the quality of interpersonal relations (Alexander 1973; Redfield 1947; Wirth 1938, quoted in Amato 1993, p.249). Louis Wirth (1938) argued that migration to cities from rural areas disrupts kinship and friendship ties, the urban population is heterogeneous and the interaction tends to occur in transitory, superficial ways. These processes lead a condition of weak social integration whose psychological consequences include loneliness, depersonalization and tension. In a study of the elderly, Lee and Whitbeck found that urban residents were slightly less involved in friendship networks than were rural residents (1987, Amato, 1993, p.251).

This sense of isolation felt by the elderly is illustrated through the case of Chitra, a 58 years old woman residing in the Himgiri apartments in Noida. She and her husband lived in Jammu first for a few years after displacement. Both of them are retired government employees. Their son joined a job in a private company in Noida and consequently the parents shifted from Jammu to Noida. All her friends and family got scattered after displacement. There is no interaction with her neighbours. There is boredom in Noida as she spends the whole day in the apartment with her husband and
grandchildren. In Jammu her social circle was wide and life in Jammu was better as when she was there she felt that she is in her own state.

The resettlement in the urban areas by the displaced persons is understood in the light of social disorganization, overload, and subculture theory. People in urban settings are less helpful toward strangers than are people in small towns (Amato, 1993). In Noida many of the informants held that they were in a state of anxiety as they lacked the trust in the sincerity of attitude of the strangers. The informants in Jammu camps and Noida apartments held that because of dispersal of families and because of the increase in distance after displacement especially in the case of Noida the help and support from the wider kin has decreased. It was held however that it was the individual families that lived together after displacement that were a major source of support to them.

According to Amato (1993), distance from relatives was related consistently to helping: the greater the distance from family, the less helping between family members. Urbanites, like rural people, prefer to turn to family rather than to friends for assistance. Thus even after displacement to an urban locale the family continues to play a key role in individuals' social support networks.

The following table on the nature of support networks available after displacement reveals that the largest number of informants both in Jammu camps and Noida apartments hold that they received no external support. This response implies that they relied on their individual family members who resided together for material and emotional support. Secondly the informants attribute that they received some support from their kin relatives who were resident in the host territories before displacement. In the camp areas in Jammu the informants however held that they received help in the form
of material support from the government who provided them with ORTs (One Room Tenements) and relief after displacement.

Table 4.1: Nature of Support Network after Displacement in Noida Apartments and Jammu Camps (Figures in Absolute Number)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Support Network</th>
<th>Noida</th>
<th>Jammu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kin relations</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Agencies</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare Organizations</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No External Support</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1 represents the nature of support network after displacement in Noida and Jammu Camps Areas. Majority of the informants in both the areas say that they did not received any external support after displacement. The figure for such response was as high as 54% in Noida whereas it was 36% in Jammu Camp Areas. Secondly, the informants held that they received help and emotional support from their own family members. 28% informants in Noida held that they received support from kin relatives while 22% held that they received some help from their kin relations who were residing in Jammu before displacement took place. While 38% of the informants in Jammu Camp Areas said that they did get some support from the government agencies, it was meager 8% of the informants in Noida Apartments got the governmental support. The role of the welfare organizations in providing material and emotional support is regarded as minimal by the informants both in Jammu Camp Areas and Noida Apartments.

REDEFINING FAMILY AND KINSHIP

The form of family and kinship which was the basis of interpersonal relations in Kashmir villages is described by Madan (1965, p.27),

Functionally the most important group in Pandit society is the domestic group called the gara (household) or chulah (hearth group). Familial in character, it usually includes primary and secondary kin and their spouses, and has a two-to-three generation depth... Based upon patrivirilocal
residence, it is the primary unit of production and consumption, responsible for the socialization of children and the performance of the rituals of kinship.

Displacement also leads to corresponding changes in the form of family. Back in Kashmir the informants of the camp areas lived in a collateral joint family. Now in the camps there is a predominance of nuclear families as each married couple has separate ORT. The ORTs are not big enough to accommodate joint families. While the informants of Noida lived in collateral joint families or in nuclear families back in Kashmir. But after displacement to Noida most of the informants live in extended families. (Patri)Virilocal residence was the norm both in the Jammu camps and in the Noida apartments.

The tables 4.2 and 4.3 show the nature of family of the informants in Kashmir and in Noida apartments and Jammu camps after displacement.

Table 4.2: Nature of Family in Jammu Camps (Figures in Absolute Number)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Residence/ Nature of Family</th>
<th>Nuclear</th>
<th>Supplemented Nuclear</th>
<th>Extended</th>
<th>Collateral Joint</th>
<th>No Response</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kashmir</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jammu</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.2 shows the nature of family in Jammu Camps Area. As is evident from the table, 60% of the informants belong to Collateral Joint families in Kashmir. After displacement to the Camp Areas in Jammu, 90% of the informants belong to the nuclear families. This change in the nature of the family can be attributed to the dispersal of family members after displacement. Also, the categorization by the government for relief status has implied that it is only after marriage that a non-government employee can claim relief. Thirdly, the One Room Tenements (ORTs) are too small to accommodate joint families.
Table 4.3: Nature of Family in Noida Apartments  
(Figures in Absolute Number)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Residence/ Nature of Family</th>
<th>Nuclear</th>
<th>Supplemented Nuclear</th>
<th>Extended</th>
<th>Collateral Joint</th>
<th>No Response</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kashmir</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noida Apartment</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3 shows the nature of family in Noida Apartments. In this table, it is evident that majority of the informants i.e. 54% belonged to Collateral Joint families in Kashmir. After displacement to Noida, majority of the informants belong to either nuclear families i.e. 25% or extended families i.e. 24%. It was the younger educated professional generation who moved to Noida and secured jobs and subsequently they provided a migration network to the parents. Eventually, they are settled in Noida across three generations in the case of extended families i.e. comprising of children, parents and grand parents in the same household. The decrease in the number of collateral joint families can be explained by the consequent dispersal of family members in search of jobs and educational opportunities after displacement.

