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Editor
Sudarshana Jha
E-mail: editor.jpg@gmail.com

Editorial Board

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Associate Professor,
Department of Political Science,
Banaras Hindu University,
Varanasi –221005
E-mail: abhinav15975@gmail.com

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Associate Professor,
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Imperatives for Revitalizing Business Research in India

Sudhir Rana*

Abstract
This article is based on an interview with Dr Sudhir Rana, Chairperson, Fellow Programme in Management at Fortune Institute of International Business, New Delhi. Dr Rana is also the Editor of FIIB Business Review published by Sage. Besides, he also serves as Guest Editor of Journal of International Business Education, International Journal of Business and Globalisation, International Journal of Indian Culture and Business Management and Series Editor of Advances in Emerging Markets and Business Operations (Routledge, Taylor & Francis). He is an astute researcher and has published his researches in a number of international journals indexed in ABDC, Scopus, and Web of Science. His areas of research include International Marketing, Consumer Behaviour, Business Development Sales & Negotiation, Internationalization and Customer Relationship Management. In this interview, Dr Rana provides his incisive view on the current state of doctoral research in business in India and how it can be fine-tuned to suit the needs of the industry as well as academia. The interview was conducted by Dr Srirang K Jha, an academic genuinely interested in social change agenda and public policy issues.

KEYWORDS: Fellow Programme in Management, Doctoral Research, Management, India

How do you see the landscape of doctoral research in Management in India?

With a lot of research-based consultancies coming up in the last few years, demand for researchers in the field of Management has seen a sharp rise. This is especially true in specializations such as marketing, finance and operations. A doctoral degree in higher ranks of the Management ensures that a firm’s research strategy is guided by people who have sound knowledge not merely of the research methods but also profuse background knowledge to design and operationalize the research in a better manner. Also, management institutions are moving towards quality improvement, many of them already obtained international accreditations such as AACSB, AMBA and QS ranking while several others are in the race for the same. Thus, the demand for proficient scholars is going to be

*Associate Professor and FPM Chairperson, Fortune Institute of International Business, New Delhi, India E-mail: sudhir.rana@fiib.edu.in
phenomenal in the coming years. Doctoral research is the first step in achieving these opportunities and career goals.

How are things different from the global scenario so far as doctoral research in Management in India is concerned?

Looking at the global scenario, there are a few gaps where I feel Indian institutions/universities need to anchor upon. These are:

- **Funding Issues:** In India, however, doctoral research helps in getting sound research output and scoring in rankings as well as accreditations. But, institutions either treat the fellowships as charity or expenses and therefore, it is tough for budding scholars to secure an appropriate place for themselves.
- **Collaboration:** Doctoral research in India is not cross-cultural. Indian B-Schools hardly attract scholars from other countries.
- **Publication Outlets:** Indian institutions have only a handful of publication outlets published by international publishers and appearing in the global indexing and rankings. Therefore, scholars do not get adequate training on how they can publish in quality journals.

Why do you think doctoral research in Management has not made any significant contribution to management practices, especially in the Indian context?

With most management graduates opting for a job rather than a higher and more specialized research degree, there is a shortage of competent researchers in the field. A rigorous doctorate programme which focuses on all aspects of research would produce well-rounded individuals who can carry vital research and contribute immensely to practices as well as teaching. As I mentioned earlier, PhD is not being treated like a job (it is considered as an on the job experience and paid high scholarships). The compensation differences are high between PhD scholars and those who opt to work. Also, compensation in academics is quite low as compared to the corporate world. Therefore, doctoral degree programmes struggle to attract the talented scholars. However, the situation is now improving.

In the Indian context, what all should be done to improve the level of doctoral research in Management that contributes to the competitiveness of Indian companies by way of new models or innovative solutions to the current business issues and problems?

A doctoral programme should have the rigour to match international standards. The outcome of doctoral research should contribute not just to existing knowledge but add new knowledge. Most research done in India is hardly innovative. A doctoral programme should strengthen the core qualities of a good researcher, i.e. inquiry, innovation and problem-solving. The focus should not be on completing the programme but gaining insights and building specialization. Scholars should be given training on how they can find and work on consultancy projects; they should be given adequate time to work on these. Moreover, an executive fellow programme must be given a priority.
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In the Indian context, there are two formats of doctoral research in Management, i.e. Fellow Programme in Management and PhD. Are these formats conflicting or complementary? Please elucidate the defining features of both formats?

In simple words, I look at it as two nomenclatures given by two apex bodies. UGC and AICTE regulate Indian higher education. Management programmes are considered under technical education. Therefore, the institutions approved by AICTE follow the nomenclature Fellow Programme in Management (FPM) and the universities which abide rules of UGC term it as PhD. Moreover, FPM has specific focus on the ‘Management’ domain. This nomenclature is exclusively for the doctorate in Management. In the world of academics (especially European), this is also known as Doctor of Business Administration (DBA). Moreover, an FPM programme has equivalence to a Ph.D. degree if the institute has an Association of Indian Universities (AIU) approval.

In terms of global acceptance, PhD has the edge over the Fellow Program in Management. In such a situation, why a prospective research candidate should choose Fellow Program in Management in place of Ph.D.?

To be honest, I haven’t seen any such examples or experiences where anyone got an edge because of the title of degree. Fellows get the edge on knowledge and research they produce during their degree programme. As we noted in the previous question, the academic world has nomenclatures like DBA. Moreover, FPM is now a popular and known title having a global acceptance. All the top-rated B-Schools, including IIMs in India offer FPM.

How the Fellow Programme in Management has evolved at the Fortune Institute of International Business? How is it different from the Fellow Programmes in Management being offered by other B-schools in India?

We have been cautious while launching the FPM at FIIB. The objective is how to bring more quality and service to the community. A few differences to watch out are

- Timeline – Generally, FPM is a minimum of 4 years long in B-schools. We kept the minimum durations to 3 years so that persuasive and hardworking candidates have a chance to save their one year by their hard work and efforts.
- Fee: There is no fee for the full-time fellows and they will get a stipend. Also, for the executive fellow programme (EFPM), B-schools charge a high fee in the bracket of 5 to 15 Lakhs for the entire programme. The fee for the EFPM is almost a token amount at FIIB.
- Collaboration and Mentorship with world-renowned experts: FIIB fellows will be mentored and will have a chance to collaborate with world-class experts (as a co-supervisor) to pursue their thesis. We have created a specific FPM advisory board. The members of this board are senior academic leaders and editors in high category journals from across the globe and the disciplines.
- Course Curriculum and structure: FPM course curriculum in B-schools often repeat what has already been learned during the masters’ degree. We overcome that problem. Also, fellows would get a credit score on completion of each milestone during the programme. Nonetheless, publication in international journals, case clearing houses and participating in international conferences are compulsory and credit-based in the FPM at FIIB.
I am sure; these will not only help in responding to the existing problems in the current FPM system in India but would also be supporting budding scholars to gain experiential learning.

Now the IIMs are offering PhD Programmes in place of Fellow Programme in Management that they championed for so long. Will it have an impact on the brand value of Fellow Programmes in Management?

At the end of the day, what matters is the assimilation of knowledge. Candidates and ranking agencies were confused with the term ‘FPM’. Also IIMs and many other B-Schools are now getting equivalence from Association of Indian Universities for their programmes. It is just changing the nomenclature to sink with more familiar terms to overcome doubts and conflicts. Processes and Structure of the programme are still the same as it was.

What are the career prospects for the students opting for Fellow Programme in Management?

An FPM is not just a doctorate programme. It has been designed keeping in mind the needs of the academic community as well as the corporate world. Corporate firms working in the field of research like Ernest & Young, PwC, etc. hire specialists with some research experience. An FPM graduate with intense research experience in writing and defending their thesis will have the edge over Management graduates as the former brings with them an in-depth knowledge of the subject which will add value to the firm’s research profile.

How do you see the state of doctoral research in Management ten years from now?

Doctoral research in Management is not new to India; it is still in the nascent stage in the country with most business schools only offering Graduate or Post-Graduate Programmes. With the rise in consultancy firms and research-oriented activities like consumer-based market research and financial research happening, the demand for specialized skill sets will increase. Like in the medical profession, a Masters will soon no longer be enough. A doctorate will be the deal-breaker, especially in higher levels of Management. The global ranking and accreditation race have started amongst Indian and regional B-schools. Therefore I foresee that a doctorate would act as an entry pass to the academic fraternity.
Crisis as Antecedent of Innovation

Srirang K Jha* and A K Saini**

ABSTRACT
World-wide spread Covid-19 has badly hit the economies across the globe. Several countries had clamped short duration lockdowns to contain the spread of the pandemic. Such forced closure of the commercial and other facilities led to a massive loss of business, severe decline in demands, and worst-ever disruption in supply-chain. Many small and medium enterprises failed to survive the crisis resulting in job losses for their employees, income insecurity for their owners and dwindling chance of loan recovery for their lender. Stock markets were also hit hard because of the depressing sentiments in the communities all over. However, several other companies saw an opportunity in the times of crisis and decided to reorient their strategies based on innovation and creative problem-solving. This article explores how a crisis can serve as a precursor of innovation which in turn can enable the organizations to withstand the predicament, especially during and after the pandemic. Based on a comprehensive review of literature, the article provides an incisive view on innovation as an organizational response triggered by a crisis like Covid-19, which has affected the entire humanity beyond any limits.

