Displacement entails certain changes in the social organization of people. The impact of displacement on the social lives of people exists even after aid agencies lose sight of the situation of displacement. Displacement changes people's perceptions of their environment and new circumstances determine local coping mechanisms and power relations. It is regarded as a transformation-a process-rather than a fixed (and temporary) reality in people's lives.

Although structures exist, the displaced people, the state and humanitarian agencies use rules and resources in reproducing structures through space and time. Displacement has impacted the social organization of the Kashmiri people- kinship networks, gender relations, family organization, neighbourhood relations, community bonding, and marital status. By focusing attention on the ongoing interplay of structures and actions with room for negotiation and compromise structuration theory provides a firm ground for the analysis of displaced persons.

Displacement has both personal and political losses and gains. It leads to corresponding changes in the social structure as social relations and identities are influenced by displacement. Through their active participation the displaced individuals have given a new meaning to their life in the current setting. They employ survival strategies to the new contexts in new locales. They utilize various response strategies to cope with the changes in their social structure due to displacement. They make efforts to reintegrate in the host community in the realms of culture, economy and politics.

The displaced Kashmiri people are not simply 'victims' or passive spectators but they have exercised agency. IDPs from Kashmir are diversified on the lines of religion,
community, caste, class, gender or age. Depending upon one's position within the social 
stratification, there are differences in the agency exercised by the different categories of 
people. Therefore structures as Giddens held are not only constraining but also enabling. 
The positivist viewpoint stresses that order is to be maintained in the World. There is to 
be a close fit between individuals and their belonging to a nation-state. This orientation 
to the study of displaced persons is inappropriate as it based on the premise that culture, 
identity or tradition can only be seen in relation to the homeland where one fits in and 
any deviation from this is an anomaly. According to the essentialist/modernist 
conception of place a person ought not to be viewed out of one's natural place or 
homeland in the World.

The post modernist perspective critiques the modernist perspective. It is inclusive 
of the voices of the forced migrants. According to this viewpoint individuals can be 
visualized without their natural place in the World and the link between people places is 
not that strong. The post modernist viewpoint de-territorializes the link between people 
and places. This stance is inclusive of the voice of IDPs/refugees. It is the structuration 
theory which goes beyond the above two perspectives.

The structuration theory is critical of the modernist perspective according to 
which, the displaced persons, out of their original habitats are 'out of place'. The 
structuration theory takes cognizance of the viewpoints of the actors, the host society, the 
welfare organizations, the state and the humanitarian organizations. The modernist and 
the post modernist perspectives are two extreme viewpoints and the structuration 
perspective gives space to the middle path. In new conditions and situations after 
displacement the forced migrants utilize their capacities to create and understand new
The structuration theory re-territorializes the link between people and places and critiques the post-modernist perspective which de-territorializes the link between people and places. Reterritorialization implies finding one's place in society in which one is present. Reterritorialization entails a spatial process and spatial strategies that displaced persons develop to control over their lives in the present society. The structuration viewpoint holds that the reterritorialization of the link between people and places implies that in new locales individuals reintegrate in society. The emphasis is not on 'integration' but 'reintegration', not 'assimilation' but 'readjustment' not 'deterritorialization' but 'reterritorialization'. Reterritorialization means to lose one's territory, and then construct a new community within a new area.

The displaced persons live their lives by constructing their imagined past and at the same time reintegrate in the present place. After displacement they have a new life, where they need to survive, to make a livelihood, and through their actions construct the place where they are physically present. In the new locale they find their place in society and at the same time keep memories of their past alive. The meaning of culture can be understood when it is viewed in a place. In the new locale the forced migrants establish new meanings and understandings although carrying their stock of traditional knowledge.

The experience of displacement has proven that individuals use their acquired capital (social, economic or material) to resettle in the new terrain. Inequality in society is perpetuated through the family because of the differentiation in the access to capital. In the case of displaced persons social capital exists in the form of migration networks
which comprises of the friends or family relatives who facilitate access to resources or information in the new locale. The forced migrants use their networks to acquire livelihoods and develop strategies to control their own lives. The economic capital possessed by migrants implies access to economic resources in the form of movable property after displacement. The cultural capital is the education and skills that one acquires as a member of society which facilitate reintegration in a new locale. It is because of the differential access to resources that inequality is perpetuated after displacement.

