CHAPTER-5
INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS: DIVERSE SOCIAL WORLDS

Depending upon the structural constraints the displaced people use the rules and resources at their disposal to produce new structures in the host communities. In the post-displacement period the displaced people have to undergo corresponding changes in sense of identity, economic lifestyle and sense of political affiliation in the host community. The nature of the conflict, its intensity and duration determined the choices available to the displaced people from Kashmir. These choices were also determined by a host of other factors: the proximity of international borders, urban centers, the location of family, clan and community members, financial resources, the kind of help available from national and international bodies and so on.

Hampton (1998) holds that displaced people have personal and social histories; they constitute heterogeneous groups with different goals and ambitions in mind. No doubt the loss of one's territory does have an adverse consequence on the displaced people as a universal category, but the experience of double disadvantaged, the poor, the women and the children is different. The displaced Kashmiri people do not exist as a homogeneous category. There are divisions of class, caste, gender, age and religion among them. This chapter does not aim to exaggerate the problems faced by the displaced people. The condition of the lower class individuals displaced from Kashmir is not to be universalized with the middle class resettled in Noida. For the educated higher or middle class displacement may have meant opening up of new avenues of employment, education and a settled life in new urban areas. Similarly the experience of displacement specific to Kashmiri women and children cannot be universalized.
According to Dasgupta (2004) although it seems that the displaced people after resettlement are homogeneous, they are internally diversified by axes of power. It is necessary to look into whether bases of power have developed within the settlements, marginalizing fellow members along lines of class, gender and age. In this chapter the objective is to bring out the heterogeneity in the experience of displacement. This chapter will give a brief picture of the impact of displacement on individuals of various communities through certain narratives. It will focus on changes in certain dimensions of the social stratification system like class and caste by looking into the strategies for mobility adopted by various community members.

In the analysis of the displaced Kashmiri people an attempt is to view how existing inequalities are reproduced not in exactly the same form but in recognizably different forms. Patterns of inequality or stratification vary from one society to another. Inequality is a social fact and patterns of stratification change over time. The inequalities most noticeable in contemporary societies are the inequalities of income, occupation and education. To these must be added the inequalities of power and status. Weber believes that class, status and power were closely inter-dependent although none of them could be fully explained by others (Beteille, 1972). Social stratification is the ordering of social differences with the help of a set of criteria or just a single criterion which ties the differentiated strata into a system. Systems of social stratification emerge only after a deliberate act on the part of the observer to opt for that common criterion or criteria. Different people have different reckonings for stratification (Gupta, 1993).

Although political alienation of the people was the main cause of the emergence of civil conflict and consequent displacement from Kashmir on the sideline the reason
attributed by the informants was that there always existed a competition over scarce resources between the minority and the majority community in Kashmir. Some of the informants held that the migration ought to have happened a long time back when the Muslims were gaining access to all the economic resources in Kashmir. During the Dogra regime the Kashmiri Hindus were the dominant class in Kashmir with regard to the economy and the politics. But with the passage of time the access to the resources was being passed onto the Muslims and the Hindus were feeling increasingly marginalized because of which a significant proportion of the individuals migrated from Kashmir to other regions in India in search of educational and job opportunities even before the displacement in 1989-90.

**RECONSTITUTING CASTE**

According to Beteille (1993) there is a marked association between caste status and occupational position, but the direct influence of caste on the allocation of life chances is changing. One no longer has access to a particular occupation by virtue of one’s caste as was largely the case in the past. Displacement has impacted the caste relations among the Kashmiri Hindus. Displacement has thus led to structural changes in the Kashmiri Hindu community.

In the camp area in Jammu a number of individuals in the sample were engaged as helpers in shops, factories or companies around Jammu. Some of them had opened up private shops by encroaching on bits of land in front of their ORTs and setting up sheds there. They were engaged in selling vegetables, electric goods, kashmiri bread or items of daily consumption for the camp inmates.
This change in practice of non-manual occupations by the Kashmiri Hindus was illustrated by Pushpa, a 25 year old woman of the Purkhoo camp who held that after displacement there is a trend observable among the displaced communities of taking to new occupations frowned at in Kashmir. The works considered lowly in terms of their status as Brahmins are now taken up by the camp inmates. They now work as helpers, and do manual jobs in all kinds of shopping outlets in Jammu whether they are of clothes, shoes, grocery etc. Back in Kashmir manual occupations were abhorred and the village people were involved with manual work mainly in the agricultural fields. Trading in shops and manual work in any other form was looked down by the Kashmiri Pandits.

Beteille (1993, p.436) holds that caste is retreating as an active agent of reproduction of inequality and family exists as a continuing agent of reproduction of inequality. The notions of purity and pollution have become weakest in the upper layers of urban society. The new hierarchies give a significant place to certain elements in the Western style of life and are based on income, occupation and education (Beteille, 2000).

In Noida the informants mainly were in the category of urban middle class professional families and were engaged in non-manual/service occupations. The informants agreed that they would certainly place an emphasis on caste in arranged marriages to find spouses for their family members but after displacement income, education and occupation have emerged as important factors in determining suitable matches in marriages.

**CHANGES IN SUB-CASTE RELATIONS**

Before examining the changes in the sub-caste relations in the post-displacement phase it is necessary to look into the traditional sub-caste divisions among the Kashmiri Hindus in the pre-displacement period. Madan (1965) states that the traditional two-fold
sub-caste division among the Kashmiri Hindus is based upon occupation and fortified by endogamy. Those Kashmiri Hindus who devoted themselves to the study of the scriptures and the performance of priestly duties came to be known as the gor (derived from the Sanskrit guru for 'guide' or 'preceptor'). The followers of secular occupations were called the karkun ('workers'). They far outnumber the gor. Numerically preponderant and economically better off, the karkun have arrogated to themselves the higher position in the Pandit social hierarchy. The sense of status primarily arises out of the freedom from economic want. On every occasion the priest provides his services to a client-household, the priest receives a fee (dakhshina) in cash or kind. The relationship of a priest with his yajaman (client) is hereditary. The distinction between the two sub-castes is based on the hereditary occupational specialization, endogamy and an explicit differentiation in social status.

