

Identity Politics and Unrest in Kashmir: A Case Study of All Parties Hurriyat Conference

*A Thesis Submitted to the University of Hyderabad in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Award of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

POLITICAL SCIENCE

By

NASIR AHMAD GANAIE

15SPPH09



DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD

HYDERABAD-500046

TELANGANA, INDIA

DECEMBER 2019

Department of Political Science

University of Hyderabad

DECLARATION

I, **Nasir Ahmad Ganaie** bearing university enrolment No. **15SPPH09** do hereby acknowledge that the work incorporated in this dissertation titled “**Identity Politics and Unrest in Kashmir: A Case Study of All Parties Hurriyat Conference**” has been conducted out under the administration and supervision of **Dr. Ramdas Rupavath (Professor)**, Department of Political Science, School of Social Sciences, Central University of Hyderabad, Telangana, India for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science.

The dissertation is my original work to the best of my knowledge and no part of this dissertation has been submitted in part or in full to this University or any other university or institution for the award of any other degree or diploma. Also, wherever contributions of others are involved, every effort was made to indicate that clearly, with due reference to the literature and acknowledgement. I also declare that this is a bonafide research work which is free from plagiarism.

I hereby agree that my thesis can be uploaded in Shodhganga/INFLIBNET.

A report on plagiarism statistics from the University Librarian is enclosed.

Place: Hyderabad, India

Dated: 26th December 2019

Signature of the Student

NASIR AHMAD GANAIE

Registration No. 15SPPH09

University of Hyderabad

(A Central University by an Act of the Parliament)

Department of Political Science

School of Social Sciences

P.O. Central University, Gachibowli, Hyderabad-500046, Telangana, India.



Department of Political Science

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that **Nasir Ahmad Ganaie** possessing university enrolment No. **15SPPH09** has carried out the research work entitled "*Identity, Politics and Unrest in Kashmir: A Case Study of All Parties Hurriyat Conference*" in the present thesis under the supervision of **Prof. Ramdas Rupavath** for a full period prescribed under the Ph.D. ordinance of University of Hyderabad. We recommend the thesis titled "**Identity, Politics and Unrest in Kashmir: A Case Study of All Parties Hurriyat Conference**" for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in this university. This work is original and has not been submitted in part or full for any other degree or diploma of any other university.

Prof. Ramdas Rupavath

Supervisor

Department of Political Science

University of Hyderabad

Head

Department of Political Science

University of Hyderabad

Dean

School of Social Sciences

University of Hyderabad



CERTIFICATE

(For Ph.D. Thesis)

This is to certify that the thesis titled “**Identity, Politics and Unrest in Kashmir: A Case Study of All Parties Hurriyat Conference**” submitted by **Mr. Nasir Ahmad Ganaie** bearing university registration number **15SPPH09** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for award of Doctor of Philosophy in the School of Social Sciences is a bonafide work carried out by him under my supervision and direction.

This thesis is free from plagiarism and has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this or any other University or Institution for the award of any degree or diploma.

Parts of the thesis have been:

A. Published in the following publications:

1. Ganaie, Nasir Ahmad. (2018). Drama of Separatism. *Urban Studies and Public Administration*, 1(2), 320-327.
DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.22158/uspa.v1n2p320>
Link: <http://www.scholink.org/ojs/index.php/uspa/article/download/1661/1801>
2. Ganaie, Nasir Ahmad. (2018). Kashmir from Barriers of Discomfort to Hope: A Case of Hurriyat Conference. *World Journal of Social Science Research*, 5(3), 258-281.
DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.22158/wjssr.v5n3p258>
Link: <http://www.scholink.org/ojs/index.php/wjssr/article/download/1562/1709>

B. Presented in the following Conferences:

1. Presented a paper titled “Electoral Politics, Separatism and New Age Militancy in Kashmir” in Two Days National Conference on “*Electoral Politics in Contemporary India: Emerging Trends*” which was held from 22nd February 2018 To 23rd February 2018, organised by the Department of Political Science, School of Social Science, and sponsored by Maulana Azad National Urdu University, Hyderabad, Telangana, India.

2. Presented a Paper titled “Socio-Political Awakening in Jammu and Kashmir” in a two day National Seminar on “*Education and Politics in India: A Perspective From Below*” which was held from 24th to 25th February 2017 and organised by the Department of Political Science, School of Social Sciences, University of Hyderabad and sponsored by the ICSSR New Delhi and the University of Hyderabad.

Further, the student has passed the following courses towards the fulfilment of the coursework requirement of Ph.D.

Course Code	Course Title	Credit	Pass/Fail
PS 701	Research Methodology-I	4	Pass
PS 702	Research Methodology-II	4	Pass
PS 703	Individual Course	4	Pass

Prof. Ramdas Rupavath
Supervisor
Department of Political Science
University of Hyderabad

Head
Department of Political Science
University of Hyderabad

Dean
School of Social Sciences
University of Hyderabad

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Firstly, and foremostly, I am extraordinarily thankful to almighty '*Allah*' the most beneficent and the most merciful for honouring me with extra calibre, stamina and confidence level while compiling this thesis.

Secondly, I am incredibly indebted to the Government of India (*GoI*) and University Grants Commission (*UGC*) for their financial assistance in the form of Junior Research Fellowship and Senior Research Fellowship because it was impossible for me to pursue doctorate without financial assistance. I am thankful to the UGC & GoI from the depth of my heart for funding my research.

Thirdly, I am profoundly thankful to my research supervisor *Prof. Ramdas Rupavath* under whose extraordinary guidance and calibre it was possible for me to conclude this doctoral degree. His timely support, moral guidance, academic contribution always stood as moral boosts for me and inculcated in me the competition and survival that were necessary for academic success. His extensive expertise and broad perception of the subject has immensely benefitted me. It was due to his encouragement, scholarly supervision, productive analysis, valuable recommendations and continued cooperation that I could accomplish this research work on time. I consider it as my honourable privilege to have worked under his excellent supervision and guidance.

In addition to that, I am also thankful to my Doctoral Committee Members *Dr. E. Venkatesu* and *Dr. K. Y. Ratnam*, whose valuable and timely inputs had significantly improved the overall production of this thesis. I am especially thankful to the former who had been most contributory in furnishing the shape of this thesis and was always supportive and cooperative besides providing in-depth analysis and innovative ideas.

I thank the staff of the Indira Gandhi Memorial Library (Central University of Hyderabad) because this library presented an excellent source of knowledge and research-oriented books, journals and other documents which were related to my topic. I am profoundly grateful for the facilities which I have/had enjoyed both academically and non-academically. I notably thank the University of Hyderabad administrators for rendering such highly dedicated reading rooms that have been furnished with the contemporary requirements and have been equipped with 24/7 Air Conditioning, electricity and drinking water facilities.

This study would not have been probable without the cooperation and support that was extended by the residents of Ganderbal and Shopian district mostly during the fieldwork which was carried out in these two districts from 5th March 2018 to 5th November 2018. I would also like to say a heartfelt thank you to those persons who were interviewed during this study. It was really very productive during those interactions which I had with them. Their patience during the numerous phases was really appreciable.

I would also like to thank a few friends or research scholars of mine who were always there to help and support me. Among them, I am incredibly indebted to **Mushtaq Farooq** with whose contribution I was able to complete my tough fieldwork in Ganderbal district. In addition to that, I am also thankful to the staff members belong to the Government Degree Colleges of Ganderbal and Shopian for their precious time and support. I Specially thank those intellectuals besides the forces belonging to various armed forces for their timely inputs and support.

In addition to that, I feel humbled, honoured and excited to have been selected by the International Academic and Research Excellence Awards Committee for the Award of “**Performance Excellent Award-2018**” in recognition of my exceptional calibre and outstanding performance in my chosen area Research. Besides that, I am highly thankful to Global Education and Corporate Leadership Awards (GECL) that Honoured me with “**Best Young Researcher Award-2018.**” The recognition of my work in the form of these international awards was a dignified and worthy movement in my life and career.

It was also my pleasure and prestige on being honoured by **Honorary Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D. h.c) in Conflict Resolution** by one of the worthiest Universities of the USA for my outstanding and extensive research interest on conflict studies which had boosted my ideology and moral towards the areas which I am dealing.

Last, but not least, I would like to express thanks to my sister **Miss. Irfat Mubarak** and my brother **Mr. Tariq Ahmad Ganaie**, for their timely moral help and support during the various difficult times of my research period.

To those mentioned and to those I have not mentioned here I thank you all and good luck to you all in your forthcoming endeavours.

Nasir Ahmad Ganaie

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
TITLE		i
DECLARATION		ii
CERTIFICATE		iii-v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT		vi-vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS		viii-x
LIST OF TABLES		xi-xiii
LIST OF FIGURES		xiv
ACRONYMS		xvi-xviii
CHAPTERS		1-252
	Title of Chapter	Page
CHAPTER 1	Introduction	1-25
	Overview	1
	 Background of the Study	3
	 Review of Literature	5-20
	 Objectives	20
	 Research Question	20
	 Research Methodology	21
	Chapterization	22-25
CHAPTER 2	Kashmir Conflict: Perspectives and Theoretical Approach	26-45
	Exploring Kashmir Conflict Theoretically	36-38
	Theory of Colonialism	36
	Two Nation Theory	39
	 Ideological Perspectives from Ganderbal District	40
	 Ideological Perceptions from Shopian District	41
	 Comparative Analysis of Ideological Difference in Ganderbal and Shopian	43
	 Concluding Remarks	44-45
CHAPTER 3	The Genesis of Identity in Rising Kashmir	46-91
I.	 Identity Politics and Statehood Movements in India	46-47
	 Secessionist Identity Movements in India	48
	 Major Identity Movements in India	48
	 Identity and Secessionist Movements in Jammu and Kashmir	49-52
	 Role of the Indian Nationalist Movement in Shaping Indian Identity	52
	 Colonialism and its Impact on the Identity of India	53
	 Role of Mahatma Gandhi in India’s Nationalist Movement	54-57
	 All India Muslim League (1906) & its Role in Determining Religious Identity	57
II.	 History and Overview of all the three Regions of Jammu and Kashmir	58-64
III.	 Separate Symbols: Flag, Flower, Tree, Bird and Animal	64-70

	 Socio-economic division of Kashmir during the colonial period	70
	 Role of National Conference in Shaping Identity of Kashmir	778
IV.	 National Identity of Jammu and Kashmir after Accession	78
	 Role of Kashmiriyat in restructuring the Kashmiri Identity	79
	 Kashmiri Pandits	81-84
	 Role of People's Democratic Party (PDP) in Identity Restructuring	84
	 Muslim United Front	87-88
	 Hurriyat Conference and Identity of the State	89
	 Militant Groups	89
	 Concluding Remarks	90-91
CHAPTER 4	Socio Transformation: Perspectives on account of Reform Movements	92-117
	 Socio Reform Movements	92
I.	 Socio Reform Movements: Hindus	94-100
II.	 Reform Movements of Muslims	101-110
III.	 Socio Reform Movements: Sikhs	111-116
	 Concluding Remarks	117
CHAPTER 5	Hurriyat Conference: Historical Antecedents	118-151
I.	Hurriyat Conference	118
	 Overview and Historical base of Hurriyat	118-122
	 Aims and Objectives of Hurriyat	123-125
	 Origin, Growth, Development and Division	126
	 Ideology, Role, Leadership and Achievements	128
	 Programmes, Policies and Electoral Context	130
	 Constitution, Composition, Support and Social Base of Hurriyat	132-135
	 Kashmir Freedom Movement	136
	 Pandit Settlement and Human Rights Protection	138-140
II.	Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF)	141-149
	 Overview, Ideology & Role	141
	 Criticism and Controversies	144
	 Concluding Remarks	149-151
CHAPTER 6	Identity, Politics and Unrest in Kashmir: A Perspective from Below	152-230
I.	 Sampling and Sample size	152
	 Kashmir Unrest of 2016: South Kashmir Centric	156
	 Demographic Configuration of Ganderbal District	159
	 Administrative Format of Ganderbal District	161
	 Educational and Infrastructural composition of Ganderbal	161
	 Demographic Configuration of Shopian District	162
	 Land classification of Shopian	163
	 Educational Structure of Shopian	164
	 Administrative Set up of Shopian	165

	 Educational and Healthcare Infrastructure of Shopian	166
	 Data Analysis of Ganderbal	166
	 Data Analysis of Shopian District	169
	 Sample Analysis of Ganderbal and Shopian Districts	172
	 Comparative Data Analysis of Ganderbal & Shopian	175-200
II.	 Issues and Challenges in Tackling Kashmir Conflict	201-209
III.	 Case Studies	210-228
IV.	 Concluding Remarks	229-230
CHAPTER 7	Finding, Suggestions, Limitations and Conclusion	231-252
I.	 Finding	231-237
II.	 Suggestions	238-239
III.	 Limitations	240
IV.	 Recommendations for Future Studies	241
V.	 Conclusion	242-252
BIBLIOGRAPHY	.....	253-270
APPENDICES	.....	271-282

LIST OF TABLES

Table Code	Title of Table	Page
Table 1.1	Administrative Configuration of Various Zones of Kashmir.....	21
Table 2.1	Historical Genesis of the Kashmir Conflict.....	38
Table 2.2	Ideological and Religious Foundations Behind the Kashmir Conflict.....	40
Table 2.3	Historical cause of Kashmir Conflict as per respondents of Ganderbal.....	40
Table 2.4	The genesis of the Kashmir Conflict as per Respondents of Ganderbal.....	41
Table 2.5	Two Nation theory and its implications on Kashmir as per residents of Shopian.....	41
Table 2.6	Historical Genesis of the Kashmir Conflict as per Respondents of Shopian.....	42
Table 2.7	Reasons for the Kashmir Conflict as per Respondents of Shopian District.....	42
Table 2.8	Ideological Basis of the Kashmir Conflict.....	43
Table 2.9	Historical Genesis of Kashmir Issue.....	43
Table 3.1	Language Speaking Ratio in India as per 2011 Census.....	51
Table 3.2	Population Trends for Major Religious Groups in India.....	52
Table 3.3	Land Transferred to Tillers in J&K from 1951-52 to 1980-85.....	75
Table 3.4	Voter Share and No. of Seats won by NC in Various Assembly Elections.....	77
Table 3.5	Seats won by PDP in various Assembly Elections of State.....	87
Table 3.6	Seats won by PDP in various General elections of India.....	87
Table 3.7	Vote Share of Major Political Parties of J&K During 2019 General Elections.....	88
Table 5.1	Ins and Outs Responsible for Division of Hurriyat.....	128
Table 5.2	Views of Tested Samples related to Boycott of Elections.....	132
Table 5.3	Various Organisations of Hurriyat as per 1993.....	134
Table 5.4	Reasons behind the people thronging to encounter sites.....	136
Table 5.5	Expressions Expressed by Respondents whom they Believe most.....	149
Table 6.1	Composition of Zones in Kashmir.....	154
Table 6.2	No. of Injured Persons and types of Injuries Sustained.....	156
Table 6.3	Total Population and Total Electoral Configuration of Ganderbal and Shopian.....	158
Table 6.4	Various Categories of Samples from Ganderbal & Shopian besides its Distribution.	159
Table 6.5	Demographic Distribution of Ganderbal as per 2001 and 2011 Census Data.....	160
Table 6.6	Administrative Classification of Ganderbal District.....	161
Table 6.7	Educational & other Infrastructural Composition of Ganderbal District.....	162
Table 6.8	Demographic Distribution of Shopian District.....	163
Table 6.9	Land Classification of Shopian District.....	164

Table 6.10	Distribution of Government Schools in Shopian District.....	164
Table 6.11	Distribution of Private Schools in Shopian District.....	165
Table 6.12	Composition of Administrative Setup in Shopian District.....	165
Table 6.13	Educational, Healthcare and other infrastructural facilities of Shopian.....	166
Table 6.14	Age Group of Various Tested Samples of Ganderbal District.....	167
Table 6.15	Gender Composition of Respondents in Ganderbal District.....	168
Table 6.16	Educational Configuration of Respondents from Ganderbal.....	168
Table 6.17	Occupational Status of Ganderbal Respondents.....	169
Table 6.18	Marital Status of Ganderbal Respondents.....	169
Table 6.19	Age Group of Tested Samples of Shopian District.....	170
Table 6.20	Gender Description of Shopian Respondents.....	170
Table 6.21	Educational Status of Respondents Belonging to Shopian.....	171
Table 6.22	Occupational Composition of Respondents from Shopian.....	171
Table 6.23	Marital Status of Tested Samples from Shopian.....	172
Table 6.24	Age Classification of Ganderbal and Shopian District Respondents.....	173
Table 6.25	Gender Categorization of Ganderbal and Shopian.....	173
Table 6.26	Education Status of Respondents.....	174
Table 6.27	Professional Composition of Respondents.....	174
Table 6.28	Marital Distribution of Respondents.....	175
Table 6.29	Views expressed by Respondents on Signing of the Instrument of Accession.....	175
Table 6.30	Reasons Behind the Growing Conflict in Kashmir.....	176
Table 6.31	Implications of the Two-Nation Theory on the Kashmir Conflict.....	177
Table 6.32	Historical Genesis of Kashmir Issue as per the Views Expressed by Respondents...	177
Table 6.33	Whys and wherefores Behind the Survival of Kashmir Conflict.....	178
Table 6.34	Factors that are making the Kashmir issue more Prone & Complex.....	179
Table 6.35	Why Limitedness of the Kashmir Unrest is limited to Kashmir Valley only.....	179
Table 6.36	Why People in Kashmir are thronging to Encounter Sites.....	180
Table 6.37	Reasons Behind the Growth of New Age Militancy in Kashmir.....	181
Table 6.38	Major Blamed Parties who are Responsible for Kashmir Unrest.....	181
Table 6.39	Supporters Behind the Kashmir Issue and Major Provoking agents.....	182
Table 6.40	Reasons Behind the Growing Conflict in Kashmir.....	183
Table 6.41	Agencies that have Inflicted Majority of the Damages on J&K State.....	183
Table 6.42	Growth in Kashmir Conflict due to Unruly Politics of the State.....	184

Table 6.43	Level of Work Satisfaction Expressed by Respondents.....	184
Table 6.44	Best Coalition Governance in the State so far.....	185
Table 6.45	Best Political Party of the State for Overall Development.....	186
Table 6.46	Less Regional Disparities in the state.....	186
Table 6.47	Stone Pelters in Kashmir are Paid or Unpaid Agents.....	187
Table 6.48	The belief of Respondents in Stone Pelting.....	188
Table 6.49	Views of Respondents related to retained parts of Kashmir by China & Pakistan....	188
Table 6.50	Representatives of the Kashmir people as per Respondents.....	189
Table 6.51	The belief of Respondents as Expressed.....	189
Table 6.52	Choice of Staying Country in Case of Referendum.....	190
Table 6.53	Opinions Expressed on Instigating Cross Border Firing.....	190
Table 6.54	Present Suitable Option for Kashmir.....	191
Table 6.55	With Whom Would You Like to Stay.....	191
Table 6.56	Suggestions on Improving Kashmir Situation.....	192
Table 6.57	Participation in Protest Demonstration during last three Years.....	192
Table 6.58	Different Reasons Responsible for Taking Part in Protests.....	193
Table 6.59	AFSPA Should be Repealed or not.....	194
Table 6.60	Strike Calls and other Protest Programmes Should be there or Not.....	194
Table 6.61	Are you Aware of Strike Calls and other Protest tactics.....	195
Table 6.62	Responsible Agents for Issuing Strike Calls.....	195
Table 6.63	Views Regarding the Support of Strike Calls.....	196
Table 6.64	Views Related to Election Boycott.....	196
Table 6.65	Ability and Willingness to Vote.....	197
Table 6.66	Presence in Electoral Participation.....	197
Table 6.67	Electoral participation as an assertion of Support for India.....	198
Table 6.68	Reasons for Division in Hurriyat.....	198
Table 6.69	Hurriyat as part of dialogue Process.....	199
Table 6.70	Suspension of Perks, Incentives and Security Cover to Hurriyat.....	199
Table 6.71	Knowledgeable Regarding article 370.....	200
Table 6.72	Views on Revocation of Article 370 of Indian Constitution.....	201

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Code	Title of Figure	Page
Figure 1.1	Distribution of Retained Parts of Kashmir among China, India and Pakistan.....	3
Figure 6.1	Administrative Configuration of Kashmir Valley.....	153
Figure 6.2	Diagram of Purposive Sampling.....	154
Figure 6.3	No. of Killed Persons in Various Districts of Kashmir During 2016 unrest.....	155
Figure 6.4	Injuries sustained in Central and South Kashmir zones of Kashmir during 2016 turmoil.....	157

ACRONYMS

AAC	.....	Awami Action Committee
AD	.....	Allopathic Dispensary
ADS	.....	Active Denial System
AFSPA	.....	Armed Forces Special Powers Act
AIP	.....	Awami Itihad Party
AJK	.....	Azad Jammu and Kashmir
AJKMC	.....	All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference
AJKNC	.....	All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference
APHC	.....	All Parties Hurriyat Conference
AR	.....	Administrative Report
BJP	.....	Bhartiya Janta Party
BPR&D	.....	Bureau of Police Research and Development
BSF	.....	Border Security Force
BPL	.....	Below Poverty Line
CASO	.....	Cardon and Search Operation
CBI	.....	Central Bureau of Investigation
CBM	.....	Confidence Building Measures
CD	.....	Community Development
CDB	.....	Community Development Block
CEO	.....	Chief Electoral Officer
CHC	.....	Community Health Centre
CID	.....	Criminal Investigation Department
CJK	.....	Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir
CMP	.....	Common Minimum Programme
COI	.....	Constitution of India
CPI (M)	.....	Communist Party of India (Marxist)
CRPF	.....	Central Reserve Police Force
CUK	.....	Central University of Kashmir
DEW	.....	Directed Energy Weapon
DFP	.....	DFP Democratic Freedom Party
DGP	.....	Director General of Police

DNA	 Daily News and Analysis
ECI	 Election Commission of India
EMI	 Easy Monthly Instalment
Et al.	 And Others
FIR	 First Information Report
F.N.	 File Number
GAD	 General Administration Department
G-B	 Gilgit-Baltistan
GK	 Greater Kashmir
GoI	 Government of India
HM	 Hizb-ul-Mujahideen
HUM	 Harakat-ul-Mujahideen
IAS	 Indian Administrative Service
IAF	 Indian Air Force
Ibid	 In the same place
ICSSR	 Indian Council of Social Science Research
ICG	 International Crisis Group
IGP	 Inspector General of Police
INC	 Indian National Congress
IOA	 Instrument of Accession
IPC	 Indian Penal Code
IPS	 Indian Police Service
ISI	 Inter Service Intelligence
IST	 Indian Standard Time
ITI	 Industrial Training Institute
IUCN	 International Union for the Conservation of Nature
JeM	 Jaish-e-Mohammed
J&K	 Jammu and Kashmir
JIJK	 Jamaat -e-Islami Jammu and Kashmir
JKA	 Jammu and Kashmir Archives
JKA (J)	 Jammu and Kashmir Archives, Jammu Repository
JKA (S)	 Jammu and Kashmir Archives, Srinagar Repository
JKCCS	 Jammu Kashmir Coalition of Civil Society

JKIF	 Jammu and Kashmir Islamic Front
JKLF	 Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front
JKP	 Jammu and Kashmir Police
JRF	 Junior Research Fellow
JuM	 Jamait-ul-Mujahideen
JWG	 Joint Working Group
LAC	 Line of Actual Control
LeT	 Lashkar-e-Toiba
LOC	 Line of Control
LTTE	 Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
MAC	 Medical Aid Centre
MC	 Municipal Corporation
MC	 Muslim Conference
MEA	 Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	 Ministry of Home Affairs
MUF	 Muslim United Front
MoU	 Memorandum of Understanding
NAI	 National Archives of India
NDA	 National Democratic Alliance
NC	 National Conference
NDTV	 New Delhi Television
NGO	 Non-Governmental Organization
NWFP	 North-West Frontier Province
OGW	 Over Ground Worker
PAVA	 Pelargonic Acid Vanillyl Amide
PDP	 Peoples Democratic Party
PDD	 Power Development Department
PEP	 Pulsed Energy Projectile
PF	 Plebiscite Front
PHC	 Primary Health Centre
POTA	 Prevention of Terrorism Act
PoK	 Pakistan Occupied Kashmir
PPP	 Protest, Prayer and Petition

PSA	 Public Safety Act
PRC	 People's Republic of China
RAF	 Rapid Action Force
RoI	 Republic of India
RK	 Rising Kashmir
SATP	 South Asia Terrorism Portal
SC	 Sub Centre
SC	 Supreme Court
SC	 Scheduled Caste
SDH	 Sub District Hospital
SHRC	 State Human Rights Commissions
SKIMS	 Sher-I-Kashmir Institute of Medical Sciences
SMHS	 Shri Maharaja Hari Sing
SOP	 Standard Operations Procedure
SPO	 Special Police Officer
SPSS	 Statistical Package for Social Science
SRF	 Senior Research Fellow
STF	 Special Task Force
ST	 Scheduled Tribe
TADA	 Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act
TOA	 Treaty of Amritsar
ToI	 Times of India
UGC	 University Grants Commission
ULFA	 United Liberation Front of Assam
UN	 UN United Nations
UPA	 United Progressive Alliance
USA	 USA United States of America
Vol.	 Volume
UMG	 Uber Machine Gun

Chapter 1

Introduction

1. Overview

The province of Jammu and Kashmir is the bone of conflict among India and Pakistan. India retains 66% (Two-Thirds) of Kashmir while the rest is with Pakistan and China. Pakistan has authority over northern areas (Gilgit and Baltistan), and Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK), which is called Azad Kashmir in Pakistan.¹ Azad Kashmir has its administration which is controlled by Islamabad and northern zones are managed straightforwardly by Pakistan.² China has command over Aksai Chin, Saksgam and Raksgam regions of Ladakh sub-division of Kashmir. India claimed that the whole territory of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of the nation. In critical terms, every one of the three countries has enthusiasm for Kashmir. Pakistan has authority over vast zones in southern Kashmir which give profundity to its National capital region. The headquarters of all the major systems in Pakistan's Punjab lies in Kashmir. China has a noteworthy stake in the northern zones of Kashmir, the Chinese road that links Tibet with Xinjiang goes through the Aksai Chin and Haji Langer (Kaul, 2001, p. 29).

Social orders in the societies of Jammu and Kashmir have been battling in lieu of their self-governance (Autonomy) since 1819. At no point of time, the people of this state sprinkling over more than 84, 000 Kilometers reunited to the domineering and the oppressive rule of the extra-terrestrial rulers, regardless of whether they be there Britishers or Dogra rulers.³ In 1865 individuals brought up organised voice up in inconsistency of severe Dogra rulers and twenty-eight individuals were skimmed and interminably since that period, individuals of the State have been battling against their oppression.⁴ It was in 1924 the dissents against the oppressive

¹ Malik, I. H. (2019). The Kashmir Dispute: A Cul-de-Sac in Indo-Pakistan Relations? *Perspectives on Kashmir*, 299-318.

² Rose, L. E. (2019). The Politics of Azad Kashmir. *Perspectives on Kashmir*, 235-253.

³ Varshney, A. (2019). Three Compromised Nationalisms: Why Kashmir Has Been a Problem. *Perspectives on Kashmir*, 191-234.

⁴ Bhatia, M. (2017). Beyond the 'Kashmir' Meta-Narrative: Caste, Identities and the Politics of Conflict in Jammu and Kashmir. *Kashmir*, 199-219.

ruler took a systematised shape. At 9:30 A.M. on October 27th, 1947, Indian troops arrived in Kashmir and from that point of time citizens of Jammu and Kashmir have been battling against Indian Occupation. Unrest, Turmoil and struggle in the valley have turned out to be increasingly fierce, and there is a colossal ascent in it and Kashmiris have always proclaimed their freedom from the union India. Youth in the valley in more than a thousand numbers are joining protest programmes along with raising challenges and levitation of anti-India slogans and pro-freedom slogans.⁵

The Kashmiri individuals have been inhumanely abused, oppressed, denied of democratic government or equitable qualities and self-assurance and have suffered through major military clashes in the long periods of 1965-75, furthermore with various armed assemblies or mobilisations of youth. Kashmir has been a constant source of tension⁶ and pressure in the area since from the period when the British subdivided their imperial belongings in South Asia into two new states: India and Pakistan.

For Pakistan, coordinating the majority of Muslim jurisdiction of Kashmir is a fundamental national desire designed up in its distinctiveness as an Islamic State. After freedom from colonial pronouncement, India and Pakistan tussled a contention over the princely territory of Jammu and Kashmir. Toward the finish of the war, India sorted out the most valued parts of Kashmir (Bose, 2005). While there were irregular periods of eagerness and there was no prearranged insurgency movement or armed conflict (Swami, 2007, p. 21). All through this period, legislative elections in the State of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) were first held in 1951, and Sheik Mohammad Abdullah's political party stood unhindered. However, Sheik Mohammad Abdullah⁷ would fall in and out of support and favour with the central government and would repeatedly be terminated only to be reappointed well ahead. There was a political capriciousness in Jammu and Kashmir, and it left through a few times of Presidential rule by the Federal Government. Commitment for an autonomous Kashmiri State, for example, the Kashmir Freedom Movement and the Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front likewise exist and have numerous groups. India currently holds around 66% (Two Thirds) of the State's territory, which is known as Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistan controls and administers

⁵ Bhan, M., Duschinski, H., & Zia, A. (2018). Introduction. "Rebels of the Streets": Violence, Protest, and Freedom in Kashmir. *Resisting Occupation in Kashmir*, 1-41.

⁶ [Kashmir Militant Extremists](https://www.cfr.org/). (2009, July 9). Council on Foreign Relations. Retrieved from <https://www.cfr.org/>. Accessed on 16th December 2019.

⁷ Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah born in 1905-82 was also known as "*Sheer-e-Kashmir*" (Lion of Kashmir). He established National conference in 1938 and was Prime Minister of the State of J&K from 1948-53. Later after the accession with the union of the India, he served as the Chief Minister of the State from 1975-82.

around One Third (33%), which it calls Azad (which means free) Kashmir.⁸ China similarly controls two little parts of northern Kashmir. India and Pakistan battled two wars over the region of J&K in 1947 and 1965 and a restricted a clash in 1999. The below map⁹ demonstrates the detachment of the State's territory by these three atomic fuelled nations:

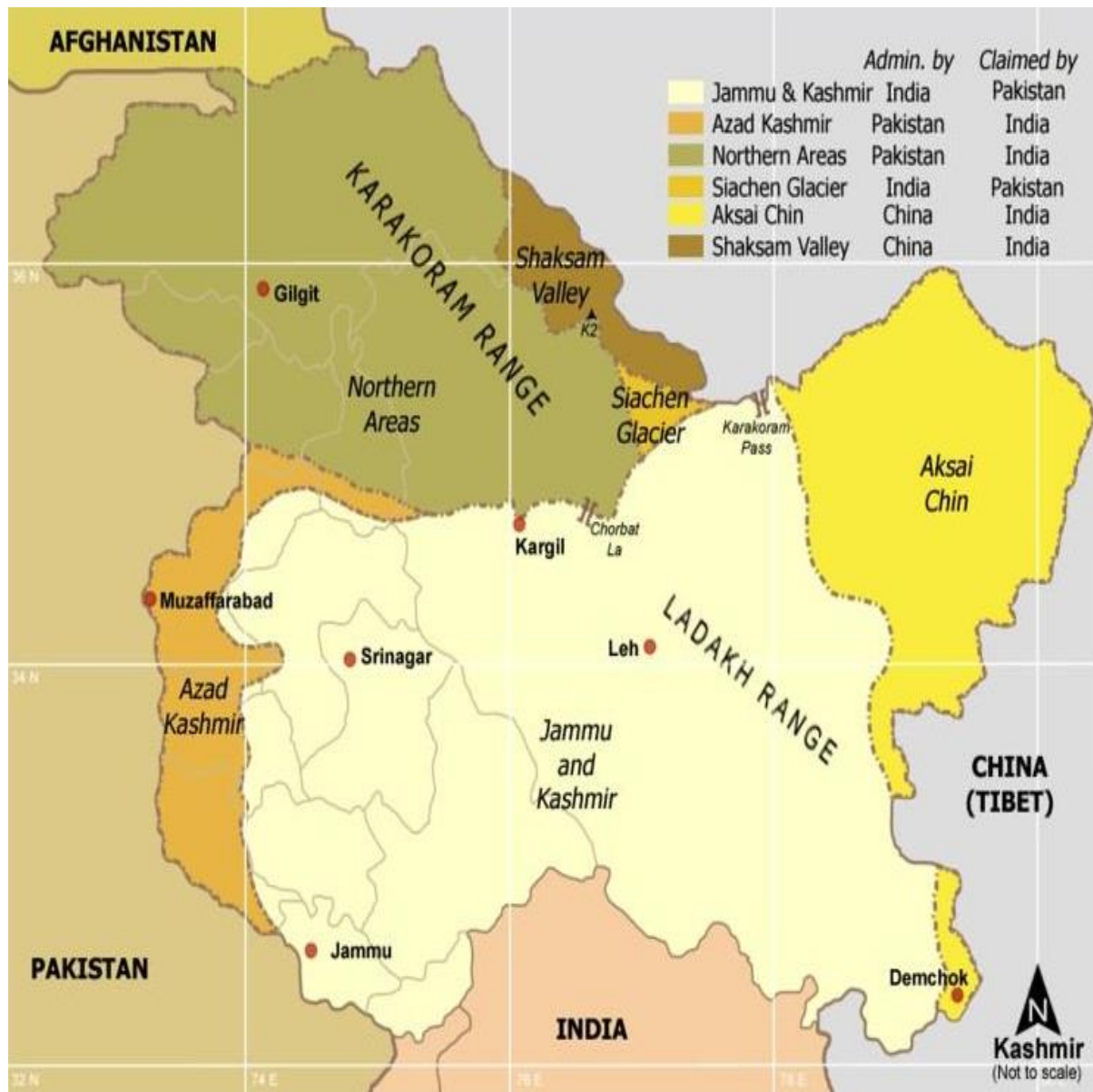


Figure 1.1: Distribution of Retained Parts of Kashmir among China, India and Pakistan.

2. Background of the Study

Kashmir dispute is multidimensional which is fought between various parties and in addition to those parties,¹⁰ it fought between India and Kashmiris over the right to self-

⁸ Rose, L. E. (2019). The Politics of Azad Kashmir. *Perspectives on Kashmir*, 235-253.

⁹ Defence Forum of India. (<https://defenceforumindia.com/>). Accessed on 23rd March 2017.

¹⁰ Tavares, R. (2008). Resolving the Kashmir Conflict: Pakistan, India, Kashmiris and Religious Militants. *Asian Journal of Political Science*, 16(3), 276-302.

determination, besides between India and religious militants who are waging jihad to create theocratic State (Tavares, 2008). The Kashmir strife exemplifies a perplexing blend of religious, patriot and political variables which are profoundly established in history. This history goes back when the entire subcontinent was a separate regional unit with a simultaneous presence of massive scale princely states. It was when British colonisers politicised the religious identities that later turned into the base for the partition of the country. They adopted their colonial policy of 'Divide and rule' and created artificial boundaries dependent and based on religion, which later raised the religious violence throughout the sub-continent and kept capturing numerous parts of India today. Along these lines, there are evident reasons that the contention of the Kashmir is established in the colonial period of history. In the historical terms of Kashmir, it has been for the most controlled, managed and administered by the outsiders. The last three or four centuries have seen the enormous scale infiltration from the outside rulers. In the eighteenth century, Kashmir was under the Afghan reign and led by the Pashtun Durrani Empire. This reign reached a pointed end in 1819 when the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh conquered Kashmir. In 1845 and 1846, after the first Anglo-Sikh war, which was won by the Britishers, the Kashmir was surrendered towards the East India Company by the Treaty of Lahore. Not long after this, the British Raj offered and sold Kashmir to Hindu Dogra ruler Gulab Singh, who was Raja of Jammu at that time and after that came to be known as Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir who had purchased Kashmir for Rupees 75 lakhs by the Treaty of Amritsar. From that point onwards till the partition of India, Kashmir was governed by the Hindu Maharajas, even though most of the populace were Muslims with very less Muslim percentage in Jammu and Ladakh regions of the state.

There is no nullification in the fact that unrest, conflict, turmoil and struggle in Kashmir valley is and will be a foremost burning concern and hotly debated issue for the regional harmony and stability, which ought to never be abused or over-assessed at any expense since it is representing an extreme terrorising and challenge to India's internal and external safekeeping and this unpleasant challenge is in addition to this irritating the international strategy and foreign policy of India in voluminous ways. There are innumerable components and motives behind picking this research topic. The first and foremost is Kashmir unpredictability and turbulence, a large number of youth have lost their lives just by dint of this dispute, and several houses have been gutted during defying militancy-related operations carried out by security forces of the state, and there are enormous instances of human rights mishandles, tortures, gang rapes, extrajudicial killings and considerable number of women

have become widows, and there are also some fake¹¹ encounter cases like the '*Machil Fake Encounter Case*.'¹²

3. Review of Literature

Ali, T. (2011) in "*Kashmir: The Case for Freedom*" is of the idea that almost Eighty Thousand (80,000) individuals have lost their precious lives in anti-India insurgency operations endorsed by Pakistan. What is more, the valley is seeing the daily regime of arbitrary arrests, raids, arrests and checkpoints enforced nearly by seventy thousand (70,000) Indian armed forces in the valley. The people of the valley are subjects of torture, rape, extrajudicial execution and one more barbaric torture of electric currents by inserting of live electrical wires into the Penis. The atrocities on the poor increase and especially the Muslim fellows of the state. The main or the principal mosque in Srinagar was shut, and cow slaughter was banned, and heavy taxes were imposed on the poor of the poorest by the then ruler Ranjit Singh of the state.

Anant, A. (2009) in contributed work "*Identity and Conflict: Perspectives from the Kashmir valley*" argues that perceptions regarding the identity are central to the conflict in the valley of Kashmir. Conflict and insurgent wave in the Kashmir valley has now been successfully curtailed by utilising military power, and according to the author, it is essential and crucial for the government of India to take care of those issues which are surrounding the State and address all the problems through an appropriate and suitable manner because managing of these issues will be crucial for bringing peace in the State.

Further, the author states that the emergence of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) as the most prominent group with armed support was mainly responsible for the armed insurgency in the valley. The group became a leading voice for Azaadi (independence) of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, with the objective and vision of making it an independent or separate country consisting of the parts of Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh, Pakistan occupied Kashmir (PoK), Gilgit, Baltistan. The JKLF party or extremist insurgent movement branded itself as being a movement launched for the anti-colonial national liberation movement.

Bose, S. (2003) via academic contribution titled "*Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace*" offers an investigation of the roots of the Kashmir conflict and proposes approaches to make harmony. The author brings out the peculiarity of the conflict, which he terms as essentially

¹¹ [Machil 'fake' encounter: Tribunal stays life term to 5 soldiers, gives them bail](#). (2017, July 26). *Hindustan times*. Accessed on 16th December 2019.

¹² Dubey, A. K. (2017, July 26). *India Today*. [Machhil fake encounter case](#): Military court suspends life sentence to five Army personnel. Accessed on 16th December 2019.

about sovereignty, by uncovering the layers of modifications in the social and political fabric of the state.

The book relates the disappointment of the Kashmiri youth, the tendency of suffering and the outpouring in attractiveness of separatist political parties in the early 1990s to authoritarian politics and oppressive dominant switch in the forgoing periods. Bose displays how counterinsurgency undertakings by Indian militaries were pitiless and indiscriminating in their conduct and concealments, judging with distrust and unfriendliness the whole Kashmiri inhabitants, and thus only activating terror and disaffection in the letter.

Bose, S. (1999) in his scholarly output “*Kashmir: Sources of Conflict, Dimensions of Peace*” he recognises the strategies for the compromises on account of the Kashmir strife by taking into understanding the certifiable anxieties of all parties to the conflict counting regional dominance, national security and the aspirations of the Kashmiri people. The author rehearses examples from the worldwide understanding; viz., Bosnia Herzegovina, Quebec and Northern Ireland to draw directions cultured and the probability of putting them in Kashmir. He assesses the usage of referendums in the disbursement of these conflicts and settles that there are abundant restrictions and hazardous of consuming plebiscitary majoritarian instruments to determine exceedingly complex disputes of self-determination.

Bose suggests a three-dimensional mentality for the resolution of the Kashmir conflict, corresponding to the three components of the Northern Ireland peace process. Dimension one would emphasis on the relationships between New Delhi and Islamabad. Inter-Governmental cooperation is a priority for any peace process to succeed.

Dimension two would lay concentration on New Delhi-Srinagar and Islamabad-Muzaffarabad relationships. This he says, is essential for the institutionalisation and standardisation of politics within Kashmir (in both Indian and Pakistani occupied zones).

Dimension three would narrate to the Srinagar-Muzaffarabad interconnection with the target of achieving cross-border collaboration. The author maintains that this would assist as a mark of admiration towards the antique reliability of the State as well as give both edges a stake in the profits of such collaboration.

Chowdhary, R. (2010) in her scholarly work titled “*Electoral Politics in the Context of Separatism and Political Divergence: An Analysis of 2009 Parliamentary Elections in Jammu & Kashmir*” argues that Jammu and Kashmir is a highly diverse society. Diversities operate here in multiple levels which are depicting a complex picture of the society. The author holds the view that there is a religious diversity in three different diverse regions. The author links

the Kashmiri identity politics to the pre-partition period and traces it to 1930s when the first manifestations of the articulations and organisation of the political responses of Kashmir could be observed. From 1930 when all the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim conference was organised and in 1939 when it became National Conference, and from that time the contours of the Kashmiri Muslim identity were quite clearly established. The ‘nationalist’ question underlying the Kashmiri identity that was resolved by constructing a harmonious relationship between the Indian Nationalism and Kashmiri Nationalism via the special constitutional status for the state of Jammu and Kashmir. It was from that period of time that Kashmiri identity acquired strong nationalist tones.

Chari, P. R., Cheema, P. I. & Cohen, S. P. (2003) in their coauthored scholarly work titled *“Perception, Politics and Security in South Asia: The Compound Crisis of 1990”* are bringing a clarification of the proceedings that occurred in 1990. Indian relations with Pakistan were flawed with fragile rigidities because of the acceleration of vehemence and militancy in the divided State of the Jammu and Kashmir. The authors keep up a reliable interpretation that the year 1990 is fundamental to comprehend the smouldering disorder in Kashmir since it corresponded with a number of international occasions, for example, the Palestinian Intifada, the fall of the Berlin Wall, and in particular, the overthrow of a foremost superpower in Afghanistan. The authors hold the view that in addition to this, regionally both the nations India and Pakistan were encountered with scrawny central governments that had restricted familiarity in the supervision of the Indo-Pak relations.