The change in family type has been from lineal collateral joint family to extended or nuclear families in Jammu camps and Noida apartments. In the camps in Jammu more of nuclear families were prevalent while in the Noida apartments more of nuclear or extended families were prevalent. After displacement there has been fragmentation of families. Family members moved wherever they could find jobs or appropriate sources of livelihood. Informants who had some or the other relative residing in Jammu or Delhi moved in there. Consequently after some time they made their own arrangements. While 38% of the informants in Jammu camps held that their relatives migrated to other places in India. 36% of the informants in Noida held that their relatives were resettled in other regions of India apart from the National Capital Region of Delhi. 12% of the informants held that they even had relatives who had resettled outside India.
Sudha informed how the dispersal of families took place after displacement. Sudha lived in the Gol Quarter camp. She is a 68 years old woman. Her husband Pradeep and 4 Daughters and 2 sons live with her. Before migration they lived in Pulwama district back in Kashmir in a joint family. She said, "hame sab jante the. Hamari kya shaan thi. Hamara kunba bahut bara tha" (We were a well-known family in the village. Our family was really big). She had a collateral joint family back in Kashmir. The family lived together in a huge five storeyed house. In the post-displacement phase there has been a fragmentation in the family and the families are living in nuclear families. Now everyone is dispersed in nuclear families in the ORTs spread around the camp areas in Jammu. It was much better to live in a traditional joint family than to live in a nuclear family she reported.

Singer’s (1968) study on analyzing the impact of industrialization on the Indian family of Madras industrialists revealed intergenerational persistence of joint families. He held that there is a continued sense of joint family obligations of those living in nuclear family and there is constant interaction of both nuclear and joint families with relatives in the village. When viewing the displaced persons and understanding the changes in family life due to the impact of urbanization certain aspects have to be kept in mind. The displaced people cannot visit their relatives back in the villages as the relatives are dispersed and after displacement each family attribute the help received after displacement is from their individual families and attribute their resettlement to their own agency rather than to wider kin relatives.

Although the joint family obligations existed after displacement, more so if the people were staying in a joint household in the new territory but the informants reported
that the obligations certainly have decreased as after displacement each family was more concerned about its own survival. The visits to relatives decreased after displacement and were confined to rituals and ceremonies though in a lesser degree than Kashmir. Also the criterion for relief adopted by the government after displacement meant that it was after marriage that a non-government displaced person would be entitled to relief. This was especially reported by the informants in the camp areas as in the sample in Jammu there were more families that were relief holders than in the Noida apartments sample where most of the families fell into the non-relief category.

The informants reported that in a collateral joint family in Kashmir a chulah or a number of chulahs (hearth groups) were often resident in a gara (house) thus the household existed as a co-resident group and the brothers of the family shared the property and were coparceners even though the kitchens were together or separate. According to Madan (1965) because of the process of the domestic cycle of the family with the passage of time the individual families separated from each other. After displacement the family does not exist as coparceners as their property is left behind in Kashmir. Sadhana, a 60 years old woman of the Aravalli apartments in Noida stated that in Kashmir they lived in a joint family. Now their family is dispersed. None of the family members have any complaints with each other after dispersal because all of the family members got uprooted and have to start afresh in the host community. Everyone left their property there. They did not have to go through a process of separation of resources between the families as displacement led to a natural process of alienation of the family from the patrilineal property left behind in Kashmir.
The president of the Kashmiri Welfare Association in Jammu held that in Kashmir the affinity between the kin living in the joint families was very strong. After displacement the bonding between the wider kin relations has decreased. Back in Kashmir a child treated his/her first cousin as one's real brother. Similarly a person would use a pet name to address one's father's younger brother as it symbolized a very close relationship of love between the uncle and the nephew/ niece. After displacement the bonding between the family members has decreased as the kin relations are dispersed to various places and everyone is busy in trying to sustain.

**CHANGING MARRIAGE PRACTICES**

After displacement due to changes in economic structures and access to capital, certain changes in marriage structures takes place. Thus due to the disruption in the social capital which exists in the form of network of relations, implies a constraint in the choice of marriage partners in the new territory after displacement. This also leads to a consequent change in the pattern of marriage. The changes in marriage patterns correspond to alterations in gender relations, a shift in the roles, responsibilities and relationships between generations. In the work 'Caught Between Borders: Response Strategies Of The Internally Displaced' Sorensen and Vincent(1998) hold that in the post-displacement phase when parents could no longer find an appropriate match for their children’s marriage, their influence in decisions regarding partner was sometimes reduced.

The informants reported that back in Kashmir arranged marriages were preferable. Among the Kashmiri Hindus of the displaced persons, Madan (1965, p.103-110) states that the rule of endogamy limited the choice to one’s own sub-caste. There
was also village exogamy in Kashmir. In the post-displacement phase arranged marriages are preferable, but inter-caste marriages are increasingly taking place.

Manohar, living in the Gol Quarter camp in Jammu stated,

   Earlier there was village exogamy in Kashmir as the relatives lived in a village so we had to go to another village to find a match for our children. Now this is becoming redundant as in the camp area people of different villages have conglomerated. Now arranged marriages are not that common. There is a change in attitude even amongst the different generations.

On the other hand young men and women especially the educated professional classes from Noida prefer to find their own match as they work in professional spheres and can choose their spouses. 24% of the informants in Noida reported that there were individuals in the family who had inter-caste marriages. In Jammu camps on the other hand the rate of inter-caste marriages reported by the informants was only 2%. The reason was that in Jammu a significant proportion of the Kashmiri Hindu community resides. While Noida on the other hand falls in the metropolitan region where the community members are dispersed, implying that the social networks are disarticulated. Consequently the rate of inter-caste marriages is more in Noida in comparison to Jammu.

