

Tentative Title –
(Re) Negotiating Belonging and the Feminization of Poverty:
The Displaced Bru Women Case

- -
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Abstract

Due to their silences, women are typically seen as passive participants in several forced migration research. This study examines the shift of displaced Bru women from their distinctive nation of belonging in terms of social inclusion to their exclusion in a variety of gender issues. The reception process of being a 'displaced woman' and being part of the displaced group in the host societies, as well as the problems they confront in their protection and rights, moving beyond the victim's prior trauma memory or experience of their forced migration. It also explores how the 'feminization of poverty' theoretical analysis reflected gender expression, leadership roles, and other displaced women issues. The qualitative approaches employed yield narratives and in-depth insights into sensitive themes on the intricacies and complexity of their social and state interactions, as well as reaction strategies in resisting their unequal rights. In further analysis, it is found that while being marginalized as the 'other women' in a variety of social contexts, even their female bride becomes 'unpopular bride choices' in host societies and even amongst their same ethnicity. It also emphasizes the increasing need for recognition regarding the links between sexual reproductive health, gender identity, and social inclusion, which cannot be separated from the rights and protections afforded by specific legislation.

Women are the worst sufferers and victims of migration or other forms of displacement. But due to their silences, women are typically viewed as passive voices in studies of displacement and migration (Behera 2006). As a result, designating them as passive voices is equivalent to the omission of the relevant empirical evidence. Therefore, this study concentrates on how displaced Bru women transition from their unique sense of belonging *vis-à-vis* social inclusion to their exclusion in a wide range of gender issues. It also reconsiders the many ways that the feminization of poverty can further affect gender expression, leadership positions, and other women's sectors. Three key sections made up the remainder of this

paper. It starts by giving a quick overview of the aims, approach, and context. The second piece then discusses how their social belonging, inclusion, and exclusion in host cultures are being renegotiated. The last portion analyses the results using the theoretical views of the feminization of poverty.

The case of the displaced Bru women dates back to 1997 and involves exiled populations from the Indian state of Mizoram. About 30,000 individuals migrated to Tripura in six different temporary relief camps in the North region of Tripura in 1997 as a result of ethnic violence with the Mizos in Mizoram, and these people are known as the Bru IDPs (Saini 2020, p.1; Ministry of Home Affairs Report 2020). Following the murder of a Mizo forest guard and the escalation of the ethnic strife between the majority Mizo tribes and the minority Riang tribes, members of the Riang tribe were forcefully uprooted in the Mizoram state and fled to Tripura. The demand for an "Autonomous district council" in Mizoram for the Riang tribe was what first caused the turmoil before the 1997 event (Majumdar 2006, p. 73). Although the Riang tribe is referred to in legal documentation as 'Riang', the displaced officiallyⁱⁱ also are referred to as 'Bru migrants' both terms are occasionally interchangeably used to refer to the displaced Riang tribe. These IDPs are also sometimes referred to as "displaced Brus" or "Bru IDPs" to avoid confusing other migrants. As a result, I shall refer to their women in this paper as "displaced Bru women."

Background: Belonging and Feminization of Poverty

The sociological study of belonging has its roots in the highly traditional classification of Tonnies' separation between "Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft" (1940[1935]), Durkheim's divide between "mechanical and organic solidarity" (1893), or Marx's idea of "alienation" (1975 [1844]) or Giddens' (1991) claim that in the modern era "belonging becomes reflexive" and while Manuel Castells' (1996–1998) claim that the emergence of the "network society" in modern societies has caused efficient belonging to transition towards "defensive identity communities from civil societies of nations and states" (cited Yural-Davis 2011, p. 11). Meanwhile, Nasreen Chowdhury (2018, pp. 16-17), further initiated the more legal notion that 'belonging' inside a state is characterized by memberships, legal territorial, and state membership; spheres including 'inclusion/exclusion of rights' are also decided by the state. Niral Yural-Davis (ibid, p. 10) further asserts that the idea of 'belonging' is about an 'emotional' or maybe an 'ontological' link; sensation of being at 'at home.'

