

KASHMIRI PANDITS AND THE QUESTION OF RETURN AND REHABILITATION

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ABSTRACT: Kashmiri Pandits, a Hindu community, that constitute an integral part of Kashmir, had to migrate in the late 1980's due to the onset of conflict in the state. They migrated in order to prevent themselves and their families from the killings, tortures and rapes which were prevalent at that time in the region due to militancy. The Kashmiri Pandits are refugees in their own country, their standard of living sharply declined after the migration however, after twenty eight years of migration they have established themselves in places where they had migrated to. The demand of their return and rehabilitation is prevalent among the KP organisations and is also an important issue in the manifestoes of all the political parties. The current study focuses on the question that whether the Kashmiri Pandits, who have already settled in the host communities, want to return to their homeland? If yes, then at what cost and under what conditions.

Keywords: Internally Displaced People, Kashmiri Pandits, Migration, Refugee camps, Return and Rehabilitation.

I

INTRODUCTION

Kashmiri Pandits (KPs), the Hindu community from the state of Jammu & Kashmir of India, are distinct from rest of the Hindu community of India. They have their own customs and rituals that broadly differ from the customs that are prevalent in the Hindu community. The community has its own language, social customs and a rich cuisine. Their culture is very different from the rest of Hindus in India, their customs and rituals vary to a great extent (Evans 2002: 19). They follow the traditions of *sanatan dharma*, also known as Hinduism. They belong to the small caste of *saraswat brahmins* known as Pandits. There is no existence of caste system in this community, all the KPs are brahmins (one of the order in the Hindu fourfold Varna system which divides people into 4 categories in a hierarchical order i.e. *brahman, kshtriya, vaishya and shudra*) which makes this community unique. However there existed some castes but it never attained the form of a rigid caste system (Kaul 1960: 184). KPs are broadly divided into two subcastes i.e. priests and the others (Madan 1981: 223). The Priest Class (*guru or bachabat*) and the working class (*karkun*). The priest class being an elite among the KPs does not inter marry with the other class of KPs (Lawrence 2005: 302). This division is however not relevant today. The KPs are also meat eaters which is in contrast to their Brahman counterparts in the other parts of India who refrain from eating meat (Oommen 1994: 455-472). The culture of this community is closely related to the geographical location of the valley. The harsh winters in the area led the brahmins to eat meat and to make it a composite part of their cuisine. The attire, commonly known as *phiran*, which is worn by both Kashmiri men and women is also distinct and was suitable for the stark winters. This community constitute an important part of Kashmir's rich heritage and culture to say the least.

The community had to migrate to different parts of India as a result of conflicts that arose in the Valley due to self-determination in Kashmir valley by the Kashmiri Muslims.

These events occurred in the valley during the late 1980's. This self-determination process gave rise to selective killings of Kashmiri Hindus as a result of which the Kashmiri Hindus, primarily the KP community had no other option but to leave their homes in order to protect themselves from this crisis (Datta 2016: 53). This conflict had its roots in the disputes that arose between India and Pakistan at the time of partition in 1947. This political war between both the countries since partition had resulted in large scale bloodshed. This has affected all the communities of Kashmir including the Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims and Buddhists till date. The late 1980's was the period when large scale migration of Kashmiris, especially Hindus had occurred in various parts of India as a result of the conflict prevalent in the valley at the time. The KPs had no other option but to migrate solely for self preservation. KPs migrated to different parts of India and concentrated mostly in the states of Delhi and Jammu.

Immediately after migration many of them had to live in refugee camps in Jammu which made their lives miserable. The camps were in inhabitable conditions and did not provide proper infrastructure during extreme weather conditions as a result of which there was a visible impact on the health of the community, mostly the children in particular (Tikko 1994: 259-263). The KPs are officially termed migrants by the Indian government. Migration was a tough period for this community. But despite all the hardships the community adapted themselves well with the host community and established themselves to provide for their livelihood.

This study analyses the different causes of migration of KPs from the Kashmir valley in the late 1980's, their condition after migration and their views on return to Kashmir after having being settled outside for almost three decades now. It would be pertinent to know whether the community is satisfied with their present living condition and if not then what are the factors that attract them to settle in their hometown again.

The total number of families that have migrated from Kashmir is 59,452 families. In Delhi the total number of families is 19,338 including Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims. (Relief organisation (Migrants), Jammu, Government of J&K).

The study is based on the questionnaire survey conducted in Delhi among 100 KP migrants. Out of 100 migrants 51 were female and 49 were male. The respondents were further bifurcated into age categories. There were 54 youth respondents aging from 15 to 35; 20 middle aged respondents aging from 36 to 55; and 26 elders aging 56 and above. The subjects migrated between the years 1989 and 1990. The migrant population were approached in Dwarka and Noida. In Dwarka they live in a cluster at Satisar cooperative Housing society where the interviews were held in their respective houses. Most of the Kashmiris living in the society migrated in January, 1990. In Noida, they were approached at the Kashmiri Bhavan, where they gather every Sunday for community mingling. This empirical study uses questionnaire as an instrument of data collection by using judgemental sampling technique. The questionnaire firstly deals with the demographic profile of the migrants. It further deals with the question on the causes of migration, relief provided by the government after migration, how many family members still live in Kashmir, whether they are satisfied with the present standard of living, whether they have acquired property outside Kashmir and their thoughts on their return to the valley.

