Chapter One:

I

INTRODUCTION

This thesis endeavors to study the cultural changes that are bought about by forced migration of a community. The concerned community here is that of Kashmiri Pandits in Delhi. Migration as a phenomenon has been the object of study for sociologists, anthropologists, economists, demographers etc albeit from different angles. Rural-urban migration, economic effects of rural -urban migration and inter-country migration (Diaspora studies) has possibly received the maximum academic attention. We shall discuss some of the studies done a little later. The effects of migration are manifold and this is why it invites researches from so many disciplines. We are looking at the concept of cultural change as a consequence of migration, in particular forced migration. Movement of communities from familiar surroundings, certain physical environment into a new and relatively one is bound to have an effect on their cultural traditions. This is not an unexplored area but research in the particular group is inadequate and one hopes that this study would throw light on the cultural changes faced by a community on migration to a new place.

Significance Of The Study

In Indian context the Kashmiris have been displaced from their native place and have been living like refugees in their own country. Over the years with there being no sign of any kind of settlement of the Kashmir issue and the violence increasing day by day, more and more Kashmiris are leaving or are being forced to leave Kashmir. The political aspect of the Kashmir problem has been has been discussed by many over the years, but the sociological implications of such a situation merits more attention than what it has been given. The humanitarian crisis that has
accompanied this crisis is often overlooked. The social, cultural emotional aspects have either been neglected or have been consigned to the background.

For a sociologist the social aspect of the forced migration of the Kashmiris, especially the Kashmiri Pandits, is an area that needs urgent study. We are in the middle of a rapid transformation of an ancient culture, and a study regarding the cultural changes wrought by the ravages of a refugee crisis needs to be done now. Statistics say that only about .01 % of Kashmiri Pandits remain in the valley now. Thousands have moved out to other states in India and many have gone abroad. Most have moved into neighboring states like Jammu, Delhi etc, though not all stay in camps. It is necessary to study even those who have shifted into apartments or homes. Each one has experienced the feeling of being forced out of their homes and land. They have moved into a new culture and environment. A study needs to be done even of the people who do not stay in camps, only then will this research be holistic.

The study has a great potential in terms of policy formulation regarding refugee problems. At an academic level the study could be used for conducting further studies regarding refugee problems. The study could be replicated in other similar situations which due to the nature of political conflicts seem to be emerging around the world with an alarming frequency. There cannot be any solution to the refugee/IDP (Internally Displaced Persons) crises without an adequate understanding of the cultural dynamics involved.

The thesis specifically attempts to trace cultural changes in the community of the Kashmiri Pandits as a consequence of their forced migration from the Kashmir Valley. The Pandits have moved out to different states and the contention is that certain cultural changes would
have followed the forced migration. Our purpose here is to look into the changes if there have been any. There are several possibilities, one that the Pandits take great pains in maintaining their culture. The second possibility is that their culture undergoes a tremendous change. Thirdly and the most likely to happen is that of acculturation. Thirdly possibility is that of acculturation along with the preservation of the core cultural elements.

Kashmiri culture is unique as it embodies the synthesis of various religious cultures. The Pandits have been the victims of political and religious discrimination so the question arises as whether they have retained the secular feelings or have become embittered due to their experience of violence and forced migration. My thesis attempts to look at the changes that could have occurred at the various levels of occupation family, education, religious rites and rituals, marriage, dress and cuisine. Refugee camps create a sense of bonding and therefore there could be an attempt to preserve the culture as it was in the original place of inhabitance; but the different physical environment may not be conducive for it. We are looking at culture and the degree of acculturation that could take place in certain circumstances. The results of this study could be used to create a general frame work applicable to refugee crisis all over the world.

II

The Refugee Question
The Norwegian Refugee Council (Vincent, 2001: 1) in a study for the 1998 Global IDP study says that there were about ten million IDP (internally displaced persons) in ten countries. By 1990, the number of IDPs increased to 22 million and the refugees to 17
million from 50 countries. Today the number of refugees is about 30 million and the number of displaced persons around 100 million. (Cernea, McDowell, 2000: 2). We notice here that the number of displaced persons is more than the number of refugees.

Due to the growing crisis of refugees and displaced persons a number of organizations have been set up to assist the people in distress. Organizations for humanitarian aid and academic research were set up and policies were formulated to deal with the new situation by the World Bank, OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development). The UN has established the UNHCR which deals with the issues relating to the problems of the refugees and displaced people. A lot of research is being carried out to understand the causes and consequences of the refugee crisis. Some of the institutes promoting research on refugee studies, to facilitate policy and decision making are – the World Bank, UN Research Institution for Social Development, Refugees Studies Programme of Oxford. (Ibid: 3-5) There will be more discussion on this and especially the inception of UNHCR in the following chapter.

Millions of people have been rendered destitute due to war, civil unrest, terrorist violence etc. For example, Africa is one such country facing an acute refugee problem; over two million people have become refugees due to conflict and natural disaster. UNHCR publishes a journal named ‘Refugees’ which brings forth the issues concerning the refugee crisis. In one such edition (Vol1 ,No.134,2004) it observes that the people of Somalia are fleeing to neighboring states in search of a better life. The United Nations is making concerted efforts to reach out to the affected population in various countries. For example, the officials are giving them orientation courses on the new ways of life awaiting them in foreign countries ( Vol.3 ,No.128,2002) Many migrating from Africa have never had access to electricity or running water.. Culturally, America and
Africa are miles apart. The refugees will have a difficult time getting used to a new diet, dress code, educational system, language. All those going to America will have to adjust to a very different kind of life, hence the course. The officials attempt to present a preview so that the people are mentally prepared to a certain extent. (Vol.2, No.131, 2003)

There are many who fled to Kenya thinking that they would come back when the conflict in Somalia was resolved. They went with the barest of belongings. Now they have been housed in refugee camps by the Kenyan government. A fixed amount of food is given to them and they are not allowed to venture out without permission. These camps are huge with school, clinic, market, hotels, farming plots etc. Sudan is another such country which has been ravaged by civil war. About 4 million people were displaced in Sudan itself and half a million went to neighboring states. Extensive efforts have been made by the UNHCR to rehabilitate the refugees. At the same time refugees who have gone back home are facing problems getting adjusted to their own country due to differential levels of development. (Vol. 3, No.132, 2003)