KEYWORDS: Pandemic, Covid-19, Lockdown, Crisis, Innovation

INTRODUCTION
The crisis has often presented a threat and an opportunity at the same time. No wonder, the Covid-19 has also unfolded quite unusual ways of handling the emerging situation while it has devastated human populations across the world beyond any measures. A pandemic like Covid-19 has indeed disrupted the typical living, and people are now constantly talking about the ‘new normal’. This ‘new normal’ has created new needs and unusual pressures at the workplace as well as in the communities. However, there are a more significant number of people with a positive outlook and an inner drive to challenge the status quo and come up with solutions to human miseries through hitherto unknown paradigms. ‘Common wisdom suggests that every crisis presents opportunities’ (Anthony, 2009).

*Associate Professor & Head, General Management Area, Apeejay School of Management, New Delhi, India E-mail: jha.srirang@gmail.com
**Professor, University School of Management Studies, Guru Gobind Singh Indraprastha University, New Delhi, India E-mail: aksaini1960@gmail.com
Cultivating a Culture of Innovation

Innovation is ‘something different that has impact’ (Anthony, 2012). Drucker (1985) has postulated that innovations are triggered by unexpected occurrences, incongruities, process needs and changes in the industry as well as the markets. Hence, possibly, it is the best time to stop by and have a look
at how the leaders of organizations can create a culture of innovation to survive and thrive in these challenging times in the middle of the life-threatening crisis posed by Covid-19. deJong, Marston and Roth (2015) provide a comprehensive list of eight action points which may help the organizations become innovative. The framework of nurturing innovative organizations is given as under:

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<tr>
<th>Action Points for Nurturing Innovation</th>
<th>Leading Questions</th>
<th>Underlying Elements</th>
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| Aspire                                | Do you accept innovation-led growth as absolutely critical, and have you cascaded targets that reflect this? | • Innovation vision and model  
• Required growth contribution from innovation  
• Cascaded targets and accountabilities |
| Choose                                | Do you invest in a coherent, time–risk balanced portfolio of initiatives that are resourced to win? | • Clarity of innovation themes  
• Portfolio balancing time and risk  
• Resources sufficient for initiatives to win  
• Portfolio governance |
| Discover                              | Do you have differentiated actionable customer, business, market, and technology insights that translate into winning value propositions? | • Customer orientation  
• Multiple-lens insight generation  
• Differentiated value proposition |
| Evolve                                | Do you create new business models that provide defensible, robust, and scalable profit sources? | • Exploration of new business models  
• Changing value-chain economics  
• Diversifying profit streams  
• Delivery-model changes and new customer groups |
| Accelerate                            | Do you beat the competition with fast and effective development and launch of innovations? | • Planning and execution rigor  
• Cross-functional project culture  
• Customer- and market-based learning |
| Scale                                 | Do you launch innovations in the relevant markets and segments at the right magnitude? | • Go-to-market planning  
• Launch management  
• Operations ramp-up |
Extend
Do you win by creating and capitalizing on external networks?
- Strategic external networks
- Collaboration skills
- Partner of choice

Mobilize
Are your people motivated, rewarded, and organized to innovate repeatedly?
- People priorities
- Enabling structure
- Supportive culture
- Learning and adaptive organization

[Source: deJong, Marston and Roth (2015)]

Furthermore, Anthony (2012) suggests the following time-tested stimuli for innovation, which the organizations can reinforce among their employees across all levels:
- Questioning: raising difficult and uncomfortable questions that enforce or eliminate constraints;
- Networking: relating with individuals from diverse backgrounds who demonstrate new ways of thinking;
- Observing: looking at the world around self for unexpected provocations;
- Experimenting: deliberately confounding things by trying new things or going to new places.

Alongside a culture of innovation, it is also imperative to focus on strengthening innovation capabilities. Skarzynski and Gibson (2008) have suggested the following building blocks for innovation capabilities:
- Leadership and Organization: Top management and organization aligned around a shared vision of innovation;
- Culture and Values: Collaborative, open learning and incentives that reward challenging the status quo;
- People and Skills: Disciplined approach to building innovation capabilities across the organization;
- Process and Tools: Systematic approach and supporting tools to enable idea generation, pipeline and portfolio management.

Apart from stimulating the teams across the organization, it is also essential to foster an ecosystem for innovative. Ander (2006) has suggested seven interrelated steps for creating an innovation ecosystem:
- Identification of intermediaries who might adopt innovations before the end-user;
- Identification of all the complementary innovations essential for the targeted innovation;
- Estimation of delays caused by interdependence of completerors;
- Estimation of delays caused by the adoption process by the intermediaries in the system;
- Estimation of delays caused by the interdependence of the intermediaries with their completerors and integration hurdles;
- Estimation of time to market the innovation;
- Re-assessment of initial performance expectations and innovation strategy.
The innovation ecosystem is crucial because it is integrated with the overall culture of any organization and not induced by an external crisis on an ad hoc basis. So the organizations having an innovation ecosystem are better placed to come out with innovative offerings to their consumers in the shortest possible run time. However, it is not at all easy to build innovative organizations. deJong, Marston and Roth (2015) rightly observe:

‘Big companies do not easily reinvent themselves as leading innovators. Too many fixed routines and cultural factors can get in the way. For those that do attempt, innovation excellence is often built in a multiyear effort that touches most, if not all, parts of the organization. Our experience and research suggest that any company looking to make this journey will maximize its probability of success by closely studying and appropriately assimilating the leading practices of high-performing innovators. Taken together, these form an essential operating system for innovation within a company’s organizational structure and culture.’

CONCLUSION

For most of the corporate leaders and top executive, the current pandemic is the worst they have experienced. However, in the last two decades, there have been several incidents that have shaken the corporate world. The Covid-19 has presented a unique opportunity for all the small and large organizations to find their innovative pathways out of the most unusual crisis faced by human civilization so far. No doubt, the organizations will take cues from the emerging business environment and rise to the occasion to build a better and prosperous future for all the stakeholders. However, here is a word of caution. Quality of innovation is something which can be a game-changer in these challenging times. Hence, little incremental twists in the products, services, systems and processes in the name of innovation may not help the organizations today. It is a pity that a number of organizations pay lip service to the cause of innovation and hardly focus on creating a culture of innovation. For such organizations, surviving the crises becomes a herculean task, thus jeopardising the interests of various stakeholders, including the shareholders and the employees in a big way.

It is high time that the business leaders start focusing on creating a culture of innovation by investing in a full-fledged department of innovation with Director at par with Chief Financial Officer, Chief HR Officer, among others. Such a department should not function as an isolated R & D lab. Instead, the department of innovation can be a hub of new ideas and experiments with the total involvement of all the employees across all the departments in a particular organization. The employees can be motivated by way of innovation capability building activities such as regular sessions on brainstorming, ideation, creative problem solving and department-wise innovation targets. Besides, there should be appropriate matrices to measure the effectiveness of innovation. The sooner we re-orient our approach towards innovation from random serendipity to structured management function, the better.

REFERENCES


The Rise and Fall of Great Powers: A Theoretico-Philosophical Inquiry into the Arational Nature of States in International Politics

Salikyu Sangtam *

ABSTRACT
This paper is a theoretico-philosophical inquiry into states' nature or essence to acutely understand the rise and fall of great powers in global politics. The present study primarily highlights how the perennial cycle of great powers in world affairs is premised on the nature (i.e. inherent qualities) of the states (i.e. countries). In this study, the term 'great power' signifies a 'superpower' or a 'hegemon.' This topic is significant as it has vital implications on India's role in international affairs precisely because how it appraises these pressing issues will invariably define its influences in world affairs. It is also important to note that the fundamental contemporary theories in international relations—neo-realism, neo-liberal institutionalism, and constructivism—ignore the nature of states for they assume some rationale or purposive goals—be it conflict and self-interest, or harmony and cooperation—behind states' actions. While constructivism, on the other hand, commences with the criticism of neo-realism and neo-liberal institutionalism with little understanding of the essence of states. This essay suggests that states' actions have nothing whatever to do with rationality or purposiveness. That the nature of the state is ante-rational—has no interest, identity, or beliefs—and antipode to claims made by Wendt (2004) i.e. rationality, interest, identity, and beliefs.

KEYWORDS: Arational Nature of State, Hegemony, China, India, International Politics

INTRODUCTION
With India and China as emerging powers in world affairs at the backdrop of precarious American hegemony and pacifisms of Western Europe, how should India comprehend its place in this period of transitioning and changing dynamism? The longstanding hegemonic order, Pax Americana, established since the culmination of the Second World War, is showing signs of alteration, as new actors (such as India, China, and Russia, among many others) emerge from the chaos of the United States' disastrous invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq, and the 2007 financial crisis that enveloped much of the world's economy. Noted historian, Niall Ferguson, has written that the bloody twentieth

*Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations, North East Christian University, Dimapur, India E-mail: salikyu.sangtam@gmail.com
century witnessed "the descent of the West" and "a reorientation of the world" toward the East (2006, lxvii). If this is so, then a sound estimation of the mercurial nature of the international system in transition is essential for India, as it is one of the rising powers (besides China and Russia) vying to assert its influence in world affairs.

