

# Kargil Displaced of Akhnoor in Jammu and Kashmir

*Enduring Ordeal and Bleak Future*



A Report on the Border Displacement  
and Return in Akhnoor

*Seema Shekhawat*  
*Debidatta Aurobinda Mahapatra*

## CONTENTS

ABOUT THE AUTHORS .....	3
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY .....	4
1. INTRODUCTION .....	6
1.1 CONFLICT OVER J&K AND DISPLACEMENT.....	6
1.2 SURVEY METHODOLOGY .....	6
1.3 PROFILE OF THE RESPONDENTS .....	7
2. DISPLACEMENT .....	8
2.1 CATEGORIES OF DISPLACED .....	8
2.2 NATURE OF THE BORDER DISPLACEMENT.....	8
2.3 KARGIL WAR AND DISPLACEMENT .....	9
2.4 KARGIL DISPLACED OF AKHNOOR.....	9
2.5 CEASEFIRE: CONTINUED DISPLACEMENT OR RETURN .....	10
3. CAMP LIFE AND IMPLICATIONS.....	13
3.1 POOR PHYSICAL CONDITIONS .....	13
3.2 POOR HEALTH FACILITIES .....	14
3.3 POOR EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES .....	16
3.4 SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGES .....	18
3.5 ECONOMIC LOSSES.....	21
4. POST-RETURN PROBLEMS .....	26
4.1 MINING .....	26
4.2 FENCING .....	27
4.3 PRESENCE OF DEFENCE PERSONNEL .....	28
5. RELIEF, COMPENSATION AND DEMANDS .....	29
6. ATTITUDES AND RESPONSES.....	32
6.1 STATE .....	32
6.2 POLITICAL PARTIES AND LEADERS.....	32
6.3 MEDIA .....	32
6.4 NGOs.....	33
6.5 CIVIL SOCIETY.....	33
7. FUTURE SCENARIO .....	34
APPENDICES .....	35
APPENDIX 1: SCHEDULE OF QUESTIONS FOR BORDER DISPLACED .....	35
APPENDIX 2: SCHEDULE OF QUESTIONS FOR BORDER DISPLACED WHO RETURNED.....	38

## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Seema Shekhawat holds doctoral degree from the University of Jammu, J&K on the topic “Impact of Conflict Situation, Militancy and Displacement on Women: A Study of Jammu Region.” She has written a book titled “Conflict and Displacement in Jammu and Kashmir: The Gender Dimension.”

Debidatta Aurobinda Mahapatra holds doctoral degree from the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi on the topic “Russia and the Kashmir Issue Since 1991: Perception, Attitude and Policy.” He has written a book titled “India-Russia Partnership: Kashmir, Chechnya and Issues of Convergence.”

Currently, both are doing research on the Kashmir across the line of control. They are also editors of quarterly newsletter Across LoC. Both are affiliated to the Centre for Strategic and Regional Studies, University of Jammu.

The authors would like to thank IDMC, Geneva for support during the research. However, the authors are solely responsible for the content and opinions expressed in the report.

Email: [seemashekhawat@gmail.com](mailto:seemashekhawat@gmail.com)  
[arvind.mahapatra@gmail.com](mailto:arvind.mahapatra@gmail.com)

June 2006

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Displacement in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) is a recurring phenomenon. Wars, war scares and even otherwise due to tense nature of the border, people have been forced to migrate nearly six times since the partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947. Internal displacement from the border between India and Pakistan has been analysed in this report; the main focus being people displaced from Akhnoor tehsil of Jammu district since the Kargil war in 1999. In the wake of the ceasefire in November 2004, many of the displaced have returned but a significant number of them are still languishing in the camps. This report includes both these aspects of displacement.

The nature of displacement from border may be classified as temporary, semi-permanent and permanent. Displacement becomes semi-permanent when those who leave their native places, due to disturbed condition on the border, are not able to return even after years. The Kargil-displaced of the Akhnoor tehsil are the foremost example of this kind of displacement. About 60,000 persons of 11,044 families from more than 21 border villages from Akhnoor, especially Khour block, were not able to return after end of Kargil war in 1999 unlike those who got displaced from other border areas of the state like Leh, Kargil, Kathua, etc. The reason being continued tension on the Akhnoor border in the wake of incessant exchange of fire and shelling between the troops of the two countries. They lived mainly in four camps namely- Devipur, Naiwala, Thandi Choi and Ramnagar colony, all in Akhnoor.

In the wake of the ceasefire between India and Pakistan in November 2004, the semi-permanently border displaced felt the atmosphere conducive for return. The idea was, however, not devoid of problems and hurdles. Amidst the chaotic situation while many returned, a significant portion continued to live in the camps. As per the information gathered during the survey, approximately 48,000 people have returned to their respective places but around 12,000 are still living in the camps. These people are residing in the Devipur, Naiwala and Rampur colony camps. Many of those who returned also did not leave on their own. They were forced to return by the authorities.

Prior to the ceasefire in November 2004, the displaced generally lived in torn tents or mud houses in poor physical conditions with minimal health and educational facilities. Today, both displaced and returnees face a higher than normal ratio of problems.

After the ceasefire, the already harsh conditions in camps have been multiplied by forceful tactics of the authorities to promote return such as shifting the infrastructure and snapping basic requirements like schools, dispensaries and relief stores from camps to the villages, cutting off electricity and water supply in the camps, etc. Despite these tactics, many people remained adamant not to return mainly due to the following reasons: Many face a situation where their houses are separated from their fields by the fencing<sup>1</sup> along the Line of Control, thus depriving people safe access to their cultivable lands and rear

---

<sup>1</sup> The fencing, put up at a distance of 2 to 5 km or more from the Line of Control (LoC), makes agricultural activities between the fence and the LoC almost impossible.

cattle in pastures. Besides, availability of jobs in towns near the camps, and lack of assurance by government for safe return and survival worked as deterrents to return. The displaced are continuing to face problems such as poor health conditions, drop out rates in schools, change in family structure, early marriages and domestic violence. The deprivation from traditional livelihood sources has led to increase in the rate of unemployment and decrease in the income

The returnees continue to suffer due to various kinds of activities at the border. Mining, presence of defence personnel, fencing, etc. are the problems they confront almost on daily basis. The lack of mobility results in a restricted life-style wherein performance of day-to-day activities becomes difficult.

The socio-cultural life of the people has been affected both in the camps and in the villages. Education, health and other essential services like communication and transport are too inadequate for the people, who are economically backward. The standard of life of border residents has been substantially decreasing year after year.

Most of the border people, living in camps or returned, are dependent on the relief provided by the government. They remain dissatisfied as the measures for relief, rehabilitation and resettlement are inadequate, incomplete, partial, ill planned, irregular, discriminatory and ad hoc. They have put forward many demands that may provide some respite, if conceded. In the long term, an alternate settlement plan is necessary to address their sufferings. The proposal of allocation of plots has lingered for quite some time due to difference of opinion over the location.

The people consider apathetic the overall response of the state and society towards their plight. The media appears loath in highlighting their problems. The political parties and leaders have only used the situation for their advantage. The help offered by some NGOs was minimal. It seems that the civil society too has largely ignored them.

The ongoing peace process has raised hopes among the people to lead a normal life. However, despite the ceasefire, many are likely to remain internally displaced, at least in the near future. While the landless may return to areas at some distance from the LoC, many who previously lived from agricultural activities along the LoC are still unable to return due to fencing and other security issues, although the government seems determined to send them back. The likely emergence of border resident townships may provide a possible solution for the people until the J&K problem is solved and the border becomes peaceful permanently.

The report does not intend to offer prescriptive measures to ameliorate the conditions of the border people, though the problems of and demands by the affected people as highlighted in the report can be used for this benefit.

## **1. INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 CONFLICT OVER J&K AND DISPLACEMENT**

The conflict-induced displacement in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) is as old as the partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947. In fact, India's largest situation of conflict induced internal displacement stems from the conflict involving J&K. The Jammu region alone, at present, is having an amalgamation of over seven types of dislocated people. Though the displacement is the result of conflict in Kashmir (due to ongoing militancy in the state) as well as conflict over Kashmir (between India and Pakistan), the report emphasize on the latter one.