In the case of India, we have refugees flowing in from all directions into the country, be it Srilankan Tamils, the Tibetans, the Bangladeshis. The South Asia Forum for Human Rights publishes a journal called Refugee Watch which aims at giving insight into the refugee problem in the Asian region. As per the reports of Refugee Watch (August, 2003: No.19) the largest groups of refugees are the Srilankan Tamils and the Tibetans. There are about 64,000 Srilankan Tamilians in camps and about 100,000 Tibetans according to UNHCR estimates. In the 1970's due to the crisis in Bangladesh about 10 million refugees came over to India settling down in Bengal and the north-east (Dec 2003, No.20). A large number of Hindus have also migrated from Bangladesh due to insecurity.
and discrimination. Bangladesh in turn receives a large number of refugees from Myanmar.

The *Refugee Watch* (August 2003, No.19) dealt with Chittagong refugee problem. There has been an influx of people from Bangladesh to India. The 'paharis' or people belonging to the hills, were persecuted on political, ethnic, economic, religious grounds. This forced them to migrate within and outside the country. The people migrated to Tripura and Mizoram to escape the excesses of the Bangladesh army. The government further encouraged people from plains to settle in the Chittagong hills area which created problems between the originals settlers and the migrants. This created a fresh exodus from Bangladesh. Bangladesh and India had several discussions on the fate of the refugees and it was decided that the refugees would not be directly forced to go back but the Indian government would not support them either. The migration had started in the late 1970's and the refugees went back in about 1998. The main sufferers, due to the governmental policies, are the refugees – they lose their homes, their livelihood and many are killed.

A similar problem was seen in Myanmar, (*Refugee Watch*, Dec, 2002, No.17) where the minority community was marginalized in the process of nation building. The Rohingyas who were Muslims were proclaimed to be refugees from Bangladesh, who were creating law and order in Arakan and thus should be sent back. The Rohingyas faced repression, taxation by the government. In 1982, the Myanmar government declared that the Rohingyas were not citizens of the state which created further problems. As expected the Rohingyas fled to Bangladesh. The recipient country faced its first refugee crisis in 1978. Bangladesh thought that it was a matter of time and the problem would be resolved. This was not to be and finally Bangladesh had to seek international help and intervention. As a result the refugees went back but the peace did not last long and
there was a fresh exodus in the 1990's. The fate of the refugees was again entangled in the governmental and bureaucratic procedures. Temporary camps were set up for the refugees and now only about 22,000 refugees remain in the camps. This does not imply that the problem has been solved permanently.

The Refugee Watch (April 2004, No 21) analyses the situation in Bhutan. It is well known that women and children suffer the most in such situations. A case study of the Bhutanese women refugees in Nepal shows that the women in the camps faced several problems. They were discriminated against when ration cards were given out or even in registration. Bhutanese women who married the local Nepalese men cannot register their children and many do not get citizenship. Apart from the legal hassles women are also victims of rape and domestic violence. Many girls in the camps were rape victims with no one to turn to. The married women faced harassment from their husbands— they were often abandoned, beaten up and many are working to provide for their children, husband and the second wife! Similar problems are faced by the women in the Afghan camps in Pakistan. The women complain that the toilets were situated far away from the camps and most rapes took place on the way to the toilet especially at night. Many children also get lost. Thus we see that the problems faced by the refugees in the camps are almost universal in nature.

As is evident there is hardly any country in the world which has not or is not suffering a refugee crisis. This is not a recent phenomenon, the mass exodus and persecution of the Jews in Nazi Germany was also a case of forced migration. Natural calamities— drought, flood, and earthquakes have also forced people to abandon their homes in search of better places.
As has been mentioned earlier not many studies have been done on intra-national migration or the specific aspect of cultural change. Most of the studies look at the political and economic aspect. This thesis explores the social aspect of intra-national migration, that of the Kashmiri Pandits in the camps in Delhi.

III

Review of literature

There exists a lot of literature on migration, culture and cultural change in anthropology and sociology. Osella and Gardner (2004) have summed up the various studies on migration, especially in India. Most of the initial studies researched the effects of modernization and westernization especially in villages. Andre' Beteille in his study of Sripuram (1965) village looks at the changes which have taken place in the economy, caste system, politics, social relationships due to migration to urban areas. S.C. Dube (1967) based his work on the changing scenario in Shamirpet. This involved the detailed analysis of migration as a cause of the changing values in the village- it dealt with mostly the urbanization and westernization of the village. One of the most important studies is probably the ethnographic study by Kessinger of Vilayatpur (Punjab). Kessinger studied the economic and social changes that took place in Vilayatpur from 1848 to 1968. This particular place was characterized by a history of migration to Australia and United Kingdom. Migration implied better income and thus increase in status and prestige of families which had members who had migrated in search of better opportunities. Thus we see that the studies on migration in the 1950s, 1960s dealt with mostly the push-pull factors and the effect of migration on the migrant's place of origin. The rural family-kin, economic, caste structure has undergone changes due to modernization and urbanization.
Various other studies on similar lines offer an insight into the changing lives of people. The foundation of such studies is basically economic as the emphasis is continuously on the new job options people have, social mobility, the contact with place of origin and the circulation of money. Many may invest money not only in property but also use it for marriages, building places of worship or schools. Migration was not only for jobs but also for education and not only by men but also by women. This meant certain cultural changes- better education meant delay in marriage; more say in the choice of life partners, less number of children etc. Of course, many a times, an earning woman may not have the freedom to lead life according to her wishes, the purpose of research in such areas is to find out the extent to which migration brings about changes- both economical and cultural.

So we have Caroline and Filippo Osella’s study of Kerala (2004), dominated by migration of mostly men to the Gulf, Michele Gamburd’s work on Sri Lanka is based on the migration of women to West Asia in search of jobs. Needless to say that, in both the cases, migration has economic and social impact. Gamburd’s emphasis is on the impact of the migration of women on the social structure of the family, power/authority division. Leela Gulati’s (1993) work on the women of Kerala (belonging to family of the male migrants), Ursula Sharma’s (1986) research on the families of migrant workers in Shimla focuses on the economic and social aspect.