EXPERIENCING RELOCATIONS

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

Displaced persons do not necessarily flee with the intention of remaining for years in the country of destination, but until conditions in the place of origin become safer. Loss of home is experienced as a form of violence by the displaced persons. The scars of violence remain is expressed in the repetitive thoughts by the displaced persons. But memory serves as an important coping mechanism by helping one to preserve one's class, social and national identity.

Displacement has implications not only about physical security but also anxieties about non-material aspects that form the basis of our identities, of who we are as there is
a shift to a new locale. Shift to a new host community involves issues such as shifting identities, change in the meanings and perceptions of ourselves and others' perceptions of us. As the displaced people leave their home, they leave behind various familial relationships. The family relatives scatter to different regions after displacement. The leaving of home is about regaining security associated with identity, a culture, a personal and collective history that one leaves behind, but regains it in the host territory.

SOCIAL NETWORKS DISRUPTED

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

Shift to a new locale has meant that there is a disruption in the social networks. Ceremonial, occasional or frequent visiting patterns between the Hindus and Muslims are altered. One thus acquires new social relations different from the ones that one acquired in the homeland where one interacted with individuals from various communities. Increase in distance in urban setting and increase in the cost of transportation/ goods are factors that reduced the intensity of ceremonial exchange of goods and services in the new locales. These factors lead to consequent alterations in the social structure.
The Internally Displaced Persons differ from the economic migrants because of the fact that they do not have significant members of their community members back in Kashmir with whom they have strong bonds, are a source of support or are obligated. Urbanization trends affect the displaced communities whose ties with their homeland are severed. Although most kin relatives after displacement wish to settle close to each other, migration in search for job opportunities has led to a dispersal of the kin members.

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

An impersonal and secondary relationship is dominant in the host territories especially in Noida in comparison to Kashmir. Distance is an impediment to the frequent visits to relatives after displacement. After displacement, each family attributes their resettlement to their own agency rather than to wider kin relatives. Although the joint family obligations existed after displacement, more so if the people were staying in a joint household in the new territory but the informants reported that the obligations certainly decreased as after displacement each family was more concerned about its own survival.
NEW SOCIAL CONTEXT: RESPONSE STRATEGIES

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

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

Cultural symbols are not fixed but are dynamic and undergo significant changes in the context of collective experience of people, changing interests and demonstration effects. Because of social, economic and political constraints there are alterations of the way IDPs engage in the cultural activities, participation in festivals and life-cycle ceremonies in the new locale. Faced with socio-economic constraints the IDPs however make efforts to reproduce the structures that existed back home by utilizing their capabilities, resources, skills that they acquired in their homeland. Lack of economic
capital (material resources), social capital (social networks) and cultural capital (skills especially in the case of younger generation) in the new locales are prime determinants for the changes in the way of life after displacement.

Displacement to a new territorial setting also implies that there are consequent changes in the culture, as culture is linked with space. But the individuals recreate their social World; regenerate their culture in the new locales. Thus the past informs the present and there are certain changes that take place in the new locales, structure is thus produced not in the same form but in recognizably similar forms after displacement. The everyday life of the people is altered after displacement which relate to changes in their life-cycle rituals, celebration of festivals, diet and dress in the new setting. There have been attempts at cultural recreation. For instance, the construction of a temple, Khir Bhawani in Jammu or Hari Parbat In Ghaziabad represents cases of recreation of cultural symbols in the new setting through which Kashmiri Hindus identify themselves. Through their active participation they have given a new meaning to their life in the current setting. The migrant groups try to recreate their cultures, of the place of origin at the place of destination.

Apart from the various health problems that individuals face due to displacement to a new climatic and ecological setting, there are changes in the social structure. Consequent changes in the social structure imply a change in the various institutions like family or marriage. Thus due to the disruption in the social capital which exists in the form of network of relations, implies a constraint in the choice of marriage partners in the new territory after displacement. This also leads to a consequent change in the pattern of
marriage. The changes in marriage patterns correspond to alterations in gender relations, a shift in the roles, responsibilities and relationships between generations.