With this belonging focus since the classical social thinkers, it is observed that the rise of neo-liberalism, second-wave feminism, and Women In Development (WID) in the 1970s advocated the integration of women in developmental policies. Then, the notion of "feminization of poverty" came into more focus when American sociologist Diana Pearce 1978 coined the term to describe this pervasive structure of economical disparities between genders. Pearce (1978) had previously documented that women and children had evolved to constitute an inordinate proportion of least income people and she further discovered that in the US, women made up two-thirds of the impoverished conditions are over the age of 16, and half of all impoverished families are the female-headed householders. The notion of 'feminization of poverty was later made popular by the United Nationsⁱⁱⁱ in 1996, which contends that women face poverty at overwhelmingly greater percentages than it does to men, and primarily focuses mostly on areas in which women are most likely to be poor living conditions. According to the UN Women report^{iv} (2000), The bulk of the 1.5 billion population worldwide who survive on one US dollar or less per day are women, who make little more than 50% of what males do on average. The gap between men and women trapped in the poverty loop has also widened during the past ten years, a phenomenon known as "the feminization of poverty." As a result, it is also critical to analyze the existing vulnerable situation of displaced Bru women, where women, in particular, are excluded from various policies and their voices are silenced.

Aims, Approaches, and Methods

To examine the challenges and whether or not their rights are upheld, this study also examines how internally displaced Bru women (re)negotiate their lives and their response strategies in the host societies. To do this, an analytical framework combining the notions of feminization of poverty (Pierce 1978), and an actor-oriented approach (Long, 2001) was used. Besides, To examine women's role as a crucial point for inquiry, Sandra Harding's (2004, p. 21) 'feminist standpoint is used in how they construct their discourse and viewpoint on the issues from a woman's perspective. These views, Sandra Harding (1993, p. 56) contends that one's self-definition offers a greater grasp of her social environment than the stereotyped and dominant view imposed by others.

This study was conducted in two camps (*Naisingpara* and *Kaskaupara*) in the North Tripura district in the Indian state of Tripura using a qualitative research approach. I focus on these two camps in particular because: first, *Naisingpara*, the main camp, has the greatest

population and serves as the headquarters of the "Mizoram Bru Displaced People's Forum," so I can assess how effectively they are received and social inclusion process into the area's Bengali majority and other native tribes; and second, *Kaskaupara*, which is located on the state boundary between Mizoram and Tripura, so I can understand the special circumstances surrounding the existing scenarios in the borders and their effects.

The main primary data information was in-depth interviews to understand displaced women on the challenges they face and their response strategies. I first conducted semi-structured interviews but switched to an unstructured interview technique most of the time since I felt it was more suited for letting the women openly communicate their key concerns. Between May 2021 and July 2022, during my ongoing Ph.D. work, this fieldwork was conducted. Interviews were conducted with 98 households led by women: 50 in Kaskaupara Camp and 48 in Naisingpara Camp of the North District of Tripura state in India. In addition, a few male officials, spouses, and leaders of other NGOs were also contacted. This wasn't meant to be a sampling that reveals particular names and case studies of only a few. Also, due to the nature of the sensitive issues of the current political process and the complexity of the unresolved Bru concerns, the names of those interviewed have been concealed to safeguard their privacy. Therefore, this study employs two types of data collection sources: primary sources and secondary sources. The gathering of data for primary sources includes quasi-participant observation, in-depth interviews, and focus group discussions (FGDs). Secondary sources such as e-resources, books, newspapers, magazines, journals, articles, research papers, manuscripts, organizational reports, and so on.