Thus we see that the various studies on migration essentially look at the:
(a) Reasons for migration, what is termed as the push and pull factors
(b) Who migrate (men or women or both?)
(c) Effect of migration on the family which is left behind, the place of origin
(d) Economic repercussions- influx of urban goods, remittances; social changes – education, changing values etc.

Our purpose here is to study forced migration which is different from the migration studies discussed in the above section. The difference being that so far we have discussed studies where the people have left their homes out of choice and intend coming back or keep coming at regular intervals. Forced migration as the term implies involves migration out of necessity or even forcible evacuation. This happens in name of development- building of dams, factories etc; religious or ethnic turbulence- leading to what is referred to as ethnic cleansing. Before moving on to the main topic under discussion here namely, forced migration and cultural change, we need to first understand the key concepts form a part of the study. Hence we start with a definition and discussion of forced migration and then move on to culture and finally discuss the link between forced migration and cultural change.

Every researcher uses certain terms in his/her study. It is necessary that the terms being used are clarified in the very beginning so that there is no ambiguity or confusion in interpretation. The concepts which are going to be used are:

- Forced migration,
- Refugees,
- Internally displaced persons
- Culture and Cultural Change

Forced Migration:
According to the International Association for the Study of Forced Migration (IASFM):
Forced migration is a general term that refers to the movements of refugees and internally displaced people (people displaced by conflicts) as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects. It can be distinguished from voluntary (sometimes called economic) migration by the original absence or motivation to leave the place of residence. Changes in the environment that are detrimental to the individual or collectivity deprive the collectivity (or various members of it) of security and establish new or more dangerous conditions; migration becomes a means of escaping from a threatening situation, but the forced migrant is more oriented toward retention or reestablishment of past conditions than is the voluntary migrant. (iasfm.org)

Another definition of forced migration says,

Forced migration refers to the coerced movement of a person or persons away from their home or home region. It often connotes violent coercion and is used interchangeably with the terms displacement. A specific form of forced migration is population transfer, which is a coherent policy to move unwanted persons, perhaps as an attempt at ethnic cleansing. Someone who has experienced forced migration is a "forced migrant" or "displaced person." Forced migration has accompanied religious and political persecution, as well as war, throughout human history. (www.absoluteastronomy.com/encyclopedia)
This obviously means that the victims of forced migration, in the majority of cases cannot go back to their place of origin. Many land up as refugees and live in refugee camps. The movement is often not planned which creates problems for the migrant. Forced migration takes place mostly in groups and thus an entire population or certain sections of it moves out. Examples of such forced migration are numerous- historically the migration of Jews, in recent times war torn African countries have millions of refugees; all victims of forced migration. Such migration means abrupt changes in the lives of people. Almost overnight individuals and families find themselves in new surroundings, homeless, with no jobs and abandoned education, sharing space with strangers. All this is bound to have some effect on the people. All this has been discussed in the first few pages.

Tim Heleniak a researcher on migration, studies the migrations which have taken place in Europe and Central Asia. One of his articles (2001, www.worldbank.org) deals with forced migration in Kosovo. He observes that the breaking up of many countries like the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia has led to forced migration as each new state formed has become “ethnically homogeneous”. He cites the example of Soviet Union – where the different ethnic groups were not allowed to voice their desires and concerns. As a result when the new states were formed they looked at the concerns of only particular ethnic group, obviously the dominant one. There is a demand for autonomy in various regions like Kosovo in Yugoslavia, Chechen in Russia, Nagorno- Kharabak in Azerbaijan which has led to further displacement and hence migration.

He sees migration as one of the main causes of nation building and gives the example of Europe and Central Asia where the number of states has increased (from eight to twenty seven) and so has migration. The important point here is that most of the newly formed states have been
done so on the basis of certain ethnicity. Hence the return of about 25 million Russians from non-Russian states, 260,000 Armenians migrate to Armenia while 167,000 Azeris migrate to Azerbaijan. The Central Asian region has 15 percent of the world's refugees and internally displaced people.

Heleniak also discusses the factors which dictate the level of migration and it being forced. He says that the "history, rootedness, size and geographic concentration" determines the migrating group. Secondly the attitude of the host country is also important in influencing migration. The nations which give more rights to the migrants are obviously favoured. An extension of the previous point is the third factor in which Heleniak which says that the social attitude of the host nation is also important. The social inclusion or exclusion of the migrant group is one of the deciding factors of forced or unforced ethnic mixing. Displacement or forced migration results in poverty, loss of livelihood, breaking up of relationships and institutions.

Internally Displaced People:
The United Nations Inter Agency Internal Displacement division recognizes the problems of IDPs and places the number of IDPs as twice that of refugees. The IDPs do not attract as much of international attention as the refugees. The present laws put the IDPs beyond protection and assistance. They do not have access to food, water, health care, employment and education.

The following article gives a global picture of the situation of IDPs today. This shall be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter- (chapter two). For now it will just give the reader a brief idea about who the IDPs are, where they are located all over the world, their number and the crisis facing them.
Twice as many people uprooted from their homes by war or civil conflict remain caught inside their homelands than flee across borders into foreign countries where they are eligible for protection and help as refugees under international law, according to a major four-year survey released Monday. At some 25 million people, comprising mostly women and children, the global population of internally displaced persons (IDPs) vastly outnumbers conventional refugees, making them a rising concern among international humanitarian agencies. The total number of IDPs in sub-Saharan Africa alone, 13.5 million, exceeds the world's entire refugee population, according to "The 2002 Global IDP Survey."

"The survey confirms two worrying trends," said Andrew Lawday of the Global IDP Project. "First, that large numbers of innocent civilians are being forced from their homes by increased insecurity in the world; and secondly, that many of these people remain officially neglected by government authorities."

The survey, which covers 47 countries, said 25 million IDPs was a conservative estimate. In another report published earlier this year, the U.S. Committee for Refugees (USCR) found at least 22 million IDPs at the end of the 2001, but stressed that the actual total "may be much higher."