A few of the informants both in Noida and Jammu reported that displacement led to the delay in marriage of both men and women. Parents of daughters especially were apprehensive about the future of their daughters as they were not financially sound after displacement to get their daughters married. This was the case in the initial years after exodus from Kashmir took place. In Noida the informants held that due to the
fragmentation of the community members to different parts of India after displacement it had become difficult to find a suitable match for their child.

Ram, a 60 years old man of the Himgiri apartments in Noida held that due to choice constraints there was postponement of the marriage of his two daughters. His elder daughter had an inter-caste marriage. He would have certainly preferred if his daughter was married to a Kashmiri Pandit. It has become difficult to find an appropriate Kashmiri match in the current setting. Now education and profession is given more preference than community-membership in alliance. Caste, sub-caste or gotra is not taken into account unlike in Kashmir. Arranged marriages were frequent in Kashmir. In Kashmir every one knew every one else. Their community members are now scattered to different regions in India.

For a few individuals who got displaced at the marriageable age there was delay in marriage as time, money and resources had to be spent in resettlement in the host community. Shobha a forty years old woman of the Nilgiri apartments in Noida narrated her experience of displacement. Shobha narrates that she was 24 when they got uprooted. Shobha was the eldest daughter in the family. Her marriage got delayed because of displacement. It took them some years to settle down in Delhi. She had to work to support her family. Shobha’s parents always felt worried about her marriage in the years when they were settling down in Delhi. She eventually got married at the age of 32.

CONJUGALITY IN CRISIS

Choudhary (quoted in Gupta, 2003) holds that migration has led to extreme stress and sudden changes in living conditions. Choudhary's (ibid.) study focuses on Pandits living in camps in Jammu. Due to lack of privacy in the camp areas several couples could
not develop physical or emotional bonds. This is one of the reasons of the increase in divorce rates among the Kashmiri Hindus after displacement.

Displacement has also led to a corresponding increase in the divorce rate among the exiled people. Divorce petitions filed by the displaced Kashmiri Pandits have increased by 35-40 per cent, according to officials of the matrimonial court of Jammu and Kashmir. In 1995, 250 divorce petitions were filed in the state, of which 30 (12%) applications were of Kashmiri Pandits. In 2001, the number increased to 976 petitions of which 300 (31%) were of Kashmiri Pandits. In 2002, 600 divorce petitions were filed and 200 (33%) were from Pandits in the age group 25 to 40 years (Gupta, 2003). Rest of the applications for divorce came from the Dogra, Punjabi and Sikh communities. According to court officials the last few years has led to an unparalleled increase in the number of petitions filed by Pandit women.

After displacement an increase in divorce rate was reported. In Noida there were 2 cases of divorce reported. In Noida in one case the incompatibility of the couples was attributed to inter-caste marriage because of which there was difficulty in accepting of each others' style of life. After displacement the increase in divorce rate was also attributed by the informants to increased exposure and a decrease in societal restrictions. In Jammu out of the sample of fifty there was 1 case of divorce reported. The reason was attributed to the desertion of the Kashmiri Muslim woman by her husband who had taken to militancy back in Kashmir.

**RECONSTRUCTING CULTURE AND SPACE**

Culture is a dynamic process that is consistently subject to contestation. Culture is not to be viewed as set of traits permanently defined in a society but as a set of constantly
contested attributes, which come into being as a result of socio-economic dimensions of interaction among people. Bourdieu's (1977, quoted in Jain, 2006, p.2314) ideas of cultural, social and symbolic resources are relevant to view cultural changes among displaced persons as for resettlement in a new locale. People rely on these resources to create and sustain their places in society. According to Sorensen and Vincent (1998, p.271) changes in social institutions and practices may take place among the displaced people as adjustments have to be made to new socio-economic conditions and also are a result of interaction with different groups.

According to Gupta (2000) space has a cultural significance as there is a primary connection between culture and space. Culture takes place in defined spaces and it informs the interaction between people which takes place in these spaces. One cannot view culture as an exotic whole. One also cannot take the view that nation-states are historically passé and cultures are no longer linked to space. Thus cultures take place in defined spaces but the relation between displaced people and places implies that culture in the new locales is also informed by the culture that the migrants experienced back home. Gupta (2000) states that changes take place in an explicit space, which are sites of cultural interactions. These cultural enactments are however modified as these are sites of different people in different settings. When culture traverses from its traditional space to a fresh site a transition occurs.

In analyzing the impact of displacement on the culture of people it is to be noted that cultural identities change in the new socio-economic settings. Singh (2000) writes that cultural identities constitute a dynamic process which is responsive to historical, social, economic, and techno-ecological situations encountered by a community. Culture
is associated with territory and space has a cultural significance. The people displaced from Kashmir to the host communities engage in cultural interactions in fresh sites which are modifications of the original (Gupta, 2000).

After displacement there has been a change in the traditional pattern of leisure. The displaced individuals are not in touch with their community members to the same extent has lead to a change in the way leisure is experienced. As Singh (2000, p.237) describing the impact of modernization and the change in the traditional pattern of leisure holds that there is a change in the communitarian character of leisure. In modern society leisure is no longer an active principle of self expression, spontaneous communication and social participation. Leisure becomes a passive experience, a sensation to be enjoyed in the isolation of one's living room. The everyday life of the people is altered after displacement. Both in Jammu and in Noida the informants reported that they could not visit the gardens, the shrines and the temples located in their homeland.