Belonging and the 'Other' Women: The Displaced Bru Women Case

.Nira Yuval-Davis (2011) reveals how conventional gender, racial, and economic systems determine state belonging, therefore a process in exclusion of women with much lesser privileges and belonging is more equated with much more privileges. This is where IDPs like Brus find themselves in a bind, even though they have provisional legal documentation for settlement in Tripura state (India). In social contexts, they are nonetheless treated and seen as outsiders the natives, similar to non-citizen refugees. This is considerably worse in the case of displaced women from Bru since their ideas on belonging to a federal state or the native category are ignored. Instead, all social membership or opinions in the camp revolve around

the perspectives of spouses, sons, or male leaders. Which, Accordingly, Jackson (2009, p. 439) also contends that the notion of belonging brought on by state membership comprises "rights" (political, civil, and social) or "membership" (affiliation, belonging, and exclusion), where these two elements are intertwined in the relationship between the state's members, the government, and its operations.

It is also difficult to "decouple" the laws and citizen identities, according to Brubaker (1998, pp. 131–132), and both are intertwined together that revolve around national identity which processes as the process of main social inclusion in Indian states. The rights and identities of the numerous displaced women are based on their masculine dominance. As a result, their husbands and male officials serve as the core of their navigator of belonging, rights, and processer in their social inclusion process (both policies and social context), making it impossible to "decouple" (ibid., p. 131) their spouses/male officials from their understanding of national identities. The majority of the women who were questioned said that their decision to go to Tripura state was significantly influenced by their husbands' decisions and motivated by men's leadership from their camp. Thus, gender decoupling is an issue and unavoidable factor that must be addressed while discussing rights and nationalism.

- *Being Treated as 'Other Women' in Social Settings*

The work of Abhijit Dasgupta (2016, p. 21) demonstrates that despite the state's efforts to lessen the ethnically derogatory stigmatization of refugees or IDPs by using official terminology like "old migrants" or "new migrants," in actuality, they have specific ethnic categorization locally and face discrimination in the general population. Similarly, even in the instance of displaced Bru women, who are classified as "thieves, vulgar, rape survivors, or land grappers" in mainstream society, women nevertheless experience prejudice in social contexts. Because of this social stigma, displaced women rarely engage in social occasions or activities that involve the general public. Even among native women of the same ethnicity in Tripura, they are hesitant to mingle with the displaced women for fear of suffering the same destiny as the displaced women and becoming corrupted with their character as being stigmatized them also by others with such derogatory terms. Interesting to note is that even among the locals, instead their spouses and male compliance substantially more frequently impose these social stigmas and to isolated their women from the displaced women.

There is a reason behind why they prefer to be confined inside and engaged only inside the camp for women. In an interview, one informant described how earlier in a local school, they were often made to sit in a different row and differentiate from other students in various activities. She would not know during her schooling days which were done regularly and never ask but remembering now, she realized it was about the prejudice and social stigma that people have on us as tagline when they first arrive here. They might be a bad influence on the character of others. Also, due to the earlier history of exile and treatment of refugees, several categories of displaced Bru women are postulated as children from raped mothers, sluts, vulgar, and prostitutes. These are a few of the instances that women victims exhibit stereotypes while associating in most host societies and looking for work. The preceding remark is comparable to the study of Charu Sawhney and Nilika Mehrotra (2013, p.87-88), who highlight how Kashmiri Pandit women were subjected to the social stigma of sexual assault when they arrived in Delhi, as well as gender responses constraints. The true victims will be unwilling to divulge their prior stories, thus the story of the other participant is crucial in interpreting gender victim reactions. The real victims will be reluctant to reveal their past stories, and instead, the other participant's account plays a significant role in understanding gender victim responses.

