CHAPTER- 6

DISPLACEMENT: GENDERED RESPONSES AND IMPLICATIONS

Behera (2006) holds that earlier studies on migration recognized the inequality between migrants in terms of class and race. Thus, gender inequality was overlooked or subjected to biological determinism. In studies of conflict and migration it is important to have a feminist approach as it shifts our attention to both the micro and the macro structures. There is a change in status, identities and power relations among women and men as they move from a conflict situation at home, to migrant camps, to the post-conflict or peace-building phase when they return home.

Manchanda (2004) emphasizes on the heterogeneity in the experience of forced displacement. The forcibly displaced persons belong to varied categories in the social stratification system whether in terms of caste, class, ethnicity or gender. Protection, care, resettlement and migration regimes need to become more sensitive to women’s experience of dislocation and displacement. Half of the forcibly displaced persons are women who are vulnerable to gender-based violence during the ‘flight’ phase and during ‘refuge’ or ‘return’. This gender violence is articulated both in the private and in the public sphere. The women on the other hand are treated as refugee subjects in refugee management. Thus this predicates the issue of taking gender seriously as a category to be analyzed. Nonetheless, the fact that nearly half the forcibly displaced are women predicates taking seriously the category of gender to analyze why women flee and the way women are treated as refugee subjects in refugee management.

Cockburn (2001, quoted in Moser and Clark 2001, p.4) in her study of conflict situations lays stress on the importance of gender differentiation and local constructions
of masculinities and feminities as significant in analyzing issues of agency and diversity. She holds that differences in the relative positions of men and women are an important ordering principle that influences the systems of power relations. In conflict situations the power relations of gender cannot be ignored or taken for granted. She recognizes the significance of gendered power relations in four 'moments' of conflict: before armed violence breaks out, in times of war and repression, in processes of peace-making and finally in post-war periods. In each stage it is the contextually specific female and male positioning that respectively influences their agency in patriarchal gender systems.

Moser and Clark (2001) claim that there is extensive literature on political violence and armed conflict both analytical and operational. However, the earlier literature was largely gender-blind as the women's participation was simply not identified. However, the analysis has recently broadened to include such issues as women's human rights abuses during conflict (often in their roles as mothers or wives) (Bunch and Carrillo 1992, quoted in Moser and Clark 2001, p.4), the vulnerability of internally displaced or refugee women as victims of war and women's acknowledgements of their experience of conflict.

The importance of 'human agency' lies at the heart of the structuration theory. Stereotypical essentializing of women as 'victims' and men as 'perpetrators' of political violence and armed conflict is a way to treat both women and men as 'objects', denying each their agency and associated voice as 'actors' in the processes (Parpart and Marchand 1995, quoted in Moser and Clark, 2001, p.4). Long holds that the notion of agency implies that the individual actor possesses the capacity to process social experience and to work out ways of coping with life even under the most extreme forms of compulsion.
Within the constraints that exist social actors are knowledgeable and capable (Long 1992, quoted in Moser and Clark 2001, p.5).

For women and men the social life is not built upon a single discourse. As social actors they face alternative ways of devising their aims however restricted their resources. The strategies and cultural constructions they utilize are drawn from a stock of available discourses (verbal and non-verbal) that are shared by the members of society. Numerous contexts and the importance of place and location in the construction of identities and differences and also determine how agency (knowledge/ capability) is differently constituted.

Women’s agency refers to the capacity of women to exercise their own reasoned choices or decisions and in this sense their agency involves social competence in different arenas of action. Their coping strategies in their response to new and oppressive social environments reflect their discursive capabilities. Agency is reiterated in Sen’s understanding of agency which is the “pursuit of goals and objectives that a person has reason to value and advance” (Sen, 1999, p.221, quoted in Jain 2006, p.2312). Thus it is through reasoning after displacement that the displaced women decide their course of action in the new setting and consequently employ certain response strategies. After displacement to new social milieu women redefine their individual identities, hierarchies, relationships both in the public and the private sphere by exercising their agency.

Displacement strongly underlines socio-economic difference. It not only emphasizes unequal relations between men and women but also places women and girls in extreme danger. The majority of all displaced people are female: in 2000 the United Nations estimated that 90 per cent of IDPs were women and children (Marfleet, 2006,
Women’s agency refers to their ability to create a web of social relationships in a milieu, which is both new and different to what they have known back home in Kashmir. This understanding of women in the post-displacement phase is akin to Jain’s (2006, p.2313) understanding about the Indian diasporic family living in a new milieu, “family is also an arena for debate and contest about marriage, sexuality, childcare and aging.”

**WOMEN AS OBJECTS OF HONOUR**

New markers in wars are so strictly reinforced that women are particularly exposed to sexual violence: “Women’s bodies constitute the battlefield where men communicate their rage to other men.”(Peuchguirbal, 2004, p.11). Rape may be used as a weapon of war, not only to disgrace women but also to get in touch with the men of other ethnic group and deliver the message that they were unable to protect their women. As women are viewed as the symbols of the family, and the family as the basis of society, the disgrace of the women as giving birth to the enemy’s children symbolizes the destruction of community.

The use of a language that defines women primarily in their reproductive role participates in making them more susceptible and somehow endangers their lives by affixing a conservative vision of gender roles in people’s minds. We need to start separating women from children to sever the vicious circle of the essentialism theory and deconstruct gender roles so that women are seen as individuals who can have independent choices over their own lives, instead of viewing women as passive victims in need of protection. Women should be seen as dynamic actors beyond the limited borders of biological destiny, although it is true that both adult females and girls often have responsibilities for children and old, and usually have less access than men to resources.
even after displacement. If we look at the relations between men and women through
gender lenses, we understand that gender roles are socially constructed and can change
over time within cultures (Peuchguirbal, 2004).

Das (1990) argues that in conflict situations women may become objects of
national honor and the whole issue becomes an important factor for the self-definition of
the nation-states. In this way the bodies of women have to be regarded as symbols
working in a masculine discourse in times of chaos. These bodies reveal a landscape of
violence, a territory on which the meaning of conflict is inscribed in two characteristic
ways: on the one hand, through the bearing of masculine violence (in times of disorder),
and on the other, through the politics of remembering and forgetting (in times of restoring
normality).

Within the overall patriarchal values of the community, it is considered the
responsibility of men to have protected women as was the case during the partition of
1947 between India and Pakistan. Thus they can avenge their honour (Das 1990, p.390).
In the pre-flight phase when the violence is perpetrated on the victims, rape is very often
used as a weapon of sexual assault. The informants described how repeated warnings
were given by the militants for the Kashmiri Hindu men to leave Kashmir but to leave the
Hindu women behind. The psychological impact of the repeated warnings meant that the
men became increasingly apprehensive about the safety of their women folk.

Different sections of the society recall various components of the past to come up
with a comprehensible picture as the community’s past plays a role in the construction of
its present identity. This collective memory may not always produce a result that is
collectively agreed upon. Thus it is only through collective memory that a society retains
or loses information about is mediated by remembering and forgetting by the individuals (Khan, 2006, p.104).

It was reported by many of the informants that they vacated Kashmir to protect the women folk in their families. The threat of violence did not only exist for the Kashmiri Hindu women, but also for the Kashmiri Muslim women. In the initial stage of militancy there were excess committed not only by the militants but in the subsequent stages of violence in Kashmir by the security forces. According to Kishwar (1998) there were human rights violations during the crackdown operations in Kashmir. The word ‘crackdown’ referred to the search operations by the security forces by cordoning off a city locality or a village.

During the crackdown the failure of the security forces to distinguish between a militant and an innocent Kashmiri led to a huge loss of life and property. There were reports that they misbehaved with women. There have been some instances of rape. However, the issue of excesses has been exaggerated to widen the distance between the state authorities and the Muslim masses. People however alleged that though hundreds of women have been raped; only a handful of cases have been registered because of the social stigma attached to being identified as a rape victim (Kishwar, 1998).

WOMEN AND SPACE

Women's stories of partition of 1947 are denied any mode of 'official' transmission beyond their 'private' space, and issues of violence, especially sexual brutalization, are rarely allowed to be passed on to the next generation and is absent from state's version of history. Women's stories of conflict and subsequent events are, on the
other hand, non-linear and radically horizontal, cutting across boundaries imposed by the state (Behera, 2006, p.43).