Anjali a 42 years old woman of the Dhawalgiri apartments in Noida communicated that they lived in a beautiful valley. She misses the various spots of Kashmir like Pahalgam, Gulmarg and all the historical places like the Shankracharya temple, Toola Moola temple. She is nostalgic about the places associated with the saints of Kashmir like Lal Ded. The reminiscences of a few of the places have faded. In Kashmir her father loved to travel to different places and the family would go sightseeing on holidays. Anjali desires to take her son to Kashmir for a vacation but the circumstances do not permit. They have neither time or resources to spend nor places to visit.
The elderly people living in the Jammu and Noida apartments held that they had a relaxed life in Kashmir. They complained that they were lonely and isolated in the host territory. In Kashmir gardens were always full of people. On holidays people who were interested in adventure-sports and sight-seeing would engage in it in Kashmir. In Noida or Jammu the climate is such that one does not feel like going outside. In Kashmir one did not like sitting indoors.

**REFRAMING CULTURAL MEANINGS IN NEW LOCALES**

For the community members displaced to different places in India there has been a modification in the way in which their traditional ceremonies, festivals or rituals which were performed back home in Kashmir. Singh (2000) states that the distinctive feature of leisure in traditional society was probably its organic communitarian character and its integration with work. Leisure activities were linked with ecology and modes of production. This was reflected in its occurrence around life-cycle rituals throughout the year. After displacement the ceremonies and rituals performed by the persons in the host territories have lost its communitarian character.

For the displaced people residing in the camp areas in Jammu many cultural changes have taken place after displacement to Jammu. In Kashmir on ceremonial occasions and religious festivals the family relatives would gather at one place and celebrate the religious enthusiasm of the festivals. In Kashmir most of the families were living in joint families and there was a collective-solidarity during religious functions. After displacement to the camps in Jammu, the ORTs are small and thus each family prays in their respective ORTs. They do not visit each other in the same way as was the case in Kashmir.
On religious festivals in Noida too the displaced people are not able visit their families as most of them are scattered to far-off places in Delhi or within India. Sometimes the younger generation is ignorant of their traditional festivals that they used to celebrate in Kashmir. This happens especially when an elderly person does not live with them in the family.

Certain festivals have lost their significance after displacement or are not celebrated in the same manner by the displaced people due to certain constraints that they face in the host territories. To illustrate, *Khchri Amavasya* is a festival that the displaced Kashmiri Pandits celebrated in Kashmir. There was *puja* done on that festival. Dhar (1977, p.30) writes that *Khchri Amavasya* falls in the month of *Posh* (December-January). Kashmir is believed to have been the home of *yakshas* in ancient times. The *yaksha* spirit is invited to relish *khichri* (rice cooked with *dal* and *ghee*). It is believed that during the night the *yaksha* comes and tastes the *khichri* served neatly in the attic along with a fish. The leftover *samagri* of the *puja* they would pour into the Jhelum River. The river which is connected with their traditions is back in Kashmir and they are scared to visit their place.

The river Jhelum in Kashmir is considered sacred by the Kashmiri Brahmin community. The conclusion of *puja* on Shivratri takes place at the river. Back in Kashmir on one particular day *Puja* would be done facing the Jhelum River. This day was known as *Vaitha Truvah*. Dhar (1977, p.29) states that the Kashmiris revere the *Vitasta* (the Jhelum River). A festival connected with the Jhelum river held on the thirteenth day of the lunar fortnight of the *Bhadon* (August-September), is *Vaitha-Vatur-Truvah* (Jhelum-source-thirteenth day). A festival is held at a temple at Verinag, where the source of the
Jhelum is situated. On this day the Hindus from all parts of the Valley participate in the festival along with some local Muslims. Since they cannot visit the Jhelum River after displacement they do not engage in any festive celebrations with the Muslims or perform any of the customs associated with the river.

The displaced individuals cannot visit their sacred places associated with their festivals in Kashmir. *Jeth Ashtami* occurs in May every year. This day is the birthday and incarnation day of the Ragnya Goddess. It was at this time that the Kashmiri Hindus used to visit Khir Bhawani in Toola Moola, Kashmir. On *Shravan Poornima* the *Amarnath Yatra* takes place. After displacement some go to the Khirbhavani temple constructed in Jammu but it is only an artificial replication of the real.

Another festival which has become redundant in the host community is *Tila Ashtami*, the festival symbolized that the winter was over. The Kashmiri Hindus would light up the *kangri* on that day. Noida or Jammu is so warm that they do not celebrate the festival anymore. The festival was symbolic of a 'farewell to the winter'. The use of *kangri* becomes obsolete in the host community and so does the celebration of a festival associated with *kangri*. Another festival *Jwala Chaturdesi* was mainly celebrated in Srinagar when they used to worship the Bhagwati. They do not celebrate the festival anymore. So many of their festivals have lost their meaning in the host community especially for the younger generation as their traditions are tied with their territory from which they have been forcibly displaced.

'*Navreh*' which is the new years of Kashmiri Hindus is not celebrated now in the same way as in Kashmir. In Kashmir, the Kashmiri Hindus and Muslims would visit *Hari Parbat*. The communitarian character of the festival is lost. Dhar (1977, p.26) states that
in every Hindu home, it begins with an invocation to Lakshmi, the Goddess of bounty. In the afternoon the Hari Parbat, the fort-topped hill, sacred to both Hindus and Muslims, is swarmed in the afternoon by people of all communities. In Kashmir the relatives would visit each others’ houses. In the present scenario, the Kashmiri Hindu families just wear new clothes, worship the Goddess Lakshmi and speak to their relatives on the telephone. The frequency of visits of the relatives to each others’ homes is reduced after displacement and the interaction with individuals of Kashmiri Muslim community does not exist on festivals.

Also the religious enthusiasm on the traditional Kashmiri festivals is not the same as it was before displacement in Kashmir. The karkun and the ghor (pujari) are the two main sub-castes among the displaced Kashmiri Hindus. While the majority of the Kashmiri Pandit community belongs to the karkun sub-caste, only a few of the community belong to the ghor sub-caste. The traditional occupation of the people belonging to the ghor sub-caste is the performance of religious rituals for Kashmiri Brahmins. Kulgurus are individuals from the ghor sub-caste. Each family had its own kulguru since generations. Earlier a kulguru attended two hundred to three hundred houses from four to five villages.