Cohen, S. P. (2002) in his academic contribution *“India, Pakistan and Kashmir”* is of the firm view that the conflict between the two nuclear-armed nations India and Pakistan is drawn out from many sources like the total catastrophe of the British colonial rule in India while dealing with the management of the partition through peaceful and politically acceptable method. The author is of the view that conflict in Kashmir is both a cause and consequence between the India and Pakistan strife. He calls it primarily a dispute regarding justice and people, even though its strategic and territorial extents are enough complex. According to the author, there are two types of Kashmir, one is physical territory, and another Kashmir is situated in the minds of the politicians, soldiers, ideologues, strategists and this is the spot where national and subnational identities have fluctuated with each other. The strife in this Kashmir is a clash amongst identities, imagination and history due to the fact that conflict is fought over area, resources and people.

Dasgupta, C. (2002) in his study *“War and diplomacy in Kashmir 1947-48”* that was aimed at the military and the diplomatic advancements during the time of 1947-48, which comprise the three primary state actors viz., British, India and Pakistan. The author discusses the initial problems over these regional clashes that the newly born states of India and Pakistan needed to confront and on how these disputes got settled frequently at the behest of the leadership of the British. The author investigated the components and events that affected the first war between the two newly born States of India and Pakistan over the Kashmir.

Dixit, J. N. (2002) through *“India-Pakistan in war and peace”* gives a detailed account of numerous contemporary events like that of the Indian civil planes being hijacked by terrorists of Pakistani origin in 1999. The author is of the view and provides clear proof that Pakistan is involved in numerous subversive activities in India so as to destabilise India. The author is of the firm opinion that Pakistani’s objective is not to control the State of the Jammu and Kashmir; however, Pakistan’s diplomacy is to weaken India strategically and fragment its territory.

Dholakia, A. (2005) through his academic output titled *“The Role of Mediation in Resolving India-Pakistan Conflict: Parameters and Possibilities”* in his insightful work which is based on a potential that international conciliation presents in conflict management and determination in the circumstance of India-Pakistan conflicts. It presents the impression of mediation and its accomplishment and disappointment in the perspective of various international conflict. The author is of the uninterrupted view that, negotiation has a long history deep-seated in the ritual of numerous ethos and has been reused in contemporary eras together for domestic issues as well as in the international context.

Gahlaut, B. (2014) in his contribution, namely *“Jammu and Kashmir: legal position, Security Council mediation and future prospect”* tries to examine the genesis of the conflict in Kashmir. He traces the conflict in the failed policies of the British administration, which could not establish and provide a proper mechanism for the integration and the unification of the princely States either with India or Pakistan. The ruler of the Kashmir (Maharaja Hari Singh) at that time preferred independence and unwillingness to join any of the newly created nations. According to the author he was forced to execute the instrument of accession that allowed his States merger with India on the grounds of saving his State from the massive invasion by the Pathan tribesman who had entered Kashmir with the help from Pakistan. The author further states that the ruler of the princely State was authorised and powered with the decision of joining with India or Pakistan after the signing of the instrument of accession.

Ganaie, N. A. (2018) in his academic work titled “*Modernizing Extremism: A Case of New Age Militancy in Kashmir*” the author expedites insight on the New Age Militancy in Kashmir in which the new spirited and energetic faces of the youth get up to enter militancy, and for the predefined strategy the utilisation of current and improvised ways are drawn to recruit new young people in the valley who are branded to the external world as Tech-savvy militants and they hail from the rich educational backgrounds.

The author in addition to this throws light on two aspects which have surrounded the state, and they are modernising extremism and new-age militancy, that have turned out to be much popular in the valley in the contemporary period. The author illuminates how the modernisation of the radicalism and militancy have come up with growing local support. He holds an uninterrupted view that new-age militancy has developed abundantly in the valley due to local support and people thronging to encounter sites in large numbers is due to the radicalisation of youth towards new-age militancy. He further clarifies how extremist powers are utilising web-based social networking and other different sources of modern technologies for growing and expanding their militant networks and consistently attempt to radicalise more youth towards militancy. They employ social media tools to recruit, radicalise and declare their messages through it because it is in every case free and safe for them, and there are fewer chances of tracking. He further holds a robust view on how the impressions of the militancy have grown up and how extremist forces have turned out to be effective in disintegrating the harmony in the valley. He further recommends strengthening of the Special Police Officers (SPO’s) who are paid exceptionally less yet assume a significant role in tacking the unrest and the turbulence in the valley.

Further, he expresses that, new-age militancy, separatism, social unrest and political instability has troubled the fantastic peaceful atmosphere of the State, it has directed to progress inside the radical powers in the state. The ascend in radical forces must be checked and joining of the rebellious positions by the youngsters ought to be finished as quickly as possible. There has been an astounding climb inside the radical sections like new-age militancy. Furthermore, weapon grabbing and social agitation; besides this, they utilise numerous, different sources and approaches to destabilise the general public. The author concludes up with that, higher the extremist occurrences are there, more numerous the chances of unrest will be there.

Guler (2017) in an article titled “*Absence of a common Kashmiri Identity and Future Claims in the Region of Kashmir: Paradox of Distinct Nationalisms*” claims that Muslims in the region of Kashmir have different identities and claims for the resolution of that conflict. The author

argues that religion has been a separative factor in the region of Kashmir and two distinct nationalisms based on religion, secular and religious nationalism, emerged with the contribution of Indian and Pakistan policies. The author is of the view that Kashmiri Muslims might be divided into two groups, in which the first one may consist of secular Muslims who mostly will support independency or they will support Indian secular nationalism. On the other hand, another group may be of fundamentalist Muslims who mainly will support militancy or insurgent groups and this fundamentalist group claims for an Islamic state or for accession to Pakistan. The Indian and Pakistan policies trigger this split among the Kashmiri Muslims.

On the one hand, Indian state-sponsored secular nationalism imposes pro-Indianness focusing on similarities between India and Kashmir such as socialism, secularism and democracy rather than highlighting the religious difference. This creates an alienation of fundamentalist Muslims and reaction of Hindu religious nationalists to the Indian secular nationalism contributes this alienation. On the other hand, Pakistan policy of support to the militancy insurgent groups such as Hizbul Mujahideen increases the alienation of secular Muslims from Pakistan. Thus, the Indian and Pakistan policies also complicate the conflict resolution further by triggering the division between secular and fundamentalist groups within the Kashmiri Muslims.

Ganaie, N. A. (2018) by virtue of his contribution "*Kashmir from Barriers of Discomfort to Hope: A Case of Hurriyat Conference*" the author states that State of Jammu and Kashmir has been a victim of political turbulence and unrest from the very beginning and also in the contemporary era by dint of growing extremist and separatist forces. In the present context, three parties are involved in this conflict viz., India, Pakistan and the people of the Kashmir. Of the three parties, two are most affected ones, firstly people of the conflict-hit Kashmir (Ganguly, 1997, p. 39) and secondly India by dint of the Pakistanis anti-India policy and its constant support for the extremist forces.

The author suggests a permanent ban on non-lethal weapons like pellet guns which have become more lethal at the times of unrest, and according to the author, they are the sources of growing unrest in the valley. The author strongly suggests other forms of non-lethal weapons Active Denial System (ADS) or like that of Microwave Weapons, Electrolaser, Pulsed Energy Projectile and Dazzler for curbing the unrest situation or dealing with the extremist protesting mobs. The author holds a strong view that if the proper standard operating procedures are followed, less the chances of damages to the civilians will be there.

Garner, G. (2013) through his work *“Chechnya and Kashmir: The Jihadist Evolution of Nationalism to Jihad and Beyond”* states that there were enormous reasons and factors that led to the rise of insurgency movement in Kashmir which mainly succeeded after the 1990s. Factors like failed political and economic structures, heavy political meddling from internal sources, sponsorship of radical extremism within the State and influence of the Jihadi movement of Afghanistan were some of the reasons which fully flourished the insurgency movement in Kashmir and later led to the armed rebellion. Author states that this armed insurgency movement in Kashmir started to begin from the month of July 1988, when the incident of four bombing incidents that happened in the city of Srinagar and they were linked with the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) organisation which according to the party sources was a secular nationalist party without specific adherence to external actors. JKLF with significant local support gave birth and rise to the armed uprising in the State, which led to the armed conflict and fierce assault with the Indian armed forces. The party (JKLF) used Friday Namaz (prayer congregation) in the Jamia Masjid (mosque) of Srinagar to radicalise and mobilise Kashmiri people for the massive support. After the rounding up of the Friday sermon and Namaz (prayer) around 30-40 thousand people had assembled at the mosque and soon after the finishing of the Friday prayers, young boys of the JKLF raised the slogans ‘Islam Zindabad’ (*Long Live Islam*) and ‘Hum Kya Chatee, Azadi, Azadi’ (*We Want Freedom*).

Ganaie, N. A. (2018) in his scholarly contribution titled *“Drama of Separatism”* he holds the view that new-age militancy and growing of separatist forces are responsible for the frequent unrest in Kashmir author holds a strong belief that in case of a vacuum or gap left in the conflict zones chances of unrest are more. The author suggests the checking of extremist forces and growing separatist parties at the earliest. The author says that there is no denial in the fact that longer the life of the conflict is there more the chances of polarisation are there from both the sides involved in the unrest. The author holds a healthy view of defeating the fundamentalist forces at the earliest who are considering terror as a solution to the problem. The author further maintains that the ideology of such groups should not grow there both from internally and externally.

The author further suggests that conflicts or turbulences in the region will come down once all the factors like, abundant local support, joining of extremist forces, increase, and growth in separatist forces that nourish it are checked or brought down. The author further suggests a stable and reliable government that should work for the welfare of the people.

Ibid, (2017) in his article titled *“Instability and Unrest in Kashmir: A Case from Barriers of Optimism to Pellets”* he has acknowledged that conflict in the Kashmir valley is rooted to Colonialism as in the year 1848 the British Raj had sold Kashmir to the Dogra Hindu Kingdom for Rupees 75 Lakh. He states that the State of Jammu and Kashmir has been a victim of the colonial restraints from the very commencement. Firstly, by the Britishers and later under the Dogra administration of the State and in the contemporary circumstances by separatist parties and militancy.

The author admits that political propagandas used by the diverse political parties of the state had been of more excellent worth for their achievements and vice versa it had produced fatalities of the ordinary civilians. The author moreover reveals that People’s Democratic Party (PDP) during the 2010 summer uprising had toughened enough its political obligation on the Omar Abdullah led government for the Killing of 110 civilians and now in the present context opposite of this is happening. The PDP government which was recently in power and the Omar Abdulla an elite opposition party leader later played politics for gaining the political benefits. The Omar Abdullah had recommended for the total ban of the pellet guns in the valley when he had met the Prime Minister of India Shri Narendra Modi along with other opposition delegates but was the person who inducted pellet guns in the valley. The author is of the viewpoint that the political spectrum of the state needs to be strengthened rather than working for the self-benefits. He holds a strong view that nocturnal raids, use of pellet guns and political instability is liable for worsening the Kashmir conflict and he advocates a complete ban on pellet guns. Ganaie & Rupavath (2017) had also cited in their article that how politics is being played with the innocent people of the State and how greedy offers are being offered to them for the sake of political benefits. The authors are of the view that how fake promises are made during electioneering and how later they are neglected.

Ibid, (2015) in his scholarly contribution *“Naya Kashmir, land reforms and colonialism in Jammu and Kashmir, a study of National Conference and its implications on the identity of State”* had examined the socio-economic division of the state and he attempted to discover the divergence related with the region of Jammu and Kashmir during the period when two offensive and rude powers had plundered the state both monetarily and politically, and they were Britishers and the Dogras leaders of the state. The author finds that the minority (Hindu) group of the state-led the more numerous part (Muslims) group of the state for quite a while and plundered their economies and actualised one-sided and severe laws on them. He finds that the economy of the state was excessively powerless during the colonial forces and was made

excessively frail even though the fact that state was agricultural-based economy and was plentifully wealthy in common assets. He further expresses that Dogra rulers demolished entire financial estimations of the state through various ways, and they spent that piece of monetary incentive on their kingdom extension and individual use instead for the welfare of the State. The state economy and treasury were made void by these savage rulers, and the majority of the accumulations were utilised for individual increases or religious purposes.

Ibid, (2015) in his work titled "*Hindu Socio-Religious Reform Movements in Jammu and Kashmir: Pre-independence phase*" the writer expresses that the state subjects were inspired by the social change developments of that time especially by the western effect on training and how their conduct changed towards socio-political cooperation. This developmental mentality inside the network relished new conduct and frame of mind in the state subjects, and it was because of these social, religious changes and other developments which made the general population of the state progressively mindful towards the recently framed government and new ideas inside the state like the 'Naya Kashmir' pronouncement by the main political party, i.e., National Conference of the state.

Khan, G. H. (1980) in his academic work "*Freedom Movement in Kashmir 1931-1940*" which stands an in-depth investigation and research study of the first phase of the freedom movement in Jammu and Kashmir up to 1938. The book not just gives an account of the freedom struggle in Kashmir; however, contemplates the socio and political dimensions of the state moreover. The book provides us with knowledge and information from geographical areas to the political insecurities and up to freedom strife. The writer in the preface of the book is obviously of the view that the present condition of the Jammu and Kashmir is a consequence of the conquest of Punjab by the Britishers in 1845 and the regions containing the then territory of Jammu and Kashmir who were a piece of the Sikh state were isolated from it. Further, he is of the view that from the hundreds of years the State of Jammu and Kashmir had been governed by the foreign masters who comprised of both the Muslims and Non-Muslims and the State of the Jammu and Kashmir was a feudal state which was regulated either by a King or a Maharaja.

Khurshid, S. (1994) in his academic contribution "*Beyond terrorism- New hope for Kashmir*" reveals insight into the diplomatic overthrow achieved by India at the UN human rights commission meeting which was held in Geneva from February March 1994 in the face of a determined Pakistani offensive to stain India's image at the international level. The author had given a short history of Kashmir right from the day when as per legends, Shiva was persuaded

by the Kashyap Rishi to drive out the evil presences from the land that kashyapmaar or the Kashyapbhumi up to the day when the Maharajas of the Dogra regime signed the instrument of the accession. The author says in conclusion, “We are determined to bring peace and prosperity back in Kashmir. We are determined to succeed because Kashmir is a test case for India’s secularism and our belief that nations are not strung together by hollow slogans of theology. This is not a battle we will win sans Kashmiris. Their contribution through Sufism to the cementing philosophy of India is enormous. Yesterday, emperors bowed before the Sufis of India. Tomorrow, guns will bow to peace.”¹³

Kumar, R. (2005) through contribution, namely “*Making Peace with Partition*” which is a momentary, but well-spoken, interpretation of India-Pakistan affairs and the prospects of reconciliation among the two nations. It climaxes the noteworthy events ever of affiliations and assesses the failure and achievements of past peacetime developments. It conveys the unobtrusive, yet astonishing confirmations about the relations among the two that make the conflict exceptional. The author deliberates the superficial constructive characteristics of Indo-Pak relations that disparities with the intercontinental understanding of partition clashes. Kumar claims that associated with other ethnic partitions, India’s separation had a more prominent forthcoming for steadiness. Proposing techniques and methods to move frontward and gaining from past exercises, Kumar proclaims that soft boundaries, simplification movement of goods and people diagonally alienated Kashmir, are a vital constituent of the solution to disputed domains. The writer shows how strategic fundamentals of any efficient harmony process are already predominant—local and international inventiveness as well as the backing of diaspora, and that the process for a continuing peace has achieved much from where it initially emerged.

Mohan, T. (2002) in her authored work “*Elections in Kashmir: Challenges and opportunities*” throws light on the election process in Kashmir and explains how the 1987 elections were reportedly called as rigged elections. The author is of the view that how rigged elections turned the State of Jammu and Kashmir into the armed State. The author holds a strong belief that due to the rigged elections in the State during the 1987 year turned the State into the militant insurgency affected one and how the mainstream parties and the political parties of the State got demotivated. It was due to those rigged elections which fetched the crisis movement and turbulence for the State besides changed the outlook of the Kashmiri youth who had lost hope

¹³ Kotru, M. (2013, July 17). Book review: [Salman Khurshid’s Beyond Terrorism-New Hope for Kashmir](#).

in the democratic process and rigged elections were responsible for the youth picking up arms against the prominent political party National Conference and the Congress-led alliance and later raised pro-independence slogans. The first assembly elections in the State after the independence of the country were held in the year 1951. The author throws light on the crucial time period from 1991-1995, which he calls 'Second Phase' for the democratic process in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. He says that how in this phase most of the Kashmiri rural youth got organised under the Hizbul Mujahideen which is the political wing of the Jamaat-e-Islami. The Pakistani based terror outfits gave enough support, and their motive was 'Kashmir Banega Pakistan.' Further according to the author from the year 1996 Kashmir witnessed massive highs and lows in the extremist violence after the foreign-based terror outfits like Harkat-ul-Mujahideen (HuM), Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM) and Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT) took over the militant movement in Kashmir and controlled most of the armed militant movement in the valley. The author maintains a strong view that from the year 1987 onwards two essential elements of the State were interlinked, and they were Politics and Militancy.

Noorani, A. G. (2000) in his article titled "*Questions about the Kashmir Ceasefire*" scrutinises the armistice announcement of the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen in 2000 and the consequences for a peace process terminated over the Kashmir dispute. The author displays how the Government of India favoured an armed triumph over a political clearance and denied the request of tripartite dialogues by the armed groups. Noorani points out that the process could have flourished had a political compromise comprising all the three sides of conflict-ridden followed the ceasefire settlement. This authored article by Noorani displays just how problematic it is to resolve the stalemate over disagreements is given the rigid situations of regimes. It confirms how, in the situation of Kashmir, India must rethink its policy and grind towards tripartite political consultations for an efficient settlement of the Kashmir dispute.

Oberoi, S. S. (2004) in his article "*Ethnic Separatism and Insurgency in Kashmir*" the author states that all parties Hurriyat conference is currently not enjoying respect among the local masses due to its failure and misrepresentation along with death and destruction to masses. The author further claims that without the participation of Hurriyat, there will be no possible solution to the conflict in Kashmir. The author further cites the losing importance of the Hurriyat in the affairs of the state management and he acknowledges that the struggle for the freedom by the Hurriyat and its allied agencies is losing its front because due to the absence of leadership or front which may take it forward.

Pandita, R. (2014) in his academic contribution titled *“Our moon has blood clots: A Memoir of a Lost Home in Kashmir”* he holds a view that on how forced exile has made a remarkable contribution in exposing the agents or agencies particularly sponsored by the Pakistani terror outfit militants who were successful in forced exile of around three lakh fifty thousand (3, 50, 000) Kashmiri Pandit’s or Non-Muslim colleagues of the state. The author holds the robust view that how exceptional atrocities were committed against Kashmiri Non-Muslims or now prevalently known as Pandits and how their properties were destroyed and or even brutally massacred by the armed rebellions.

Peer, B. (2009) in his scholarly contribution titled *“Curfewed Night”* which is a bold and notable piece of literacy reporting the personal stories behind the brutal conflicts of Kashmir. The creator is of the view that the youngsters who joined Pakistani militant training camps were the consequences of the brutal forces of the Indian atrocities committed in the Kashmir valley. The author additionally holds the uninterrupted view that Kashmiri youth joined militant groups and rushed to neighbouring states and after that, they crossed to Pakistan, there they got arms training and possessed later Kalashnikovs, hand grenades, Light Machine Guns (LMG’s) and rocket launchers issued by Pakistan to them for fighting in Kashmir against Indian forces.

Parthasarthy, G. & Kumar, R. (2006) by virtue of their coauthored scholarly contribution titled *“Frameworks for a Kashmir Settlement”* propose all-inclusive strategy instructions proposed to settle the Kashmir conflict by mutual recognition of all parties associated with the conflict. Parthasarthy puts frontward an agenda for collaboration in the fields of economy and education to spur the drive of people across borders in the expectation that these limits or boundaries would, in the course of time, become inappropriate. He proposes popularisation in the measures for travel across the Line of Control (LOC) and the expansion of these amenities to all occupants of India and Pakistan, as well as external travellers. Trade is an additional possibility that he proposes can stimulate stalemates of collaboration among India and Pakistan.

Praveen S. (2004) in his academic contribution titled *“India, Pakistan and the Secret Jihad: The Covert War in Kashmir, 1947-2004”* makes a statement that after 2002 violence in Kashmir fell steadily and by 2008, had reached negligible levels. That year, far more people were killed by Islamist terrorists in the rest of India, than in Kashmir. In November 2008, Assembly elections were held once again, as scheduled according to the electoral cycle. Having repeated their call for a boycott of the polls, separatist groups were stunned when a 63 per cent

voter turnout was reported. Like the 2002 elections, those of 2008 were generally perceived as free from New Delhi's interference and the results, a reflection of the popular mandate. On this occasion, the PDP was voted out of power, and the National Conference voted back in. Heading the party was a new leader, Omar Abdullah, son of Farooq Abdullah and grandson of the Sheikh, Omar currently enjoys a substantial measure of popular support, being untainted by accusations of corruption. Under him, the state of Jammu & Kashmir has its best chance in decades of re-engaging with the Indian mainstream. Although the risk of terrorist activity still exists, at present it originates primarily from Pakistan, due to the deteriorating security situation in that country. Within Kashmir itself, politics appears to have mitigated the level of widespread alienation, despite having inflamed it in the first place.

Rai, M. (2004) by dint of this excellent academic contribution namely "*Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects: Islam, Rights, and the History of Kashmir*" calls Kashmir a disputed territory, a contention of war between the union of India and the Muslim republic of Pakistan which contains Muslim majority population. The book is a brilliant publication by the author on Kashmir history and a pioneering historical study of rights, religion and regional identity of Kashmir. The book holds a significant contribution for taking studies on Kashmir. The book not only deals with historical facts but also its colonial period in Kashmir. The publication is totally clear in terms of the socio-economic division of Kashmir during the colonial period and clearly tells us that how the state economy was ruined and how the state treasury was almost made empty and the author on page 145 clearly mentions it and tells us how the Dogra ruling class of the state used the illegally retained property, and wealth for their personal use and also for spreading the Dogra kingdom and The book tells us about how Kashmiri Muslim subjects had become so immersed in defining the protest of Kashmir's Muslims against Hindus. The book deals with the emergence of modern Muslim identity and book mainly focused on the problems of religion, politics and protests in Kashmir.

Rupavath, R. (2019) in his scholarly work titled "*Tribal Alienation and Conflict in India: A Perspective from Below*" attempts to study the socio-economic and political structures of the Tribal people and finds that how the tribal people are organising themselves against the oppression by the dominant class. Further, he clarifies how tribal alienation is revoking them to fight for the redressal of their grievances. He addresses Tribal issues and problems through Habermas theory and throws light on various regimes which neglected the Tribals differently during different times. The theory states that conflict is between State and Community and explains how capitalists are colonising the underprivileged ones. According to the author, State

represents the capitalist class or the ruling elite class and community represents the tribal people who are mostly underprivileged ones and frequently have been oppressed by the capitalist class. The author clarifies that movements within the tribal communities arise once they become entirely oppressed by the elite classes of the State. He holds a strong view that if more representation and equal opportunities are given to the tribal people or communities, and developmental works are being initiated against them, less the chances of their oppression and anti-State movements will be there.

Sagar, D. (2015) in his academic work *“Jammu and Kashmir: A victim, A victim of personal ambitions of some and mishandling and mishandling by the core Indian leadership”* clearly gives us the message that let there be no discussions or debates on the history and the nationality of the Kashmir. The creator is of the view that the state has no history other than that of the ‘Bharat’. The creator is of the solid viewpoint that, look back at the 5000 years back and Kashmir could be seen only as ‘Bharat’ nation. He further says that the British ruled Bharat, but the identity of the Bharat did not merge with Britain.

On the status of the princely state (of the British Indian Empire of the Jammu and Kashmir) the writer is of the substantial view that the State of the Jammu and Kashmir was associated by the Maharaja Gulab Singh with the assistance of the fellowship from British raj (East India Company) and the areas of the Jammu and its bordering ones like Poonch, Pir Panchal Line, Chenab line, Muzaffarabad, Gilgit and the Kashmir valley had come up together as a unit during the Maharaja Gulab Sing’s rule and before Kashmir valley came under Gulab Singh in 1846, most of the other adjoining regions were already parts of the Jammu Raj.

Sumit, G., Jonah B. & Neil D. (2003) in their co-authored scholarly work titled *“Introduction”* are of the firm view that Kashmir dispute is rooted to the swift withdrawal of the British colonial rule from the subcontinent during the year 1947 which is also the year of independence for India. During the period of the detachment of the colonial rule from the subcontinent, two types of States were present in the Union of India. From the two modules of States, one set of States comprised those of British India who was under the administration and guidance of the British Crown and another set of States consisted of Independent States by name and were called as ‘Princely States.’

Swami, P. (2007) in his academic work titled *“India, Pakistan and the Secret Jihad”* he touches the genesis of the armed jihad in Kashmir to proceedings that long proceeded Partition in 1947. The author is of the argue that the intensity and permanency of the conflict cannot be

illuminated through reasons of a disappointment in the contemporary state system or of unsuccessful nationhood, however moderately that the conflict is the result of the achievement of the modern States of India and Pakistan in terms of their geo-strategic and military development.

Swami argues that a series of covert operations that were sponsored and backed by Pakistan instantaneously after 1947 sustained until the mid-1960s to weaken the political situation and to systematise a mass uprising and insurgency in the state. Swami claims that till the 1950s, the informal confrontation being struggled on the soils of Kashmir by Pakistan was modest and had tiny in it that was new or radical. After the overthrow of the 1965 war, Pakistan turned to Algeria and Palestine for encouragement.

Tavares, R. (2008) in his brilliant academic work titled *“Resolving the Kashmir Conflict: Pakistan, India, Kashmiris and Religious Militants”* tries to introduce for the Kashmir problem a conflict resolution framework aimed at resolving the Kashmir issue or bringing peace there. He calls it a multidimensional and interstate dispute between India and Pakistan fought among various parties. According to the author, it is an armed conflict which is going between India and Kashmiris over the issue of the right to self-determination and in addition to this, it is also fought between India and the religious militants who are instigating a Jihad in order to turn the J&k State into theocratic one. The author introduces a roadmap aimed at bringing the peace in the State which consists of the three successive steps in the form of Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) rebuilding of the original asymmetric status of the State and shared sovereignty which can be partial or total among the two countries (India and Pakistan).

Militant insurgency, particularly after the 1989 period, was supported by Pakistan in the State both logistically and militarily. Survival of the Local support for the armed groups is there in the State and besides the presence of various extremist organisations within the Hurriyat like in the form of Jammat-e-Islami and the Tehreek-e-Hurriyat Jammu and Kashmir of the separatist hardcore leader Syed Ali Shah Geelani have in precise terms called the Kashmir issue as religious dispute and they have at all times supported terrorist violence and further executed by the overseas mercenaries.

Wani, G. M. (2012) in his academic writing *“Political Assertion of Kashmiri Identity”* he states that Kashmiri identity is not only extraordinarily politicised but also filled with memories, isolation, grief and even the emancipatory political demonstrations since from the 1940s. Kashmiri identity had outlived opposing to the invasions of alien non-Kashmiri rule from 1585 when the Mughals annexed Kashmir. It has outlasted relatively inaccessible to the politics of

politico-constitutional integration of Indian states after the independence of India. In modern times, there is an effort to rethink and restore not only Kashmiri identity but other politicised identities as well, to facilitate the creation of a desired and integrated future.

Zeb, R. & Chandran, S. (2005) in their co-authored academic work *“Indo-Pak Conflicts: Ripe to Resolve”* the authors are of the substantial view that the Kashmir status quo is at a reciprocally heartbroken deadlock and that a political understanding is decisive since none of the revelries to the Kashmir conflict (India, Pakistan, Kashmiris and Militants) can alter the stalemate through armed methods. They maintain the thinking, that in spite of twelve rounds of talks somewhere in the range of 1989 and 1998 and the Lahore Summit in 1999 between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan which resulted in proclamation guarantying dual assurance to strengthen determination to resolve the Kashmir strife between them the results fell diminutive since the improvements were not continuous. The status quo over Kashmir may perhaps not be turned in Pakistan’s support during Kargil nor in India’s favour during the armed hostility in 2002.

The authors are holding a solid suggestion which proposes upgrade in trade, people to people connection and confidence-building over atomic controlled weapons concerns as instantaneous processes contributing to the resolution of the conflict. Supplementary, they recognise that Kashmiris must be tangled in each of these practices. Other than this the work spreads the accepted conflict resolution concept of ‘ripeness’ to study whether the Indo-Pak conflict engagement has touched a juncture of a conjointly aching stand-off and scrutinises assured prerequisites that would create the timing suitable for resolution.

4. Objectives

- To study the role and impact of the unrest in affecting the polity and economy of the state?
- To explore the context in which the separatist forces emerged in Kashmir valley and to understand the genesis of the extremism in Kashmir.
- To realise the nature and character of All Parties Hurriyat Conference (APHC) in Kashmir since its inception.
- To investigate the separate identity of the Jammu and Kashmir.

5. Research Question

Under which conditions did All Parties Hurriyat conference emerge as a leading separatist party and what reasons lie behind the formation of this movement? The analysis thus focuses on which different issues it focused than the other mainstream parties.

6. Research Methodology

Studying unrest and instability in conflict-ridden Kashmir is not easy, and it is a dynamic aspect which needs several and various research methodologies, and they may be in the form of interviews and case studies. Interview method can be used for tracing out facts, reasons and logic behind it, while on the other hand, the case study method will fully explore it and help in making a solid research hypothesis. The study will mainly rely on primary and secondary resources of data. Primary sources of data may be from government reports, annual state human rights commission data, yearly or half-yearly data analysis of Jammu and Kashmir general administrative department sources and primary data sources of all Parties Hurriyat Conference and other non-governmental agencies and bodies. On the other hand, secondary data will mainly rely on the relevant books, articles and papers published in various journals, magazines, periodicals, newspapers and websites.

Two different districts will be studied for exploring the research problem in which one is most disturbed one while the other is most peaceful. Shopian from south Kashmir and Ganderbal from central Kashmir zones were studied for analysing the results by purposive sampling method. The material for the study was collected from both the primary and secondary levels and also consisted of the interview schedules with open and closed-ended questions.

Two districts from the Kashmir valley from three different zones viz., Central, North and South Kashmir were studied for carrying out the research analysis, and out of these two districts one is hugely affected one by the unrest and the second one is less affected one. The most affected district from the conflict-prone area has been taken from the south Kashmir zone, and least affected one will be studied from the Central Kashmir Zone. Of the two zones, one district is more involved in unrest, and while the other one is the opposite of this. Composition of all the three zones of Kashmir and two selected districts are listed below in Table 1.1:

Table 1.1: Administrative Configuration of Various Zones of Kashmir

Name of the Zone	Districts in Zone
Central Kashmir	Budgam, Ganderbal and Srinagar
North Kashmir	Bandipora, Baramullah and Kupwara
South Kashmir	Anantnag, Kulgam, Pulwama and Shopian

Shopian district of south Kashmir as per the data and the observation is the most affected one in the Kashmir valley out of the three zones in the state and Ganderbal district of the central Kashmir zone is the least affected one as per the government data and available research data. The analysis of the Shopian and the Ganderbal district will be analysed, and a

study will be carried out with purposive sampling. The questionnaires were distributed among politicians, separatists, army officers, police officers, postgraduate students, government employees, social activists, NGO's and the local businessmen in Kashmir. The sample size was selected among the districts of Shopian and Ganderbal, and the selected sample size was selected from the two said district and the total eligible population of the two districts who are eligible to vote were selected for deriving the sample size for testing.

7. Chapterisation Scheme

This thesis has been alienated into seven different chapters in which chapter 1 consists of the full introduction of the research thesis along with aims & objectives, research question, methodology and literature review. Other chapters like chapter No. 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 form the main body of this doctoral thesis and the last chapter, i.e. Chapter 7 consists of the conclusion, research findings, suggestions and limitations of the study.

Chapter 1 titled as '*Introduction*' provides an overview of the research problem besides throwing light on the background, significance, aims and objectives of the study. In addition to this it also examines and reviews the concerned literature, explains the research methodology that has been utilised to explore the research problem, besides providing a short introduction about the various chapters of the thesis.

Chapter 2 '*Kashmir Conflict: Perspectives and Theoretical Approach*' studies some theories which were used for studying the unrest in Kashmir and its role in exploring the Kashmir issue. Various works of authors have been analysed in this chapter which has thrown light on it and in addition to this, it also studies the role of multiple theories that are of immense help for studying the Kashmir conflict. The purpose of the two-nation theory in addition to the theory of colonialism, was studied and compared with the different ideologies and theories of Separatist forces. The role of the two-nation theory and theory of colonialism were investigated and how they helped in shaping a separate identity for the Kashmir.

Chapter 3 '*The Genesis of Identity in Rising Kashmir*' studies with the making of National Identity in Kashmir and it not only gives an idea of the limited national identity of Kashmir but speaks of it in a broader way. Covering of more general aspects like role of the national conference, the rise of Kashmiriyat, Kashmiri Pandits, separate symbols and art, culture, language and religion are some of the highlights which have been given particular importance in this chapter. The chapter in detail deals and defines those factors and aspects which contributed a lot in constructing the national of Kashmir. Based on these three main objectives,

this chapter was taken into consideration and made an essential part in formulating a thesis. The chapter tries to study the historical background of the Kashmiri identity formation and factors such as religion, region, language etc., since colonisation besides looking at how the independent and separate identity of Kashmir was being shaped through political mobilisation and social or regional movements during the first half of the 20th century before the accession to India. It also throws light on how the state of Jammu and Kashmir after its accession to India articulated its national identity.

Chapter 4 '*Socio Transformation: Perspectives on account of Reform Movements*' studies Socio-Religious Movements that have been prevalent in the Kashmir even pre-partition period and also estimates the forming scale and changing society with the changing time. The chapter deals on how major socio-religious reform movements enlightened the minds of all the communities of the society and also how they removed social evils and social imbalances by dint of their modern way of living and advanced education. Missionary schools, religious gatherings, public speeches and involvement of religious leaders in culminating social errors by which means. Besides this, the chapter in its broader aspect mentions how it changes the outlook of the society in formulating a stable identity. This chapter takes an overview of all the three main religions of the state.

The chapter studies the role of these movements in removing the social evils like caste distinction, the abolition of untouchability and elimination of the dowry system from the society and besides this, it also measures the role of these movements in changing the outlook and modernising the society and help society in getting modern education and broader perspective. The chapter tries to find out the relationship between these religious reform movements with the emergence of two-nation theory, and it also throws light on the theory of colonialism and its role in dividing the state on the basis of religious identity. The study explores the role of these movements in changing and shaping the national identity of the state and in curbing the colonial rule against the Britishers and Dogras.

Chapter 5 '*Hurriyat Conference: Historical Antecedents*' examines the role of All Parties Hurriyat Conference in representing the Kashmir issue and explores its role in it. Studying Hurriyat and the dynamic phenomenon of this separatist party and one has to go deeply into the roots of it while carrying the research on this international hot issue, which has surrounded the national and international attention. The large and dynamic composition within the party makes it challengeable, and one has to study at least 25 plus separatist groups who are fighting for the cause of the Kashmir in different ways and are using dynamic methods for describing

and raising their voices. The chapter deals with various issues such as its basis, overview, origin, growth, leadership, protest calls, frequent shutdowns, and boycotting the election and anti-India slogans.

The chapter throws light on the programmes, policies and divisions within this separatist party, and it throws light on how they are trying to shape Kashmir separately by using various strategies. In addition to this, it also throws light on the role of these separatist parties on how they are making the Kashmir issue more complex by issuing poll boycotts and frequent strike calls.

In addition to this, this chapter also explores the role of Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front which is another extremist separatist party popularly known as JKLF which is totally different from Geelani controlled group, or Molvi Umar Farooq's moderate separatist group; there are ideological differences and difference is there in their strategies and tactics. The party does not believe in other parties as representatives of the people and the party follows its own principles, objectives, aims, leadership and slogans. The party is not active at the national arena but has become successful in capturing international attention also, and the party is on foreign funding. The chapter studies the ideological and leadership differences various separatist parties and throws light on how they are shaping separatist identity and separatist forces differently.

Chapter 6 *'Identity, Politics and Unrest in Kashmir: A Perspective from Below'* deals with Fieldwork and it analyses all the data that has been collected from the fieldwork and provides views and opinions expressed during fieldwork. The chapter is of importance, and it is dealing with the various aspects like unemployment, regional instability and different other contradictory facts which have been observed by the local authorities and have swept the whole society. Understanding Kashmir issue and taking a thorough study on this regional turbulence will be of great importance.

The chapter analyses the reasons behind the Kashmir conflict through designed questionnaire along with case studies and explores the role of separatist forces, new age militancy and local support in shaping the conflict in Kashmir in new millennium era, besides this it traces the role of unemployed youth in worsening the Kashmir issue further. The chapter studies the role of the signing of the instrument of accession with India and also it examines the role of two-nation theory and theory of colonialism in worsening the Kashmir turbulence further. The chapter analysis the various strategies, programmes and policies of the different extremist forces or separatist forces in fomenting the Kashmir turbulence further.

Chapter 7 '*Finding, Suggestions, Limitations and Conclusion*' consists of Findings, Suggestions, Limitations and Conclusion besides this it analyses various aspects of the research. The conclusion discusses the significant issues that have surrounded the Kashmir issue and are making it more complicated. Finding section consists of the substantial research findings that have been explored after the analysis of the data that was collected from the fieldwork. Suggestions portion deals with the significant or minor implications through which the problem in conflict-ridden Kashmir can be checked or managed. Limitations portion deals with the essential or minor limitations present in the study and future suggestion if any.

Chapter 2

Kashmir Conflict: Perspectives and Theoretical Approach

I. Discovering Kashmir Conflict Through Theoretical Perspective

Studying the perspectives and various associated dimensions associated with the Kashmir issue are of utmost importance and significance because as we all are aware that the strife in the State of Jammu and Kashmir (often called as Kashmir) is one of the longest-running of today. This strife has been over there between the two Asian nuclear powers India and Pakistan over the Kashmir (Ganaie, 2018). Although it can be argued that this decades-long strife is rather modest in terms of historical perspectives, the conflict is frequently portrayed in terms of ‘enduring’ and ‘protracted’ which has been defined as “*persistent, fundamental, and long-term incapability of goals between two states*” (Paul, 2005, p. 4)¹⁴ and it was further in addition to this underlined by Wyman who argued that India-Pakistan rivalry is among the enduring rivalry dyads born feuding (*Ibid*, p. 81). The current strife that has swollen the whole valley and has become more disastrous and always becomes a constant source of nuclear catastrophe between the two nuclear-armed nations of Asia came up in the beginning as the bilateral dispute over the territorial privilege of controlling the whole area of Kashmir by the union of India by Pakistan. In the contemporary era, this unresolved strife has progressed beyond the regional level. With the growth of the widespread displeasure during the period from the 1980s, the conflict got the involvement of new actors along with the broader range of aims and interests. The contention has turned out to be progressively ideological on all sides due to the increasingly complex and multidimensional nature.

With the coming up of India and Pakistan as two separate nations during the year 1947 that were based on religious identities as mostly propounded by the Mohammad Ali Jinnah’s ostracised two-nation theory. At the time of the partition of the country into two in the year 1947, the ‘Independence Act’ consisted a provision that was allowing all the 562 princely States to decide on the issues regarding the joining of either India or Pakistan and they were

¹⁴ Paul, T. V. (2005). *The India Pakistan Conflict: An Enduring Rivalry*. New York: Cambridge University Press, p. 4.

left free on the choice of joining any country. At that time, most of the princely States favoured and decided to join within their respective national domains, but three States opted for independence at that time, in which the princely State of Jammu and Kashmir was one among them. The basis of the conflict in Kashmir can be traced or is associated with the States excellent ethnoreligious diversity. The State in the beginning mainly comprised of the four core districts in which the Kashmir district was predominantly Muslim one, Jammu was predominantly Hindu dominated and while as the Leh and Kargil were mostly Muslim and Buddhist dominated ones. The area is fundamentally conflict-prone (Ganguly, 1997, p. 39).¹⁵ Even though the State had a predominantly Muslim population, but it was ruled by the Hindu Maharaj Hari Singh who firmly supported the independence of Kashmir (Blank, 1999, p. 39;¹⁶ Ganaie, 2018). However, following an attempted invasion by Pakistani tribal forces, Singh; hoping to forestall an uprising and a Pakistani-backed incursion saw no option but to join India (Ganguly, 2006; Paul, 2005, pp. 7-8). The merger and the joining of the Kashmir with the union of the India became unacceptable for the Pakistani nationalist leader and founder of the two-nation theorist Mohammad Ali Jinnah who was favouring of annexing the Kashmir with the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and for the merger of the same he decided to send the troops thereby firmly arguing that Pakistan will be incomplete in the absence of Kashmir. On the other hand, the merger of the Kashmir through the signing of the instrument of accession with the Union of India by the then ruler of Kashmir Maharaja Hari Singh was seen through a view that the integration of the State with the rest of the country as a demonstration that India could be a vital nation where all the faiths associated with the different religions could live respectively together under the guidance and support of one secular State (Ganguly, 1997, pp. 8-10). Along these lines, losing Kashmir according to the Indian Nationalists will undermine the secular identity of India.

Both the nations decided to send soldiers, the dispute among them resulted into a short war, which later came to an end with the cease-fire agreement in the year 1948, thus leaving Kashmir distributed and controlled by multi nations in which India managed to control two thirds, and the remaining portion of the Kashmir came under Pakistan and China (Paul, 2005: 8). The 1949 settlement build up the ceasefire line, which in the current context is known as 'Line of Control' (LoC) and which remained United Nations (UN) observed and monitored until 1972. It was due to the happening of the settlement that India became successful in

¹⁵ Ganguly, S. (1997). *The Crisis in Kashmir: Portents of War, Hopes of Peace*. Cambridge: The Woodrow Wilson Centre Press, p. 39.

¹⁶ Blank, J. (1999). Kashmir: Fundamentalism Takes Root. *Foreign Affairs*, 78(6), pp. 36-53.

managing with a territorial area of around 10 million individuals in the areas of Kashmir Valley, Jammu and Ladakh while Pakistan grabbed the control of Azad Kashmir and some scantily populated regions in the north, altogether about 3 million people (Bose, 2003, p. 2). In light of transformative idea encircled by Hensel; a first conflict and confrontation finishing in a stalemate and disappointment among both are probably going to expand doubt, dissatisfaction and hostility (Paul, 2005, p. 30). In Kashmir strife, this was shown by neither of the involved parties accepting the LoC as a border. Moreover, various clashes and two extra wars (1965 and 1999) over Kashmir, and another three over related issues in (1971-72, 1990 and 2001) has just possibly changed or altered the LoC (Ganguly, 1997, p. 3).