As scholars (Ikenberry, Feng, & Jisi 2015; Ikenberry 2008) have contended that the more urgent concern is to address the rise of China rivalling the unipolar hegemony of the United States, this puts the focus on and raises some fundamental issues concerning the role of India as a balancer to the rise of China in Asia. However, such circumstances and opportunities, which India and China is confronted with, are not new in international politics. The United States experienced congruent events when the then existing hegemony of Great Britain was declining, and so did the latter when the hegemony of Spain and the Dutch were likewise diminishing (Arrighi, 2010).

Thus, this paper is a theoretico-philosophical inquiry into states' nature or essence to acutely understand the rise and fall of great powers in global politics. The present study primarily highlights how the perennial cycle of great powers in world affairs is premised on the nature (i.e. inherent qualities) of the states (i.e. countries). In this study, the term 'great power' signifies a 'superpower' or a 'hegemon.' This topic is significant as it has vital implications on India's role in international affairs precisely because how it appraises these pressing issues will invariably define its influences in world affairs.

Inquiring into the essence of states becomes essential to appreciate the vicissitudes in international politics. The present research takes this avenue chiefly because, on assessing some of the principal literature in international politics, no satisfactory expositions are given to understand the unavoidable ebb and flow of great powers. The only reasonable explanations thus far offered are by multifaceted works (Ibn Khaldun 1967/ 2005; Spengler 1928/1980a; Toynbee 1946/1987; Durant 1939/2011; Gibbon 1910/ 2010; and Mommsen 1862/2009) that pay acute attention to the nature of man (as it will be shown later that the nature of man and state is the same).

It is also important to note that the fundamental contemporary theories in international relations—neo-realism, neo-liberal institutionalism, and constructivism—ignore the nature of states for they assume some rationale or purposive goals—be it conflict and self-interest, or harmony and cooperation—behind states' actions. While constructivism, on the other hand, commences with the criticism of neo-realism and neo-liberal institutionalism with little understanding of the essence of states.

This essay, however, suggests that states' actions have nothing whatever to do with rationality or purposiveness. That the nature of the state is ante-rational—has no interest, identity, or beliefs—and antipode to claims made by Wendt (2004) i.e. rationality, interest, identity, and beliefs. It would also be imprudent to reduce states to having command over their actions (or even their future). Yet, such theoretical assumptions are unavoidable given the fallacies at the fundamental level. Besides, this central literature—under the umbrella of rationality—rely on their exposition of power, security, survival (Morgenthau 1960; Waltz 1954/2001; Mearsheimer 2001; Walt 1990; Gilpin 1981; Jervis 1976), interest, identity (Wendt 1992; Wendt 1999; Finnemore 1996; Katzenstein 1996; Onuf 1989/2012), and liberal peace, interdependence, institutions (Keohane 1984; Keohane & Nye 2011; Nye 2004; Axelrod 1984; Doyle 1986; Ikenberry 2000), as the sole arbiter of
transformation in international politics. Nevertheless, the global environment in actuality is neither static nor rational, instead, it is arational (or, ante-rational) and invariably dynamic. These theories, as a consequence, are germane to a system that is in equilibrium and where certainty is established. When uncertainty, i.e., dynamism in international politics, is interjected into the equation, their explanatory power diminishes.

NATURE OF THE STATE
By their very nature, states are ante-rationality and ante-morality. They also show no interest in survival, security, peace, or prosperity. Those who do not understand states' nature speak of "Just War" (Walzer 1977) or the "Great Illusion" (Angell 1910) of wars. Absence of these attributes such as reasoning, morality, etc., make the rise and fall of great powers plausible. If states possess any of these aspects, one hegemonic power will indissolubly dominate the system and in effect terminate this perennial cycle since states will be incapable of committing errors. For instance, states will not take on unnecessary wars or abortive policies that will jeopardize their power and security. It is the arational aspects of states (i.e., the capacity to commit errors and miscalculations) that afford different powers to elevate and occupy the dominant position. The temporary security and peace are unintended consequences produced by virtue of states' ante-rational, i.e. arational, actions.

Perhaps it is acceptable and logical for the essence of states to reflect the nature of man since states are an amalgamation of men. And if this proposition is plausible, we do gain certitude concerning the conflicts that permeate world politics and human relations. Thus, by nature, man and states are concomitantly social and anti-social entities, paralleling Kant's view, "Man wishes concord, but nature, knowing better what is good for his species, wishes discord" (1784/2000a, 45). Discord saturates international politics, as Durant and Durant remind us, "The causes of war are the same as the cause of competition among individuals: acquisitiveness, pugnacity, and pride; the desire for food, land, materials, fuels, mastery. The state has our instinct without our restraints. The individual submits to restraints laid upon him by morals and laws... The state itself acknowledges no substantial restraints, either because it is strong enough to defy any interference with its will or because there is no superstate to offer it basic protection, and no international law or moral code-wielding effective force" (1968/2010, 81). Such is the dreadful nature of states and man. As Kant vindicates, it is this nature that stands in the way of achieving perpetual peace (1795/2000c).

The 'desire for mastery' plunged the Roman Empire into social and political chaos, just as it was for the Greeks. The desire for 'fuel and territory' led Japan to go on offensive territorial conquest, occupying much of Asia. Also, it led to a fateful attack on Pearl Harbor that eventually led to its defeat. The desire for 'land and material' led the Europeans to expand their overseas empire resulting in a free grabbing of land in Africa, Asia, and the New World. The 'pride and pugnacity' led Napoleon III to a tragic war resulting not only to his defeat by the Prussian but also brought the Second Empire in France to a horrific collapse. The 'pride' of Bismarck led to the unification of Germany even if it meant deception and manipulation of affairs between nations.

As for 'hegemony,' states (especially powerful states) in the international system pursue it to gain power and mastery over others. The fruits to be achieved by acquiring the status of hegemony are exceedingly vast and to a certain extent, limitless. Indeed, this is the essence behind 'security dilemma' that eventually leads to an uncontrollable arms race between states (for example, India and Pakistan, India and China, or United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War).
cannot be overcome because of unassuageable thirst for power ingrained and innate to the very nature of states. No doubt, the present explanation is dissimilar to the neo-realist/structuralist (Jervis 1976; Mearsheimer 2001) expositions, because they claim security dilemma to be a product of arms race brought to fore by misperceptions of other states' intentions (such as the inability to discern between offensive and defensive posture, etc.), as they try to ensure their security and survival. Yet, at the bottom, it is the unsatisfiable craving for power that drives states actions. As the words of Cecil Rhodes potently capture states' insatiable thirst for power, "Expansion is everything...these stars...these vast worlds which we can never reach. I would annex the planets if I could" (Arendt 1966/1976). As they acquire power, it leaves states in a condition of an unquenchable thirst for more power which cannot be satiated. It hence stems the dilemma of how much power is enough to ensure the state's stability and security relative to other rival states. It is understandable perhaps to sympathize when Kant reasoned that no state in the international system is safe and secure even for a brief moment, for the desire to subjugate and grow at the expense of another is invariably present (1792/2000b).

Today, the above-mentioned states' nature continues to persist, for instance, between India and China or between the United States and China. The desire for 'pride and fuel' makes the Chinese, the Japanese and the South Koreans to quarrel over a large lump of islands in the South China Sea and their pride dictates that they have the right to these islands—which may contain fuel, as well. According to Niebuhr (1941/1996), pride is present in every individual and transposed to the level of states. The element of power is closely related to pride since lust for power has pride as its ultimate end. The desire for power and mastery dominates the interest of the existing hegemon—the United States—and other rising powers—India, China, and Russia. Also, this never-changing nature further illustrates the invariant essence of man that goes on to constitute states. Bergson reminds us that even though societies have evolved into civilizations, the primitive nature of man continues to exist concealed under the many habits which we acquire with the growth of civilization (1932/1991). No matter what habits we may acquire, we practically remain unchanged, for nature cannot be driven out because it defines our essences, our inherent characteristics. Similarly, Kant was under no illusion when he reasoned that no matter how enlightened we may be, the discord which is present in our nature will bring destruction to the "civilized state and all the cultural progress hitherto achieved" (1784/2000a, 48). The destruction of the two Great Wars, the Cold war, the Korean War, the events of 9/11, the destruction of Syria due to the ongoing civil war are acknowledgements of Bergson and Kant's observations and substantiation of the arational nature of states.