Now the kulguru is borrowed from another Kashmiri Hindu family who lives near by in the camp area in Jammu to perform the religious ceremonies on festivals. In Noida the informants reported that on festivals audio-cassettes are played as it is expensive to invite the kulgurus to perform the puja who are scattered in far off places in India. Only a few of the younger generation of the ghor sub-caste follow the traditional
occupation of the *kulgurus* as most of the members of the *ghor* sub-caste now prefer to study and join the various other professions.

Dhar (1977, p.31) states that *Gori Trai* falls in the month of *Magh* (January-February). During this festival the family priest brings scroll paintings for the children. *Saraswati Puja* is offered on the day. In the post-displacement phase the *kulgurus* of various families have got scattered to different locations in India and they do not visit the families anymore. The children on the other hand are not even aware of the family’s *kulgurus*.

*Shivratri* festival, or *Herat*, symbolizing the marriage of Shiv and Parvati is celebrated in February-March. It lasted for about a fortnight in Kashmir. Vanshika, a 30 years old woman of the Himgiri apartments in Noida narrated how the emphasis on ceremonial *puja* has decreased during the festivals in the post-displacement phase. She said,

We do not celebrate our ceremonies and festivals in the same way in Noida. There are just three people in the home on all the occasions. Earlier all relatives of the house used to get together on ceremonies and festivals. Now only three of my family members are there—me, my husband and my son.

Vanshika held that in Kashmir the *Shivratri* festival extended for 10 to 12 days. A lot of cleanliness used to take place in the houses in Kashmir. Walnuts were put in mud utensils and later drowned in the river Jhelum in Kashmir. The Muslims used to visit the Kashmiri Hindus on *Shivratri*. In the post-displacement phase the celebrations just lasts for a day. The celebrations are also not that elaborate. Now if they do not get earthen utensils they just soak the walnuts in brass or steel utensils. Since they cannot visit the
Jhelum River in their homeland they do not drown the utensils. While back in Kashmir they had separate rooms for their Gods, now they have to house their Gods in “dabbas” or boxes.

The Kashmiri Brahmins would make non-vegetarian food on Shivratri. Although the Kashmiri Hindus are Brahmins by caste, but they differed from the other Brahmin communities from the rest of India as they consumed non-vegetarian food. It even extended during their religious festivals. In the host territory, in general the Hindus restrict the consumption of non-vegetarian food on a religious festival. Influenced by the Hindu communities in the host territory they do not consume non-vegetarian food on Shivratri. The festivals are modified in the host community and certain alterations have taken place in the way in which festivals were celebrated.

Both in Noida and Jammu the informants have started celebrating Diwali and Holi on a grand scale. Dhar (1977, p.30) stated that Diwali is not a typical Kashmiri festival. According to Amitabh, a forty years old informant of the Purkhoo camp, “Back home we never celebrated Holi or Diwali on a large scale. Here however the children ape their peers and they want to celebrate the festivals of the host communities”.

The communitarian character of the traditional Kashmiri festivals is lost for the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs after displacement. This is evident when we analyze the state of affairs prevailing in Kashmir before displacement and in the post-displacement phase when the minority communities have migrated from Kashmir. Thus, Dhar (1977, p.27) stated that the Urs (or ziarats) held annually at the shrines of Muslim saints on their death anniversaries are typical Kashmiri celebrated in different parts of Srinagar. These festivals attract not only Muslims (the Sunnis only—the Shia sect of Muslims do not
participate) but Hindus and Sikhs also. This participation of the various communities (Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs) in the celebrations of Urs took place at Charar-i-Sharif (the shrine of Sheikh Nur-ud-din, saint of Kashmir), at Baba Rishi (near Tangmarg), at Aishmukam (the shrine of Zaina Shah), at Anantnag (the shrine of Rishi Mol).

After displacement from Kashmir the intensity of participation by the various communities in the typical Kashmiri festivals has reduced as the minority communities are displaced from Kashmir. The relationships of cooperation and reciprocity in a village contributed to collective efforts in the celebration of traditional fairs, festivals and major cultural events have now become rare. Cultural activities in rural areas which earlier were based on the participation of the entire village or local community have become associative and entrepreneurial in urban locations (Singh 2000, p.93).

CULTURAL MEANINGS AMONG THE OTHER INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS

The Sikh and the Muslim informants reported that their lifestyle with regard to diet, dress and language was same as the Kashmiri Hindus but only their religion was different. In Kashmir they visited the traditional spots associated with their festivals. On the birthday of Guru Nanak Dev the Sikhs visited the Chati Patshahi, near Hari Parbat. After displacement the Sikhs and Kashmiri Muslims residing in Jammu camps admitted visiting gurudwaras and mosques respectively in Jammu.

The few non-Kashmiri Hindus who were displaced to the Jammu camps held that in Kashmir they preserved their culture but after displacement their interaction with their own community members has increased. There are also Punjabi Khatris displaced to the Jammu camps that had migrated to Kashmir from Punjab a long time ago. The Dogri Rajput informants reported that after displacement they are in touch with their Dogri culture as Jammu has a predominant Dogri population. They spoke Dogri in Kashmir and
continue to do the same in the host community. Jammu has Dogri Rajput population who in the past had army as their profession.