For data analysis, the primary data collected from the questionnaires is analysed using SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) version 24. This study performed non parametric Pearson's Chi Square test for finding the significant difference among different age groups. The data is shown in the form of graphs and tables to help the readers to understand the issues discussed. The questions were self devised after thorough study on the subject. Most of the interviewees responded to all the questions. The interviewer attempted to be as non judgemental as possible during and after the interview. This study is limited to state of Delhi to get a fair idea about the thoughts of the KPs on return and rehabilitation. It can help us to draw a generalised idea with respect to the KPs thought process in other states of India as well, except for the refugee colonies situated in the state of Jammu where the standard of living is still below par.

II

INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS OR MIGRANTS

Four main categories of internal displacement can be seen in India. The KP migration is caused by the political factors leading to secessionist movement is first category of internal displacement. Next category is based on the demands of autonomy in internal affairs within a state also known as identity based autonomy. Mandal argues that 'exclusionist identity movements' plays a major role in the displacement of people in India (2009: 45). Caste based violence and religious fundamentalism makes the third category and lastly, development induced displacement i.e. whenever there are roads, dams or major infrastructural units are built it leads to forced migrations in India (Lama 2000: 24).

According to the definition given by United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 'A refugee is someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war, or violence'. (UNHCR 1951)

A refugee is a person who leaves his/her 'country, due to violence or war. Migrant is another term used by the government of India for the KP community, however there were instances when this community has raised objections for using such terms because this migration was not voluntary. They wished to be called Internally Displaced People (IDP). (Charu Malhotra 2007). IDPs are those who do not cross the borders to find a safe place to live, unlike refugees they are on the run from their own home. They stay within the country under the protection of their government even if that government is responsible for their displacement (Guiding principles on internally

displaced people UN 2001). According the UNHCR guidelines on internally displaced persons; those persons who have migrated within their country should be given the status of internally displaced persons.

The fact of the matter remains that in India there is no protection extended to these displaced persons. India did not sign the UNHCR convention 1951 and Protocol 1967. In the absence of refugee and IDP laws, the condition of these migrants was and shall remain wretched to say the least(Lama 2000: 25).

The KP community members are neither refugee, since they do not fall under the category of a refugee as has been mentioned above, nor IDPs. The Indian Government has refused to give the KP community the status of internally displaced persons; they are referred to as migrants by the Indian government. The community demanded IDP status in a petition to National human rights commission (NHRC) in 1995 (Saha 2000: 27). But the commission argued that the term migrant would be more suitable because IDPs is not an appropriate word to address the community in the view that the government showed benevolent attitude towards the community, the government of India do not regard KPs as IDPs.

However the KPs were not satisfied with this order and recently in December 2017, an apex body namely the All-India Kashmiri Samaj (AIKS), which represents over 60 KP organisations world- wide demanded the status of IDPs for their community members who migrated from the valley.¹ Their reasons for such demands were simple. The KP's have been requesting for IDP status for almost 25 years now because they did not migrate from the valley due to economic reasons, the migration was forced upon the KP Community due as a result of armed conflict which falls well within the purview of the definition of IDP.

III

CAUSES OF MIGRATION

The cause of migration of KPs has its root in the past. The dispute of Kashmir goes as far back as the partition of India in 1947. It is believed that the unrest and trouble in Kashmir was created by Pakistan due to the humiliation it had to face for not getting Kashmir as part of its own territory at the time of partition. Attempts to create civilisation conflicts were common which lead to differences between the Muslim and Hindu communities.

The KP community occupied high posts in the government services because of these very educational qualifications. The Kashmiri Muslims holding high positions in the government services were few. It was because the Maharaja of Kashmir was Hindu and hence he was biased towards his subjects from different religion (Menon 1961: 392). Sheikh Abdullah a prominent leader of the National Conference party of Kashmir demanded for Muslims a greater share in governance as well as under socio-economic fields. He called for agrarian reforms² for the upliftment of the peasant class in Kashmir. As per this demand, the land holdings of big landlords were passed on to the peasants. Majority of the landlords were Hindus, they were deprived of their land holdings through the agrarian reforms depriving KP's of their age old rights in agriculture land holdings. Dewani writes that due to the majority of Muslims in Kashmir, which constitute a vote bank, the policies were made in such a way that it favoured Muslims over Pandits. There were clear discriminatory policies working at that time in Kashmir.(Dewani 2017: 198) Their land holdings were reduced to half. Entry into the educational institutions became tough; however they still struggled to live in the valley.

Starting from 1964, the valley faced armed infiltrations supported by Pakistan with the purpose of radicalising the minds of the youth, armed infiltrators supported by Pakistan were witnessed in order radicalise the minds of Muslim youth. The difference between the two communities widened. By the 1980's the radicalisation process was at its peak. The youth were trained in handling arms and explosives, Pakistan supplied these explosives in abundance. Violence was seen all over the valley. Death threats were common. There were lootings, killing, rapes and bomb blasts. They were ill treated till the end of October 1990, there were 319 killings of KPs (Dewani 2017: 199).