Discords seem consistent with the nature of states when it is transposed from the nature of man. As Niebuhr prudently reasons, "The group is more arrogant, hypocritical, self-centred and more ruthless in the pursuit of its end than the individuals" (1941/1996, 208). Indeed, the arrogance, selfishness, greed, and hypocrisy of individual persons are Bourgeoned when they are amalgamated en masse corroborating the ante-rationality of man and thus of states. Le Bon likewise made congruent observations about the arationality of individuals. He observed the contagious effect of the crowd over individuals. He reasoned that when individuals are brought into a crowd, they completely lose their capacity to make a conscious decision. Here, we see the disappearance of conscious personality where individuals are no longer guided by their will, which, for Le Bon, is the principal attribute of individuals becoming part of a crowd. Thus, individuals in groups become barbarians, creatures guided by and acting on instincts ([1895] 2005).
We can, therefore, deduce that as states are an amalgamation of arational men, they too are an arational entity. Freud, for instance, was adamant about the arationality of man, especially individuals in groups, for they tend to create a dangerous artificial being capable of doing absolutely anything. Perhaps this is why Hobbes, for instance, conjectures an artificial being, the Leviathan; a supreme entity capable of taming the unruly, arational nature of man. And even the motive driving this artificial being is nothing but the raw natural instincts of man. Since states are entities composed of man, the nature of man—which is arational by nature—is vividly illustrated by the arational manner in which states carry themselves in international politics. This line of reasoning affords a better understanding of the essence of states in international politics.

**NATURE OF STATES AND THE RISE AND FALL OF GREAT POWERS**

With arationality of state firmly established, we must now demonstrate how this influences the rise and fall of great powers. Since states are arational, it dissuades them from learning lessons from the past and in the process induces the cyclical rise and fall of great powers. This inability to learn does not mean that states are wilfully blind to the events of the past. Instead, in the words of John Glubb, "'The only thing we learn from history,' it has been said, 'is that man never learn from history', a sweeping generalization perhaps, but one which the chaos in the world today goes far to confirm" (1976, 1). This perhaps vindicates the arational essence of states, because if states were rational, then by virtue of this quality states will learn from past events, ceasing the inevitable ebb and flow of great powers in international politics.

States inability to learn from the past is partly driven by one’s inherent attribute to wilfully ignore prevailing problems, which is a firmly established concept in behavioural sciences. There is always going to be some events paralleling those in the past, but in encountering such incidents, one usually seeks a way to justify that this time it is different—even when it is not. This is our way of denying reality, which is ingrained in our nature. Freud defines this denial as a primitive form of justifying one's actions (1900/2010). Such, for instance, was the case in Rome during the decaying period of its empire. Faced with the problem of class conflict ultimately plunging the empire into 100 years of civil war and its eventual demise, they rejected to glean lessons from their historical predecessors. This class struggle was not the first of its kind in history, such struggles have occurred throughout the Hellas ultimately resulting in the demise of that (i.e. Greek) society. Nonetheless, the Romans justified the events as something different from that of the Greeks. The resulting civil war which ensued plunged the Roman Empire into utter disarray and brought an end to the Roman republic, only to be salvaged by Augustus who brought the empire under monarchical rule (Durant & Durant 1968/2010).

Failure to learn from history is generally a manifestation of states inability to solve their problems. Toynbee was explicit about the fact that decline usually follows when societies are unable to improve current issues arising from within and without. Instead of solving problems, they are managed, which only delays the inevitable eventually leading to their demises—such as the Hellenic, Roman, and Islamic society, among many others (Thucydides 1972; Ibn Khaldun 1967/2005; Spengler 1928/1980a; Toynbee 1946/1987; Durant 1939/2011; Gibbon 1910/2010; and Mommsen 1862/2009). When problems are managed rather than solved, they continue to persist and prove to be seeds of impending calamity. The failure to solve problems explains the war and chaos that usually accompanies the rise and fall of great powers in international politics. If, for instance, we examine the ebb and flow of great powers, they are rarely peaceful—the rise and fall of the Greek,
Roman, Spanish, French, Prussia, Austria-Hungary, and British empires, among many others. States cannot halt their demise since the fall is intrinsic to the very nature of states.

We can perchance attribute 'historical destiny' as a deciding factor determining which states will become great powers. The historical destiny—in this study—refers to the destiny brought about by circumstances that are beyond anyone's control and which follows the natural course of history, i.e. nature of the things. It is the ultimate source of vicissitudes actualizing in the form of political, socio-economic, and cultural problems from within and/or without. This destiny cannot be altered by any events; the given states are assured of their destiny in the grand stage of international politics. This is well illustrated by Marx who, having stated with heavy irony that history repeats itself, first as tragedy and then as farce, goes on to remark, "Men make their history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under the circumstances chosen by themselves, but under the circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past" (1852/1963, 15). For Marx, we do take part in the making of historical processes and destinies, but we do so under conditions that are not of our choosing, and our choices have consequences, which are not envisioned.

What's more, historical destiny rarely follows a rationally-linear path (hence the permanent mark of uncertainty and unintended consequences of states' actions). For if historical destiny was rational and linear, one could indeed alter the historical processes through manipulation of the environment through social experimentation. However, this seems unlikely even with the magnitude of advancement in scientific knowledge—the fulfilment of historical destiny ushers in new epoch and possibilities. Napoleon Bonaparte felt this destiny before he dominated continental Europe. He proclaims, "I feel myself driven towards an end that I do not know. As soon as I shall have reached it, as soon as I shall become unnecessary, an atom will suffice to shatter me. Till then, not all the forces of humanity can do anything against me" (Quoted in Spengler 1928/1980a, 144). This inner certitude held by Napoleon was the historical destiny that led to his post-revolutionary nation to conquer and put a stamp of French authority in continental Europe. It was this inner historical destiny that led the decaying Minoan civilization from Crete to establish the Greek (Hellenic) civilization (Toynbee 1946/1987a). It was also this inner certitude of historical destiny that led King Philip of Macedon to dominate the Hellenic world, which was brought to its apogee by Alexander the Great.

The paradox, however, is that the decline of great powers begins at the very height of their supremacy. As Kant rightly remarks, "Even if it were found that the human race as a whole had been moving forward and progressing for an indefinitely long time, no-one could guarantee that its era of decline was not beginning at the very moment" (1798/2000d, 180). Such a decline is not something one can bring to a halt, for the decay is assured, in the same manner, as a given power is bound to exalt to its apogee and with it, its demise. The ascend contains the seed of its demise, as the words of St. Augustine surmises this nature: "When they rise, therefore, they are set upon the course of their existence, and the faster they climb towards its zenith, the more they hasten towards the point where they exist no more. This is the law they obey" (Augustine, 1961, IV.x.80). Perhaps one can attribute historical processes as one of the factors behind societies remaining imperceptive to their looming demise. Since states tend to misunderstand the historical processes at work generally, this gives great powers a false sense of security believing their rise should not only continue forever, but also "believe that the immortality of these human institutions is assured...", yet, it is also at this very moment of thought that they are "in [their] last agonies" (Toynbee 1946/1987b, 4). Thus, it makes
them impervious to the decline, just as Pericles’ Funeral Oration detailing the majesty of Athenian institutions would be the last splendid act of Athens.

The Moghul Empire could not have foreboded their demise during its zenith—let alone to foretell that their vast empire will be brought down by a Merchant Company, i.e., British East India Company. Nor anyone in the Abbasid Caliphates could have predicted their demise and were shocked when the Mongols destroyed their empire. Nor did the whole of Hellas foreboded that their splendid civilization will be coming to an end with Athenians and Spartans going to war against each other. Nor did the Romans think during 'the age of Antonines' that their vast empire will be split into East and West, and later on to be ravaged by the Goths (Visigoths and Ostrogoths), Vandals, and Franks, eventually plunging Europe into the 'dark ages.' Nor did Britain imagine in its zenith, its empire being blown into smithereens—for they were leading in every aspect of human necessity: techniques, science, wealth, military power, and so on. Later in the nineteenth century, they were stunned by the Germans and Americans who severely outperformed them in many aspects of material necessities essential to sustain Pax Britannia. At this present day, the existing dominant superpower, the United States, continues to lead in many fields of knowledge and techniques. One can rightly argue that its power is at its apogee. But history tells us, the decline beings at its apogee. Perhaps, it is inescapable that history will repeat itself—it is not a matter of right or wrong, good or bad, fair or unfair, for this is the essence of states, an essence that is, in the words of Nitzsche, beyond good and evil.

Because states are unperceptive to their decline, it seems as though (to use Spengler's words) they "unknowingly" come to their demise, when the fall predictably transpires. Past events present plentifully episodes on how great powers unknowingly plunged into their demise. The past illustrates how the eighteenth dynasty of the Egyptian kingdom, intended on driving out the Hyksos from its land, was all too tempted to embark upon enormous ambition—and thus begun it's faithful descend (Toynbee 1946/1987a). This unintentionally led to the 'overextension' (Kennedy 1989) of their empire and eventually to their humiliating defeat and eventual collapse. The Ottomans in the Sixteenth century came to a late realization about their overextended empire—both strategically and economically—as their troops were stationed in Central Europe, North Africa, the Red Sea, the Aegean, Cyprus, and the Crimea as well as towards their East against the Safavids, thus eroding the very foundations of their empire.