**CULTURAL REGENERATION**

Cultural symbols are not fixed but are dynamic and undergo significant changes in the context of collective experience of people, changing interests and demonstration effects. Cultural symbols enter into the socialization process in a new socio-economic setting and influence people interests, and attitudes and their consequent behaviour (Rao 1986, p.33). Although the displaced people feel a sense of emotional and cultural loss when de-linked from territory, there has been an attempt by them especially the Hindus to regenerate their culture. There has been a process of recreation of ‘smaller Kashmir’ wherever they went. Kuper (1999) states that political and economic forces and social institutions have a role to play in the explanation of why people think and behave as they do. Because of social, economic and political constraints there are alterations of the way IDPs engage in the cultural activities, participation in festivals and life-cycle ceremonies in the new locale. Faced with new forms of socio-economic constraints the IDPs however make efforts to reproduce the structures that existed back home by utilizing their capabilities, resources, skills that they acquired in their homeland. Lack of economic capital (material resources), social capital (social networks) and cultural capital (skills especially in the case of younger generation) in the new locales are prime determinants for the changes in the way of life after displacement.

In the post-displacement phase the IDPs cannot visit their shrines back home and sacred places associated with their religion back in Kashmir. But there have been attempts at cultural regeneration in the host community. I visited the Kheer Bhawani temple in Jammu. It was located in Talab Tillo, Jammu. The temple was an exact replica
of the one located in Kashmir. The tank constructed in the Jammu temple was an artificial replica of the natural spring in Kashmir. In contrast to Kashmir, where Kashmiri devotional songs were sung, in Jammu both Kashmiri and Punjabi devotional songs are sung in the praise of the Goddess. Apart from the Kashmiri Hindus present in the temple, Punjabis and Dogris of the host community also participated in the worship of the Goddess.

Similarly, a sacred shrine of the Kashmiri Hindus called Hari Parbat is constructed in Faridabad which is a replica of the one that exists in Kashmir. For last few years Hari Parbat, Anangpur (Faridabad) has become a place where 'Kashmiri Pandits' in and around Delhi observe their Navreh festivals. The creation of Hari Parbat is one more example of the effort of the displaced community to build symbols in exile to protect their identity. This effort has helped transform a village into tourist spot. "Aap Ne Is Gaaon Mein Raunak Layee" (you have brought new light to the village) say the villagers with pride (Dhar, 1999).

There is an attempt at cultural regeneration in the host territory. This fact was illustrated by Krishnanath, a 55 years old man interviewed in the Noida apartments. He held that he had heard that a Hari Parbat is constructed in Faridabad. It is a hill converted to Hari Parbat. He has never been there. Also in Rohini an artificial replica of Kheer Bhavani is constructed. He laughed and said, "It is just an artificial feeling". It is like "nakli haar" (false garland used to adorn the picture of a dead ancestor). He said, "Or Kheer Bhawani festival we can just fast now, nothing else. Our son enquires whether it is a festival that day and abstains from having non vegetarian food that day."

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Krishnanath said that on Kheer Bhawani festival they used to visit Toola Moola in Kashmir, live there and do puja. The community members would gather there. Crowds visited the holy place on the Kheer Bhawani festival. There was tremendous business for Muslims too. After displacement he has heard that a matador goes to Kheer Bhavani, Kashmir from Jammu. In Noida a similar bus service has been started to Kheer Bhavani, Kashmir. Migration has been a boon in one way as now he has become knowledgeable about his Hindu religion. The Hindus were in a majority in the host community in comparison to Kashmir, lived in a minority complex and felt some kind of apprehension to enjoy the Hindu festivals publicly. Now his community members celebrate all Hindu festivals which they never did enthusiastically before displacement in Kashmir.

The walls of a few of the apartments in Noida were adorned with the pictures of the Kashmiri Goddesses like Mata Roop and Sharika Bhagwati. In few of the ORTs in the camp area and in the apartments in Noida many of the families reported that they still follow their custom of sitting on Kashmiri rugs in the drawing rooms. Few of the houses in both places Jammu and Noida had Kashmiri embroidered cushions, curtains or carpets.

Due to changes in the new socio-economic setting significant changes have also taken place in the way the life-cycle ceremonies are conducted in the post-displacement phase. At the time of death of a Kashmiri Hindu in Kashmir it was the tradition that the Kashmiri Muslims would burn the dead bodies of Kashmiri Hindus. Bazaz (1954, p.277) states that, unlike the situation in the rest of India in Kashmir the dead bodies of Kashmiri Hindus are cremated by Kashmiri Muslims. So in Kashmir the interaction between the Kashmiri Hindus and Muslims took place during various occasions. This has changed after displacement. Few Kashmiri Hindus are left behind in Kashmir and the dead bodies
are burnt by the army personnel. On *shrādha* of their ancestors the Pandits used to pay a visit to Mattan which has a sacred temple of the Kashmiri Hindus. Now Kashmiri Hindus who can afford it go to Haridwar visit the latter place to perform the *shrādha*. While others just perform the *shrādha* in the host territory.

There is consequent decrease in the expenditure of marriage after displacement. Marriages used to take place at homes in Kashmir and both the Kashmiri Hindus and Muslims participated in each others’ marriage ceremonies by extending help to each other in various forms. In the present changed scenario the IDPs have to rent community halls. Local priests of the host community may be called to perform the marriage ceremonies as there is dearth of *kulgurus*. In Noida Sadhana held that,

On marriages in Kashmir about two thousand walnuts were purchased and about two hundred would be distributed to each relative in Kashmir. In the new locale the cost of the walnuts is high and the distances are so much that we cannot distribute the walnuts to each and every relative. Now they just give around one or two walnuts which in a way is symbolic of our tradition in Kashmir.

Shift to a new locale has meant that there is a disruption in the social networks. Increase in distance in urban setting and increase in the cost of transportation/ goods are factors that reduced the intensity of ceremonial exchange of goods and services in the new locales. These factors have led to consequent alterations in the social structure. Ceremonial, occasional or frequent visiting patterns between the Hindus and Muslims are altered. But at the same time one acquires new social mechanisms to fulfill ones’ cultural needs, different from the ones that one acquired in the homeland where one interacted with individuals from various communities. In the new territory, one’s cultural needs are
influenced by the society, and at the same time the displaced persons recreate their cultural symbols and develop new social networks based on religious affiliations.