The constitution of private and public space is primarily an ideological divide that keeps shifting in accordance with changes in social realities. This divide is also a gendered divide as men are related with the public spheres of politics and work, and women associated with the private sphere of home and family. "While a declaration of war is seen as an attack upon the greater home (the state), attacks on actual homes in the context of armed conflict is not taken into consideration" (Khattak, 2006, p.118). Women's rights groups have questioned the public/private dichotomy and hold that sexual violence must be recognized as a mechanism of war. The recognition of rape as a war crime admits the fact that women constitute an integral part of war because their bodies and beings have representational and symbolic value.

According to Manchanda (2004, p.4181) institutional regimes of protection and care have recognized gender-based violence in conflict situations. This is evident in the International Criminal Court of Justice recognizing rape as an instrument of war. Gendered discourses have exposed the use of rape for ethnic cleansing of a community. Gender-based violence is therefore significant in the group dynamics of community identity and nation state formation. In the context of south Asia there is revisiting of gender-based violence during the 1947 and 1971 partitions and the construction of woman as allegorical and symbolic marker of the body of the nation. Apart from the partitions of 1947 and 1971 in the context of South Asia, a more recent evidence of gender-based violence is which occurred in Gujarat during 2002 Hindu-Muslim riots.
In the context of the conflict situation in Kashmir the fact that the women belonging to the Hindu community were identified and teased throws light on how violence at times of communal conflicts is sexualized. The repeated threats by the Muslim militants to the Hindu community to leave the valley but to leave their womenfolk behind is another aspect of the way in which violence is sexualized. Butalia (2001) states how it is difficult for survivors/families to speak of rape, abductions or forcible marriages that took place during partition between India and Pakistan because of the stigma it carries. They speak of it but only in a general sort of way. By including the voices of the ordinary people one can focus on the human dimension of the event.

Sexual assaults took place at the time of conflict in Kashmir but women’s stories are rarely brought out into the open. Rama a 28 year old woman in the Muthi camp area in Jammu reiterated a similar viewpoint on how a stigma is attached to bringing to light events which show how women were misbehaved with during the conflict situation in Kashmir. She said, “Hum camp mein ek dusare se sunte hain iske sath Kashmir mein militants ne bura saluk kiya. Par koi bhi aurat khudh nahi batati gi ki hamare saath bura hua” (We do hear stories in the camp area of how the militants abused particular women. But no woman who was misbehaved with will personally tell you.)

In the process of study, passing references were made by the informants to the sexual assault on the women in Kashmir. There were instances when direct indications of sexual abuse of women were signaled. Rama’s mother-in-law narrated “meri behin gaun mein school teacher thi. Woh ek bar militancy ke samyah kam pe gayi aur wapis nahi aayi. Uska kya hua kisi ko bhi pata nahi. Abhi bhi bahut dukh hai” (My sister was a school teacher in the village. During the phase of militancy once she went out to work...
and did not return. No one knows what happened to her. We grieve for her till now.) In
Noida another woman who made some direct reference to rape at the time of conflict in
Kashmir was Geeta an old woman in the eighties residing with her son in the Nilgiri
apartment. In the process of my interview with her she repeatedly warned me of not
going to Kashmir with a bindi. She said, “Kashmir jana toh bindi mat laga kar jana. Woh
tumhe maar dale ge. Militants ne meri parosi ki ladki ka rape kar diya th.” (Do not go
to Kashmir wearing a bindi. They will kill you. The militants raped my neighbour’s
daughter). The threat of militancy is still alive in the minds of some of the women
especially when passing references were made about not wearing the marker of their
community identity in Kashmir.

Here the narrative of Zoya, a displaced Kashmiri Muslim woman from Kashmir
who experienced violence at the hands of the militants is included. This narrative throws
light on the fact that women are not only victims but they also resisted militancy and
were thus agents. As single women with children women play a significant role in
providing for their family after displacement. Zoya is around 40 years old. She left
Kashmir in 1992 and resettled in Jammu. Her husband was a government servant but he
took to militancy. When she did not agree to her husband joining militancy her husband
finally divorced her. The militants time and again threatened her and looted her jewellery.
The resistance by Zoya, a Muslim woman, of her husband joining militancy led to a
situation where she was kidnapped, misbehaved and looted. Later her husband divorced
her and remarried. There were many other women like her who were killed, beaten and
raped according to her at the hands of militants or security forces.
Rita Manchanda (2001) holds that gender relations get transformed in the process of displacement and so has been the case in Kashmir. The women who were victims of conflict and displacement as ‘grieving mother’, ‘martyr’s mother’ and ‘raped woman’ exercise agency. The insurgency left women vulnerable to male predatory violence at the hands of security forces and the militants. Women were however agents in moving to the public sphere, seeking employment and challenging their traditional roles.

The informants did not hesitate to narrate how families who had daughters were more apprehensive about their safety and were consequently the first to leave Kashmir. Raghunath of the Nilgiri Apartments in Noida sent his two daughters in July, 1991 to Delhi to live with his relatives as he was more concerned about the safety of his two daughters. He unlike the other displaced people did not move out of Kashmir in 1990. From 1991 to 1996 he lived in Kashmir with his wife and mother. He faced financial constraints and his old mother felt uncomfortable to leave Kashmir. It was highly unsafe for his girls to stay back in Kashmir. While he sent his daughters to his relatives in Delhi for education he continued to stay in Kashmir with his wife and old mother for six years till he finally resettled in Noida.

Armed conflict reinforces sexist roles. It militarizes manliness, makes a macho-misogynist of the soldier/militant and masculinities the struggle. Particularly, the issue of sexual harassment and mass rape is used to foster alienation and hostility against the ‘other’ community and push women to identify with their community identity (Manchanda, 2001). The apprehension of the safety of the women folk was thus attributed as the cause for the abrupt exodus from Kashmir.
WOMEN AND SOCIAL SAFETY

Social and cultural norms and practices allow violence to be committed against women without being punished. The violence committed against women under normal circumstances is further exaggerated as consequent to displacement. The constant discrimination perpetrated by the state, communities and families in civil, political, social, cultural and economic aspects of women’s living is also violence. This continuous neglect limits women’s opportunities to improve. Thus violence against women is not just physical and emotional. Structural violence is the negligence of women’s rights. It is the denial of the right to information, to involvement and decision making, to satisfactory housing and land ownership, education, health, food, water and livelihood. Structural violence dispossesses women of the equal chance to a descent life with dignity and security.

In the draft report 2007, 'Violence Against Women: in the Post- Tsunami Context’ discussions with tsunami affected women regarding their understandings of the violence perpetrated against them consequent to the disaster was contrasted to the rights set out in the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), 1979. CEDAW brings together the civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights of women. It imposes legally binding duties on signatory states to eliminate discrimination against women and bring about gender equality. It is thus the responsibility of the state to fulfill the fundamental rights of women set out in CEDAW, even in the aftermath of displacement. It was found that throughout the relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction phases, women’s responses indicate that state and non-state actors tend to regard them as passive beneficiaries or victims rather than as equal
citizens with equal rights to support and capacities to contribute. Women are all too frequently not consulted about their needs and issues. Similar observations were found in the study on internally displaced women from Kashmir.

During conflict women confined to the private sphere are suddenly pushed to the public sphere. The boundary between the public and the private sphere is thus blurred. Sangeeta said, “Back in Kashmir, before the outbreak of militancy, if a Muslim neighbour saw a Hindu girl neighbour being teased he would come to her rescue. Now there is a lot of insecurity for women in the host territory.” Ramesh of the Gol quarter camp, Jammu, remarked about the security of women in Jammu. The women were certainly insecure initially in Jammu. In the initial years they faced a lot of eve teasing. The female informants reported that initially when they came to Jammu they faced instances when the men took advantage of their vulnerable status and misbehaved with the displaced women. One of the woman informants in Jammu remarked “The men in Jammu could not resist commenting on women, when so many beautiful women poured in from Kashmir. They magnified the problems for the women displaced from Kashmir.” Now the attitude has changed and goondaism (misbehaviour with women) has decreased.