Likewise, the Assyrians overextended when they bid to dominate South-Western Asia. Little did they know that this fateful bid for dominance at the very height of its power would bring not only to their defeat but also the extinction of the whole Assyrian society. Another point of interest is the uncanny resemblance of experience between the Assyrians and, the current superpower, the United States. Assyrian was unmatched by any rival societies in the Syriac Civilization—in terms of its armies, weapons, and other war machinery, which were continually being refined and improved. The militarism of Assyrian society, due to its unmatched military prowess, brought them in conflict with more powerful empires—Egypt, Babylon, and Elam—which proved to be their undoing (Toynbee 1946/1987a). The United States, similarly, runs the risk of falling into congruent problems as the militarism and trigger happy Assyrians. The general tendencies of the United States to intervene in every corner of the world in the name of democracy, capitalism, freedom, and so on will espouse more enemies (Mearsheimer 2018), which plausibly can contribute to its downfall, just as the Assyrians.
What's more, at present, the United States is faced with a congruent situation as its predecessors. Its power is stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with interests in all the continents backed by its unrivalled military capabilities. Although, as Kennedy forebodes, "A large military establishment may, as a great monument, look imposing to the impressionable observer; but if it is not resting upon a firm foundation (in this case, a productive national economy), it runs the risk of a future collapse" (1989, 444). Nevertheless, even with parallels from the past, it seems unlikely that the United States will heed lessons from the past events, exemplified by the numerous thwarted attempts since the early 2000s to reduce its military overextension, i.e. its military bases around the world. The British Empire's belated realization that they had overextended, as its power was stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific, they found it unattainable to maintain their overextension as their resources declined. What we see today is a déjà vu of dangerous policies which will severely affect the standing of the United States in international politics—as it had been for the British and the Ottoman, among many others.

Great powers, in general, are imperceptive to circumscribe their overstretching as they do not consciously discern how such overextension will ultimately spell catastrophic (in part, this perhaps accounts for the states' unknowingly coming to an end'). Such actions occurred even without their conscious awareness because of its very nature. If states realize they are overstretching their powers when they execute their political stratagem, they can simply circumscribe these fatal policies. In such a scenario, there will be no cyclical rise and fall of great powers. However, since it is in the historical destiny for these faithful states to rise and fall, it becomes difficult for these powers to cognize that their policies will, in due course, lead to their demise.

Therefore, it is reasonable to hypothesize that the perennial cycle of the rise and fall of great power in international affairs is predicated on the very nature of states. This cyclical ebb and flow are neither good nor bad, for how can we pass judgments on the natural tendencies of an entity. It would be like passing judgement on breathing. Humans, for instance, breathe because it is within our nature to breathe; otherwise, how can we survive? Correspondingly, as long as states exist, there is bound to be the perennial cycle of the rise and fall. Moreover, it is the nature or essence of states that makes them unable to learn from the past, and this way implicitly dance to the tune of historical process over which they have no control.

This is manifested throughout recorded human history. John Glubb (1976) shows how great powers, on average, last for about 250 years: Assyrian Empire (277 years), Persian Empire (208 years), Greece (231 years), Roman Republic (233 years), Roman Empire (207 years), Arab Empire (246 years), Ottoman Empire (250 years), Spanish Empire (250 years), Romanov Empire (234 years), and British Empire (250 years). No doubt, there is no way to locate the exact years of the rise and decline of any great power. Still, the general idea behind the previous historical records, nevertheless, does provide a specific ascertainable duration with which to conjecture the likely structural changes in world affairs. Perhaps it would be best to leave it up to the readers to deduce for themselves the fate and (remaining) duration of the current great power. If one goes by the averages of previous powers, the present great power does have a long spell, at the least till the next century, before its decline. Here, 'decline' means great power's waning dominion in international politics.

The rise and fall of great powers are in one way following the laws of the universe, where everything contained within it is destined to degrade and fall apart. Just as the world moves from ordered to
the disordered state to decay; the same logic follows in international politics, where the system moves from an ordered state (i.e. where there is a hegemonic power) to a disordered state (i.e. absence of hegemonic power) where there are competing states bid for hegemony—similar to what we face today: with the waning of the United States’ power, we see multiple rising powers such as China, India, and Russia, vying to gain ascendancy and dominate world politics. The entropy in the international system brings the existing great power to its demise, and a new power and order are established in its stead, which will undergo the same cycle of growth and decline. As Durant and Durant verily assert: "Perhaps life should take fresh forms, that new civilizations and centres should have their turn" (1968/2010, 100).

CONCLUSION
This study is a humble effort to provide a novel way of understanding the uncertainties in international politics: how the sustained growth and decline of great powers in world affairs is premised on the essence of the states. It is one of the typical attributes of states that drive the structural vicissitudes elevating new powers to ascend and dominate world politics by replacing the old. These changes are, in the words of Kant, "... accordingly so many attempts to bring about new relations among states, and, by the destruction...of old entities, to create new ones" (1784/2000a: 48). This study affords scholars to conduct further in-depth explorative and empirical studies to either corroborate or falsify how this cycle of change in international politics is premised on states' essence.

REFERENCES


Displacement in Jammu and Kashmir: A Study of West Pakistan Refugees

Rouchi Chaudhary*, Bharti Sharma** and Hakim Singh***

ABSTRACT
India has been one of the most prominent refugee receiving countries in the world. According to Refugee International estimates, it hosts around 3, 30,000 refugees. Due to conflict ridden states in neighbourhood, India has hosted some of the largest refugee movements in history including massive flows between India and Pakistan in 1947. Due to porous borders and accommodative policies, the number of refugees in India reaches approximately to 3.5 million in one or other way. Presently, India has refugees from Tibet, Sri Lanka and Chakma of Bangladesh including refugees as Burmese, Afghans etc. There has been no distinction made between Indian nationals and others including refugees in ensuring the basic human rights and freedom. Articles 14 and 21 of Indian Constitution are equally applicable to all except in case of Jammu and Kashmir Kumar. Thus, the current study was an attempt to explore the status of refugees i.e. West Pakistanis in erstwhile state of Jammu and Kashmir.

KEYWORDS: Displacement, Refugees, Jammu and Kashmir, India

INTRODUCTION
Every year, millions of people get uprooted from their respective homelands or live life of exile to escape persecution, war, human rights violation, political upheaval etc. The issues of conflict and the violence are the major reasons for the refugee problem (UNHCR). The conflict and civil war rise in a particular place leads to displacement and uproot of huge populations from their homeland. The refugee problem has a multifaceted nature due to its individual, group, humanitarian, ethical and developmental aspects. It includes every person who lives his or her place of habitual residence due to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order.

*Assistant Professor, Department of Public Policy and Public Administration, Central University of Jammu, Jammu, India
**PG Scholar, Department of Public Policy and Public Administration, Central University of Jammu, Jammu, India
***Doctoral Student, Department of Public Policy and Public Administration, Central University of Jammu, Jammu, India E-mail: hakimsinghshan22@gmail.com
Refugees are one of the most vulnerable sections of the society due to loss of their home, property, relatives etc. In 2012, due to the conflict, a visible increment of refugees could be seen in different places viz. Congo, Mali, Syria and Sudan. This has led to a visible and big contribution in the outflow of the refugee’s population. The refugees are also prone to cheating, unsafe travelling, physical violence, rape or killing, separation from relatives, mental trauma etc. They have to face harsh situations in the countries they seek refuge especially as they have to share the resources of locals. Violence under conflict satiations is used for ethnic cleansing. It may deliberately used against specific group of people in different ways including the sexual and gender-based violence. Due to conflict led situation, many civilians come to the threshold of being at risk, especially when their state cannot assure them the security socio-economic, political security. The insecurity of fundamental rights leading to displacement affects every citizen in general and women, children, older people in particular. Extended conflicts lead to everlasting displacement and people live in the very bad conditions and have to depend on support.

CONCEPTUALISATION: REFUGEES, MIGRANTS AND INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS

Refugee: according to United Nations Convention is a person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is return to it. It is an involuntarily departure from the country of origin or nationality. This is in contrast to migrants and aliens, who voluntarily leave their home countries. The refugee problem is the consequence of not only the First World War and Second World War, modern dictatorial regimes and ethnic strife, but also of the innumerable socio-economic inequalities of neo colonial world.

The new class of homeless and stateless created by the refugee movements causes great political and economic problems for the host countries. Although, the problem of refugee is as old as history, it is only at the end of First World War that the International Community began to take serious note of it. In comparison to its earlier temporary nature the refugee problem has now been acknowledged as universal, continuing, and recurring. Every year millions of men, women, and children flee from their homeland due to war violence, environment disaster and repression which have over taken their land. These People take shelter in foreign countries where they are isolated and impoverished. Today, the problem has become a matter of acute International concern. The 20th century has been described as the “century of homeless man” or “century of uprooted” because of tremendous increase in the number of refugees. Caused by armed conflict, violence, persecution, Disasters

Migration: is a relatively permanent moving away of a collectively, called migrants, from one geographical location to another, preceded by decision making on the part of the migrants on the basis of a hierarchically ordered set of values or valued ends. A migrant is not necessarily a refugee. A migrant may leave his country out of choice to improving his/her economic conditions without any persecution and any of the other conditions. A person can be considered as a migrant even when he/she are born in the country. And he can be defined as a migrant worker that is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or she is not a national. According to “ Article 1.1 (a) it covers all cases where the decision to migrate is taken freely by the individual concerned, for reasons of personal convenience and without intervention of an
external compelling factor. This definition indicates that migrant does not refer to refugees, displaced or others forced or compelled to leave their homes. Indeed, some scholars make a distinction between voluntary and involuntary migration⁴.