In the camp areas in Jammu, Meera belonged to the gor sub-caste. She explained how the sub-caste division among the Kashmiri Hindus has undergone change after displacement. According to her in Kashmir the people belonging to the gor sub-caste were very less. A person belonging to the gor sub-caste visited the houses of people living in approximately three villages in Kashmir. Each person belonging to the gor sub-caste had about thirty to fifty client families. It was a rare sub-caste. In the present scenario their number has decreased even further as the new generation does not wish to take up the profession of their forefathers. They perform the religious rites on marriage and death occasions for the karkun sub-caste. Meera held that the community is scattered now. The priests have made new client families as it has become costly for the people who are displaced to far-off places to invite their traditional family priests. Some of the people
of the gor sub-caste have changed their surnames after displacement. After displacement it is impossible to know the accurate sub-caste of people sometimes who may not want to disclose it. People after displacement may change their surnames in the revenue record as Bhat or change their surnames in the voter list so that they can aim at upward mobility. Now the restriction on marriages between the gor sub-caste and the karkun sub-caste is not that strong. The people belonging to the gor sub-caste have experienced upward mobility.

The informants in Noida held that after displacement they rely on local priests to officiate on their ceremonies as it is too expensive to invite the kulgurus who may be displaced to far off places. Many of the informants reported that because the gors are dispersed it is difficult to identify the social background of a person. Among the Kashmiri Pandits the sub-castes considered lower in status do not want to keep the same status so they pronounce their surnames differently after displacement. This is in sharp contrast to the state of affairs in Kashmir before displacement.

The informants reported that the occupation of performance of religious rites for the karkuns by the gors was looked down by the Kashmiri Hindus. Displacement provided the individuals belonging to the gor sub-castes to take to new occupations apart from the one traditionally handed down by their ancestors. Nancy who belonged to the karkun sub-caste expressed similar views about the gors. There now is a dilution of these gurus as they are taking to new professions like engineering, medicine and teaching. There have been attempts at upward mobility after displacement. Chitra held that when referring to their surnames the individuals of the gor sub-caste, spell them as before but
have changed the pronunciation. Among the gors the younger generation is educated and do not perform the traditional occupation of their forefathers.

After displacement it is possible to hide one’s social background and aim at social mobility and this was held by the people belonging to the various sub-castes among the Kashmiri Hindus. Another sub-group which was looked down upon by the Kashmiri Hindus was the people belonging to the bohra sub-group of Kashmiri Hindus, were associated with the trading profession. According to Madan (1965) the bohra have a Punjabi origin and this group is assimilated into Pandit culture although inter-dining and inter-marriage was prohibited by the Kashmiri Hindus with the bohras. There was ambivalent attitude of the existence of this sub-group. Who exactly the bohra sub-group was, was not clear as there were different explanations given by the informants. Some of the informants did not even have the knowledge that a bohra sub-group existed among the Kashmiri Hindus. This was because the younger generation born and brought up in the host territory did not have any idea if there were any sub-groups among the Kashmiri Hindus.

The attempt to hide one’s social background after displacement is visible in the case of Govind. Govind is a 65 year old person belonging to the bohra sub-group. He got the shop on rent so that he could run his business. In Kashmir in Habbakadal he was involved in the same trade he held. It was in 1990 that he moved with his family from Kashmir. He held that he was a Hindu and a “Pandit”. He did not want to be accurate about his sub-caste as if he wanted to hide it and said that he was a ‘bhatta’ a Kashmiri Pandit and nothing else than that. He made a desperate attempt to hide his sub-caste and it was a proof that he considered it an insult to be called a “bohra”, a group looked at
with less social esteem by the Kashmiri Hindus. After displacement a bohra would simply refer to himself as a Bhat a Kashmiri Pandit and try to conceal his/ her surname. It has become difficult to identify a bohra as they may prefer to keep their caste ranking anonymous. This was found particularly in the camp area.

Displacement thus leads to certain shifts in the caste system. On the one hand a person belonging to high caste in need of economic self- sufficiency may take to occupations which may defile one’s status. On the other hand an individual perceived as belonging to a caste with less social esteem may try to achieve upward mobility by hiding one’s caste status or taking to occupations which are not traditionally associated with the caste but help the individuals to achieve upward mobility in terms of both caste and class status.

DIFFERENTIAL ACCESS TO CAPITAL

When displaced people have language, religion or ethnic affiliation in common with people across a territorial border they may be able to move without great difficulty within a common culture. In Rao’s (1986) studies of migration, it is shown that social network (including ties of kin, caste, village and language) is the most effective channel of communication (information system) which favours decision making in migration. In the case of the people displaced from Kashmir Jammu and Noida were appropriate choices as they have majority Hindu populations. They were considered safe destinations. Also the displaced people chose to move to Jammu because they could be within their state even though outside their homeland. The possibility of moving across the territorial border was ruled out because it was from the Western side of Kashmir that infiltration of militancy took place.
Kushner and Knox note the importance of resources and assets that are needed to escape (1999, quoted in Marfleet 2006, p.195). Van Hear (2004, p.28) similarly holds that access to capital, income, wealth or possessions shapes migration strategies ‘the better endowed can buy a better equality of asylum’. It is often taken for granted that those with wealth and power will probably lose most as they experience a sweeping change with regard to their status. But further analysis into the situation will suggest that the experience of displacement is shaped by structures of social class, so that those who have been most disadvantaged are affected most, as their constricted choices are further diminished (UNHCR, 1995, p.154 quoted in Marfleet 2006, p.194).

The atmosphere of growth of a child of a middle class professional family is very different from the atmosphere of a lower class family. In the case of displaced families from Kashmir the cultural capital available to a middle class professional family resettled in Noida is much conducive to the growth of children than that available to a lower class family resettled in camps in Jammu region. Apart from its material capital (wealth, possessions) to some extent each family has a stock of cultural capital, which comprises its command over knowledge, skills, and tastes that are a part of its distinctive way of life. It has also its social capital in the form of network of relationships, partly acquired from the past and partly constructed through the initiative of its members (Beteille, 1999, p.141).