Rahul Pandita in his study mentions about the slogans prevalent in Kashmir at that time. The slogan *Hum kya chaahte - Azadiiii* (What do we want – Freedom!) is prevalent from those days. There were threat warnings

¹ <https://www.indiatoday.in/pti-feed/story/body-seeks-internally-displaced-people-status-for-kashmiri-1105335> Accessed on 12 December 2017.

² Jammu and Kashmir Big Landed Estates Abolition Act, 1950. It was an Act to provide for the abolition of big landed estates and their transfer to actual tillers. Optimum unit of land retainable by a landlord was fixed at 182 Kanals.

directed towards the minorities and the public warnings and threat notes were pasted on the doors of minority community houses (Pandita 2013: 9). Due to complete breakdown of law and order, Governor's rule was imposed in 1989. Due to inaction of the government, the KPs had no other option but to migrate.

A research project on KP migration focused on experiences of KPs during and after migration. The researcher used questionnaire as a tool to collect data from KPs aged between 20-50 years. It was found that the major reasons of migration included militancy and selective killing of the intellectuals. 90 to 95 per cent respondents mentioned that there was no fear and violence before militancy i.e. the year 1986. There were death threats and provocative writings through media. Warnings were given to the KPs from the mosque speakers which threatened the KPs even further. The report found out that few migrants were bothered by the indifferent attitude of their Muslim neighbours while other migrants mentioned that the attitude of Muslims was sympathetic (Singh 2001: 306-311).

In our survey we found out that, migration included several reasons including direct and indirect threat from the extremists. 95 migrants out of the total 100 migrants responded to the questions. The data in Table 1 clearly shows that the causes of migration not only included direct threats from terrorists and insecurity created because of the extreme terrorist activities but also from insecurity induced by isolation. Some of the migrants also reported that the killing of their neighbours created fear in them and hence they were forced to leave the valley out of fear.

Graph 1 shows, 33.7 per cent migrants reported that direct threat from the terrorists was the main reason for their migration. Direct threats included a note on the door of their house that threatened them to vacate the valley or face the consequences. It also included announcements from the mosques appealing the KPs to leave the valley. *Ralive, Tsaliv ya Galive* (Be one with us, run, or die!) this slogan was quite prevalent in the valley at that time, as reported by one of the respondents. Killing of neighbours and relatives is also a cause which forced these people to leave their houses. 4.20 per cent and 5.30 per cent migrants reported killings of relatives and neighbours respectively.

1.10 per cent migrants also reported that they moved out of the valley because there was a potential threat to the safety of women as there were slogans recited and pasted everywhere in Kashmir stating '*Asi gachchi Pakistan, Batao roas te Batanev san*' (We will go to Pakistan with Hindu women and leave their men behind). Most migrants remembered the case of rape and murder of a school teacher Girija Tikko, who was in her late 20's. She was raped and then cut into pieces with the carpenter's saw. This incidence shook the entire community.

5.30 per cent migrants reported indirect threats from their neighbours of other religion. What is interesting to note here is that migrants in the middle and old age category i.e. 36 years of age and above, did not report any such incidence of threat from the neighbours. However the migrants in the youth age category i.e. from 15 to 35 years reported that the migration happened because of the attitude change of their neighbours. It is important to note here that most of these youth are born after the migration hence this cause is just what they have heard and have not experienced firsthand.

42.10 per cent of the migrants fled due to the insecurity induced by the extreme terrorist activities. One of the migrants remarked that there was a simple policy adopted by the extremists to create fear in the minds of community by killing only few people. One of the female respondent remarked "*Vo raat hume jab yaad aati hai toh aaj bhi rongte khade ho jate h*". (Till date we get goosebumps when we are reminded of that night)

Insecurity was created by threat to lives of the loved ones, safety of woman and also isolation. 6.30 per cent migrants reported that they did not want to be isolated and the fear of the same forced them to leave their homes.

IV

CONDITION AFTER MIGRATION

Migration led people to move to different parts of India. Most of the KPs moved to Jammu in the refugee camps. The camps were in miserable conditions and were not apt for living. Migrants were living in tents initially in the 1990's and later on in 1994 these tents were transformed into one room tenements (ORTs). These tents did not protect them from the various weather conditions, dust storms were a major issue as it affected the beam of the tents. Another major issue was that of snakes. The land where these tents were established was isolated and more of a jungle (Datta 2016: 58). Many deaths happened because of the snake and scorpion bites. Various diseases caught migrants because of the unhygienic conditions in the camps (Pandita 2017: 134). Many migrants went into depression. Privacy was also a major concern in this arrangement (Banal et al. 2010: 154). The couples specially lacked the private spaces.

In 2006, an elaborate report on the impact of migration on the socio-economic conditions of Kashmiri displaced people was published. It is an extensive empirical study conducted by J&K centre for minority studies. The findings

of the study indicated that insecurity of life and honour were the chief causes of migration of KPs. It was found that 9 per cent migrant families moved out of Kashmir valley from January 1990 to May 1990. Migration took place from both rural as well as the urban areas of Kashmir including people from all occupational groups i.e. farmers, professionals, government servants, agriculturists, traders and self-employed. The study pointed out that there is no comprehensive policy on the issue of return and rehabilitation. The government policy clearly stated that the migrants will be returned with dignity and honour however nothing of the sorts has happened till now (J&K Centre for minority Studies 2006: 1-7).