CAPITAL AND SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

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.

In this study the informants in Noida apartments were from the city. The informants from the camp areas in Jammu were mostly from the villages in Kashmir. The differentiation in access to capital facilitated the resettlement of certain people to camps in Jammu while of others to private accommodations in Noida. The individuals who got confined to the camps rated low with regard to the levels of education, liquid capital and exposure. In the initial stage of displacement access to capital plays a significant role in resettlement in a new locale. Consequently individuals exercise agency to reintegrate in a new locale. The first prerogative after displacement is to find means of survival in the host territory. Despite structural constraints the individuals exercise agency in the new setting.

Caste is retreating as an active agent of reproduction of inequality and family exists as a continuing agent of reproduction of inequality among the Kashmiri Hindu IDPs in the post-displacement phase. Informants in the camp area, Jammu have taken to manual work which was looked down upon by the Kashmiri Hindus back in Kashmir.
There is a break between caste and traditional association with occupation. 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.

Displacement thus leads to certain shifts in the caste system. On the one hand a high caste in requiring 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. 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.

Class here is seen not only in economic terms but also as one which defines an individual's condition of existence. Class concept refers to social groups defined by their conditions of existence and their corresponding dispositions. The informants in Noida were more educated than the people in the camp area. This facilitated their migration outside their state as they had greater access to jobs than the camp people in Jammu. It was not only economic capital in the form of access to material resources, but also cultural capital which is acquired through education and exposure which can serve and perpetuate access to economic capital.
Large sections of the displaced people from the valley were educated and a significant number of them were government employees. Due to loss of economic capital initially there were economic hardships that the displaced persons from Kashmir faced. The educated among the internally displaced persons were able to get jobs in the host territories. The government employees drawing an adequate regular salary avoided moving to the camps. They stayed on rent or with relatives initially in Noida or Jammu and with the passage of time brought private accommodations. It was thus possible for a large section of them to manage to avoid the harsh condition of living in the camps.

The informants in camp area in Jammu who sustained on agriculture in Kashmir experienced significant downward mobility as their material assets in the form of land/property were in Kashmir. 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 are dependent on relief for their physical survival. This is the main form of impoverishment of displaced people, as they lose both natural and man-made capital. In the case of conflict induced displacement from Kashmir migration has led to loss of substantial property for the displaced individuals.

Many individuals cannot exercise their earlier acquired skills and talents at the new location; human capital is lost or rendered inactive or obsolete. The displaced Kashmiri Muslims in Kashmir were craftsman who worked on traditional Kashmiri
handicrafts. After displacement they have lost their source of livelihood and their skills have become out of use.

Migration to the Jammu city from villages has led to access to a large number of educational institutions which was not possible in the rural areas of Kashmir. 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. Some of the individuals belonging to the younger generation in the camp area have experienced upward mobility in Jammu. In the camp area a few of the individuals have constructed private accommodations but at the same time they have not surrendered their one room tenements. There is an inherent interest in keeping the one room tenements as it makes them eligible for further concessions given by the government.

CHANGING GENDER RELATIONS

Despite constraints within the social structure, as social actors men and women face alternative ways of devising their aims however restricted their resources. Numerous contexts and the importance of place and location in the construction of identities and differences determine how agency is differently constituted. After displacement there is a shift in boundaries which divide men and women leading to a change in gender relations. 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. Through the concept of negotiation one can understand how gender- relations are altered in the new setting after displacement.
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. For middle-class educated women displaced to the Noida city 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.

Resettlement in a new terrain leads to an increase in work opportunities for women especially of the educated middle class. The displaced men in the camp areas suffer from a sense of worthlessness after displacement as they cannot perform their traditional role as the provider of the family in the same sense as before. Unable to fulfill the role of the traditional breadwinner of the family they vent out their frustration on women. Among the displaced women residing in the camps there are few women who challenge the traditional notion of men being the 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.