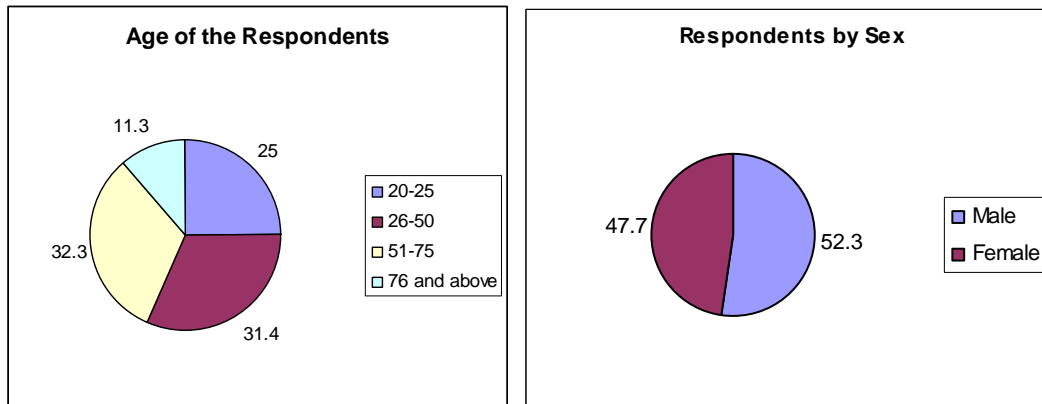
India and Pakistan share a three thousand km long border, of which one third is going through J&K. Since independence, clashes between the two countries led to several waves of displacement from villages along the border. The 198 km International Border (IB), extending from Kathua to Akhnoor, is recognised as an international border but the 778 km Line of Control (LoC), starting from Akhnoor is a de facto border. The LoC is longest unsettled line in history. The tribal invasion in J&K and later a war between India and Pakistan in 1947 were followed by agreement on Cease Fire Line (CFL) on the border. It was renamed LoC in the Shimla agreement after the 1971 war. Thus, a considerable part of the border remains undecided while some of it is well defined. Due to dispute over J&K between the two neighbouring countries, the border remains largely disturbed not only during the times of actual hostilities but even after the ceasefire because of the continued presence of the army and infiltration of insurgent groups across the LoC.

### **1.2 SURVEY METHODOLOGY**

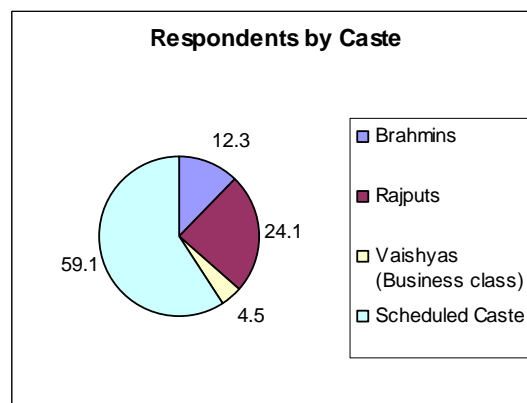
The report has been compiled from qualitative and quantitative data collected in the months of March and April 2006 from the field. The universe of the survey comprised the border residents of Akhnoor tehsil (a unit of local administration) in the Jammu district. The survey sought to update estimates of internal border displacement in the wake of the November 2004 ceasefire. Those who are living in the camps as well as returnees were interviewed. For this purpose, a sample of 130 respondents was selected from the three remaining displacement sites. Besides, a sample of 90 respondents was selected from three places of return. Two different questionnaires were prepared for the purpose. Five respondents were interviewed at a time. The method of random sampling was used to select the respondents however an attempt was made to accommodate viewpoints of people of different ages, sex, etc. The quantitative data collection was complemented by qualitative discussions that helped to analyze the situation as well as responses more clearly. Some quotes have been cited in the report given by the respondents to present the real picture in their own words. The data collected has been quantified wherever felt necessary. Content analysis of some newspapers too was done. Some leaders also were interviewed. The focus, however, was on getting the first hand information from the field.

### 1.3 PROFILE OF THE RESPONDENTS

The profile of the 220 respondents is as follows:



Respondents came from single religion, Hinduism, but belonged to four different castes.





## **2. DISPLACEMENT**

### **2.1 CATEGORIES OF DISPLACED**

In the partition-related displacement in the state nearly 15,000 people fled from the adjoining areas of Pakistan. This can be termed first kind of displacement. The second type of displacement was from Pakistan controlled Kashmir. There was huge influx of Hindus and Sikhs from the areas of Muzaffarabad, Mirpur, Bagh, Rawalakot, Bhimber, Kotli and Jhanger. In an interview to the authors, Hardit Singh Panchi, President of the Jammu Kashmir Sharnarathi (refugee) Action Committee (JKSAC) informed that around 50,000 families had been displaced at that time. The 1965 war also led to a large-scale displacement of the people from Chhamb-Jurian area in Jammu. The 1971 war led to another type of displacement from Chhamb area. Around 4,900 families were displaced from ten villages. The Kargil war in 1999 also resulted in the displacement of a considerable number of people from border areas all over the state. Many of them returned as soon as crisis was over. But more than 60,000 people from Akhnoor continued to live in the camps till recent times.

India and Pakistan came to the brink of war on many occasions. This led to large-scale displacement in the state, especially from the border areas. For instance, the war scare of December 2001 after the attack on Indian Parliament led to massive displacement from the border. Another war scare due to May 14, 2002 fidayeen attack in J&K also led to displacement. According to an estimate, since 1999 Kargil war to 2002 war scare, around two lakh people in the state were forced to leave their native places from borders – 22,000 from Poonch, 9,000 from Rajouri, about 1.25 lakh from Jammu and 25,000 from Kathua district.<sup>2</sup>

### **2.2 NATURE OF THE BORDER DISPLACEMENT**

The nature of displacement from border may be classified as temporary, semi-permanent and permanent. The Chhamb-displaced, for instance, have permanently moved out of their native place since 1971. Temporary displacement takes place whenever there is disturbance on the border. Such temporary displacement is a recurring phenomenon in the state and people living on the border undergo dislocation multiple times – sometimes for few days and sometimes for months. Displacement, thus, becomes a part of their life wherein they keep shuttling between their native places and the camps frequently. Many of the border people have decamped nearly six times since independence i.e. in 1947, 65, 71, 87, 99 and 2001.

Displacement becomes semi-permanent when those who leave their native places in the wake of disturbed condition are not able to return even after years. The Kargil-displaced

---

<sup>2</sup> Hindustan Times, June 22, 2002.



of the Akhnoor tehsil of Jammu district that comprise the universe of the research are the foremost example of this kind of displacement.

## **2.3 KARGIL WAR AND DISPLACEMENT**

The India-Pakistan war in 1999 resulted in the displacement of large number of people from all over the border including Kargil, Leh, Jammu and Kathua. The approximate numbers of persons displaced in Kargil, Leh and Jammu were 24,630; 3,245 and 1,00,000, respectively. Most of the displaced persons returned to their homes as soon as the tension eased out. About 60,000 persons of 11,044 families from more than 20 border villages from Akhnoor, especially Khour block, were not able to return. The reason being continued tension on the Akhnoor border, where IB meets LoC.<sup>3</sup>

## **2.4 KARGIL DISPLACED OF AKHNOOR**

The villages from where the displacement took place in Akhnoor included Chack Malal, Chack Rama, Rakh Malal, Jogwan, Sarmala, Kamdini Nallah, Mattoo, Dhaleri, Bhopur, Channi Mana, Upper Chack Malal, Samvan, Chapriyal, Panjtooth, Pallanwalla, Khonda, Mirpur, Garad, Saint, Gigiriyal, Kachriyal, Samoo, Doyian, Darkhour, Milan di Khui, Nikkian, etc.