In Noida, a woman informant was reported feeling unsafe in the metropolitar region of Delhi. According to Viswanath and Mehrotra (2007) a city is to be imagined as a space in which a diverse sets of people with diverse needs and aspirations lives. The quality of a city is judged by what it offers to its residents – the right to live, move around and work with dignity and safety. In Delhi many of its residents, especially the more vulnerable and marginalized populations are devoid without these basic rights. Women’ access and right to public spaces is restricted because it does not offer women safety t
move around in the public space. The city while offering freedom of movement to the women also imposes restrictions on women's movement in public spaces.

The anonymity of a city's public spaces offers the space and freedom to escape the hold of the family or the traditional community. However, this freedom is hindered by the high rates of violence against women in Delhi. The women's movement has tried to expand the legal definition of violence. It has broadened the definition in two ways. First, women's movements have challenged the notion that real violence is violent crime that takes place in the open in public places. The home or the private domain has become recognized as an area of violence and insecurity. The second challenge to a conventional definition has been to broaden it beyond acts of physical and sexual aggression to include more understated forms as mental and emotional violence. This violence structures the daily lives of women in ways that goes far beyond physical acts of violence. This kind of violence controls women's movements and behaviour by instilling in them a constant and continuous sense of insecurity. The fear that women feel in urban areas is quite particular as it concerns physical and psychological honour. Women may not be raped or attacked but they at sometime felt an inexpressible feeling of unease which ranges from merely feeling uncomfortable to paralysis (Smaoun, 2000, quoted in Viswanath and Mehrotra, 2007, p.1542-1543).

As the displaced people enter a new locale, the sense of exposing themselves to the danger of the unfamiliar, to harassment in a male domain in the case of women for which they were neither prepared nor trained, takes on alarming proportion (Khattak, 2006). Yogesh residing in the Nilgiri apartments in Noida held that his mother never opened the door and invited strangers in the apartment because they constantly fear of
thefts in Noida. His mother is very apprehensive about inviting strangers to the house. As far as physical safety and general security is concerned he held that Noida is very unsafe for women. The women felt unsafe in the host territory in comparison to Srinagar. In the evenings they feel inhibited to go to a deserted place.

At the same time the societal restrictions which exist back home do not exist in the host territory. There were societal restrictions on women because of the impact of Islamic conservatism. Noida in comparison is much modern compared to Kashmir. When militancy started the Hindu women in Kashmir were singled out from the Muslim women through the identification mark of the bindi. The movies were banned when militancy at that time in Kashmir. There were restrictions on movement and some forms of disciplinary controls on women in Kashmir. In Noida and Jammu camps, the women informants held that they felt free as the restrictions of Islamic conservatism did not exist. After displacement there are spheres where women may acquire greater freedom; for instance there is less restriction on movement in the public sphere in comparison to Kashmir. Women in Noida apartments and Jammu camp areas reported that now they are not singled out as a "Hindu woman" in the host community and can openly go out to work.

The educated professional women go out to work in Noida and have got greater exposure to jobs and education after displacement to Noida. The young women were engaged in private jobs. As Madan (1965, p.25) writes, "The city women have greatly improved their position, and there are fewer restrictions of social intercourse on a woman in Srinagar than in the villages." Thus in comparison to village women in Kashmir the city women had greater exposure and migration to Noida has meant greater access to job
and educational opportunities for women who migrated from both city and villages of Kashmir.

There have been positive changes of displacement on their way of life. Anita said, “Everyone who moved to bigger cities after displacement got greater exposure.” Chitra said “In the villages homes did not even have gas connections in Kashmir.” Reema said, “There was a taboo for women to go to meat shops for instance in Kashmir. Here we go to meat shops or grocery shops as there are no restrictions and in the host community everyone is so hard-pressed for time that it does not matter whether men or women go to the grocery shops.”

The distance or fear that was there between women and their in laws is reduced after displacement. This was held by both the elderly generation and the middle generation. After displacement their vision as women has increased as they have now become positive about the future of their children. Resettlement in a new ecological setting may also imply changes in the visiting patterns of men and women to the houses of their relatives. In Jammu, the women informants held that back in Kashmir village exogamy was practiced. Because of large distances between the natal homes and affinal homes the visits of the women to their natal homes were not that frequent. After resettlement in Jammu however because the natal homes of women were close by their visits to the markets sometimes got combined with a short visit to their affinal homes.

SHIFTING GENDER BOUNDARIES

After displacement there is a shift in boundaries which divide men and women leading to a change in gender relations. Gerson and Peiss (2000) stress on the concept of
boundaries to analyze the gender-relations rather than focusing on the dichotomy between the public and the private sphere. They write,

The concept of boundaries describes the multifaceted structures-physical, social, ideological, and psychological-which establish the differences and commonalities between women and men, among women, and among men, shaping and constraining the behaviour and attitudes of each gender group (Gerson and Peiss, 2000, p.119).

The concept of boundaries does not confine the analysis of gender relations to separate spheres whereby men's and women's roles are bifurcated. There are many more boundaries or gender-divisions which mark or divide women and men in leisure and work activities, as well as in face-to-face interactions. While marking the social territories of gender relations the concept of boundaries also suggests porosity, whereas the image of spheres connotes comparatively autonomous environments. Boundaries signal who ought to be included or excluded. There are codes and rules which guide and regulate traffic, with instructions on which boundaries may be traversed under what conditions. Boundaries also give space to the fact that structures of gender relations undergo change as they are influenced and shaped by social interactions (Gerson and Peiss, 2000).

Just as structure is both constraining and enabling, the concept of shift in boundaries allows us to view how through domination and negotiation exercised by both the men and women there are challenges to the stability of patriarchal social arrangements. Gerson and Peiss (2000) claim are that these challenges are met by concessions which readjust the boundaries thereby allowing male-dominance to persist. Domination implies the systems of male control and coercion, while negotiation addresses the processes by which men and women bargain for privileges and resources.
Women participate in setting up, maintaining the status quo, and altering the system of gender relations. Domination and negotiation are interdependent and exist concurrently.

On the basis of published material on Indian diaspora one finds that migrant men and women in new locales encounter new and at times different gender stereotypes and roles in their new homelands. Generation gaps, cultural differences upon moving away from the homeland and question of sexuality play their roles in interpretations of gender and what it means to Indians in diaspora to deal with their new experiences (Jain, 2006, p.2314).

Thus the displaced people choose new living arrangements in order to adjust in the host community. There is a modification in the interactions between the kin after displacement Palriwala and Risseeuw (1996, p.29) write "People make ‘choices’, manoeuvre, and renegotiate their relationships and living arrangements in their day-to-day exchanges; even as they argue that they are upholding age-old practice and norm.” There may be strategies which are built on by geographically dispersed families. This may lead to a transformation of living arrangements as participants renegotiate areas of conflicting interests. Change and the way people exercise agency after displacement in a different circumstance and location is to be taken into account.

After displacement the position of women within the kinship and family networks is subject to change as within new living arrangements in the new host community the relationship of women with the wider society is bound to change. In the past there was acceptance of both kinship and gender relations as mainly emphasizing women as ‘reproducers’. It was believed that kinship was an objectively defined system (Dumont 1961, quoted in Palriwala and Risseeuw 2006, p.18), complete in itself. However there
are economic and political changes in society and they do not affect women in isolation. Women operate through networks of marriage, family and kinship and their position within these relationships is subject to change. In the process it points to the duality of kinship and family networks as systems of care and systems of sanction.

Through the concept of negotiation one can understand how gender relations are altered in the new setting after displacement. Gerson and Peiss (2000, p.124) hold that both men and women are engaged in negotiation. They exercise their agency by asking or inviting, sometimes demanding that resources be shared or reallocated. In addition this conceptualization assumes that not only must there be mutuality in consent by both men and women but the process of negotiation is reciprocal.

After displacement there may be changes in how ‘boundaries’ are to be maintained in the new territories which may differ from the way they were maintained in Kashmir. For instance in Kashmir it was customary that the girls would never visit the father’s room. When male guests would come, women would not enter in guest room. Women would not talk to their husbands in front of their father-in-laws. A distance was maintained between the in-laws and the daughter-in-law. In the host community both in Jammu and Noida it was observed that there has been a change in these customary practices.