Pakistan has endeavoured to add or annex more territorial areas advocated and justified on ethnic or historical grounds, and India tried to safeguard status quo, the two nations have to a great extent ignored the Kashmiris themselves (Paul, 2005, p. 203; Schofield, 2000, p. 228). Regardless of getting a charge out of a unique constitutional position under article 370, for example being enabled its very own constitution and elections to state legislature body held under the provision of the Indian law, the real or the actual extent of the autonomy has demonstrated exceedingly unstable and volatile (Dossani and Rowen, 2005, p. 240). With the rise and growth in the Kashmiri nationalism during the period 1980s combined with grievances over perceived unbalanced representation in the regional parliament were proficiently used by militant activists and their leaders to activate or mobilise disheartened youth for armed struggle for expanded political rights. From 1989 and onwards, this grievance flare-up in violent separatist movement erupted in this region. The Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF)¹⁷ which headed this armed uprising caused intermittent strikes and demonstrations, which arrived its peak point in the December 1989 with the abducting of the Indian Minister for Home Affairs daughter (Ganguly, 1997, p. 1). With the inception and the introduction of the new State actors, especially the rise and growth of the secessionist movements in the State significantly transformed the character of the Kashmir conflict both militarily and politically, which further resulted in the creation of multidimensional and exceptionally complex conflict (Bose, 2003, p. 4). This proficiently moved the contention past state level, and from that point forward it has been the Kashmiris that have done the majority of the fighting and underwent the most astounding misfortunes and losses. Right now, it is accepted that there are various separatist parties that are operational and functional in Jammu

¹⁷ Deutsche, W. (n.d.). [Why calls for independence are getting louder in Pakistani Kashmir](#). Retrieved on 12th December 2019.

and Kashmir, running from terrorist groups to peaceful and non-violent organisations. Albeit just a bunch of these have political acceptability or credibility, they feature the majority of opinions existing among the Kashmiris (Krepon, 2004, p. 152).¹⁸

Neglecting to recognise the changing idea of the contention, Indian policy creators moved towards the Kashmir issue from a traditional counterinsurgency point of view. Nonetheless, as seen by Kilcullen;¹⁹ the nature of current counter-insurrections will, in general, comprise of various contending radical and insurgent powers, each trying to augment their survivability and impact (Kilcullen, 2006, p. 122). With the deployment of 400,000 security personnel from its military as well as from amongst the paramilitary powers, India did not just raise the share of its yearly administration expenses assigned to security. Battling an unidentifiable foe has made the Indian armed force endure high causality rates in their endeavours of keeping up control of the Kashmir. With the passage of plenty number of years of battling, counter-insurgency activities have killed enormous individuals. Besides, by putting the state under crisis rule in July 1990, India allowed its security powers considerable invulnerability just as presented legal and extrajudicial punishments, for example, laws empowering the law enforcement and implementing agencies to hold suspect under custody for as long as a year (Ganguly, 1997, p. 2; Ganaie, 2018; Wirsing,²⁰ 1994, p. 156). Fuelled by extreme allegations of torture by the police, India progressively neglected to win the fight for winning hearts and minds. Instead of running an effective counterinsurgency crusade, Indian polices created an expanding sentiment of alienation and solid refusal of joining or integrating with the union of India, especially in the Kashmir valley (Bose, 2003, p. 195).

As we all are aware that there is a significant characteristic of asymmetric clashes which is in the form of the capability of third parties which mostly transforms the conflict structure in terms of communication as well as the balance of power (Ramsbotham et al., 2005, p. 18). With the ignition and outbreak of the 1971 militarily escalation between India and Pakistan which later resulted in the creation of Bangladesh as a new country and was earlier known as East Pakistan. After the liberation of Bangladesh from Pakistan, India managed to emerge as a dominant regional power in the subcontinent. Moreover, of being a representative or symbolic, physiological and substantial blow, the loss of East-Pakistan from Pakistan undermined its irredentist Ethno-patriot claim of Kashmir (Ganguly, 1997, pp. 59-60). In any case, rather than

¹⁸ Krepon, M. (ed.). (2004). *Nuclear Risk Reduction in South Asia*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, p. 152.

¹⁹ Kilcullen, D. (2006). Counter-insurgency Redux. *Survival*, 48(4), pp. 111-113.

²⁰ Wirsing, R. G. (1994). *India, Pakistan, and the Kashmir Dispute on Regional Conflict and Its Resolutions*. London: MacMillan Press Ltd., p. 156.

modifying its objectives and targets, Pakistan balanced its strategies (Paul, 2005, p. 106). Despite all this, Hagerty had pointed that Hindus and Muslims have always cohabited from the centuries back in the sub-continent without the rise of any violence or significant conflict, besides this Singer's observation was that dissimilarity in ethnocultural are hardly able to manufacture wars or disputes among the societies. Despite all this, it is also worth noticing Mac Ginty's point²¹ of ethnicity which has been a powerful tool for the mobilisation and has been advantageous enough in order to exploit the existing conflicts (Ginty, 2008, pp. 71-72). Now, after the liberation of Bangladesh from Pakistan, it became more active in waging war and more extremist strategies against India besides undermining controlling of Kashmir by India. There was revenge in Pakistani minds, and they tried to overcome that humiliation through an armed rebel agitation by providing them weapons, training and asylums (Ganguly, 2006).²² They also, in addition to that later provided support to Kashmiri militant insurgents by providing them military and logistic assistance (Tavares, 2008; Ganaie, 2017). In addition to this, Pakistani insurgents were able to get sophisticated weaponry and war training from the Pakistani premier intelligence agency ISI (Inter-Service Intelligence), and it became possible after all these efforts and with the utilisation of modern and sophisticated weaponry and technology that efficiently in brief time incapacitated the State's law and order mechanism. Elevated by the underlying accomplishment of the independence movement, Pakistan's in the mid-1990's bit by bit occupied its help towards Islamic activists seeing for accession to Pakistan. As nearby Kashmiris transcendently bought into the mainstream with secular ideology or a Muslim Kashmiri perspective of their identity, real recipients, for example, the Hizbul Mujahidin appreciated very constrained prominent help. Never the less, the introduction of foreign and remote jihadists and mercenaries, a large number of whom with experience from Afghanistan, further raised the war, yet additionally diminished well-known help for the militant movement (Dossani & Rowen, 2005, pp. 251-253).

As it has been figured out by the Jabri²³ that third parties can through for instance facilitation of correspondence and communication, provision of resolution alternatives and use concession achieving strategies make a significant commitment to conflict resolution (Jabri, 1995, p. 54). However, in the case regarding Kashmir, the presence of third parties have become mostly complicated instead of aiding the prospects towards the settlement of Kashmir.

²¹ Mac, G. and Roger. (2008). No War, No Peace: *The Rejuvenation of Stalled Peace Processes and Peace Accords*. Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, pp. 71-72.

²² Ganguly, S. (2006). Will Kashmir Stop India's Rise. *Foreign Affairs*, 85, p. 4.

²³ Jabri, V. (1995). Agency, Structure, and the Question of Power in Conflict Resolution. *Paradigms*, 9(2), pp. 53-70.

Pakistan became successful in attaining advantages from the bipolar cold war order and later succeeded in introducing itself as an Islamic barrier against communism (Wirsing, 1994, p. 88). With the launching of the invasions by the Soviet Union against Afghanistan, Pakistan turned itself into a front-line State against the worldwide ideological battle. This resulted in the access of billions of dollars of United States (US) military and financial aid, and although never compromising India's control of Kashmir, the military aid model to a great extent undermined the essential asymmetry of the dispute and denied India the opportunity to develop as regional hegemon (Rudolph, 2008, p. 39).²⁴ The finish and the breakdown of the Soviet danger to a great extent moved South Asia to the back burner in terms of United States interest.

Notwithstanding, following the 2001 terrorist assaults and the accompanying war on terror, Pakistan again has turned into an essential partner for the US. In spite of warnings from then-deputy national security advisor Robert Gate that it would receive a complete washout in any sort of full-scale military clash, Pakistan has not reined its help for the Kashmir insurrection. An explanation behind this is apparently that these admonitions would, in general, watered somewhere around advice to Indian decision-makers to step down their offensive and improve the human rights records of its security forces (Ganguly, 1997, pp. 110-111). Even though official clarifications from Washington have kept on asking Pakistan to quit helping terrorist groups, its incentive in the 'War on Terror' has extraordinarily diminished US weight on Pakistan to determine the Kashmir conflict (Bose, 2003, p. 227; Bajpai, 2003, p. 114). Moreover, as Pakistan additionally have looked for ties with China, it has to an enormous degree affirmed Weiner's²⁵ argument that as parties tend to seek help from nations with common interests, irredentist clashes manage examples of alliance (Weiner, 1971, pp. 671-672). Since the 1962 Sino-Indian war, China has on occasion given India a more significant number of worries than Pakistan; both as a fundamental supporter of Pakistan's atomic and missile program and as a potential rival (Krepon, 2004, pp. 28-83).

Resulting in the breakdown of the India and Pakistan in the form of two separate nations through partition; contentions over Kashmir were to a great extent encircled as an issue of to whom Kashmir ought to have a place with by law. Regardless of this, no worldwide exertion of starting any global investigation, nor has the conflict been gone after for any universal tribunal or any other sort of intervention body. Notwithstanding when talked and discussed

²⁴ Rudolph, L. I. and Rudolph, S. H. (2008). *Making US Foreign Policy Towards South Asia- Regional Imperatives and the Imperial Presidency*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, p. 39.

²⁵ Weiner, M. (1971). The Macedonian Syndrome: An Historical Model of International Relations and Political. *World Politics*, 23(4), pp. 665-683.

regarding that in the UN Security Council after the 1948 ceasefire, there were no declared decisions of the dispute (Wirsing, 1994, pp. 10-11). In any case, with the bringing up of the contention before the Security Council, India in a roundabout way recognised that the region was disputed, and progressively significant, making a universal group of spectators for Pakistan's cases. Three noteworthy goals and resolutions have required a United Nations administered plebiscite for the Kashmiris to express their will, and however, despite the fact that this was likewise acknowledged by the two nations in 1949, it did not occur. While Pakistan to a great extent stayed for a referendum, developing an apprehension of a more significant part in help of autonomy obviously enlivened India to in 1954 pronounce the accession as unalterable and along these lines discarding the possibility of a referendum. With the exception of the unsuccessful 1963 talks where the US and the UK accepted the job of joint mediators, there have been no additional formal talks expressly speaking about the dispute of Kashmir. Later endeavours, for example, the British negotiation over the 1965 Kutch crisis succeeded with regards to arriving at a ceasefire agreement which was trailed by the 1966 Soviet interceded Tashkent agreement which further preestablished peaceful relations.

With the advent and passage of time, both the countries got involved themselves in peaceful efforts and tried to resolve all their unsettled disputes through the utilisation of various tactics and initiatives, in which the accord of the Shimla Agreement of 1972 which was aimed at strengthening the bilateral relations between the governments of the India and Pakistan. With the signing and official launch of the Shimla Accord at that time, both the countries had agreed to erase all the pending issues and to wipe all the confrontations that had disturbed peace among them. Both the countries initiated developmental works and tried to maintain friendly and harmonious relationships among them. In spite of the signing of the Shimla Agreement, there have been several numbers of differences among them, and disagreements about its interpretation have always been there (Krepon, 2004, p. 156). Though India kept on demanding the wrongness of Pakistan's claim on Kashmir, Pakistan contended the requirement for settlement tending to the desire of the Kashmiris (Wirsing, 1994, p. 63). In spite of the two India and Pakistan want to finish the Kashmir struggle, neither has been set up to make any generous concessions. In this issue, the failed talks of the Siachen glacier, enduring from 1986 to 1992 can be viewed as a descriptive confirmation of the party's failure to come to concurrence on moderately minor issues. As various rounds of bilateral meetings have finished uncertainly, the two nations appear to have turned out to be progressively joined to their underlying positions (Schofield, 2000, p. 226).

By promptly accusing Pakistan as an ‘agent provocateur’ behind the armed rebellion, India has commonly ignored the likelihood of numerous reasons for well-known discontent in the area (Ganguly, 1997, p. 226). Be that as it may, taking a glimpse at the ongoing decade, one can see and observe from few hints of improvement, as the valley of Kashmir is never again the battleground as it was prevalent there in the State during the 1990s (International Crisis Group [ICG], 2010).²⁶ Albeit the two nations persistently deny building up the LoC into an international border. The 2004 ‘Composite Talks’ prevailing with regards to diminishing pressures and in this way counteracted an arrival to the threatening atmosphere of Kargil crisis (ICG, 2006).²⁷ Expanded regional dependability was additionally featured by the fruitful local elections of 2002 and 2004, which, to a great extent re-established prevalent thinking in the possibility of free and fair elections. Extra mystery peace talks in 2007 further diminished cross border violence and flourished initial optimism. Be that as it may, the failure to illuminate fundamental issues again turned out to be exceedingly unmistakable as then-President Pervez Musharraf lost grasp to control and as the terrorist assault in Mumbai in 2008 proficiently put 2004 started talks on hold (Polgreen, 2010).²⁸

One of the crucial questions in assessing the adequacy of conflict resolution is whether to underline the finish of the brutality as in itself, or the success or achievement is just cultivated after an all-out change or transformation of the Conflict (Jabri, 1995, p. 55). In case of the Kashmir conflict, the inheritance of competition and question has made endeavours of dialogues challenging, however, has throughout the years additionally made the conflict inclined to interruption by radical forces present in the area. With the existence of the very few or little indications of neither neutralisation nor a successful culmination to human rights maltreatment by Indian security forces, Kashmiri disaffection still rounds profound and effectively fuelling open disdain holding on to be misused by militant activists. This has made it very hard to construct feasible and continued the exchange of dialogue between the principal parties of the State (ICG, 2005).²⁹ As there during the time have been not many endeavours to address the underlying drivers of the contention adequately, most intervention efforts and consultations have been focused on conflict managing, rather than on conflict resolution (Paul, 2005, p. 46). Universal intercession endeavours have seemingly added to decreased pressures;

²⁶ International Crisis Group, (2010). [Steps towards Peace: Putting Kashmiris First](#). Asia Briefing No.1063. Accessed on: 19th December 2019.

²⁷ International Crisis Group, (2006). [India, Pakistan and Kashmir: Stabilizing a Cold Peace](#). Asia Briefing No. 51. Accessed on: 20th December 2019.

²⁸ Polgreen, Lydia, (2010). [Indian Forces Face Broader Revolt in Kashmir](#). Accessed on: 18th December 2019.

²⁹ International Crisis Group, (2005, June 24). [India/Pakistan Relations and Kashmir: Steps toward Peace](#). Asia Report No. 79. Accessed on: 19th December 2019.

be that as it may, this has had little impact generally speaking impact on settling the conflict (Wallensteen, 2007, p. 87).³⁰ The perspective on the absence of achievement is likewise upheld by Galtung.³¹ Once presenting the idea of constructive harmony, Galtung verifiably contended that compatibility is somewhat more than nonappearance of war (Galtung 1985, p. 145). By indicating instances of infringement of a social and political right, fragmentation, dissection and marginalisation groups inside Kashmir,³² one can somewhat contend the nearness of underlying savagery in Kashmir (Barash and Webel, 2009, pp. 7-8; Galtung, 1990, p. 292).³³

The 1998 demonstration of shared atomic capacity appended one more component to the dispute. Expanding on contentions raised by proliferation positive thinker, for example, Waltz and Hagerty (1990) contended in his investigation of the India-Pakistan struggle that “the logic of nuclear deterrence is more robust than the logic on non-proliferation” (Krepon, 2004, p. 70). Unexpectedly, as it very well may be contended that the India-Pakistan circumstance is mostly extraordinary, it is discussable whether the Cold War encounters are appropriate to South Asia. This contention was additionally reinforced as the Kargil conflict between these two nuclear-powered nations undermined two other underlying assumptions in international relations; vote based systems or modern democracies do not go to war against one. In spite of the fact that proliferation optimist will bring up that in the post-atomic crisis of 1990, 1999, and 2001-2002; both of the two parties limited its military hostile, in any case, then again it did not cause the parties to avoid keeping their atomic stockpiles in status of cutting edge preparation (Krepon, 2004, pp. 20-25). Additionally, in spite of pulling in universal consideration prompting a United States-led shuttle-diplomacy and strategy during the Kargil crisis, it did not inspire any supported global exertion (Basrur, 2002).

As we all are conscious of the circumstances that there are various approaches and ways that are used to analyse any conflict issue and one among them is that the international analysts have now and again hailed domestic strategies as significant limitations for conflict resolution. With the conflict becoming day by day more deeply inserted or embedded in the societal structures along with identities and due to that change or modification in the society, it always becomes tough for the political leaders residing in India and Pakistan to receive massive public support for giving up its entitlements, and they seem further distant (Tal, 2000, p. 351; ICG,

³⁰ Wallensteen, P. (2007). *Understanding Conflict Resolution*. London: Sage Publications Ltd., p. 87.

³¹ Galtung, J. (1985). Twenty-five years of peace research: ten challenges and some responses. *Journal of Peace Research*, 2(22), pp. 141-158.

³² Barash, D. P. and Webel, C. P. (2009). *Peace and Conflict Studies*. London: Sage Publications, pp. 7-8.

³³ Galtung, J. (1990). Cultural Violence. *Journal of Peace Research*, 3(27), pp. 291-305.

2003). From the period 1960's it has been easy for the radical forces in Pakistan to insert the Islamic radicalisation in Pakistan's politics besides shaping its identity through various radical movements. It has been possible only due to these radical movements in Pakistan that have made the Kashmir conflict to sustain besides fermenting it furthermore (Dossani and Rowen, 2005, p. 2).³⁴ As a suitable example, the production of the nuclear weapons by India which were mainly framed as the means of a necessary tool, due to the threat to its national identity which was primarily coming from the growth of these radical militant forces (Barash and Webel, 2009, p. 134). In spite of failing to integrate 'Azad Kashmir' ethnonationalism which is mainly based on Islam has become one of the essential reasons for Pakistan in justifying the irredentist claims in Kashmir (Paul, 2005, p. 179; Wirsing, 1994, p. 67). Albeit the two nations have kept up generally high their military costs and in which India's relative expenditure on defence sector has not been relative as compared to Pakistan. Many years of stable clash and frequent conflicts have left permanent checks on both the nations, especially on the political economy of Pakistan. Pakistan's centralised economy has from the very beginning focussing on their defence sector rather than the welfare of its subjects or State. Due to the highly centralised focus of defence sector, it has made Pakistani military one among the most respectable and most privileged one due to the absence of democratic institutions and widespread influence of the military regimes,³⁵ thus ostensibly being a benefiter of proceeded with conflict in Kashmir (Jalal, 1995, pp. 140-142). As it has been indicated by the 'Democratic Peace Theory' democracies which are stable and more consolidated are very less or likely to resort to the usage of the military cove. Dominance and existence of the democratic institutions in Pakistan have always short-lived, and it is mostly due to dominance of the military regimes in Pakistan that there is still no indication of a reduction in conflict between them on Kashmir (Paul, 2005, pp. 46-47). There has been a usage of continuous and frequent terms regarding the Kashmir rivalry that, it has been an 'Unfinished Agenda of Partition' besides usage of the term 'India Occupied Kashmir' by Pakistan, which has made it highly complex and none of the governments of their has been able to explore an amicable solution. It has been mostly due to these issues through which the Pakistani government will probably get acknowledgement for abandoning Kashmir without demonstrating a considerable concession from India (Bajpai, 2003, pp. 121-22). While maintaining and trying to unite its national unity,

³⁴ Dossani, R. and Rowen, H. S. (2005). *Prospects for Peace in South Asia*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, p. 2.

³⁵ Jalal, A. (1995). *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia-A comparative and historical perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pakistan has always been struggling to maintain it besides the presence of several challenges. The dominance of the Kashmir issue has sparked them rigorously and still remains inducted in their State policies and has become a fundamental device for guaranteeing the legitimacy of its government (Sumit, 1997, p. 5; Paul, 2005, p. 34).

Regardless of being less reliant on identity for inner authenticity and dependability, expanding well-known help for Hindu patriotism have slowly diminished Indian resilience towards Islamic radicalism and furthermore decreased for expanded Kashmiri self-governance and autonomy or independence (Dossani and Rowen, 2005, p. 4). Besides, Hindu patriots dread that a fruitful insurgent entitlement of self-assurance for Kashmir would have expressive impacts that accidentally could embroil the staying Muslim populace in India, henceforth potentially undermine the solidarity of the Indian State (Ganguly, 1997, p. 128). Taking a gander at the four regions, an instinctive arrangement would be for India to proclaim military triumph and afterwards yield the Kashmir Valley to Pakistan. This would empower India to keep up control of Jammu, Kargil and Leh, simpler finish the uprising, and empower its security powers to pull back from an unsound circumstance just as fulfilling Pakistan. In any case, as by far, most Indians think about Kashmir as an integral part of India, such an arrangement would be politically faulty for any governmental institution. Besides, there is no assurance this would end Pakistan's desire of the whole region, as a concession could be taken as an indication of shortcoming.

II. Exploring Kashmir Conflict Theoretically

1. Theory of Colonialism

The best approach which would depict Kashmir strife is colonialism which swallowed the whole Indian sub-continent during the 18th century. If one intently thinks about the systems set up in Indian occupied part of Kashmir, it is certainly near to colonisation. A portion of the highlights resemble establishment of dummy regimes, denying authenticities, not enabling individuals to find out their desires and yearnings, always tormenting the individuals and causing them to trust you cannot get by alone, command over their assets and natural resources. Conflict in Kashmir valley is fundamentally because of hatred. Indian individuals feel deceived by the formation of Pakistan; they think that when Muslims are living here joyfully, then there was no need or dread of making a different country. However, they do not have the foggiest idea about that Jinnah has two straightforward and genuine requests firstly like the reservation in Parliament for Muslims in Muslim majority seats and secondly more federal power to States

for example like what we provided for Kashmir. Be that as it may, the Indian rulers and top prominent leaders were against that and that constrained Muslims league to demand Pakistan as a separate country on religious identity which they quickly got.

The theory of colonialism or colonisation is one of the deadliest policies of any nation which tries to expand or is willing to retain more territories³⁶ illegally and later quickly they can rule that territory and utilise resources available there. In most of the case of colonial expansion, the main aim is to gain economic dominance over other people surviving at those occupied territories (Rodney, 1972, p. 301). The colonial powers always try to get more and more benefits from the retained colonial areas and in this process, they also try to increase the influence of their religion, economics, education and medicinal practices. Colonialism is considered as a relationship of one power dominance on the natives of occupied territories who are the majority by number but are colonised by the minority or foreign powers with a sole aim self-interest (Veracini, 2010, p. 5). Historically records of colonialism are rooted to Phoenicians³⁷ which was associated with the enterprising maritime trading culture that was spread over the great Mediterranean³⁸ from the period of 1550 BC to 300 BC and later the Greek and Persians also adopted this policy of colonialism for expanding their territories. In addition to this Romans soon followed this policy, and they started up expanding their colonial influence and colonies along the Mediterranean, Northern Africa and in parts of Western Asia. It was in the 9th century that the new wave of Mediterranean colonialism erupted out among the competing Nations like Venetians, Genovese and Amalfians. Far ahead in the 15th century, some of the European powers formed and structure their empires during the significant colonial period. The British, Belgian, French, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish and Swedish etc. empires set up their colonies across the considerable parts of the globe. Other imperial powers like Japan, the United States of America (USA) and the Ottoman Empire also established their colonies followed by imperialist China and finally later in the 19th century by German and Italian empires. (Gallaher; Dahlman, C. T.; Gilmartin, M.; Mountz, A.; Shirlow, P., 2009, p. 392).

Colonialism can be called a complex phenomenon through which colonial powers always focus on capitalist expansion and in other words, it is a process through which the

³⁶ [Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language](#), 1989, p. 291.

³⁷ Phoenicia was a thalassocratic, ancient Semitic-speaking Mediterranean civilization that originated in the Levant, specifically Lebanon, in the west of the Fertile Crescent. Generally, it is believed by scholars that it was centered on the coastal areas of present-day Lebanon.

³⁸ The Mediterranean is a sea which is connected with the Atlantic Ocean and surrounded by the Mediterranean Basin and mostly or completely closed by the Land.

control of raw materials, natural and mineral resources etc. are directly managed by the colonial forces for their usage and interest. History of colonialism in India is rooted in the discovery of India by Christopher Columbus in the year 1492. It was only after the passing of a few years later, and mostly by the end of the 15th century, it was a Portuguese sailor viz., Vasco Da Gama who turn out to be the first European to re-establish the direct trade with India. Vasco Da Gama who arrived first in Calicut (Kozhikode) which at that time was one of the major trading ports of the eastern world³⁹ and later he received permission from Saamoothiri Raja to carry out the trade in the city. Then it was the competition among the trading rivalries which brought more colonial forces and powers to India. The Dutch Republic, England and France etc. also established their trading positions in India during the early of the 17th century. With the disintegration of the Mughal empire during the beginning of the 18th century and with the further weakening of the Maratha empire after the third battle of Panipat which resulted in the weakening of the most princely states in India and they were more prone to the occupation of the colonial powers due to weak armies and economies after the internal conflict.

While analysing the views of the different respondents selected for the study, it was found that 91 (11.8%) tested out of the total samples acknowledged that disturbance in the valley is due to the colonial policies of the British which were meant for dividing the territories on the basis of religion and identity. The drama of the colonialism is still seen in Kashmir, and it was only due to these colonial policies which sold the Kashmir for a sum of 7.5 Million Nanakshahee rupees under the Treaty of Amritsar in March 1846 to Gulab Singh. The views of various respondents are listed in Table 2.1:

Table 2.1: Historical Genesis of the Kashmir Conflict

Historically Kashmir Conflict is Rooted to		
	Frequency	Percent
Two Nation Theory	371	48.3
Colonial policies of the British that were meant for dividing the territories on the basis of Religion and Identity	91	11.8
The growth of extremist forces like militancy and separatism	240	31.3
No Opinion	66	8.6
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of **Fieldwork**⁴⁰ that was carried out from 5th March 2018 to 5th November 2018 by virtue of Questionnaire. For details, see Appendix-I.

³⁹ [The Land That Lost Its History](#). (2001, August 20). Time. Accessed on: 4th August 2019.

⁴⁰ All the Data tables that are depicting ‘**Fieldwork**’ as a source of ‘**Data**’ have been designed on the basis of Inputs received from the Fieldwork which was conducted from 5th March 2018 to 5th November 2018 by virtue of Questionnaire. For details, see Appendix-I.

2. Two Nation Theory

Two Nation theory is mainly responsible for the creation of Pakistan. As per the theory, it clearly states that Muslims and Hindus cannot live together, and they have to be separated into two nations on the basis of Hindu and Muslim Identity. According to the theory, they are two different and separate nations by every definition and Muslims should always be able to survive in their separate homeland with a Muslim majority. The theory sharply criticises the survival of Muslim subjects in Hindu dominant areas (Khan, 1940). It was only due to the two-nation theory that Pakistan came up as a separate nation with religious identity and this theory was the first founding principle that dominated the movement for independent Pakistan (Samina, 2007).⁴¹ The theory believes in two separate identities for both Hindus and Muslims and its ideology listed Pakistan as a Muslim nation and where Muslims can independently practise and follow their religion.

Tracking the history of two-nation theory, for the first time this ideology for determining the nationality of the Indian Hindus and Muslims was propagated by the Indian nationalists like Rajnarayan Basu (Majumdar, 1971, pp. 295-296), Bhai Parmanand (Ambedkar, 1940, pp. 35-36), Nabagopal Mitra (Majumdar, 1961) and Vinayak Damodar Savarkar (Savarkar, 1963, p. 296). Finally, this ideology was adopted by the founder of Pakistan (Muhammad Ali Jinnah) declared it as a movement for awakening the Muslims for the creation of Pakistan (Brien, 1988).⁴²

The theory in addition to this asserted that India was not a nation and according to the theory Hindus and Muslims residing in the Indian subcontinent were each a nation despite the fact that there were more significant variations in cultural, ethnicity and linguistic identities within these two major groups (Saigol, 1995). The theory always stressed on that Muslim subjects living in any country have sympathies towards their fellow Muslims than non-Muslims in that country (Jinnah, 1992).

This theory which strongly favours separate nations on the basis of different religious identity has still kept its religious identity alive in Kashmir valley, and most of the people in conflict-ridden Kashmir valley are still propounding it despite its collapse, failure and sharp criticism. There was severe criticism of this theory which considered religion as the leading architect in shaping the identity based on religion. Father of the Nation Mahatma Gandhi (Arnold, 2014, p. 170) along with other leaders were opposing the division of the country on

⁴¹ Mallah, S. (2007, November 11). [Two-Nation Theory Exists](#). *Pakistan Times*. Retrieved on: 3rd August 2019.

⁴² Brien, O., Conner, C. (1988, August). [Holy War Against India](#). *The Atlantic Monthly*. Retrieved on: 3rd August 2019.

the basis of religion, and against this severe opposition Jinnah the founder of the Pakistan said that “we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilisation, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendars, history and traditions, outlook, aptitudes and ambitions; in short we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life.”⁴³

3. Ideological Perspectives from Ganderbal District

In Ganderbal district of the Kashmir zone which is considered as one of the most peaceful districts, majority of the tested samples, i.e., 296 (77.1%) are of the view that Kashmir conflict is the basis of the two-nation theory, while 47 (12.2%) discredit this theory in inciting trouble in Kashmir. The opinions expressed of different respondents are listed in Table 2.2:

Table 2.2: Ideological and Religious Foundations Behind the Kashmir Conflict

Ganderbal: Do you think that Kashmir conflict is rooted in the two-nation theory		
	Frequency	Percent
No	47	12.2
Yes	296	77.1
No Opinion	41	10.7
Total	384	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

In addition to the two-nation theory, there are several factors which are responsibly increasing the unrest in the valley. Of the tested samples in the Ganderbal district, it was found that 185 (48.12%) are of the firm view that Kashmir conflict is historically rooted two-nation theory, 47 (12.2%) are of the view who have cited Colonial policies of the British that were meant for dividing the territories on the basis of Religion and Identity as responsible factor for the unrest in Kashmir. 120 (31.3%) had stated that the growth of extremist forces like militancy and separatism are accountable for the conflict in Kashmir. The views expressed are figured in Table 2.3:

Table 2.3: Historical cause of Kashmir Conflict as per respondents of Ganderbal

Historically Kashmir conflict is rooted in		
	Frequency	Percent
Two Nation Theory	185	48.2
Colonial policies of the British that were meant for dividing the territories on the basis of Religion and Identity	47	12.2
The growth of extremist forces like militancy and separatism	120	31.3
No Opinion	32	8.3
Total	384	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

⁴³ Banerjee, A. C. (1981). Two Nations: The Philosophy of Muslim Nationalism, Concept Publishing Company, p. 236

Kashmir conflict or unrest along with political turbulence in the valley, is not limited to this. Still, it has also other reasons which are growing it more and one among them is the unfulfilled promise made by the government of India with the Kashmiri people which was acknowledged by the 91 (23.7%) tested respondents in the Ganderbal district. 148 (38.5%) had credited belief in religious identity as figured out by the two-nation theory, 17 (4.4%) had listed autonomy, and special status of the state and 128 (33.3%) of the analysed samples had said that it is due to the continued and frequent support of the Pakistan which is making the issue more complicated. The opinions and views listed of different samples of Ganderbal district regarding the continued unrest in Kashmir are listed in Table 2.4:

Table 2.4: Genesis of the Kashmir Conflict as per Respondents of Ganderbal

Conflict in Kashmir is still prevalent due to		
	Frequency	Percent
Unfulfilled promises made by the government of India	91	23.7
Belief in religious identity as propounded due to two-nation theory	148	38.5
Autonomy and special status to the state of Jammu and Kashmir	17	4.4
Continued support by Pakistan	128	33.3
Total	384	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

4. Ideological Perceptions from Shopian District

Shopian district known as ‘Apple Town’ and most beautiful and rich with abundant resources has become a hotbed of unrest and insurgency in the Kashmir valley. It is essential to estimate the views and opinions of the general masses to measure the certainty behind the uprising there. While analysing the views and opinions of the people in Shopian district, it was found that majority of the calculated samples, i.e., 300 (78.1%) out of the total selected 384 samples for studying from the Shopian district are of the view that Kashmir conflict is rooted to two-nation theory as compared to the 296 (77.1%) tested samples from Ganderbal district. The views and opinions expressed regarding the root cause of Kashmir conflict are given in Table 2.5:

Table 2.5: Two-Nation theory and its implications on Kashmir as per residents of Shopian

Do you think that Kashmir conflict is rooted in the two-nation theory		
	Frequency	Percent
No	45	11.7
Yes	300	78.1
No Opinion	39	10.2
Total	384	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

Besides two-nation theory or religious identity as the basis of the Kashmir issue, there are other innumerable factors which are responsible for the unrest in the valley and which are nurturing it. While measuring the level of views and opinions of the general masses of the Shopian district, it was found that 186 (48.4%) calculated samples are crediting two-nation theory for Kashmir strife, 44 (11.5%) have credited Colonial policies of the British that were meant for dividing the territories on the basis of Religion and Identity, 120 (31.3%) of the evaluated samples are considering the growth of extremist forces like militancy and separatism as main factors responsible for the Kashmir conflict in historical terms out of the total selected 384 samples from the Shopian district for study analysis. The opinions expressed are distributed in Table 2.6:

Table 2.6: Historical Genesis of the Kashmir Conflict as per Respondents of Shopian

Historically Kashmir conflict is rooted in		
	Frequency	Percent
Two Nation Theory	186	48.4
Colonial policies of the British that were meant for dividing the territories on the basis of Religion and Identity	44	11.5
The growth of extremist forces like militancy and separatism	120	31.3
No Opinion	34	8.9
Total	384	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

Various factors during modern times are considered for the continued unrest and turbulence in Kashmir, and lots of factors that are being considered as responsible for it. While estimating the opinions of the selected samples from the Shopian district, it was found that 92 (24.0%) tested samples are of the idea that it is due to the unfulfilled promises made by the government of India which is causing the Kashmir issue more complicated. 146 (38.0%) are crediting belief in religious identity as propounded due to two-nation theory as the basis of the Kashmir issue, and 15 (3.9%) said that it is due to the autonomy and special status to the state of Jammu and Kashmir while 131 (34.1%) credited regular and continued support of Pakistan as the primary basis for the increased unrest in the valley. The opinions expressed are given in Table 2.7:

Table 2.7: Reasons for the Kashmir Conflict as per Respondents of Shopian District

Conflict in Kashmir is still prevalent due to		
	Frequency	Percent
Unfulfilled promises made by the government of India	92	24.0
Belief in religious identity as propounded due to two-nation theory	146	38.0
Autonomy and special status to the state of Jammu and Kashmir	15	3.9
Continued support by Pakistan	131	34.1
Total	384	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

5. Comparative Analysis of Ideological Difference in Ganderbal and Shopian

The ideological presence of the two-nation theory was measured in contemporary times in Kashmir, and during fieldwork and data collection phases it was observed and found that this theory is still attracting some limited areas who prioritise this theory. From the analysed sample size of 768, it was found that majority of the respondents stated that conflict in Kashmir valley is rooted and still growing due to two-nation theory. From the total calculated sample sizes, 596 (77.6%) acknowledged that the Kashmir issue is increasing due to religious identity. The views expressed of various respondents are listed in Table 2.8:

Table 2.8: Ideological Basis of the Kashmir Conflict

Is Kashmir conflict rooted in two-nation theory?		
	Frequency	Percent
No	92	12.0
Yes	596	77.6
No Opinion	80	10.4
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

Considering the historical validity of the Kashmir issue, it was also verified by the majority of the tested samples that Kashmir issue is historically rooted in popular religious two-nation theory. From the calculated samples, 371 (48.3%) respondents acknowledged the root cause of Kashmir issue to two-nation theory and 91 (11.8%) linked the Colonial policies of the British that were meant for dividing the territories on the basis of Religion and Identity as the main architect behind the Kashmir issue and 240 (31.3%) credited the presence and growth of extremist forces like separatism and militancy in the valley. The views expressed by the tested samples are listed in data Table 2.9:

Table 2.9: Historical Genesis of the Kashmir Issue

Historically Kashmir conflict is rooted to		
	Frequency	Percent
Two Nation Theory	371	48.3
Colonial policies of the British that were meant for dividing the territories on the basis of Religion and Identity	91	11.8
The growth of extremist forces like militancy and separatism	240	31.3
No Opinion	66	8.6
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

III. Concluding Remarks

Jammu and Kashmir an Indian State popularly tagged as Kashmir and known by virtue of its beauty besides being called as a heavenly body on this planet has been a victim of two oppressive colonial forces under the different regimes of the Dogras and the Britishers. In the current context, it has been mostly now a conflict-ridden one due to the constant and continuous support from Pakistan through various channels of armed insurgencies which have made the area more conflict-prone. Instability, unrest and armed turbulence in Kashmir have been mostly there from the 1990 period with the massive armed uprising that mostly came up in the year 1989 through an extensive military and logistic support from Pakistan.

Studying, examining and researching Kashmir issue needs several methodologies besides the usage of various tactics. For studying the problem, a theoretical approach was also used to explore the historical grounds and root causes behind the conflict. Implications of the two-nation theory that was propounded by Mohammad Ali Jinnah besides the root causes of the Kashmir conflict was also explored by studying the theory of colonialism. Evaluating the religious, ideological presence of the Kashmir strife it was investigated that majority of the tested samples, i.e., 596 (77.6%) out of the total calculated sample size of 768 acknowledged that the long unending conflict of Kashmir has been unresolved and is growing mainly due to the influential and supreme religious identity that was flushed out by the Jinnah's two-nation theory which is still flushing out religious supremacy. It was also explored that the limitedness of the strife is only limited to Kashmir valley due to the majority of the populace which still believes in two-nation theory and are considering it supreme in deciding or choosing Nationalism. On the other hand, while acknowledging and measuring the historical validity of the Kashmir conflict, it was observed that the strife is directly or indirectly being there due to the colonial and oppressive regimes that have swallowed the State through massive economical loots and human crushing especially those belonging to or associated with the religious sentiments. From the total 768 calculated samples, it was acknowledged by 90 (11.8%) respondents that historically Kashmir conflict is rooted to colonial policies of the British that were meant for dividing the territories on the basis of religion and identity while 371 (48.3%) of the calculated samples out of 768 selected samples acknowledged that historically Kashmir conflict is rooted in two-nation theory.

Hence based on the data analysis and after studying the implications of the Kashmir conflict that became thrown out after thoroughly examining this strife, therefore it can be argued that there is a presence and occurrence of the flopped ideology that is making the

Kashmir issue more complicated. Directly or indirectly Kashmir conflict is mostly due to the two-nation theory and in addition to that due to the presence of the strong roots that were sworn by the colonial policies. Thus, it was explored that conflict is still a beneficiary of these theories.

Therefore, based on the analysis thrown out from the fieldwork and theory of two-nation, it can be assumed that still there is the presence and occurrence of this flopped ideology in conflict-ridden Kashmir. But on the other hand, this theory has failed in justifying the status of the Muslims who are residing in India or other parts of the world with enough dignity and pride despite the presence of enormous forms of dissimilarities in the way of religion, ethnicity, culture, economy and education.

Chapter 3

The Genesis of Identity in Rising Kashmir

I. Identity Politics and Statehood Movements in India

India is rapidly developing as a noteworthy regional and worldwide power. The socio-political soundness of India along these lines is legitimately significant to India's national interest. Be that as it may, ethnic clashes keep on shocking the Indian political spectrum. How India deals with its decent variety and addresses the difficulties presented by ethnic clashes will, to a great extent and will decide its future security, prosperity and advancement direction. We characterise an ethnic gathering as either a vast or little gathering of individuals, in either customary or modern social orders or societies, who are joined by a typical acquired culture (*counting language, music, sustenance, dress, and traditions and practices*), racial similitude, regular religion, and faith in mutual history and lineage and who show a robust physiological sentiment of having a place with the group (Taras and Ganguly, 2006). Besides, ethnic groups can be either countries societies or diaspora networks. Countries social orders usually make territorial claims over the region where they live dependent on long haul residence. Conversely, diaspora networks are, for the most part, worried about securing and advancing the political, monetary and socio-cultural rights and chances of their individuals in an outside nation (Esman, 1994).

Given India's ethnic assorted diversity and the causal unpredictability of ethnic clashes, it is valuable to see ethnic political activation as the result of concurrent causal conjunctures, and this is the possibility of chemical causation, first created by John Stuart Mill, which recommends that a phenomenon rises up out of the crossing point of suitable conditions and in the event that any of the fundamental elements are missing, at that point the marvel does not rise (Ragin, 1987). Drawing on wide-running hypothetical writing, one can contend that four expansive causal conditions, as a rule, have a direction upon ethnic political preparation, developments and fomentations. First, ethnic groups fear of absorption or social weakening, and unfulfilled national desires may start ethnic political deployment and struggle (Glazer and Moynihan 1975; Enloe, 1973). Second, the procedure of modernization, by instigating

enormous scale populace relocations, by raising norms of education and aspiration stages, and by constraining ethnic groups to live in nearness to and contend with different crowds for remunerations and assets, may enhance ethnic groups socio-political mindfulness and raise their ability to politically assemble for aggregate activity (Enloe, 1973; Horowitz, 1985). Third, inconsistent improvement of ethnic groups, destitution, manipulation, absence of opportunities and risk to existing group benefits may induce stable sentiments of relative deficiency among ethnic gatherings and flash ethnopolitical developments and commotions (Gellner, 1969; Hechter, 1975). On the other hand, fast monetary growth may offer a financial lifesaver to ethnic gatherings and boost the formation of monetarily and authoritatively feasible little States circuitous association with the central government inside a federal polity (Hannan, 1979; Nielsen, 1985). At last, political factors, for example, the endemic mal-administration, ascent of regional, ideological groups and development of frail alliance governments at the centre may likewise contribute fundamentally to the flare-up of ethnopolitical events (Gurr, 1993; Fukuyama, 2004).

A couple of researchers, including a couple of Marxists, bear witness to those mass improvements or contradictions are dreary in the Indian culture and civilisation due to its multilinear character and all-unavoidable chain of significance. Due to the Brahminical conviction framework and different levelled social structure, the abused classes have ended up being submissive, faithful and passivist (Moore, 1967; Badrinath, 1977). Such verifications are negated by various specialists who point to a couple of fights by the abused classes in pre-and post-independent India (Cough, 1974; Dhanagare, 1983). Some explain that the difficulties and unsettling influences in post-independent India are the outcomes of the conflict among custom and headway. According to the parliamentary majority rules framework has been transplanted in India, where there is no custom of purposeful effort. People have developed a tangled aura towards power; they take the inclinations offered by the political master but then do not legitimise it. Morris Jones fights that even after self-rule government is relied on, and all the while spat upon and abused. A comparable man who is 'looking to government' one moment may in the accompanying take an interest in shows including violence and on a scale that finds a way to make any organisation incomprehensible. This is the result of the conflict between conventional qualities and mindsets from one viewpoint and current creations on the other.