Those fleeing persecution who manage to reach a foreign country generally find themselves in a far more stable situation than IDPs. Refugees may be obliged to live in camps, but even in such confined situations they generally can count on adequate shelter, nutrition, security, and even schooling and employment.

But IDPs receive very little if any support or protection. Conflicting parties in a civil war, for example, may prevent the delivery of humanitarian aid to those in need or even
abduct displaced children and women as forced labor, army recruits or sexual slaves. IDPs who were forced to leave their homes due to their political beliefs or ethnic background often find themselves in constant fear that their identity will be discovered.

According to the survey, 10 million of the 13.5 million IDPs in Africa can be found in three countries: Sudan, which has four million IDPs, Angola and Democratic Republic of the Congo. While in Angola a peace accord between the government and UNITA rebels earlier this year has enabled relief agencies to reach hundreds of thousands of IDPs for the first time in many years, conflict continues in the other two countries. Tens of thousands in southern Sudan have been uprooted as a result of bombing by government forces in just the past nine months.

Fighting in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea has also uprooted tens of thousands in each country. Elsewhere in Africa, Burundi, where some 14,000 displaced children have been forcibly recruited into the army, and Uganda are believed to have about half a million IDPs each.

In Asia and the Pacific, more than 4.6 million people have been displaced by armed conflict. With an estimated 1.3 million IDPs, Indonesia is the region’s leader, while Afghanistan, where last year’s rout of the Taliban government has resulted in the return of more than 1.5 million refugees and the uprooting of tens of thousands of Pashtuns from the northern part of the country, has about one million IDPs, according to the Survey.

Sri Lanka, which is currently trying to negotiate an end to its 19-year-old civil war, also has about one million IDPs, while several hundred thousand people are displaced in Bangladesh, Burma, India, and the Philippines, according to the survey.
In the Americas, progress in reducing the number of refugees and IDPs who fled their war-wracked homelands in Central America in the 1980s has been overwhelmed by the intensification of the civil war in Colombia. With at least two million IDPs--USCR estimated nearly 2.5 million by the end of 2001--Colombia now ranks second in the world behind Sudan. The survey also noted that the number of displaced is increasing in Guatemala, Mexico, and Peru.

In Europe, at least 3.3 million are still displaced from conflicts in 11 countries, most of them in the Balkans, but many also in the Caucasus region. As a result of progress in stabilizing the former Yugoslavia, however, the total marks a reduction from a high of four million in Europe a decade ago.

The Middle East has the fewest number of IDPs, 1.5 million, making it the only region where refugees--some six million, of whom almost four million are Palestinians--outnumber IDPs. Most of the IDPs in the region are Iraqis, although recent violence in the Israeli-occupied territories has resulted in increases in the number of IDPs there, the survey said. (lobe, OneWorldNet, 2002)

Forced migration and culture

The Forced Migration Review has published many papers on the refugee in camps, especially the cultural aspect, which is our main concern. A lot of work has also concentrated on the implications of living in a camp--it deals with the effect on physical and psychological health. Black (1994), Toole and Bhatia (1992), Van Damme (1995) have contributed to the above stated problems of the refugees. We shall see examples of a few of the researches done in this field.
The Afghans

John Bailey has studied the role of traditional music in the lives of the Afghan refugees. Bailey points out that music play an important role in the lives of people. He writes "it brings people together in special relationships, its capacity for emotional expression, its importance in enculturation and its role in the articulation of identity" (6th December, 1999). He compares two Afghan refugee communities living in Mashad (eastern Iran) and Fremont (California).

The cultural differences between California and Afghanistan is obviously greater than between the latter and Iran. The refugees in Iran do not live in refugee camps but they do not have legal status as citizens and thus have same anxieties as people staying in camps. The musicians do not have an easy time as music is banned in camps run by the orthodox clergy in Pakistan and even in Iran. But by 1990 things changed in Iran and the professional musicians in Mashad were a part of the wedding rituals. No Afghan wedding is complete without songs and music. The musicians recreated the music of Kabul and became so popular that they formed an association called 'Afghan Refugee Artists in Iran'. Music according to Lomax gives a "feeling of security, for it symbolizes the place where he was born, his earliest childhood satisfactions, his religious experience, his pleasure in doing community things, his courtship and his work, or any of these personality shaping experiences" (1959:929). It is well known that music has a healing touch and helps in the refugees in maintaining a sense of normalcy and at the same time preserve their culture and heritage.

The Afghans have not found it so easy to adjust to their new life in California, U.S.A. Geographically and culturally Afghanistan and the U.S.A. are far removed and hence the refugees are finding it difficult to
get used to the new world. The refugees who migrated to U.S.A are educated and have worked in diplomatic circles or in educational or cultural agencies. So, economically they are better than their counterparts in Mashad but they too suffer from psychological problems, stress and there is a high incidence of death rate. The musicians who went to the U.S.A were well established singers in Afghanistan and were not poor like the ones in Mashad. The next younger generation of Afghans has adjusted itself to the American way of life. The music they create is closer to western music and even the function in which the music is performed is influenced by the western culture. Unlike the traditional Afghani weddings the men and women mingle together in weddings. Even the traditional instruments are hardly used; such is the degree of acculturation. The organizers of musical programmes feel that such events help in bringing the Afghan community together and reconfirm their tie and common cultural heritage. The older generation feels that there is a need to preserve Afghan culture in terms of its music. But Bailey feels that instead of trying to preserve the old Afghani culture there should be an attempt to create a new American-Afghan identity and culture. This means that a culture developed and maintained over thousands of years dies a slow but sure death; the modernized instruments cannot replace the traditional instruments, instead they could exist side by side. There are similar examples; one is the case of the East Timorese refugees in Lisbon who use music to show solidarity with struggle in East Timor. They maintain their traditional musical patterns and instruments and thus reaffirm their identity. The Jews too make special effort to maintain their cultural heritage in spite of the turbulent times they have faced.