In the host community, there is some kind of laxity in the attitude of the married women. Elderly displaced women in Jammu and Noida held that in Kashmir they covered their heads with a veil out of respect for elders. In Kashmir the young women would cover their heads in front of their in-laws and not talk to their husbands in their presence. The elderly women informants reported that their times in Kashmir were very different in
the villages when they lived in collateral joint families. As daughter-in-laws of the joint households there was a lot of responsibility that they undertook. They could not go out freely. Now times have changed. Women work and go out. They have more freedom of movement as compared to the restrictions they experienced in Kashmir. Women are now not that much restricted because of family pressure as was largely the case in Kashmir.

According to Sorensen and Vincent (1998, p.271) for women displacement prompts a range of emotions, from anguish as to how they would be able to provide for their family, to enthusiasm about their newly won freedom and new opportunities, to disappointment about the new burdens they must shoulder and the continuing obstacles erected by the surrounding society. On the other hand men suffer more from losing their homes and employment because that loss has direct consequences on their sense of identity and dignity.

The experience of women in the post displacement period is not homogeneous. In one of the woman's case displacement has also led to a positive personal gain. For a woman bearing a child with special needs for instance displacement may mean opening up of new opportunities. The informant held that in Kashmir she would not have had the same educational facilities for her child's benefit as there are in Noida.

Saigol argues that international advisors do not problematize culture and tradition that are constantly being transformed, especially in the conditions of conflict (Saigol, quoted in Behera 2006, p.63). The position and the obligations associated with the role of men and women change after displacement. There are also changes in the traditional ways in which women present themselves through dress.

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In Kashmir it was compulsory for the women to wear the *dejharoo* (a pair of gold pendants, hanging on a silk thread or gold chain which passes through the holes in the ears pierced at the top of the lobes. The *dejharoo* is the Kashmiri Hindu woman's *mangal-sutra*. Initially after displacement the women in the host community were not that particular about wearing it. The reason stated was that the women felt unsafe wearing it after displacement as there was the fear of it being snatched away in an alien territory. In the current scenario however the women in Jammu have begun wearing it thereby reinforcing the use of their traditional ornament.

Traditionally the Kashmiri Hindu and Muslim women wore the *pheran* (a loose woolen overcoat) in Kashmir. After displacement most of the women were observed wearing the *shalwar-kameez*. Now the change-over has been from the *sari* to the *shalwar-kammez* in the host community. Sangeeta stated how the *shalwar kammez* was easily manageable for working women. Also the fact that that both Noida and Jammu had high temperatures compared to Kashmir in the new territory the women were more comfortable in *shalwar kameez*.

For middle-class educated women displaced to the Noida city with sufficient cultural capital in the form of education and exposure, the experience of displacement is different from the women belonging to the working class who lived in the rural areas back in Kashmir and are displaced to the camps in Jammu. The domestic sphere includes activities like food circulation, and domestic matters focused upon kin and the community. It may also include economic and social affairs and extend to 'politics' in the traditional sense. Camp structures often violate the traditions, viewing women merely as linked with males. Conditions in camps and transit centres may make women particularly
exposed to inhuman conditions. These conditions lead women to negotiate within the family and kinship and the position of women in the new terrains after displacement changes.

GENDER AND DESIRE FOR HOME

According to Khattak (2006) home is remembered in an optimistic spirit by the displaced women and men from where they derive their sense of security and identity. Home is the source of primary identity for women not only because both are related primarily with the private sphere, but also because home is the locus of self, culture and belonging. Because of the historical role that women play in the creation of home, they identify much more with it. Women’s understanding of home involves numerous themes that relate both to the physical as well as imagined, indefinable and intangible aspects. Apart from being a reflection of self and social status, home represents the space where women can be content, pleased and secure. It is in the home that they can be creative and enjoy familial support.

Some women such as Sangeeta and Santosh expressed a longing to see their conjugal home in Kashmir of which they had heard through their in-laws. It is through the home of their husband’s family that they derived a sense of identity and felt that they would have found a fulfillment. Home is thus intricately woven into the idea of belonging to a place and a community. Migrants are never quite at home in the place that they live in. In the new locales the sense of belonging and home is missing. This is because home also represents a way of life. Khattak (2006) interprets home as a positive locus of identity for women rather than blindly accepting the feminist position of considering home to be primarily the first site of oppression for women.
Santosh of the Muthi camp held that in 1990 they moved out of Kashmir and then the family got dispersed. It had just been a year of marriage when they moved out of Kashmir. In Kashmir they lived in a collateral joint family. Now they were staying in an extended family in the Jammu camp area. In Kashmir, she heard from her husband that they had a three storeyed house and land worth eight to nine kanals. Santosh repented that she did not enjoy her married life. She says, “What did we experience after marriage. We did not experience anything after marriage.” She could not enjoy the comfort of her house or lands in Kashmir. She had to come and live in the ORT. Initially when the family came they lived entirely on government relief for one year. Santosh’s husband had to search for a job. They had a hard time then. They initially lived on rent which was about Rs.400 per month. Out of the Rs.900 which they got as relief from the Govt. only Rs.500 was left for family survival. Santosh’s husband presently works in Centaur hotel in Srinagar, Kashmir while Santosh stays in Muthi camp in Jammu. Her husband comes to visit her after two to three months. She stays alone with her children, but she holds that she made this sacrifice so that the family can survive.

Women displaced from the rural areas were mostly involved in household work or in kitchen gardening. It was held by the women in the camp areas that their activities got confined to the ORTs after displacement. The women in the camp area complained of boredom. In Kashmir they lived in a community and had a busy lifestyle. They were involved in various chores in the kitchen. They used to make their masala (cooking ingredient) back in Kashmir. The Muslim women who got displaced were engaged in Kashmiri embroidery back home. It was a source of their livelihood. Displacement has
resulted in a disruption of the schedules of these women whose roles are linked with the home primarily. Home was thus a place where these women could be creative.

In the camps the way of life of the women is adversely affected after displacement. Living in camps may mean that women’s daily routine which is associated with various tasks in the household and outside before displacement is altered. Women refugees and migrants feel insecure in refugee camps that are meant to replicate the conditions of home and to instill a sense of security and stability (Butalia, 2006, p.148).

There is a lack of infrastructural facilities in the camp area. The facilities provided by the government are insensitive to the basic rights of women as citizens. Violence is not only restricted to physical or emotional abuse. Denial of human rights of women is also violence. There are no separate bathrooms attached to the ORTs and to bathe the women have to walk a distance. One of the informants reported that when the ORTs were not constructed and tents stood in their place she had to walk a distance even to fetch water. In the current scenario when ORTs have come up there are common toilets for a block of ORTs. The women reported that it was highly unsafe to go to the toilets at night as there were not proper lighting arrangements.

Santosh residing in the Muthi camp with her family described how the lack of infrastructural facilities affected the women in the camp area. They do not have attached bathing rooms and had to walk a distance to the bathing rooms. Santosh’s family however pooled some money together and built a small bathing room adjoining her ORT. She had a daughter and it was highly unsafe for her daughter to walk a distance just to have a bath. There are no separate toilets for men and women. In the Muthi camp 2 blocks of ORTs comprises around 35 families and around 200 people use 5 toilets. They
are highly unhygienic. As a result many women got urinary infection. At night, it becomes insecure for women to walk to the toilets which are far off.

Similarly Pooja one of the informants in the Gol quarter camp described the condition of women in the tents before the ORTs were constructed. In the tent their family had a very difficult time. Children studied in tents and the women cooked food in them. The tents did not have a fan and they had to bear it in the scorching summer heat. It was very uncomfortable for women who were forced to have bath in tents, change clothes in the same tent in which the entire family lived. There was no privacy. It was only after 3 years that bathing rooms were built. In the camp area now one bath room are shared by six houses in the camp area. The quality of ORTs made life very difficult. The ORTs were aimed at accommodating families and were not sensitive to the needs of single women.