1. Secessionist Identity Movements in India

Gigantic secessionist developments along with the launch of new movements have existed there in India post-independence period which is attempting their best to shape the different identities and have been battling for the freedom from the union of India.⁴⁴ These secessionist movements want the taking out of one or more States from the union of India on the basis of different identities like religion, language, caste and creed, and so forth and so on. These secessionist movements are developing with the assistance of tremendous local backing or support and the high pace of electoral boycott. These secessionist movements utilise different types of radicalism for guaranteeing their different identities like in the States of northeastern India (*Tripura, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Manipur, Nagaland and Assam*) alongside in parts of Jammu and Kashmir. The uprising of the insurgency and the ascent of those secessionist or separatist powers in the states of the northeast have turned out to be tremendously immaterial due to the non-accessibility of the local support, and however, on the other hand, it has become very well in the territory of Jammu and Kashmir because of the development and ascent of extremist support and local surge.

The majority of the secessionist developments that have developed in India post-independence period are mostly fighting for the cause of freedom from the Indian Union like the Khalistan Movement in Punjab which was active for the most part during the 1980s and 1990s and other separatist powers in the State of Northeast and Jammu and Kashmir. For tackling insurgency and separatism in the States of northeast and Jammu and Kashmir government of India has come up with Armed Forces Special Powers Act (*AFSPA*) to crush the rebellion and separatism in those zones. This unique law of parliament which engages the security forces with exceptional and unique powers, was first implemented in Manipur and later imposed in other insurgency-hit north Indian States. This unique law of the parliament was stretched out in most parts of the Jammu and Kashmir during 1990⁴⁵ after the flare-up of the outrageous armed insurgency in 1989.⁴⁶

2. Major Identity Movements in India

India's post-freedom period has seen the ascent and development of different secessionist and separatist forces inside the land, and they are fluctuating from northeast Indian

⁴⁴ Kazi, S. (2017). Law, Gender and Governance in Kashmir in Chitralekha Zutshi (ed.). *Kashmir: History, Politics, Representation*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 150-171.

⁴⁵ Bose, S. (2009). *Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace*. Harvard University Press. p. 107.

⁴⁶ Margolis, E. (2004). *War at the Top of the World: The Struggle for Afghanistan, Kashmir and Tibet*. Routledge, p. 81.

states to the territory of Jammu and Kashmir. While in the previous its significance and worth have turned out to be decreased but in later it has developed and exceeded expectations well because of the local and external support. Some of the secessionist movements which are attempting to represent separate identity are as:

3. United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA)

United Liberation Front of Assam or shortened as ULFA is an extremist militant outfit which is operational in the Indian state of Assam. The motive behind this radical and secessionist group is to set up a different or autonomous State of Assam based on the basis of various identity conflicts. The organisation has faith in the armed rebellion, and the organisation was banned by the government of India in 1990 denoting to it as a terrorist organisation or group. This group came upon seventh April 1979, and its operation came up in 1990.

4. Khalistan Movement

The Khalistan Movement is an extremist or separatist movement of Sikhs especially in the territory of Punjab. This separatist movement looks to make a different nation for the Sikhs as 'Khalistan' which means 'Land of the Khalsa' as a separate country for the Sikhs (Catarina, 2007). The territorial⁴⁷ definition of the suggested Khalistan will comprise the States of Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir and Rajasthan (Martha, 1995) and (Shah, 1997, pp. 24-5). The Khalistan movement came up with an expatriate undertaking (Raj, 2004) and later in the year 1971 explicit call for the separate Khalistan was declared through an advertisement that was published in the New York times by a Sikh ex-pat⁴⁸ namely Jagjit Singh Chohan (Van D., The Khalistan Movement, 2009). With tremendous monetary and political help during the introductory stages this development came up unequivocally in the province of Punjab which is the hotbed of Sikhs, and this secessionist movement tried to indulge masses in extremism and armed rebellion for shaping a different country for Sikhs based on religious identity. The movement is still there and reinforces both based on Indian soils and foreign soils.

5. Identity and Secessionist Movements in Jammu and Kashmir

With the becoming of the Maharaja Hari Singh as the head of State of the princely State of Jammu and Kashmir in the year 1925, the State has been persecuted by two distinct powers

⁴⁷ Crenshaw, M. (1995). *Terrorism in Context*, Pennsylvania State University, p. 364.

⁴⁸ Pruthi, R. (2004). *Sikhism and Indian Civilization*, Discovery Publishing House, p. 169.

of the imperialism that are the Britishers and the Dogra regime of the State. The State of Jammu and Kashmir which has⁴⁹ a Muslim majority populace of 77%⁵⁰ according to the 1941 census (Snedden, 2003) has been a victim of the brutal colonial powers, and it was because of these colonial and destructive rules of the maharaja which got the secessionist movements in the State. The secessionist or extremist forces in the State came up against the State oppression by these rulers, and these secessionist movements began fighting for the state mainly based on religious and lingual identity. With the partition of the country into two, a large portion of the Muslim colleagues in Pakistan imagined that Kashmiris would join Pakistan (Ramachandra, 2008) based on religious identity, however, due to the dominance of the political movements in Kashmir by National Conference through its secular strategies and tactics brought about the merger of the State of Jammu and Kashmir with India (Schofield, 2003). After the signing of the instrument of accession successfully with the union of India, there began an armed disobedience and strife in the state after the long gap of time and it was in the year 1989 which resulted in the breaking of armed rebellion in the state which was fully supported by the extremist and Jihadi forces of Pakistan. The rise and emergence of the separatist forces post 1990 period was one of the reasons which laid the solid stone for the basis of religious identity and the active separatist forces in the valley consider only religious identity as its basis.

6. Linguistic Identity

The vast majority of the theoretical works that have been completed on ethnicity have brought out in clear terms that identity movements and their struggles in India are not generally struggled or carried out among the minority communities alone, yet they are additionally there because of the politicised culture through which these minority communities are drawn towards the modern era. These identity movements sometimes become or take the form of the secessionist movements while attaining objectives, and almost all of those ethnic movements are struggling or fighting for their developmental issues or equality.

7. Identity Politics in India

India since its independence in 1947 it attempted enough efforts in-country fabricating however at a similar measure of time it had likewise to manage four essential group identities, that are, Religion, Language, Caste and Tribes. In our nation, about 40 per cent of our occupants

⁴⁹ MBA books. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://www.scribd.com/doc/74612962/MBA-books> Accessed on: 13th December 2019.

⁵⁰ Bose, S. (2003). Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace. 2003, pp. 15-17.

communicate in Hindi as its native language while on the other hand also some other 15 languages are spoken by at least ten million Indians. The composition of the population speaking different national languages is given in Table 3.1:

Table 3.1: Language Speaking Ratio in India as per the 2011 Census

Language Percentage in Population	
Name of Language	Percentage
Hindi	39.9
Bengali	8.2
Telugu	7.8
Marathi	7.4
Tamil	6.3
Urdu	5.1
Gujarati	4.8
Kannada	3.9
Malayalam	3.6
Oriya	3.3
Punjabi	2.8
Assamese	1.5

Data Source: 2011 Census Data of the Indian Government.

A large portion of the people in India is Hindi talking natives or living in the Hindi speaking belt which is generally north India and practically all the secessionist or identity-based movements are most active in North India. There has been violence which is attached to linguistic dissimilarities and identity. Language affects the identity and communities react to it sharply. Then again, religion has a noteworthy task to play and shaping a unique and sound identity in India. Identity movements based on religion have been there in the nation and the vast majority of the occasions it is because of these movements which have brought about the brutality or ascend in identity movements dependent on the religious Identity. India as a nation has a colossal Hindu majority populace of 79.80% according to the 2011 census,⁵¹ and it is the reason that it is shifting to separate religious identity. In the contemporary period, India, as a Hindu Rashtra has been consistently a trend, and it is always influencing the State in forming new identities that are based on religion. From the below data Table 3.2, it is evident that there is a dominant rise in religious identity and this identity plays a key role in shaping and

⁵¹ Census Data, Government of India, 2011.

restructuring the new identities at national level. The composition of the different religious groups in India is given in Table 3.2:

Table 3.2: Population Trends for Major Religious Groups in India

Religious Group	Population % (2011)
Hinduism	79.80%
Islam	14.23%
Christianity	2.30%
Sikhism	1.72%
Buddhism	0.70%
Jainism	0.37%
Zoroastrianism	N/A
Adivasi	0.9%

Data Source: 2011 Census of India.

8. Role of the Indian Nationalist Movement in Shaping Indian Identity

Indian nationalist movement upraised for the cause of the Indian nation has been much essential and significant even before the partition period, and this movement came up for raising the Indian nationalism by trying to grant it with separate nation or identity. This movement came up for the independence of India from the British colonial rule. The Indian nationalist movement was an organised movement which was run by the masses and had concerns for the Indian people who were affected by the colonial forces both internally and externally. It was only due to this Nationalist movement that several movements of national importance came up like the Indian National Congress in 1885 and only after the foundation of the INC that several revolts broke up in the Indian history which were representing Indian masses against the British oppression. Muslim league came up in 1906, Swadeshi Movement in 1905, Quit India Movement in 1942 etc., etc., and it was due to national movements that lead India free from the colonial rule.

9. Indian National Movement Phases

It has been found that there were three main phases which were fighting for the freedom of the country. The merger and cooperation by these three phases helped India a lot in shaping its identity and independence. They were political, socio-cultural and economic factors which were mainly responsible for the rise of intense nationalism in India. Political emergence in the Indian nationalism checked the policy of colonial rulers who were always expanding their territories. It was also responsible for the political and administrative unification which we currently call Rule of Law.

On the other hand, socio-cultural movements increased the impact of modern and western education on society. Its role was of significant scope in imparting the contemporary education in the society; besides this, it was only due to the educational development that role of press acquired a lot of space. Economic freedom and developments were responsible for tackling the financial exploitation and raised voice against the biased taxes. Reforms in the commercial sector were possible only due to the emergence of contemporary education and more liberalised policies.

10. Colonialism and its Impact on the Identity of India

Before the beginning of the colonial period in India, the country was living as highly affluent and abundantly rich in natural resources with different existences in different regions of the country. The country at that time was alienated into numerous kingdoms that were reigned by most influential and capable Hindu and Islamic dynasties. India at that time across the world was known as a prosperous nation and the majesty of the Indian kings and palaces besides art and architecture were unparalleled with the rest of the world. The country in addition to this was also in possession of fertile lands, diverse wildlife, natural resources and abundant water sources. Thus, India at that time had all as compared to other nations of the world, and this resulted in the attraction of the colonialist powers, and after the occupation of India by Britishers, they tried each and every day to expand their colonialism here in India and looted Indian resources.

The entry of the Europeans and European firms started with the creation of the spice trade in the 1400s when at that time the several European States began to set up of trading ports and other colonial towns in the country. England, Denmark, France, Portugal and the Dutch Republic were the nations who had much significant presence in the country from the beginning of the colonial powers, and their presence was even during the 1400s when Portugal had entered this country. But luckily it was England which held the lengthiest colonial power in the country, and after 1858, the British maintained colonial powerfully after taking it from the East India Company which had been ruling India since 1757.⁵²

The Britishers who were the real masterminds behind the colonialism in India were aggressively using the colonial policy of ‘Divide and Rule’, and it was by virtue of this policy that they became successful in managing most of the Indian territories and utilised all the natural and human resources available there. Territorial occupation and suppression of

⁵² Dalrymple, W. (2015, March 4). [The East India Company: The original corporate raiders](#). *The Guardian*. Accessed on: 20th December 2019.

independence along with the utilisation of the available resources always raises concerns and causes among the suppressed communities and raise voices and objections against these colonial forces. Same here in India, the communities in India raised themselves against the illegal occupation of the Britishers and tried to suppress these colonial forces in the country. No one in this world is ready to sacrifice their independence at any cost, and same in case of Indian's they erupted against this colonial curse. The Indians fought the 200-year-old long fight with these British colonialist forces, and it was by virtue of these colonial suppressions which helped a lot of Indian communities in uniting and they united together for the cause of the unified struggle of independence from these British colonialist powers.⁵³

11. Role of Mahatma Gandhi in India's Nationalist Movement

Role of the Mahatma Gandhi in India's freedom struggle against the most oppressive and colonialist forces on the land so far is of extraordinary significance and scope, and that is why later he was recognised with the title 'Father of the Nation.' He used several tactics, strategies, policies and programmes for raising the voices against these colonial forces. He worked hard and explored most of the strategy, but all were non-violent in nature. He used 'Non-Violent' policies and by dint of his moderate ideology, he was most of the times successful in shocking the colonial forces. He was known a legend in empowering the nonviolent nationalist movements in the country as his big weapons, and by dint of these, he encouraged Indian men and women to fight for the independence of India without shedding blood. He may be the most generally understood figure of the Indian Nationalist Movement for his responsibility in handling most nonviolent uprisings. He initially utilised this peaceful methodology in South Africa where he was as an expatriate lawyer. He was upset and angry when he saw apartheid and mistreatment of minorities individuals under Whites rule.

Back here in India, he decided to utilise his newly learned and inducted ways of civil protest for making the mother India free from colonial powers. His first point of disagreement with the colonialist powers of the British was the usage of excessive taxes which were levied on Indian nationals. He successfully managed the working class and those residing in miserable poverty to protest and raise voices against the discrimination in the form of high taxes and other atrocities. In 1921 he was conferred with the leadership of the Indian National Congress, which was a prominent nationalist political party and which demanded equal rights for men and women, peaceful inter-religious relations, the abolition of the caste system, non-discriminatory

⁵³ Chandra, S. (2017, February 10). [The myth of 200 years of British rule in India](#). Accessed on: 21st December 2019.

laws and elimination of other evils from the society. He during his lifetime, he had carried out three major nationalist movements which are discussed below:

12. The Non-Cooperation Movement

It was the first of such movements which were started by Gandhi which lasted from September 1920 until February 1922.⁵⁴ Gandhi thought that the British only succeeded in keeping control during this movement because the Indians were very cooperative to them. If the country's citizens stop working with the British, then the colonial British would be forced to give up. The movement achieved popularity and quickly boycotted British-run or cooperative institutions by millions of individuals throughout India. Now, after the launch of this movement, individuals were leaving their employment, removing their kids from schools and were avoiding public offices. Mahatma Gandhi's name became well-known. The Non-Cooperation Movement, however, finished when a violent mob broke out in Uttar Pradesh in Chauri Chaura. The persons who were involved in that violent step burned a police station and killed 23 police officials, and it was that moment of time when Gandhi had called off this movement.

13. The Dandi March, Civil Disobedience, and Salt Satyagraha

The Non-Cooperation Movement's sudden closure did nothing to prevent the search for independence. Protesters participated in the Dandi March on March 12th, 1930, a campaign planned for opposing taxes and challenging the British monopoly on salt with 79 supporters, Gandhi began the 24-day, 240-mile march and finished with thousands. Once the protesters arrived at the seaside town of Dandi, there they created saltwater without paying any tax to the British. This demonstration of protest was trailed by the civil disobedience movement across the nation. The individuals who had assembled at Dhandi proceeded with their protest march towards the south of the coast, thereby creating salt along the way. Gandhi continued with his speeches on the go with the protesting people and apprised them about the salt taxes levied by the British on them and informed them about the cruelty and inhumanity of the salt tax and later staged salt Satyagraha as a mass struggle movement for the poor people. British Colonial officials captured Gandhi before the group was supposed to reach the Dharasana Saltworks. This agitation prompted nearly a year of civil disobedience, unlawful salt generation and procurement, boycotts of British assets or goods, denial of paying taxes, and the imprisoning

⁵⁴ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2015, December 15). [Non-Cooperation movement](#). Accessed on: 21st December 2019.

of almost 80,000 Indians. The movement gained national and global acknowledgement and multiplied the number of Gandhi's supporters; in any case, it was fruitless in acquiring any yielding from the British.

14. The Quit India Movement

The quit India development was propelled on eighth August 1942 during the deadliest world war II.⁵⁵ The Indian congress committee under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi pronounced for the mass British withdrawal, and it was Gandhi in this movement who made a 'Do or Die' speech. The colonial officials acted quickly and meanwhile, they captured and arrested every member of the Indian National Congress party. However, at the time, it was the new prime minister of England who offered Indian special concession like making independent provincial constitutions simply after the world war II is finished; however, they were dismissed by the party. At the time, the nation once again embraced the mass civil disobedience movement, which was marked by anti-war speeches and complete refusal in helping the war efforts. At last, it was because of this movement which drove the British to think on how they will almost certainly control India and at last, they needed to leave India and it became independent. Be that as it may, it costed India seriously and it was partitioned based on religious identity by these colonial powers which led to the division of the country into India and Pakistan.

15. Indian National Congress (INC) and its role in Shaping Political Identity

On 28th December 1885 Indian National Congress (INC) was established in the premises of Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit School at Bombay. It was managed by W. C. Banerjee, and nearly 72 delegates attended it. A. O. Hume was the first General Secretary of INC. Mostly the genuine aim of Congress was to prepare the Indian youth in political activities and to sort out or to make a general conclusion in the affairs of the strong nationalism or nation-building. For this, they utilised various techniques for the yearly sessions through which they can talk or discuss the issue and pass the goals which were meant for weakening the colonial forces.

These were two different phases in the INC viz., Moderate phase and extremist phase. The early or the first phase of the INC began with Moderate Phase (1885-1905) with prominent leaders Gopal Krishna Gokhale, R. C. Dutt, Ferozeshsh Mehta, W. C. Banerjee and George

⁵⁵ [Making Britain](#). (n.d.). Accessed on: 21st December 2019.

Yule etc., these leaders had full faith in the British polices and they were the followers of ‘PPP’ path which stands for Protest, Prayer, and Petition.⁵⁶

Newton has rightly said that to every action there is an equal and opposite reaction and his third law of motion occupies much importance and scope here. With the failure of the moderate phase, there was an uprising and a new group in the form of extremists came up for raising the neglected voices of the country, and this extremism came up within the congress first in the year 1882. Prominent extremist leaders in the extremist group were Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipan Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Gosh and Bal Gangadhar Tilak and they were the advocates of the extremism against the British colonial forces. They did not believe in ‘PPP’ like moderates, but they followed and believed in self-reliance, Swadeshi and other constructive and developments works.

16. All India Muslim League (1906) and its Role in Determining Religious Identity

With the growing and emergence of strong radical movements in Indian societies, the Britishers were sleepless due to this, and they used many ways and tactics for breaking this unity among the Indian communities. A plot was formed by these cruel colonial forces which by dint of partition of the Bengal they tried to sow the seeds of communalism in the Indian society. They were able to motivate the Muslims to form their own and permanent political association, and it was due to this divide and rule policy which successfully resulted in the formation of All India Muslim League. It was during the December 1906 when Nawab Salim Ullah Khan during the Muhammadan Educational Conference in Dacca raised the idea of founding Muslim league which could take care of Muslim interests. Officially it was 30th December 1906 that All India Muslim League came up with Agha Khan as its president for the welfare of the Muslims separately. The main objective behind this organisation was to represent the Muslims at each and every government level and in addition to this to protest their rights. It was by due to this organisation that the partition became inevitable later because it encouraged Muslims subjects with separate electorates and it may be called the first sting operation on India by the Britishers through operation ‘Divide and Rule’, and later its membership was joined by Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who was the man behind the formation of Pakistan by virtue of his two nation theory, that strongly favoured the religious supremacy in deciding the basis of Nationalism.

⁵⁶ [Ideological Basis of the Moderate-Extremist divide in the Indian National Congress](#). (n.d.). IAS Planner. Accessed on: 20th December 2019.

II. History & Overview of all the three regions of Jammu & Kashmir

The most beautiful and heavenly Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir has always been known for its astonishing beauty, and beautiful scenes along with the world-renowned hospitality has been a bone of dispute and fate of awkward spot from the earliest starting point and were battled since its beginning and from period 1846 to 1947 (Ganaie, 2017). This princely State, like other States at the time partition, was also ruled by the British colonial powers and all the princely States were under the domain of the British empire. First Sikh-Anglo war that was fought in the year 1846 introduced this princely State to the outer world. The State was annexed by the East India Company through the means of monetary misfortune that was acquired during the first Sikh Anglo war. Albeit, the State comprised of the Muslim majority population, it was offered and sold through the treaty of Amritsar to Dogra ruler of Jammu at the little and shabby sum. The State involving three regions besides covering and holding a surface area of 222, 236 Sq. Km.,⁵⁷ and it was situated towards the westward of the Indus river and eastward of the Ravi river as per the signed treaty at the time of purchase of this land. The state was before like not falling under India's influence, yet later after the unification of other princely states in India, this State likewise got inducted into the union of the country.

Maharaja Hari Singh,⁵⁸ the then-dominant ruler of the State at the time of partition was not favouring the merger of the State with the Union of India, but he was strongly favouring Independence besides he strongly disfavoured the joining of the two nations (India and Pakistan) whose were the outputs of the partition of the country through the British colonial policies in the year 1947. In addition to this, his primary aim was to make Kashmir a free and Independent nation like Switzerland. Before its inception as the princely State, the State of Jammu and Kashmir it was administered by the Pashtun Durrani Empire until it was annexed by the Sikh ruler led by Ranjit Singh. It was during the Sikh reign of the State, that Jammu region of the State was a tributary of the Sikh realm. With the passing away of the Kishore Singh in the year 1882 who was a raja of Jammu, it was his son Raja Gulab Singh who was recognised by the majority of Sikhs as his inheritor. After taking over the throne, he gradually and relentlessly under the Sikhs began to develop and expand his kingdom.

As the raja of Jammu Gulab Singh began conquering lands and was attempting to have an ever-increasing number of regions, and he wound up effective in vanquishing and catching

⁵⁷ Area Source: <https://www.jk.gov.in/jammukashmir/?q=index> Accessed: 16th November 2019.

⁵⁸ Maharaja Hari Singh was the last ruling King or Maharaja of the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir.

Baderwah zone after a slight obstruction, which was the most delightful region, vibrant with natural assets and exceedingly encompassed craggy pinnacles. He at that point gradually attempting to attach more territories and lastly added Kishtwar after the minister wazir Lakhpat squabbled with the ruler and looked for the assistance of Gulab Singh. The surrendering up of the Raja of Kishtawar before the forces of the Gulab Singh without even battling with them. The victory and conquest of the region were of utmost importance and scope because it provided for the raja of Jammu to control and manage the two main roads that were leading to Ladakh and in addition to that led him to the triumph of that region also. Ladakh, as we know by geographically it is excessive extreme besides troublesome by virtue of its sloping zones, big mountains and an enormous number of glaciers, was occupied by the Zorawar Singh under the Gulab Sing's reign belonging to the Dogra Kingdom of the State through two different campaigns.

The imperialistic age began, and there was a tremendous challenge between every one of the leaders of the state for attaching and catching these recently efficient rich and militarily poor territories. General Zorawar Singh, who was found of attaching lands and an admirer of tremendous terrains had attacked Baltistan in the year 1840 and caught the Raja of Skardu too quickly who had favoured the Ladakhi's of the Ladakh region of the State, which was absolutely remarkable and unmistakable in geological and demographical viewpoints. One year from now in 1941, General Zorawar Singh while on his usual yearly travel to Tibet alongside his men, which was likewise tricky assignment because of the high snow-clad bumpy regions and icy masses and was stunned by winter, died absolutely, and because of being assaulted, when his troops were impaired most likely by cold and came about in the perishing of his whole armed force within a couple of days, and it was not known, what it was and there is additionally no proof in history too (Ganaie, 2018). Regardless of whether it was strategy of inverse side or being a mishap, by 1840 Gulab Singh had circled Kashmir, is as yet an obscure reality and historians and early history books on Kashmir have failed on giving any insight to it, yet it is speculated that it might be cold and brutal season and the time was likewise throughout the winter.

The Britishers in the continent and around then under whom the country of India was controlled and involved were likewise not behind in attaching an ever-increasing number of territories. They by dint of their imperialistic approaches and colonisation extension strategy were consistently looking for the new domains and zones. Throughout the winter of the year 1845, the war had broken out amongst the British and the Sikh rulers of the state and in which both the sides were attempting to catch uncaptured and more fragile zones. Gulab Singh, who

was a noticeable political figure around then in the political range of the state, had stayed nonpartisan until the clash of Sobraon in 1846 when he showed up and went about as a vital arbiter and the trusted advisor of Sir Henry Lawrence. The Britishers stayed occupied in catching and colonial expansion and lastly, they were consistently found in offering their caught states to the nearby rulers, and this demonstrated their colonial viewpoint and imperialistic method for a ruling.

Examining the national identity of State of Jammu and Kashmir besides depicting its determining factor and factors along with tracing light on its aspects, which form it, is not a simple one and needs a ton of exertion and backing, without that it will be impractical to arrive at a substantial agreement, in light of the fact that the parts of the national identity of Jammu and Kashmir State are so multi-dimensional and changing from one region to another. While reviewing the components and elements of the national identity of Kashmir, it can be argued that they even do not coordinate with other regions and are multi in nature other than some collective identities that are coordinating with all the three areas of the state. The States national identity is very surprising from the neighbouring States, regardless of whether it is geography, trade, commerce, art, language, literature or anything.

1. Jammu

Jammu being as the passage point for the valley of Kashmir by dint of its means of connectivity and transportation that is necessarily meant for the overall development of any region. The present-day network of transport like rails, roads and aviation routes are making it favourable destiny. This geographical region of the State is as of now covering a topographical size or region consisting of 2336 Sq. Km's⁵⁹ and is accounting a populace insight of 15.27 lakhs⁶⁰ in the form of 8.16 lakhs as male populace and 7.11 lakhs as the female populace in the State out of the whole population. The geographical position, area, location, surroundings and isolation of the Jammu region is entirely unexpected from the other two different regions of the State, and they do not contrast with other State regions in any matter. Jammu is generally a plain region and exceedingly wealthy in water source management, out of the two regions of the State. Directly having a top and most noteworthy education pace of about 83.98%,⁶¹ the region of Jammu, mostly comprising of plain area is found nearly at 32.73°N and 74.87°E and furthermore hold a particular component of being the winter capital of the State and acts as a

⁵⁹ Source of Data: <https://jammu.nic.in/> Retrieved on: 16th November 2019.

⁶⁰ [Jammu and Kashmir Government Census Release: 2011](#). Accessed on 20th November 2019.

⁶¹ [2011-12 District Census Report of Jammu District](#). Accessed on: 16th November 2019.

capital for a half year like Srinagar city. This area of the valley is monetarily stable, and furthermore, Jammu region is in numerous perspectives diverse with Kashmir and Ladakh region, as far as these elements, similar to language, art, religion, literature, music and dance other than a particular geological position. Topographically it is open and neither shut nor encompassed by mountains or land bolted zones and isn't like Kashmir region or Ladakh of the State and most significant part of this region is that it is very much associated and well connected with the rest of the nation. Jammu's Dogra culture and tradition are fundamentally the same as that of neighbouring states like Punjab and Himachal Pradesh besides this, they in addition to that are coordinating with them in numerous angles. After Dogra composition of the populace, Gujjars structure the second-biggest ethnic group in Jammu region and are mostly or entirely backward ones in the area, who are known for their semi-nomadic way of life, Gujjars are likewise found in considerable numbers in the Kashmir Valley and especially in the sloping regions. Jammu region has its different and particular identity, and the city has been appropriately called the '*City of Temples*'⁶² and the city is the hub of Hindu religious people and different voyagers. Consistently almost about lakhs of visitors visit the renowned Mata Vishnu Devi Temple and well known Katra. The Jammu region is the only region which stays associated with the rest of the world throughout the year, and other two regions remain continuously cut off from the Jammu and rest of country and world during the harsh winter. The city is most developed one in the State and acts as a commercial and monetary hub point in the State for all financial and business exercises. The areas main agricultural production harvests are wheat, maize, rice, and it also produces mangoes.

2. Kashmir

Kashmir valley which wholly or mostly comprises of powerful sloping, lavish greenery, blossoms of pinks, snow rocky-mountains, various lakes, plenty number of rivers, popular hill resorts besides known for dry and fresh fruit production is indeed called paradise on earth by one of the renowned Kashmiri writers. The Kashmir valley is known by dint of greenery and organic product creation and remarkable and particular identity on the planet. Kashmiris are all through the world is known for their hospitality and pleasant gestures. This beautiful valley holds an essential place in the governmental issues and the politics of the State. Srinagar, which is the summer capital of the State, makes it the most recognised one throughout the tourist season. The valley of Kashmir is the tourist hub and goes about as the biggest generator of state

⁶² Temples in Jammu City. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.jammu.com/jammu/city-temples.php>. Accessed on: 18th December 2019.

income through different modes of activities. The State is Muslim dominated, however, has additionally some Hindu religious shrines like Shri Amar Nath,⁶³ which consistently draws in lakhs of vacationers and pilgrims which always generate a decent source of income for the Kashmiri people (Ganaie, 2018). Identity of Kashmir has been known by virtue of its multidimensional geography, culture, history, language besides the presence of civilisational inheritance have always shaped and constructed its identity differently at the national level. Kashmir has been acknowledged to the outer world by dint of its exceptional natural beauty beside the presence of the Kashmir representatives that are present there in other parts of the world. In addition to all the above beauties, it is known as one of the most prominent valleys which is lying in the lap of enormous mountainous ranges of the world (Sufi, 1974, p. 696). The valley ranges from 10, 000 to 18,000 feet in height and enclosing a plain of about 1900 square miles. More than 89% of the total population dominant in the valley speaks the Kashmiri language as their native language. The valley has a population of around 1.25 crore,⁶⁴ the male population figures around 6, 640, 662 as compared with the female population of 5, 900, 640. The literacy rate stands at 63.29%.⁶⁵ Muslim population stands as the most dominant one in the valley figuring nearly around 97.16%, along with 1.84% Hindus, 0.88% Sikh population and tiny size of 0.11%⁶⁶ Buddhist population.

The valley of Kashmir is monetarily not well developed when contrasted with Jammu region of the State; there are number of reasons that are responsible for this, however primary of the reason is that Kashmir conflict and unrest is basically bound to the Kashmir valley only and also because of the cruel and harsh snowfall or the awful climate condition in the State. The State stays influenced throughout the summer season, and there is always an enormous and tremendous turmoil during the most elevated peaks of the tourist season. The State economy underwent a great deal, and nearly it got completely debilitated and still is not originating from this downturn and challenge. The Hurriyat conference or separatist leaders led Kashmir conflict through various ways and tactics, and it is confined to the Srinagar city mainly and is not being supported in Jammu and Ladakh regions of the State. Most of the protest agitations and separatist activities are carried out in the Srinagar or outskirts of the Srinagar city, and these agitation movements are acknowledged in every single part of the Kashmir valley only. The valley has turned into a subject of several terrorist or militant exercises mainly,

⁶³ Shri Amarnath Ji Shrine Board. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.shriamarnathjishrine.com/>. Accessed on: 19th December 2019.

⁶⁴ [2011 Census Report: Government of Jammu & Kashmir](#). Accessed on: 20th November 2019.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

and draconian laws like AFSPA (Armed Forces Special Powers Act) and POTA (Prevention of Terrorism Act) are found in this so-called heavenly body.⁶⁷

The state is additionally experiencing regular hostilities like climate catastrophes, and the valley stays secured by the snow all through the winter season, and this has incapacitated the State economy as well as has made the subjects of the valley to endure. The State is exceedingly wealthy in fresh and dry fruit generation, which goes about as the foundation and the backbone of the state economy. Other than this, the valley is the rich cultivator of the saffron, which has its restorative and medicinal worth, use and significance. Kashmir valley is astonishing from Jammu and Ladakh, based on its topographical area, climate, and agricultural production. The state is possessed with abundant natural resources which lack infrastructural advancement and modern-day innovation.

3. Ladakh

Ladakh, which is among one of the three different regions that the State of Jammu and Kashmir currently consists of. It is most exceedingly sloping and mountainous region, Ladakh is topographically, politically, ethnically, strategically, regionally and culturally not just the one of its kind, but it is a vital part of the State, yet it is likewise a significant and premier land unit of the union of India, and as of now it has been under the disturbance and row for union territory status from past one decade. Ladakh has hot political culture, and besides this, its massive number of population size is involved in the political spectrum of the State. The region has the most significant similitudes and holds an excellent position in the national security of the country. Being the high-elevation territory furthermore having some most noteworthy uneven peaks, the area is militarily significant, and this region assumes a significant job in keeping up our national security. The smaller number of populaces of Ladakh makes it particular and unique, and it holds more area as compared with the two other regions of the state. Most people are Buddhists there and structure the significant part of the community there, after that pursued by Muslim populace. The high altitude and uneven territory of the region make it most indivisible and specific one and remain, for the most part, cut off from the valley and the rest of the nation throughout the winter season. The Ladakhi people are dedicated, hardworking and had to confront severe difficulties for their survival at the more significant part of the times in this area due to its topographical precariousness and natural aggravation. Their foremost challenge is to make bounteous supplies of nourishment and food supply for

⁶⁷ Patelkhana, R. (2019, April 2). [Congress Manifesto is dangerous; an agenda for India's balkanization](#). Retrieved on 13th December 2019.

the winter season. The economy of the area is confronting difficulties and vulnerabilities and primarily relies upon other regional productiveness or governmental endowments and subsidies. The staggering economic productivity and unsettling natural influence throughout the winter season have made the life of a normal man there hopeless or exceptionally costlier. The administration is working for the regional solidness, stability and monetary welfare of the people.

III. Separate Symbols: Flag, Flower, Tree, Bird and Animal

1. Separate State Flag

State of Jammu and Kashmir is known by virtue of its exceptional special status which has been bestowed to it by the constitution of India. Article 370 of the Indian constitution of India empowers the State of Jammu and Kashmir with the special status and makes it the only State among the union list of States that has its own separate constitution and other important separate symbols like Flag etc., etc. the colour of the State flag is red which symbolises the labour on the grounds that the essential and the primary source of the State's economy relies on agricultural production only. The State flag consists of the three white vertical stripes in the hoist who do not run through the whole height of the flag. These three stripes represent and speak of the three different regions of the State (*Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh*). At the centre of the flag, there is the presence of the white stylised agricultural tool (Plough) that has been used by the agriculturalists of the State from the very beginning even also in current date to plough the land. By virtue of the special status of the State, non-natives are disallowed to own land in the State. The banner of the State flag has been described by Section 144 of the State constitution as:⁶⁸

*“The Flag of the State shall be rectangular in shape and red in colour with three equidistant white vertical strips of equal width next to the staff and a white plough in the middle with the handle facing the stripes. The ratio of the Flag to its width shall be 3:2.”*⁶⁹

The separate flag of the State makes it unique and distinguishing one among the list of Indian States due to the fact that it is the only surviving exceptional flag. The history of the flag can be traced back to the dominance of the National Conference which was the major surviving and leading political party of the State at the time of the independence or the partition

⁶⁸ Bhalleli, Z. M. (2015, March 14). [Respecting the flag](#). Retrieved on 13th December 2019.

⁶⁹ Data Source: <http://www.jammuandkashmirstatelegislature.org/flag.php> Retrieved on: 15th March 2016.

of the country into two separate nations. The party was regionally solid with strong local support. Similarities are there in the State flag and in the flag of the National Conference of the State. Firstly, there is a similarity between red colour, and secondly, both the flags have 'Plough' in them. While the party-political issues of the party are alluding State as a horticultural State and claiming that almost 80% of the total composed populace in the State as an agrarian dependent.⁷⁰ The plough is a rural instrument, and an agricultural tool which has been supplanted by the induction of the contemporary tractor and this plough has been utilised in ploughing the land with the oxen assistance. Henceforth it is a significant and vital agrarian device still used in many remote areas of the State as an agricultural tool.

For the disposal of the same results, I started an investigation regarding that I was able to meet the right person. I meet him personally; he was cheerful in having a successful and productive discussion with me. He took a keen interest in the political circumstances of the State during the period 1947-90. Born in 1928 in a small, backward and remote village of the Shopian district, he was too weak and sick but took a keen interest in the discussion. His name was Abdul Samad Joo,⁷¹ and during the discussion with me he revealed that when the country got separated, Muslim Conference which was one of the most dominant and reputable party of the State and these days it is known by the name of National Conference utilised a purposeful publicity at the season of electioneering in the State, they used to say to individuals don't cast a ballot some other than others, or in case you don't like us, then you don't cast a ballot additionally for us, vote just for your 'Plough'. Individuals indiscriminately decided in favour of Plough, and this came about in a roundabout way in the bit of leeway for national Conference, since the more significant part of the individuals in the state was ignorant, literate and the majority of the residents of the state at that times far behind in education. Still, I recall the timespan from 1980-90, when government authorities present in the State admin machinery were attempting to discover primary or secondary school pass individuals. The state government utilised radio declarations and open declarations for the educated ones.

Thus, it can be argued that there is a relationship between the State flag and that of the election symbol of the National Conference because both are red in colour with a plough symbol in the centre. Hence, it is the role of the national conference which has been there in

⁷⁰ [Jammu & Kashmir State is predominantly an agrarian economy with about 80% of its population engaged in agriculture and allied sectors](http://www.jkapd.nic.in/). For more visit <http://www.jkapd.nic.in/> Accessed on: 21st December 2019.

⁷¹ Interview with Abdul Samaj Joo on 27th, March, 2015, 4:15 PM at his residence in Shopian.

shaping and making the separate and distinctive identity of the State either through the separate constitutional status or by virtue of separate symbols of national importance.

2. Other State Symbols: Flower, Tree, Bird and Animal

The presence of the separate symbols in the form of Flag, Flower, Tree, Bird and Animal always add extra bonanza in shaping and restructuring the different and unique identity of the State. Presence and recognition of the separate symbols make it more specially recognised one. Lotus which is really an aquatic plant with the presence of more extensive leaves along with the splendid aromatic blossoms. In the middle of its leaves, they are loaded up with air spaces. There is a presence of numerous petals that are covered in the asymmetric pattern. This 'Lotus' or 'Water Lilly' has been recognised as the state flower of the State.

Chinar, a popular and commonly available tree, has been recognised as the State Tree of the State. The tree is a substantial deciduous who ranges from 30m (98 ft.) to even more than that. This tree has been known by virtue of its long life span, huge spreading crown and mostly popularly it is becoming a significant source of relief during the harsh summers. During the extremely cold winters, its leaves are used as sources of fire or have been placed in Kashmiri 'Kangris' (Fire pots) as coal to keep warm. The chopping of this state symbol has been currently banned in the State and violators can be punished under the law of the State.⁷²

The dark necked crane which usually is a medium-sized crane has been declared as the bird of the State. This black-necked crane is among the beautiful ones among the bird species. The bird measures about 139 cm long along with a 235 cm wingspan, and it weighs about 5.5 kg with mostly whitish-grey in colour besides the blackhead, red crown patch, black upper neck and legs and a white patch⁷³ to the rear of the eye (Ali and Ripley, 1980, p. 139).

State animal of Kashmir as a part of special symbols has been given to the most unique and exceedingly jeopardised species of the Kashmir. The Kashmir stag or otherwise called 'Hangul' in the Kashmiri language has been recognised as the State animal of Kashmir. Hangul is exceptionally jeopardised species at present and is discovered distinctly in Dachigam national park of the State.⁷⁴ The creature has been basically recorded and set apart as most jeopardised by IUCN.⁷⁵ The Kashmiri Hangul or stag has been given exceptional consideration

⁷² [Ban on cutting Chinar trees in Kashmir](#). (2009, March 5). *The Times of India*. Accessed on: 16th November 2019.

⁷³ Sharath, L. (2010, January 24). [An ode to the crane](#). *The Hindu*. Accessed on: 13th December 2019.

⁷⁴ [Endangered Hangul spotted in many parts of Kashmir](#). (2008, May 5). *The Times of India*. Accessed on: 16th November 2019.

⁷⁵ International Union for the Conservation of Nature.

by the Jammu and Kashmir wildlife department, and they have accomplishment in conserving and expanding their number with the utilisation of various methods, techniques and ways.

3. Art, Culture, Language, Music, Dance and Literature

The Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Languages foundation came up during the year 1958 through the section 146 of the constitution of the State and later in the year 1963 vide government order number SRO 340, and this academy was fully flourished and acknowledged as autonomous corporate body under whose jurisdiction all the three regions of the State (Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh) were administered and monitored.⁷⁶ This autonomous body acts as the watchdog and main acting nodal body on the various issues of collaboration and participation amongst the government of the State and the union of India. As we are aware that the State is multidimensional like multi-social, multi-lingual, multi economic dimensional in nature and there is a considerable presence of massive kinds of literature besides different cultures that are prevailing in the State. The formation of this type of constitutionally protected body is of immense use and scope for the growth of States speciality, art and social frameworks. The feature of the autonomous status for this body of the valuable scope. This constitutionally accepted body and wholly financed by the government was aimed at the advancement of the various regional arts, languages, literature and cultures. The association utilises various available sources and present-day advances of development of research. The composition of the various arts, cultures and kinds of literature dominant in the three different regions of the State is discussed below.

The Kashmir valley is the dominant Muslim area whose populace greater than 90% belongs to Muslims and Kashmiri language forms the significant portion or part of the Kashmiri identity. Ruh and Kashur Sufiyana is the renowned music available here in this part of the State. Popular and significant arts are Carpets (that are used for floor covering), Kashmiri Shawls, weavings, dry and fresh fruits and most well-known celebrations in the form of religious festivals that are being celebrated are Eid-ul Adha (after climax of one month of holy fasting) and Eid-ul Zuha (Festival of the Sacrifice) is pervasive in Kashmir and the Kashmiri language is spoken by most of the individuals.

Ladakh region, which is known by virtue of its enormous range of mountains, hilly terrains and excessive snowfalls, is differently distinguished as compared with the other two regions of the State. The region depends on the Buddha way of life and the dominant arts in

⁷⁶ SRO/NO./340 of year 1963, Appendix-1.

this region being the production of shoes and waistcoats. The typical food culture of the region is matching with the Tibet besides weaving and archery being two main components that are dominant there. The region is dominated by the Ladakhai, Tibetan, Balti and Urdu speaking populations. The prominent conventional music of the Ladakh's incorporates instruments Surna and Daman (Shenai and Drum) along with the regions popular sport of ice hockey.

Jammu regions assorted variety is being astounding from the other two different regions of the State, the Jammu region is arranged in plain territories as opposed to being geologically a rocky unit. The way of life of the Jammu is usual and coordinating mostly with the neighbouring states like Punjab and Himachal Pradesh. Significant populace percentage speaks Dogri, Hindi and Punjabi. The prominent festivals being two Eids, Holi, Diwali and other Hindu celebrations are being celebrated as significant festivals. The city is famous for its maintenance and growth of temples and has appropriately been called 'City of Temples.' Jammu city, which is very well connected with the rest of India through rail, road and air is known by dint of its industrial revolution and rapid economic growth.

Accessing and comparing all the three regions of the State in terms of different arts, culture, diversity and ethnicity it can be argued that all the three regions have distant identities besides the presence of multi-cultures and arts. In addition to these regions differ in geographical shape, size and characteristics along with enormous differences in their religious beliefs. Considering the geographical imbalance and regional instability in mind the government of the state had declared Urdu as the official language due to the fact that it is the only language which has been understood and spoken by the majority of the people in the State. For the modernization and advancement of everyone from these difficulties, government comprised and defined a self-ruling and autonomous board specifically Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Languages for keeping up territorial equalisation and security, and which could feed and moderate them. The objectives and aims of the board as specified by government order are as:

4. Aims and Objectives of the Organisation⁷⁷

"To coordinate the activities of the district, regional and other organisations within the State in furtherance of its objects."