In another study, based on interviewing 50 migrants from refugee camps in Jammu, on migrant KPs observed that 90 per cent of the migrants were not happy with their incomes as they were able to make more in the valley. Unemployment among the youth became a major cause of concern. The study further pointed out that the hygiene conditions were miserable. It was observed that children were using Hindi or English for communication rather than speaking Kashmiri hence making the Kashmiri language vulnerable (Rajput 2001: 312-314).

A study on effects of displacement on the Kashmiri migrations aimed at understanding the problems faced by Kashmir families after migration that were living in refugee camps in Jammu. It was found out that the camps were low on providing even the basic necessity to the migrants. There was no proper drainage system, water facilities or electricity. Changes in the climatic conditions also added to their miseries. They were accustomed to live in cold climates but a sudden change of the climatic condition caused skin and other air borne diseases to the migrants. The economic condition of the community was dwindling as migration left the people with no property of their own. The author noted that migration affected on the entire social order of the community and that the cultural values have diminished. The author pointed out that the majority of respondents are willing to move back to the valley if they are assured of a peaceful environment in the valley (Chaturvedi 2006: 317-320).

In our survey we found out that most of the migrants were also not at all satisfied with the reaction of government immediately after the migration. Although the government did try to provide relief but that in itself was negligible that it cannot be considered as relief. The relief provided by the government immediately after migration that is in the 1990 was free ration and the cash assistance ceiling of Rs 500/-. It has enhanced with time and with effect from 1st July 2010 the cash assistance is Rs 1250/- per person with the ceiling of Rs 5000/- per family. The ration includes 9 Kg rice, 2 Kg Atta per soul per month and 1 Kg Sugar per family per month.³

Few migrants were able to get out of those camps in the early 1990's and got themselves settled in Delhi or other states. They got good opportunities in the city as they were possessing knowledge and degrees. Few of them had their relatives already settled in the city which became a blessing. The city also helped them in achieving better standard of living (See graph 2). The result of Chi square test shows that significantly large number of people of people said that they were able to achieve better standard of living after migration (DF 4, sig .037). 65 people out of the total 100 reported that migration helped them in securing better standard of living. There is no doubt that migration helped in securing better opportunities to this community. Sanjay K. Tickoo, President, Kashmiri Pandit Sangharsh Samiti (KPSS), who still continue to live in Kashmir, explained on a telephonic conversation that how tough it is to get good education and jobs in Kashmir. He emphasised on retention of the people who are still living in the valley. Because of the lack of development the youth are leaving the state in search of better opportunities. One of the migrant remarked that migration was a blessing in disguise for this community.

It should also be noted that the most of these migrants have acquired property outside of Kashmir, 86 people out of the total 100 to be precise (See graph 3). 65 migrants reported that they have sold off their property in Kashmir and 56 reported that their property was destroyed. The middle and old aged respondents recalled that they had huge amount of immovable property in the valley which they had to vacate overnight. Those who sold the property got a meagre amount for that property.

The community has suffered a lot after the migration. Government at the centre and the state level did not address the problems of these people as required. The initial phase for the community was an arduous journey but they were able to settle themselves well in the city. Settling in a different place with new people was equally tough for the community. The reaction of the host community was also not welcoming (Malhotra 2007: 75). The community had no choice but to adapt themselves with the host community and accept changes in their culture. Besides this the youth find it difficult to identify themselves with the Kashmir and its culture as they have lived most of their lives

³ <http://jkmigrantrelief.nic.in/relief.aspx> Accessed on 31 October 2016.

outside of Kashmir. Toshkhani argues that the youth are abandoning the culture and language which in turn is resulting in the fading away of the rich culture of Hindus of Kashmir.⁴

V

VIEWS ON RETURN AND REHABILITATION

In 2016, the central government aimed at inducing the return of KPs who has fled from the valley almost two decades ago, by creating a safe haven for them in the form of townships. The central government further went on to clarify that these townships would not only be available for the KPs but also for the Kashmiri Muslims, however since these township's primary goal was to induce the return of KP s to their motherland, 50 percent reservation of the houses available at the township would be made for the KPs.⁵ In January, 2017 the J&K assembly passed a unanimous decision to create a conducive atmosphere in Kashmir to induce the return of KPs and other migrants in line with the decision of the central government.⁶ Pursuant to this decision, the J&K government identified 100 acres of land across ten districts for the migrants to resettle.⁷ However, in November, 2017 the central government shelved the plan of creating townships for the KPs and instead the same would be replaced with transit accommodation for the migrants.⁸

The question of return is not that easy. The demand to return has come from various levels be it at individual or institutional level. There are organisations demanding the return of KPs. In this section of the study we will try to analyse the demands and ideologies of these organisations and individuals. We will also look at the survey and try to gauge what people actually think on this question.