We shall now look at the Tibetan refugee’s closer home.
The Tibetans

The conflict between Tibet and the Republic of China over the questions of political autonomy and cultural self-determination has been going on since 1959. This has resulted in the migration of about 130,000 Tibetans. Claire Harris in her article (6th December, 1999) analyses why and how the Tibetan refugees have preserved their cultural traditions in their new surroundings. The Dalai Lama plays an important role in guiding the Tibetans and giving moral support to the refugees who have been displaced from their country. He has stressed the importance of education of children especially in keeping with the Buddhist tradition of Tibet.

Efforts have been made many NGOs (non-governmental organizations) to assist the Tibetan refugees in India in achieving the goal set by the Lama. Tibetans too have been active in showcasing their problems to the world and at the same maintaining contact with their roots even in exile. D.De. Vos (Refugee Problem, Tibet Journal , Vol XX , 1981) writes that there is not only a loss of a home with displacement but also of ‘virtual social identity’ of refugees, that very identity which is ‘the root of the problem – they had to leave home because of who they are’. Their cultural identity both at home and outside is under threat. Harris comments that the publicity given to the Tibet issue by the Lama, artists, writers, musicians etc and also through posters, T-shirts, books has given Tibet an iconic status.

The Tibetans have a common identity as Nanga-pa (Buddhist insiders). This sense of identity ass Tibetans Buddhists forms the cultural base of the Tibetans and is reiterated through paintings. Thus the painter keeps the tradition alive in the minds of the people through symbolic and visual means. Thangka, religious scroll paintings, is a part of the Tibetan
tradition and are markers of important life events. These scrolls have been used to commemorate the dead, depict the life of Buddha and stories of the Bodhisattvas, help in meditation and good rebirth. Today these scrolls have included the new landmarks—new monasteries, temples and libraries (in India or other places where the Tibetans have settled). There is an official agenda behind this reconstruction which aims at:

1. Representation of Tibet in the place of exile. This has meant that buildings have been constructed according to the Tibetan architectural style, regular programmes based on Tibetan dance and music.

2. Educating the younger generating growing up outside Tibet about Tibetan culture and religion.

3. To present the correct picture of Tibet in contrast to the one being promoted by China. Harris points that the Tibetan culture being depicted in various ways is not the only culture of Tibet. The unified picture being represented has meant that the many aspects of the culture, particular to different areas or groups, have been shorn off. This could be problematic as it may diminish the richness of Tibetan culture. The onus of preserving and passing on the Tibetan culture lies on the people who have lived in Tibet at some point of time and also on those who are the icons of culture.

Burmese Refugees

Another such research is by Sandra Dudley (*FMR*, Dec, 1999) on the refugees from Burma in Thailand. These are the Karenni people who have forced to migrate from Karenni (Kayah) state in Eastern Burma and have settled in camps in Thailand. The number of refugees has been on the increase since 1997 and this has affected the living conditions of the refugees. The refugees belong to diverse backgrounds in economic,
religious, educational, political, linguistic aspects. Each group has had different life experiences in terms of facilities, tradition and religion. Most of the refugees follow the traditional religion of Kayah and have not been outside their small community.

Dudley explores the cultural area of dressing. The traditional women of Kayah do not believe in exposing their body and wear a sarong or a tunic. The women who came in later wear short skirts, head cloth and ornaments. The dress of Kayah women indicates her age and marital status. So now the camp has women who wear traditional clothes and those who don't. This obviously is not a very comfortable situation. For many there is no choice as they do not have money to buy traditional clothes or the facilities to make textiles which they used to back home. Textile weaving and farming are an intrinsic to the culture of the Kayah community. Suddenly the people find themselves in different surroundings and without the basic activities they used to indulge in. Now they have to take into consideration the sensibilities of the host country. The Thais did not like the concept of exposing the breast. Also, the lack of food led to loss of weight which meant that the women could not wear many of the ornaments like the leg rings.

This clash between the Thai and the Kayah led to misunderstandings and awkward relations. The NGOs which were essentially there to bridge the gap did not grasp the importance of the loss of the traditional attire for the Kayah women. As a result the women were encouraged to change into sarongs before they left the camps. An effort was made by NGOs to enable weaving within the camp for those who were expected to stay longer. The refugees who had just shifted in to the camps felt deprived as they had not been included in the project. Thus the simple question of attire led to a variety of problems both for the refugees and the host community. It also created rift between the traditional refugees (those
already there in the camps) and the modern (new arrivals). The new refugees perceived the traditional ones as backward, uneducated while the latter saw the former as unhygienic and immodest. Thus this kind of perceptions about each other, created a rift among the two groups in the camps itself further complicating the situation.

The author concludes that the cultural aspect should be given adequate importance as the cultural differences can lead to various problems both inside and outside the camp. It is linked to health, economic and adaptation issues. It is imperative that the NGOs and other agencies involved with refugee rehabilitation have prior and in depth knowledge of the cultural background of the refugees so that they can facilitate the settling down of the refugees.

Sudanese Refugees
Rougaia Mustafa Abusharaf, an anthropologist and associated with Harvard and Durham University (2004) has conducted an ethnographic study on the “Forced migration and cultural change among war-displaced Sudanese southern women”. The purpose of this study was to examine the practice of female circumcision among the war-displaced Sudanese southern women. The practice of female circumcision is not followed in southern Sudan but is common in northern Sudan. The purpose of the project was to investigate the causes behind the acceptance of the various “gendered practices”- female circumcision; restoring virginity etc. The author found that there was a close link between the phenomenon of war- displacement and acceptance of various rituals. The women adopted the new rituals in an attempt to integrate themselves in the new host community and to find a sense of security after their personal experience of violence and upheaval.
The southern Sudanese women are victims of a long drawn civil war and have shifted to northern Sudan in search of a new life. Northern Sudan has a population of Arab Muslims and various other religious, linguistic groups. This implies different customs and languages to which the southern Sudanese women are exposed to and have to adjust to. The author draws upon various works done on the theme of forced migration and its effect on culture and identity. The population under investigation has been forced out of their homes – nearly 2 million have died due to famine, 2 million have been killed by the civil war and thousands have had to leave their towns and villages.