**Displacement:** is a process of people being involuntarily moved from their homes because of war, governmental policies or certain other factors, requiring groups of people to find new places to live. It causes severe social, economic and environmental stresses that translate themselves into physiological, psychological, socio-cultural, economic and ecological damage. It involves the loss of people’s rights to land and resources which has to be compensated only through the process of resettlement and rehabilitation. It as a multidimensional phenomenon should not be reduced to merely as one of effective relocation. It is commonly experienced through the loss of land and the disruption of social and economic relationships. The consequences are multiple not only for the displaced group, but also for the communities left behind, the receiving communities and indeed, for society as a whole. According to (IASFM, 2011)⁵, Displacement as an outcome of conflict, development and disaster (IASFM, 2011) has been one the serious concerns for all developing countries including India⁶.

Most importantly, Internally Displaced Persons who have been forced obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflicts, situations of generalized violence, violation of human rights or natural or human made disasters and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border (Inter-Agency Standing Committee, 2010). IDP’s remained entitled to all the rights and guarantees as citizens other habitual residents of a particular state. Unlike refugees however, they are not protected by international law and they are not eligible to receive many types of aid (Inter- Agency Standing committee, 2010). It is often difficult to get accurate figures for IDP’s because populations are constantly fluctuating. Sometimes, some persons may return home while others flee. In more than 50 countries around the world, some 2.6 crore individuals are uprooted from their homes and displaced in their own countries as a result of conflict or human rights violations. In addition, natural disasters caused the displacement of 3.6 crore persons worldwide in 2018 (UNHCR, 2018)⁷. This type of displacement may also be caused by an armed conflicts, Violence of human rights at national and regional levels and Disasters like droughts, floods, earthquakes or typhoons, nuclear disasters or famine (Kalin, 2000)⁸.

**REFUGEES IN INDIA: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW**

Tolerance of different religions had been an integral part of Indian tradition. India had been the home to all major religions in the world⁹. Tolerance and good will made India a haven for Refugees. In the Indian tradition, a stranger who comes as guest is referred to as Athithi and the host is expected to treat him as God. In modern times, the movement of refugees and displaced persons has seriously affected India and other South Asian countries. Nearly 20 million people crossed the India-Pakistan borders before and after independence, 10 million East Pakistani refugees came to India before the liberation of Bangladesh; and 3.5 million Afghan refugees came to Pakistan following the Soviet military intervention. 80,000 Tibetan refugees came to India after 1959 and are camped in different parts of the country. About 53,000 Chakmas have crossed over to Tripura, Arunachal Pradesh and other North Eastern states. India has also provided shelter to 19,000 Afghan refugees and few hundred ethnic Nepalese from Bhutan. A small number of Burmese students, fearing persecution from the military regime, have also been given asylum. If Sri Lankan Tamil
refugees added to this figure, the total number of refugees and displaced persons looked after by India in post-independence would be approximately 25 million.

Post partition communal clashes prove that it was not a onetime event; rather it has emerged as a crisis in post-partition period especially in the bilateral relations of India and Pakistan. The division of British India into two sovereign states was accompanied by the mass, often violent, migration of some 15 million people, for the most part desperate and fearing for their personal safety. The migration was bi-directional as, Masses of people migrated in opposite directions: Hindus and Sikhs headed towards India, while Muslims moved in the opposite direction, from India to newly formed Pakistan – both groups leaving behind ancestral homes, farms, other immovable as well as movable property and possessions. The subcontinent witnessed the worst kind of violence as members of all three communities-Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims participated in communal riots. Entire trains carrying fleeing migrants were savagely attacked and their passengers massacred as each community in turn sought retribution on the other. Women especially, were frequently used as objects and symbols of the exercise of power in this communal frenzy and, in astonishingly large numbers, were raped, maimed, battered or killed.

THE DISPLACED PERSONS IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR

However, by the third week of October 1947, in the wake of the wider conflagration, Jammu and Kashmir, a majority Muslim state, also became an arena of political and religious violence. The state was invaded by neighbouring tribes from Pakistan led its immediate accession to India. There are four types of displaced persons in Jammu and Kashmir:- firstly, those migrated from Pakistan occupied part of Jammu And Kashmir State in 1947. Secondly, those migrated from Pakistan areas adjoining to Jammu and Kashmir State in 1947 that is West Pakistani Refugees. Thirdly, those evacuated from some villages of Chhamb area in 1965 war and displaced from Chhamb after this area was handed over to Pakistan under Shimla Agreement of 1971. These also include those who are displaced due to Indo-Pak cross border shelling. Lastly, those migrated out of Kashmir due to insurgency in 1989 i.e. Kashmiri Pandits.

POK DISPLACED PERSONS

The displacement involves people who were citizens of the Princely state of Jammu and Kashmir known as the Pakistan Occupied Kashmir Displaced Persons (PoKDP), they moved from the Pakistan administered part of Kashmir to the Indian administered Kashmir, mainly the Jammu region and surrounding areas. The regions on the fringe that were desolated by Pakistan's hostility in OCT-NOV, 1947 included Mirpur, Poonch, Muzaffarabad and unexplored districts of Ladakh and Gilgit. Those outcasts who were displaced from Mirpur, Poonch, and Muzaffarabad what now called as Pakistan occupied Kashmir are POK Displaced persons. No less than 40 percent of POK DP'S have been driving a hopeless life for as long as three eras in Jammu, Kathua, Rajouri, Poonch and Udhampur locale of Jammu and Kashmir. With an appraisal around two lakh POK individuals are living in different camps in Jammu territory, particularly in R.S Pura and Jammu territories to be specific Gadigarh, Bakshi Nagar, Rehari, Karan Nagar, Keerian and Gangyal.

1965 AND 1971 REFUGEES

The Indo-Pak war of 1971 resulted in the forced migration of people from the Chhamb sector in the first week of September 1971. At the time of this displacement, these people perceived that this migration was temporary as it had happened before in 1947-48 and 1965 wars with Pakistan. They
left their homeland with whatever little they could gather in a state of hurry, panic and terror. People even left their old, infirm, pet animals and heavy loads in the hope of returning back. Many a people lost everything except the clothes on their bodies. They had to start right from scratch and face innumerable difficulties. The elders of the families were not in a position to shoulder the responsibilities of their families as they didn’t have enough income sources to support them. During the war these people were left to fend for themselves.

After declaration of ceasefire on 16 Dec 1971 the Govt. of India in consultation with the Govt. of Jammu and Kashmir decided to shift these Displaced Persons (hereafter referred to as DPs) to camps at Manwal and Kishanpur, about 70 kms from Jammu on the Dhar road near Udhampur. They were impossibly cramped in tiny tents. A family of 5-6 persons were a given a tent covering about 13 sqft area with no facilities whatsoever of bathing, cooking, toileting etc. They had no other option but to cope with these sufferings by surviving on their limited means of livelihood. Majority of the people who suffered displacement were senior citizens, women and children. This erosion was further aggravated when these people were forcibly evicted and rehabilitated in separate small groups. Continuous disruption of life due to cross border firing and general prevalence of insecure environment at the international border are further making life more problematic. These people are border landers not by choice but by compulsion. There is a long trail of suffering behind them. The intricate linkage between the external causes of war and internal dimension of militancy in Jammu and Kashmir has further added ordeal for the border lander16.

KASHMIRI PANDITS
Large-scale internal displacement took place from the valley during 1989-1990 after selective killing of prominent personalities, mass rallies and receiving of short notices to quit Kashmir. The state apparatus also failed to control militancy and provide security to minority groups. During the migrations, large number of Kashmir Pandits settled in Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, Hardoi, Kanpur, Allahabad, Gwalior, Jaipur and Jodhpur. Substantial numbers were also found in Shimla, Ambala, Multan, Ajmer, Dehradun, Ujjain, Indore, Bhopal and Cuttack17. Kashmiri Pandits, Almost 2.5 to 3 lakh Kashmir people have been displaced from the valley. There are around 34,131 registered internally displaced families living in Jammu region. 5,889 families are living in camps around Jammu region. 28,242 families are living outside the camps in Jammu region. 19, 338 families are living in Delhi and rest in other Parts of the country18.

WEST PAKISTAN REFUGEES
The partition was not limited to the divisions of land only, but it divided people, emotions, relations etc. Millions of Hindus and Sikhs who migrated to India and the same way millions of Muslims migrated to India settled in different parts especially Punjab, Rajasthan, and Gujarat. A chunk of population called West Pakistani “Refugees also migrated to the Jammu and Kashmir state who came during partition from various districts of pre-partition west Punjab bordering the state of Jammu and Kashmir and settled in the border districts of Jammu, Samba and Kathua19. They migrated to Jammu to save their life but even after 90 years of Independence these refugees failed to obtain citizenship of the state. The situation is such that neither they can get admission in professional colleges of the state nor they can apply for government job in the state. They can vote in the parliament but not for state assembly of which the reason is that the WPR are not the original residents of the erstwhile state of J&K20. It was the peak time of migration from Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK) and West Pakistan towards the state of J&K21 the displaced persons of 1947, 1965
and 1971 who belonged to POJK were rehabilitated by the state of J&K.