Panun Kashmir is an organisation working for the return and rehabilitation of KPs. The organisation claims itself as a people's movement to achieve what they lost due to the displacement from their homeland. Panun Kashmir in its December 1991 convention Margdarshan, staged in Jammu, introduced the Historic Homeland Resolution. The organisation in its homeland resolution made it clear that it is seeking for a separate homeland for displaced Kashmiri Hindus in the North & East part of river Jhelum. They demanded return of the migrants with dignity and honour. The Organisation also wants the homeland to be placed directly under the control of the central government and granting it the union territory status governed by the provisions of the Indian Constitution so that it can develop its own economic and political infrastructure. It wants that Article 370 shall not be applicable in this portion of Kashmir. The organisation holds the state and the central government responsible for the miserable condition of the KPs. The policies of the state were in favour of Muslims and made the KPs face discrimination in the valley. The organisation has resentments with the Government of India as it did not made any attempt to stop the plunder and arson of the properties left behind by the Hindus. The Organisation is also trying to appeal to the international community by informing them about the miserable condition of displaced KPs and how their Human Rights have been infringed and violated. Panun Kashmir is demanding minority rights and is also claiming themselves as indigenous people". It made clear that it is not solely demanding a 'Hindu Homeland.' It claims to seek a homeland for displaced Kashmir. The homeland will serve as a phalanx of Indian secularism and democracy.⁹

However, the organisation has gone too utopian in its ideology. The condition within the valley is not at all conducive for the youth to come and settle their. This demand requires a lot of efforts on the part of state and central government.

Sheikh Abdul Hamid in his paper dealt with the cultural similarities between KPs and Kashmiri Muslims. He pointed out that fact that both the commiunitues are interrelated and are dependent on each other since ages. The saints and sufies of Kashmir were preached by both by both the communities. Lal Ded and Noor-ud-din's teachings

⁴ Toshkhani, Kashmiri Pandits Grappling With the Questions of Cultural Identity and Exile. <http://patriotsforum.org/kashmiri-pandits-grappling-with-the-questions-of-cultural-identity-and-creativity-in-exile/>. Accessed on 3 August 2018.

⁵ <https://www.indiatoday.in/mail-today/story/centre-plans-composite-townships-for-displaced-kashmiri-pandits-333769->. Accessed on 7 August 2016

⁶ https://www.telegraphindia.com/1170119/jsp/frontpage/story_131219.jsp. Accessed on 17 August 2018

⁷ <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/jammu-and-kashmir-government-identifies-100-acres-for-resettling-kashmiri-pandits/articleshow/56740755.cms>. Accessed on 9 July 2018

⁸ <http://www.newindianexpress.com/nation/2017/nov/24/central-government-rules-out-composite-townships-for-migrant-pandits-in-kashmir-1709907.html>. Accessed on 9 July 2018

⁹ <http://www.panunkashmir.org/>. Accessed on 1 June 2018.

attracted both religions equally. He argues that it is important to take into account the views and opinion of Muslims on the question of return and rehabilitation as both the communities are vital organs of the state. He insisted on the fact that only encouraging Hindu Muslim reconciliation will help KPs to move back to the valley (Hamid 2013: 10).

A.K. Dewani in his book *Radicalisation of Kashmir* suggested some measures for the question of return and rehabilitation. He remarked that giving minority status to KPs as their fundamental rights has not been protected by the government. He further mentions that Muslims in the state of J&K enjoys the majority rights along with the minority rights being in India. Hence, reservation for the KPs is a judicious solution. He claims that the central and the state government have not taken the matter of rehabilitation seriously. The very first package announced by the government to rehabilitate the migrants was in 2008 which is still not implemented in full force. He argues that rehabilitation packages should not only be the aim, the government should focus on taking measures which can help in making this community an indispensable part of the valley and further suggested the formation of an apex body for KPs to monitor and plan their rehabilitation. He argues that the concept of geo placement as suggested by Panun Kashmir is not a feasible option as a separate nationhood would not allow the community to live peacefully. Creation of a separate state for KPs may also strengthen the demands of self rule and internal autonomy by the remaining part of the state. He thus suggested the concept of 'Composite colonies' where people of different faiths could live together in harmony, where they can take part in each other's festivities. He sees involvement of different communities a viable solution for rehabilitation. To attract back the youth KP population there the valley should be converted into a smart city model with better pastures than those enjoyed by them at present. There is also a need to establish world class university to facilitate scientific and technical education (Dewani 2017: 217). Again this may sound a utopian thought as providing jobs to match with the present profile of these youth is a herculean task. Moreover creating job opportunities and making composite colonies itself doesn't assure the return of the migrants to the valley.

Over a telephonic conversation with Sanjay K. Tickoo, President, Kashmiri Pandit Sangharsh Samiti (KPSS), who did not migrate from the valley during insurgency period and still continue to live there, he explained how retention of the left behind families is important. There are about 808 Hindu families left behind in the Kashmir who are not able to fully realise their potential as opportunities are less. Hence it is important to take some measures so as to retain these limited families. He also expressed disappointment over the government's inaction to better their living conditions. The sole demand of these families is socio economic security in the valley. Hence we can see that the families already living there are not in a very good position.