⁷⁷ Jammu and Kashmir Government Website. (www.jkculture.nic.in) Accessed on: 18th November 2018.

“To co-operate with similar Union and State Academies and other institutions and associations in the other parts of India for the furtherance of its objects and for the development and enrichment of Indian Culture as a whole.”

“To encourage the exchange of ideas and enrichment of techniques between the different regions of the State, between the State and the other States of India, in the fields of activity relating to the objects of the Academy and for this purpose, to sponsor or organise cultural exchanges, mushairas, symposiums, seminars, lectures, meets, camps, conferences, exhibitions, film shows, music, dance and drama performances and cultural festivals etc. on regional, all-State or all-India basis.”⁷⁸

“To promote cooperation among men of letters, artists, art, literary and cultural associations; and to encourage, whenever necessary, the establishment and development of such associations, and cultural centres, including theatre centres, studios, and clubs for the development of literature, art and culture in the State.”

“To publish, and to promote and assist publication of literature.”

“In or about the languages mentioned in section 146 and the sixth schedule of the Jammu and Kashmir Constitution, including bibliographies, anthologies, dictionaries, etc.”

“To edit and publish rare and old manuscripts in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian, in consultation with an expert; provided that the emphasis in these manuscripts is on the art, culture or literatures of Jammu and Kashmir State.”

“To encourage or to arrange and assist translations of literary works or works on art and culture from one of the Jammu and Kashmir State languages into another, from one of the other Indian languages into another and also from non-Indian into any state or other Indian languages, and vice versa.”

“To award prizes, confer distinctions, grant stipends, allowances or other financial aid and to accord recognition to individual men of letters, artists etc. for high and significant achievements in the fields of art, language, letters, music, dance, drama and culture generally, or to award stipends, allowances or other financial aid to their dependents in recognition of such achievements.”

“To encourage and promote study and research, particularly in the fields of language, literature, music, dance and drama, painting, sculpture and architecture, and applied arts; and, for this purpose, to institute fellowships, stipends and scholarships, and to establish

⁷⁸ [Artist in Residency \(AIR\) Exchange Program](http://archive.jewishagency.org/). (2014, March 18). Retrieved from <http://archive.jewishagency.org/> Accessed on: 10th December, 2019.

reference and research libraries, museums, galleries of art, including applied arts and crafts, etc.”

*“To establish or to encourage the setting up of institutions providing training in the art of theatre, stagecraft and production of plays; music, painting, sculpture, calligraphy etc., and to encourage the development of, amateur dramatic activity, children’s theatre, the open-air theatre and the rural theatre.”*⁷⁹

“To encourage and foster the revival of folk literature, art, music, dance, drama, including the organising of regional surveys and collection of word-hoards, classical and folk songs and tunes etc., and to assist individuals or institutions engage in such revival or preservation.”

“To give recognition and offer financial or technical assistance to approved literary, art, music, dance, drama or cultural institutions and associations.”

“To take steps for construction of memorials and buildings and cultural centres in furtherance of the objects of the Academy.”

“In furtherance of its objects and work, to secure grants, bequests and other donations; to purchase land, own property of all kinds; to mortgage, sell or otherwise dispose of the same; and to deal with any property belonging to or vested in the Academy in such manner as the Academy may deem fit for the advancement of its objects and functions.” And

“To do all such other acts and things, whether incidental to the powers aforesaid or not, as may be required in order to further the objects of the Academy.”

5. Socio-Economic Division of Kashmir During the Colonial Period

The economy of the Kashmir being mind-boggling expense precipitous monetary region and that sources the origins of various developmental or other issues. The most helpless difficulties to the economy of the State are natural cataclysmic, outer occasions and exceptionally inconsistent geological areas which are causing most astounding unpredictability in states local production and bringing about the powerless and frail economy of the State. Inaccessibility, separation, constrained limit, pay unpredictability, overabundance to outer capital, restricted expansion, vulnerability to natural calamities and ecological transformations are some of the difficulties which have destroyed the State economy as well as have transformed it as debilitated. The monetary combination of the State, for the most part, relies upon administrative or governmental sponsorships and enormous outside supplies. The State’s most populace is horticultural dependent one. Not just in the present situation, the State’s

⁷⁹ (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://sangeetnatak.gov.in/sna/introduction.php>. Accessed on 13th December 2019.

financial strength from the earliest starting point was also extremely less secure and primarily reliant on governmental aid and subsidies. The economical composition and structure of the State's economy remained very weak and fragile due to the two most oppressive rules of the colonialism. Its economy suffered a lot during the colonial oppressions despite the fact that State was rich enough in natural resources as compared to other States. The Dogra kingdom was the leading architect behind the loot of the State economy (Rai, 2004, p. 145) and they through each and every possible effort tried to loot the resources of the State and later spent that portion of the monetary value on the expansion of their kingdom. It was during the year 1885, and it was evident by the writing of the States famous ministers that, the Dogra Kingdom had left the State treasury empty and had hardly left any monetary value in it. The letter also stated that the then Maharaja of the State misused all the funds and instead of spending them on the development and the welfare of the State subjects they used in in their Kingdom expansion, religious purposes and some part of it was spent on personal or private usage. In addition to this, the letter had stated that Ranbir Singh had, "*Solemnly enjoined that this money never is used to meet the current expenditure of the State.*"⁸⁰

The Hindus who were the most dominating during the Dogra reign were the major or main landlord in the State withholdings of the majority of the agricultural lands under their control. They were monetarily rich and prosperous as compared with other oppressed communities of the State. It was after the introduction of the land reform movement system by Sheikh Abdullah in the State who was a popular political figure of the State who had abolished most of the oppressive rules and distributed the land equally in the real peasants of the State. It was mostly due to the introduction of these land reform movements which led in the enormous exodus of the Hindus who were in possession of the significant holdings of the lands. In an interview with Abdul Samaj Joo,⁸¹ the individual uncovered that the land appropriation and distribution system initiated by the Sheikh Abdullah led government in the State was not as indicated by the ambitions of the individuals of the State, the land was mostly distributed among those individuals who were at that point of time tillers of the immense land, and poor and little ranchers were given a smaller amount of priority, and in the event, that equivalent piece of land was allotted to them if they will pay for it.

⁸⁰ Letter of Kashmiri resident to the secretary of the government of India. Foreign Department. Dated: 16th September, 1885, reproduced in William Digby, pp. 132-137.

⁸¹ Interview with Abdul Samaj Joo, on 27th, March, 2015, 4:15 PM at his residence in Shopian.

As soon as the country got independence from the Britishers and was divided into two nations, the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir⁸² with the union of India, there is the State of Jammu and Kashmir started a wave of land reforms and Sheikh Abdullah, and his led government started working on its implementation. The land reform system was the basic and main motto of the ruling National Conference. Abolition of the several unnecessary taxes along with Jagirs, Muafis and Mukkaarraries also took place in the initial stages of the Sheikh Abdullah led government.⁸³ With the passage of the time, the prime minister⁸⁴ of the Jammu and Kashmir began changing the State into the agrarian State by securing the privileges of the Inhabitants along with tenants through amendment to the State tenancy Act of 1924 and land reforms in the State were additionally observed as revising a historical incorrect against the peasantry and were one of the most significant guarantees of the National Conference New Kashmir Manifesto (Naya Kashmir). Gradually and relentlessly the national conference government wound up fruitful in changing the state lands and attempted its best to disperse land among all the sections of the State and among the landless peasants.

6. Role of National Conference in Shaping Identity of Kashmir

The state of Jammu and which saw the most two oppressive rules so far have been less politically inactive from the very beginning of the independence period. Post-independence period there was a dominance of one major political party, i.e., National Conference (NC) which even swept most of the assembly elections of the state unopposed up to the 1989 period (Bose, 2003, pp. 66-67). The rise and influence of the NC as the regional political party has always been on rising in the state and it was competitive for them only after the emergence of other regional parties like PDP (People's Democratic Party) and BJP (Bhartiya Janta Party) and now Awami Etihad Party (AIP) have become many fierce competitors for it in the contemporary context.

The Jammu and Kashmir National Conference or popularly known as National Conference and abbreviated as N.C. was founded on 15th October 1932 (Zutshi, 2004, p. 229). The party was merged from All Jammu and Kashmir Plebiscite Front or 'Plebiscite

⁸² [26th October 1947: Maharaja Hari Singh agrees to the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India](#). (2013, October 26). Accessed on: 13th December 2019.

⁸³ Ganaie, N. A. (2015). Naya Kashmir, land reforms and colonialism in Jammu and Kashmir, a study of national conference and its implications on the identity of State. *International Journal of Applied Research*, 1(13), 565-569.

⁸⁴ The chief minister of Jammu and Kashmir was earlier designated as prime minister. However, this was changed when the constitution of Jammu and Kashmir (6th Amendment) Act, 1965 was passed on 10th April 1965.

Front' (Schofield, 2003, p. 95). Plebiscite Front was a political party of the state during the British and the Dogra rule which believed in the plebiscite for the state and according to party, it should be stated that the choice should be given and choice of staying with either India, Pakistan or independently (Chitkara, 2003, pp. 60-70). The party was earlier called as All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, and its founding leaders were Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Mirwaiz Yousuf Shah and Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas who laid its initial foundation in the year 1932 when the state was a princely state of Jammu and Kashmir. Later due to the impact of the modern education and representation of all the communities of the state and for representing all the walks of the society, the parties name was changed to National Conference in 1939. The party was the chief architect behind the signing of the instrument of accession with the union of India (Chaku and Inder, 2016).

Once the instrument of accession was signed between the government of India and the ruler of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, national conference after that period has been one of the significant dominant political parties in the valley since 1947 directly or indirectly (Lamb, 1990, pp. 1-7). The party has been active in the electoral reforms of the state and mostly has been responsible for bringing and executing the Idea of Naya Kashmir (New Kashmir). The role of the party in implementing land reforms and special autonomy status of the state under article 370 of the Indian constitution is one of the best reforms for the state. In addition to this, National conference was also associated with the All India State peoples Conference. In 1946 National conference launched its massive agitation and protest movement against the state government which was headed by the Maharaja Hari Singh and it was during that agitation phase that 'Quit Kashmir' movement on the basis of Gandhiji's '*Quit India*' was launched in Kashmir against the Maharaja who belonged to the Dogra rulers of the State. In 1947, Sheikh Abdullah was elected its president. The party believes in moderate separatism with pro-Indian ideology.

The dominance of the regional political parties from the very inception of the State has been one of the dominating issues in the electoral politics of the State. Since the inception of the Jammu and Kashmir and mainly after the merger of the State with the Union of India through the instrument of accession which was signed between the ruler of the J&K (Maharaj Hari Singh) with the Union of India. The electoral politics has been mainly dominated by the single dominating party and the party in the form of National Conference (earlier Muslim Conference) was head by the Sheikh Abdulla. The formation of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference (JKNC) was laid on 11th June 1939 by parties one of the dominant and prominent political figures Sheikh Abdulla who in addition to that was also referred as 'Sheer-

I-Kashmir' (Lion of Kashmir). He was born on 05th December 1905 and finally expired on 8th September 1982. The historical age of the National Conference stands as one of the oldest parties and has been one of the most active and dominant political parties of the State. The party was one of the first political fronts which launched the massive agitations against the oppressive rule of the Dogra ruler Maharaja Hari Singh. The party urged for the self-rule. The party patron Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was acting as the prime minister of the State after its merger with India by virtue of the signing of the instrument of accession, and later he was jailed and exiled (Ganaie, 2018). The national conference began the Kashmir freedom agitation against the Dogras and the Britishers. They picked up assistance from a few religious affiliations and association and distinctive among them was Ahmadiyya Muslim Community, and they provided financial assistance to the organisation. This Ahmadiyya Muslim Community gave assets routinely and helps to them for the cause of the Kashmir freedom and against the oppressive rule of the Dogras and Britishers. Sheikh Abdullah and his party labourers were regularly on their incentives. At the point when the time passed the impact of these Ahmadiyya's wound up distinctive, had now upper control in the party politics and their influence and leadership was not endured by the national conference and lastly, they overthrew these Ahmadiyya Muslims of Qadian.

Prior before the accession to India the leader of the State of Jammu and Kashmir was known as Prime Minister and with the passage of time and due to the improvement in government order besides stability these terms began to get adjusted and changed from time to time, with the passage of the years. The articulations or administrative authority names like '*Sadar-I-Riyasat*' and 'Prime Minister' were supplanted with the terms 'Governor' and 'Chief Minister' in the year 1965 (Noorani, 2015). There were specific changes in the other setups and other administrative types of machinery. Sheikh Abdullah, the most persuasive and incredible politician with the great foundation again moved toward becoming a ruler as Chief Minister of the state and consistently stayed in the top opening position for the State politics and governmental issues till his demise on 8th September 1982. Sheikh Abdullah not long after in the wake of continuing force began some new exercises which were for the welfare of the subjects of the state and it was Sheikh Abdullah's approach and policy which brought the manifesto of 'Naya Kashmir.' Abolished landlord framework and wound up effective in dispersing the land to the genuine tillers of the state. He significantly stressed on the land distribution system and brought it up by virtue of his land reform movement under the 'Naya Kashmir' initiative. His government had been able to distribute the land among the real tillers who were in need of it. Soon after capturing the throne his administration distributed 3, 02, 301

acres of land among 4, 20, 867 tillers during the various periods of time. During the 1951-52 year, 92927 acres of land was transferred in 30418 tillers, in the 1952-53 year 66755 acres of land was distributed among 50189 tillers, during the 1953-54 year 36619 acres of land was shared with 308000 tillers and from the 1980-85 years period 106000 acres of land was transferred and distributed among the 308000 tillers. 302301 acres of land was transferred to 420867 tillers in different phases of the time. The distribution of the land among various tillers is given in Table 3.3:

Table 3.3: Land Transferred to Tillers in J&K from 1951-52 to 1980-85

S. No.	Year	Land Transferred (In Acres)	No. of Tillers	No. of Beneficiaries
1.	1951-52	92927	30418	298922
2.	1952-53	66755	50189	170165
3.	1953-54	36619	32260	115831
4.	1980-85	106000	308000	538000
Total		302301	420867	1122918

Data Source: Directorate of Information, Srinagar, 1993: 127.

In addition to the land distribution system, he had opened a few other public institutes like Hospital and development of roads. It was Sheikh Abdullah's one of a kind and most critical strategy that has given his own territory for some public institutions. Current days Sher-I-Kashmir Institute of Medical Sciences, Soura-Srinagar (SKIMS-Soura) is a standout amongst another case of his welfare movement in the state, and this public hospital which was named on his name and this hospital is in list of top medical hospitals of the nation at present, and this hospital is known as All India Institute of Medical Sciences-Soura. Consistently heaps of individuals get profited by this.

Sheikh Abdullah and his party associates not long after in the wake of expecting power after the marking and signing of the instrument of the accession and authoritatively the State of Jammu and Kashmir went under the control of the Union of India. His party and party workers were working on the philosophy of moderate separatism and working for the reunification of Kashmir at any expense. With the approach and entry of time, this spirit began dying and got less significant less significance in the brains and the belief system of the party and after that his party and his other party activists wound up operational in political games and different exercises instead of supporting or raising Kashmir issue. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and his associates were extraordinarily affected by the talks of a Kashmiri sage and advocate Molvi Abdullah, who was at that period the most significant and top figure in the general public (Taing, 1985, p. 67). Son of Moulvi Abdullah (Molvi Abdul Rahim), Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Ghulam Nabi Gilkar was among the first three prominent leaders

who belonged to most educated categories who were arrested during the 1931 public agitation (Ibid, 1985, p. 94). The party during its initial periods was called as Muslim Conference, and by name, it indicates party belonging to Muslims. Later for the massive participation and whole representation of all the sects of the society, its name was changed to National Conference by the party experts. During the last week of the August and year was 1932 when a massive gathering of nearly Sixty thousand people took place at a famous '*Pathar Masjid*' (Stone Mosque) of Srinagar which finalised the date of the first session of Muslim Conference to be held from 15th October to 17th October 1932 at the same venue. Muslim Conference, which was its prior name, was busy in raising the voice of the Kashmir against the severe and oppressive rule of Dogras and the Britishers (Zutshi, 2004). Soon with the passage and arrival of time, the party began considering the mass representation and party activists other than gigantic social gatherings of general; they began taking out road parades and protest. Top religious pioneers were included, and their supposition was looked for the welfare of all of its State subjects. The launching of the massive and elaborative arrangements was brought into action especially with the launching of the fifteen-foot high stage in order to adjust the experienced persons belonging to the reception committee, two hundred delegates besides one thousand visitors. Installation of the loudspeakers was being done at most of the places. The crowd figured out in more than three lakhs,⁸⁵ and barely any space was left out there. Khawaja Ghulam Ahmad Ashai, who was the co-founder of the All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference, delivered a welcome address on behalf of the reception committee on the afternoon of 15th October. The welcome address featured the essential undertakings and purposes that were behind the establishment of the Muslim Conference, and exceptional accentuation was given on it due to the fact that it being a non-ethnic association. Kashmir's first political party the Kashmir Muslim Conference with Sheik Abdullah as its President, Chowdhary Ghulam Abbas as general secretary, and Molvi Abdul Rahim as Secretary was shaped on 16th October 1932.

The national conference played a vast and imperative job in political arousing of the State in all the three regions of the state. The party began its development and expansion approach in the State and in his presidential address, Sheik Abdullah ultimately expressed that the Muslim Conference had appeared to battle for the privileges of every single abused segment of the general public and not Muslims alone. The party will work for the betterment of all irrespective of any difference on the basis of case or religion. One year from now after its

⁸⁵ <http://jkarchives.nic.in/> Accessed on: 17th November 2019.

formation in March 1933 the Muslim Conference entirely comprised an advisory group which included Molvi Abdullah and nine different individuals from the party to build up contacts with non-Muslim parties, other affiliations, associations which were non-Muslims naturally for investigating the likelihood of shaping a joint association for the common welfare of the state and its subjects.⁸⁶ Those nine individual members were Khawaja Saidd-ud-din Shawl, Khawaja Hassan Shah Naqshbandi, Mirwaiz Kashmir, Molvi Ahmad-Ullah, Mirwaiz Hamadani, Agha Syed Hussain Shah Jalali, Mufti Sharif-ud-Din, Molvi Atiq-Ullah and Haji Jafar Khan. As per Sheik Abdullah, this exertion was not sufficient due to the unfavourable reception of the thought by the non-Muslim parties. Sheikh Abdullah began crusading to change the name of the Muslim Conference to National Conference under the prominent influence of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. After a drawn-out and vivacious campaign, an extraordinary session of the Muslim Conference held in June 1939 cast a ballot to change the name of the party to National Conference. Of the 176 members attending the session, 172 individuals cast a ballot for the resolution. As per Sheik Abdullah, the help of Chowdhary Ghulam Abbas of Jammu was significant and essential in propelling the members to vote for this change (Taing, 1985, p. 238).

The NC has been one of the main dominant political parties of the state up to 2002 (Rekha, 2004) and it was only after the emergence of the other political parties that its vote share started diminishing after a long gap of time. The vote share and number of seats won by the party in different elections are given in Table. 3.4:

Table 3.4: Voter Share and No. of Seat Won by NC in Various Assembly Elections

Year	% of Votes	Total Seats	Seats Won	% of Share
1977	46.2	76	58	76.31
1983	47.3	76	46	60.52
1987	32.99	76	39	51.35
1996	34.7	87	57	65.51

Data Source: Rekha Chowdhary and V. Nagendra Rao, 2004.

The role of the National Conference in shaping and restructuring the separate and unique identity for the State is of immense scope and value. It displayed its massive role in developing and equally representing all the subjects of the State irrespective of any difference. With the launching of the several protest programs by the Mahatama Gandhi which were also at that time dominant in other parts of India became role models in the State of J&K against the Dogra and British oppressive rules. Most popular protest and boycott movements launched

⁸⁶ Chandra, B. & others. (2000). *India after Independence 1947-2000*, New Delhi: Penguin Books, pp. 320-322.

by the National Conference were Civil Disobedience Movement and Quit Kashmir Movement besides linkage of the working class with the national conference in later stage became too much significant in understanding the process of secularisation of political identity in the State phenomenon. The politics were being utilised, and its impact was much on the needy and poor peasants of the State due to the fact that land was the only source through which their livelihood was possible. Moving forward with the land acquisition and neglecting the payable compensation to the peasants further separated the hostility between National Conference and landed class which mostly came out there due to the non-payable compensation. The issue being related to the constitutional autonomy of State, due to the fact that fundamental rights had ensured compensation towards the land acquisition and it was not followed in the State. The majority of the beneficiaries in the Land distribution system were Kashmiri Muslims, and the enormous number among the dispossessed belong to Hindu Dogras (Puri, 1993, p. 8). Deficiency of mobilisation among the marginalised sections of the society besides political vacuum of Jammu had further contributed to this in the progressive direction. Due to the absence of the anti-feudal struggle, it became easy to assign meanings of reforms purely on the basis of regional communal manners. While the borders always stand volatile despite during the peace times. The typical life of those people who are residing near the border areas always suffer from bombings and cross border shelling. Due to the cross-border shelling and firing the farmers residing near the border areas sometimes lose their own agricultural lands (Chowdhary, 2002). National conferences role in constructing and reshaping the separate and distinctive identity of the State of Jammu and Kashmir is of significant scope and value, particularly in eradicating most of the social evils from the society. Equal and bias of less representation were the priority of it. Due to the implementation of the various welfare schemes besides some famous movements made it a popular regional party. Granting of land to the tiller, elimination of Jagirdari system, preserving of plentiful food stocks, irrigation services, education, public health, the establishment of industries, transport, publicity and rehabilitation were some of the developmental or welfare programmes that were initiated and launched by the National Conference. Hence it can be argued that the role of national Conference in shaping and restricting the identity of the State is of essential and significant role.

IV. National Identity of Jammu and Kashmir after Accession

The national identity of Jammu and Kashmir has always been debatable one and in talks from the earliest starting point and the national identity of the State is not restricted but is multi-

dimensional and has multi-dimensions in every single area of the state. The topographical area and geological separateness alongside the demographical uniqueness make it recognised one on this land. Consistent identities like Geography, Demography, topography, Culture, Religion, and so on alongside other multi-dynamic identities have been a vital part of the state. To be perfectly honest conceding, that alongside other steady identities the region of Jammu and Kashmir has given birth and emergency to a few other powerful and dynamic identities which have shaped the figure of the State in new Diaspora. The State prior being a prey of the Dogra reign and British imperialism and later joining the union of India through the instrument of accession. After the marking and the signing of the instrument of accession the state effectively and formally joined with the union of India.

Discussing the national identity of Jammu and Kashmir, the identity of this State is very surprising and extraordinary from the other Indian States, and topographically there is not any match, and the State is called paradise on earth.⁸⁷ The States identity is entirely unexpected, and State has multi-local, multi-social, multi-lingual and multi-religious identity status from the earliest starting point. We have seen a noteworthy change in the national identity status of the State after the independence of India or after the State acceded with the union of India. We saw some certain and unforeseen aspects which additionally contributed a great deal in moulding the national identity of the State. The State came to be known by these variables, and they become famous at the national level as well as these elements got much prevalent at the universal level, and the State through these popular identities moulded the standpoint of the state at the global field. The ascent of Kashmir patriotism through Kashmiriyat, Kashmiri Pandits issue, all parties Hurriyat conference, Political Parties and other Militant Groups shaped and coined the Kashmiri identity in the post-independence period.

1. Role of Kashmiriyat in restructuring the Kashmiri Identity

There are various factors that were responsible for constructing and reshaping the Kashmiri identity separately among them ‘Kashmiriyat’ is one of the prominent factors that led to the rise of the Kashmiri identity, especially. Its rise in reshaping it is not a new one, but it is as old as Kashmir. Kashmiriyat or Kashmiri ness as the merger of the strong Kashmiri nationalism mostly during the 20th century was best clarified a leading political researcher and scientist Rogers Smith through an elite-driven, people building model that was advocated by him (Rogers, 2001, pp. 73-96). Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah who was regarded by many of

⁸⁷ Kale, V.S. (2016). *Landscapes and Landforms of India*. Springer.

his followers as the founding father behind the Kashmir Nationalism laid the foundation of another constitutive story that was tagged as ‘Kashmiriyat’ through which the existing national identities were reclassified in addition to religious and ethnic limits. The accomplishment of Kashmiriyat discloses Kashmir’s refusal to help Pakistani radicals in the second Indo-Pakistan War and the differential achievement of Muslim nationalism in Kashmir compared with Pakistan.⁸⁸ The strong emergence of the Kashmiriyat came during the early of 20th century because of the exorbitant maltreatment and oppressive rules that were inflicted on the Kashmiri people by the Dogra rulers of the state who were mostly foreign or illegitimate rulers. Dogra rulers who mostly inflicted oppressive laws on the Muslim subjects of the State were the descendants who belonged to the Rajput race of Hindus, and in addition to that, they also spoke different language ‘*Dogri*’ which further disintegrated their rule and raised several questions on their identity. Kashmir Nationalism from the period 1931-39 actually was not a national movement instead it was a political movement that belonged mostly to Muslims subjects whose aim was to rectify the inequalities that had swallowed the society due to the most oppressive rule of the Dogras. In the initial phases the movement was based and formed on the religious lines but after the passage of the time and mainly due to the impact of the modern education or westernisation besides the launch of several reform movements in the State, the movement got shifted from religious line to National line. With the aim of streamlining all the sections of the society and reforming all the walks of the State, the movement got changed from ‘Muslim’ to ‘National’, and finally, Muslim conference got converted into all Jammu and Kashmir National Conference. With the creation of the National Conference from the Muslim Conference, it demanded the construction of a constitutive story that was called ‘*Kashmiriyat*’ which theorised that the Hindus and Muslims of the State shared a distinct identity. The most prominent leaders of the National Conference which consisted of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah along with other prominent co-leaders tried to spread the term Kashmiriyat by virtue of print media, radio, seminars, religious gatherings, political briefs and rallies. With the usage of these techniques, the term Kashmiriyat gained enough momentum in reshaping and restricting the Kashmiri identity. The concept of the Kashmiriyat has gained enough moment by virtue of the prevalent armed insurgency mostly from the period 1990 that was supported militarily and logistically by Pakistan (Tavares, 2008; Khan, 2012, p. 37). Kashmiriyat is generally acknowledged in the discourse on Kashmir.⁸⁹ It ordinarily connotes the socio-cultural Kashmiri

⁸⁸ Mehta, P. B. (2016, August 26). [What is Kashmiriyat](#). Indian Express. Accessed on: 19th December 2019.

⁸⁹ Mehta, P. B. (2016, August 26). [What is Kashmiriyat](#). Indian Express. Accessed on: 19th December 2019.

identity, which is regularly viewed as indigenously secular. Before the pre-British colonial period in Kashmir, regardless of religion and ethnicity, the people's traditional sense of belongingness was communicated by the expression and term 'Kashmiriyat.' Thus, Kashmiriyat is a statement of harmony, resilience besides the presence of patriotism among the people of Kashmir. It implies Kashmiri-ness and can be characterised as a secular ethnonational as well as socio-cultural consciousness or cultural value that binds the people of Kashmir together irrespective of caste, colour, creed, religion, ethnicity and sex.

2. Kashmiri Pandits

The idea of Kashmiri Pandits is undoubtedly not new one but is excessively old, and its experience can be seen to very prehistoric times; however, this idea picked momentum in the contemporary history of Kashmir because of the colossal armed rebellion in the State and mostly after the 1947 partition of the nation into two segments in the form of India and Pakistan. Estimating around 5,00,000⁹⁰ in number, these Kashmiri Pandits or else called Kashmiri Brahmins is a Brahmin community group belonging to Kashmir valley (Lyon, 2008, p. 99) which is an immense, enormous and gigantic hilly region of the State and this idea ended up featured merely after the 1990 militancy shock which cordoned the entire region of the State. They were constrained, killed or constrained to leave the Muslim ruled Kashmir inside within no time or they were given an idea to acknowledge Islam and only after accepting this offer of conversion, they could remain in Kashmir and will survive in the valley like other individuals in the region. They left back their properties in Kashmir and fled to Jammu area of the valley, which was a Hindu predominant exceedingly prevalent region and ordinarily encompassed by the neighbouring states like Punjab and Haryana. In the current context, they are the single most abundant natives belonging to State who has been surviving in and outside the State.

Muslim and Hindu have been benevolent since long ago in the past occasions and these two most well-known and exceptionally ruled cults of Kashmir have lived in relative concordance, mutual co-understanding and friendliness since the thirteenth century when for the first time Islam first turned to be the majority religion in Kashmir and was recently presented one. The Sufi-Islamic lifestyle besides carefully following the Muslim laws and that customary Muslims followed in Kashmir supplemented the rishi tradition or custom of Kashmiri Pandits (Hindus), prompting a syncretic culture where Hindus and Muslims loved the same dominant and popular local saints besides praying at similar places of worship and

⁹⁰ [Protest against 'biased' reporting on human rights in Kashmir](#). (2008, January 14). *The Hindu*. Accessed on 16th November 2019.

offered assistance to one another, took an interest in one another's religious exercises with no segregation and with vast brotherhood. Both the Hindus and Muslims were harmony adoring, dispatchers of fraternity and were living in a much community sense and shared healthy culture and trade. Their unity was washed away just by the equipped aggressor resistance as well as through some outside powers. Kashmiri Pandits had played a prominent and much noteworthy role in the integration and fight of freedom struggle against the British. With the advent of the 20th century in the Kashmir valley, the Kashmiri Pandits once again displayed their revolutionary role in revolutionising the social sector of the State. They were leading against the British colonial rule and raised their massive agitations against the suppression. Whereas the Muslim politics of the State pursued the annexation of the State with the British empire, Kashmiri Pandits planted the seeds of awareness against British expansionism along with colonialism, and this changed the viewpoint towards the colonial rule.

The Britishers were occupied continuously in disintegrating the state economy and were using boundless state's regular assets, they made the state's monetary area powerless and after the progression of time and most presumably after the post-1988 period in the Kashmiri history, there began the approach of Islamic patriotism and serious reappearance of self-determination movements and bunches of other political along with other Pakistan sponsored militant groups challenged the sovereignty of the Indian control of the Kashmir, and they called it illicit and un-established and stranded against it. Anti-National elements tossed a bomb on the Shiva Temple, alarm developed in the public arena, at last, become fruitful in making an unsettling religious influence and later they set that Temple ablaze at Handwara close to the well-known shrine of Kheer Bhawani, the flame gutted the whole temple complex and brought about the total obliteration. Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF)⁹¹ which was the forefront of this secessionist movement had consistently proliferated the possibility of Kashmir as a different country and was transparently against the Indian control of the State and completely supported autonomous Jammu and Kashmir, which will be a mix of various individuals of a few ethnic and religious affinities with no segregation and religious premise. In the mid-1990 period, the enormous movement had begun against Indian occupation of Kashmir, and there were killings of bunches of Hindus and plenty of, or almost most of the escaped ones began ousting the Kashmir valley and are still living in the migrant camps in Jammu region. Gradually and relentlessly the Kashmiri Pandits ended up the hot issue in the national identity of Kashmir

⁹¹ Majumder, & Debolina. (1970, January 1). [Footnotes to a conflict? Rethinking questions of class and the State in post-accession Jammu and Kashmir](#). Accessed on: 13th December 2019.

in the wake of the separatist political movements and equipped armed militancy in 1990. The movement almost Islamic movement in nature in light of the fact that the separatist parties and other different organisation were looking for a merger with the Pakistan which was completely Islamic republic country and a practically enormous number of Muslims had got settled there subsequent to leaving their properties here, and a few different thousands were executed. During this tremendous and massive armed turbulence and unrest, ethnic cleansing and massacre were depicted as the phenomenon of the exodus.⁹² Their mass exodus was not seen from the year 1990, as well as it had occurred before the independence of India. During the year 1948 and 1950 by dint of Muslim uproars and land reform movement in the State, their populace gradually diminished and enormous number of Pandits left valley, and in the year 1981 the Pandit populace came down to 5 per cent from the past 20 per cent of the 1950 year, which was additionally stunning and dangerous for the state, and is lost as the fierce slaughtering and mass pulverisation and had set a blow on the Kashmiri identity (Pandita, 2003, p. 255).

At last, their exodus started on a bigger scale, and they were totally leaving the valley because of this armed uprising and utilisation of ruthless power and from the year 1989, which additionally is known for the strongest militant uprising and from that period onwards very little or very few were left in number, and from sixteenth January 1990, the events were dangerous, deadly, most horrible and even more shocking. Mosques utilising amplifiers issued declaration and announcements that the Pandits or Kashmiri Hindus were Kafirs and they need to leave Kashmir or get changed over to Islam or will be killed. Kashmiri Muslims were told to distinguish their homes so as to target them systematically for transformation or murdering. The Jaamat-I-Islami organisation specifically focused on the Kashmiri Pandits or Hindus and announced war on them by calling them ‘Kafirs’ and raised slogans like (Behera, 2000, p. 226):

“Yahan kya chalega?-Nizam-I-Mustafa (what kind of law will prevail here?-The Islamic law); and specific warnings to Kashmiri Pandits like ‘Zalimo, Kafi-ro, Kashmir Hamara Chhor Do’ (Ye cruel infidels, vacate our Kashmir) and ‘Allah-o-Akbar, Mussalmano Jago, Kafi-ro Bhago, Jihad Aaa Raha Hai’ (Arise, and awake Muslims, buff off infidels, jihad is approaching); and the last slogan ‘Aghar Kashmir Mein Rehna Hoga, Allah Allah kahna

⁹² Panun Kashmir the most influential and prominent organization for Kashmiri Pandits has explained the huge exodus of Pandits. “Kashmiri Pandits were driven from their homeland after a campaign of intimidation and harassment was launched against them by the military wing of the secessionists. Kashmiri Pandits were forced from their hearths and homes at the point of a gun. The objective of this ethnic cleansing was to create a minority-free Kashmir valley where the goal of Islamization could be easily forced on ordinary people.” Retrieved from <http://www.panunkashmir.org/fundamentalism.html> Accessed on: 16th November 2019.

Hoga (if you wish to continue living in Kashmir, you will have to pray none other than Allah).’’⁹³

This disposition and mass brutal power began in the Pandit exodus between January and April 1990. They began relocating to Jammu and settled there in various migrant camps kept up by government and governmental bodies have developed and constructed residential quarters for their restoration or rehabilitation and recently the government’s announcement to construct a separate colony for Pandits in Kashmir and in this regard earlier home ministry issued advisory to Jammu Kashmir chief minister Mufti Mohd Syed for finding and locating the land for the Kashmiri Pandits. It is said that later the chief minister of Kashmir Mufti Syed has ruled out for the construction of the separate township for them but had guaranteed and assured that they will be restored and rehabilitated in Kashmir valley.⁹⁴

The Kashmiri Pandits who have left the valley and have settled outside the valley and furthermore in different areas and parts of the world have additionally assumed their enormous job in making and moulding the Kashmiri identity especially in the new millennium period and through their different endeavours and exercises mostly due to the formation of their separate and different forums and through means of internet and online networking and furthermore through the methods for print media have a great deal of achievement in impacting the global network, and that has brought about making and forming the Kashmiri identity of the new millennium era, and along these lines, another component came up in the national identity of kashmir, in spite of the fact that the idea of the Kashmiri Pandits was old one however it got an uncommon acknowledgement and authenticity with significantly more attention after the partition of the nation in the year 1947, and extraordinarily it wound up as world renowned and much well known simply after the gigantic militant armed resistance in kashmir from the year 1989, the mass exile of the Kashmiri Pandits had begun after that year, and they were severely driven away from kashmir, killed or their properties were totally obliterated. The Kashmir Pandit identity has turned out to be one of the conspicuous angles in the affairs of the Kashmir, and one needs to study it, who is eager to study the Kashmir issue.

3. Role of People’s Democratic Party (PDP) in Identity Restructuring

The People’s Democratic Party (PDP) of Jammu and Kashmir is a regional state political party whose foundation was laid down by the Mufti Mohammed Sayeed in the year

⁹³ Behera, N. C. (2000). *State, Identity and Violence*, Manohar publishers, Delhi, p. 226.

⁹⁴ [Home Minister Rajnath Singh hints at going ahead with plans to rehabilitate Kashmiri Pandits](#). (2019, April 9). *The Economic Times*. Accessed on: 16th November 2019.

1999 (Ahmad, 1999). It for the first-time attained power in the state of Jammu and Kashmir during the October 2002 assembly elections, and after that, it was also a member of the ruling UPA (*United Progressive Alliance*) until 2009 elections. The party headquarters are based at Srinagar with ideology focusing on regionalism. The party from the very beginning focusses on the ideology of self-rule, and it considers self-rule as its political philosophy. The party always according to its goals, tries to safeguard the empowerment of the people of the state. As per the party, Kashmir conflict cannot be resolved on the basis of initiatives that are only initiated at the state level, rather party suggests for a composition of intrastate measures along with interstate and supra-state measures for resolving the Kashmir issue. The party is focusing on two main areas that are self-rule and free economic zones.

Jammu and Kashmir People's Democratic Party prevalently referred to as or curtailed as PDP is one of the most influential and powerful parties of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, which has been effectively occupied in political issues of the State from the commencement of this party. The people's Democratic Party's establishment was set by Mufti Mohammad Syed, the ex-union home minister in the year 1999.⁹⁵ Not long after its arrangement the party engaged in reliable State politics and political issues besides ended up famous and in the assembly elections of the October 2002, when it captured the State politics and the party came into power with great people's mandate. The party has been known for its robust programs and strategies alongside sound goals. The job of the people's Democratic Party in building and making a solid Kashmiri identity cannot be dismissed or evaded. The party has assumed a useful job in dealing with the identity of the State. From the date of its initiation to the present setting the party has been clear about different issues and among them is the one, which has been considered as the epicentre of the party's manifesto. The political party believes in the self-rule and lays much and more extensive accentuation on self-rule. This is the fundamental pillar which has not acknowledged party so popular and famous but has additionally moulded the identity of the territory of Jammu and Kashmir in a new and sophisticated manner. The party thoroughly believes in self-rule and thinks about the belief system of self-rule as incomparable, most importantly. The part from time to time and from region to region has been supportive of drawing in the young people of the state through political discussions, and the PDP party through its constitution has clearly mandated for the regional stability, solidness and equivalent

⁹⁵ Jammu and Kashmir People's Democratic Party website, www.jkpdp.org

development of the considerable number of areas of the state. A few highlights of the people's democratic party's constitution are referenced as:⁹⁶

“Democratic participation in the affairs of the State of Jammu and Kashmir for strengthening democratic institutions through constitutional means.”

“Strengthening religious brotherhood, inter-communal and inter-religion friendship co-operation and solidarity.”

“Balance growth of the three regions of the State.”

“Economic, political and social justice for all the sections of society, particularly the downtrodden and the backward classes.”

“Empowerment of women and other weaker sections of the society.”

“Protection of the Geographical and Cultural environment of the State” and

“Promotion of liberal values and spirit of tolerance and protection of human rights.”⁹⁷

The people's Democratic Party functioning as a political party has been considering democratic participation and tranquil discoursed in settling all the commonly unsatisfactory issues through mutual understanding and mutual respect. The party has been committed for the development and commitment of the more fragile sections of the state and has been a significant supporter of the Kashmiri Pandit's and have been supporting them from time to time their settlement. The primary belief of the party is that the party's belief system or ideology on which it is based is considering all the sections of the society and have been supporters of Kashmir solution and have thought about Kashmiri individuals as the main aspects.

The PDP's stand on Pandit settlement and on article 370 of the constitution of India is clear, and they have been the vast supporters of that as well. As of late the People's Democratic Party patron and chief minister of the state of Jammu and Kashmir Mufti Syed said that *“no power in this world can abrogate Article 370”⁹⁸* and they have likewise cleared their remain on the Kashmiri Pandit settlement clear and the party is thinking and considering them as significant community of the state and trust in their role in the advancement of the state and the party is considering about their settlement as the main objective. PDP's role in building or

⁹⁶ Source: Website of J&K PDP. ‘Constitution.’ <https://jkdpdp.org/constitution/> Accessed on: 16th November 2017.

⁹⁷ Constitution. (2019, August 2). Retrieved from <https://jkdpdp.in/constitution>. Accessed on 10th November 2019.

⁹⁸ [Article 370 a closed chapter, no power can abrogate it](#). (2014, May 31). *The Economic Times*. Accessed on 20th November 2019.

constructing and keeping up a solid Kashmiri national identity after the accession with the union of India has been a significant and noteworthy one, and they have attempted a great deal in protecting the Kashmiri culture, art, language, music and dance other than they have kept themselves occupied in finding an answer for the Kashmir issue and are laying much weight on equivalent advancement of all the three regions of the state. The party has upheld for the Kashmiri language as the main subject in all schools and has been supporting in its advancement and welfare. The party is focused on the discouraged and the more fragile sections of the society especially the tribal individuals of the State and has been a solid contender who has been engaged in the prevention of their craft and writing.

Electoral Participation of the PDP has been active in the assembly elections of the state, and during 2014 assembly elections it won 28 seats, 21 in 2008 assembly elections and 16 seats were retained by them during the 2002 assembly elections. The electoral performance of the PDP in various assembly elections is given in Table 3.5:

Table 3.5: Seats won by PDP in various Assembly Elections of State

Year	Election Type	Seats won
2014	Legislative Assembly Elections	28
2008	Legislative Assembly Elections	21
2002	Legislative Assembly Elections	16

Data Source: Election Commission of India

The emergence of the PDP even at the parliamentary elections gained momentum, and it was for them during the 2004 Lok Sabha election that party won one parliamentary seat and during the 2014 Lok Sabha elections it won three parliamentary seats. The electoral performance of PDP in Parliamentary elections is given in Table 3.6:

Table 3.6: Seats won by PDP in various General elections of India

Year	Election type	Seats Won
2014	Lok Sabha Elections	3
2004	Lok Sabha Elections	1

Data Source: Electoral Commission of India

4. Muslim United Front

Muslim United Front (MUF) one of the earliest political parties of the state of Jammu and Kashmir which was a combination of various Kashmiri political parties who were Islamic in nature. MUF fought 1987 (Bose, 2003, p. 48) assembly elections in Kashmir and Jamaat-I-Islami, a leading religious group in Kashmir, was the main constituent of this party (Schofield, 2003, p. 136). Only four seats were won by the MUF during 1987 elections despite the tremendous religious support in the valley. However, later it was found that there was a massive

poll rigging (Bose, 2013, p. 225) during the elections by the then ruling party National conference which managed to retain the power (Brass, 1994, p. 222). These rigged elections are supposed to be the chief architects behind the present-day separatist (Hurriyat) forces (Bose, 2003, p. 52), and it was only MUF which was later responsible for the Kashmir insurgency and gave rise to armed and separatist forces in the state (Ibid, pp. 47-49). During the year 1986 the ruling and most dominant party of the state National Conference promoted corruption in the state and along with severe poll riggings widely came with an agreement with the then National Party of India (Congress) which threatened to erode the Kashmir's individual autonomy (Johnson, 2005, p. 100), and it was from that period the rise of the Islamic extremism came up in Kashmir and became more popular.