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. Protection, care, resettlement and migration regimes need to become more sensitive to women’s experience of dislocation and displacement. Women are vulnerable to gender-based violence during the flight phase and during refuge or return. The women are treated as refugee subjects in refugee management. 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. Thus violence against women is not just
physical and emotional. Structural violence is the neglecting of women’s rights. Structural violence dispossesses women of the equal chance to a descent life with dignity and security.

**EXPERIENCES OF DISPLACEMENT: YOUNG AND OLD**

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. 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.

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 the same as the elderly generation. The younger generation identifies more with the host territory leading to constant inter-generational differences with the displaced elderly persons. The younger generation had to go through the trauma of displacement at a very tender age. However, their attachment with Kashmir is not so strong as that of the older generation.

The elderly people among the displaced find it difficult to adjust in the new surrounding, as their emotional attachment with Kashmir is very strong. The elderly informants felt a perpetual sense of nostalgia for the lost land of the birth of their
ancestors. 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 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. In small towns, however, where social networks are close in terms of distance, the elderly may find it easier to keep in touch. The urban elderly may become increasingly isolated as their friends and family members are dispersed.

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. 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.

BUILDING NETWORKS

In a displacement crisis the individuals exercise their own creative skills in readjustment in a new territory. The role of the state and the welfare organizations is considered secondary to their own efforts by the informants. The role of the state is recognized by the people living in the camp areas in providing economic support in the form of relief and rations. Although the state does provide economic support to the displaced persons but the quality of the basic support provided in the form of infrastructural facilities is negligent of the well-being and basic human rights of individuals.
Local cultural traditions develop established ways of dealing with the loss associated with displacement. These may involve religious ritual or communal reinforcement of a shared struggle. In the case of displaced individuals from Kashmir there has been a growth of various political organizations and movements. The role of the voluntary organizations in the provision of support and help to the displaced persons is intensified in the initial stage of exodus and is more expressive than instrumental after a period of resettlement in a new terrain. The aid provided by political groups is context-based depending upon their own political agendas to mobilize groups to act as vote banks.

For political authorities the displaced persons require close control and repatriation. The camp conditions are such that they lay stress on vulnerability and helplessness. The aspirations of the displaced people are rarely taken into account, as is viewed in the provision of the infrastructure in Jammu camps. Attempts to challenge the political authorities are viewed as disruptive behaviour. The people faced with these challenges respond in specific ways to the predicaments. For instance, the construction of small rooms by the camp people on their own or the ways in which they try to cope with the changes entailed by displacement are ways in which they utilize their creative energies. It is the means to establish a 'social world' which has meaning.

REDEFINING IDENTITY

Identity is not static, but is in a perpetual state of transformation. Identity is subject to a continuing changing process. The displaced individuals form Kashmir in the present scenario face an identity crisis – the Kashmiri Hindus and Sikhs view themselves as separate Kashmiri Muslims. Pre-flight community relations of the minority and
majority communities were amicable. With the flight of the minority communities, the Kashmiri Hindus and Kashmiri Sikhs the 'we feeling' of belonging to the Kashmiri community (inclusive of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs) is not that strong.

After displacement the term 'Kashmiriyat' seems meaningless to the informants. To them the term connotes a hidden political agenda for the power-hungry politicians in Kashmir. With the rise of Islamic fundamentalism and the exodus of the minority community one needs to look more closely at how people draw upon their experiences of migration to generate alternative forms of organization based on a new political reality. Therefore we see a change among the Kashmiri Hindus who as an 'imagined community' believe in forging their Hindu identity more than their Kashmiriyat identity which is so symbolic of the Hindu-Muslim unity.

In the changed context of displacement there are changes in the way in which a group or a community identifies itself in a new locale. The bond between the Kashmiri Hindus and Muslims is not that strong after displacement to a new locale. The sense of solidarity and trust that a community shares with groups back in the homeland may be disrupted in situations of conflict-induced displacement as the communities are disconnected not only from their home territories but also with the various communities with whom they interacted back home.