Displaced Bride: The Non-Popular Choice

The conflict between two ethnic groups in Mizoram that led to their exodus to Tripura has altered more than just their ethnic and cultural identities. Women have also been classified as members of displaced ethnic groups. In addition to the trauma and survival memories, the rejection of marriage proposals from displaced women can also be observed during the early stages of their displacement. Although this discrimination has decreased somewhat in recent trends, it has nonetheless somehow left a lasting impression on the locals who perceive displaced people as being different and wild. As a result, in terms of attire, appearance, and lifestyle, the native women and the displaced women preserve some ethnic boundaries (Barth 1969). But the concerns of the Bru locals and other tribes earlier were to boycott the marriage of their son to a bride from the displaced. The fear factor of getting a bride from their mother is instilled by the locals to avoid getting them married. This fear factor was created due to the stigmatization that involves the displaced; they are the rape survivors and assault family origin. This might bring bad luck to the family for several generations of the local family. But these bridges have eased slowly after the 2010s, with the displaced Bru concerns given more

by the mass media and government. The displaced Bru who do not have legal documents, most families want their daughters to get married away outside their community or camp. At least their daughter generation has finally home to Tripura, which they have been suffering for permanent settlement.

However, the residents of Bru and other tribes had already expressed their worries by calling for a boycott of their son's engagement to a bride from the displaced. To prevent having them married, the villagers foster the fear that they would acquire a bride from the displaced. The stigmatization of the displaced—who are the family members of rape and assault survivors—created this fear element. The local family may have ill luck for numerous generations as a result. However, these gaps have steadily closed during the 2010s, as the government and the media have begun to pay more attention to the issues of the displaced Bru and more integration initiatives to the mainstream population. This happens in the initial stage mainly and still in some instances even recently, because most families of the displaced Bru who lack legal documentation (lost or burned during their exile) desire their girls to get married off outside of their camp. The parents also believed that after suffering for twenty-four years in exile from Mizoram and living in temporary camps, their daughter generation would be able to make improvements for the greater future by marrying men from outside their camp or IDP group.

The Feminization of Poverty: Reflecting on the Displaced Brus women

The "feminization of poverty" theorist (Chant 2007; Moghadam 1997; and Wennerholm 2002) looks at the growing differences in living conditions between men and women as a result of the deepening gender gap in poverty, and this tendency is primarily due to the lack of representation of women in groups with a lower socioeconomic standing in contrast to males in the same group. The persistent gender biases in many cultures like even the displaced Brus limit the opportunity for women to participate in the workforce and their communities. When coupled with a poor foundational budget for women and especially female head householders, this can result in a poverty cycle and a problem that affects various women chain in the displaced Brus.

With the rise of Neo-liberalism and Second-Wave feminism in the 1970s, the term "feminization of poverty" was first used by American sociologist Diana Pearce in 1978 to describe this pervasive structure of economical disparities between genders. Pearce (1978) had previously documented that women and children had evolved to constitute an

inordinate proportion of least income people and she further discovered that in the US, women made up two-thirds of the impoverished conditions are over the age of 16, and half of all impoverished families are the female-headed householders. The notion of 'feminization of poverty' was later made popular by the United Nations^v in 1996, which contends that women face poverty at overwhelmingly greater percentages than it does to men, and primarily focuses mostly on areas in which women are most likely to be poor living conditions. According to the UN Women report^{vi} (2000), The bulk of the 1.5 billion population worldwide who survive on one US dollar or less per day are women, who make little more than 50% of what males do on average. The gap between men and women trapped in the poverty loop has also widened during the past ten years, a phenomenon known as "the feminization of poverty."

The following are a few instances of such feminization of poverty that may be observed among the displaced Brus:

(i) Female-headed Households:

Displaced Women who are divorced, widowed, or single devoted their whole source of income to care for their children while they are single moms. They are made poorer because they carry an excessive share of the responsibility of raising the children. The likelihood of impoverishment is highest in women's families since there are lower family economic providers mainly where men are not available in the family. This type of intervention strategy is also required by civil societies or government policies when planning for women, particularly for the displaced, who have yet to be recognized as important concerns and excluded from many planning processes, either by the male-dominated leadership within or the policymakers. The combination of Sylvia Chan's (2001) model of "female-headed households" and the outcomes of my study are further examined in the next portions of the paper.