Vincent (1998, p.8) states that refugees and internally displaced persons are not all poor, resourceless people who think only of surviving their present, difficult circumstances. Some of them have many skills and plan and work for a better future. It is to be noted that there are more displaced individuals living outside the camps in Jammu
in rented accommodations or private accommodations. According to Mishra (2004) large sections of the displaced people from the valley were educated and a significant number of them were government employees. It was thus possible for a large section of them to manage to avoid the harsh condition of living in the camps.

The displaced persons went wherever they could find an adequate source of livelihood or social support in the form of relatives and friends. People who moved to Noida were mainly young educated professionals or retired government officials. The young professionals working largely in private companies or government enterprises provided a social network for their families who eventually resettled in Noida because of economic security. Those able to mobilize liquid capital as was the case of the displaced people from Srinagar city, or had professional qualification had choice of destination and could move outside the state of Jammu and Kashmir to bigger cities. The individuals from Srinagar city resettled in the Noida apartments had bank investments which they utilized in their resettlement in the host community. To quote Rekha residing in the Noida apartments, “they left everything behind in Kashmir- their house, buses, jewellery. She said that the militants were about to kill them and they did not care about getting their jewellery. They however got their bank documents.” The displaced people resettled in the Noida apartments were those who were displaced from Srinagar city.

The fact that a large number of the informants were salaried middle class professionals implied that they had the cultural and social capital apart from the material capital to move to cities and not to confine to the camps in Jammu. The displaced persons have used their cultural and social capital to explore the opportunities in the host territories. Most of the displaced people living in Noida were able to buy an apartment.
after displacement. They raised a loan and paid yearly installments. The Nilgiri, Himgiri, Aravalli and Dhawalgiri apartments are one to three bedroom apartments.

The graph 5.1 depicts the occupational status of the informants before displacement to the Noida apartments.

**Graph: 5.1 Occupations in Kashmir of Noida Informants**

Graph 5.1: The graph depicting the occupational status of the informants in Kashmir before displacement shows that 36% of a total of 50 informants interviewed in Noida belonged to government employee category in Kashmir. In Kashmir there were 20% informants who were teachers (government or private). 14% of the informants were businessmen in Kashmir. The families shifted to Noida and moved to private accommodations as they had a stable government income. The category of Unemployed is inclusive of housewives and children brought up in the host territory. Similarly the No Response category is inclusive of children born and brought up in the host territory.
On the other hand the people who got displaced from the rural areas of Kashmir who had capital in the form of immovable property mainly houses or land and not professional qualification found it impossible to transfer their possessions or to find new jobs in their places of refuge. People confined to the camps in Jammu were mainly those people who were involved in agriculture back in Kashmir and those who did not have much professional skills. After displacement they have become landless implying that they cannot even use their agricultural skills (cultural capital) in the new territories. The people from the rural areas living in camps in Jammu did not have liquid capital (bank balances) unlike the city people but they had assets in terms of land. In Jammu there are more people living in rented or private accommodations than in the camps. On the other hand people resettled in the camps mostly belonged to the villages back in Kashmir.

Deprived of their source of livelihood which is their land back in Kashmir, without access to sufficient education (cultural capital) the villagers struggled to survive in the camps in Jammu and feel less competent as their material capital is lost (Marfleet, 2006, p.197). The reasons attributed by the displaced persons in Jammu camps for being confined to the camps and not moving to other big cities in India was the lack of exposure and lack of adequate skills in the form of professional and technical education. Deprived of the land and consequently of their sources of livelihood, which was agriculture some of the individuals displaced from the villages have are dependent on relief for their physical survival. Forced displacement tears apart the existing social fabric. Life-sustaining informal networks of reciprocal help are disrupted. This is a net loss of valuable social capital that complicates the loss of physical and human capital (Cernea, 2000).
Thus class here is seen not only in economic terms but also as one which defines an individual's condition of existence. The lack of adequate education, exposure, skills to survive in a new locale was reasons for confinement to the Jammu camps. The graph 5.2 depicts the occupational status of the informants of Jammu camps before displacement in Kashmir.

**Graph 5.2 Occupations in Kashmir of Jammu Informants**

Graph 5.2: In the above graph it is evident that that out of the 50 informants interviewed, 40% of the informants were engaged in agriculture in Kashmir. A large number of the informants derived their livelihood from agriculture related activities like orchard faming, floriculture etc. A majority of the informants could not use their agricultural skills (cultural capital) in the new locale. The percentage of the informants engaged in handicrafts is only 4% as handicrafts as an occupation was only practiced by the Kashmiri Muslims and the majority of the informants in this sample are Kashmiri Hindus. 14% of the informants were involved in trading in shops in Kashmir.
According to Beteille (1993) in every society some measure of continuity is there between a generation which is maintained through social and cultural reproduction. The family plays a crucial role in the reproduction of social structure, including the structure of inequality. According to Bourdieu the concept of capital is to be extended to include cultural and social capital in addition to material capital in the conventional sense (1984, quoted in Beteille 1993, p.439).

Back in Kashmir distinction between people from the city and the villages were recognized in the sense that the city persons had better access to education and service occupations (cultural capital) and friends and family relatives residing in cities outside the state of Jammu and Kashmir (social capital) apart from the material capital that both the city people and village people owned.

There has been no society in which access to the service class has been equally accessible to persons from all sections of society: social origin and background play some part in determining access in all societies (Navlakha 1989 in Beteille 1993, p.435-436). Madan (1965) has described the status differentiation that existed among the Kashmiri Hindus the majority of the people displaced from Kashmir before displacement from Kashmir took place. Status differentiation was largely based on rural-urban distinctions. The appointment to government services was the prerogative of Pandits. Menial and domestic service was provided to the city-dwelling Pandits by rural Pandits who because of economic want engaged in manual labour away from their own homes.