**A concrete house in Panjoot partially destroyed by firing and shelling**

Kargil-displaced of Akhnoor living in camps, unlike other displaced of the Kargil war, could not go back even after cessation of the war. They lived in mainly four camps namely- Devipur, Naiwala, Thandi Choi, and Ramnagar colony, in Akhnoor. Over the years, this displacement got transformed from temporary to semi-permanent kind. Not that these people did not try to return but the occasional firing, heavy deployment following the terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament on December

---

<sup>3</sup> This is the only place where the LoC is in plains and thereafter it moves towards mountainous region of Poonch and Rajouri district. Akhnoor also have the strategic importance in view of the fact that it joins Poonch and Rajouri with Jammu.

13, 2001 and the terrorist attack in Kaluchak, Jammu, on May 14, 2002 prevented them to return. The border areas witnessed unprecedented presence of the security personnel and the subsequent emergence of the five km security belt wherein the landmines were planted. The chances of a war actually breaking out ended in due course of the time but the bellicose rhetoric from both sides once again compelled border people from all over the state to move and thereby prevented the Kargil displaced of the Akhnoor from returning. Interestingly, the displaced from all over the border returned with decline in tension on the border, but the Kargil displaced again could not do so.

Despite the fact that even prior to displacement the border people have been suffering due to prevailing tense situation on the border, displacement added to their predicament. It accentuated the sufferings of the border residents turned displaced. Interestingly border people have become so used to exchange of fire that they continue to live in their respective places, until the situation becomes so tense that there is no alternative but to leave to save their lives. Those living close to the border have adjusted themselves to live under war like situations but abandon their homes when no option is left.

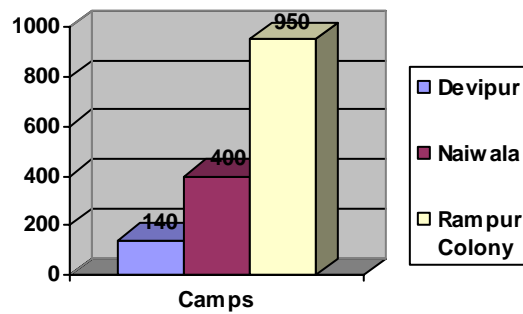
## **2.5 CEASEFIRE: CONTINUED DISPLACEMENT OR RETURN**

In the wake of the ceasefire between India and Pakistan in November 2004, the semi-permanently displaced felt the atmosphere conducive for return. The idea was, however, not devoid of problems and hurdles. After living as displaced for six years the life has changed so much that the return did not come as an immediate decision. The camp life was never a good option for them but the return too was not easy. Amidst this confusion many returned but many continued to live in the camps.

As per the information gathered during the survey, approximately 48,000 people have returned to their respective places but around 12,000 are still living in the three camps. These people are residing in the Devipur, Naiwala and Rampur colony camps. While the once largest camp, Devipur, at the time of survey in April was accommodating around 100 families, in Naiwala camp at least 400 families are still languishing. From among the 950 families living in the Rampur colony camp not even a single family had returned. In this camp people from three villages namely Chapriyal, Kachriyal and Samoo are living since June 1999.

### **Distribution of the Displaced in the Remaining Camps**

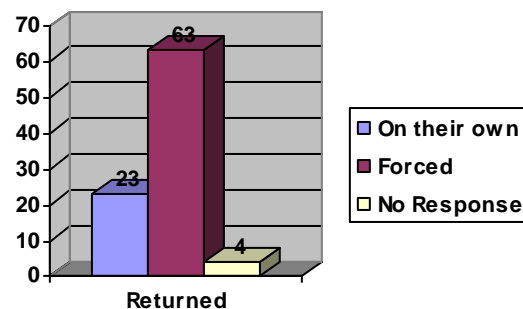
S. No.	Camp	Number of Families
1.	Devipur	140
2.	Naiwala	400
3.	Rampur Colony	950



Despite the fact that ceasefire has remained unbreached since a long time the issue of displacement of these people is still unresolved. Interestingly, it was found that many of those who returned also did not leave on their own. They were, as per their own version, forced to return by the government.

### Responses Related to Return

S. No.	Responses	Number	Percentage
1.	On their own	23	25.6
2.	Forced	63	70
3.	No Response	4	4.4
	Total	90	100



The people were forced to return apparently due to two reasons: First, to show that normalcy is prevailing on the border. Till the villages on the border remained deserted the situation was considered tense. Second, to show that government has made the safe return of the displaced, and the issue of displacement is solved at least for the time being.

Though some people left the camps and returned on their own, a majority were forced to return. For this purpose the authorities adopted many tactics. First, the schools that were shifted to the camps were moved back to villages. Second, the camps were deprived of even the minimal facilities that were available earlier. For instance, electricity and supply of drinking water were cut off. Third, the mud houses made by the displaced people, due to poor condition of the tents provided by the government, were destroyed. The authori-

ties used police force to prevent the resistance from the people. Fourth, the dispensaries that were working in camps too were sent back to the respective villages. Fifth, the supply of relief was stopped in the camps. People were forced to travel long distances to their respective villages to get the relief.

In the wake of all these developments, many returned but some still preferred to stay back despite additional problems imposed by authority. As per our survey, these people are adamant not to return due to following reasons. First, the villages like Chapriyal, Samoo, Thangial and Kajrial - located less than a km from the actual border- have come under fencing, raised to check the infiltration. Second, the landless for whom there are no employment opportunities in the villages do not find it attractive to return. Third, many of these have been doing menial jobs in Jammu city and do not have any source of income in villages: cattle being killed, no land for cultivation and houses being destroyed due to firing and shelling. Fourth, some of them want complete assurance that it is now safe to live in villages. They are sceptical about after-return life. As Ram Pal living in Naiwala camp said,

We will not go back unless government assures that the border will remain peaceful. We cannot continue to lead a nomadic life. We will go back and try to settle ourselves and one day again firing will start and we will be displaced. Should we go back to prepare ourselves for another displacement? We have seen ceasefire being announced many times but what was the result? Every time it was breached and the brunt has to be faced by us who live on the border. What is the guarantee this ceasefire will remain intact?



Children standing outside the temporary shelters in Ramnagar colony camp

### 3. CAMP LIFE AND IMPLICATIONS

When the people abandoned their villages in 1999 and searched for safer places to live, they found places including cowsheds, godowns and government buildings, with hardly any assistance, to live in. Even after many years, those still displaced are living in tented townships in slum like conditions.

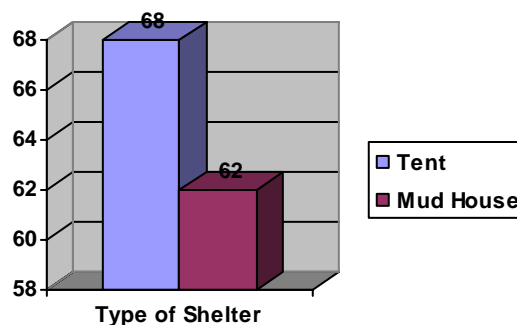
The life for those who are continuing to live in the camps is quite harsh. The tactics adopted by the authorities to force them to return has added manifold problems to their already existing poor condition. Children, women and aged are particularly vulnerable in this situation, as they have to bear multiple burdens.

#### 3.1 POOR PHYSICAL CONDITIONS

The displaced generally live in poor physical conditions. These long-established camps are devoid of basic amenities like proper shelter, drinking water, toilet facilities, etc. In the camps on an average 15-20 people live in a single tent. Even after so many years all the families are not provided tents. Many of the tents, given years earlier, are in tatters and are unable to save from scorching heat, cold or rains. The mud huts with thatched roofs were destroyed by the administration. Many of the displaced again built them since those are the only form of shelter after denial of new tents by the government.