(ii) Cultural factors and Gender prejudices –

Gender prejudices also deny them the chance to freely seek a study or a job or are frequently associated with the belief that women should be in charge of raising children and parenting. The increase in the number of single-mom homes is tied to the growing proportion of women who live in poverty. Unconsciously, the patriarchal structure of their society and culture, gender disparity, and social hierarchy reduce women's chances of accessing a foundational

education. Even within the family, females' education is sometimes neglected so that their brothers can go to school. But education for females may expand possibilities for them to escape poverty and improve their social standing, which will not only benefit women but also improve the socioeconomic level of those dwelling in displaced situations overall.

(iii) Unfair Service sector:

Displaced women are not treated equally in the service industry. The number of jobs available to displaced women is quite small. Due to their uneven access to lucrative and satisfying employment options, women are frequently unable to economically manage their surroundings. Typically, jobs fall into two categories: regular - governed by the government, and irregular unregulated businesses (Burrows and Curran 1989). However, for them, the majority of the displaced women's workplaces situate in the unorganized sector, unregulated, or informal workplaces, which lessens the regulatory of their workforce. Women find it more challenging to confront worksite complaints and guarantee a secure working environment as well. In addition to these issues, the displaced women earn less per day than the native women. As feminization of poverty theories have suggested, the unanticipated pay disparity exists between men and women. But in the case of the displaced and In particular, it may be witnessed between native and displaced women, even though they may both be members of the same community. For local women, for instance, if the daily labor price is 250 rupees in agriculture, caring for someone's rubber farm, or tending to crops, the displaced women will only receive 200 rupees. The idea that the displaced are already in a precarious financial situation gives birth to this cause, and the displaced women will take whatever price that is agreed.

(iv) Reproductive Health:

To reduce mortality rates and provide women the ability to decide when and how many children to have, ensuring equal women's access to reproductive healthcare and rights is essential. Owing to their living circumstances and health, a large number of women and girls are seen to have lately passed away in the camp. Though economic stability is crucial, woman's health and cleanliness are to be maintained. Particularly susceptible to the camp's reproductive health hygiene are mothers and girls. Therefore it needs to provide the female with stable access to clean water and proper sanitation also essential to enabling them to engage in education and work. While at the same time, providing for the entire growth of

the community's well-being overall. Few policies and initiatives should also be carefully initiated within the camp.

(v) Exclusion of Women's Leadership

Before their arrival or upon their arrival in Tripura, it became clear that the leadership and administration of the displaced situation is still controlled by men. In addition, women from the displaced community do not participate significantly in politics or decision-making in the current core community. The patriarchal character of the Bru community may also be reflected in this absence of female leadership, in which women are viewed as doing household duties and males as having the primary decision-making authority. For this reason, males lead the displaced bureaucracy, and women's political participation is still lagging, even though they are present in the subsidiary organizations in charge of the camp's operations and care. According to Wennerholm (2002, p. 10) in "feminization of poverty" theory, has already been instrumental in raising awareness of the various women struggling with deprivation as well as the effects of 'macroeconomic policies on women, arguing for the inclusion of women in the planning activities of developmental policies, and raising understanding and awareness and the threat of 'female-headed households.

When comparing the aforementioned scenarios to certain other women, it can be seen whether or not Brus displaced women receive their rights or are protected by various UN regulations. The Fourth World Conference on Women's Platform for Action, established in Beijing in 1995, named eradicating the continuing and rising poverty load on women among the 12 key concerns requiring special consideration by the global community, countries, and organizations. At its fortieth discussion in 1996, the 'United Nations Commission on the Status of Women highlighted the matter of women's poverty burden in the session and recommended additional measures to be seriously considered by the global communities and to make social inclusion of a 'gender perspective' in all programs and policies aimed at eradicating poverty^{vii}. Such as ensuring women with appropriate socio-economic status protection and rights all through "unemployment, ill health, maternity, childbearing, widowhood, disability, and old age; and that women, men and society share responsibilities for the child and other dependent care". Besides, The Council of Europe (2007) report Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men, uncovered that while identifying poverty as a multi-dimensional phenomenon, there also several gender inequality which is also present: “ the gender division of labor, which results in highly paid jobs basically for