These refugees are the Hindu families mostly comprising mostly of scheduled castes and backward classes were settled in the state of J&K while rest of the migrants were settled in other parts of the country. (WPRAC) They migrated during the partition from Sialkot. Historically, Sialkot in West Pakistan and Gurdaspur in India’s Punjab state had very close cultural links. At the time of partition however, this group chose to take refuge in Jammu, as it was the closest town across the line of partition from Sialkot. Gurdaspur and Amritsar in Punjab were 92km and 95 km from Sialkot respectively compared Jammu which was only 38km away. These people got settled in different parts of India especially Jammu in three districts namely Jammu, Kathua and Samba. Most of the refugee in Jammu region migrated from districts of West Pakistan Sialkot and Gurdaspur.

The west Pakistani comes to Jammu due to various reasons. The Jammu was the nearest area across the line of control/partition from Sialkot. Besides these many of them arrived with the perception that the Jammu and Kashmir state was ruled by a Hindu king and they can be safe. At the same time, many of them arrived in Jammu due to the confusing circumstances. The refugees who arrived in Punjab and Jammu had most of the similarities with the host population especially in terms of language, religious and cultural. As per the official data 47,215 people comprising of 5,764 families migrated to Jammu especially from Sialkot district to Jammu and the maximum population is from the Sc. The initial group arrived in Jammu in April 1947, after the riots in March 1947 in Punjab, Rawalpindi etc. In Jammu region these refugees are facing many problems and are denied of the basic rights. In this regard, these people have been struggling for their rights and identity for the last 70 years. As per the 1947 WPR action committee, an organization of these refugees which is struggling for their rights of WPR revealed the data that there are total 19960 families are identified. The total number of families of West Pakistani Refugees till date is 19960 which following breakup location wise:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Tehsil’s Name</th>
<th>Number of Families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hiranagar</td>
<td>1096</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>R.S Pura</td>
<td>3348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Samba</td>
<td>1632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Akhnoor</td>
<td>2271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Jammu</td>
<td>6908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Kathua</td>
<td>2199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Bishnah</td>
<td>2051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Udhampur</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Reasi</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Doda</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Supplementary list</td>
<td>401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19960</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: WPRAC Official Record

West Pakistani Refugees even after 7 decades of Independence are considered as non-state subjects in the state of J&K. They are entitled to vote only in parliament elections, and cannot exercise their franchise in state assembly polls, because constitution of J&K provides voting rights in assembly and
local body polls only to state subjects of J&K state or it naturalized residents. They cannot apply for state government jobs as well as purchase property in J&K, because article 370 of the Indian constitution neither allow non state subjects to apply for government jobs nor to purchase property in J&K.

The partition of India led West Pakistani Refugees of Jammu and Kashmir to leave their places of origin i.e. Sialkot. Their escape and settlement in Jammu saved their life and honour. They were categorized as POJK refugees, West Pakistani Refugees, terror victim of Jammu region, war refugees etc. These refugees are 90 percent of Hindu community and 10 percent Sikhs mostly belonging to a category called ‘disadvantage’, migrated from West Pakistan and have been living in Jammu region since 1947. After seven decades of independence, these refugees were unable to enjoy full citizenship in J&K. Though, they are entitled to vote in national election. In Jammu and Kashmir, they were also unable to purchase the land, property, and apply for government jobs. There was a need to amend the laws to extend citizenship to these people also Bhat (2019).

These problems of refugees of west Pakistan includes illitracy, unemployment, denial of political and economic rights. Singh (2017). In 1947, at the time of partition and the tribal invasion of the princely state, two distinct types of Displacement occurred were the west Pakistani refugees who moved from Pakistani towns adjacent to the state of Jammu and Kashmir and the other involving the POKDP, citizens of the state, who moved from Pakistan- administered part of Kashmir to the Indian-administrated Kashmir, mainly the Jammu region and surrounding areas. Masses of people migrated in opposite directions.

Hindus and Sikhs moved towards India while Muslims moved in opposite directions from India to newly formed Pakistan. Both the groups left behind their ancestral homes, immovable as well as moveable property and possessions Trembly (2016). The people migrated from West Pakistan to Jammu and Kashmir during the partition are the worst sufferers. Their situation is quite different from those who migrated from Pakistan to other states. They unlike others could not enjoy the welfare measures such as allotment of houses, jobs etc. They could not enjoy the status of legitimate citizens and rights or privilege that Indian constitution confers to all its citizens. The 80 percent of refugees in J&K belonging to deprived sections were from Scheduled Caste. They were unable to get citizenship due to partial implementation of article 15 in J&K. Despite having special powers, the J&K state has been failed to extend the benefits of centrally sponsored scheme among the West Pakistan Refugees. They were not made eligible to participate in state or local governance Jammu Height (2013). The unique geography, liberal democratic polity and multi-ethnic society of India have played a vital role in increasing the flow of refugees in India from its neighbourhood Zutshi, Satpate, and et al (2011). West Pakistan ’Refugees’, are the victims of the partition holocaust of 1947, who came during partition from various districts of pre- partition west Punjab bordering the state of Jammu and Kashmir and settled in the border districts of Jammu, Samba and Kathua Nargotra (2012).

The current study dealt with issues faced by the West Pakistani Refugees in the state of Jammu and Kashmir since independence of India. It explores status of refugees who despite special provisions of J&K state were unable to attain the citizenship. The study aimed to know the socio- economic and political status of the West Pakistani Refugees in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The study also explored that the central government announces special packages for these people but the major problem is that there is a data clash between the government and the Action Committee of West
Pakistani refugees. The government gives compensation of Rs 25 lacs to each family comprising of total of 5764 families. But the fact of the matter is that there are 19428 families which were not registered and were not given land or compensation.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY
1. To understand the factors responsible for the displacement of people from Pakistan towards India.
2. To explore the problems of West Pakistan Refugees.
3. To examine the measures taken by the governments for West Pakistan Refugees

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
The Universe for the present study includes the displaced population of West Pakistani Refugees in Jammu division. The sample for the study was drawn from six villages of district Jammu and Kathua—three villages from district Kathua and three villages from district Jammu. The villages to complete the study were selected through purposive sampling keeping in mind the population of West Pakistani Refugees. The sample for the study comprised of a total 90 respondents, selected from the six villages i.e. Chackjaffar, Gajansu, Shamachak, MirpurRam, Khokyal, Bigwan. Due to indefinite size of Population an equal distribution of respondents from six villages i.e. 15 respondents were chosen. Majority of respondents i.e. 55 (61.2) are males and 35(38.8) are females. For the collection of data, both primary and secondary sources were used. Besides, using the interview schedules, the in-depth personal interviews and narratives of some people were made. The data so collected was analyzed using simple statistical tools and techniques.

DISCUSSIONS AND RESULTS
The study revealed that West Pakistani Refugees migrated from West Pakistan due to the fear of death and destruction unleashed by communal clashes that broke out in the aftermath of partition of country in 1947 leaving behind all hearts and homes, moveable and immovable property and all livestock including personal belongings. The study reveals that West Pakistani Refugees faced various problems in Jammu And Kashmir State. They don’t have the right to participate in State Assembly elections and other local bodies in state of Jammu and Kashmir. West Pakistani Refugees don’t have the right to get admission in higher education and other technical courses in the state of J&K. Due to the denial of higher education, the children are showing less interest in education which increases the dropout rate. The first generation of these refugees is almost illiterate with very a few having studied up to middle class.

The denial of higher education due to lack of permanent resident status ultimately deprives them of employment. The West Pakistani refugees don’t have any reservation in the central government services, nor do they can seek employment in Jammu and Kashmir state government service. This is a very serious situation that leading to many other problems relating to livelihood and subsequent poverty. No relief or rehabilitation was provided to them by the state government. They don’t have the ownership rights and Ownership land is linked to the status of person is only when he/she is a permanent resident of the J&K state. These people have allotted the state land and these refugees cannot own this land. The real Owner of the state land is the Government itself. These refugees due to lack of permanent residents status cannot buy and own land other than the allotted in any part of the J&K state. Further the distribution of the land was uneven and many of these refugees don’t have land. The governments of Jammu and Kashmir do not pay any attention towards these people.
The study also reveals that the response of the civil society and the people Jammu and Kashmir towards West Pakistani is not up to the mark.

**Figure 1: Literacy Level of the Respondents**

![LITERACY LEVEL](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literacy Level</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>36.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Graduate &amp; above</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey 2019

From the above figure, it can be interpreted that 33(36.6) of the respondents are illiterate, 28 (31.2%) of the respondents studied up to primary level, 19 (21.2%) of the respondents studied up to the middle school, 6(6.6) of the respondents studied secondary level, 2(2.2) went/goes to college and 2(2.2) went/goes to university.