There was no cultivation of land in the city except by vegetable gardeners who were invariably Muslims. A few urban Kashmiri Hindus were also absentee landlords. The urban Hindus were also more educated than the rural Kashmiri Hindus. Rural-urban
distinctions were the basis of status differentiation and have given rise to restrictions on free intermarriage.

Vijay explained how the differences between the village and city people were recognized in Kashmir. Vijay interviewed in the Dhawalgiri apartments owned around four hundred kanals of land in Kashmir villages and claims that he belonged to the upper middle class in Kashmir. He lived in Srinagar city in Kashmir. He stated, "It was only the upper class of villages that went to the city for service. It was the city people who were accustomed to a luxuriant lifestyle who spent more in comparison to the village people. Only the upper middle class could own a car in Kashmir in the city. After displacement they belong to the lower middle class in Noida. After displacement they lost economically... they lost everything”.

The differences between the city and the village people that were realized after displacement are that because of access to greater job opportunities while the city people could move to far off cities like Noida while the people from villages in Kashmir were confined mainly to camps in Jammu. The informants in Jammu camps showed a deep sense of attachment to the land that they had left behind in Kashmir. For the people from villages with mostly immovable property (land and houses) it was more difficult to reconstruct their lives in the host community.

The graphs 5.3 and 5.4 at next page depict the size of land that the informants in the Jammu camps and Noida apartments owned in Kashmir.
Graph 5.3 Size of Land in Kashmir (of the Informants in Jammu Camps)

Graph 5.3 depicts the size of land (immovable property) that the informants left behind in Kashmir after displacement to Jammu camps. In this graph a large number of informants owned less than 30 kanals of land in Kashmir. This is because majority of the informants who got displaced from the Kashmir villages belonged to the category of the middle class. 22% of the informants owned 0-10 kanals of land, 8% possessed 11-20 kanals of land and 8% possessed 21-30 kanals of land. Only 6% of the informants owned 152-182 kanals of land. Individuals belonging to the category of the upper class were less among the individuals who got displaced from the villages in Kashmir. 64% of the informants reported to have owned land which they left behind in Kashmir. In this graph the No Response rate is high as the category of informants in the age groups 0-18 years and 18-35 years did not have knowledge of the size of land their ancestors owned in Kashmir. Kanal is a regional unit of measurement where 1 acre is equivalent to 8 kanals.
Graph 5.4: The above graph shows the size of land that the informants left behind in Kashmir after displacement. 12% of the total of 50 informants owned 0-10 kanals of land, 10% owned 11-20 kanals of land and 4% owned 150-182 kanals of land. The no response rate in this graph is very high as the informants in the category below 18 years of age and 18-35 years of age did not have much idea of the land they owned in Kashmir. However this graph is significant as it shows that there were absentee landlords who lived in the city but owned huge land in Kashmir. Kanal is a regional unit of measurement where 1 acre is equivalent to 8 kanals.

Most of the people displaced from the rural or urban areas of Kashmir had two-three storeyed houses. The table 5.1 shows the immovable property left by the informants in Kashmir by the informants in Noida apartments and Jammu camps.
Table 5.1: Immovable Property Left in Kashmir by the Informants in Jammu camps and Noida Apartments (Figures in Absolute Number).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kind of Property</th>
<th>Noida Informants</th>
<th>Jammu Informants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>House Only</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House and Land</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Only</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Response</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Informants</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1 reflects the immovable property left behind in Kashmir by the informants after displacement. 54% of the informants in Noida and 58% of the informants in Jammu reported to have significant property in the form of house and land in Kashmir. This reflects that the displaced persons particularly the Kashmiri Hindus were economically self-sufficient in Kashmir. The No Response rate typically reflects the response of the children born and brought up in the host territories who had no knowledge of the immovable property in Kashmir.

Loss of shelter tends to be only temporary for many resettlers; but, for some, homelessness or a worsening in their housing standards remains a persistent condition in the host territory (Cerne, 2000). Many of the informants reported that the Kashmiri Hindus were self-sufficient in Kashmir. "In Kashmir every Kashmiri Hindu had his/ her own house" said Seema a forty years old woman of the Aravalli apartments in Noida. No one lived on rent back in Kashmir. It is ironic that after displacement in order to resettle in the host community initially the individuals took to rented accommodations and later moved to their own private accommodations if they could afford them. Seema gave a description of her house in Kashmir. Seema had a three-pore (three-storeyed) stone/brick house at Rainawari in Srinagar district. On the first floor there were four kout (rooms) with chok (kitchen) and bathroom, on the second floor again there were four
rooms, on the third floor there were two halls and on the fourth floor *kani* was the attic. It was a cemented house. They also had land of ten to fifteen kanals which provided them with *dhani* (rice). They finally had to sell their house at a throw away price of Rs. 3.25 lakhs to the Kashmiri Muslims back in Kashmir. The Kashmiri Muslim buyers tracked them and they had no option but to sell their house as they would never visit Kashmir again.

In a similar study by Anasua Basu Raychaudhury (1996, p.156-157) the impact of partition of former East Pakistan on the uprooted people and subsequent life in camps is looked into. People fleeing with precious belongings could reconstruct their lives on the other side of the border in a comparatively easier way. But for the lower middle class, it was not at all easy, and sometimes almost impossible. Camp life was not always satisfactory in West Bengal but rather sometimes sub-human in nature. There was no question of privacy. The refugees definitely got shelter far away from their home but scarcity of water, lack of proper healthcare made their lives difficult.

The displacement from the rural/urban areas to the new territory has also been a blessing in disguise as held by some of the informants. The positive consequences of the migration to a new locale were pointed out by the informants. Vinay of the Noida apartments belonged to a rural area in Kashmir and was a principal in a government school. He resettled in the Himgiri apartments in Noida. He held that in Kashmir class divisions were not prominent. However, there was always social distance maintained between village people and city people. The village people owned more property in the form of land. But it was the city people who were more educated. It was the city people who controlled all the resources in Kashmir. The city people and the village people did
not intermingle. He said however, that there have been certain consequences of migration that are good. In Kashmir, in the villages, children had to walk a distance to go to school. But it was difficult for all the people to send their children from the villages to towns for education. Migration has been a good step for the community. Back in Kashmir there was lack of opportunities. The Kashmiri Hindus were losing a share of the service jobs after independence.