In 2016 after the killing of Hizbul militant commander Burhan Wani, there were mob attacks on the transit camps at Pulwama, Kupwara and Anantnag district where a majority of youth KPs live. These youths returned to the valley under the Prime Minister's employment package which was announced in 2010. These transit accommodations were built in 2004-05 under the PDP-Congress government.¹⁰ These transit accommodations were aimed to be temporary as multi storey apartments were to be built. However the government failed to provide them with this facility and the youth continue to live in the transit accommodations. It is important to note here that the government is unable to provide accommodation and a secure environment to the KPs who shifted back to the valley for employment.¹¹ The KPs continue to live in fear and intimidation.

In our survey, we asked the respondents whether they were satisfied with their living conditions in the present and whether they want to return to the valley and if so, then at what cost and under what conditions. Graph 4 shows that 46.88 per cent of the youth are satisfied with their present living conditions. By looking at the graph we can see that youngsters (46.88 per cent) are significantly more satisfied than the middle (13.54 per cent) and old (14.58 per cent) age people. The result of chi square shows there is significant difference in opinion of young, middle and old age people (DF 4, sig .008). One of the respondent remarked "we don't want to go back, cannot face another migration after 27 years.'

While conducting the fieldwork we asked respondents the conditions on which they will go back and resettle in the valley. The first reaction of most of the migrants was negative. They straight away mentioned that they don't want to return. One of the middle aged migrant remarked, "*I have been there once after migration, I felt like an alien, I did not like it. Ab kya karna h vaha jake.*" (What will we do if we go there now?)

¹⁰ <http://www.tribuneindia.com/news/jammu-kashmir/govt-to-shut-transit-camps-move-pandit-staff-to-flats/455985.html> . Accessed on 10 September 2018.

¹¹ <http://www.tribuneindia.com/news/jammu-kashmir/job-package-leaves-pandit-families-divided/510273.html> . Accessed on 10 September 2018.

We can see in Table 2 that 39 per cent of the youngsters reported that they are not willing to leave their educational institutions and jobs/ businesses in order to resettle in the valley. Similarly 11 per cent of the youth were not sure about whether they will be leaving their present condition. 11 per cent middle age and 16 per cent of old age category were also not willing to leave the present settlement in order to resettle in the valley. We further asked the respondents that if conditions get better in the valley and if they would like to return and settle will it be a permanent resettlement or temporary one. We further enquired whether they would be visiting only on holidays or whether they would be interested in buying property there. 37.36 per cent youth responded that they will be going to the valley only on holidays. Very few youth were interested in permanently settling in the valley. Even if these youngsters choose to go back, the development is not proper to accommodate these young talents. Government needs to take steps in order to foster the policy of return and rehabilitation.

When asked whether they will be willing to go if they get a separate and secured area, 29.89 per cent of the youth category responded no, stating that they do not want a separate area, similarly 13.79 per cent of the elder age group does not desire for a separate and secured area however 17.24 per cent of the middle aged respondents stated that they would consider going back if they were provided with a separate and secured area. The result of chi square shows there is significant difference in opinion between young and the middle age people (DF 4, sig .003) as most youths are inclined to indicate risky choices as compared to elders. There can be two underlining reasons of this, one that the youth could not relate to the hardships faced by the other two age categories has faced at the time of migrating from their homeland and second could be simply that most of the youth does not desire to leave their comfort zone and go back.

Hence we can say that the demands of return are not very easy. It is rather complex. Specially, if we take the case of KPs living and settled in Delhi. The kind of amenities that are available to them in their present condition, the same can't be replicated in Kashmir, atleast not in its present situation.

VI

CONCLUSION

In this study we examined how the migrants feel about returning and resettling in the valley. We engaged the migrants living in Delhi and asked them questions about their thoughts on returning. We also examined the causes of migration and conditions after migration. It was noted that the causes of migration and their condition afterwards left a deep scar on this community. The KPs struggled tremendously to settle in a new environment.

Overall the results of this study suggest that the KPs are well settled in the city and are not likely to return for resettlement. This community has undergone a lot of trauma after migration which included depression and other diseases due to the unhygienic conditions in the migration camps. They had left behind huge amount of property and started a fresh in the city. The community started with nothing and established themselves in the city, where they seem to have living life comfortably and without any fear. Majority of the migrants have also acquired property in Delhi or elsewhere. The result also shows that they are satisfied with the present living conditions. Most of the migrants do not want to go back even if their demand for a separate homeland is met by the government.

The data further goes on to indicate that those who would want to go back, if provided with security, will only return for holiday purpose. The younger generation in particular is not interested to permanently go and settle there. It was clearly shown in the results that the migrants are not interested in leaving their educational institutions and jobs in order to resettle themselves in the valley. The community is not interested in moving out of the comfort zone, from a safe and secure environment, to a place where there is no security of life and where the development is next to nil. It was however noted that despite being reluctant to permanently settling in the valley, there is an urge among the KPs to connect themselves with their homeland. They emphasised the fact that they would love to spend time during vacations and holidays if the conditions in the valley improve. This shows that the youth does have a feeling of belongingness to the state but it is not a feasible option for them to move back, not atleast in the present circumstances.