This has meant that they have been cut off from their social and cultural roots, natural environment and at the same subject to violence, death and slavery. There has been an effort towards ‘Arabization’ and ‘Islamisation’ of the Sudanese population which will wipe out the diversity of the culture of Sudan. There is a lot of ill feeling between North – South, Muslims- Christians, and Arabs- Africans due to the colonial policies. The refugees faced the problems probably faced by most Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) that of economic crisis, lack of infrastructure and stability. She conducted in depth interviews to gauge the effect of forced migration on women and on cultural practices of refugees. Women often took up menial jobs to keep the kitchen fires burning. Some even took up prostitution and beer making both of which are illegal. The women have to also wear the hijab irrespective of the religion they belong to. This obviously means that they (southern Sudanese women) cannot wear their traditional dress.

Rogaia writes in her working paper (published on the internet) that war “abolishes individual and collective access to cultural life, right to culture”. She talks about the concept of “cultural bereavement” coined by Eisenbruch. By this he meant the loss of both shelter and security. She
further writes that forced migration "affects collective and self-perception, representations of self and others, national and ethnic culture as well as material and economic security". One of the greatest fears of migrants is the loss of their culture in the process of assimilation. The common comment of the migrants is that by embracing the customs and rituals of the northerners they are making an effort towards security, stability and acceptance. The practice of female circumcision has been the most controversial. It has essentially a religious connotation and is followed by celebrations. What is actually an attempt by the patriarchal system to restrict and control the sexuality of a woman is explained in terms of cleanliness and enhancing feminity. The southern Sudanese women converted to Islam which was followed by the female circumcision. (This practice is a feature of Islam). They were convinced by mostly their northern counterparts about the feasibility of adopting this practice.

The migrants are faced by the dual problem of preserving their traditional culture and integration into the host country/state. They are now dependent on the people of the host community and thus cannot alienate them - socially and culturally. This makes them susceptible to suggestions and pressures of cultural acculturation. Migrants try to emulate as many customs as possible so that they get help from the more prosperous and dominant hosts. Inter-marriage (between northerners-southerners, Muslims -Christians) has also been one of the major factors in bringing about cultural change. Many organizations are also making efforts to find alternative jobs for the midwives who perform the operation so that they do not pressurize the women in to going for the operation. This scheme of providing alternative employment has yielded positive results.

Apart from circumcision, southerners also face changes in food, attire - they are expected to wear the tobe, put henna and even learn to use local
The map represents approximately the Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir as agreed upon by India and Pakistan. The final status of Jammu and Kashmir has not been agreed upon by the parties. The boundaries and names shown on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.
terminologies. But there are many who resist adopting these customs especially circumcision, they are further helped in their decision as it is now prohibited by law. Thus, we see that a case of migration even within the same country can cause a lot of adjustment problems for the migrants. Almost all migrants whether inter-state or inter-country face problems of adjustment to the social, religious, cultural, economic life of the new place they have moved in.

**The case of Kashmiri Pandits: A brief backdrop**

The Kashmir region has three distinct cultural cum linguistic regions:

1. Kashmir
2. Jammu
3. Ladakh

"Kashmir culture is the distinctive culture of the people of the Kashmir valley also the Kashmiri speaking groups which live in Trans- Pirpanchal areas. Nevertheless Kashmir -Jammu- Ladakh share a common cultural bond"(Pandit, 1981;517). Geographically Kashmir has been isolated from the rest of the country. It is the gateway from to Central Asia and thus it became the central point where many diverse cultures met. Kashmiri art, traditional music all have a Central Asian influence. The culture of Kashmir has been that of reciprocation, exchange and assimilation. The Kashmiri tradition is a mixture of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam.

Hindus in Kashmir are basically Shaivites who recognize Shiva as the supreme God. The Hindus in the valley do not celebrate Holi or such festivals with the same fervor as in the northern parts of the country. The most important festival for the Hindus is Shivratri. The Muslims in the valley pray at the tombs of the saints or where the relics are kept. This may be due to the influence of Buddhism. Many annual saints' days are
observed by Muslims according to the Hindu solar calendar and not on the basis of the hijri lunar calendar. Also during the weeks of annals, Urs, observed in Anantnag, both Hindus and Muslims do not eat meat. Hindus and Muslims in the valley have a shared cultural space which is unique (Ibid).

The culture of Kashmir is that of synthesis. The term Kashmiriyat was used to denote this rich tradition which was built on the foundation of fusion of cultural identities of the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, and Buddhists and fusion thus in Kashmir we find a blend of Hinduism and Islam- Sufism. Western thought has also found its place in terms of education and scientific thought. This philosophy of the coexistence of various groups, which was the back bone of Kashmiri culture, has been broken by militancy. The identity of the Kashmiris based on this principle of Kashmiriyat has been eroded and this philosophy has been replaced by religious fundamentalism. (Ibid)

Forced migration after the rise of militancy

The feeling of a shared cultural ethos, the sense of peace and harmony has been marred by political conflict which has been going on the since partition. The issue of the accession of Kashmir has been taken to the United Nations and the international community too has been divided into pro-Pakistan and pro-India groups. It was in the 1990's that matters came to a head and militancy burst into the peaceful valley. Prof. K.L. Bhan (Bhan, ikashmir.org) recalls January 19, 1990 as the D-day when Muslims came out openly and spoke against the Kashmiri Pandits. The Pandits were called mukhbirs (spies working for India). There were anti India and anti Hindu slogans. The “secular, tolerant, cultured and educated outlook was replaced by fundamentalism. Thus, the cultural basis of Kashmir was shaken".
Several eminent Kashmiri Pandits successfully employed as lawyers, political workers, professors were killed. Inaction on part of the government further emboldened the militants and the Kashmiri Pandits were openly killed out in the open – in the streets, outside their homes, at their work place. Some teachers were killed by their own students. The women were not spared, many were kidnapped, raped, killed. Some of their bodies were found ripped apart, torn, and mauled while some were never found. Essentially the Kashmiri Pandits, though a minority in the Muslim majority state, were seem as obstacles in the path of azadi and integration with Pakistan. With no help in sight and the number of killings increasing everyday the Kashmiri Pandits had no choice but to migrate. They moved to nearby Jammu and Delhi. Most of them thought of it as a temporary move till normalcy was restored. It has been seventeen years hence and there is no solution in sight. About 400,000 Kashmiri Pandits have migrated of which 250,000 live in Jammu and the Delhi government recognizes 19,000 such migrants.