In Noida, there were more job opportunities for the educated individuals who could not find jobs in Kashmir villages or in the city. For individuals displaced to Noida it has been possible to have a descent life in the apartments, not comparable to their living standards in Kashmir. In the initial years after displacement they had to undergo struggle to improve their economic position. But for people displaced to the camps in Jammu they have to live in substandard conditions. The camp life with little exposure is significantly different from life in settled apartments in Noida.

SOCIAL MOBILITY IN THE NEW LOCALE

Cernea (2000) holds that one of the results of development induced migration is that expropriation of land removes the main base upon which people's livelihoods are constructed. This is the main form of impoverishment of displaced people, as they lose both natural and man-made capital. Unemployment or underemployment lasts long after resettlement. In the case of conflict induced displacement from Kashmir migration has led to loss of substantial property for the displaced individuals.

In a broader cultural sense, loss of a family's individual home and the loss of a group's cultural space tend to result in alienation and status deprivation. For displaced individuals homelessness and "placelessness" are intrinsic by definition (Cernea, 2000).
Marginalization occurs when families lose economic power and spiral on a downward mobility path. This downward mobility is expressed by Vivek, one of the informants in the Purkhoo camp area, “Hum datta se bikhari ban gaye hain”. (What can we do all of us have become beggars. From givers we have become beggars)

According to Cernea (2000) there are people for whom landlessness is about deprivation of livelihood. People who are directly dependent on land for their livelihood are at risk of landlessness whenever the event of the alienation of land arises. For poor people, particularly for the landless and asset-less, loss of access to property assets that belonged to relocated communities (pastures, forested lands, water bodies, burial grounds, quarries, and so on) results in significant deterioration in income and livelihood levels.

Reema of the Noida apartments expressed the fact that as compared to Kashmir, the cost of living was very expensive in the host territory. The indigenous source of livelihood of individuals who migrated from the villages to the city is disturbed. In Kashmir they had their own land on which the vegetables were cultivated. Rice, fruits, oil, walnuts, vegetables all were grown by people on their lands. There were cases where people got milk from cattle in the house. In villages especially people were not dependent on the market. Even people belonging to poor families in villages had land as the cost of land was low. People used to engage in agri-business – export of seeds, walnuts or fruits. So the economy in Kashmir supported them in various ways. In Kashmir they lived in a more self-sufficient economy.

There is an impact of urbanism on the way of life as the economic demands of the younger generation are influenced by the materialism in the host community. People
living in the camp area have equipped themselves with refrigerators and coolers mainly to escape the extreme weather conditions and also to adjust to a new socio-economic set-up. Some of them have purchased it second-hand or saved money and brought it. For the displaced people what was a luxury back in Kashmir has now become a necessity.

The difficulty in meeting the increased expenditure is recounted by Shweta residing in the Gol quarter camp in Jammu. Shweta’s husband was in the government service earned an income of Rs.5000 per month. In Baramulla district in Kashmir their family had land worth ten to twelve kanals of land. Their family used to get fruits and vegetables from their own land. It was free there. In Jammu the fruits and vegetables are of bad quality and high priced. Shweta said, “When I go to buy fruits here, I think that the quality of the fruits is so bad that it is worth feeding the cattle”.

In the camp area the status of a class three government employee may be worse than a non-government employee in the post-displacement phase as the latter may be drawing more relief than the salary/pension of the former. Also the benefits of getting relief do not pass on to the children of the government employees in contrast to the non-government employees whose children may get the benefit of relief even after marriage. Bhaskar Nath resided in the Muthi camp and was a government employee in the animal husbandry department drawing a monthly salary of Rs.3600. He belonged to Kupwara a border town of Kashmir. He is retired and gets pension which is about Rs. 2000. It is less than the relief the government is giving to the non-government employees which is about Rs.3000. Although, Jammu has many facilities compared to life back home, but the cost of living in Jammu is quite high comparably. Many of his daily needs were met through cultivation on his land.
For business oriented people the loss of property was much more. As living in Kashmir was cheap, the individuals belonging to lower classes in the camp area lost their source of livelihood. For the government employees who were in better positions the impact of displacement was not that worse as they were able to get houses on rent. The government employees all got their basic pay but when the benefits of promotions were given to them they were sent to districts of Kashmir where they could not serve. People who were posted to Jammu, Ladakh province got the benefits of promotion.

Weiner (2003) holds that during the British rule the emigrants who migrated to become indentured labourers to Caribbean countries or to countries such as Mauritius, Natal, Malaya, Fiji and East Africa chose to remain abroad as ex-indentured labourers. By the end of the British rule a considerable proportion of the Indian population had improved their status and had become shopkeepers, professionals and salaried workers.

Though most of the Indian immigrants came with little human capital (in the form of education or specialized skills), they had considerable cultural capital. Their savings rate, willingness to take risks by starting small businesses, concern for their children’s future, work habits, and cohesion were factors in their subsequent high levels of achievement (Weiner, 2003, p.266).

Displacement may lead to certain positive consequences. Kaul (2001) writes that in the new territories the people especially the younger generation have become exposed to new opportunities in terms of jobs and education which they could not conceive of back in the valley. In terms of access to new opportunities the displacement has thus been a blessing in disguise for the younger generation. This observation was found especially among the displaced people resettled in Noida. Most of the displaced Kashmiri families
in Noida had at least one member in the family working in a private company in the host territory. A few of the families in Noida had children working in good companies abroad. Displacement was a push factor for the younger generation to do well in the host territory.