The study is based on the migrants living in Delhi in well established areas. It is possible that those living in the refugee colonies of Jammu present a different perspective on return and rehabilitation. Further study of migrants living in the Jammu refugee colonies will help us understand the question of return and rehabilitation better.

VII

TABLES AND FIGURES

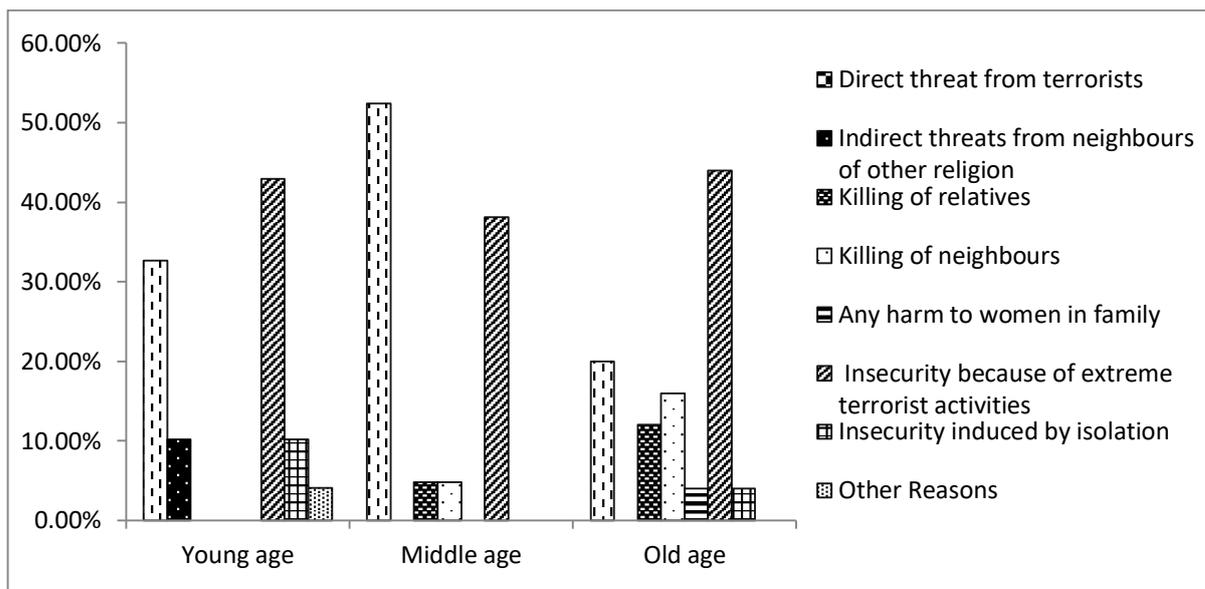
Table 1: Causes of Migration

			1 Direct threat from terrorists	2 Indirect threats from neighbours of other religion	3 Killing of relatives	4 Killing of neighbours	5 Any harm to women in family	6 Insecurity because of extreme terrorist activities	7 Insecurity induced by isolation	8 Other Reasons	
Age Category	Young Age	Count	16	5	0	0	0	21	5	2	49
		Percentage	32.70%	10.20%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	42.90%	10.20%	4.10%	100.00%
	Middle Age	Count	11	0	1	1	0	8	0	0	21
		Percentage	52.40%	0.00%	4.80%	4.80%	0.00%	38.10%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
	Old Age	Count	5	0	3	4	1	11	1	0	25
		Percentage	20.00%	0.00%	12.00%	16.00%	4.00%	44.00%	4.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Total		Count	32	5	4	5	1	40	6	2	95
		Percentage	33.70%	5.30%	4.20%	5.30%	1.10%	42.10%	6.30%	2.10%	100.00%