In the context of displacement the health conditions of women may be adversely affected. Women are associated with the reproductive role and displacement often affects the health conditions of pregnant women. A few women in the camp areas in Jammu held that they were pregnant at the time of displacement and lack of medical and infrastructural facilities affected their condition. Women were regarded as a homogenous group with little concern for the special needs of pregnant and lactating women, older women, adolescent girls and women with disabilities.

Shailja a woman of the Purkhoo camp, Jammu described the camp conditions and its impact on their lives. It was just two and a half years after marriage that they moved to Jammu. She left her big house in Kashmir and came to live in a tent in the Purkhoo camp in Jammu. She was a young mother of two babies. Her son was one and a half years old.
and her daughter was just two months old. As a young mother of two small children it was very difficult for her to bring them up in the tent. She would tie her young daughter to the bed to confine her to the tent; while she did her household chores. She had to walk a distance to fetch water or visit the toilets. There was the fear of wild reptiles. During rains the cloth tents got soaked. In the tent where they stayed, she reported that they sat beside “broom” and “slippers”. The tents were made of cloth and stood on grass. She brought up her daughter in the tent but was always worried about her safety when she was small.

Pratima another woman of the Purkhoo camp, Jammu described her initial phase of migration and adjustment. She was pregnant at that time. When they got displaced her eldest son was three years old; the younger son was two and a half years old. It was a very difficult phase for her as there was lack of proper infrastructural and health facilities in the camp area. Adequate health benefits and psychological counseling should be provided to the displaced women in the post-displacement phase (Behera, 2006).

CHANGING CONJUGALITY

Notwithstanding the 1991 Executive Committee Guidelines for the Protection of Refugee Women, the systems of protection and care in UNHCR aided camps are largely gender insensitive especially in South Asia where national laws reinforce gender discrimination (Manchanda, 2004, p.4182). Few programmes have systematically explored how relief should aid recovery of individuals who are subject to conflict situations and consequent displacement (Behera, 2006). The state governments have provided relief to the displaced persons from Kashmir. However due to lack of space in the ORTs the marital and sexual relationship between the married couples is adversely
affected. There is no privacy in the camp area. As the whole family is confined to one single room the husband and wife have difficult in engaging in intimate/private moments with each other.

The entire family housed in one single room, eats, dines and sleeps. Santosh reported that there is no 'sharam' (respect) in the ORTs. Displacement and consequent resettlement in a one room has impacted the most intimate aspect of the marital relationship between the married people in the camp areas. Santosh elaborated on the concept of 'sharam'. Her face reddened. In an uncomfortable manner she said,

*Hame sharam aati hain, par hum kya kare. Hamare pati kabhi raat ko zabardasti karte hain. To kabhi hame unki baat maanni parti hai. Bare logon ko to ab aadat si ho gayi hai. Woh ab apni aankhe band kar lete hain. Par hame bahun ke liye bahut bura lagta hai. Woh jab yeh dekhe ga to preshan ho jayega aur apne camp mein dost se puche ga. Hum jab pati ko mana karte hain to din bhar ladai hoti hai. Kabhi to hum pati patni yeh jo chota sa kitchen hamne ORT ke sath apne liye banaya hai, wahan so jate hain. Par kabhi jab ORT mein hote hain to bahut sharam aati hai. (We feel shy here but we are helpless. Our husbands are forceful at times and we have to submit to their wishes. The elderly people cannot help also so they got accustomed to it. They just close their eyes and pretend that they are not seeing anything. But we feel bad for the mental development of children. When they will see this act, their mind will be bewildered and will enquire from their friends in the camp area. When we refuse our husbands the days go by fighting. Sometimes the husband and wife sleep in the kitchen adjoining our ORT. But when we sleep in the ORT it is embarrassing.)*

The marital relationship between the husband and the wife is affected especially in the camp areas and this is clearly evident through the case of Ashwin. Ashwin is a
resident of the Muthi camp. Ashwin's wife held that after resettling in Jammu the sexual relationship between the husband and wife got adversely affected. Ashwin, his brother, his wife and children lived together in the one room tenement. His brother was about thirty to thirty five years old. He was not given a separate ORT by the government as he was unmarried. It was uncomfortable for her to stay with her brother-in-law in the ORT as she did not have any privacy; Ashwin's brother sold some vegetables in the camp area. The economic returns he got he shared with his brother and his family.

Dhingra and Arora (2005) state that due to altered living conditions in the camp area the roles and relationships of family members have changed. The male members of the displaced community are no longer satisfied with the kind of role they play. They feel that they are no longer capable of taking the responsibility of running their homes. This kind of challenge to their traditional role being the breadwinner leads to anger, frustration, uncertainty and helplessness among male members and sometimes this is expressed in the form of violence against women in the family. Thus one of the informants named Chintu, a 35 year old man residing in the Muthi camp said, "Yeh jo relief hai, ek bimari ki tarah hai. Iski wajah se hum bekar ho gaye hain. Kashmir mein hamare pas khet the, makan aur karobar tha. Yahan kuch nahi hai." (The relief we get here is like a disease. We have become worthless because of the relief we get. In Kashmir we had our lands, houses, businesses. Here we do not own anything.)

One of the woman informants held that particularly in the camp area the men who are pressurized to make a living in the new setting, at times take out their frustration on the women. There is domestic violence as a result of male frustration due to the inability to perform the male role of being the breadwinner of the family. The women feel so
helpless that they cannot even raise their voice. The men some times try to get rid of the frustration through an escape mechanism. They have to face greater familial pressures after displacement. Due to physical congestion there are often conflicts in the house.

The draft report 2007, 'Violence against Women in the Post- Tsunami Context', states that the consequence of violence against women in the post-displacement context had resulted in emotional and social consequences. In the displacement context where it appears that everyone is equally exposed, men still exert this power over women. Patriarchy is recomposed in exaggerated forms after a period of disintegration due to displacement and consequent mobility in refugee camps. Domestic violence has been observed to increase in refugee situations as a result of male frustration with the inability to perform 'the male role'. Senanayake (2006, p.45) with reference to the Tamil conflict holds that men who are forced to subsist on humanitarian aid in refugee camps suffer from feeling demasculinated because they often cannot support their families and play the socially prescribed role of breadwinner of the family.

The survivor is not only confronted with the task of creating patterns of mourning but of creating the World. In the case of two of my informants who were Muslim widows they had taken up the challenging role of breadwinners of the family. Thus when talking about displaced women we have to analyze their role in recreating the World. The case of Santosh a Kashmiri Hindu woman who resides in the Muthi camp with her family while her husband works in Kashmir also speaks a lot about the sacrifices that not only men but also women make in a crisis situation. Thus Coontz (1992, quoted in Palriwala and Risseeuw 1996, p.24) argues that families have always been in flux if not crisis. The tendency to idealize family-systems 'at home', or to deny the possibilities or need for
change is to be resisted. The assumption of the male-breadwinner within an unchanging family and its isolated existence from community has to be done away with. This is found clearly in the case of the widowed women who try to recreate their lives in the host community.

Refugee determination procedures frequently reproduce existing gender hierarchies where men are considered heads of households and women are viewed as dependents. The practice of linking women to men also exists when issuing documents (Behera 2006, p.60). According to the camp president of the Muthi camp, Jammu it is only the married men/ widowed women who are entitled to relief and camp status. The relief and ration cards are in the name of males or widows as head of households. Single men and women thus face discrimination in food distribution, access to health, welfare and education services. After displacement the entire social space needs to be rehabilitated. The new space may not be conducive to women’s rights. The assumed status of men as heads of the households further marginalized women and men in the displacement context and clearly discriminated against single women or men.