Suresh of the Noida apartments stated that because of quota admissions the younger generation has been able to get professional qualification. Certain concessions were given to individuals from displaced families from Kashmir by the state governments in certain professional institutions or institutions of higher education. The benefit of displacement has been that the younger generation got greater opportunities in the metropolitan region to join the government and corporate jobs. There are significant new arenas in terms of education and jobs that the younger generation is exploring after displacement. His children have been able to get more exposure which was not possible if his children were confined to Jammu and Kashmir.

In some cases, displaced families suffer severe strains, either as a result of the changing roles of some of its members or due to restricted access to resources, which, in turn, limited their ability to assist displaced members of the family (Sorensen and Vincent 1998). The people who got displaced from the rural areas in Kashmir thus could not utilize their skills in the host territory. Their survival back in Kashmir was largely dependent on agriculture. This fact was observed in the camp area where the people have migrated from the rural areas in Kashmir, had substantial land, which was the basis of horticulture or agribusiness activities. One has to be aware that not all response strategies have a universal positive impact; some may have a detrimental effect on a few members of the community.
The following graphs 5.5, 5.6, 5.7 and 5.8 on the comparative analysis of occupational status and income level of the male and the female informants, in Noida and Jammu gives an idea of how the status distinctions are perpetuated after displacement.

**Graph 5.5: Comparison of Occupational Status of Male Informants in Noida and Jammu**

Graph 5.5: The above graph shows the occupational status of male informants in Noida and Jammu after displacement. Out of a total of 21 male informants in Noida, 38% were retired. The reason attributed to this response rate is that a substantial number of informants in Noida belonged to the elderly generation. Out of the percentage of retired informants a substantial number were retired government officials who moved in the Noida apartments with their children. The latter (19%) were employed in the private companies in the National Capital Region. 0% of the informants in Noida engaged in manual labour. On the other hand the response rate in Jammu presents a different picture. Out of the 31 male informants in Jammu 45% are engaged in manual labour in shops or factories around the Jammu region. 12% were government employees and 6% were unemployed. A comparative analysis of the occupational status of the informants both in
Noida and Jammu regions thus shows that a majority of the informants in Jammu camps were employed as helpers in shops/ factories in Jammu. In Noida majority of the informants were employed in the non- manual service sector.

Graph 5.6: Comparison of the occupational status of female informants in Noida and Jammu

Comparison of Occupational Status of Female Informants in Noida and Jammu

Graph 5.6: In the above graph depicting the occupational status of the female informants in Noida and Jammu shows that 0% of the female informants in Jammu are employed. This is because the female informants in Jammu rated low on educational qualification. In Noida on the other hand 41% of the informants are housewives. This is because in the sample a sizable number of the informants belonged to the elderly generation who were unemployed in Kashmir. In Noida, 17% of the informants are teachers, 7% work in the service sector in private companies and 11% are government officials or retired government officials. Displacement to Noida has provided major job avenues to female informants.
The following graphs, 5.7 and 5.8 depict the level of incomes earned by the informants after displacement to Noida and Jammu and in Kashmir before displacement.

**Graph 5.7: Comparison of Income of People in Kashmir and in Noida after Displacement**

Comparison of Income of People in Kashmir and in Noida After Displacement

Graph 5.7: The above graph depicts the monthly income of each family in Kashmir and in Noida after displacement. In Kashmir a very small percentage of informants reported to have income less than 3000. The percentage of informants who had income less than 3000 was 2% in Kashmir and in Noida it was 0%. This is because in the sample a large number of informants belonged to the category of the salaried middle class professionals. In Kashmir, 18% of the informants reported that they had incomes in the range Rs. 6001 to Rs. 10000 and 20% of the informants earned income in the range Rs. 20,001 to Rs. 30,000. In Noida on the other hand 32% of the informants earned income in the range Rs. 20,001 to Rs. 30,000. 10% of the informants earned incomes above Rs. 30,001. This graph suggests that there has been an increase in the informants’ level of income after
resettlement in Noida which provided access to greater job opportunities and income earning potential in comparison to Kashmir. The No Response rate of the informants with regard to income in Kashmir is high because the individuals born and brought up in the host territories were unable to account for the incomes in Kashmir.

Graph 5.8 Comparison of Income of People in Kashmir and in Jammu after Displacement

Graph 5.8: From the above graph it is clear that out of the sample of 50 informants in Jammu camps 50% of the informants in Jammu reported to have a monthly income less than Rs. 3000 in Kashmir. 14% of the informants in Jammu camps lived on relief. This is in sharp contrast to the situation back in Kashmir where 16% of the informants reported to be in the income category between Rs. 6001 to Rs. 10,000, 28% of the informants were in the income category between Rs. 3001 to Rs. 6000 and 20% fell in the income category less than Rs. 3000. It is thus evident that the informants who got displaced from the villages have experienced significant downward mobility. This is because their income economy based on agriculture was disrupted after displacement. From this graph
it is thus evident that the informants in Kashmir belonged to the category of middle class/ lower middle class. After displacement to the Jammu camps they belong to the category of the working/ lower class.

As compared to the people from the rural areas residing in the camp areas in Jammu migration has not affected the class status of the displaced people residing in Noida to a great extent. The tables 5.2 and 5.3 show change in the class composition of the informants in Noida apartments and Jammu camps after displacement.

Table 5.2: Class Composition of the Informants in Noida Apartments
(Figures in Absolute Number)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Residence/Class</th>
<th>Upper Class</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Working</th>
<th>No Response</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kashmir</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noida</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2 reflects the class composition of the informants in Noida apartment and in Kashmir before displacement. The attribution of the class status by the informants gives an idea of the economic position of the informants. It tries to capture the past and present economic situation. The informants were asked to identify and compare their respective class positions. It was found that while 12% of the informants saw themselves as upper class members in Kashmir, 0% of the informants identified themselves as the upper class in Noida after displacement. There was a slight expansion of the informants in the middle class category.