5. Vote Share of major political parties of J&K in 2019 General Elections

The performance of the major political parties of Jammu and Kashmir during the 2019 parliamentary election has again given birth to the regional politics or regionalism, and the dominance of the parties at the regional level was seen. BJP came up with a clean sweep of all the three parliamentary seats in Jammu region with 46.39% vote share and national Conference with dissatisfied vote share was however able to sweep all the three parliamentary seats in Kashmir region. The dominance of the parties at the regional level needs to be checked, and parties less active or less dominant in other regions of the state need to gain more electoral participation. The performance and vote share percentage of major political parties of state in 2019 Lok Sabha elections is listed in Table 3.7:

Table 3.7: Vote Share of Major Political Parties of J&K During 2019 General Elections

Name of Party	Vote Share %	Seats won
Bharatiya Janata Party	46.39%	3
Indian National Congress (UPA)	28.47%	0
Jammu & Kashmir National Conference (UPA)	7.89%	3
Jammu & Kashmir People's Democratic Party	2.37%	0

Data Source: Official website of Election commission of India

Electoral reforms and presence of regionalism need to be sorted out at the earliest for the welfare of the state, and once all these elements are checked accordingly, political stability, regional growth is impossible in the state. The emergence of the major political parties in Kashmir valley based on regional identity is one of the most significant issues which the state is facing. National Conference and Peoples Democratic Party are mostly dominant in Kashmir region, while Bhartiya Janta Party is thoroughly dominant in the Hindu belt of Jammu. Congress is the only party which has been sustaining its dominance in all the regions of the

valley. Political stability and more electoral participation will happen once these parties start focusing on state issue instead of regional issues.

6. Hurriyat Conference and Identity of the State

The significant role of the all parties Hurriyat conference in manufacturing a stable and sound national identity of the State cannot be ignored. The All Parties Hurriyat Conference and its different partners have been from the earliest starting point and from the day of its origin laying its stress on the Muslim identity, and the demographic status of the State and Syed Ali Shah Geelani said that *“they will resist the move tooth and nail in every possible way and nobody will be allowed to damage the Muslim identity and the demography of the state.”*⁹⁹ They have been thinking about the Muslim identity of the State as the recognised one and are thinking about Islamic religion in the State as preeminent and need to make Kashmir the Islamic country. The All Parties Hurriyat Conference and its other unified or non-partnered secessionist parties who have been occupied in battling the Kashmir issue since the independence of the nation into two countries. The Kashmir issue has been featured and raised by these separatist parties, and the entire world is presently mindful about this, and this has additionally brought about the age of the new identity component in the national identity components of the Kashmir, and it is through these separatists developments that the world bodies have come to think about the territory of Jammu and Kashmir, and this has likewise helped a great deal in making the identity of the Kashmir in the new millennium World’s most popular communities, and bodies have got a lot of data and information through these separatist groups, and they have been representing to the Kashmiri community and Kashmiri identity at the worldwide level. These pro-freedom groups have kept themselves busy a lot in securing the Kashmiri identity through different endeavours like safeguarding of art, culture, language, regionalism, a few other inside issues like ensuring human rights manhandles, torture, assaults, extra-judicial killings, fake encounters, protecting Article 370 and autonomy of the state. Through these different endeavours, these separatist groups have turned out to be world-renowned and have contributed a ton in driving forward and securing the identity of the state.

7. Militant Groups

Most significant and immobilised inevitability and factor about the state of Jammu and Kashmir is that it has been known for its outfitted aggressor resistance for the most part and

⁹⁹ Irfan, S. (2015, January 16). [Damage to JK’s Muslim Identity Will Not be Allowed](#): Hurriyat (G). Kashmir Life. Accessed on: 11th November 2019.

regularly from the 1989 period and from that period the militant outfits in the state had nearly encompassed the state and submitted their activity there in the wake of getting entirely actuated in the state. The state is known all through the world by dint of this aggressor insurgency, and these activist groups have moulded their identity in the state and as well as outside the state and it is just due to these so-called terror groups or militant outfits that have made the Kashmir issue easy debatable and more prominent. The Islamic group of countries has been continually supporting the Kashmir cause and concern from the earliest starting point and have likewise been in a situation for raising the timely funds for the Kashmir conflict. In the current context, anyone who is eager to examine Kashmir issue needs to think and study about this militant armed issue rebellion also, and he cannot study Kashmir issue altogether without contemplating these militant groups. These extremist activists and militant groups or outfits have by implication formed the identity of the Kashmir by utilising constrained gun culture against the Indian security forces and the Kashmiri civilians, through these counter and anti-counter insurgency operations and bunches of human rights misuses and property harms have been accounted for and seen and these dubious components have made Kashmir issue progressively disputable and hot issue. Global communities along with united nations organisation have effectively taken part in protecting human right infringement in Kashmir through the endeavours of the international bodies, Kashmir has got internationalised and militant identity of the Kashmir after freedom has turned out to be indistinguishable one, and the state has moved toward becoming clash hit and terror-prone. This armed militant culture has been viewed as a primary threat and has been a source of Kashmir strife, and they have been active in battling with the Indian security forces, this surgency and inter counter surgency has made international communities progressively appealing and mindful, and this new component of identity has made Kashmir known to the world community.

V. Concluding Remarks

The State of Jammu and Kashmir, which has¹⁰⁰ become a bone of contention besides a destiny of uncomfortable place from the very beginning and was fought by colonial forces since its inception. The State came under the union of India through an officially signed instrument of accession between the ruler of the Jammu and Kashmir with the Union of India. Through that instrument of accession, this princely State merged with the Union of India like

¹⁰⁰ MBA books. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://www.scribd.com/doc/74612962/MBA-books>. Accessed on: 13th December 2019.

other States that too were princely in nature but later had merged with India. From the very beginning, the State had a strong presence of unique and separate identity, which was also acknowledged by the granting of constitutionally special status under Article 370 of the Indian Constitution. Presence of Separate constitution, Flag and other essential signs like Bird, Animal and Tree are making the State more unique and special. In addition to these recognitions, the State was known by dint of its conflict strife, for instance, presence of armed insurgency movements, separatism, human rights violations and terrorism besides the presence of various hot issues that are making the State more intricate and unique. Presence of vibrant separatist forces and flourishing of armed insurgency movements that are fully backed and supported by Pakistan have made the State more vulnerable and have indirectly tried to construct its separate identity besides the growth of separate Nationalism.

State's earliest and prominent political party National Conference (Converted from Muslim Conference) role in reshaping and reconstructing State's unique and separate identity is of significant value besides the growth of the separatist forces are inserting in the populace of the State a Strong sentiment of separate Nationalism by mostly utilising the ideology of the Two-Nation theory. Implications of the religious identity, growth of separatism besides highly growing armed insurgency movements have always tried or reshaped the identity of the State. In addition to these unruly movements, the State's identity has also got reshaped by the active and dominant roles of some other elements like Human rights issues, pandit settlement issues, militancy besides the dominant and leading role of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) which has been stressing mainly on self-rule and greater autonomy and these have also resulted in constructing a separate and robust identity besides promoting growth of separate Nationalism. Growth of the separatist movements even at the national level or in parts of India has motivated and influenced the separatist and religious identities even in Kashmir. The dominance of religious identity and separatism have helped Kashmiri identity to grow at a comparable level. For instance 'Quit India Movement' launched by the Mahatama Gandhi was aimed to flush out the Britishers from India and due to the dominance of that movement it motivated the leaders of the Jammu and Kashmir to initiate and launch a movement namely 'Quit Kashmir' in order to flush out the colonial Dogra regime of the State and this movement was aimed to make Kashmir free from Dogra rule. Hence it can be argued that alarming growth of separatism and armed insurgency movement in parts of India or especially in parts of North East have become the role models for shaping separate identities besides constructing a strong demand for Nationalism.

Chapter 4

Socio-Transformation: Perspectives on account of Reform Movements

Socio-Reform Movements

The growth and formation of the socio-religious reform movements like in other parts of India were similarly one of the crucial and significant developments in the history of the State. As we are familiar with the growth of these movements in the parts of India during the British colonial rule was mainly by dint of the emergence of the modern educational system along with the rise in the political awakening movements. Similarly, in the State of Jammu and Kashmir the emergence of the reform movements, whether political, social or religious in nature, they brought up the enlightenment and modernisation in the societies. There are various reasons associated behind the emergence of these reform movements in the State of Jammu and Kashmir and most significant among them was the presence of the British colonial rule and Dogra oppressive regime (Kaur, 1996, p. 53). The emergence and the growth of the movements mainly grew out from the reform movements that were at that time active in other parts of the country. The growth of these movements even helped a lot in shaping the political structure of the State. The presence of the newly educated influential leaders, prominent leaders of the new middle class along with the presence of other intellectuals, was favouring the transformation of the State and its political spectrum. The recipients of the modern western education at that time were teaching their fellow citizens in missionary schools and who are supposed to be the first to impart modern education here in the State. They illuminated light on the colonial and most oppressive Dogra regimes of the State and raised voice against these colonial forces. It was by dint of this modern education that was spread through the mission schools that the social evils like illiteracy, orthodoxy, untouchability, conservatism and other dominant social evils. The presence of the new middle-class intellectuals in the society carried a deep impression of the missionary movement (Tyndale, 1925, pp. 253-254).

In the year 1919, the State admin had cited the existence of nearly Twenty Societies, Anjumans and Sabhas in the State that were representing the diversity of different cultures and societies and most importantly they were the representing the interests of the lower castes of the State who were mainly Rajputs, Dogras, Brahmanas, Sikhs, Kashmiri Pandits, Thakkars

and Kashmiri Muslims.¹⁰¹ Soon after the passage of eight years there started a bombardment of the socio-reform movements by virtue of modern educational enlightenment in the State and it was in the year 1927 which listed nearly the presence of one hundred socio-reform movements which were the constituents of larger Sabhas and Anjumans who were booming in the distant and different regions of the State.¹⁰²

The leadership of the newly educated young intellectuals was of more relevance and enormous unequivocal by the fact that they were the only available sources in the State who could get rid of dangerous social evils like human Trafficking particularly of women, casteism, untouchability, widowhood, child marriage along with the presence of two dominant colonial rules (British and Dogra) who were prevalent in the State at that time. The emergence of these movements in the State was a need of the hour and development of these movements was the only sole remedy for their correction.

The study of these several and various socio-reform movements of the three main religions which were prevailing in the state of Jammu and Kashmir will definitely help in the tracking of the ways which were responsible and made people fully aware about the impacts of colonial rule which had drunken the whole State, and there were hardly any responsible movements or organisations whether of political or non-political in nature which could look after the aspirations of the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and later could successfully make free from them the acts of the draconian colonialism. For the same, the need for an hour was a necessity, and the social reforms within and outside the social community was a great need and of immense help and use. These social reform movements, directly and indirectly, helped people a lot in changing their social structure and also it affected their attitude towards the landlord ownership. With these reform movements, the society of the state in all aspects started getting benefits and these reform movements changed and broadened the outlook of the subjects of the State and it can be said that people became more responsible by modern education and religious teachings. These religious reform movements were not limited to any specific majority group but were formed and established among all the religions of the State, and they were all getting recognition and benefits from the then government of the State.

¹⁰¹ List of Societies, Anjumans and Sabhas which existed in State on 31/12/1918, OER, Political Department, 1919, File No. 312/7-c, JKA.

¹⁰² Letter from the inspector general of police, Srinagar, to the public works minister dated 12th November, 1927, forwarding a list of Societies, Anjumans and Sabhas, Political and quasi political and religious in Existence in the state on 31st December, 1926, General Department, 1928, File No. 264/P-21, JKA.

The socio-religious reforms movements of the State of Jammu and Kashmir were mainly consisting of three main religions, viz., Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs.

I. Socio-Reform Movements: Hindus

The emergence and the development of the socio-reform movements within the Hindu community of the State holds an important and significant place in the history of Kashmir and reform movements of the Hindus are one of the oldest movements that were launched in the State similarly on the basis of the reform movements launched that were at that time active in the rest of India. These reform movements had their ideologies and objectives similar to the movements which are also active in other parts of the country. Social reforms, social transformation, modern education and evil free society was the main motive behind the formation of these movements. The influential intellectuals of the Hindu community who were impressed and enlightened by the modern education launched the following reform movements in the Hindu community for the welfare of its members which are listed and discussed as:

1. Arya Samaj

The emergence and rise of the Arya Samaj in the history of the Kashmir is one of the crucial development which has its role in transforming the society of the State. The growth of this reform movement is considered as one of the oldest reform movements that were launched within the Hindu community for the welfare of their deprived and downtrodden ones besides reliving them from all social evils. The presence and foundation of the Arya Samaj came up in the State of Jammu and Kashmir in the year 1892 (Kaur, 1996, p. 54). With the culmination of the 18th century, there were four Arya Samaj associations present in the State, and two of the most prominent out of the four had their locations at Hazarui Bagh in Srinagar (Arora, 2005, p. 5). Arya Samaj was mainly a religious reform movement that was mostly confined to the Jammu region of the State from the very beginning.¹⁰³ This movement was not associated or affiliated with any of the political movements in the State during the initial period.¹⁰⁴ The establishment of the Arya Samaj in the State was not done by the local Hindus there, but its foundation came up by the outsiders who were Hindus by Religion and had come to the State of Jammu and Kashmir from the neighbouring States especially from Punjab as State employees and had settled here different parts permanently or temporarily either for job or business purposes. In spite of its rivalry with one of the States popular Sanathan Dharm Sabha,

¹⁰³ Captain Trench, resident in Kashmir to dewan Amar Nath, chief minister to Maharaja, 16th September 1910, Jammu and Kashmir archives, File No. 215 of 1910.

¹⁰⁴ National Archives of India, Foreign Department, Political, Branch-B, April 1910, No. 69-70.

the Arya Sabha set up its different branches in various towns of the valley.¹⁰⁵ The establishment and expansion of the Arya Samaj were completely criticised by the Sanathan Dharm Sabha whose establishment came up during the year 1917, and for the same, a pamphlet was issued distributed which further led to the anger among the founding members of the Arya Samaj in Srinagar. Arya Samaj who was disfavoured the main doctrines of the Sanathan Dharm which was 'Kashmir for Kashmiris' and it meant for the expulsion of the non-Kashmiris or people who had settled here and had mainly come from the neighbouring States who were mainly from Punjab for the purpose of employment or business.¹⁰⁶ Slowly and steadily with the passage of time, the Hindus residing in the parts of the Kashmir valley extended their full support to Arya Samaj in all forms of its social works. The foundation of this reform movement was not aimless, and its base was formed by keeping in mind certain aims and objectives which were the main causes behind the formation of this reform movement for transforming the States and wiping out all of its social evils. Its objectives are listed as:¹⁰⁷

*"To propagate Vedic principles, to fight against the caste system, to raise the status of women, to educate the women, to abolish the civil institution of child marriage and to promote remarriage and protection of widows."*¹⁰⁸

With the passage of the time, the movement grew stronger and started shining and flourishing fully in most parts of the State, and Hindu subjects of the community started getting benefitted from this reform movement. It did successfully weed out all the social evils and left no stone unturned in cleaning the society from the most dangerous social evils (Ganaie, 2015). From the years 1920-30, the Samaj became successful in celebrating the marriages of half a dozen widows in the city of Srinagar¹⁰⁹ and in addition to this, the reform movement regularly held public meetings along with the procession. According to the Samaj, the basic membership of the organisation was open to anyone and most teachers who were acting as officials were also part of it. The active officials associated with the Samaj were authorised to gather subscriptions for the Tilak Swaraj Fund in the city of Srinagar. Besides this, the members of

¹⁰⁵ National archives of India, Home Department, political, November 1917, No.7, fortnightly report of second Half of October 1917.

¹⁰⁶ J. Manners, resident in Kashmir to J.B Wood, 1st September 1917, national archives of India, home Department, political, September 1917, No. 6.

¹⁰⁷ Kaur, R. (1996). Political Awakening in Kashmir, pp. 54 & 55.

¹⁰⁸ Ganaie, N. A. (2015). Hindu Socio-Religious Reform Movements in Jammu and Kashmir: Pre-independence phase. Asian Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies, 3(7), 94-99.

¹⁰⁹ Census report of India, 1931, p. 297.

the Samaj preaching and focussing on the Hindu Muslim unity and in addition to this they were disfavouring the slaughter of the cattle.¹¹⁰

The Samaj celebrated its 29th anniversary in Jammu region of the State from 12th August 1921 to 15th August 1921, and in this celebration, most of the speeches were praising Mahatma Gandhi besides favouring and supporting the principles of his movements like Swaraj, Non-cooperation and boycott of Schools.¹¹¹ During the celebration of its anniversary from 21st March to 23rd March 1925 which was celebrated in the city of Jammu, enormous processions were carried out during its first anniversary followed by a massive number of meetings which were scheduled in the premises of the Dogra Hall. Limitations on the celebration of its first anniversary did not end here, but its anniversary day was celebrated in the Kashmir valley (Srinagar) from 27th June to 6th July 1925 at two different places namely Hazarui Bagh and Habba Kadal of the Srinagar city. Movements prominent leaders in the celebration were Swami Shri Shiv Ratnanand Ji Saraswati, Pandit Gopi Nath, Editor, 'Akbar-i-Aam', Pandit Prasad Ram Zadoo, Pandit Gopi Nath Kala and Pandit Thakur Joo Manwatis were the activists who took the leading role in celebrating its anniversary and in addition to this annual meetings and processions were also taken into consideration. The presence of the Arya Samaj was not fully spread in all parts, but it was limited to the urban centres in the city because at that time most people were not active in this sort of movement mostly due to the colonial rule and were preoccupied with extreme economic hardships and narrowness (Ganaie, 2015).

Unlimited credit can be attributed to the emergence of this reform movement, and its enormous glory in the form of socio-reform activities in eliminating prevalent social evils from the society is of significant value and scope. This movement helped a lot in tackling the colonial rule and helped a lot in representing all the members of the society irrespective of caste, creed and sex. Besides this, it helped a lot in transforming the social base and values through the means of contemporary and scientific ways of education.

2. The Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Punjab

Transformation of the society and weeding out all of its social evils was not an easy job, and it needed the support and emergence of various other reform movements that can help the society grow at high speed and remove all of its dominant evils in less span of time. Mass movements along with the mass participation of the various voluntary organisation were need

¹¹⁰ National Archives of India, Home Department, Political, August 1921, No. 18; Jammu and Kashmir Archives, File No. 18/19 of 1921.

¹¹¹ Windham to Johnwood, 7/10/1921, National Archives of India, Home Department, Political, September 1921, No. 18, fortnightly report for second half of September, 1921.

of the hour for the welfare of all the subjects of the State. For the same, another Hindu reform movement came up in the form of Arya Pratinidhi Sabha which came upon 24th December 1895 under Act XXI of 1860, and it is the representative of the Arya Samaj in the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and Kashmir.¹¹² This reform movement, like the previous reform movement, also came up with specific aims and objectives which are listed as:¹¹³

“To establish a Vidyalaya for the teaching of the Vedas and ancient Sanskrit classics and for the preparation of Arya Padeshak; the object of which was being attained through the Gurukula University started in 1902, at kangri near Haridwar. This Vedic magazine Gurukula Samachar, printed in Lahore, was the accredited organ of the institution, to establish a library of religious and scientific books for the general public, to publish tracts and books for the purpose of reviving the teaching of Vedas, To arrange for the preaching of Vedic dharma in the Punjab, Kashmir, the northern-west frontier, Sindh, Baluchistan and other places and to devise means and to take measures for the propagation of the Vedic dharma. The object of preaching and propagating dharma was being fulfilled by the regular working of a number of preachers and by celebrating the anniversaries of Arya Samaj. Moreover, the Sabah published two periodicals, one in Arya language and another one in the English language. The Arya language monthly magazine contained information about the working of the various institutions of the Sabha and embodied expositions of Veda mantras. The Vedic magazine Gurukula Samachar was English monthly devoted to Vedic religion, Brahmin Charya, ancient Aryan civilisation and culture, Indian economics and matters of general interest.”

3. Arya Kumar Sabha

The societies in the State of Jammu and Kashmir were suffering from the massive social evils that had swept them from the very long ago and the rise of various reform movements was a requirement. Still, the State was suffering from massive evils and obstacles, the unrepresented Hindu youths of the Kashmir who were not part of the earlier reform movements formed a new reform movement namely Arya Kumar Sabha in the year 1910 in Jammu city of the State, and later its branch was established at Rainawari (Srinagar) with the aim of totally transforming and reshaping the States social structure. The movement consisted mostly of the ignored sections of the society who were not part of any reform movements. This reform movement came upon the basis of Arya Samaj, and it was affiliated with it. This independent

¹¹² Jammu and Kashmir Archives, File No. 115 of 1920.

¹¹³ The secretary, Arya Pratinidhi Sabha to the Chief Minister J&K, 1st October, 1921, J&K Archives, File No. 115 of 1920.

reform movement among the Hindus was based on the Sanatanist principle of the Hinduism.¹¹⁴ At the time of emergence of this movement, the condition of the Hindus residing in Kashmir was too grim, and they were the victims of the worst social evils and corrupt practices in which the worst were child marriage, illiteracy, widowhood and seclusion along with other social evils like wasting of enormous amount of money on marriages, dowry system and it can be justified with an example like, Hindu bridegrooms used to go for their brides in the Mughal style with pomp and show (Kaur, 1996, p. 59). The Arya Kumar Sabha was totally disfavoured these social evils, and they criticised them in each and every form. For the same, they organised various seminars, religious gatherings, usage of modern education, etc., for the total eradication of these unwanted evils from society (Ganaie, 2015).

4. Kashmiri Pandit Sabha

The establishment of the Kashmir Pandit Sabha came up mainly for the welfare of the Kashmiri Hindus along with the restoration and preservation of Kashmiri culture and social values. The birth of the reform movement came up during the year 1914 and soon after its flourishing, it achieved enough momentum in the Jammu city of the State mostly. The movement, in addition to the social and religious reforms, was associated with the carrying of relief works and joined hands for mutual help without any influence of political backing (Ibid). The movement from the very beginning of its launch came up strongly for the welfare of the weaker sections of the society and worked day and night for the underprivileged ones in the State in which the essential beneficiaries included widows, orphans, elderly and disabled people surviving in the Kashmiri pandit community. The aims and objectives of the Sabha were *to “reform the Hindu community in the state, to work for the physical and moral uplift of Hindus and to render financial help to their brethren in case of distress.”*¹¹⁵

5. Dharm Sabha

The foundation of the Dharm Sabha was laid by Pandit Hargopal Koul, who was a popular and prominent influential activist associated with this movement.¹¹⁶ This reform movement meant for the upliftment and social transformation of Hindu community was actually a composition of Hindu orthodox community.¹¹⁷ The reasons behind the creation of this movement were the presence of the enormous social evils which had dominated the

¹¹⁴ Jammu and Kashmir Archives File No. 261/28-C of 1917.

¹¹⁵ Jammu and Kashmir Archives, File No. 87/P-16 of 1914.

¹¹⁶ Ganaie, N. A. (2015). Hindu Socio-Religious Reform Movements in Jammu and Kashmir: Pre-independence phase. *Asian Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies*, 3(7), p. 96.

¹¹⁷ Census report of India, 1901, p. 24.

community from ancient times, and the movement was favouring a healthy society which should be free from all social evils and for the same necessary action they came up with the launch of this new reform movement. For transforming the society, they worked day and night for the upliftment of the poor and the most deprived ones in the society besides this they utilise new techniques and available sources for the removal of all evils from the society. The associated was favouring and stressed much on widow remarriages, and it gained new heights after the demise of the party founder. With the passage of the time, the leadership of the party came under the hands of the new energetic, and educated youths who utilised all sources for the betterment of their community members and the dominance of the party was influential under the presidentship of Pandit Amar Nath Kak in the Hindu conservative leaders were seen dominant (Kaur, 1996, p. 59). The mission behind the creation of this reform movement was based on these objectives *“Social reform among the Kashmiri Hindus, Education advancement, the simplification of marriage ceremonies and widow re-marriages.”*¹¹⁸

6. The Fraternity Society

The emergence of the fraternity society in the State came up as another bonanza for the upliftment of the weaker sections of the society and particularly for the upliftment of the most downtrodden ones in the society. This reform movement came up at the right time and laid much stress on the welfare of the suppressed communities. The organisation was entirely in support of the Hindu remarriage, and for the successful implementation of the same, they had submitted a memorandum before the Maharaja¹¹⁹ of the State in the year 1930 for legalising the remarriage of the Hindu widows (Bazaz, 1959, p. 240) and officially it resulted in the establishment of a new organisation in the form of ‘The Fraternity’ under the able leadership of Prem Nath Bazaz in 1930 (Bazaz, 1959, pp. 232-233). The association mainly focussed on widow remarriage which at that time was one of the burning issues prevailing in the Hindu society and it was made possible soon after its successful establishment by dint of its hard work and sincere efforts. The organisation for the same worked day and night for the major social evils like child marriage, widow remarriage, dowry and wastage of enormous amount of money on marriage celebrations. The organisation laid much emphasis on the women education, transformation of cultural customs, enhancement in the community health sector along with

¹¹⁸ Bazaz, P. N. (1959). Daughters of Vitasta, p. 235.

¹¹⁹ The term ‘Maharaja’ has been derived originally from the Sanskrit literature and it means ‘Great King.’ It referred mostly with the Hindu Monarch or Prince in India whose rank was above the ‘Raja (King).’ Prior to British rule in India, only the ‘Rajas’ of the most powerful States were accorded the titles of ‘Maharaja.’

the dress.¹²⁰ The influential leader of the association Prem Nath Bazaz who was tagged as the leading spirit behind the formation of this association had established contact with the Mahatma Gandhi and had discussed with him on the issue of widow remarriage and had asked him for his guidance and help. For the redressal of the same, Mahatma Gandhi had written a letter to him in which he had requested the young Hindus of the State to marry only if they find a widow (Kaur, 1996, p. 60). The organisation finally became successful in achieving its prescribed aim and objectives besides favouring the transformation of society through the means of modern education.

7. Jammu and Kashmir Women's Welfare Association

The origin and growth of the women's welfare association came up with the help of various organisations and associations for the welfare, upliftment, women empowerment, equality, and protection of the women rights in the society. The sole aim of this organisation was women upliftment, and it totally disfavoured each and every sort of ill deed and misunderstanding that was prevailing in the society. The formation of the women's welfare association officially came during the year 1927 which was totally focussing on the women upliftment, and after the gap of one year its another branch came up in the Jammu city during the year 1928 for the upliftment of the women subjects of the Jammu (Kaur, 1996, p. 60). The motive behind the formation of this reform organisation was that there should be the existence of one central organisation which should coordinate and work on the existing welfare works of the women. The association consists of different four sections which are headed by the separate presidents and controlled by a subcommittee (Ibid, p. 61). The four sections are "*Education, Industrial, Health and Recreational*." ¹²¹

With the passage of the time, the organisation started working on the women issues mainly related to the women education and educating women, particularly the minors, was its priority. For the same a group of six girls and a teacher was arranged, besides this, another organisation in the form of Women's Welfare trust was also affiliated with it, and it provided its timely support and encouragement from time to time. The organisation's sole aim was to impart education to the women and work for their empowerment and for the processing of the same Tutorial Service Schools were launched in the State which were there for educating the adult illiterate women. The role of the association in imparting education to women and working for their upliftment was of tremendous scope and importance.

¹²⁰ Bazaz, P. N. (1959). Daughters of Vitasta, p. 233

¹²¹ Kaur, R. (1996). Political Awakening in Kashmir, p. 61.

8. The Kashmiri Pandit's Social uplift Association

With the massive rise in the uprisings of the reform movements in the State and welfare and the upliftment of the weaker sections of the society was on rising, the highly influenced educated youth of the Kashmir was much overwhelmed by the rise in reform movements and they took keen interest in the reforms, and they were not fully satisfied with the current reform movements, and they found gap somewhere in them. Finally, new association in the form of the Kashmiri Pandit's Social uplift Association came up during the year 1931 in Ganderbal region of the Kashmir valley and this organisation was launched by dint of some officials belonging to the postal, forest and medical departments (Ibid, p. 62). The association was purely focussing on the social issues, and all of its members worked day and night for the welfare and upliftment of the women.

II. Reform Movements of Muslims

The emergence of the reform movements among the Hindu community in the State was mostly inspired by the reform movements which were at that time being active and prevalent in other parts of the country. Reform movements of Muslim subjects in the State were launched on account of the reform movements that were growing in high numbers in the State, and that was mostly administered by the Hindu community. Muslim reform movements in the state came up after they saw a huge rise in the emergence of the reform movements among the Hindu community. The emergence and growth of the Muslim reform movements came up, particularly for the welfare and upliftment of the Muslim communities besides removing the worst social evils from their community. The importance and significance of the Muslim reform movements hold a distant and valuable position in the history of Kashmir, and they worked day and night a lot for the welfare and upliftment of the Muslim community. The reform movements among the Muslim community were inspired mostly by the impact of modern education and social transformation among the other community members in the State. During the British colonial and the Dogra oppressive regimes in the State, the condition of the Muslims in the valley was very worst, and they were living their lives in a miserable condition. In an interview with Ibrahim Hassan Shah, he admitted that:

“Condition of Kashmiri Muslims during the Hindu or Dogra rule was worst in the ever history of Kashmiri Muslim period, and they were left with less land, and Hindu fellows were big landlords. Maharaja committed atrocities on Muslim subjects and retained their properties, and Hindu rulers levied heavy taxes only on Muslim subjects. We were left with little sources.

We went to earn our bread either from neighbouring states like Punjab or Pakistan. We were coming back after six, nine or twelve months, depending on the earning positions of each individual. Muslims at that time were suffering from massive social evils and were less religious."¹²²

Influential and prominent Muslim figures along with the top religious leaders were totally dissatisfied with the condition of their Muslim subjects in the State, and there was a serious worriedness among them regarding their upliftment. They at that time were deprived of social and economic equalities besides this they lacked modern education and backwardness was common among them. Finally, it was during the last period of the 19th century the Muslim of the State were heavily influenced by modern British education. The emergence and the rise of the reform movements among the Muslims against the social evils that had made them as downtrodden ones besides misrepresenting them as compared with other sections of the society. The dominance of the socio-religious reform movements among the Muslims was based on religious movements, and they considered religious puritanism besides believing in educational advancement with a wider and larger role in affairs of the State management (Ganaie, 2015; Kaur, 1996, p. 62). The prominent and top leading reform movements among the Muslims of the State are figured out as:

1. Anjuman-I-Nusrat-ul-Islam, Srinagar

The emergence and rise of the Anjuman-I-Nusrat-ul-Islam hold an important space in the history of the Kashmir, and it holds the position of being one of the oldest and prominent reform movements in the arena of the Muslim community. Being one of the most popular movements, its foundation was laid down by one of the influential and most prominent Moulvi (Religious Leader) Rasool Shah during the year 1905 along with the collaboration of other influential and prominent religious leaders like Hasan Shah Naqshbandhi, Aziz-Ud-Din Kawsoo and Abdul Samad Qaqr.¹²³ During the period from 1889-1904, the prominent founders of this association in assistance with other part colleagues were directly or indirectly involved in some kind socio-religious transformation activities.¹²⁴ Moulvi¹²⁵ Rasool Shah was considered as the most highly significant and influential religious leader of that time had

¹²² My interview with Ibrahim Hassan Shah, born in 1910, A resident of Srinagar city, who was frequently visiting Pakistan before 1947 and was single bread earner in his family. The interview was taken on 26th June, 2017, Time: 10:25 AM in Srinagar.

¹²³ Jammu and Kashmir Archives File No. J-88 of year 1924.

¹²⁴ Jammu and Kashmir Archives File No. 169/N-189 C of year 1910.

¹²⁵ Muslim religious scholar or Leader, who is highly qualified in Islamic Knowledge

dominance over the majority of the population in the State, and he was considered as one of the most influential leaders who did a lot for the community and party before finally expiring in 1909. His brother Moulvi Ahmadullah Shah succeeded him and who in turn was succeeded by his nephew Moulvi Mohammad Yousf Shah.¹²⁶

The party and all of its activists along with its current members were favouring modernisation of Muslims in the State besides eradication of all forms of social evils, and they considered the backwardness of the Muslims due to the scarcity of the modern education (Ibid, p. 63), and for the speedy implementation of modern education among their community members they had established a primary school during the year 1899 in the Srinagar city (Ganaie, 2015). As per the association, the eligibility for joining the basic membership of the party was totally open to all, but basic membership was to be availed by paying a sum of four Annas. In the association, there was a presence of President, General Secretary, The Secretary of Scholarships, The Accountant besides other members (Ibid). The founder of this reform movement Moulvi Rasool Shah had some social implications in the Kashmir, which are as:¹²⁷

“The first and immediate implication was the creation of social cleavages and conflict between the votaries of the new trend and the upholders of the conservative tradition. The latter calling themselves, ‘Ahle-Aitiqad’ the believers in the ‘six shrines’ were led by the chief priest of the shrine of Khanqah-i-Maula at Srinagar. They came to be known as ‘Khankashis’ and ‘Cheka’ as well, the followers of the Mirwaiz came to be known as ‘Kota’.”

“The second implication was the creation of a single centre of great mass following and influence under the Mirwaiz, under-cutting the influence of many smaller and scattered pirzads and making their position redundant. The latter were faced, as a result, with dire consequences as to their social position and economic prosperity.”

“The third was to cast away the traditions that were a result of the past ‘Contamination’ with Kufur, idolatry.” And

“The fourth was deepening of Muslim communal consciousness in the segment of the population that followed Mirwaiz.”

The scope and the role of this reform movement were absolutely dynamic with its presence in all walks and sectors of the life and limitlessness of this reform movement was not confined to any particular section or to religious activities only. This reform movement started to inculcate in Muslims the best, and good manners of life, Improvised ways of living beside it

¹²⁶ Jammu and Kashmir archives, File No. J-88 of year 1924.

¹²⁷ Kaur, R. (1996). Political Awakening in Kashmir, p. 64.

utilised lots of efforts in building in Muslims a sense of mutual cooperation.¹²⁸ The growth of this reform was mostly responsible for Muslim upliftment and helped a lot in spreading the modern education among the members of the Muslim community and its stress on modern education can be justified from the example that soon after its inception it upgraded the primary level school in Srinagar city up to High school level and these schools operated under the administration of this reform movement were directly managed by this association.¹²⁹ The celebration of its annual functions besides organising its annual meetings, and enormous stress was being given on the spread of contemporary education for Muslim fellows who were deprived by these facilities. In addition to this, the association focussed on empowerment and their equal representation in government and administrative affairs of the State (Kaur, 1996, p. 64).

2. Anjuman-I-Taraqqi Talim-Wa-Ittihad

With the passage of the 19th century, the educational reforms, along with the political reforms, were on their peak periods, and there was an abundant rise in them. The societies were now different from previous times, and the enlightenment spread through the means of modern education had reformed the youth of the society notably. With the occurrence of reforms that had spared in the society through western education and mostly by dint of the launch of the other reform movements in the community another group of the talented Muslim youth had launched a new reform movement in the form of Anjuman-I-Taraqqi-Wa-Ittihad in the year 1918. There was an ideological difference with the previous reform movements, and the occurrence of this new reform movements came mainly for the purposes of Muslim reforms and upliftment. The forefront founders belonging with this reform movement were in favour of advanced contemporary education along with the aims and objectives of mutual cooperation besides understanding among the various residents in the society.¹³⁰ The activists of the association had approached the government authorities by sending a deputation to the officials at home ministry for getting the registration of the organisation done, but it was at that time came under severe circumstance due to the launch of the massive student agitations and the permission for the same was not granted at that time.¹³¹ However, later, when the delegation of this separate association meets the officials of the home ministry of the State, they had issued

¹²⁸ National Archives of India, Home Department, Political, December 1914, File No. 31.

¹²⁹ Jammu and Kashmir archives, File No. J/88 of year 1924.

¹³⁰ Minister for Education to Chief Minister, 16/08/1918, J&K Archives Department, File No. 240/P-136 of year 1918.

¹³¹ Student agitation was launched when the non-cooperation movement and the Satyagraha movements were started by the Mahatma Gandhi under the congress regime in the 1921.

an advisory to it for joining the Anjuman-I-Nusrat-ul-Islam.¹³² The merger of these two organisations to work jointly for the social reforms and cooperate on other issues did not work out successfully firstly of their ideological differences and secondly by a complete the denial of Moulvi Mirwaiz on the basis that these two reform movements cannot work jointly.¹³³ With the passage of the time, this reform movement started works on initiating new reforms in the society separately, and whose majority of the members were non-governmental Muslims. The party did a lot in reforming society and in the transformation of the educational sector. Its separate works were appreciated both at government and at public levels which finally got its governmental recognition in the form of a separate reform movement and for the same the association came up with the raising of scholarships for the deserving poor students belonging to the Muslim community who were studying in different schools and colleges of the city.

3. Anjuman-I-Hamdard Islam, Srinagar

The emergence, growth and development of the Anjuman-I-Hamdard Islam hold the most distinct slot among all the launched reform movements, and this reform movement was the first of its kind that was not only established by the Kashmiri local Muslims but its launch was also a contribution of some Punjabi Muslims (Kaur, 1996, p. 66). The emergence of this reform movement came during the year 1914 under the able and prominent leadership of Babu Mohammad Ibrahim and other party activists. The party came up with certain aims and objectives, which are as:¹³⁴

“To pursue the Muslims of Kashmir to take to education, to develop the habit of self-help among the Muslims by urging them to make liberal donations for the purpose of spreading education among Muslims, to stress the learning of technical and commercial education, to bear all the expenses for burial of the Muslim villagers thrown into the mortuary after these were declared heirless or unclaimed by the doctors in the government hospitals,¹³⁵ to grant scholarships worth four rupees per month to those Muslim students who had passed the middle standard but could not continue further studies owing to poverty, to help parentless Muslim children in their education and vocation by admitting them to the orphanage established and maintained by the Anjuman.”

¹³² Minister of Education to chief Minister, 16/08/1918, J&K Archives, File No. 240/P-136 of year 1918.

¹³³ Jammu and Kashmir archives, file No. J-88 of year 1924.

¹³⁴ The Zamindar. (1928, August 3).

¹³⁵ Khan, G. H. (2009). Freedom Movement in Kashmir, 1931-1940, pp. 72-73.

From the period of its inception, this reform movement was non-political in nature and was focussing on the issues like inculcating in Muslim members of the state a sense of unity, cooperation besides mutual understanding. The party was always trying to contribute through annual gatherings, meetings along with the conduct of processions that were meant to educate more people of the community. The usage of the religious quotes along with the singing of the patriotic and religious songs that were targeted at bonding the sense of unity, brotherhood, patriotism and self-sacrifice. Islamic supremacy and religious knowledge were the two main focusses of the party so that the fellow residing in the state will understand how to live in peace, harmony and cooperation.

4. Ahmadiyya Movement

Ahmadiyya Muslim Community¹³⁶ or the Ahmadiyya Muslim Jamaat a religious movement founded in Punjab, India near the final stage of the 19th century^{137, 138 & 139} (Morgan, 2009). The Islamic Reform movement within the Islam originated with the life and teachings of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1835-1908) who claimed to have appeared for the accomplishment of the prophecies concerning the world reformer during the end times or eschaton and who was supposed to bring out by the peaceful means, the final achievement of Islam and herald the Eschaton¹⁴⁰ as was predicted and mentioned in the Islamic scriptures. He claimed to be divinely selected as the renewer (Mujjaddid) of Islam in the form of Messiah (anointed one) and Mahdi (Guided One) who was the much-awaited one by the Muslims.^{141, 142 & 143} The advocates of the Ahmadiyya movement are referred to as Ahmadi Muslims or Ahmadis. Ahmadi Muslims or Ahmadi Muslim ideology believes that Islam is an ultimate dispensation for humankind as was revealed to Muhammad (saw) and an essential requirement

¹³⁶ History of the Ahmadiyya Community. Human Rights Watch 2005.

<https://www.hrw.org/reports/2005/bangladesh0605/3.htm> Retrieved on: 2nd February 2017.

¹³⁷ Valentine, S. R. (2008). Islam and the Ahmadiyya Jamaat: history, belief, practice. Columbia University Press: Columbia.

¹³⁸ Morgan, D. (2009). Essential Islam: a comprehensive guide to belief and practice. Greenwood Press. p. 242.

¹³⁹ Islam, S., & Jamal, A. A. (2012). Ahmadiya. Banglapedia: National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh (Second ed.): Asiatic Society of Bangladesh. <http://en.banglapedia.org/index.php?title=Ahmadiya> Retrieved on: 2nd February 2017.

¹⁴⁰ Islamic Eschatology is a branch of Islamic scholarship that studies Yawn Al-Qiyamah (The day of Resurrection).

¹⁴¹ Memon, N. O. (1994). An Enemy a Disbeliever a Liar, Claims of Hadhrat Ahmad. Islam International Publications.

¹⁴² Ahmad, M. T. (1998). Revelation, Rationality, Knowledge and Truth, Future of Revelation. Islam International Publications.

¹⁴³ Rafiq, B. A. (1978). Truth about Ahmadiyyat, Reflection of all the Prophets. London Mosque. <http://www.alislam.org/books/truth/reflection.html> Retrieved on: 2nd February, 2017.

of re-establishing to its true spirit and unspoiled form, which had been lost through the different eras of time.¹⁴⁴

Mirza Ghulam Ahmad laid the foundation of the Jamaat Ahmadiyya on 23rd March 1889. The Ahmadiyya Community has been led by the number of Khalifas, and the roots of the Islamic movements are expanded in 209 countries of the world. The Ahmadiyya movement is having an influential missionary and is holding a distinct feature of being the topmost earlier ones who had spread Islam in Britain¹⁴⁵ and other western countries.¹⁴⁶

Ahmadi Muslims are not following any new Islam, nor are they teaching any new ideology, but they are residing and worshipping like other Muslim Fellows. They believe in six articles of faith which are as Unity of Allah, Angels, Books, Prophets, Day of Judgment and Divine Decree and in addition to this, they strongly also believe in Five Pillars Islam which are as, Creed (Shahadah), Daily Prayers (Salat), Fasting, almsgiving (Zakat) and Pilgrimage to Mecca (Hajj).

Ahmadiyya Muslim Movement has played a significant role in the political awakening and Muslim Modernisation in the deprived state of Jammu and Kashmir and had in the past raised enormous funds and contributions for the betterment of the Kashmir. Hazrat Mirza Bashir-Ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, the head of the Ahmadiyya Muslim community, was watching the situation in the Kashmir very thoroughly and it was under his supervision decided that All India Kashmir Committee be set up for the cause of Kashmir. After the formation of the committee, Mohammad Iqbal who himself was an eminent Kashmiri had proposed that Hazrat Mirza Bashir-Ud-Din Ahmad be elected its president. The offer was denied by this divine leader, who was reluctant in joining the politics. In order to raise fund for the Kashmiris, Hazrat Sahab had enforced cess on the members of his community. Enormous funds were made available, and the Ahmadiyya Jamaat was having enough resources¹⁴⁷ and voluntary works in addition to the Muslim missionary.