The displaced individuals from Kashmir are identified as 'migrants' by the government of India. The term has a negative connotation for them as they are not mere migrants who got voluntarily displaced but are forcibly displaced from Kashmir. The displaced Kashmiri people wish to be identified as 'Internally Displaced Persons'. Thus after displacement within one's nation-state and in a new locale, there are various
stigmas that a community may face. Being identified as migrants implies that after displacement the individuals can not claim any international support and assistance. The aid agencies approach the displaced persons as subjects to be managed in the camps. The wishes and aspirations of the forced migrants are rarely taken into account.

The experience of displacement of the double disadvantaged is different from those who have substantial material, social and cultural capital. The heterogeneity of the experience of displacement is thus to be recognized. The experience of a woman belonging to the lower class, who has little education and exposure (cultural capital) is different from the experience of a woman who belongs to the middle class and is highly educated. While the middle class displaced Kashmiri Hindus can express themselves through films, literature, associations or lobbying, the lower class displaced persons in camps have no such channel of grievance. Thus caste and class locations of the displaced persons play a role in their negotiation with the state and society.

Similarly the experience and pain of loss of home is different for individuals belonging to the elderly generation from the children who are brought up in the host communities. Social disruption of social capital (social relations) is one of the main reasons for the anonymity experienced by the elderly generation after displacement. Here it is to be noted that the individuals exercise their agency in the various realms that is of economy, culture or politics. The agency exercised by them corresponds to the capital they have been able to mobilize after displacement.

The impact of displacement has been on certain Kashmiri Muslim and Sikh families who were direct or indirect victims of militancy in Kashmir. A large number of individuals of these communities are resident in Kashmir. But on the other hand
displacement has impacted the Kashmiri Hindu community as a whole as a majority of the community is displaced. It has entailed certain changes in the social structure of the community members. In the case of Kashmiri Muslims, Sikhs displaced from Kashmir displacement has impacted individual families rather than communities as a whole.

Conflict and consequent displacement affected not only the individuals who were displaced outside Kashmir, but also individuals who were displaced from insecure zones to other areas in Kashmir. There has been a substantial loss of lives of innocent civilians in situations of confrontations between the militants and the security forces. Muslim women in Kashmir did bear the violence perpetuated by the security forces or the militants. This work is not inclusive of the voices of such women who bore the brunt of militancy. A wholistic picture of the impact of conflict and impact of militancy can be arrived at when voices of different communities who are resident in Kashmir apart from the displaced communities are included.

RETURN TO HOME?

In the current scenario there has been a decrease in the rate of militancy in Kashmir. During a visit to Kashmir in 2007 an increase in the number of tourists from other regions of India was witnessed. It was held by the informants in Kashmir that there has been a substantial decrease in the number of local militants in Kashmir. The scene of militancy in Kashmir is now largely occupied by the foreign militants. During the Kheer Bhawani festival many Kashmiri Hindus visit Kashmir now and many Kashmiri Hindu temples are being renovated. Still a sense of insecurity concerning the return to Kashmir exists among the displaced people. The trust that existed between the Kashmiri Muslims
and the other minority communities is destroyed after the rise of armed conflict and the consequent displacement from Kashmir.

The IDPs from Kashmir expressed their wish to return to their homeland. The return of the IDPs will depend on the strengthening the notion of kashmiriyat a symbol of composite Kashmiri culture. Free and fair elections, establishment of democracy, development of friendly relations with the neighbouring states are some of the factors, which may have positive consequences for the restoration of peace in the valley. A mini township is proposed by the government of the state for the displaced Kashmiri families at Jagti- Nagrota, Jammu. This site is 8 kms. from Jammu. The IDPs however expressed their anguish about the distance of the site from the Jammu city and the fact that this attempt of the government would further forestall their return to their homeland.

To conclude, the Kashmiri IDPs in the new locales attempt to establish a meaning by linking their past with the present. Various coping and response strategies are employed to address the changes in the various realms of society. IDPs re-territorialize the link between people and places and exercise agency in the new locales although retaining their traditional stock of knowledge. The heterogeneity of the experience of displacement implies that differential access to capital leads to differences in the agency exercised by the individuals in the new territories after displacement.