#### Type of Shelter

S. No.	Responses	Number	Percentage
1.	Tent	68	52.3
	Torn	63	92.6
	Intact	5	7.4
2.	Mud House	62	47.7
		130	100





The atrocious physical conditions of the camps and inhospitable environment prove worse for women who usually remain confined to the camps. Lack of basic facilities like water, toilets, bathrooms, etc. further worsens their condition. They have to cover long distance to fetch water. Many toilets are locked for reasons unknown and women have no closed place to take bath. The provision of toilets in the camps that came quite late too has not been able to solve the problem since they are common. Women have to share them with men. Lack of privacy in the tents with many people is also problematic. This is especially problematic for young and middle-aged women since sharing accommodation with men not only violate the cultural and privacy norms but also increase their exposure to abuse. It also has led to problems of maintaining personal hygiene and other gender-specific requirements like changing clothes, feeding babies or even resting.



Single tent dispensary in Rampur colony camp

### **3.2 POOR HEALTH FACILITIES**

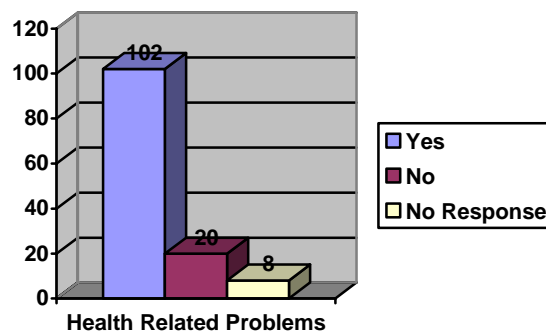
The hardships and the conditions attached to their lives as displaced severely affect the health of the people. Health conditions are far from satisfactory in the camps. Devipur and Naiwala no longer have any health facilities. Even at the camp, where dispensary was available facilities are virtually non-existent. In the Ramnagar camp, dispensary is working in a single tent with shortage of medical staff and even life saving drugs. Dayala Ram, a camp resident, put it rather sarcastically, “the medical staff put some colour in a bucket full of water and then give the mixture to patients to drink irrespective of their diseases.” Outbreaks of gastro-enteritis, diarrhoea, skin diseases, snakebites etc. are reported to be common in the camps. The cases of stress diabetes too are increasing. Food shortage, malnutrition, lack of clean drinking water adds to the woes of the people. The

displaced disclosed that the unnatural deaths due to harsh weather conditions and lack of basic facilities have increased considerably. 72 year old Kanu Devi told the authors that aged like her will not be able to bear scorching summer. She said, “I somehow managed to survive during winters but now bearing heat while living in this tent would be impossible. I wanted to see my home before dying but it is not possible. I was destined to die as a displaced and I am waiting for that.”

Being subject to constant tension for a long period many border people have started displaying behavioural disorders of varying intensity. The mental problems like depression, frustration, insomnia and hypertension have become common. The non-availability of adequate space and privacy along with the trauma of displacement has also led to a marked decline in the birth rate. As per the survey, majority of the respondents are suffering from health-related problems after displacement. The prevalence of mental disorders is comparatively more than physical ones.

### Health Related Problems

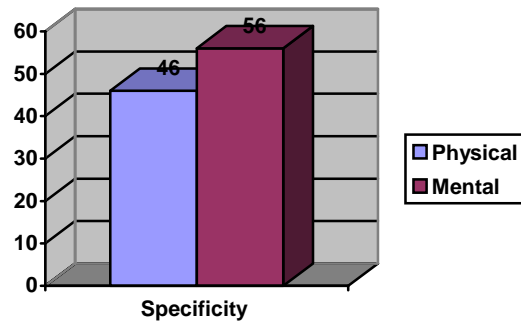
S. No.	Responses	Number	Percentage
1.	Yes	102	78.5
2.	No	20	15.5
3.	No Response	8	6
		130	100



### Specificity of Health Related Problems

S. No.	Responses	Number	Percentage
1.	Physical	46	45
2.	Mental	56	55
		102	100





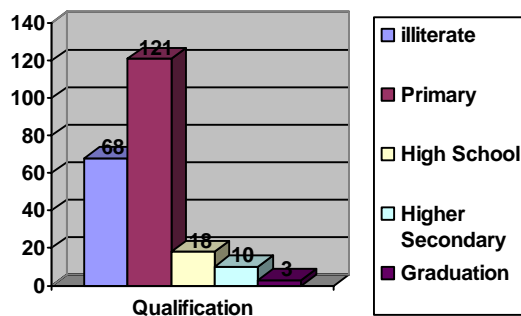
### 3.3 POOR EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

The displacement accentuated educational backwardness of the people. The financial constraints coupled with inadequate number of schools added to this problem. For instance, in lieu of the total 83 schools (58 primary schools, 18 middle schools, 5 high schools and 2 Higher Secondary schools), only 12 makeshift schools were reopened in the Devipur camp that accommodated majority of the displaced. These 12 tent schools catered to the educational needs of about 7000 students.

The displaced people revealed that the disturbed life condition have been mainly responsible for the poor literacy rate in the border areas wherein most of the people are either illiterate or semi-illiterate.

#### Educational Qualification

S. No.	Qualification	Number	Percentage
1.	illiterate	68	31
2.	Primary	121	55
3.	High School	18	8
4.	Higher Secondary	10	4.6
5.	Graduation	3	1.4
		220	100



In the post-ceasefire scenario wherein the schools have been shifted back to the villages the ordeal has increased. As per the information collected from the authorities, 26 out of the 28 schools of villages of Khour block that were operating in various camps have been transferred back to their original places. One example is the Devipur camp, where 11 schools were shifted back to the respective border villages. **One example is the Devipur camp, where 11 schools were shifted back to the respective border villages.** Only one primary school accommodating children up to the 5<sup>th</sup> standard is still operating in this camp. Above that grade, the children have to go to their respective villages to follow the higher classes or to discontinue the education.



Primary school in Devipur camp

In the wake of this fact the problems of those still living in the camps can well be imagined. To cite one instance the school located at Gigriyal village is 35 km away from the camp and the children have to cover such a long distance everyday by public transport that too are not readily available. The security checks and rough roads carved out of dried irrigation canals stretch the journey to around two

hours. The financial burden of going and coming

back by public transport has become burdensome for the people living in camps. It was due to this reason that many people decided to return to villages so that the children could study. This is the most recent tribulation faced by more than 3,000 displaced students living in camps. At Ramnagar camp all but one primary school, where 40 students are enrolled, have been shifted despite resistance. These developments have led to sharp increase in the already alarming dropout rate. The authors noticed during the survey most of the teen-aged girls were busy doing household chores after drop out from the school. However, there are no official statistics available regarding the dropout rate. The lack of proper infrastructure and teaching staff has made things worse. The pass percentage too is alarmingly low.

The administration defends its decision to shift back the schools. As per an official of the J&K Education Directorate, a survey was conducted to assess the situation in the border areas prior to shifting. The schools were reopened only in villages where people have returned. However, the people in general have not welcomed this move since it has further added to their woes. In an interview with authors Nirmal Singh, State President, Bhartiya Janata Party, pointed that the decision was taken hastily without a proper assessment of the real situation to force the people

to return. Baldev Singh, Chairman of the Border Migrant Committee also criticized the move by arguing that the opening of schools in border villages is an attempt to send the displaced back without giving them any aid.

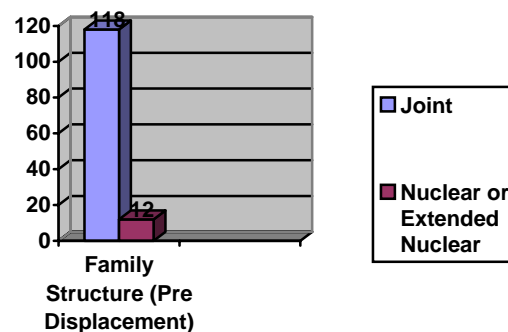
### 3.4 SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGES

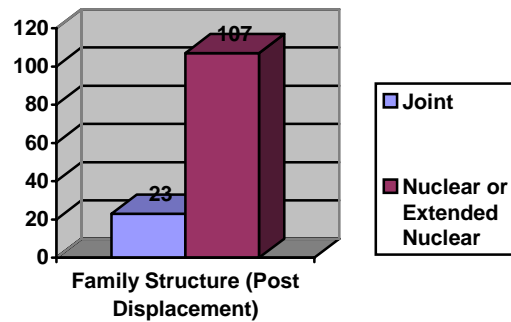
The socio-cultural life of the displaced has also been affected adversely after displacement. The community life in form of celebration of festivals and other social functions has been severely affected due to economic constraints as well as psychological trauma. The celebrations have become only formality wherein many rituals and ceremonies are skipped. Displacement has also brought change in the marriage patterns. In villages marriages usually took a week with many rituals. Following displacement, the same have become one-day affair. Another finding related to camp life was that some inter-caste marriages that were a taboo in the village also have taken place. This, however, has not resulted into the loosening of caste endogamy in totality.