¹⁴⁴ The Ahmadi Muslim Community, who are they? (2008, May 27). The Times. <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/faith/> Retrieved on: 2nd February 2017.

¹⁴⁵ The Ahmadi Muslim Community, who are they? (2008, May 27). The Times. <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/faith/> Retrieved on: 2nd February 2017.

¹⁴⁶ Kraemer, H. (2002). World Cultures and World Religions: The Coming Dialogue. James Clarke & Co., p. 267.

"The spirit of their tenets and the militant vigour of their founder have made the Ahmadiyya naturally a group with strong missionary and reforming zeal, both inside the lands of Islam where they are represented and outside. They constitute almost exclusively the "Muslim Missions" in Western countries and elsewhere...They devote themselves with sincere enthusiasm to the task of proclaiming Islam to the world in a rationalist, often combative way, and try in Muslim lands to purify and reform the dominant type of popular Islam."

¹⁴⁷ [How Ahmadi Helped Kashmiris and Battle for Kashmir](http://www.thepersecution.org/)." The Prosecution. (www.thepersecution.org). Retrieved On: 3rd February 2017.

The state of Jammu and Kashmir which is a conflict-ridden one and is distributed between India, Pakistan and China. India and Pakistan control almost half of its territory, and a small portion is controlled by China also with both the countries claiming the jurisdiction over the whole. (Behera, 2006, p. 29). The Kashmiri Muslims had got support from the Indian Muslims, and Kashmiri Muslim leaders were receiving an encouraging response from Punjabi Muslims, The Ahrars and more especially the Ahmadiyyas of Qadian¹⁴⁸ (Ibid) were always there for the cause of freedom of Kashmir's from the British colonial rule. (Ibid: 30).

5. Anjuman-I-Islamia, Jammu

The foundation of the Anjuman-I-Islamia was laid by Raja Farman Ali Khan alongside with the support and help of Major General Samandar Khan, Syed Asad Ullah Shah, Chowdhary Ghulam Abbas and Mistri Yaqaub Ali. This reform movement maintains a distinct position among the Muslim reform movements of being one of the oldest ones in the history of the State. Arrangement of successful public meetings and gatherings from the very beginning was one of the real motives of this association, besides this, the sending of its annual finding resolutions that become passed and adopted in its annual meetings were despatched to the government for swift considerations.¹⁴⁹ Improved education, sound economy besides raising the moral and social status of the Muslims residing in the State were some of the main targets before this reform movement.¹⁵⁰ Impact of modern education besides the extreme rise in other reform movements were some of the reasons that had become vital indicators for the coming of this reform movement. The association came up with the proposal for the creation of a distinct committee of ladies that will monitor and run the girl schools that are being operated in the Srinagar city. The same proposal had come under severe concern due to the fact that there was a total absence of the female educated ones in the State who were supposed to take up the proposed work.¹⁵¹ This threat in the form of female illiteracy threatened both internally and externally, and it became one of the massive social imbalances for the society.

For the disposal of the same concerns, particularly the Muslim backwardness and economic imbalance, Anjuman-I-Islamia, Punjab, Lahore had requested the Maharaj of the

¹⁴⁸ Punjabi Muslims led by the Allama Iqbal had formed the organization in the name of the Kashmir Committee, which had celebrated 14th August 1931 as Kashmir Day in different parts of the Country such as Calcutta, Delhi, Deoband, Ferozepur, Gorakhpur, Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur, Jhelum, Mussori, Lahore, Patiala and Panipat. The Arhars were the militants belonging to Arhar Militant group were sending armed volunteers to Kashmir. The Ahmadiyyas of the Qadian were providing the financial support.

¹⁴⁹ Jammu and Kashmir archives, proceedings of the Jammu and Kashmir state council held on 1st September, 1926.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid

¹⁵¹ Jammu and Kashmir archives file No. 99/P-104 of year 1915.

State to eliminate and eradicate all the challenges or obstacles that have become the sources of hurdles in reforming and transforming the Muslim subjects of the State. For the redressal and disposal of the same concerns, it was during the year 1913 the grave concerns were thoroughly discussed under the leadership of Sahibzada Aftab Khan and for the same, the solution was found.¹⁵² It was during the year 1926 through its general meeting; the association had come up with a plan that was unanimously adopted and passed by the reform movement which meant for the creation of reservation of certain stipends that were totally aimed for the welfare and education of the students belonging to the Muslim community in each and every part of the State. The resolution that was passed and adopted by this reform movement for the upliftment of the Muslim community reads as:¹⁵³

“The Darbar awarded scholarships to the students of the state to prosecute their further studies in medicine, engineering and forestry every year. However, the Muslim students were not benefitted with this opportunity in order to carry on their studies outside the state.”

“Muslims were lagging in university education because of their poverty, but in secondary education, which was the only education criterion for the selection of the candidates for admission to Sub-assistant surgeons, rangers, sub-overseers and overseers classes, they were up to mark; and the Anjuman was prepared to produce a number of matriculates for such appointments” and

“Out of thirty-sub-assistant surgeons in the civil medical department, only one was Muslim, who as well as a foreigner. Similarly, there was only one sub-assistant surgeon in the military department out of eighteen sub-assistant surgeons on its cadre.”

Some of the most disgusting factors that were mainly responsible for the Muslim backwardness were in the form of misrepresentation, illiteracy besides social and economic imbalances. The association had declared these obstacles only due to the absence of modern education, and for the removal of the same concern the association had requested from time to time to the “Maharaja that a definite number of stipends should be set apart exclusively for Muslims in every department and that for these selection should take place absolutely and exclusively from amongst the Muslim members so that claims of Muslim candidates would receive proper consideration at the time of selection.”¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² Honorary general secretary, Anjuman-i-Islamia’s private secretary to Maharaja, Dated: 27/10/1923, J&K archives department, file No. 28/H-E-15 of year 1923.

¹⁵³ General Secretary of Anjuman-i-Islamia to the senior member of the council, dated 11/05/1925, J&K archives Department, proceedings of the meeting of J&K state council that was held on 01/09/1926.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid. Correspondences between Anjuman-I-Islamia, Jammu and Secretary of Military.

6. Anjuman-I-Tahafuz-I-Namaz-Wa-Satar-Masturat

With the emergence of the various reform movements with the society, the influential and the first recipients of modern education in the State were worried about the concerns that had swept the female community. Illiteracy and women backwardness were some of the grave issues that need to be tackled within a short span of time. Taking into consideration the women empowerment and their equal share in terms of social or economic the emergence of the reform movements that were primarily targeted at the women reform was formed in the form of 'Anjuman-I-Tahafuz-I-Namaz-Wa-Satar' during the year 1923 under the able leadership of Azad Quaraishi, Hakim Mohammad Qureshi and Ghulam Mohammad Alvi.¹⁵⁵ This reform movement was totally disassociated with the political spectrum of the State, and its ideology was based entirely on the religious ideas with total support for women reforms.¹⁵⁶ The essential purposes and objectives of this reform movement which was totally religious in nature with ultimately favouring the women empowerment and upliftment are listed as:¹⁵⁷

*"The Muslim women should observe prayers and the Muslim women should wear the clothes properly, the Muslim should get religious and secular education either through preaching or through schools opened for this purpose, All traffic in women should be stopped and the marriage contracts should be duly registered in a court of law, and The Muslims of Kashmir should remain loyal to the Maharaja."*¹⁵⁸

The emergence of this reform movement came at a right time for the welfare of the most deprived women subjects belonging with the Muslim communities, and this association did a lot in removing some of the social evils that had swept the Muslim women community of the State.

7. Anjuman-I-Hanfia

The growth and the speed of the reform movements in the State were going on at the fast speed, and Muslim community members of the State were now significant beneficiaries of these reform movements that were launched within their religious bounds for their empowerment, and they had now become more successful in imparting modern and improvised education. For the educational transformation of the society, a school in the form of Islamia Hanfia School came up during March 1922. The main motives behind the formation of these

¹⁵⁵ Jammu and Kashmir archives, file No. 439 of year 1923.

¹⁵⁶ Jammu and Kashmir archives, file No. J-88 of year 1924

¹⁵⁷ Ganaie, N. A. (2015). Socio-Religious Reform Movements of Muslims in J & K from 1900-1947. International Journal of Innovative Research & Development, 4(6), 294-298.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, pp. 296-97.

schools were to impart religious and secular education to the children belonging to the Muslim community. The functioning of the school was directly managed by the Moulvi Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din and Mirwaiz. It was finally in the year that the Maharaja of the State issued its formal clearance for the establishment of the committee in the form of Anjuman-I-Hanfiah.¹⁵⁹ The association came up with the below-stated objectives:¹⁶⁰

*“To manage the school and devise ways and means to create literary taste among the people, to impart religious education and to promote the teaching of old culture and to be faithful and obedient to the Maharaja and the British Government.”*¹⁶¹

III. Socio-Reform Movements: Sikhs

The size of the Sikh community in the State was less as compared with the other two main religions like Hindus and Muslims who were dominant in the State for the long times. Their number was very less and formed the minority community of the State. They were backwards and marginalised like the Muslim community of the State and were left with very less developmental options. Lack of modern education, misrepresentation in the economic sector and lack of resources and jobs were some of the miseries that had surrounded this minority community. With the emergence of the modern education and due to the growth of the vast number of reform movements within the State among the other communities, Sikh community members also started reforming themselves by means of imparting modern education and other reform for their community. They were less developed and were deprived due to the massive colonial oppression in the State. The influential leaders of the Sikh community got influenced by the growing and changing impact within the society among the other community members they also started a new form of reform movements and fought the race of social transformation for them also. The prominent members of the Sikh community were worried about the backwardness of their community due to the fact that they were the major shareholders in the backwardness, illiteracy, social evils, unemployment and besides this, they were mainly dependent on the agricultural sectors. For the redressal of the same issues and making this community comparable and equal with the other communities of the State they

¹⁵⁹ The office bearers of the Anjuman-i-Hanfiah were: Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Shah, Hassan Shah, Ahmad Ullah, Abdullah Joo, Ghulam Mohammad, Ghulam Mohammad Sheikh, Samad Joo Wani, Habib Ullah, Mohi-ud-Din and Amir Din. Jammu and Kashmir archives, File No. 274 of year 1925.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid

¹⁶¹ Ganaie, N. A. (2015). Socio-Religious Reform Movements of Muslims in J & K from 1900-1947. International Journal of Innovative Research & Development, 4(6), 294-298.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, p. 297.

started a movement of social and political transformation within this community also and some of their prominent and popular reform movements are discussed below.

1. Chief Khalsa Diwan

The slot of the Chief Khalsa Diwan holds a valuable and prominent position among the reform movements within the Sikh community, due to the fantastic role they had explored while reforming their community members besides raising their social and political morals. It played a pivotal role in the Sikh upliftment and also encouraged Sikh empowerment. The party was active both in terms of religious and political affairs of the State. The emergence of this reform movement of Sikhs came upon 30th October 1902 with these stated aims and objectives:¹⁶²

“To promote the spiritual, intellectual, moral, social, educational and economic welfare of the Khalsa Panth, To propagate teaching of Gurbani and to spread knowledge of Sikh history and other authentic writings, To propagate the teaching as embodied in Sri Guru Granth Sahib and To represent their interests to the Government; and to make constitutional efforts for their attainment according to the times and conditions” (Wallace and Chopra, 1984, p. 69).

The limit of the association was not limited to the Jammu region only, but it had considered and kept in mind the aspirations of the Sikh community members that were residing in the parts of Kashmir valley and they utilised a lot of efforts in raising the standard of the community members in Kashmir. The association was committed for the upliftment and upgradation of all the community members of the Sikhs at an equal rate of share. The association stressed a lot on their educational modernisation and were aiming to make their economic sector self-reliant and reliable. For improving the educational standards, they came up with an education committee, and for the same, a letter was despatched by the honorary secretary of the association to the chief minister of the State which consisted of the below-mentioned points:¹⁶³

“It was requested that provision be made for the teaching of Punjabi in the state schools. There were at that time, three hundred and fifty boys in that school. Of those, one hundred boys, about one-third of the total number was prepared to take up Punjabi.”

“Secondly, when the other languages such as Arabic and Persian were taught in the school, there was no reason that Punjabi, the mother tongue of Punjabis, spoken even in Kashmir state

¹⁶² Paul, W., & Surendra, C. (1984). Political Dynamics of Punjab, p. 69.

¹⁶³ Jammu and Kashmir archives, File No. 216/A-92 of year 1918.

could not be taught in spite of repeated requests of the guardians who were willing to read Punjabi.”

“Thirdly, the Sikhs of the Kashmir state were backward in education.”

“Fourthly, their holy scriptures were written in Gurumukhi, and their religion required them to get knowledge of religious tenets which could not be attained without the knowledge of Punjabi.”

With the passage of time and later through the impact of modern education along with the social transformation, the members of the Sikh community got themselves engaged in various sorts of welfare activities and focussed mainly on modernising the community. Annual meetings, public gatherings besides the usage of religious teachings for mobilising the society was utilised to bring into action the new way of social transformation and change.

2. Khalsa Youngman’s Association

Khalsa Youngman’s Association aimed at reforming the Sikh community members of the State was among one of the oldest reform movements of the State that was continuously and effortlessly utilising all sorts of its available labour for the upliftment and modernising the underprivileged and weaker Sikh people belonging to the State. Its foundation and existence came up in the year 1917. Protection of rights and enlightening the economic status of the Sikh inhabitants of the State was its main motive, and for the same, the party in its annual proceedings and successfully passed a resolution whose cope was later despatched to the officials of the State government for their approval (Kaur, 1996, p. 73). A successful meeting was later concluded at the Diwan Jawala Sahai Sahab, Jammu on 13th April 1918 and in which the prominent participants were Professor Teja Singh, Master Hari Singh, Babu Pratap Chand, Mai Ranko Ji and Bibi Veran Ji. The participants and mostly the influential leaders of the association tried to influence the youth of the State by literacy lectures, and they were successful in igniting in the minds of the youth the value and scope of the modern education and threw light on the issues like illiteracy and Sikh upliftment.¹⁶⁴ During this meeting a resolution which was passed was the constituent of these two resolutions which are as:¹⁶⁵

“That, as for the other communities, special scholarships should be granted to the poor Sikhs of the Jammu and Kashmir state who were backward in education.”

¹⁶⁴ Khalsa, Newspaper. (1918, April 28).

¹⁶⁵ Jammu and Kashmir archives, file No. 216/A-92 of year 1918.

“That, Punjabi teachers to teach Punjabi in the state schools, as in the schools in British India, should be appointed for the development of the Punjabi language. A copy of the resolutions passed was then submitted by the president of the association to the chief minister of the state, for his favourable consideration” (Ganaie, 2015).

The Khalsa Youngmen’s Association explored all of its available resources and ways in uplifting the educational standards associated with the Sikh community members, especially their educational sectors. Despite the utilisation of all the possible efforts, there were some loopholes that always remained there for their backwardness, and it was the absence of the possible support from authorised sources besides the absence of the distinct scholarships for the Sikh students that could have revolutionised their education and social structure.¹⁶⁶

3. Sikh Sahaik Sabha, Kashmir

The emergence growth and development of various reform movements among the various sections in the society was in its peak, and lots of prosperities and developments had happened there in State on the one hand due to the growth of these movements, but on the second hand, there were some left out communities who were not represented very well but were lagging some sort of advancements that had taken place in the society due to the impact of the modernisation. For representing all the sections and most deprived ones in the State, the emergence of another reform movement in the form of Sikh Sahaik Sabha came up which was fully representing all the sections of the life. This reform movement came up against the prevalent social evils in the year 1921 (Ganaie, 2015). The organisation’s primary focus was Sikh modernisation and empowerment besides representing them in equal numbers as compared with other subjects of the State. The Sikhs at that time were lagging far behind as compared to Hindus and Muslims who were mainly the chief beneficiaries of modern education. The association focussed on their rights preservation and complete removal of the social evils that had enormously made their community more backward and undeveloped. Usage and adoption of specific techniques and measures like in the form of passing of resolutions, sending deputations, arranging meetings and preaching at religious platforms for pressurising the government.¹⁶⁷ During its annual gathering, this reform movement unanimously had passed a resolution which consisted of the claims and rights regarding the

¹⁶⁶ Jammu and Kashmir archives, proceedings of the meetings of the State of Jammu and Kashmir state council held on 19th August, 1922.

¹⁶⁷ Jammu and Kashmir archives, file No. 259/62 of year 1920.

Sikh community of the State. The same claims and rights after that were placed before the State government and all the resolutions were passed by this reform movement were:¹⁶⁸

“That the Sikh community of Jammu and Kashmir State is in a very bad condition in all respects, especially in education, when compared to their neighbouring classes and communities.”

“That the Sikhs are Zamindars and extremely loyal, ever ready to sacrifice their lives for the cause of their state; such a helpful community should not be neglected altogether.”

“That the scholarships be granted to the Sikh students in their primary and secondary classes and in the colleges and should be encouraged and helped like their Muslim brothers so that they would be able to stand with an equal footing with other communities and classes.”

“That the Sikhs should be given employment according to their claims and rights in all the different departments, military, revenue, judicial, forest, medical, public works department and police.”

“That in spite of our having the most appropriate and high rights and claims in the state, especially in the revenue department, our case has not been yet considered yet very seriously. Leaving other departments aside, even in the revenue the highest posts the Sikhs occupy are those of few Patwaries or in a case or two Munirams which shows that Sikh community in Kashmir is backward in every respect.”

4. The Akhali Movement

The impact of the modernisation and upliftment was not limited to the one community of the State, and with the advent of the time, it had influenced and benefitted all the sections of the society. With the coming of the Social, Political, Religious, economical and contemporary educational awakening along with the upliftment in the State, it had brought Sikh community of the State with more enlightened status. Considering their past conditions, they were now totally well-equipped through the means of modern education and major social evils had come to cease. This ray of enlightenment in Sikhs was mostly due to the previous reform movements and due to the emergence of the Sikh Sabha movement in the year 1921 (Ganaie, 2015) which further led to the more upliftment and modernisation in the Sikh community. Due to the impact of the modernisation and growth of other reform movements in the community, the members of the Sikh community were now equally responsible and took a keen interest in the Sikh reforms besides producing other voluntary works or activities keeping in the mind that they

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, Secretary Sikh Sahaik to the chief minister of the state of the Jammu and Kashmir, dated 23/06/1920.

were directly or indirectly part of the government. Each Sikh member in spite of being government employee, illiterate or literate, poor or rich, religious head or local person, influential or non-influential and or member or part of any local or municipal body considered equally himself responsible for the empowerment and development of their community. Now all the Sikh members were in strong favour of a complete transformation of the social sector along with this they were also favouring for complete control over their Gurduwars.

*“There were no rules for the administration of the Sikh shrines; and over many of them, priests, who were Hindus as often as Sikhs, had asserted property rights. The income of the Gurduwars such as the golden temple in Amritsar and the birthplace of Guru Nanak at Nankana ran into several lakhs of rupees per year. For many years Sikh association carried on civil agitation against Mahants (Priests). Then the impatience generated by the Ghadar and the nationalist movement spurred the Sikh masses into giving up the methods of petitions for redress from courts of law followed by the sing sahaitees and into adopting instead the methods of non-cooperation and passive resistance of the newly formed party, the Akhalis which means ‘immortals. This brought them into conflict with the Punjabi Hindus, many of whom unwittingly sided with the Mahants as well as the administration, which felt impelled to support the priests who were in possession of the Gurudwaras.”*¹⁶⁹

The Akhalis were now considering themselves as the sole representatives of their community and for the same they had established a semi-military corps of volunteers, which was known to the outer world as Akhali Dal which means army of immortals and the raising and establishing of this small unit of Army for supposed to take full control of their Gurduwaras from the Mahants (Singh, 2004, p. 193).

The role of this movement in transforming the political and social structures of their community members is of significant value and scope, and they did a lot in shaping their hassle-free future. The Akhalis surviving in the State launched massive and enormous agitations against the autocratic rule of the Maharaj of the State (Ibid, p. 125) and from the year 1921 period they received massive sympathy from the Sikh community of the State and later which was mainly responsible for transforming the Sikh ideology of the Sikhs who were dominant in Jammu region of the State. Social works and reform movements were initiated by the community volunteers who had now got enormous encouragement and support from other civil society members and other residents of the State. In addition to this, organisation of the annual

¹⁶⁹ Singh, K. (2004). History of the Sikhs, Oxford University Press, p. 193.

meetings, religious gatherings, public meetings, seminars and other activities were initiated to transform and reform the Sikh community and making it evil free in all walks of the life.

IV. Concluding Remarks

The emergence, growth and development of the reform movements which were mainly religious and political in nature came up there in the society firstly due to oppressive and colonial rules or the British and the Dogras; secondly, their emergence came up due to the impact of the modern educational system in the society. The State was a victim of the oppressive rules, and the presence of enormous social evils was dominating the state through wrong impressions. The emergence and growth of the social and political movements whose motive was to make the State free from colonial forces, getting rid of oppressive rules and to fully erase and wipe out all the social evils from the State. Most of the movements at the beginning were religious reform movements and later due to the advancement of the society due to the modern education they became political in nature for the welfare of the society and State. Some of the religious reform movements who were politically active later became the founding stones for the growth of separatism. Reform movements like ‘Khalistan Movement’ and ‘Jamaat-I-Islami’ became the idols for the surge in separatism. Jamaat-I-Islami, which was mainly focussing the religious reform activities, became the epicentre for the growth of the separatism or Hurriyat forces in the valley. Similarly, ‘Khalistan Movement’ working and focussing for the welfare, upliftment and modernisation of Sikhs became a popular separatist movement demanding a separate homeland for the Sikhs of the State. Hence there is a deep link between the growth of religious reform movements and separatism in the State. Growth of separatism, armed insurgencies, religious superiority and nationalism based on religious supremacy has been the product of these religious reform movements who are considering religion as a separate factor in determining the National identity or Nationalism.

Chapter 5

Hurriyat Conference: Historical Antecedents

I. Hurriyat Conference

1. Overview and Historical base of Hurriyat

Tehreek-e Hurriyat Jammu and Kashmir or Hurriyat conference is the first and foremost well-known secessionist party of wider importance and significance that is understood or known by virtue of its movement of Kashmir and has been known to the outer world by dint of its separatist activities, and they strongly oppose the Indian control of the territory of Jammu and Kashmir. The historical backdrop of development for this movement is followed back to the pre-independence period, and it is not anything new, but it is a recent one that has shaped its affiliation or association through its separatist activities or tactics.¹⁷⁰ Prior, since its beginning it was working under different leaders of various parties and a few other nationalist parties, however, step by step after the independence of India from the colonial rule of the British, it began thriving in full under its own umbrella and belief system just as various targets. As the Indian's were battling for the freedom from the British imperial rule and entire of the country was under its brisk in Kashmir as well as in every single part of the nation the sparkle against the British colonial and imperialistic rule was arriving at its climax.¹⁷¹

The rise of the Hurriyat Conference can be followed back to 1925, when one of the State's noticeable, exceedingly taught, ethically recognised, religious and a devout one character in the wake of finishing his education from Deoband School in Uttar Pradesh province of India returned to his heavenly body in the year 1925, with an impression of setting up of a freedom movement party for the independence of the Kashmiri individuals.

¹⁷⁰ Jaleel, M. (2015, August 31). [Hurriyat: Its History, Role and Relevance](#). *Indian Express*. Accessed on: 21st December 2019.

¹⁷¹ Incidents involving All Parties Hurriyat Conference. (n.d.). Retrieved from https://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/jandk/terrorist_outfits/Hurriyat_tl.htm Accessed on: 17th December 2019.

Mirwaiz-e-Kashmir, Maullana Yousf Shah,¹⁷² who in the wake of finishing his training and education from Deoband school of Uttar Pradesh, at last, arrived in Kashmir and set up the party in the name of Muslim Conference for the cause of Kashmir in the year 1931, alongside other top dignitaries like Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Ali Mohammad Sagar.¹⁷³ Yousf Shah was a student as well as the follower of the extraordinary and the great inspirational personality of that time Allama Anwar Shah and who in turn was student and adherent of the extraordinary personality of the century Allama Iqbal. Along these lines, the freedom movement in Kashmir can be traced to the year 1932, with the rise of the Muslim Conference and the founding leaders of the current Hurriyat conference battled against the abusive and oppressive rule of the Britishers, Dogras and presently fighting against the India under the umbrella of one party and one leadership, viz., Muslim conference. Gradually, consistently and slowly as the freedom movement of India against Britishers was on pinnacle and in its most crucial stage, the Muslim conference began its own tumult and battle against the Dogra reign and Britishers as the time continued towards 1947 or the independence of India.¹⁷⁴

Later after India's independence and the division of the country into two parts, in particular, India and Pakistan, Mirwaiz-e-Kashmir Yousf Shah who established earlier Muslim conference needed to visit Pakistani partners and leaders in Pakistan so as to meet them, was not at first instance permitted to visit Pakistan. Later he was permitted to visit Pakistan, and at the time of his arrival from Pakistan, an intrigue was raised against him to oust him from Kashmir. From the starting stage got authorisation and later inconclusive phase of returning once again from Pakistan to Kashmir, he was not conceded consent to enter back to Kashmir or India by the Indian authorities in light of the fact that he will be allowed to enter back to valley he will raise the Kashmir freedom movement to a high and thinking about this, Indian specialists and authorities did not enable him to return back.¹⁷⁵

Later Mirwaiz-e Kashmir Yousf Shah, who was not able to return to the Indian side and needed to face exile from this side got settled now in Pakistani side and started initiating activities and attempted to work that movement from that border side. He raised Kashmir issue from Pakistani side and began his activity from the Pakistani administrated Kashmir and later

¹⁷² Rashid, A. (2016, January 21). House of Mirwaiz. *Kashmir Scan*. Retrieved from <http://kashmirscan.com/house-mirwaiz/> Accessed on: 21st December 2019.

¹⁷³ [Mirwaiz Mohammad Yusuf Shah](#). (2002, September 8). Hindustan Times. Accessed on: 20th December 2019.

¹⁷⁴ [Hassan on Bose, Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Pathways to Peace](#). (n.d.). Accessed on: 19th December 2019.

¹⁷⁵ Interview with Mohammad Syed-ul Rehman Shams, a prominent Hurriyat Conference leader of the All Parties Hurriyat Conference, Mirwaiz Molvi Mohammad Umar Farooq led party on 31st March, 2015, Time 11:05 AM at APHC (M) Headquarters or office.

within a gap of no time; he visited a few other Muslim nations for the support and help of the movement. He raised and highlighted the Kashmir issue in these foreign countries which he visited and later looked for their mediation and backing for the freedom of Kashmir against the Indian administration of the Kashmir. He brought Kashmir issue up in those nations especially in the organisation of the Islamic countries (OIC), and inside other a few European nations, they all favoured and raised their help and support and listened to him besides providing timely funds to the party.

Yousf Shah was completely operational and was performing other anti-India activities from the opposite side of the border, and later he was chosen and elected as president of the Action Committee in Pakistan administered Kashmir as well as was additionally honoured with the post of education minister there. He was most conspicuous religious and educationalist figure of the time, he had interpreted the Holy book of Muslims into the Kashmiri language, which later was likewise distributed and examined by the Saudi Arabia's top religious leaders and researchers. He turned out to be much well known by this work and was known all through the Islamic world by dint of his religious education.

Gradually and consistently, and with the progression of time, the movement of Kashmir freedom picked up a skyscraper and an enormous number of mass portrayal was seen on the scale. Open social occasions, religious parades, notices, handouts and flags were utilised to educate the overall population against the control of the Kashmir by India. With the coming and entry of time, this Muslim conference winds up overwhelming, and its significance was presently considered as a significant one. Prior it was ruled by Muslim subjects and restricted to Muslim people group just, yet with the progression of time, this Muslim conference got tremendous representation, and support and the leaders of Muslim Conference now went for the mass portrayal of the considerable number of locations of the state. They needed the support of the considerable number of subjects of the state with no separation of class, religion, sex, region and caste. For a similar, this Muslim conference needed to go for the upheaval and portrayal of the considerable number of segments and every one of the locales of the State.¹⁷⁶

Under the authority and the leadership of the Sheikh Abdullah, who was an unmistakable leader and an incredible political figure of that time alongside different individuals, changed the name of the Muslim Conference into National Conference. Presently with the mass and entire portrayal of the state as a sole aim for the party, the national conference

¹⁷⁶ Shubh, M. (2016). *The Human Toll of the Kashmir Conflict: Grief and Courage in a South Asian Borderland*. Palgrave Macmillan: US, pp. 21-24.

got itself activated in elections, and a large portion of the party heads including Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Ali Mohammad Sagar were having faith in elections. A portion of the party heads was against this choice, and a contention began inside the party. In the year 1982, another party in the name of Muslim United Front appeared also abridged as MUF. This party fought an election in the year 1987 and lost vigorously and one of the prominent leaders Syed Salaudin was imprisoned. The elections were reported to be as deceiving ones;¹⁷⁷ with the clear hand of the upper government, machinery was seen. Booth capturing was seen unmistakably in the elections, and massive malpractices were also seen. In these elections, the people were deceived by the virtue of the elections.¹⁷⁸

Gradually and relentlessly the party thought of new approaches and strategies under the initiative of the noticeable and prominent leader of the top leaders of that time. They raised their voices nationally and globally. In the year 1962 Moulvi Mirwaiz Umar Farooq came up to be as recognised personality and prominent leader with all the capable leadership characteristics and qualities. Meanwhile, in the same year, everyone among the prominent leaders unanimously formed and established the new association, namely Action Committee. This Action Committee was raised to feature the Kashmir cause and struggle at the national level as well as at a worldwide level. Mirwaiz Molvi Umar Farooq was chosen collectively as its President. In the general meeting of the Action Committee, the notable figures included Slaud-din, Farooq Abdullah, Mir Waiz Molvi Umar Farooq and other Jamaat-I-Islamia leaders alongside different religious dignitaries and parties. In the year 1964 Mir Waiz Molvi Umar Farooq changed the name of Action Committee into Awamai Action Committee. Its role was to further fortify the Kashmir dispute, and after this Mir Waiz, Molvi Umar Farooq was imprisoned and needed to confront extreme hardships until his discharge from prison.¹⁷⁹

Mir Waiz-e Kashmir, Molvi Umar Farooq began to raise the Kashmir freedom more deliberately and all the more universally. He visited a few Islamic nations, other than visiting some other European countries for the reason for Kashmir and the help and support of the freedom movement. Meanwhile, at the same time, another association came up in the name Muslim United Front (MUF), and they also fought elections in the year 1987. At the point when

¹⁷⁷ Sameer A. (2014, November 22). [History of electoral fraud has lessons for BJP in J&K](#). *Times of India*. Accessed on: 12th October 2019.

¹⁷⁸ Interview with Altaf Ahmad, a prominent and leading figure belonging with the leadership of All Parties Hurriyat Conference, which is Syed Ali Shah Geelani lead party (APHC-G), on 30th March, 2015, Time 10:25 AM at the APHC-G Headquarters or office.

¹⁷⁹ Interview with Mohammad Syed-ul Rehman Shams, a prominent Hurriyat Conference leader allied with the All Parties Hurriyat Conference led group of Mirwaiz Molvi Mohammad Umar Farooq often shortened as (APHC-M), on 31st March 2015, Time 11:05 AM at APHC (M) Headquarters or office.

the elections were accounted to be as bogus and overwhelming malpractices were accounted for and people of the State were deceived in the elections. This Muslim United Front began agitating against this drastic act, the prominent and top leaders were booked and imprisoned, and one of the conspicuous was Syed Salaud-Din, presently Hizbul Mujahidin chief, a terrorist outfit which is currently based and operating from Pakistani soil.

During the finish of 1989, there began an immense mass movement and outfitted armed insurgency and revolution against the Indian occupation of the Kashmir and in the following year a conspiracy was hatched at the All Parties Hurriyat Conference office, where a few people had desired talks, the security forces entered there and opened fire indiscriminately and which resulted and brought about the passing of at least seventy (70)¹⁸⁰ individuals on the support and injuring at least to dozens.¹⁸¹ With the uproar and immense equipped armed rebellion, sustained by Pakistan and they were the chief architects behind the support of the Kashmiri militant insurgency movement both logistically and militarily and in which prominent local insurgent groups like Hizbul Mujahideen still have local base and support **(Tavares, 2008)**. The Kashmir valley was now burning and blooded with dead bodies after the inception of that armed insurgency. There was brutality, massive street processions and enormous get-together of the individuals in each part and zone of the valley, and it was during this time of 1990: that the gigantic mass migration of Kashmiri Hindus occurred.

Presently the valley was on the pinnacle of going under one authority and under one banner. A party came into being in the form of All Parties Hurriyat Conference (APHC), and Mir Waiz Molvi Farooq was chosen and elected as its head collectively on March ninth, 1993. The All Parties Hurriyat Conference was a combination of all political, social and religious parties under the capable and able leadership of Mir Waiz Umar Farooq. From that period onwards the organisation worked day and night for the cause of Kashmir and represented the Kashmir issue at the national level as well as before the international community, particularly before the Islamic countries.

Mir Waiz Umar Farooq being the first chairman of the party got started acknowledgement and recognition in the foreign world, by dint of his able leadership and talented qualities. He was granted with the membership of the organisation of Islamic countries, and he represented the Kashmir issue there. He began a few consecutive outings to Pakistan

¹⁸⁰ In a personal interview with the Mohammad Syed-ul Rehman Shams, a notable Hurriyat Conference leader Of All Parties Hurriyat Conference, (APHC-M) he acknowledged that he was the eye witness.

¹⁸¹ Interview with Mohammad Syed-ul Rehman Shams, a prominent Hurriyat Conference leader allied with the All Parties Hurriyat Conference led group of Mirwaiz Molvi Mohammad Umar Farooq often shortened as (APHC-M), on 31st March 2015, Time 11:05 AM at APHC (M) Headquarters.

and raised the issue with the Pakistani specialists and authorities there additionally, and Pakistan is the primary member and supporter of this organisation.¹⁸²

With the progression of time, the all parties Hurriyat conference got isolated into two fractions, one is driven by the Mir Waiz Molvi Umar Farooq, prevalently known as APHC-M and the other one is driven by the Syed Ali Shah Geelani, or else called APHC-G. Syed Ali Shah Geelani, who was previously a member of the Jaamat-I-Islami Kashmir, had conclusively established this new fraction finally on seventh August 2014 (Geelani, 2004, p. 1).

The All Parties Hurriyat Conference, which is presently an umbrella organisation or can be said a blend of different social, religious and political parties is at present working from the Srinagar city of the Kashmir valley and is raising its voice against India's rule according to the party. The party wants freedom from the Indian union and thinks about it as illegal and illegitimate one. Other than this the association is searching for the upliftment of poor people and downtrodden ones among the general public. The women's welfare and abuses against the women are on high priority, other than granting present-day and Islamic education to the Muslim girls. This association is running a few religious institutes alongside certain schools for girl's education.

2. Aims and Objectives of Hurriyat

The development and the emergence of The All Parties Hurriyat Conference is not uncertain or aimless, and it was built up, raised and framed for some extraordinary reason and concern as per the party's manifesto. The foundation of such an association was need of an hour and against the unlawful control of the Kashmir by the Indian authorities, as indicated by the Hurriyat officials. For the reason and worry of the same, a centrally controlled association was shaped and formed for the support of the Kashmir freedom movement.

As indicated by the All Parties Hurriyat Conference official records and documents, there are three fundamental points and aims of the party which were mainly responsible for the establishment and the foundation of such an organisation. They are as: Islam, Azadi (Freedom) and Ittihad-e-Milat (Fraternity). Tehreek-I-Hurriyat Jammu and Kashmir's first objective and goal is Islam, and they have faith in the way of living of Islamic lifestyle and think about it and consider it as an ideal lifestyle (Ganaie, 2018; Geelani, 2004, pp. 1-2).

The second and the most significant objective of the organisation is of Freedom or Azadi, and as indicated by the Islamic teachings, Freedom implies that people ought to get

¹⁸² [Mirwaiz gets OIC invite](#). (2013, January 31). *Hindustan Times*. Accessed on: 17th November 2019.

opportunities to spend and use their life on earth as per the desire of Allah and who is considered as incomparable most importantly supreme above all. As indicated by the Manifesto of the party, it states as:

*“No one has the right to enslave the creation of Allah. Beloved Prophet (S.A.W) is reported to have written a letter to the Christians of Najran asking ‘I invite you to give up the Slavery and worship of Slaves (of Allah) and take up the slavery and worship Allah. Also, I invite you to come out from the mastery and power of people into the mastery and power of Allah. (Tafseer Ibn Kaseer vol-1).’ A Muslim should not be unaware of this concept of freedom in Islam and should struggle throughout his whole life to achieve this vision of freedom. He will not be questioned in the hereafter about the attainments of his struggle, but he would be certainly asked whether he struggled or not.”*¹⁸³

As the Quran says, **وَجَاهِدُوا فِي اللَّهِ حَقَّ جِهَادِهِ** **“Struggle in His cause as ye have the right to fight.”**

All Parties Hurriyat Conference is thinking about Kashmir as a disputed and unresolved territory, and they call India’s administration on it as an ill-legitimate and illegal one. The All Parties Hurriyat Conference has categorically and from time to time expressed and stated that,

*“India had unlawfully occupied the state, which had been opposed by the Kashmiris from day one. We will continue to oppose Indian occupation because we are linked with Pakistan religiously and ideologically. We want to make it clear to India and the rest of the world that unless we achieve our right to self-determination as envisaged in the United Nations Security Council resolutions, we will continue our struggle.”*¹⁸⁴

The freedom of Kashmir or making it free from the Indian administration is the main objective and goal of this secessionist party. The third and last aim of the Hurriyat Conference is of Ittihad-e-Milat or Fraternity. First Islam and afterwards that the Freedom of the Kashmir and now considering the third fundamental goal of fraternity in Kashmir and the idea of fraternity in Islam has a lot of more extensive scope and place. Islamic teachings and Prophet Muhammad (saw) have laid unique consideration on the arrangements of making universal brotherhood. Prophet Muhammad (saw) who was the extraordinary of times, who drafted in Muslims the idea of fraternity and harmony. Along these lines, bringing this into mind, the all parties Hurriyat Conference has accepted the idea of fraternity as their third target and party

¹⁸³ Tehreek-I-Hurriyat Pamphlets and Booklets

¹⁸⁴ [Kashmiris principal party to Kashmir dispute](#). (2015, April 16). Dawn. Accessed on: 18th November 2019.

completely trusts in the fraternity of all communities or sections of the society with no refinement of race, class, religion, region, language, ethnicity or culture, and so on., and so forth.

From the development and the formation of the All Parties Hurriyat Conference up to the present context, the objectives of the party have been altered or modified from time to time by some of its prominent or top brass leaders, however as indicated by the original constitution of the party which was framed in the year 1993 the main goals and objectives of the Hurriyat conference read as:¹⁸⁵

*“To struggle peacefully to secure for the people of Jammu and Kashmir the exercise of the right to self-determination in accordance with the UN Charter and the resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council, however, the exercise of the right to self-determination shall also include the right to independence.”*¹⁸⁶

“To make endeavours for an alternative negotiated settlement of the Kashmir dispute amongst all the three parties to the dispute (India, Pakistan and people of the Jammu and Kashmir) under the auspices of UN or any other friendly countries, provided that such settlement reflects the will and aspirations of the people of the state.”

“To provide the ongoing struggle in the state before the nations and governments of the world in its proper perspective as being a struggle directed against the forcible and fraudulent occupation of the state by India and for the achievement of the right to self-determination of its people.”

“To make endeavours, keeping in view the Muslim Majority character of the state, for promoting the build-up of a society based on Islamic values, while safeguarding the rights and interests of the non-Muslims.”

“To make endeavours for the achievement of any objective which may be ancillary or incidental to the objectives specified above.”

Making a profound investigation and analysis of the above three main focuses of the All Parties Hurriyat Conference, it turns out to be evident that the association is profoundly worried about the Islamization of the Kashmir, freedom of Kashmir from the Indian occupation and for the formation of fraternity in the valley. The party is working on the basis of these three

¹⁸⁵ As per the actual constitution of All Parties Hurriyat Conference according to the year 1993 framework.

¹⁸⁶ Tristram, P. [Text of 1949 UN Resolution Calling for Referendum on Kashmir](#). (2019, January 26). As per the United Nations Resolutions on Kashmir, “The people of Kashmir should be given the right to decide whether they want to remain with India or be a part of Pakistan.” Accessed on: 20th November 2019.

targets and is making a decent attempt by dint of them to internationalise the issue and raising the voice at the national and global level.

3. Origin, Growth, Development and Division

The first presence of the Hurriyat Conference can be situated to 1931 when the state's most veteran and exceptionally figured political and religious pioneers set out the establishment of the Muslim Conference under the chairmanship of the different religious dignitaries and personalities. Starting there of time, this party was intended for the Kashmir cause and for the welfare of its state subjects. Firstly, the party came against the monstrosity of Dogra rule and after the partition of the nation based on the religion in the form of Hindu-Muslim state. Not long after the independence of India and the creation of Pakistan, the spirit of nationalism grew up more grounded and more grounded step by step. The party began its agitation movements and religious procession against the Indian control of the Kashmir valley. The party attempted to grow up politically and monetarily and needed to raise its worry all the more genuinely and with more power. The precise aim of the party was now seen and making free Kashmir was made an unmistakable agenda by this party.¹⁸⁷ Slowly and steadily and with the passage of time, inner clashes and conflicts developed inside the Muslim conference by dint of some moderate and extremist leaders besides some other active and influential ones who believed in electioneering as an instrument for tracking out the Kashmir solution. There were a few heads who were opposing the elections, and an opportunity arrived when some of the leaders got persuaded and fought elections. At the point when the election time arrived, the elections of 1987 came to be called as bogus elections and the trust lost in them, and there began a split. Muslim United Front, a well-known extremist party who additionally participated in elections, got an extreme setback after the fraud elections arrived at an end. Its boss and head Syed Salaudin got arrested and imprisoned. Party strife got stimulated, and authoritatively lastly a different association was framed for the sake of all parties Hurriyat conference in the year 1993 after the release of the top brass leaders from jails in the year 1992. Discharged from the prisons include Syed Ali Shah Geelani, Maullana Abas Ansari, Prof. Abdul Gani Bhat, Mohammad Yasin Malik and the late Abdul Gani Lone. They were detained in jails for around two years and soon after coming out from jails, they established the framework and foundation of the All

¹⁸⁷ Interview with Mohammad Syed-ul Rehman Shams, a prominent Hurriyat Conference leader allied with the All Parties Hurriyat Conference led group of Mirwaiz Molvi Mohammad Umar Farooq often shortened as (APHC-M), on 31st March 2015, Time 11:05 AM at APHC (M) Headquarters.