**Figure No 2: Religion of the Respondents**

![RELIGION](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>96.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikh</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anyother</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey 2019

The figure shows that 87(96.6) of the respondents are Hindu, 3(3.4) of the respondents are Sikhs and none of the respondents is Muslim or any other.
The data shows that 56(62.2) of the respondents are from Scheduled Castes, 4(4.4) of the respondents are from scheduled tribe, 19(21.2) of the respondents belongs to the other Backward class and 11(12.2) of the respondents belong to general category. In addition to this, majority of the respondents i.e. 61.1 percent were found living in the Kaccha Houses, whereas, few i.e. 21.2 and 17.7 were having semi-Pacca and Pacca respectively. The data also highlighted that 14(15.5) of the respondents lived in rented house and 76(84.5) of the respondents lived in their own house.

Role Of Women in Decision Making
From the survey, it was found that majority of the respondents i.e. 67(74.5) told that they as women could not participate in the decision making of family affairs. It was the male community that play main role in the decisions making process.

Difficulty in Higher Education
The state government does not provide any educational opportunities for West Pakistani Refugees. These Refugees lacked the right to education in higher education and other technical courses in the state of J&K. Due to this; there was high rate of dropout at lower stages also. The first generation of these refugees is almost illiterate with very a few having studied up to middle class. The denial of higher education coupled with lack of any reservation in the central or state government services keeps them unemployed and affects their livelihood badly. The majority of the respondents i.e. 86(95.5) told that they had difficulty in getting admission in the higher educational institutions in the state while 4(4.5) of the respondent had not faced any difficulty. With this neglect, they were also unable to get any educational scholarship from the government of Jammu and Kashmir.

Occupation
The above data revealed that out of 90 respondents 23 respondents worked in agriculture, 4(4.5%) of the respondents had their own business, 9(10) of the respondents had worked in private sectors, 35(38.8) of the respondents had worked as labour, 19(21.2%) of the respondents were unemployed and no one worked under government because of the special status to the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Currently, it was be found that out of total 90 respondents mostly 48(53.4) respondents
were highly dissatisfied with the job, 27(30%) of the respondents were simply dissatisfied, 12(13.3) of were satisfied and only 3(3.3) of the respondents highly satisfied.

**Monthly income**

In case of monthly income, Out of 90 respondents 45(i.e. 50%) told that they had 1000-2000 monthly income, 7(7.7) had 3000-4000 monthly income, 11(12.3%) told that they had 5000-6000 monthly income, 5(5.5) of the respondents told that they had 7000-8000 monthly income, 3(3.3) of the respondents told that they had 9000 & above monthly income while 19(21.2) of the respondents were unemployed and they had nothing monthly income.

**Property Before displacement**

The observation revealed that all the respondents told that they had their own property before displacement. But they left all the moveable or immovable property due to the communal disturbances which occurred in 1947. And after the displacement, out of total 90 respondents, 57(63.5) of the respondents could not own the livestock, 14(5.5) of the respondents had cow, 13(14.4) of the respondents had buffalo while 6(6.6) had any other live stocks.

**Basic Facilities: Primary Source of Water Supply**

The study highlighted that in case of primary source i.e. water supply, out of 90 respondents 29(32.2) of the respondents had their own house connection of water, 37(41.2) of the had hand pump, 6(6.6) had the combination of house connection, handpump, dug well etc while 18 (20%) of the had public tab or neighbour. Though, it was observed that all the respondents had electricity connection.

**Other Benefits given by government**

The data shown that out of 90 respondents 55(61.2) used to get ration benefit from the government while 35(38.8) could not get any benefits from the erstwhile state government (Jammu & Kashmir) like ration, cash, land etc. The data shows that all the respondents did avail cash loan.

**Acquisition of Permanent Resident Status in Jammu & Kashmir**

The study revealed that all the respondents could not get the state subject certificate or become the permanent members of State i.e. Jammu & Kashmir. This according to was caused by the special status of the state of the Jammu and Kashmir. And the villages of these refugees were politically excluded within the state as they could not participate in the Gram Sabha or State assembly. All the respondents did not enjoy any voting rights in the state i.e. Elections of state legislative assembly, Panchayats and Municipality elections. Though, these people were not the permanent member of the state but in case of central elections, all of them take part in the Central elections. They are the citizens of India but not the citizen of the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

**Role of Central Government in Facilitating their Rehabilitation**

Out of 90 respondents only 34(37.7%) were satisfied and 20 (22.3%) were highly dissatisfied about benefits provided by the central government also. Thus, 36 (40) of the respondents showed their dissatisfaction over the matter. Eighty percent of the West Pakistani Refugees were found from lower castes comprising of Scheduled Caste, Other Backward Castes etc. Without being permanent residents, their socio-economic and educational status was not also considered for special benefits conferred for these classes in the state. No benefit of the reserve category was availed to the West Pakistani Refugees of J&K state. According to the figures, majority of WPRs belonging to scheduled
castes were debarred from benefit by J&K government. They could not get any benefit from state sponsored schemes which are there for scheduled caste and scheduled tribe.

Roe of Civil Society and People of J&K towards the Refugees
The role of the civil society towards the west Pakistani refugees was not found relevant and effective also. Though, 46 (51.2 %) of respondents, expressed about its positive role but half of the people also expressed their resentment regarding its function.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS
Due to a huge bloodshed and violence, fear of death and destruction unleashed by political chaos and communal clashes, West Pakistani Refugees migrated from West Pakistan to Jammu and Kashmir State. Unemployment, loss of income sources, inflation and reduction in actual wages made women and children more vulnerable to the evils of suffering as were even forced to sell their jewellery and valuables assets. There was undernourishment, malnutrition and child marriage among children aged between 10-14 years. This was done to save them to a certain extent from sexual abuse and exploitation. Displacement adversely affected the socio-cultural life of these displaced people. Due to psychological and financial constraints the celebration of festivals, marriages, social functions or other rites and rituals was severely affected. After migrating to Jammu and Kashmir, the West Pakistani People had to face sense of statelessness. For various socio, economic and political reasons, they could not get the status of permanent Residents. According to Wadhwa Committee Report, 2007, there were 5764 families of these refugees in 1947 which later as par West Pakistani Refugee Action Committee reached to 19960. Despite efforts made by these committees, no official record was maintained or measure made for their rehabilitation by the government.

The West Pakistani Refugees were allotted land only on temporary basis. All were found landless without permanent resident certificate. These refugees due to lack of permanent residents status could not buy and own land other than the allotted in any part of the J&K state. The West Pakistani Refugees were ineligible to represent them in the state or local governance of J&K. The lack of political representation at state or local level made them feel alienated, insecure and without identity. An organisation called West Pakistan Refugees Action Committee was succeeded in pushing the state government for issuing Domicile certificates to some West Pakistani Refugees only in 1947. Though, West Pakistani refugees Action Committee meetings are actively attended only by the old people.

The new Kashmir manifesto, 1944 and instrument of accession including Articles 370 and 35A as measures of responsible government were not contextually implemented and adapted. These were not reshaped and utilised for the upliftment of various vulnerable sections especially West Pakistani refugees, Ghurkhas, Valmikis etc. Their demand for right to permanent resident certificate was seen as a threat to the special status by the majority in the state. While holding special constitutional powers to define the permanent residents, the state government convert the West Pakistan refugees into the Permanent Resident. Unlike other migrants of J&K or India, these were unable to enjoy the basic rights under the state constitution. There had been no consensus ever made between government and opposition to grant them the basic rights through adaptation and modification to the existing laws. Their affinity with Hinduism or Sikhism was considered always opposite to majority interest. The amendment in the existing laws to include West Pakistani Refugees and other groups could prevent the initiatives of abrogating the article 370 and 35A.
The laws should have been amended to include the West Pakistan Refugees in the list of citizens. Their names should be registered in the State voting list for their participation in the State Assembly and Panchayats elections. An official record was required to be prepared for availing them job opportunities or various other purposes i.e. availing Domicile certificates. Like the refugees of POK, an equal benefit could be given to them also. In not allowing them the permanent Resident status, the centre could also shift them to other neighbouring states of country i.e. Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Haryana, and Delhi etc for advocate treatment. Due to their socio-economic and educational backwardness, these communities also deserve reservation in education and employment in both State and the Central services. A separate central Government Department or a Relief Commissioner/ Nodal Officer was needed to initiate special schemes for their economic security i.e. Scholarship, free ration, housing facilities etc. Discarding all the available options to accommodate created a deep resentment among these groups and also paved a way towards abolition of special status of the state and its reorganisation into a new Union territory.

ENDNOTES
3 Kumar, R. Refugees Protection in India with Special Reference to the Role of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee UNHRC.(Doctoral dissertation, Lucknow University). Retrieved from http://hdl.net/10603/88817
6 Sharma, P.K. op. cit. 28-29.
8 Aditi, J. op. cit. 2.
13 Sharma, P.K. op. cit. p.107
14 Tremblay, R.C. op. cit. 92.
15 Aditi, J. op. cit. p.4-5.


Nargotra, S. op. cit. p.79

Bhat, S.A. op. cit. 1-5

Bhat, S.A. op. cit. pp.1-5