**SYMBOLIC CHANGES IN DRESS/DIET**

Due to migration to a new ecological setting significant changes have taken place with regard to dress and diet after displacement. Most of the displaced people held that they have stopped wearing *pheran* (traditional Kashmiri dress) in the host territory. This was found both among the displaced Kashmiri Hindus and the Kashmiri Muslims. It is only in winters that some of the informants admitted to wearing *pherans*. Child informants both in Jammu and in Noida admitted to have rarely worn the *pheran* in the host community.

Dhar (1977, p.16) states, The Kashmiris largely consume rice, meat cooked in delicious varieties, and various indigenous vegetables like *karam sag* (a kind of leafy green vegetable), *nadru* (lotus stalk) and turnips. The tea Kashmiris drink is called *kahva* (Kashmiri tea). As far as the diet is concerned the Kashmiri Hindus held that many traditional Kashmiri vegetables are available in Noida and in Jammu such as *hak* (a kind of green leafy vegetable), *karam sag* and *nadru*. *Kahva* is still the indigenous Kashmiri tea that they continue to relish after displacement.

In the host territory however there are certain alterations in the diet. They have started consuming chapattis and pulses which was not the case in Kashmir. The informants in Noida reported that in the new territory they are influenced by Bengali, Punjabi and South-Indian cuisines. They live in a more cosmopolitan set up now and the child informants even reported that they relished continental food. Back in Kashmir, the Kashmiri Hindus largely did not use onions and garlic in their food in comparison to the
Kashmiri Muslims. After displacement the Kashmiri Hindus have started consuming onions and garlic in their food.

RECONFIGURING A SENSE OF WELL BEING

The people displaced from Kashmir migrated to terrains which had different geographical and climatic conditions. So initially they were unable to acclimatize themselves to the new regions. As the displacement has been from the cool hill station of the Himalayan mountainous region to the hot plains of Northern India the individuals suffered certain constraints in the initial stage of resettlement. Forced migration has had a negative impact on the health of the individuals. According to the Panun Kashmir Movement (2004), Kashmiri Hindus killed before migration in 1990, when the Kashmiri Hindus lived in the valley is less than those who died after displacement. Figures of those who died after fleeing to the safety of the mainland was more than that of those killed at the height of violence in the valley. While old age and natural causes have contributed to the increase in deaths, many have been able to accommodate to the climatic, geographical, living conditions and socio-economic conditions of the plains (Mishra, 2004).

Forced displacement increases the risk of temporary or chronic undernourishment, defined as calorie-protein intake levels below the minimum necessary for normal growth and work. Massive population displacement results in severe declines in health levels. Displacement-induced social stress and psychological trauma are sometimes accompanied by the occurrence of relocation-related illnesses. Unsafe water supply and improvised sewage systems increase susceptibility to epidemics and chronic diarrhea, dysentery, and so on. The segments of the demographic spectrum-infants, children, and
the elderly – are affected most strongly. Empirical research shows that displaced people experience higher levels of exposure to illness and severe disease than they did prior to displacement (Cernea, 2000).

After displacement the individuals have to adjust and acclimatize in the host community. Asha, 38 years old woman living in the Muthi camp feels that the initial years after displacement were torturous. Her son would ask her for cold water in the scorching heat which she was unable to give to the little child who was just three years old. It has been very difficult to adjust to the climate. In such scorching summers she has to run a kitchen in the room which is also their bed room, sitting room and dining room. Thus the heat is unbearable.

Forced displacement due to the conflict in Kashmir has had devastating consequences on the socio-psychological, physical, health and demographic profile of the uprooted. A significant proportion of the displaced people suffered from PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder). Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders defines post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) as a set of symptoms which occur after “the person experienced, witnessed or was confronted with an event or events that involved actual or threatened death or serious injury or a threat to physical integrity of self or others and the person’s response involved intense fear, helplessness or horror” (Margoob, et. al., 2006, p.57) A number of studies clearly show that the conditional risk for PTSD is substantially high among people exposed to chronic conflict situations.

Most of the people displaced from Kashmir whether it was the elderly generation, the middle generation or the youth held that they faced stress after displacement. It was mostly the elderly generation who were suffering from extreme depression after
displacement. This was found both in Noida and Jammu. The middle generation mainly faced stress related to surviving in the host communities and being a support to the other members of the family. It was the youth mainly in the camps that faced stress related to finding appropriate sources of employment in the host communities.

In Noida I conversed with two people who were suffering with extreme cases of senile dementia. The persons engaged in incoherent speech and the utterances always had the word "Kashmir". The elderly people had repeated thoughts of returning to Kashmir. In Gol quarter camp in Jammu I had one encounter with a middle-aged person who because of unemployment and the difficulty in the economic conditions became mentally disturbed. In many families in Noida and Jammu which are included in my sample there were cases of diabetes or heart problem.

Sudha an elderly woman of the Gol Quarter camp, Jammu does not like her life in the camp area. Many of the aged people got diabetes and high blood pressure after displacement. There is excessive stress and strain for the elderly to adjust in the host terrain. Many individuals suffered from PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder). In Jammu she reported that still she lived in fear. She missed her lands, house and most of all freedom. She felt like an outsider in the host community. She said "yhan dab ke rahna parta hai" (Here we have to stay subordinated). There is unclean water and many of the people faced health problems in the Jammu camps. Sudha held that every camp is equipped with a dispensary but the doctors visit it for two to three hours daily. However, there was always a shortage of medicines in the dispensary and so they had to buy medicines from outside.
The displaced people reported feeling a lot of stress in trying to recreate their lives in the host community. A large number of the informants suffered from stress and tension as they were trying to cope with their losses associated with displacement and search new avenues of existence. Ravi a 30 years old man in the Gol quarter camp, Jammu expressed that there was tension and stress in Jammu. He did not feel empowered with regard to the host population of Jammu. He was diagnosed suffering from depression and was on medication. Due to excessive tensions he developed a drinking habit in the host community. According to the Panun Kashmir Movement (2004) the displaced Kashmiri youth have developed unhealthy habits like smoking, gambling and drunkenness out of idleness and frustration. In the camp area a large number of the youth were seen wiling away their time and many elders expressed their anxiety about the future of their children who had lesser resources in comparison to Kashmir.