**RECONCEPTUALIZING AGE STRATIFICATION**

Differential rates and strategies of acculturation within families clearly create major stresses. Children typically acculturate faster than adults as a result of school socialization. Elderly with a greater likelihood of isolation at home may commonly adjust behaviour and expectations far more slowly (Ager, 1999). The experience of displacement for children comes at a stage in life when they are constructing their personal, family and community identity. As internally displaced children they face challenges to their inheritance, cultural and linguistic rights (Hampton, 1998).
Many of the children who were born and brought up in the host community do not have adequate knowledge of when their parents migrated from Kashmir. Although they are certain that their family got displaced from Kashmir but they do not know where they lived in Kashmir, which relatives of theirs lived together in a family in Kashmir and when did they migrate from Kashmir. Sameer, an eleven years old boy residing in the Muthi camp for instance had no knowledge of where his parents lived in Kashmir. Sameer had unaware of the sub-caste he belonged to. All he knew was that he was a Kashmiri Hindu. Sameer was unsure of when his parents got displaced from Kashmir. Finally he said that it must have been the year 1990. Sameer held that before 1990 many of his relatives lived in Kashmir but he cannot accurately trace them.

Internally displaced people face challenges to their inheritance and legal rights (Hampton, 1998). The children below eighteen years of age also did not have any knowledge of what all property their ancestors have left in Kashmir. To Shekhar residing in the Noida apartments migrating from Kashmir made him feel that he is depriving his child from the luxuries he held as a child. He held that displacement has been terrible for children as they could not enjoy the facilities they could have had as a child.

"Forced migration typically disrupts not only familial bases of socialization, but also socialization through structures as schools and places of worship...a child’s developing understanding of the world is not only shaped by direct experience, but mediated through familial and social structures" (Ager, 1999, p.217).

Berger and Luckmann (1966) in the Social Construction of Reality hold that it is through internalization that the objectivated social world is retrojected back into the consciousness in the course of socialization which is a comprehensive and consistent
induction of an individual into the objective world of society. Primary socialization is the first socialization, an individual undergoes in childhood, through which he becomes a member of society. Secondary socialization is a subsequent process that inducts an individual into new sectors of objective world of society. The formation within the consciousness of the generalized ‘other’ marks a decisive phase in socialization. Society, identity and reality are subjectively crystallized in the process of socialization.

Analyzing the experience of refugee children and the disruption of childhood Ager (1999, p.217) adds that experience mediated through familial and social structures guides a child’s socialization into the World. The disruption of family and societal systems impairs a child’s capability to develop understandings to guide adaptive behaviour. Most of the child informants below eighteen years of age had little or vague memories of Kashmir. The parents took their children to other hill-stations apart from Kashmir so as to give them a feel of what Kashmir was like. Bharati of the Noida apartments said that their grand daughter asks them often “What is Kashmir.” They go to other hill stations to see elevations apart from Kashmir. The current knowledge of child informants of Kashmir is refreshed mainly through the images they see in television. Sameer a young boy held that they had a four-storeyed house in Kashmir. He had seen his house on the compact disc, which his father brought with him, when he went to Kashmir. So they could have a feel of their homeland in Kashmir. Some of the children have not seen Kashmir even once. They only have a hazy picture of Kashmir which they have assembled through the medium of television.

The elder generation in Noida apartments and Jammu camps complained that due to de-linkage from the homeland/ territory the children are not in touch with Kashmiri
culture. The child informants reported to have incomplete knowledge about the Kashmir festivals. They celebrate festivals of the host community in a grand scale, which was not the case in Kashmir, in addition to the Kashmiri festivals. The children also reported to be not fluent in Kashmiri although they have been quick to learn the languages of the host community due to school socialization. The child informants in Jammu reported to have Kashmiri friends in addition to friends from the local community. The child-informants in Noida on the other hand, interact with children from different regions of India as they live in a cosmopolitan culture.

The rate of familiarity of child informants with Kashmir is less as part of their childhood/their entire childhood they have spent in the host community. Amar residing in the Noida apartment always compares his life with his life in a big house he would have lived in Kashmir. He has heard about the fact that they had a huge house in Kashmir from his parents.

Uday another child informant in the camp area, Jammu reported that the languages he knew were Kashmiri, Hindi and Dogri but his Kashmiri was not that fluent as compared to his parents. His accent in Kashmiri was quite different from that of his parents. He picked up the Kashmiri language from the individuals residing in the camp area. He had no knowledge of Kashmiri folksongs. He cannot make sense of the Kashmiri traditions which his elders follow.

According to Cernea (2000) displacement leads to dispersal, severing their prior ties with neighbors, rather than relocating them in groups and social units. Due to this there is loosening of intimate bonds, growing alienation and anomie, the weakening of control on interpersonal behavior, and lower cohesion in family structures. The elderly
generation in the camp area expressed their apprehension about the future of their children. One of the informants, Hema in the Gol quarter camp expressed her concern to me. Hema feels restless when her children venture out of the camp area for leisure activities. Back in Kashmir the children were engaged in agricultural activities in villages. In Jammu the children are idle. There are incidents of Kashmiri children indulging in fights amongst themselves in the camp area. There is not much security in the camp area. The children of the camp area have picked up bad habits like playing cards and get into idle past times.

Here the narratives of two child informants one from the camp area, Jammu and another from the Noida apartments are included. One of the informants is a Kashmiri Hindu while another is a Kashmiri Muslim. Surabhi is a twelve years Kashmiri Hindu girl, in the seventh standard living in the Noida apartments. She does not have any knowledge of the sub-caste to which she belongs to or when she migrated from Kashmir or where they resided in Kashmir before displacement. While she tries to think about her relatives who resided together in her father's house in Kashmir, her mother prompts from behind the names of the relatives.

She speaks little Kashmiri with her grandmother who cannot speak in Hindi or English. She claims that she will not speak Kashmiri when she grows up as she is not fluent in it. She had an opportunity to visit Kashmir once. She witnessed her grandmother weep as the latter got emotional to visit their ancestral house which they left after displacement. They did not visit their house in Kashmir. She would like visit Kashmir for a vacation and not to settle down as she has seen visions of bomb blasts in Kashmir, on the television. Surabhi does not identify herself as an IDP. Being born and brought up in
Noida she just sees herself as a citizen of India and the terms ‘IDP’ and ‘migrant’ do not make sense to him.

Personality of a child is shaped by the society in which he/she is brought up and the environment around him/her. In the context of IDPs and the impact of military conflict the factor of fragmentation of families in Kashmir is to be considered. The conflict in Kashmir has left some women widowed and the children dispossessed of other family members. According to Hampton (1998) the conditions of modern conflict and displacement target children in particularly harmful ways. This is illustrated through the case of Faizal who is a Kashmiri Muslim brought up in the camp area who developed a strong dislike towards the Kashmiri Muslims, the individuals of his own community.

Faizal's father was targeted and killed by the militants in Kashmir. Faizal a 18 years boy got displaced from Kashmir at a very young age when he was just three years. He left Kashmir; Kupwara in 1990 with his family, which comprised of his M, his Z and his B. His father was shot by the militants while he was working in the agricultural fields. He was probably an informant to the Indian Government. Life has been traumatic since then. They moved out of Kashmir because of the fear of being targeted by the Muslims militants. He lost his father who would have provided him with a major sense of support. His mother undertook the role of breadwinner in the family and provided the family with major security and support after displacement. He is currently pursuing B.Sc. in Jammu. He is adjusted well in the camp area and his Kashmiri Hindu neighbours do not view their family as an outsider. He remarks, “Hum unhe ki gaud mein pale bare huye hain” (We were brought up in their laps). When questioned about what his widowed mother went through his immediate reply was, “I can’t say anything about this”. Since member
of his own community killed his father he has developed a dislike towards Kashmiri Muslims, but he sees the Hindus in the camp area as his friends. In his case his feelings are different from the rest of Kashmiri Muslims, because his personal history has touched him so deeply that he does not care what the collectivity thinks about each other.

The case of Faizal is one which does not quite fit in as he is a displaced Kashmiri Muslim boy who was born back in Kashmir but brought up in the laps of the Kashmiri Hindus in the camp area. He has developed a dislike towards his own community members and does not wish to go back to Kashmir, but feels more secure in the Muthi camp in Jammu. His narrative in one way resists the meta-narrative by identifying with the displaced Hindu people than with his community back in Kashmir. This case stands in similar contrast to the writing on partition by Khan (2006) and Butalia (2006) who talk of how within the narrative of partition of India which talks of how the newly formed nation-state responded to the suffering of forcibly recovered women with care the stories of those who do not quite fit in – the abducted and forcibly recovered women who refuse to accept and own the borders that separate the two families challenge the meta-narrative. Their narratives question, resist and sometimes disrupt the meta-narrative and help us to unpack the seemingly unproblematic category of migrants.