The intra-family relations have also been severely affected due to breaking of the patrilineal joint family system that was common. Following displacement, the role of the family patriarch has changed as also the division of labour. Gender relations have somewhat changed in the wake of dissolution of hierarchical family structure, thus providing more space to women in matters related to education, marriage of the children etc.

#### Responses Related to Family Structure

S. No.	Responses	Pre-displacement		Post-displacement	
		Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
1.	Joint	118	91	23	18
2.	Nuclear or Extended Nuclear	12	9	107	82
		130	100	130	100

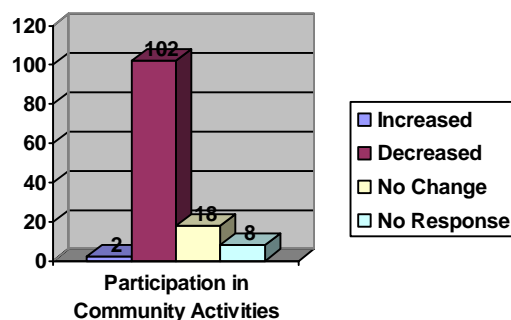




There is also upsurge in early marriage of girls due to prevailing uncertainty and insecurity in the camps. Displacement has made the people more fatalistic and their faith in the destiny has increased manifold. After displacement, the participation in community activities has decreased.

### Participation in Community Activities

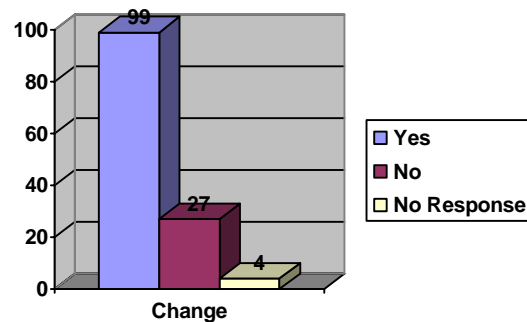
S. No.	Responses	Number	Percentage
1.	Increased	2	1.5
2.	Decreased	102	78
3.	No Change	18	14
4.	No Response	8	6.5
		130	100



Even within nuclear families displacement has altered the intra-family relations. While a majority of the respondents feel that there is a change, for a small section there is no perceptible change. The prevailing uncertain situation has brought many families closer. It has further strengthened the family ties. While for many the change is positive, for some others displacement has led to adverse changes in relations with other family members.

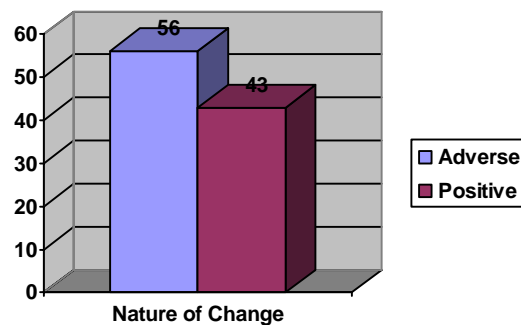
### Change in Relations within Family

S. No.	Responses	Number	Percentage
1.	Yes	99	76
2.	No	27	21
3.	No Response	4	3
		130	100



### Nature of Change in Relations within Family

S. No.	Responses	Number	Percentage
1.	Adverse	56	56.6
2.	Positive	43	43.4
		99	100



The conjugal relations have been affected due to lack of privacy as well as stress and tension. The domestic violence in the form of both verbal and physical abuse has also increased following displacement.



**Women sitting in their thatched roof-mud walled shelter in Devipur camp**

### **3.5 ECONOMIC LOSSES**

Border people have suffered heavy economic losses due to dislocation. Most of the Kargil displaced of Akhnoor were not able to grow crops in their fields for six consecutive years due to which, at many places, the fertile land has become barren. The loss of high-yielding cattle, in the wake of their sudden dislocation, also added to economic losses of the people. A majority of people had left their cattle at native places. In the absence of anyone to look after many of them died due to starvation, firing or mine blast.

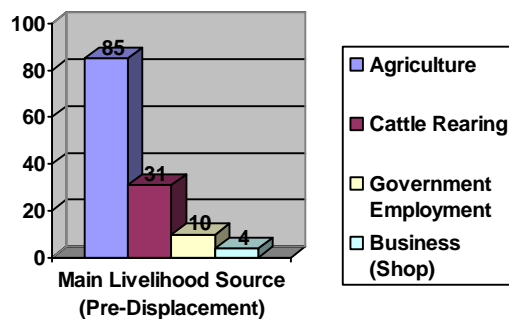
Displacement deprived a majority of their main source of livelihood either by leaving no occupational choice or reducing most of them to a position of daily labourers. While the government employees did not have any perceptible occupational change, the people involved in business suffered only partially since they have shifted their business. But a majority of others, who were engaged in the agricultural activities or cattle rearing, have been severely affected. Part-time labour, setting up small grocery shops or tea stalls is all they have been reduced to. Majority of the respondents had agriculture as the main family occupation, a comparatively small number were engaged in the cattle rearing. Few people were in government jobs and others had their own business (small shops). After displacement, government employees have continued with their work and some displaced are still engaged in their business. A majority of the people are having daily labour as the



main occupation while another considerable number is solely dependent on aid and assistance given by government.

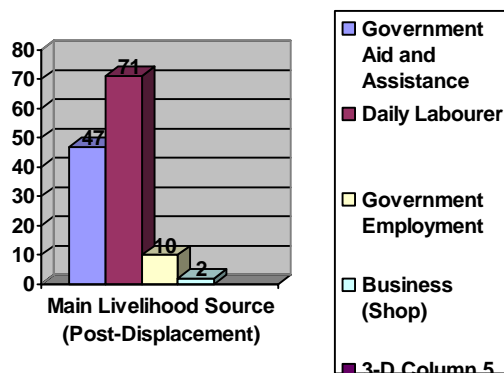
### Main Livelihood Source (Pre-Displacement)

S. No.	Responses	Number	Percentage
1.	Agriculture	85	65.4
2.	Cattle Rearing	31	23.9
3.	Government Employment	10	7.7
4.	Business (Shop)	4	3
		130	100



### Main Livelihood Source (Post-Displacement)

S. No.	Responses	Number	Percentage
1.	Government Aid and Assistance	47	36
2.	Daily Labourer	71	54.7
3.	Government Employment	10	7.7
4.	Business (Shop)	2	1.6
		130	100

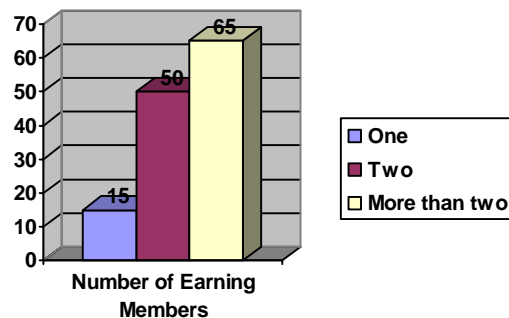




The shrinking of occupational choices has increased the rate of unemployment and decrease in the number of earning members. The survey has shown that unlike earlier times when most of the border displaced had more than one earning member, following displacement, a majority have only one earning member and a considerable number has none.