The Kashmiri Pandit presence in the valley has gone down in the following manner. The tables below highlight the trend in forced migration of the Kashmiri Pandits from the valley. The Pandit presence in the valley is negligible today and the majority of the population has now settled in Delhi and Jammu due to proximity to Kashmir and in case of Jammu a certain familiarity.
The following table shows the distribution of the migrants in various states:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jammu</td>
<td>34,644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>19,338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haryana</td>
<td>924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandigarh</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnataka</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>56,323</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Let us now move on to the support provided by the government to the displaced Pandits in the camps.

GOVERNMENT SUPPORT TO THE MIGRANTS:

The government of India refers to the Kashmiri Pandits as migrants rather than displaced people. It is because of this that the Kashmiri Pandits do not have IDP (Internationally Displaced Persons) status and in turn are being denied international humanitarian aid, assistance and protection. This is because India does not have a definite policy towards the IDPs. (Kashmir Herald.com). The government spends about 2.6 crores a month on the Pandits in the camps. Each family gets about Rs 600 a month per head, 9 kilograms of rice, 2 kilograms of wheat, 1 kilogram of sugar. The accommodation is a one room one, with electric supply. Obviously the aid given by the government is not enough. The Kashmiri Pandits have left behind most of their belongings and movable and immovable property which has made things worse. In 1997, the Kaul committee suggested that the rehabilitation should start. About 7000 settlements should be built in Srinagar, Baramulla, Anantnag. The government should also give monetary assistance to buy household goods. At the same time there should be a waiver of business loans and the youth should be helped to gain employment. As of now nothing has been done and the Pandits have been left to grapple with the situation.

Forced Migration and changes among Kashmiri Pandits

The forced migration of the Kashmiri Pandits places enormous pressure on their culture. The ways in which the Kashmiri Pandit culture has responded to these strains, stresses, and adopted itself is of prime importance for this study. Their culture has been taken out of it's natural environment and has been placed in camps which by their very definition are an artificial creation. The loss of space is not a
pressure to which a culture is subjected frequently. Consequently the changes that occur in the culture cannot be superficial or in other words remain restricted to the periphery. The displacement of the culture also means that new statuses and roles will emerge which will redefine the social hierarchy and affect social stratification within the community. The role of women will also undergo a change as the roles are redefined. For instance, it has been seen that in the refugee camps, women have shown better skills of adaptation to their new situation. The women have in fact emerged as breadwinners. A simple change like this can have a profound social, emotional and psychological impact which in turn can affect the very core of culture.

While these pressures of the new situation, it is also a known fact that there is a longing for homes they have left behind. We can clearly see that the culture of the Kashmiri Pandits cannot and will not remain the same due to the above stated reasons. The direction of the cultural change is of prime importance. For this will shape their future. In which direction will the Kashmiri Pandit culture change? Will there be a revival of the culture or will there be a change due to adaptation and acculturation? The effect of this, sociologically speaking, means that the Kashmiri Pandits will seek to reinforce their identity through reassertions of their cultural values. Thus, a cultural revival may take place or the culture of the new place will have an impact, leading to acculturation. Due to militancy, there has been a revival of child marriage in Kashmir. A negative population growth has been registered in the refugee camps because of lack of space and privacy. The social structure of the families has also changed due to dispersion. Further more a community known for its learning has seen a fall in terms of literacy.
This is the background against which the research been conducted. The history of Kashmir is necessary to understand the culture of Kashmir. During the study the role of women will also be examined. It is of immense importance to see the changes which the roles of women have undergone. Let us now move on to the scope and objectives of the research.

**Scope and Objectives of the study:**

As observed earlier not much work has been done on the Kashmiri Pandits in the camp. Theirs is a tale of neglect and hardship. We shall also attempt to locate the Pandits within a specific field and the historical backdrop of Kashmir. It also examines the Kashmiri Pandits in the broader perspective as a displaced community. Thus, the first objective of this study is to study the culture of the Kashmiri Pandits in refugee camps and to study the changes that have taken place in their culture due to forced migration.

Secondly, the thesis also aims to distinguish between the changes that have taken place due to forced migration and those which took place in Kashmir as a consequence of other events. This is important so as to determine the nature of the changes that take place because of forced migration.

To study the patterns of adaptation and acculturation, if any, those have taken place. To study the manner in which acculturation is taking place. Here we will be essentially answering questions like who (men, women or children) adapt faster to the changed conditions. The degree of acculturation that takes place, also which traits of culture are more susceptible to acculturation is also of interest to us.
The third objective is to study the direction of cultural change that is taking place. By direction we are referring to whether the culture of a particular community, in this case the Kashmiri Pandits, becomes more rigid, rule bound or it becomes more open to changes. It could happen that the particular community would make extra efforts to maintain the 'purity' of its culture by keeping at bay all external influences. On the other hand it could so happen that the boundaries could become blurred and the community goes by the belief that change is inevitable. In a camp with a uniform cultural composition as far as its inhabitants are concerned would give important inputs on this issue. To facilitate research and make it more focused as the term culture is a very wide one certain aspects have been chosen for the study. These aspects are:

- Occupation
- Political orientation
- Education
- Marriage rituals
- Religion -festivals
- Cuisine
- Language
- Dress

**LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY**

- The study has certain limitations due the inherent nature of the subject matter and certain other factors. Due to the financial constraints the study will have to be restricted to a limited number of refugee camps needless to say that a much wider study would provide results that could prove to be much more useful.
• The other limitation is that I do not speak Kashmiri and as a result this is bound to create certain restrictions.
• The study is being limited to the camps of Delhi the culture of Kashmiri Pandits as found in Kashmir will have to be gathered from secondary sources and the changes in the Kashmiri Pandit culture will have to be deduced from the study. If the conditions were more favorable, this study could have been comparative study. A comparison between the Pandits who migrated and those who stayed back.