men and lower paid ones for women; inequality in resource access and disposal; and women's limited powers in the defense of their interests, which is conditioned by economic, legal, social, cultural and other factors". Though there is certain intervention by the government and several NGOs that are connected to the displaced Brus, such as the Mizoram Bru Displaced People's Forum, Mizoram Bru Indigenous Democratic Movements, Bru Tribal Democratic Society, Displaced Women Welfare Committee, and Camp Defence Committee, must also take the initiative to advocate for women's rights and the underappreciated burden of poverty.

These former discussions were among the session's agreed-upon conclusions at a certain international level and besides the government policies, the question arises are we protecting and ensuring the rights of our displaced women? As can be seen from the cases of displaced women, many people have either disregarded or are simply unaware of what their rights and protections are. The only thing that matters is that they need to possess sufficient money to support themselves and their families. Besides, the fact that India has a sovereign polity and is not a signatory to the UN Convention; in this process, the government will deal with its domestic displacement-related issues, such as IDPs. However, it is observed that these particular support policies would exclude women from many spheres and affect them more severely than men, which will further impoverish homes with female-headed households. Along with the need for government intervention, several NGOs that are connected to the displaced Brus, such as the Mizoram Bru Displaced People's Forum, Mizoram Bru Indigenous Democratic Movements, Bru Tribal Democratic Society, Displaced Women Welfare Committee, and Camp Defence Committee, must also take the initiative to advocate for women's rights and the underappreciated burden of poverty.

Sylvia Chant's "lone mothers" and Displaced Bru Women's "female-headed homes": An Intersectional Analysis

According to Sylvia Chant (2001; pp. 9048–52), the female-headed households, or lone mothers in her study, particularly from the continents of Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean, argue that they are impacted by several stereotypes and challenges. Linking with the displaced Brus women's conditions and Chant's theoretical analysis, some findings can be found are:

(a) *Matrimony*: Lone mothers are frequently ostracised and particularly criticism tends to gravitate towards women that enter single parenthood through non-marriage in a very traditional and patriarchal culture like displaced Brus with gender-specific segregation of work and where marriage is the key means to the legitimization and financial sustenance for women. And Chant (ibid., p. 9048) makes the case that widows are social outcasts, particularly in South Asian nations like India where divorced and separated lone mothers are given an unfair share of the blame for marital dissolution. Whereas Moghadam (1997) argued that lone-mother homes experience larger deprivation than men-headed households and are excessively prevalent amongst vulnerable and impoverished populations. It is evident in situations like those involving displaced Bruse in which single mothers are more vulnerable than other women.

(b) *Stigmatization and Culture of Poverty*: Stigmatization and prejudice, especially among the displaced Brus, may be evident about widowhood, divorce, and single parenting. Chant (2001, p. 9049) further explores the idea that motherhood results in the "transfer of disadvantage between generations." In addition to monetary deprivation, psychological issues resulting from "father absence," a lack of maternal care, insufficient parent discipline, and societal stigmatization are considered to seriously harm the life prospects of children in one-parent households. One displaced woman informant from the Naisingpara camp describes how tough it was to be exiled and to become a widow. Whereas women do not receive daily pay employment as men do, sometimes even they consider moving their kids to urban areas in search of employment. However, the restrictions of being IDPs in the camp and having temporary documents have also significantly impacted women; which indirectly surges the stigmatization of being displaced women as 'ill-fated luck', especially while becoming lone mothers.