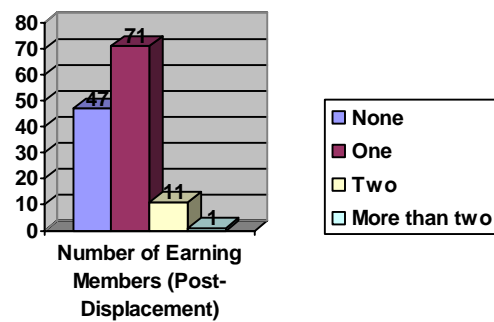
### Number of Earning Members (Pre-Displacement)

S. No.	Responses	Number	Percentage
1.	One	15	11.5
2.	Two	50	38.5
3.	More than two	65	50
		130	100



### Number of Earning Members (Post-Displacement)

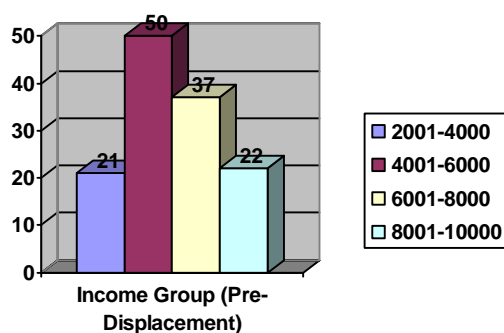
S. No.	Responses	Number	Percentage
1.	None	47	36.1
2.	One	71	54.6
3.	Two	11	8.5
4.	More than two	1	0.8
		130	100



The loss of main source of livelihood and lessening of earning members has adversely affected the income of the displaced. The survey revealed that while earlier majority of the people were self-sufficient and generally had a earning between Rs. 4000-8000. After dislocation more than 2/3rd earn even less than Rs. 2000 per month. The situation of those dependent on the government aid is even worse since the cash relief in the form of Rs 1600 per family is not given regularly every month.

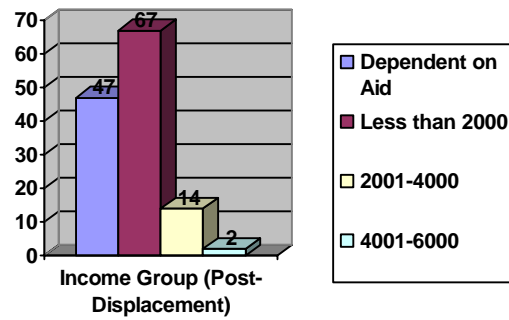
### Income Group (Pre-Displacement)

S. No.	Responses	Number	Percentage
1.	2001-4000	21	16.1
2.	4001-6000	50	38.5
3.	6001-8000	37	28.5
4.	8001-10000	22	16.9
		130	100



### Income Group (Post-Displacement)

S. No.	Responses	Number	Percentage
1.	Dependent on Aid	47	36.1
2.	Less than 2000	67	51.5
3.	2001-4000	14	10.8
4.	4001-6000	2	1.6
		130	100



Temporary shelters in Naiwala camp

## 4. POST-RETURN PROBLEMS

Even after returning to native villages the sufferings of these people did not end. They continue to suffer due to various kinds of activities taking place at the border.

After return the people found their houses cracked or destroyed, the fields turned into jungles, the land holdings had dried up, cattle dead and lying scattered due to firing thus emanating a foul smell. Returnees have to face difficulties as they were not provided the promised cash assistance to repair the houses immediately. Later the government sanctioned free ration in favour of those who could not cultivate their land, till they are able to do so.

### 4.1 MINING

Despite the halt in firing, the people have to live amidst problems. First, it is mining. During the time of actual hostilities, as was done in 1965 and 1971, mines were planted all along the border to obstruct the movement from across the border. Even during the time of heightened tensions, as during the operation Parakaram in 2002, the mining process is resorted to as an ‘effective and cheap weapon.’



**Cow that lost front-right hoof due to mine blast in the village Panjtoot on April 5, 2006.**

Mines have devastating effect on the border people. Every mining process augments the casualties in terms of human lives as well as cattle. Landmines planted on cultivated land and pastures, around infrastructure, and even houses played havoc for the people. The cost of mines in terms of lives, however, does not end with it. The de-mining process as well results into casualties of the army personnel and civilians residing in the border areas. For instance, till March 2003 the de-mining process after operation Parakaram, reportedly claimed 14 lives and injured 39 others.<sup>4</sup> As far as material cost is concerned at many places, farmers can no longer cultivate their lands. Most of the mined forward areas along the border that were used as pastures too are beyond the reach of the herders. Thus, thousands of herders have lost their livelihood.

The undetected mines that are not defused lead to heavy casualties. The undetected mines that were planted long back in 1965 and 1971 con-

---

<sup>4</sup> Hindustan Times, April 15, 2003.

tinue to create problems. There is no comprehensive data collection mechanism on land-mine casualties in India. But the fact remains that mines continue to claim lives and make people handicap in the forward areas of the border. In almost all the border villages the deaths or injury due to mine are common. The unavailability of adequate medical services in the villages adds to the list of killings due to mines. The government has a provision of providing compensation to the mine victims. However not many people have benefited from this provision.

After the ceasefire in October 2004 it was reported by the authorities that the demining operation was almost complete. Our survey of the villages where the people have returned presents a contrary picture. In the Panjtoot village, merely half a kilometer from the border, mines are being discovered in the fields leading to casualties. Though no reported casualty of human lives came into picture during survey but it was found that nearly 5 cattle have been either injured or killed due to the undetected mines. On the condition of anonymity an army official told it is not possible to demine the area fully since mines may move from their place due to sloppy areas, rains or rodents. This has led to continuation of the ordeal of the people. Ram Singh of Panjtoot village said,

I do not know where these landmines have been planted in my own field. Due to this, we cannot go to our fields, and even our children cannot play. Leading a normal life for us is a distant dream even after returning. The government claims that normalcy has returned on the border but look at our condition. We are still living on the dole provided by the government. Is this a normal life?

## **4.2 FENCING**

The material losses of the border people have been added by the multi-tier security system on the border comprising Ditch-cum-Bandh (DCB) and fencing. The DCB acts as a barrier to prevent the Pakistan forces watching the activities of the Indian troops. The barbed wire fencing is done to check infiltration. The fencing, done at a distance of 2 to 5 km or more instead of edge of the LoC has brought cross-border infiltration down. It has made many fields falling amidst the actual LoC<sup>5</sup> and fencing area almost uncultivable. The gates that are made around 3-4 km away from one another are the only way to reach the land beyond the fencing. Not only the people have to walk 2-3 km to reach the gates to go to their fields but also the rigid time schedule to go to that area makes the cultivation difficult. Amidst the rhetoric that the border areas are getting cultivated the fact remains that most part beyond fencing remains barren and uncultivated at least in Akhnoor tehsil. It is mainly because of the fencing that many people have not been able to return and are still putting up in the camps.

---

<sup>5</sup> "Cross Border Terrorism and Insurgency in Jammu and Kashmir," Seventy-Fifth Report by the Parliament Standing Committee on Home Affairs, Rajya Sabha, Government of India, New Delhi, July 2001.

### **4.3 PRESENCE OF DEFENCE PERSONNEL**

The permanent presence of defence personnel keeps the situation abnormal on the border. It not only restricts the routine activities and mobility of the people but also has adverse economic consequences. Some portions of cultivable land is still with army, which leads to discontinuation of routine agricultural activities. The border people while conceding that the presence of army on the border is a necessity yet narrate bitter experiences due to its presence. They complain unnecessary pestering at the hands of army.

Leading a peaceful life amidst this turbulence has been an abiding problem for border people even after return. The lack of mobility results into a restricted life-style wherein people cannot freely perform day-to-day activities. Even the use of basic facilities becomes problematic for them. The border residents mainly engaged in farming and cattle rearing have suffered severe economic losses. The destruction of houses and the heavy toll of cattle due to firing and mine blasts have added to their economic losses. The destruction of houses leads to loss of all the stored things including the valuable goods. The repair of damaged houses puts further economic burden on the people. The assessment of the extent of loss and sufferings in tangible terms is not possible since no serious study has been undertaken in this context. Though the problem of border people is a prolonged one, yet no government report is available giving even a general picture.