Table 5.3: Class Composition of the Informants in Jammu Camps
(Figures in Absolute Number)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Residence /Class</th>
<th>Upper Class</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Working</th>
<th>No Response</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kashmir</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jammu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.3 reflects the class composition of the informants in Jammu Camps Area and in Kashmir before displacement. The attribution of the class status by the informants gives an idea of the economic position of the informants. It tries to capture the past and present
economic situation. 26% of the informants attributed to themselves the status of upper class in Kashmir. While 40% attributed belonging to the middle class in Kashmir. After displacement to Jammu Camps Areas, the category of informants belonging to the working class is highest i.e. 56%. The reasons for this is that the informant's felt that they had experienced a downward mobility as their economic capital in terms of land, orchard and houses were left behind in Kashmir. A large number of the informants were engaged in agriculture or agri-business in Kashmir. Displacement has led to a corresponding loss of livelihood opportunities for them. However, it is possible that the informants exaggerated their class status in Kashmir in the process of interview. As the loss of property was huge, they are still unable to make sense of their present status.

The informants in the Jammu camps have thus experienced downward mobility after displacement. After displacement however the individuals are not passive. They have made attempts to improve their economic status. There were few families who gave their ORTs on rent or gave it to a relative and had built their own houses in Jammu. In the camp areas in Jammu there were families who were making use of ORTs which did not belong to them. In order to get a clear picture special interviews took place of the informants who had made their private houses in Jammu. The relief commissioner also reported having unofficial information that there were people who had moved out of ORTs as they had constructed their own houses.

Muthi is one such area in Jammu where individuals who earlier lived in camps have now built their own private accommodations in Jammu. The exact number of such families who moved out of the camps was difficult to determine as people are not very open at disclosing the true picture as they may have an interest in retaining the ORTs as it entitles them to some form of government aid. Also the fact remains that many have bought the property in Jammu after selling their property back home in Kashmir despite
the existence of the Prevention of Distress Sales Act that exists for the displaced Kashmiri people (J&K government, 2006).

There are people who were living in the camp areas but eventually they moved out to private accommodations. This observation is illustrated through the case of Kavita. In 1990 when Kavita and her family got displaced they moved to the Muthi camp and they stayed in the ORT for seven to eight years. Eventually they sold off their property in Kashmir and bought land in a comparatively cheap area in Jammu and built a house there. Another informant in the camp area did not shy away from admitting that she was paying Rs. 500 as rent to her neighbour who had moved out of the camp after her son had acquired education, become a professional and built a house for his family in Jammu.

Adjoining Kavita’s house in the Muthi area was the house of another displaced Kashmiri family (Radha’s family) that also lived earlier in an ORT in the camp. Radha’s father is a government employee. For the first four to five years Radha’s family lived in the camp. In Kashmir they lived in a joint family. After displacement her grandmother lived with her uncle in the camp area and they lived in a nuclear family in the newly constructed private accommodation. Like Kavita’s family they sold off their property in Kashmir and were able to buy land in Jammu and construct a house. Their ORT is now occupied by their neighbours in the camp area who were in need for more space.

In the camp area there were ORTs which were thus illegally and unofficially occupied by the local people of Jammu who did not fall in the category of IDPs. On the main road of the Gol quarter camp was a Kashmiri Bakery shop. Arjun was the owner of the shop. Arjun was not a displaced Kashmiri person. He was a Rajput from Kishtwar which fell in Jammu province. It was the address proof of Srinagar district that was the
basis of granting ORTs to the displaced Kashmiri people. The interview with him confirmed that the ORT where Arjun was running his business was not allotted to him. He did not have an address proof to show that he was resident of Kashmir province. He had acquired the ORT from some displaced Kashmiri people to run the business and the person from whom it was acquired was thus appropriating the rent.

Some of the younger generation members from the camp area, Jammu who have experienced upward mobility have made their private accommodations for their families in Jammu but have an inherent interest in keeping the camp status. Pushpa a 25 year old woman of the Purkoo camp held that the provision of relief and subsequent promises made by the government for establishment of townships for the displaced persons in Jammu or Kashmir were other factors why many of the individuals did not move out of the camps to private accommodations.

Although education and one’s class position is a significant determinant of one’s mobility it cannot be denied that even a few of the children of the lower class persons can acquire the skills and education and rise up the hierarchy (Beteille, 1993). This was especially observed in the camp area where three of the informants held that after displacement their children had acquired appropriate professional education and had acquired private jobs in companies in Jammu or in metropolitan cities in India. Many of the informants in the camp area held that as far as the educational facilities for their children were concerned migration was a boom as in Jammu city their children had access to a variety of schools which was not possible in the rural areas of Kashmir.
STUDIES OF NON-KASHMIRI PANDIT COMMUNITIES

When the experiences of the varied communities are analyzed then the heterogeneity of the impact of displacement on the different communities can be understood. As far as the minority communities among the displaced people are concerned the impact of displacement has not been on the community as a whole, but it is confined to individual cases. The Kashmiri Muslims and the Sikhs held that they still had their community members living back in Kashmir. On the other hand the Dogri Rajputs and the Punjabis have a significant section of their community members staying in Jammu.

These individuals exist in a minority among the displaced people; the Dogri Rajputs, Sikhs, Muslims and Punjabis have mostly resettled in Jammu. In Noida only the displaced Kashmiri Hindus are inclusive in the sample as it was not possible to locate members of the other communities. The narratives of these individuals among the displaced people- The Kashmiri Muslims, the Punjabis, the Dogri Rajputs and the Sikhs are included whose community members may be residing back in Kashmir.

Here the narrative of Zoya a displaced Kashmiri Muslim woman from Kashmir is included. This narrative throws light on the fact that women are not only victims but also they resisted militancy and were thus agents. As single women with children women play a significant role in providing for their family after displacement. In the camp area the Kashmiri Muslims number is miniscule. She was interviewed in the D.C. office from where the displaced Kashmiri Muslims collect their relief. The relief officer held that Kashmiri Muslims who were displaced were mostly people who had links with nationalist political parties and were accommodated either in government buildings or in
hotels and lodges whose rent was paid by the government. The remaining families were those who had members as surrendered militants or those who were troubled by the militants. These were the families who were staying in rented accommodations. The Kashmiri Muslim families were not staying in the ORTs. The relief officer held that most of the Kashmiri Muslim families who were displaced resettled in Jammu. If they went to Delhi it was mostly for economic reasons. The Kashmiri Muslims who left Kashmir mostly did so in 1993-94, he held.