The forced displacement and the victimization of resettlers tend to depreciate resettlers self-image, and they are often perceived by host communities as a socially degrading stigma. Economic marginalization is often accompanied by social and psychological marginalization which is expressed by resettlers’ loss of confidence in society and a feeling of discrimination (Cerne, 2000, p.26). This observation was evident through the remarks of Pooja of the Gol quarter camp, Jammu. She said that
though the children have adjusted now, earlier they faced immense problems. The children were depressed initially as there was harassment of 'Kashmiri Migrant Students (as the government and local population of Jammu calls them) by young students in the host territory. The resettlers who wished to pursue their studies in the host territory were viewed as a threat by the host population. The 'migrants' were viewed as “neech” (very low people). Many processions were taken out by Shiv Sena members against the resettlers. Faizal of the Gol quarter camp stated that Dogris and Punjabis of Jammu were not kind to the kashmiris who got displaced. The Dogris teased the young Kashmiri boys as Kashmiri lole (untidy people) and the Kashmiri people countered the assault with another stereotype expression Dogri Dangar (Dogri dump cattle).

The displaced children do not like the word 'migrant' for they do not want to be differentiated from the rest of the population in the host community. They are well integrated with the host community. For children born and brought up in the host societies the terms ‘IDPs’ or ‘migrant’ are out of place as they see themselves as just citizens of India. Raman a young boy from the Gol quarter camp in Jammu felt that the local people are given preference as far as the job opportunities are concerned. The displaced children from Kashmir were labeled as 'migrants' and were differentiated against. Even in the field of academics when the displaced children from Kashmir excelled they were harassed in the initial years.

A study conducted by Dhingra and Arora (1995) on displaced children from Kashmir in the age group 8 to 10 years revealed that stress associated with migration were perceived to be present not only at the conscious level, as witnessed in the present behaviour patterns but, had deep set roots. Since family consists of close network of
individuals, the effect of stress in the family after displacement penetrates to various members. By administration of a projective test (Children’s Aptitude Test) on children, it was found that stress seems to have affected their personality, thereby leading to long-term consequences.

In sharp contrast to Noida the mental state of mind of the youth and children is disturbed in the Jammu camps. According to Mishra (2004) there is unavailability of jobs in the Jammu and Kashmir state. Back in Kashmir the situation would not have been the same. The children would have had their private businesses to join. Most of the young camp residents have been able to get education but the main problem arises when they begin to look for a profession and occupation.

**DISPLACED CHILDREN AND EDUCATION: CONSTRAINTS AND OPPORTUNITIES**

The evident choice of the children and youth interviewed in the camps in Jammu region and the apartments in Noida is to stay in urban settings rather than return to their previous roles shows how traditional social structures are threatened by displacement. The lifestyle of children particularly from the rural areas has changed after displacement as in Kashmir villages the children were involved in agriculture. The value placed on education in the camp areas in Jammu demonstrates the motivation of the displaced to learn new skills. Pooja of the Gol Quarter camp, Jammu held that access to education for the people displaced from rural areas of Kashmir was limited prior to displacement. The value placed on education demonstrates a shift in the priorities of the youth and children and the corresponding concern among adults especially from rural areas about the loss of other skills, such as farming skills, which would have been valuable for return (Sorensen and Vincent, 1998, p.273).
As displacement took place in the middle of the academic session, one of the problems that the children faced was a disruption in their education as the government schools in Jammu did not even give them immediate admission. For five to six years the individuals of the displaced community exercised their own initiative and the schools were established in tents where the children studied. One of the informants reported that it was only in 1996 that proper schools for the displaced individuals were constructed by the government reported. When education was disrupted the displaced groups organized classes themselves, keenly conscious that time that went by without schooling would negatively affect their children's future. In Jammu University morning and evening sessions of classes were held so as to accommodate the increase in number of students so that displaced Kashmiri students on arrival in Jammu could also have access to education.

The child informants in the camp areas complained about the lack of privacy in the ORTs. They did not have adequate facilities to study in the camp area in which the entire families eats, dines, and sleeps. The child informants also reported that it becomes difficult to find an adequate place to study when guests visit them. Although the migrant schools have the basic facilities but they are still lacking in facilities compared to the other schools in Jammu. A number of children reported studying in the private schools around Jammu. On the other hand, the children in Noida are studying in private schools around Noida. They have sufficient space in their apartments to study and a good prospect of higher education. Most of the child informants in Noida held that they have better educational facilities in Noida than they would have had in Kashmir.

**INTERGENERATIONAL CHANGES**

Displacement is also accompanied by changes in inter-generational relations. Youth with better communication skills could easily adapt in the host society and do not
wish to return to their home territory. Their new role sometimes is viewed as undermining traditional social structures where the elders made all important decisions and this in a few cases caused anxiety and tensions (Sorensen and Vincent, 1998). The child informants in Jammu and Noida reported that they are well-integrated in the host community in comparison to their grandparents who missed Kashmir and wished to return to their homeland if normalcy prevails later. The child informants held that for them the future prospects in Kashmir are not very bright as after the breakdown of militancy in Kashmir there has not been much development in Kashmir. The image they have is that Kashmir is unsafe and it lacks in infrastructural or educational facilities. In the future they see themselves as settling in the host territory.

PERCEIVING THE OTHER

The children in the Jammu camp area were interviewed on what they thought of Muslims back in Kashmir. Out of the 12 children interviewed 50% of the informants stated that they had no knowledge of the Muslims back in Kashmir. This was because they were born and brought up in the host community and had never interacted with the Muslims in Kashmir. 33% were of the opinion that the Muslims back in Kashmir were not trustworthy. The reason given was that they were responsible for their exodus. Only 17% of the child informants in the Jammu camp areas stated that the Muslims in Kashmir were trustworthy.

On the other hand in Noida out of the 12 child informants interviewed 42% of the informants held that they had no knowledge as to how the Muslims of Kashmir were. 33% were of the opinion that the Muslims in Kashmir were not trustworthy. While only 25% of the child informants in Noida held that the Muslims back in Kashmir were trustworthy. The above responses clearly highlight the fact that the majority of the child
informants both in the Noida apartments and Jammu camp areas had no knowledge of the Muslims back in Kashmir as they were born and brought up in the host communities and unlike their ancestors had never interacted with the various communities of Kashmir on a major scale.

The children displaced to Noida and Jammu had no interaction with Kashmiri Muslims. As a result they have no knowledge of the Kashmiri Muslims. The little bit of knowledge they have is either through their parents or through the visions they see on the television. Similarly Raghunath of the Noida apartments jokes, “When I came from Kashmir, I told my Kashmiri Muslim staff that when your children ask you how a Kashmiri Hindu was like tell him/her that he has four legs, two horns, and two ears.” A Kashmiri Muslim child when grows up will have no knowledge of Kashmiri Hindus because Raghunath felt that no Kashmiri Hindu will be left in the valley. Similar is the case with displaced Kashmiri Hindus in the host society who will have no idea of how their ancestors lived with the Kashmiri Muslims back in Kashmir.

DISPLACING GERONTOCRACY

There is a change in the intergenerational relations after displacement and a feeling of loneliness felt by the elderly generation in the host community. The term “social integration” is used by social gerontologists to refer to the “empirical study of the integration of older people into society in its many forms, and ameliorative strategies designed to enhance or facilitate social integration.” (Unruh, 1983, p.22) Irving Rosow states that studies of isolation among the aged exist that look at how the aged do not have sufficient number of contacts in a period of time. While great individual variation exists,
many older people find it increasingly difficult to maintain friendships, neighbourhood

The resettlement of elderly in the metropolitan regions or the migration of the
aged from the rural to the urban areas magnifies their problems. Elderly often have
problems with mobility and may find it difficult to participate in the various subcultures
that large cities have to offer. In small towns, however, where social networks are close
in terms of distance, the elderly may find it easier to keep in touch (Amato, 1993). The
urban elderly may become increasingly isolated as their friends and family members are
dispersed.