Similar to this lone mother's situation, Oscar Lewis (1959) also found in his ethnography study of "Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty", that there is more of a continuous heredity cycle of poverty, i.e. 'culture of poverty'. Besides, Lewis (1969) further asserts that "the subculture (of the poor) develops mechanisms that tend to perpetuate it, especially because of what happens to the children who grow up in it in terms of their worldview, goals, and character" (p. 199). As a result, within the camps, single moms represent a category that is frequently blamed for a variety of societal evils. This may be even more detrimental to the women's image and others' perception, and it can also perpetuate stereotypes about them. Even yet, it has a subtly negative effect on the family's reputation and

self-worth in the subsequent generations, which makes them more likely to experience poverty. Therefore, Chant (2001, p. 9051) argues stereotypical depictions of single mothers can be interpreted as being 'ideologically' and 'politically harmful' because they are seen as contributing to a lengthy 'vicious circle of poverty and domestic household insecurity.

(c) *Different types of single-mother families:* The nature of the single-mother families differs depending on their background, and a common observation is that children of these households are more frequently observed working in various places. Furthermore, these women often deal with more labor or small businesses in their communities (opening shops, etc.) than the male-headed households or two parents' structure. While Chant (2001) claimed that these variations can occur not only due to the way they are born but also because of 'age' and 'kinship' reliance on kids, family size, income background, fatherless and financial support

(d) *Stereotype Myths:* Female-headed families of the displaced Brus women though they may have lesser greater earnings, there is lower dependence on heavy expenditure than two-parent homes. Additionally, spending in homes with female heads is frequently devoted to meeting the fundamental requirements of children and is not oriented towards their own needs. It is more to sustain their child support and not overused their family resources. Like other male-family-headed units are might excessively spending more on other activities like entertainment, alcohol, or tobacco. And occasionally, contrary to widespread perceived prejudices and stigma, adolescents in this type of female-headed household might be superior in health and achievement in education (Chant 1997). Thus, the prejudices that were described previously do not constitute the most difficult for displaced Brus female-headed homes to overcome; rather, sometimes it is the unseen process of hegemonic masculinity, authoritarianism, and even aggression that is imposed upon them by some other male counterparts.

Conclusion

Even in the new settlement, gender identities are nonetheless oppressed and socially excluded in several situations, such as in planning policies, leadership roles, or treated as members of the "other" group. Even women's feeling of home or belonging was something they were unable to discern on their own before the direction of male authority and spouses. In this way, it is demonstrated that discourses of rights and citizenship of belonging cannot leave gender to 'de-coupled' (Brubaker 1998) and separation, to maintain fully IDPs' social inclusion in

host societies. . If we examine the theoretical standpoint of "feminization of poverty," they were consequently subjected to harsher limitations and exclusion (Chant 2007; Moghadam 1997; and Wennerholm 2002) of displaced women roles in the several sectors.

The state's response to the IDPs' needs, particularly those related to women's reproductive hygiene, domestic abuse, and support for homes headed by women, has been mostly insufficient. Considering the displaced women's autonomy does not mean that their battles for existence should be overlooked. Government planning should also be focused on the general societal inclusion of gender issues and allow time for women's leadership planning. While the Covid-19 Pandemic demonstrates how female-headed families struggled to preserve their livelihoods and the teenagers became more vulnerable victims, it is necessary to pay greater attention to gender-sensitive concerns.

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Notes

ⁱⁱ See Ministry of Home Affairs Report (2020). Government of India. https://www.mha.gov.in/sites/default/files/NE_Resettlement_Bru_25022022.PDF

ⁱⁱⁱ United Nations. (1996). RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY [on the report of the Second Committee (A/50/617/Add.6)] 50/104 (Women in development)..New York: United Nations. <http://www.worldlii.org/int/other/UNGA/1995/220.pdf>

^{iv} UN Women Report (2000). The Feminisation of Poverty. New York: UN Women. <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/session/presskit/fs1.htm>

^v United Nations. (1996). RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY [on the report of the Second Committee (A/50/617/Add.6)] 50/104 (Women in development)..New York: United Nations. <http://www.worldlii.org/int/other/UNGA/1995/220.pdf>

^{vi} UN Women Report (2000). The Feminisation of Poverty. New York: UN Women. <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/session/presskit/fs1.htm>

^{vii} Ibid.