In Kashmir Zoya lived with her husband and four daughters. In Jammu, Zoya lived in Gujjarnagar. Zoya is divorced by her husband who took to militancy. She is in economic need now and is subsisting with her family on relief. As far as the economic support is concerned the government did not give them the ORTs which she felt that her family deserved. She pleaded with the relief commissioner to provide her with an ORT but she failed to get one. She was living on rent and had to pay a monthly rent and also pay for the education of her children. She did not get any help from the Muslims back in Kashmir. Zoya did not get any economic support from her husband or any share in her property back in Kashmir.

After displacement she has good relations with the Kashmiri Hindus but she has no knowledge of where her neighbours stay after displacement in the host territory. Zoya is internally displaced but she goes to Kashmir once in a year in secrecy for fear of being attacked by the militants. Unlike the Kashmiri Hindus she can go back to Kashmir if she wishes and she does so unofficially. In Kashmir Zoya had a busy routine and she could earn her livelihood. She would do Kashmiri embroidery, carpet weaving, knit sweaters
and be engaged in wood carving. She would also be involved in kitchen gardening and she would grow her own vegetables. Her source of livelihood is lost now.

Many individuals cannot exercise their earlier acquired skills and talents at the new location; human capital is lost or rendered inactive or obsolete (Cernea, 2000). The Kashmiri Muslims back in Kashmir were craftsman who worked on paper mache, wood, silver and gold, and were embroiders and weavers of the most shawls, carpets and rugs. They were cultivators and self employed in cottage industries. After displacement Zoya has thus lost her source of livelihood and her skills have become out of use. The impact of displacement on the other Kashmiri Muslim families is similar.

Thus the impact of displacement on few displaced Kashmiri Muslims is that their interaction with their community members back in Kashmir has decreased. However unlike the Kashmiri Hindus who are apprehensive to go to Kashmir, the Kashmiri Muslims go back to Kashmir unofficially while at the same time collect relief. They do not face the same minority complex as that of the Kashmiri Hindus. Their traditionally acquired skills have become obsolete leading to a loss of livelihood in the host community.

The impact of displacement on the Dogri Rajputs is mainly economic as in the host community the indigenous population of Jammu is mainly dogri. One of the informants Omkar Singh held that “We are Dogri and so is our culture. We used to take wives from Jammu earlier also. For my wife migration has been in one way a boon because her natal home is here.” But economically displacement has not been very good for the Dogri Rajputs.
The narrative of a non-Kashmiri Hindu whose experience of displacement is different as far as the scale of impact of displacement on the Kashmiri Hindus is included. This narrative looks into the impact of displacement on non-state subject people. Manish is about 40 years of age and is a punjabi khatri. He is residing in the Gol quarter camp. It was 30 to 40 years ago that his grandfather migrated from Amritsar to Kashmir. There they lived on rent and ran a cloth shop on rent which did quite well. In Kashmir, Manish lived with his family in Srinagar and it was in 1990 that he along with his family which comprised of him, brother and parents got displaced to Jammu. It was unfortunate that although they lived in Kashmir for thirty to forty years they did not have a state subject as it was after partition, in the late 1950s that his family migrated from Punjab to Kashmir. The conferment of the state subject to the citizens of Jammu and Kashmir was done first in 1927 during the Dogra rule and revived in 1954 after partition. Their business which was set up in Kashmir was disturbed after displacement. It was easy to do business in Kashmir as he had business contacts there. In Jammu he did not know many people. Now in Jammu he goes from place to place selling clothes and there are many days when he comes back empty-handed.

Although in Jammu he is surrounded by people of his own community after displacement, he is in excessive economic crisis. Initially when they got displaced the displaced non-Kashmiri people (non-state subject people) were given relief but he held that when the Mufti government came to power it blocked the relief for the non-state subject people. From March 2005 his cash relief has been blocked. He retained his ORT though. According to one of my informants there were significant displaced families who were non-state subjects, whose relief was blocked and were in great economic crisis.
Thus for the non-Kashmiri Hindus the impact of displacement has been mainly economic.

The impact of displacement on the Sikhs from Kashmir is analyzed through the narrative of Manjeet. In the Muthi Camp there is a Kashmiri Sikh family. Manjeet was a 65 year old who migrated with his family in 1990. In Kashmir, Manjeet lived in a village where theirs was the only Kashmiri Sikh family. The rest were Kashmiri Muslim and Kashmiri Hindus. In the Baramulla district of Kashmir, on the other hand there are around 200 to 300 of his relatives who did not move out of Kashmir when the displacement took place. Manjeet held that in Kashmir there is a good number of Kashmiri Sikhs. They had the security of number and thus a large proportion of Kashmiri Sikhs were still residing in Kashmir.

Manjeet lived in a joint family in Kashmir. His family in Kashmir comprised of his wife, 2 daughters and 3 sons. Two of Manjeet’s sons were married. In the ORT now Manjeet lives in a nuclear family with his ID and IS. Manjeet’s married sons have separate ORTs. Manjeet had two, two storeyed houses in Kashmir, four shops and five to six kanals of land. After displacement his family dispersed to three households in the Gol quarter Camp.

Thus as far as the impact on the Sikhs is concerned there is a fragmentation of families and an alteration in their culture in the host community. But like other people who were involved in agriculture back in Kashmir there has been a downward mobility as all the property they owned, is left behind. However there are a significant number of Sikhs residing back in Kashmir with whom unfortunately the displaced individuals cannot be in touch to the same extent as was the case back in Kashmir.
The exposure to new places, ideas and practices which migrants experience at the place of destination leads to a questioning of existing forms of hierarchy or a reinvention of the self’s place within the social order. After displacement the rural-urban distinction is not that pertinent as a basis of social stratification as was the case back in Kashmir. Education, income and occupation are given more primacy in the scale of social stratification.