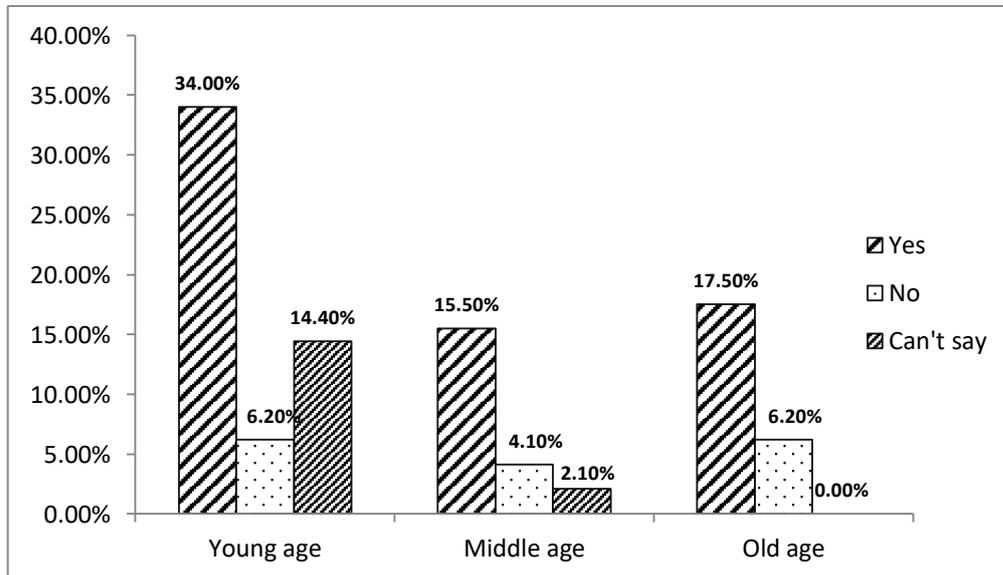
Table 2: Conditions for return

			Young age	Middle age	Old age
How would you like to return to the valley?	Permanently		7.69%	9.89%	7.69%
	Temporarily		9.89%	1.10%	2.20%
	For Holidays		37.36%	9.89%	12.09%
	For buying property only		2.20%	0.00%	0.00%
Would you leave your job/ Business/ Educational institution in order to resettle in the valley?	Yes		4.00%	6.00%	5.00%
	No		39.00%	11.00%	16.00%
	Can't say		11.00%	3.00%	5.00%

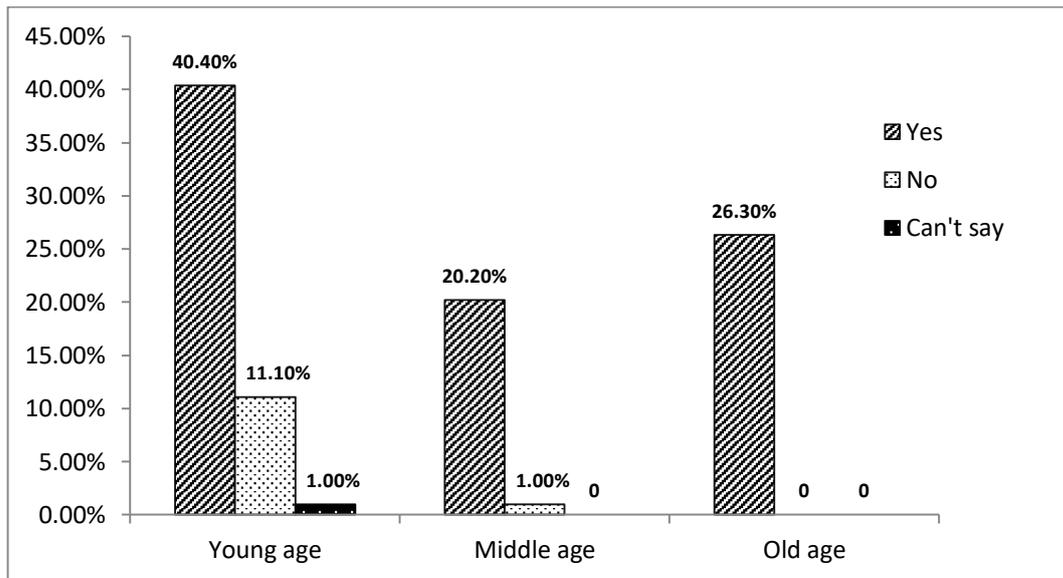
Graph 1: Causes of Migration



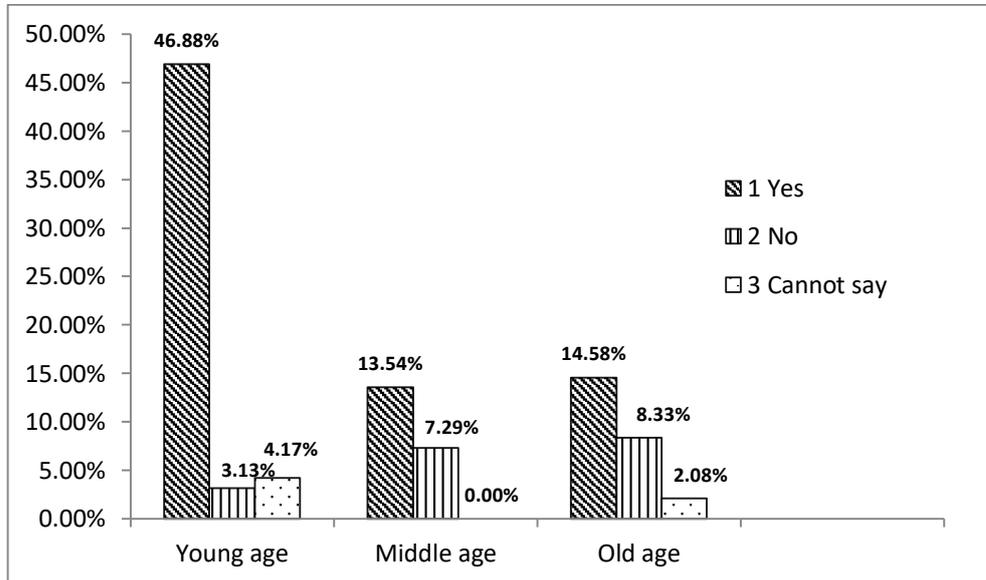
Graph 2: Has the migration helped you in securing better standard of living than that in Kashmir?



Graph 3: Have you acquired any property in Delhi or in any other state?



Graph 4: Satisfied with the present living conditions?



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