The next section is one of the most important in any research – that of the method of investigation used in the field. The methodology of the research is selected keeping in mind these questions or objectives. At the same time these questions will help the researcher decide what he wants to know from his respondents, thus providing the direction to the research. All this and more will be discussed in the following section on research methodology.

**RESEARCH METHODS**

Research methodology is the most important part of any research. It is important for the researcher to not only know what he/she wants to find out, he/she should also know the best way to conduct the research so as to reach valid conclusions. The nature of the study was such that no single method would have sufficed in gathering information. As a result the research was conducted with the help of a mixture of various methods – ethnography, documenting and interview.

After an initial pilot study of some of the camps in Delhi, one particular camp was selected keeping in mind the objectives of the study. All this and more will be described in greater detail in the fourth chapter. The
observations from the field will be then compared with the information gathered on the "authentic" Pandit culture. People have been categorized on the basis of age, sex and the past and present occupation. All the information on education, income and number of years spent in the camp has been presented in a table (see appendix).

As mentioned earlier a lot of data on the Kashmiri Pandit culture is available in secondary sources like journals, books and now on the internet. Concerted effort has been made by the Pandits to record the uniqueness of their culture and the recent development of information technology has been a further boost in this direction. The observations have been made as an outsider and not as a participant observer.

The interview method was used to gather data from the Pandits on their life before the migration and after, the changes in the various aspects of their life- diet, dress, occupation, language etc. The interview method was not a structured interview instead it was a semi structured one. The queries were centered on the topics mentioned above but it will be left to the informants to talk on the topics. "Interviews may provide data on understandings, opinions, what people remember doing, attitudes, feelings and the like that people have in common (survey interviews). They may be more exploratory and qualitative (qualitative interviews), concentrating on the distinctive features of situations and events, upon the beliefs of individuals and sub-culture" (Arksey, Knight: 1999:3)

It is clear here that the intention is not to concentrate on the numerical sample. What is important is that the researcher is able to attain valuable accounts from various informants through open ended questions. The data that was needed to be collected for the research could not have been collected through close ended questions as the aim here is to look at the causal relation between forced migration and cultural change. Semi structured interview method was used here as the
researcher was aware of the main themes that had to be explored yet at the same time was open to new ideas and avenues opening up in the course of the research. Since culture is a diverse and vast subject certain aspects had been fixed. Direct questions were asked on questions which the researcher felt that the informant may have no qualms in answering. Certain core questions were fixed, the answers to which were in depth. This method is most commonly used in qualitative research. The interview was partly informant-led and partly interviewer led.

This method of qualitative interviews is particularly useful in learning in depth about the informants' perspectives, questions can be added and clarified and long interviews can be held. Though one cannot have a huge sample size, the work is detailed as the same informant can be interviewed several times." The purpose of interview is to find out what is in and on a person's mind... to access the perspective of the person being interviewed... to find out from things that we cannot directly observe" (Patton, 1990: 278). It is important that the researcher should not let his/her views or personality influence the informant. Effort were made that the latter felt free to speak to the researcher and was not led by the researcher.

There were no fixed number of people who will interviewed, data on particular topics were collected till nothing new was added to the data any more. Before the entire process started the authorities were approached to gain access to the camps. The interviews could not be written down due to obvious reasons and so was recorded. This was be later analyzed when enough data has been collected.

The language that was used for the interview was Hindi. Incase a particular person did (this happened with the older generation) not know either and knew only Kashmiri, a translator was used (someone from the camp). This was a brief outline to the research method used to gather
information on the specific aspects of culture as per the objectives of the thesis. In the following section we shall discuss what the following chapters entail and the exact camp in question in the thesis.

**AREA OF STUDY: CAMPS IN DELHI**

The various camps where the Pandits are residing, in Delhi, are situated in various parts of the city. Since it was not possible to conduct the research in all the camps, one or two camps were selected. The Kashmiri organizations were contacted and the leaders were also interviewed. After a pilot survey of some of the camps one camp was decided upon. Another problem faced was that most of the Pandits had moved out of camps and some camps were inhabited by Kashmiri Punjabis. Since the thesis specifically dealt with Kashmiri Pandits, camps with only Pandits were preferred. For this reason the camp with the maximum Pandits at Bapudham was chosen.

**CHAPTERIZATION:**

The first chapter gave a brief introduction to the topic of the thesis and the existing literature on forced migration and culture. It also explained the some of the concepts in brief as a prelude to the next chapter. Most importantly it delineated the scope and limitations of the study.

The second chapter will give a description of the terms used. It will explain the key concepts – forced migration, refugees, internally displaced persons, cultural and cultural change. Then it will locate the Kashmir Pandit in this framework. This chapter will discuss the work done in this area so that it can be a guideline for this research and also a point of comparison.

The third chapter contains a detailed political background of the Kashmir issue, starting from the very inception of Kashmir as a region with a
separate entity. It traces the history of Kashmir through the Hindu rule and the establishment of the Mughal rule, then the coming in of the British, following which the partition of India. The aftermath of partition has been dealt with in detail as the conflict over Kashmir complicates at this point. This chapter gives a deeper understanding of the complex causes of the problem in Kashmir.

The fourth and fifth chapter deals with the field. The fourth chapter gives a detailed description of the camp in which the research took place and also of the method used for collected data and information. The data/information has been collected on specific aspects of culture - occupation, political orientations, education, marriage rituals, religion - festivals, cuisine, language and dress. A detailed analysis of the data collected on each aspect has changed or not changed has given in the fifth chapter. The pattern of discussion is in the form of a comparison as the how things were in Kashmir and how it is now in the camps.

The sixth chapter contains the conclusions of the research based on the data collected. At the same time it brings together the several threads we have followed in this work and thus bringing about coherence, therefore, enabling the reader, to get an idea about the thesis in brief. It contains some of the researcher's experiences and ideas.

After this brief introduction to the thesis, its focus and purpose we shall now move on to the second chapter dealing with the concepts of forced migration, culture and cultural change. We have had a preamble of sorts on the concepts, but it will be explained in much greater detail in the second chapter.