This sense of loneliness is illustrated through the case of Manju who is 64 years
old widow residing in the Noida apartments. She expressed how displacement had altered
her life. She said “kuch keh nahi sake” (I cannot say anything). The depth of her sorrow
was so intense that she could not express it in words. There was a lot of loneliness she
experienced in this old age in a new territory different from the one in which she was
surrounded by her relations and friends. She had two sons, one of whom is abroad while
the other one lives with her. In Kashmir she lived in a joint family. In Noida she lives
alone with her divorced son. Now she spends practically the entire day alone. There is no
one who visits her. No relatives come and see her as they are all dispersed to various
locations in India in search of educational and job opportunities. The only time she could
speak to her relatives is on telephone.

The elderly generation after displacement is of the opinion that the quality of life
they had expected in Kashmir was not possible in the host territory. It is not possible to
have a good house after displacement. They still experience mental tension and it has
taken many years to get used to it. The retired government officials held that they would have experienced a better retired life back in Kashmir. They regret not having enjoyed their retirement life in Kashmir with their own circle of friends. Vivek of the Purkhoo camp, Jammu was running a grocery shop in the host territory. He did not enjoy his old age in his ORT in Jammu. In Kashmir at the age of seventy he would not have to think of making a living for the family as he owned abundant resources back in Kashmir. He would have enjoyed and had a happy retired life in Kashmir. In Kashmir a man of his age is not supposed to work.

Retirement and accompanying reduction of income implies that the aged are unable to extend the kind of aid they might have in the past. This reduces their social value and results in diminished social contacts and involvement with others. Reduced income places limitations on mobility on the aged, contact with others and the kind of leisure activities that might be pursued (Unruh, 1983, p.24). The elders also experience a lot of mental tension after leaving Kashmir, their homes in which they have lived since childhood. It is more difficult for the elderly people to cope with the loss of homeland as they are used to living in huge houses in Kashmir. There was some kind of feeling of dependency reported by few of the informants belonging to the elderly generation in Noida.

Anjana of the Noida apartments explained the reasons for the change in intergenerational relations. The younger generation is looking after running the household. Anjana knew of cases where the head of the family is old, but on the front line are the son and the daughter-in-law. When the parents move to Delhi/Noida they move to their son’s house which the latter may have purchased on loan. So there was
intergenerational conflict. This is also evident in the case of Mr. and Mrs. Dhar of the Noida apartments residing with his son and wife. He held that his mind is still not accustomed to living in Noida. Mr. Dhar held that they were in a difficult situation as they wished return to Kashmir but could not do so due to security reasons. There is tension in Noida. When he was in Kashmir he had his own house and land. In Noida he does not own anything. Now he receives pension and the expenses have increased after displacement. He wishes to move with his wife to a rented house but can not do so due to increased expenditure.

For the displaced elderly men and women living in the apartments in Noida and Jammu there is loneliness as they are confined to their apartments and their health does not permit them to interact with the people in the surrounding areas. Old age carries with it the potential of extreme changes with regard to the preservation of social roles and group memberships as aging often brings with it losses of central social roles resulting from status changes in the arenas of marriage, work, family, income and health (Blau, 1961, 1973; Lockwood, 1964, quoted in Unruh; 1983, p.22.).

Sadhana moved into the Noida apartments 10 years ago, to their two-bedroom house. Sadhana feels very lonely in the apartment she is staying in. It is more like a railway compartment as it does not have any windows/ ventilation. Back in Kashmir their house had huge corridors with rooms on both sides. A few of the aged in Noida are residing with working children. Both the son and daughter-in-law are in service who are not home the whole day. The younger generation is constrained to make a living in the new setting. The youngsters have no time to socialize with the aged. This is in sharp contrast to Kashmir where the individuals within the family spent quality time together.
A study conducted by Banerjee (2004), 'Displacement within Displacement: The Crisis of Old Age in the Refugee Colonies of Calcutta, 1947-1997' concluded that the majority voice among aged refugee males reflected an acute feeling of personal defenselessness and marginality. The younger male characters in the study were generally situated in an unclear zone of tragedy and triumph – tragedy of loss of homeland and livelihood but triumph of the new efforts at constructing the new home in the colony community.

On the other hand the aged father in the refugee colonies was situated in a zone disconnected from the 'constructive' projects of colony formation. The 'old men' had left behind their power based on ancestral property and local influence in a lost land. And it was the aged father's lack of property that particularly contributed to his marginalization in the initial years of colony existence. The marginalization of the first generation of aged males had largely derived from their lack of inheritable property and their powerlessness to contribute to the struggle for material survival; as such their marginality within the family had been as sharp as that in the public sphere of community life.

In the camp areas in Jammu it was observed that many aged men were wiling away their time playing cards and smoking in the camp area. The aged women who are used to community living and working together with other women find it hard to cope with the camp life. They were observed sitting in a corner and brooding. Because of inability to converse in Hindi or English they are unable to communicate with the local population. A few of the people of the elderly generation are not able to converse with the population in Noida and Jammu leading to a situation of anomie where they are living in an alien territory with alien people with whom conversation is not possible. There was
a case in which the old displaced Kashmiri woman in Noida would venture out of the house, but could not find her way back to her apartment.

Migration to a new territory often implies that they have to acclimatize to a new surrounding. There is a constant longing for the elderly men and women to go back to their hometowns. The social values of older people tend to be more stable across the lifespan and less susceptible to change through social loss and societal pressure (Unruh 1983, p.22).

Parvati is an aged woman from Baramulla district in Kashmir. Parvati at Muthi camp felt alienated in Jammu. She missed everything about Kashmir. She did not like it in the host community. There is nobody to talk to. In Kashmir all women sat together in an angan (sitting place in front of the house) and chat. Now all is lost....both cash and fun. Here if women go to the market they face the constraint that they cannot find people who can talk in Kashmiri with them. The languages of the host community are beyond the comprehension of some of the aged Kashmiri women. She did not know the local language, could thus not converse with the host population. She could not even go to the market to purchase vegetables as the shopkeepers would not understand her. She misses the community living back in Kashmir.

Many of the elderly informants faced stress in the host community and had some kind of health problem like blood pressure or diabetes. Sharmila residing in the Noida apartments got health problems after displacement. She said, “I feel that my life should get over soon.” She got stressed due to displacement. In Noida there were two cases of senile dementia. In one of the Noida apartments Nayana was an old woman who had lost her senses in the host community. In a small unkempt room she was sitting on the floor.
The only sunlight that she saw was through the windows of the apartment as now at this old age she had become immobile. She looked alienated in the apartment in Noida and conversation with her family members was in incoherent Kashmiri. She warned in incoherent utterances that I should not visit Kashmir as it was unsafe for women. One of her neighbour’s daughters was raped by the militants. The trauma of the incident was still alive in her memory.

All the displaced individuals belonging to the elderly generation are nostalgic about Kashmir. They are homesick and lonely in the host community. One of the informants remarked that for the old people displacement felt like a “fish without the water”. They increasingly faced stress in the host society. For them the loss of their motherland, home, livelihood and all other things associated with the territory in which they were born was very hard to cope in the last phase of their lives.

Displacement and consequent resettlement in the new territory impacts age-groups differently. The resettlement in a new terrain leads to a constant longing for the lost homeland for the elderly. The middle-aged groups are constrained to sustain economically in the new terrain. While for the younger generation born and brought up in the host territory the sense of longing for their homeland is not as strong as the elderly generation. The younger generation identifies more with the host territory leading to constant inter-generational differences with the displaced elderly persons.

Displacement leads to certain changes in gender relations in the new terrain where men and women are associated with new roles and responsibilities and have to accommodate to new constraints and opportunities. The way the aid agencies approach the problem of displacement especially the provision of relief and camp facilities is
negligent of the basic rights of women. While resettlement in a new terrain leads to an increase in work opportunities for women especially of the educated middle class, but patriarchy is reproduced in different forms after displacement. The displaced men in the camp areas unable to fulfill the role of the traditional breadwinner of the family vent out their frustration on women. However on the other hand there are few women who challenge the traditional notion of men being the sole breadwinner of the family or women who undertake complete responsibility of the care, protection and security of their families after resettlement in the new territory.