While anxiety, tension and other worries including feelings of depression were the main causes of loss of sleep, lack of accommodation proved another factor responsible for insomnia, as all the members of the family had forcibly to sleep in the same room/tent where individual needs, habits and behavior patterns of sleep or work had to be modified, changed and adjusted to the needs and conveniences of the other members of the family. The situation was worse if several families were sharing the same room/hall. Insomnia resulted in brooding over the past events, property left, loss suffered and other related issues leading to further feelings of anxiety and depression and aggravation of symptoms.

Vivek an elderly person living in the Purkhoo camp, Jammu accounted the reasons for excessive stress in the host community. There is increase in intergenerational conflict after displacement. The youth here are in constant pressure to make a living. Also
it is difficult for the parents and children to stay together in the same one room tenement. It is suffocating and there is lack of physical space. The newly married couples here take up a small house on rent here. Vivek’s son has done the same. He lives with his father and works with him in the shop but at night goes and stays in a house on rent. Thus there are excessive economic constraints faced by the family members leading to increased burdens and subsequent tension.

Dr. K.L. Choudhury (2003) who has been treating the displaced people from Kashmir has identified three phases with regard to the health conditions of the displaced people in Jammu. Initially there was the ‘acute phase’ when people suffered from heat strokes, depression, skin diseases and heart diseases. This was followed by a ‘phase of transition’ when some of the acute problems subsided while others took over. In this phase stress, diabetes, allergic syndrome, bronchial asthma, hypertension and coronary heart disease were widespread among the displaced people in Jammu. It was the phase when a few coping mechanisms were developed by the displaced people. Presently the exiled people are in the third phase, the ‘phase of consolidation’, when the diseases and stress are mainly due to prolonged residence in an alien place. While diabetes and hypertension continue to rise, the parasitic, bacterial, and viral diseases prevalent in the area have also taken hold in the population.

Chowdhury’s (2005) study also revealed that the cost of treatment of diseases was at times high and the displaced people living in the camps could not bear it. The case of Shweta reveals the predicament of the people living in the camps. Shweta living in the Gol quarter camp lamented that her mother in law got brain tumor and diabetes in Jammu and died. Her mother in law was ill, but they did not have enough money to get her
medicines even. Her mother-in-law was given free medical treatment in the government hospital. There was a medical clinic in the tent area. But medicines they had to purchase from outside as not all medicines were available. For her mother in law there was immense social change. She missed Kashmir badly and at times used to get psychologically disturbed. She used to brood at times, but Shweta had to listen to all her complains as she was her elder. Her mother in law went through immense pain as she always compared Jammu to Kashmir. She missed the open surroundings of Kashmir, her comfort of her house, the people with whom she interacted in Kashmir. Eventually she passed away due to health problems.

Chowdhury along with the other doctors in Jammu formed a Displaced Doctors Association (DDA) in 1991 and started a multi-specialty clinic for the IDPs. They built a small medical facility, the Shriya Bhat Mission Hospital (SBMH). Camps were organized within the premises of the hospital (SBMH) and in the displaced persons’ camp areas. A series of surveys were carried out by the team of doctors (Chowdhury, 2005). The results of the field surveys carried out by him over a period of years are as follows.

According to the field survey carried out in 2001 among the displaced people in Jammu within first three years of displacement diabetes and high blood pressure spread among the displaced people. Among 350 cases studied from the displaced people (camp and non-camp areas) in Jammu overall incidence of diabetes was 13.7%. The national average on the other hand is 6.6%. Another survey carried out by the team of doctors in 2001 among 650 adults from camp and non-camp areas showed that almost every third adult was suffering from hypertension. Only 72 (less than half) of the subjects knew of their hypertension (Chowdhury, 2005).
There are indications of a large number of young females with signs and symptoms of menopause and a reduced fertility span. 400 consecutive females with menopausal symptoms in exile were compared with equal number who developed menopause before exile in a field survey carried out in 1999. More than a third, 36% of the females, attained menopause by the time they reached 40 years of age, in exile, against 14% before exile. This has led to a significant reduction of the fertility span and contributed to the low birth rate. The results of the field study in 1995 in the Purkhoo camp is that almost the entire displaced population suffered from one or multiple psychological and mental health disorders soon after the exodus. Over the years there has been some decrease in the number but there continues to be increased cases of depression among the community members.

The table 4.4 by Chowdhury (2005, p.49) reflects the decrease in population rate reported by a series of survey conducted in camps of the displaced individuals in Jammu.

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</tbody>
</table>

It is revealed that there has been a decrease in the size of the population of the displaced people. The people do not have marital privacy in the camps. Analyzing the impact of displacement on the health Dhingra and Arora (2005), the community is running a negative population growth because the displaced persons faced certain health problems like pre- mature menopause in women, infertility, malnutrition or sunstrokes,
the latter largely affected the individuals in the initial phase of displacement. The high mortality due to heat strokes in the first summer has fortunately declined, as the displaced population is coping with the new environment. The statistics show that there has been an increase in the mortality rate among the displaced people with a corresponding decrease in the birth rate.

Apart from the various health problems that individuals face due to displacement to a new climatic and ecological setting, there are changes in the social structure. Consequent changes in the social structure imply a change in the various institutions like family or marriage. Displacement to a new territorial setting also implies that there are consequent changes in the culture, as culture is linked with space. But the individuals recreate their social World; regenerate their culture in the new locales. Thus the past informs the present and there are certain changes that take place in the new locales, structure is thus produced not in the same form but in recognizably similar forms after displacement.