The socio-cultural life of border people is also restricted. They cannot celebrate festivals and other social functions with joy. The relatives living away from the border areas prefer not to visit these forward areas. People find it difficult to find a match for their children especially boys since people from other areas do not prefer to marry their daughters in the border areas where the uncertainty of life is common. Education and health services are severely affected. People complained despite the prevalence of dispensaries no adequate facilities are available. The facilities are minimal. Other essential facilities like communication and transport are too less. A consequence of such disturbances is that majority of the border residents are either illiterate or semi-illiterate. Those who get educated move out of the villages. The border areas remain backward. No significant development activities take place in these areas. Neither public sector nor private sector is ready to invest money in these areas due to continuing uncertainty. The standard of life of border residents has been substantially decreasing year after year. The extent of problem can be gauged from the fact that many people are ready to sell their land that is their only source of livelihood and move away from the villages. But there are not many buyers for the land that is too close to border.



## 5. RELIEF, COMPENSATION AND DEMANDS

Most of the displaced still living in camps are dependent on relief provided by government. They are provided a relief package comprising 11 kg free ration of 9 kg flour and 2 kg rice, cash relief of Rs. 400 per head per month subject to a maximum of Rs. 1600 even if the number of family members is more and 10 litres of kerosene. Along with the displaced, the returnees who are not able to resume their traditional occupation are entitled to this relief. The people remain dissatisfied with the package due to following reasons.

First, it is inadequate. The ration provided is insufficient in terms of both quantity and quality. Border people are of the view that the quantity of the ration is too less than the required one.



**Inside view of a temporary shelter in Naiwala camp**

Second, it is partial since only dry ration was given. People question if they are expected to consume the ration raw?

Third, there are reportedly large-scale malpractices due to ill planned distribution of ration. While at many places ration is not provided at right time, at other places many people remain devoid of this assistance, their names being not enlisted. At some places people reported that the dealer, in connivance with the government officials, give less ration.

In the aftermath of partial return the government has shifted the relief stores back to the respective

villages in order to force people to go back, thus further enhancing problems. The displaced not only have to travel long distances but also have to face financial difficulties in bringing the ration. The situation is not quite different regarding cash relief. Corruption prevails in its distribution. The people allege that revenue officers force them to pay a fixed amount for each cheque issued to them.

Fourth, it is irregular. The uncertainty of the period of displacement and government's decision to provide relief for short intervals has also added to their woes. The denial of ration in between the renewal periods, stretching as long as 6-8 months, has put many displaced people in a miserable condition. As per people living in Ramnagar colony camp, they were given cheques of Rs. 20,000 in January 2006 to buy household articles



and cattle. People complained that since last 19 months they are not getting the relief ration. In the wake of the above fact they owe even more than the given amount to the shopkeepers who gave them ration.

Fifth, it is discriminatory. At times the displaced complained that the central and state governments are giving more attention to the displaced Kashmiri Pandits. They are being paid cash allowances almost half of what is given to the Pandit displaced from the Kashmir valley. Despite a 2002 Supreme Court directive to the state to provide adequate amount of relief to all the displaced of the Jammu division, the discriminatory practice has continued.

Sixth, it is ad hoc and unplanned. There have been additions in families due to births and marriages, but the government has carried out no review of allowances.

People considered the compensation as also the measures for resettlement and rehabilitation incomplete and inadequate.

The compensation is too meagre to recompense for the heavy losses suffered by the people. The government fixed ex-gratia compensation of Rs. one lakh for those who died in firing or mine blast, 50 per cent compensation for the houses destroyed and Rs. 400 for each killed cattle in the cross-border firing. The border residents who get permanently disabled due to mine blast or firing are entitled to receive not more than Rs 10,000. The people dismiss this compensation as peanuts. Even in this case malpractices are prevalent wherein the promised compensation for the losses is either delayed or paid in instalments. Many others did not receive any compensation on the plea of non-verification or unavailability of proof of damages. This discrepancy has further added to the woes of the people.

On January 31, 2004 the state government announced a relief package for residents of border villages of Jammu whose houses were damaged in cross border shelling. As per the information collected from the field people were given a maximum of Rs. 25,000; 20,000; 15,000 and 8,000 as per the construction and condition of the house. In its distribution large-scale discrepancies are reported. It was also revealed that no compensation has been paid for the damaged shops and as per Shyam Lal, resident of Panjtoot village, whose shop was damaged due to shelling, they are planning to seek legal assistance to get compensated.

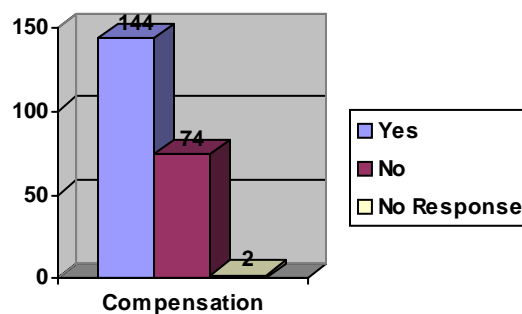
About Rs 20 crore of the Prime Minister's Reconstruction package worth Rs 78 crore sanctioned by the central government for the rehabilitation of the border people is planned to be spent in providing compensation for damaged houses, civic infrastructure, making the waterlogged fields in the area fit for cultivation, de-weeding of damaged fields. The rest of the money would be used to construct a township for the villagers of 21 villages by allotting plots of 5 marlas (1350 sq. ft.) to each family.

The package earmarked for relief to Akhnoor border residents kept lying unused for quite some time. Amidst the credit-hogging spree for the package for border displaced among the political parties, the people remained devoid of any substantial help until early 2006.

As already mentioned, a majority of the border people, both displaced and returnees were given Rs. 20,000 recently. Those who have returned also informed that most of them have received the cash assistance to repair the damaged houses, however a considerable number told that due to one or other administrative problem they have not received the money as yet.

### Responses Regarding Receipt of Compensation

S. No.	Responses	Number	Percentage
1.	Yes	144	65.4
2.	No	74	33.6
3.	No Response	2	1
		220	100



Border residents, returned or still living in the camps, have put forward many demands that may provide a respite from the plight. In addition to the increase in cash relief along with ration the issues of increase in compensation in lieu of properties damaged and animals killed in firing, waiving off all loans, enhancement in the ex-gratia relief, compensation for crops damaged in shelling, compensation to those farmers whose land was mined or came under fencing are also raised.

In the long term an alternate settlement is important to mitigate their sufferings. The proposal of allocation of plots has lingered for quite some time due to difference of opinion over the location. The township, the state government wants to build far from the border at a safer place near Akhnoor town. The Centre and Army want the same to be near the border at Pallanwalla and Khour. It is argued that the border villages should not remain uninhabited with army being left alone. This may be strategically fine but keeping in view the proximity of Pallanwalla and Khour to border whereby they come within the firing and shelling range the purpose of making a border township will be defeated. The people want the allocation of land at place that is away from the firing range where they can put up whenever there is disturbance on the border. Amidst these divergent view-points the ultimate sufferers are the border people, worried about their future. Balraj Puri, a veteran journalist, while interacting with authors opined that that the dallying of the process of alternate settlement may exacerbate the unrest among the people of the border areas who have been suffering since a long time.

## **6. ATTITUDES AND RESPONSES**

### **6.1 STATE**

Indian government has no national policy on the internal displacement. The responsibility for assistance and protection is largely with the state governments. India has repeatedly expressed reservations in international fora about the UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement. It considers the principles as infringement on national sovereignty. It views internal displacement caused by conflict as a strictly internal problem. As a result, the UN did not address internal displacement situations in India.

Although government of India provides support to conflict-affected populations, such assistance is mostly ad hoc and inadequate. It does not correspond to the needs of the displaced. The overall strategy of the government has been 'case to case approach'. State governments are assigned the main responsibility to assist and rehabilitate the displaced, but practices vary significantly not only from state to state but also within the state where there are different categories of displaced. The absence of a uniform policy is the main reason for the sharp difference in the quantity of relief provided to the Kashmiri Pandits and the border displaced.

The government has denied these people the status of internally displaced in the wake of the fact that their displacement is largely temporary. All the categories of displaced living in the state are not recognized as displaced and are referred to as 'migrants'.

### **6.2 POLITICAL PARTIES AND LEADERS**

Border people, displaced as well as returnees, felt that the political parties use them as vote banks or to get political leverage. Either they are totally ignored or their issues are raised only when it is beneficial for the parties. The election days are the only time when their plight becomes a major issue. During electoral forays, they are assured proper rehabilitation but without any result on the ground afterwards.

Despite the fact that there are three political leaders are from the Akhnoor area, two Members of Legislative Assembly and one Member of Parliament, people do not see any hope.

### **6.3 MEDIA**

The content analysis of the newspapers helped gauge the response of the media towards the border people. The national media took up the issue only when the situation became

quite explosive like en masse displacement, heavy firing and shelling, etc. The local media however was comparatively quick to respond. Besides few editorials, some short stories were also published, dealing with immediate problems faced by the people. It was astonishing to find that there were not many articles that could present a comprehensive picture of the dismal scenario prevailing in the border areas. There was no report that comprehensively dealt with issues of both short term and long-term problem of the people.

## **6.4 NGOs**

Oxfam initiated a project in June 2002 to work in camps of displaced in Akhnoor. They provided drinking water facilities by drilling bore wells from which water is pumped out using locally made hand pumps. They built private bathing places and toilets and constructed water storage tanks and provided people with buckets so that they can store water in their houses. It also launched an educational program in the same year. Many other relief organizations like Catholic Social Service, Red Cross, Punjab Kesri, etc have provided occasional relief to the people. Though people are appreciative of their gesture yet they find this relief too inadequate. In the villages, after return no NGO has come to help people in any way.

## **6.5 CIVIL SOCIETY**

Though the public reaction to the displacement did not comprise the scope of the study yet the authors' personal experience indicates that there is near total apathy towards the plight of the border people. This seemed quite natural in the view of the fact that the seriousness of the situation on the border was not given due attention by media.

## 7. FUTURE SCENARIO

The 80-year-old Gharu Ram was on deathbed when authors met him. His agony, that too represents the suffering of the border people, can be expressed in no better way than his own words,

The plight of the border people neither end with displacement nor with return. We bear the brunt of being born near the border from birth to death. Our life is a saga of miseries and deprivation. It is characterized by uncertainty and abnormality. While in village we wait for getting displacement and vice versa. We suffer in villages as well as in camps. It is difficult to tell which situation is more problematic. We have been displaced six times and have suffered irrecoverable damages in the regular transit. Even in villages we have to live under the shadow of firing, shelling and mining. We are border residents, born to suffer. The return is not the end of our miseries. We will continue to suffer till the border problem is settled.

The present scenario can be characterized by partial return of the displaced and partial continuation in displacement. The number of returnees may increase if the ceasefire remains honoured. For many others who are landless, or who apprehend problems owing to fencing, mining or presence of armed personnel, return may not be a good option. Hence, they may be forced to continue with the protracted displacement at least in near future. Even those who have returned are skeptical regarding their future. Leading a settled life may not be possible for the border people till the J&K issue is resolved permanently. The ongoing peace process has raised hopes for them. However, until permanent peace beckons, establishment of border township accommodating people whenever the border is tense may be the only possible and sustainable alternative. The multiple problems the displaced face can be addressed partially by establishing such townships.

# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX 1

### SCHEDULE OF QUESTIONS FOR BORDER DISPLACED

DATE OF SURVEY -----

PLACE -----

1. Name:

2. Age:

3. Sex:

4. Caste:

5. Qualification:

6. Marital Status: Married / Unmarried

7. Family Status: Joint / Nuclear

▪ Previous:

▪ Present:

8. No. of Family Members:

9. Occupation:

▪ Previous:

▪ Present:

10. Monthly income:

•

Previous:

•

Present:

11. Property status:

1. Previous:

2. Present:

12. No. of earning members:

a) Previous

b) Present

13. Domicile:

14. Month and year of displacement:

15. How many times you have been displaced since 1947:

16. Distance of your village from Line of Control/ International Border:

17. Any Other Details:

1. What were the reasons for your displacement?
2. Type of threat you perceived before the displacement?
  - To Life
  - To Property
  - To Family
  - Accumulative
3. Did you leave the village individually (only with family) or enmasse?
4. In what ways had tense border affected your day-to-day routine and normal life?  
(Destruction of crops/ houses/ live stock etc.)
5. What are the effects/ implications of displacement on
  - Village/ Community
  - Family
  - Individual
    - Aged
    - Women
    - Children
6. What kind of aid and assistance you are getting from government? Are you satisfied with that? Yes/No.
7. Has any NGO visited the camp? Yes/No. If yes please specify the name of NGO and the type of aid and assistance provided?
8. Do you find any perceptible impact of displacement on ...? Yes/No. If yes please specify?
  - Education
  - Health
  - Religious activities, rituals and traditions
  - Pattern of celebration of festivals
  - Marriage System
  - Maintenance of social relations
9. In camps, are you satisfied with



- Physical Conditions
- Health/ Medical facilities
- Transport Facilities

10. If there is no immediate solution of J&K conflict then what will be your vision about the future?

- Reconciled to the idea of settling outside village.
- Ask for allotment of land at safer place.
- Continue to live in the village
- Any other, please specify.

11. Anything else that you would like to share?

## **APPENDIX 2**

### **SCHEDULE OF QUESTIONS FOR BORDER DISPLACED WHO RE-TURNED**

DATE OF SURVEY -----

PLACE -----

1. Name:
2. Age:
3. Sex:
4. Caste:
5. Qualification:
6. Marital Status: Married / Unmarried
7. Family Status: Joint / Nuclear
  - Previous:
  - Present:
8. No. of Family Members:
9. Occupation:
  - Previous:
  - Present:
10. Monthly income:
  - Previous:
  - Present:
11. Property status:
  3. Previous:
  4. Present:
12. No. of earning members:
  - c) Previous
  - d) Present
13. Domicile:
14. Month and year of Return:
15. Duration of the Displacement:

16. Distance of your village from Line of Control/ International Border:

17. Any Other Details:

1. Why did you decide to return?
2. Was it a household/ community/ government decision?
3. Did you return individually or with family? If individually where is your family living at present?
4. How has your household tried to minimize threats to physical safety and livelihoods after return?
5. How has your village tried to minimize threats to physical safety and livelihoods after return?
6. What are the problems you are facing after the return?
7. How are you trying to cope with the situation?
8. Did government help you in return? Are they giving any kind of assistance after the return?
9. Do you feel that the ceasefire between India and Pakistan affected your situation?
10. What is the property damage that you faced at native place while living in camps during displacement period?
11. Did the government pay any compensation for the damages?
12. In what ways had tense border affected your day-to-day routine and normal life?

(Destruction of crops/ houses/ live stock etc.)

13. What are the effects/ implications of return on

- Village/ Community
- Family
- Individual

Aged

Women

Children

14. What kind of aid and assistance you are getting from government? Are you satisfied with that? Yes/No.

15. Has any NGO visited the village after your return? Yes/No. If yes please specify the name of NGO and the type of aid and assistance provided?

16. Do you find any perceptible impact of return on ...? Yes/No. If yes please specify:

- Education
- Health
- Religious activities, rituals and traditions
- Pattern of celebration of festivals
- Marriage System
- Maintenance of social relations

17. In village, are you satisfied with

- Physical Conditions
- Health/ Medical facilities
- Transport Facilities

18. What is situation on the border after the ceasefire between the two countries?

19. If there is no immediate solution of J&K conflict then what will be your vision about the future?

- Reconciled to the idea of settling outside village.
- Ask for allotment of land at safer place.
- Continue to live in the village.
- Any other, please specify.

20. Anything else that you would like to share?