Parties Hurriyat Conference on ninth March 1993, which was a mix of political, social and religious parties.

The Kashmir freedom was not by any means, the only aim and objective of the All Parties Hurriyat Conference. Besides making Kashmir free from the Indian occupation, it concentrated on other few formative and developmental exercises in addition to this it raised a voice against the human rights infringement in the valley and tremendous presence of the Indian military in the valley. It is exceedingly criticising the presence of the draconian laws like POTA and AFSPA, which have caused a great deal of disappointment and harm in the valley. Anticipation and stoppage of human rights misuses and assaults have been the sole point of the organisation from the earliest starting point, since its origin. The affiliation is keeping likewise a reputation of the individuals who have lost their lives and are additionally still missing, and nothing is known about them.¹⁸⁸ Its development and growth began at a high rate after the start of the tremendous militant and armed rebellion in 1989. The party came up to be exceptionally prominent and one of the solid contenders in the race for battle against the freedom movement and played a critical and essential role in keeping up and raising the voice of the common man and barbarities submitted against them.

There are as of now two important divisions or fractions in the Hurriyat conference, one is of moderate view, and the other one is of the extremist view. The Mir Waiz Molvi Umar Farooq drove group is famously viewed as moderate while as the Syed Ali Shah Geelani drove is known as the extremist one and is prominently known by dint of its hardline exercises. After its formation in the year 1993, the party attempted to pressurise the government and its administration along with raising the Kashmir issue at all levels and picked up a substantial development and improvement. Enormous help was agreeable to the party at all the nearby levels. The party experienced extreme difficulty and got isolated into two main fractions, one driven by Umar Farooq, and the opposite side was driven by the Syed Ali Shah Geelani, who is a hardline leader. The inward clash had started in the party when the then chairman of the party Maullana Abas Ansari was supplanted by the Masrat Alam as its interim chief. The inward clashes got birth, and finally, it got separated into two fractions on seventh September 2003. Syed Ali Shah Geelani framed his very own party and named it as ‘Tehreek-I-Hurriyat.’ Organizations surviving within the Hurriyat domain like Jamaat-e-Islami along with the Tehreek-e-Hurriyat of Syed Ali Shah Geelani are calling the Kashmir issue a religious problem

¹⁸⁸ Interview with Altaf Ahmad, a prominent and leading figure in Hurriyat Conference leadership connected with All Parties Hurriyat conference, which is Syed Ali shah Geelani lead party (APHC-G), on 30th March, 2015, Time 10:25 AM at the premises of APHC-G office.

and dispute besides supporting extremist terrorist violence perpetrated by foreign mercenaries (Tavares, 2008). Either extremist Hurriyat group or moderate fraction group, both are intended to determine the core issue of the long-pending Kashmir, and the constitution of the Hurriyat is laying accentuation primarily on tripartite talks between the India, Pakistan and the representatives of the people of the Kashmiri community.¹⁸⁹

Issues, whether interior or outer are consistently there in the Hurriyat leadership and its ideological clash is one of the primary explanations for its division. Most noteworthy the two significant fronts in the Hurriyat in the form of extremist and moderate group is one of the issues that has brought forth the division inside the party. This is not just restricted to this however third front in the Hurriyat which just has faith in the outfitted insubordination and favours independence of Kashmir from both the two countries India and Pakistan has come out in the form of Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) which is as of now headed by the Yasin Malik. While testing the purposes for the division inside the Hurriyat, it was found from the tested samples that a more significant part of 444 (57.8%) out of total calculated sample size of 768 recognised that, they (Hurriyat) want to gain the benefits separately for themselves. The perspectives communicated by the respondents on account of division inside the Hurriyat is recorded in Table 5.1:

Table 5.1: Ins and Outs Responsible for Division of Hurriyat

Hurriyat is divided into multi fractions and groups because		
	Frequency	Percent
They want to gain the benefits separately for themselves	444	57.8
They are missing the centralised leadership	52	6.8
Their Ideology has disputes within themselves	161	21.0
To raise their cause more effectively	111	14.5
Total	768	100.0

Source: The ‘Data’ in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of ‘Fieldwork’¹⁹⁰ that was carried out from 5th March 2018 to 5th November 2018 by virtue of the intended Questionnaire. For details, see Appendix-I.

4. Ideology, Role, Leadership and Achievements

All Parties Hurriyat Conference, for the most part, a blend of the different and a few other religious, political and ideological groups have really an excellent job in the state management affairs and this party is mostly acceptable in the valley of Kashmir (Habibullah, 2008, p. 82). Talking about the ideological and the role of the All Parties Hurriyat Conference,

¹⁸⁹ [Split, yet again](#). (2014, February 7). *Frontline*. Accessed on: 16th November 2019.

¹⁹⁰ All the ‘Data Tables’ that are depicting ‘Fieldwork’ as a source of ‘Data’ have been designed on the basis of inputs received from the Fieldwork which was conducted from 5th March 2018 to 5th November 2018 by virtue of the intended ‘Questionnaire.’ For details, see Appendix-I.

the philosophy and the ideology of the party is entirely unexpected from other active political parties. As indicated by the Hurriyat Conference, Kashmir is a disputed territory, and India's control on it is not legitimised and justified. Hurriyat conference is supporting the Pakistani claim that Kashmir is an unfinished agenda of partition and should be illuminated and solved according to the aspirations of the individuals of Jammu and Kashmir and all parties Hurriyat conference is thinking about itself as the sole representative of the people of the Jammu and Kashmir and this claim of Hurriyat conference has been just so far acknowledged uniquely by Pakistan and Pakistani outfits who are working in Kashmir.

The role of the Hurriyat conference is of extraordinary worth yet is specially confined to the Kashmir valley as it were. The party has formulated its very own constitution and agenda for getting its objectives, targets and accomplishments. The party is attempting a great deal to prevent and stop human rights maltreatment by laying severe pressure on governmental and other security organisations. The constitution of the All parties ultimately states as, *"The APHC shall be a union of political, social, and religious parties of the state of Jammu and Kashmir with its head office in Srinagar,"*¹⁹¹ consequently there is no impediment or confinement on which party or association should join it. The primary and fundamental qualifications before the joining of APHC is that the willing party should support the Kashmir cause and ought to be prepared to forfeit his time or different things when required or when called upon.¹⁹² The Hurriyat Conference is working and considering specific goals for accomplishing its objectives and destinations and one of the principal target which I have taken from its constitution, and it peruses as, *"To make peaceful struggle to secure for the people of Jammu and Kashmir the exercise of the right of self-determination in accordance with the UN Charter and the resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council, however, the exercise of the right of self-determination shall also include the right to independence."*¹⁹³

The all parties Hurriyat conference considering its role as the sole representative of the subjects of the State of Jammu and Kashmir considers just its leaderships as the chief and the main patron of the state political spectrum affairs. It considers only its leadership as the preeminent and supreme above all ideological group or political parties surviving in the State. The main idea of the party's leadership is not having confidence in elections and furthermore

¹⁹¹ Constitution of Hurriyat Conference

¹⁹² Group discussion with the active members of Hurriyat at their official residence on 20th April 2018.

¹⁹³ Source of objectives: Constitution of Hurriyat Conference.

not thinking about State of the Jammu and Kashmir as an Indian state and announces it as a disputed territory and Indian occupation as ill-legitimate one.

5. Programmes, Policies and Electoral Context

The relationship of all parties Hurriyat conference is not a blend of one, two or three parties, instead it is an umbrella of different religious, political and different welfare parties and organisations. The party is utilising its different strategies, agendas, tactics, arrangements, policies, programmes, aims and objectives for achieving the party needs and objectives. These change every once in a while, and rely upon the appropriateness of the circumstances and conditions. The party has been from the earliest starting point changing its methodologies and policies, and it is utilising mass protests, shut down calls, election boycotts and other tools like religious and open public gatherings for persuading the individuals, particularly youth in the specific. The party is issuing incessant closed down calls (Strikes), and this strategy has been a regular instrument particularly in the most recent decade and district wise shutdown calls are being given. As indicated by Syed Ali Shah Geelani, *“Strikes and protests are the only weapons in the hands of the oppressed nation to fight against oppression and for their rights.”*¹⁹⁴

Other than this, the party is utilising mosques to spread its philosophy and ideology. Friday sermons are wholly used to advise and inform the individuals about the teachings regarding Islam, and they attempt to influence the individuals about the battle against their self-determination completely and to pursue Islam in each and every walk of life. Regular Ijtemas (meetings) are being held, and a few religious and other influential leaders are being utilised to influence the general population. The Tehreek-I-Hurriyat is sorting out weekly, monthly, quarterly, semi-annual and yearly meetings not only at the state level but also at district and village levels and in these various colleagues of the society and religious scholars are invited, and their opinion is looked for.

The most persuasive and incredible asset utilised in spreading the movement and its activities is the role of print and electronic media. The party is utilising print and electronic media as its enormous weapon and furthermore considering the social networking communication destinations. The primary and secondary electronic media sources all are utilised. Local news channels and newspapers are for the most part used to propagate the party ideology and programs, and for a similar purpose, the party raised its own websites. Other than

¹⁹⁴ For more, read the two popular regional newspapers namely Greater Kashmir and Rising Kashmir, Dated: 6th May 2009.

this, protest calendars and different sources are additionally utilised by the party to impact the individuals and formulate and attain new goals and strategies. The organisation is from grass root level up to upper level attempting its undeniable component to feature the freedom movement and will proceed up to the objective is achieved.¹⁹⁵

Electoral programmes and strategies of the party are entirely unexpected from the other territorial and political parties of the state, and they believe in boycotting of the elections. The Hurriyat conference and its other several subsidiaries and affiliated parties, groups and organisations, regardless of whether religious or non-religious do not have faith in electioneering procedure or democratic value setup value. From the time to time, they have issued poll boycott calls and held rallies by opposing elections, and Hurriyat leader Syed Ali Shah Geelani has called parliamentary elections as a total military exercise, and he termed them as: *“They are collaborators for continuing Indian rule in Kashmir. Pro-India political parties always brokered our natural resources for their power.”*¹⁹⁶

The Hurriyat Conference has not only opposed the recent election as well as from the earliest starting point they had issued poll boycott calls for both parliamentary and assembly election and most hot boycott call came when a total boycott call was given for the Panchayat and Municipal elections of 2010 in which he had said, *“I appeal to people to ensure complete boycott of Panchayat and municipal elections. At a time when people across Kashmir are up in arms and youth with their blood have rendered Kashmir into red, policy planners of Delhi, working on their traditional rigid attitude, are playing a dangerous game of holding civic elections in Jammu and Kashmir. By preparing for civic elections, they are adding fuel to the fire which will destroy everything.”*¹⁹⁷ The poll boycott calls are and were issued frequently from time to time, and moderate faction of the Hurriyat Conference has likewise given boycott calls for polls, and they additionally do not have confidence in democratic setup value, he has additionally issued boycott advisory and warning to the individuals and asked individuals from participating in the polls whether parliamentary or of state assembly by calling them absolutely worthless as, *“Elections are the spirit of democracy but in Jammu and Kashmir where political and human rights of the people have been snatched, the polls are nothing but a drama”*¹⁹⁸ and

¹⁹⁵ Interview with Altaf Ahmad, a prominent and leading figure in Hurriyat Conference leadership connected with All Parties Hurriyat conference, which is Syed Ali Shah Geelani lead party (APHC-G), on 30th March, 2015, Time 10:25 AM at the premises of APHC-G office.

¹⁹⁶ [Hurriyat's Syed Ali Geelani calls for boycott of 2014 polls](#). (2013, November 20). *India Today*. Accessed on: 18th July 2018.

¹⁹⁷ [Hardline Hurriyat calls for a boycott of panchayat polls in Jammu and Kashmir](#). (2010, August 24). *DNA India*. Accessed on: 22nd October 2019.

¹⁹⁸ [Umer Farooq Mirwaiz calls for a boycott of LS polls, brands it a futile exercise](#). (2014, April 9). *Zee News*. Accessed on: 21st October 2019.

party chief Mir Waiz Molvi Farooq while addressing a massive gathering of people said, “Election is no substitute to the wishes of the people of Kashmir. We will boycott the elections till Kashmir issue is resolved.”¹⁹⁹ The party, party workers besides all its components and constitutes are not supporting any democratic setup and call it absolutely exercise of futility and money management and term it as befooling agenda for State subjects; they are criticising it from tooth and nail and from bottom to tail. Up until this point, the democratic value of the state government has seriously got influenced by dint of these separatist movements and by the excellence of their anti-political exercises.

The contemporary States are welfare states and are not police states, and for the overall development of the welfare states, they need free and fair democratic institutions which later can convert the state into the welfare state. There have been challenges during the election times at many places in India, but while studying the state of Jammu and Kashmir besides its democratic institutions or electoral process participation works have always become endangered ones. In Jammu and Kashmir, modern forms of extremism in the form of militancy and separatist forces are always there who through their programmes and policies always try to suppress the democratic institutions and always are there against the democratic reforms. Separatist forces along with militant forces active in the state are issuing boycott calls from time to time, and it is directly affecting the voting behaviours of the voters. Those willing to vote are always in danger, and they prioritise poll boycotts instead of casting their votes. While testing the same from the selected samples, it was found that 593 (77.2%) out of calculated sample size of 768 are favouring a complete ban on the poll boycott calls that are issued by these separatist forces. The views expressed are figured in Table 5.2:

Table 5.2: Views of Tested Samples related to Boycott of Elections

Election boycott calls issued by Separatist forces should be banned or not?		
	Frequency	Percent
No	175	22.8
Yes	593	77.2
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

6. Constitution, Composition, Support and Social Base of Hurriyat

All parties Hurriyat conference, which is thinking about itself as a defensive and preservationist apparatus for the Kashmir freedom movement and sees itself and its partners as the only responsible and single protector of Kashmiri identity, culture and freedom and it does

¹⁹⁹ [Hurriyat U-Turn, now calls for poll boycott](#). (2009, April 24). NDTV. Accessed on: 16th November 2019.

not have faith in other regional political or non-political parties which do not support or follow the Kashmir freedom movement. This freedom fighting party is not based on some other party's belief system, but has formulated and adopted its very own ideology from time to time and furthermore it has designed a constitution for the accomplishment of its objectives and targets. The article 1 of the constitution expresses that the name of the organisation ought to be 'Tehreek-I-Hurriyat Jammu and Kashmir' which came into being from the August 2004 which is referenced in the article 2 of the Hurriyat constitution. Article 3 of the constitution of the organisation completely expresses that the organisation will fight in the State of Jammu and Kashmir based on three ideas or concepts that are Islam, Freedom and Fraternity. The organisation will consider these three facts and will fight for the cause for Kashmir freedom movement until the achievement of the goal of independence from the Indian union. The party is utilising its own constitution besides the utilisation of its aims and objectives for pressurising the administrative associations or the governmental organisations and they are attempting numerous instruments to internationalise the issue before the world community.

Taking a short overview of the structural composition of the party, other than separate aims and objectives of the organisation, the structural components required for the shine and flourish is additionally given in the original constitution of the all parties Hurriyat conference which was framed in 1993.²⁰⁰ As indicated by the constitution of the all parties Hurriyat conference, the structural composition of the organisation is referenced as (Behera, 2000, pp. 331-34):

The Executive Council: "The executive council shall consist of seven members from the seven executive parties. They are Syed Ali Shah Geelani (Jamaat-e-Islami) Umar Farooq (Awami Action Committee), Sheikh Abdul Aziz (People's League), Moulvi Abbas Ansari (Ittihad-ul-Muslimeen), Prof. Abdul Gani Bhat (Muslim Conference), Yasin Malik (JKLF) and Abdul Gani Lone (People's Conference). The chairman shall hold the office for two years. He shall vacate his office if he ceases to be a member of the executive council. He may, at any time, resign his office by submitting his resignation to the executive council."²⁰¹

General Council: "It had more than 23 parties and organisations as members, including traders and employee unions. While the membership of the executive council as per the constitution

²⁰⁰ All Parties Hurriyat Conference constitution was originally framed in 1993.

²⁰¹ Tcmaymax. (2018, July 24). [a he may at any time resign his office and b the Governor General acting on the](#). *Course Hero*. Accessed on: 14th December 2019.

cannot be increased, the General Council can accommodate more members if deemed so or if any party or organisation seeks membership.”²⁰²

Quorum: “The quorum for the meeting shall be four members of the executive council.”

Official Spokesman: “The executive council may appoint one of its members as the official spokesman of the APHC to explain the viewpoint if the APHC.”

Finance: “The executive committee shall also act as the finance committee of the APHC.”²⁰³

Constituents: The original list of 26 parties as per the 1993 constitution of the party is listed in Table 5.3:

Table 5.3: Various Organisations of Hurriyat as per 1993.²⁰⁴

S.No.	Name of the Party	S. No.	Name of the Party
1.	Awami Action Committee	14.	Jamiate Hamdania
2.	Jamaat-e-Islami	15.	Kashmir Bar Association
3.	Jammu and Kashmir People’s Conference	16.	Political Conference
4.	Muslim Conference	17.	Tehreek-e-Huriati Kashmiri
5.	Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Front	18.	Jamiate Ulama-E-Islam
6.	People’s League	19.	Anjamani Auqafi Jama Masjid,
7.	Ittihad-ul Muslimeen	20.	Muslim Khawateen Markaz
8.	All Jammu & Kashmir Employees Confederation	21.	Jammu and Kashmir Human Rights Committee
9.	Employees and Workers Confederation	22.	Jammu and Kashmir People’s Basic Rights (Protection) Committee
10.	10. Anjuman-e-Tablig-ul Islam,	23.	Employees & Workers Confederation (Arsawi Group)
11.	Liberation Council	24.	Students Islamic League
12.	12. Jamaat-e-Ahle Hadith,	25.	Islamic Study Circle
13.	Kashmir Bazme Tawheed,	26.	26. Auquaf Jama Masjid

Source: Original List of Hurriyat as per the Constitution of the party in 1993

Talking about the support, the all parties Hurriyat conference has massive and colossal support in the valley of Kashmir, however, is deficient in Jammu and Ladakh regions of the State. In these two regions, the organisation has less or no support. This is the main setback, and severe challenge before the party and party workers as the two main regions of the state do not support or favour it and are less supportive towards the programs and policies of the Hurriyat Conference. The party’s activity and freedom movement is ultimately constrained and

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Behera, N. C. (2000). State, Identity and Violence: Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh, Manohar Publications, New Delhi, p. 331-334.

²⁰⁴ Ganaie, N. A. (2017). Instability and Unrest in Kashmir: A Case from Barriers of Optimism to Pellets. International Journal of Modern Social Sciences, 6(1), 51-93.

restricted to the valley of the state and its main hub for all of its activities in Srinagar, which is additionally the summer capital city of the State. All the activities and policies are framed within the Srinagar city only. Other than this, the association is getting help and aid from the Islamic countries of the Asian region mainly, and they are the real and significant supporters for the Kashmir cause and concern besides with Islamic republic of Pakistan. The organisation of the Islamic Conference has strongly confirmed its help and support for the Kashmir cause and freedom struggle of Kashmir's. In one of the conferences of the OIC members, the OIC Secretary General Ekmeleddin Ihsan Oglu said to the foreign ministers of the member nations in its 38th conference that, *"The OIC's support to the genuine struggle of Kashmir's for right to self-determination and expressed hope that OIC members would help the Kashmiri people on every front for the achievement of their goals. The OIC's contact group also pledged its support to the cause of Kashmiris."*²⁰⁵ The help of the OIC member nations has been broadly acknowledged by the Hurriyat leaders, while the government of India has contradicted it tooth and nail. While respecting the announcement of the OIC general secretary, Hurriyat top brass leader Shabir Ahmad Shah said that *"Secretary-General made it clear that OIC will continue its support to Kashmir movement. The organisation is in touch with even non-member nations in its endeavour to resolve the Kashmir issue. We want Kashmir issue to be resolved as per the resolutions passed by Security Council in this regard so that the conflict between India and Pakistan will come to an end and urged India to stop human rights violations in State and to fulfil its promise, which it had made with Kashmiri nation for granting its people the right to self-determination."*²⁰⁶ Besides all these internal or outer backings and supports, the Jammu and Kashmir all parties Hurriyat Conference is additionally accepting the enormous and massive help within the local community and each and every activity of the organisation is clearly connected and associated with the parties aims, targets, objectives and policies for raising the concern of the Kashmir issue. The party which demands the freedom of the disputed territory is also experiencing and suffering from a monstrous and extreme challenge from the two other regions of the state; actually, the regions of the state like Jammu and Ladakh are not following the Hurriyat approaches, policies and programs. During strike calls, these two zones do not stay influenced, and usually, these uncertain activities remain limited to the valley of Kashmir and mainly to the Srinagar city and its adjoining areas. The local individuals and

²⁰⁵ [OIC reaffirms support to Kashmir cause](#). (2011, June 30). *Kashmir Dispatch*. Accessed on 29th October 2019.

²⁰⁶ *Rising Kashmir*. (2014, August 6). Accessed From (www.risingkashmir.com).

particularly youth are the big supporters and act as a fuel in running the Kashmir Freedom Movement.

Every spark that burns anything is impossible without any support or causes; here the same in the case of Kashmir conflict in the valley cannot grow up without the local support and favourable climate. The rise in extremism and militancy in the valley has grown up, and it has only become successful due to the availability of abundant local support. While testing the sample and gathering the views of the respondents, it was found that 584 (76.0%) tested samples had acknowledged that local support is responsible for those who are against anti-insurgency operations or they are favouring support to militancy. The views expressed by different respondents regarding the reasons behind the people thronging to encounter sites are listed in Table 5.4:

Table 5.4: Reasons behind the people thronging to encounter sites

People thronging to encounter sites shows		
	Frequency	Percent
Local Support to militancy in Kashmir	584	76.0
The inefficiency of standard operating procedures and weak law	111	14.5
Failure of anti-militancy operation tactics	73	9.5
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

7. Kashmir Freedom Movement

The association of the all parties Hurriyat conference and later the split and emergence of separate and one more party in the form of Tehreek-I-Hurriyat by the top brass party leader and present days hardline separatist Syed Ali Shah Geelani was viewed as a significant challenge before the party coordination committee, on the grounds that the party got split and turned into a massive blend of enormous number of social, religious, political and a few other micro and macro organisations which were fighting for the same reason and concern, that the freedom of the Kashmir from the draconian control and occupation of Dogras first and after that the Indian control of the state. As indicated by the Mohammad Syed-ul Rehman Shams, a senior most party activist and member of the all parties Hurriyat conference Mir Waiz Molvi Umar Farooq drove (APHC-M), told me in an interview that, *“We will continue to fight against the illegal occupation of Indian forces and draconian laws like armed forces special powers act (AFSPA) till our last breath and blood in our body.”*²⁰⁷ The all parties Hurriyat conference is totally against Indian control of the Kashmir, and this freedom movement is only limited to

²⁰⁷ Interview with Mohammad Syed-ul Rehman Shams of APHC-M group on 31st March 2015, Time 11:05 AM at Hurriyat Office.

Kashmir side of the three regions of the State. Jammu and Ladakh regions have various perspectives and ideology on freedom and they strongly criticise it and are not in favour of it. I wanted to inquire this from five locals of the Jammu region and two of them told that *“what the hell is Pakistan, we do not care these terrorists and other three told that Jammu and Kashmir state is, was and will an integral part of India.”*²⁰⁸ This is the most significant thinking challenge before the origination and not only a hindrance but an obstacle in its growth.

As we all are fully aware of the fact that this freedom movement is minimal and confined to the valley of Kashmir and it got huge uproar and massive support from the Kashmiri local community only after the most significant armed militant rebellion from the 1990s onwards. From then the agitation became a powerful movement and later in 1993 resulted in the emergence and formation of the all parties Hurriyat conference and nearly after one decade this movement got broke down into two main fractions, but the aims and objectives of the movement remained same, which is the freedom of the Kashmir. Whether joining Pakistan or staying independently is still the disputed one among these two fractions and they are saying that lets people decide this.

The All Parties Hurriyat Conference from the day of its emergence and existence had made its stand visible at regional or national level, yet has additionally made its position clear at international level and has raised the Kashmir issue from time to time and from nation to nation, particularly in the Islamic nations and this movement is mainly upheld and backed by the Pakistani authorities. The party is utilising its few strategies, approaches, programs and other a few procedures for the achievement of its objectives and goals. The party has been viewed as a reliable supporter in the spheres of human rights misuses and human rights infringement at all levels and in all walks of life. This freedom movement organisation is investigating and looking into the different welfare exercises of its subjects, and they have been giving ex gratia reliefs to the widows of the militants, who have been killed in anti-insurgency operations. The party is running some educational institutions other than some religious establishments, which are utilised to give basic, essential and necessary education. The party has additionally established a unique organisation for the welfare of the women subjects of the state and who have been generally deprived by the insurgency and counter inter surgency related operations. The party is keeping up a record of the individuals who have been killed by the uncommon demonstrations of the military while countering terrorists or who have become the victims of armed rebellion. The party is exceptionally worried about the missing youth and

²⁰⁸ Discussion with five persons of Jammu region, four were Hindus and one was Muslim. Dated: 2nd April 2015.

unidentified graves in the Kashmir, and as indicated by the state human rights commission report of the year 2008, there are 2700 unidentified graves in Kashmir, and for this, the Hurriyat leader Syed Ali Shah Geelani and ex-Pakistani foreign minister Heena Rabanai Khar have expressed deep shock and urged international community to investigate these mass number of graves in Kashmir which are unidentified.

8. Pandit Settlement and Human Rights Protection

The all parties Hurriyat conference from the very beginning of its inception or from the day of its split has been in favour of Kashmiri Pandit settlement, and they are favouring that they should come home back. The Kashmiri Pandit settlement has not been criticised by the Kashmir separatist parties, but instead, they are offering welcome on their arrival back. The recent uproar over the creation of separate townships for Kashmiri pundits saw a considerable uproar in each and every part of the Jammu Kashmir state, whether it was Kashmir or Jammu and even Hindu activists opposed the government plan for the creation of Separate Township for the Kashmiri pundits. All the section of the society opposed it nail and tooth. Jammu and Kashmir liberation front chief Mohd Yasin Malik said that, *“It is an RSS ploy inspired by the Israeli settlements and land-grab in Palestine which they now want to implement in Kashmir,”*²⁰⁹ and all parties Hurriyat conference hardline Syed Ali Shah Geelani also said this that, *“The PDP has now accepted the RSS plan of creating Israeli-type settlements in Jammu and Kashmir.”*²¹⁰ Not only these two but also a Kashmiri Sangarsh Samiti president Sanjay Tickloo was not in favour of it and said that *“I have lived in Kashmir for 25 years of the conflict and I do not need separate zones.”*²¹¹ No party, whether political, social or religious is in favour of the creation of the separate township for the Kashmiri Pandits and also various states top active and popular political activists are not in favour and have alleged the previous coalition led government of PDP (People’s Democratic Party) and BJP (Bhartiya Janta Party). Senior political activist and independent member legislature assembly, Abdul Rashid of the state while addressing the state legislature assembly saying that the *“The PDP is, unfortunately, acting as a facilitator in the grand plan of the BJP brigade to communalise and polarise the situation in J&K.”*²¹² There has been sharp criticism from all the walks of the life, and no one is supporting the separate township for Kashmiri Pandits. According to the official statement of the Hurriyat

²⁰⁹ [Zones for Pandits will turn Valley into Palestine](#). (2015, April 9). *The Hindu*. Accessed on: 5th November 2019.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Ibid.

separatist leader, the Hurriyat conference is not considering them as a separate one, but we are considering them as an integral part of the community, and they form the essential aspect of our society. The all parties Hurriyat conference in its official statement said that *“They are an integral part of our society and we assure them that they are very safe among their Muslim brothers and they will live with dignity in their homeland.”*²¹³ However one day the rulers of India will announce in the parliament that Kashmiris will be given their right to self-determination’’²¹⁴ and also the hardline separatist leader Syed Ali Shah Geelani said that *“Kashmir is not any Hindu-Muslim dispute, but it is the issue of the right to self-determination of a nation in which Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Buddhist and Christian live like brothers.”*²¹⁵ All the parties, groups and associations are not favouring the government’s decision on the creation of the separate colonies for the Kashmiri Pandits, but they are considering them as an integral part of the state and want to settle down them anywhere and in any place of Kashmir, and this can be said a right-thinking and a sound impression can be seen in their positive thinking, why not they have the right to reside like all other common men in the society, that is why separate township or separate colony is not the solution, but in broader concept can be seen as problematic aspect.

The subjects of state of Jammu and Kashmir has been the victims of atrocities from the very beginning; firstly it suffered from the British colonial rule, secondly from the cruel and drastic Dogra rule, which was one of the worst in the Kashmiri history and now by the India-Pakistan conflict issue after the partition of the nation post-1947 period. There have been severe human rights violations, extortions, gang rapes, murders, fake encounters and some draconian laws like first POTA and now the AFSPA. The Kashmiri community has been only the main sufferer from the very beginning, and they are the most deprived ones from this armed rebellion which is being fought between India and Pakistan. Kashmiri community has suffered a lot, and a vast and tremendous number of human rights violations and abuses have been reported in the Kashmir. Not even a specific community has been affected by these human rights challenges, but each and every member of the community either directly or indirectly has been affected. Children and women have also suffered from this menace, which has surrounded society as a viral disease. As the human rights violation is on a high rise in the Kashmir at current context like the killing of 110 youths in the summer unrest of 2010, in which more than thousands were

²¹³ [Cancellation of Pandit townships is victory of Kashmir Nation](#). (2015, May 7). *Greater Kashmir*. Accessed on: 10th November 2019.

²¹⁴ [Hurriyat Claims victory as Centre Rules out Townships for Kashmiri Pandits](#). (2015, May 7). *The Citizen*. Accessed on: 11th November 2019.

²¹⁵ *Greater Kashmir*. (2015, May 6). Retrieved from (www.greaterkashmir.com).

injured by the tear gas shelling or by the firing of the security personals present in the valley. Besides the State human rights commission, several other non-governmental agencies and separatist parties are acting as pressuring clients. They are using each and every angle while preventing these human right violations. The regional instability and anti-governmental operations carried out by the locals act as the main sources of violations, and in retaliation and while peace and order of the state, these incidents of the violence occur and which later result in brutalities against the involved youths of the society. The all parties Hurriyat conference and its other separatist parties are using its own game plan and taking into consideration the international bodies and media for the preservation and conservation of the human values. The Hurriyat Conference is the leading supporter of the amnesty international and remains in touch with the other and several other international bodies, particularly of the United Nations organisation. Hurriyat conference which is an umbrella of various social, political and religious parties is also keeping a track record of these violations and abuses besides this they from time to time are putting pressure on all agencies and parties who are found involved in it. They are trying to focus on international media's attention and the world body's care and help on the preservation and conservation of human rights values in the state.

The association of the disappeared persons is stating the number of around 8000 people have disappeared since the armed rebellion in Kashmir. The number of missing or disappeared persons is of severe cause and concern besides the unknown graves which are totalling at around 2700 graves.²¹⁶ These graves are without any signs and symptoms, and nearly about 2900 dead bodies have been found in it. Several non-governmental and other agencies are looking into the issue, and there has been intense pressure from both the civic body and community and they are demanding an inquiry into it. The association of the disappeared persons, all parties Hurriyat conference and the state human rights commission along with other local agencies, are putting a high amount of pressure and making determined efforts to inquire about these. Not only this, but there have been a number of fake encounters²¹⁷ which have also resulted in the social de-stability of the state.²¹⁸ Much needs to be done, and the current prevailing efforts are not enough to tackle this menace from the state. There should be mutual

²¹⁶ [Mass graves found in North Kashmir containing 2,900 unmarked bodies](#). (2009, December 3). *The Hindu*. Accessed on: 2nd November 2019.

²¹⁷ [Beggars killed in fake encounter in J&K](#). (2010, April 17). *NDTV*. Accessed on: 12th December 2019.

²¹⁸ [Army to probe J&K fake encounters](#). (2007, February 4). *Hindustan Times*. Accessed on: 13th December 2019.

efforts and understandings between the government of the state of Jammu and Kashmir and the government of India.

II. Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF)

1. Overview, Ideology and Role

There are at present two main divisions or fractions of the all parties Hurriyat conference, one is an extremist one, and another is moderate one, furthermore this all parties Hurriyat conference is an umbrella association of different micro and macro parties, which are of political, social or religious background and they have been raising the Kashmir issue under their capable and influential leaders. One more or we can say it as the third front that is driving the Kashmir issue independently and does not and has nothing to do with the All Parties Hurriyat Conference, and they are totally separate from the ideology of The All Parties Hurriyat Conference. This association or party came to be known as Jammu and Kashmir Liberation front. The culmination of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation front can be traced to the very beginning of the 1980's period and mostly towards the ending years of the 1970's period. The formation of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation front as the most sophisticated nationalist movement which was not framed neither in the State of Jammu and Kashmir nor in the any part or regional area of Pakistan, yet its establishment was laid by Aman-Ullah Khan and Maqbool Bhat on May 29th, 1977 in one of the popular cities of the England.²¹⁹ The Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) was raised at Birmingham,²²⁰ England and this unmistakably indicates that this Kashmiri national organisation got its birth on foreign soil and became operational and busy from that part of the world and within a less range of time the association came to be fastly growing in Pakistan and Pakistani abutting areas along with other reputed nations like United States of America, France, Germany, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Holland and Denmark.²²¹ The development, formation and emergence of the Jammu And Kashmir Liberation Front can be seen as a result of the formation of various and several other organisations who were in the fray or were effectively participating in the Freedom Movement of the Kashmir and had stranded themselves against the Indian control of the State.

²¹⁹ Bose, (2003). *Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace*. Harvard University Press, p. 3.

²²⁰ Pakistan. (n.d.). Retrieved from https://books.google.co.in/books?id=I2avL3aZzSEC&pg=PA299&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false.

²²¹ Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF). (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://fas.org/irp/world/para/jklf.htm>. Accessed on: 21st December 2019.

The outcome and formation of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation front can be seen from the very period, for example from the partition or the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir with the union of India. operating on an outside soil and later getting completely prospered in a few nations alongside the Pakistani help, the party got itself indulged and activated in Nationalist activities and tried to highlight the Kashmir cause and concerns with the huge armed rebellion fully backed and supported by Pakistan. The organisation utilised massive and strong of strongest a brutal force for the attainment of its aims and objectives. The membership of the party was open to any individual who wishes to join the party, but according to the party, rules had to sign an agreement and take an oath that his blood or anything will be ready anytime and anyplace for the cause for the party. There was also a National Anthem before the party activists, and they had to follow it strictly, and national Anthem was as (Swami, 2004, p. 130):

*“Ek Haal Ek Umang, Guerrilla Jang Guerrilla Jang
Azadi Ka Ek hi Dang, Guerrilla Jang Guerrilla Jang.”²²²*

The translation of the above anthem states as: “Our one objective one desire, guerrilla war guerrilla war, there is only one way to freedom, guerrilla war,” and from the anthem itself, there is a clear message that the war was the only potent weapon in attaining freedom and no other moderate means are enough, and only armed culture and brutal force is enough to attain freedom and other goals. The leaders and party activists of the Jammu and Kashmir liberation front are not Islamic or Islamist organisation, but they have been considering themselves as a nationalist party or organisation and they also strictly oppose the merger with the Pakistan or India, but strongly hold the view that they want to see the State of Jammu and Kashmir as an independent country and without any interference from both these countries. Although as per the reports of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) it was claimed and made public that the JKLF is trying to seek independence from the union of India and is formally willing to accede with the Islamic Republic of Pakistan²²³ and for the same cause and concern of this movement, Pakistani army and Pakistani administered Kashmir provided weapons and training to the militant outfits of this organisation (Bose, 2003, p. 3). Since the inception of the JKLF Yasin Malik has been using various strategies and tactics to achieve the goal and been using various methods for the attainment of the solution of the Kashmir dispute. The most import and valuable aspect about the Yasin Malik’s led front JKLF is that they are

²²² Swami, P. (2004). India, Pakistan and the Secret Jihad: The Covert War in Kashmir 1947, p. 130.

²²³ [Pakistan: Activities of JKLF in Jammu and Kashmir](#). (2003, August 7). UNHCR. Accessed on: 3rd March 2016.

considering the Kashmiri Hindu community or the Kashmiri Pandits as the most important and valuable community of the state and fully support their resettlement in the valley of Kashmir and have considered them as an integral part of the State and he and his associates have accepted that the Kashmiri Pandits have been brutally forced out of the Kashmir valley during the most aggressive armed rebellion in the State in the 1990's decade and in one of his lectures he had said at the world social forum in Mumbai, that, *"We want our Kashmiri Pandit mothers, sisters and brothers to come back. It is their land. They have every right to live in it as we do. This is the time that Kashmiri Muslims must play a constructive role so that we can restore the culture for which we are famous all over the world"*²²⁴ and the parties ones of the able and courageous leaders in an interview with the Reuters in the year 2002 had blamed openly the Kashmiri non-Muslim militants particularly coming from Pakistan and its adjoining areas that they have harmed his cause by saying that, *"I have been saying for the last two to three years that (non-Kashmiri militants) are changing the Kashmir freedom struggle into terrorism."*²²⁵

The Jammu And Kashmir Liberation Front has been clear on its ideological base, and they do not believe either India nor Pakistan besides considering Kashmir as a separate National and Kashmiri people as the sole and supreme representatives of the State and they are laying less stress to the religion like all others who are considering Islam as the main pillar of the Kashmiri nationalism in the State. JKLF had stated in the year 1994: *"Our Kashmiriyat culture is unique, our customs and way of life are unique. We feel Kashmir is our own country. We want to build our own country, in our own way, according to our own culture."* (Cockell, 2000, p. 327). The ideological base of the JKLF states its ideology as:²²⁶

"That Kashmir issue is not a territorial dispute between India and Pakistan but concerns the unfettered right of self-determination of the people of Jammu Kashmir State spread over an area of about 222000 sq. Kilometres (84741 Sq. miles)."

"Jammu Kashmir State or any part of it is not a constitutional or integral part of India, Pakistan or any other country."

"Only and only the nationals of Jammu Kashmir State are entitled to determine the future of their motherland."

"In the opinion of JKLF, the best solution of Kashmir Issue is to re-unite the divided Jammu Kashmir and make it a fully independent State with a democratic, federal and secular system"

²²⁴ The Hindu. (2004, January 21).

²²⁵ Aman-ullah Khan fears Pak may target JKLF. (2002, January 11). Indian Express.

²²⁶ JKLF website's Ideology section.

of government and having friendly relations with both India and Pakistan. This will be subject to wishes and aspirations of the people of the State expressed through a referendum to be held under international auspices, 15 years after reunification and independence of the State.”²²⁷

As it is clear from the ideology of the organisation that it does not believe in Pakistan and in addition to this, it is not in favour of joining any nation and considers people of the State supreme above all and the JKLF’s clear stand on this is of immense help which has helped a lot in flourishing its integrity and regional balance at the State level. After the slow and gradual passage of the time and may be due to the parties hardline belief and due to the use of militant armed culture for their sole and only attainment in resolving the Kashmir dispute the parties several colleagues got involved in terror-related activities and were banned, and they either were jailed and or they fled to Pakistan and are operating from Pakistani soil or other countries. The party’s most hardline is based on using gunpoint, and militant rebellion was responsible in the debacle of the party, and it resulted in the severe setback for the party, but at the same time the parties stand, role and base cannot also be neglected as it is the only organisation which has made it clear that State of Jammu and Kashmir along with its other integral parts should be re-united and left alone and independent.

2. Criticism and Controversies

Every party, whether political or non-political, Social or religious, has some origin or aims and objectives, which can be estimated, tracked or seen behind its formation and occurrence. Same in the case of all parties Hurriyat conference, it came for some certain issue, and that issue was of Kashmir, which has become a source of a fight between the India and Pakistan and both the countries are nuclear powers and equipped with the modern technology of warfare. The association of all parties Hurriyat Conference which, according to them, is the only and sole representative of the Kashmiri community for their demand of independence against the Indian rule. Hurriyat conference, like other parties or organisations of the world, came up for some certain cause, and they are not free from the severe criticism and controversies.

The association of the all parties Hurriyat conference, whether it is a moderate led group of Mir Waiz Molvi Umar Farooq, the hardline or the extremist group led by the Syed Ali Shah Geelani or the Jammu And Kashmir Liberation Front led side by the Yasin Malik. They have been criticised from various sections and from various sides of society. Mostly in parts of the

²²⁷ Ibid.

Jammu and Ladakh regions and in other parts of the country, there has been a severe criticism against them.

The all parties Hurriyat conference has got recently a sharp criticism from the various walks of civil society. Their children all are settled abroad very well and in other parts of India and have, or they are receiving a good and quality education there, and most of their children are well settled, and they have been charged with misguiding the youth of the Kashmir.²²⁸ The children of all the separatist leaders are well settled and are living a way of good life either in parts of India or in other parts of the world, and they are not the ones who are involved in the stone-pelting case nor indulged in anti-governmental activities, like the other Kashmir youth. They are fully misusing the governmental machinery, and they are using dual standards like getting Indian passports for their children and themselves raising slogans against India. This dual standard policy needs to be standardised, and there should be a common minimum goal for all Kashmiri community also. Like Asiya Andrabi's son got Indian passport and there is a declaration in the passport form that the applicant is Indian, and after getting his Indian passport, he is residing in Malaysia along with her sister and is also a captain of the university cricket team there.²²⁹

The question of criticism does not end here, but there are other lots of allegations and charges which the party is facing, and they have become one of the massive challenges and have created a large number of obstacles in the successful working of the party and by dint of these factors, the Kashmir freedom movement operated by the all parties Hurriyat conference and supported the local masses. Another allegation levied on the association is that it is being in direct contact with the Pakistani inter-services intelligence agency (ISI)²³⁰ from the very beginning and also with other terrorist outfit groups which are operating on the Pakistani soil and are committing anti-India operation and insurgency-related acts against India and same was revealed by the America's intelligence agency Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in the United States of America court that Pakistan's spy agency Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) is sponsoring terrorism in Kashmir.²³¹ The party has suffered a lot set back by this challenge because it is related to interfering in the internal matters of India.

²²⁸ [As Valley kids suffer, separatist's wards thrive in safe havens](#). (2010, September 18). *The Tribune*. Accessed on: 17th November 2019.

²²⁹ [For the first family of militancy, a troubled road](#). (2015, March 15). *The Times of India*. Accessed On: 15th November 2019.

²³⁰ [US exposes ISI subversion of Kashmir issue; FBI arrests US-based lobbyist](#). (2011, July 20). *The Times of India*. Accessed on: 16th November 2019.

²³¹ [SI sponsors terror activities in Kashmir, FBI tells US court](#). (2011, July 21). *FirstPost*. Accessed on: 13th September 2017.

Not only the above allegations are made against the All Parties Hurriyat Conference and its other separatist parties, but there are also other several allegations which have cordoned the party limitation and made it more suspicious before the general people. It has been alleged that the party is running the fake freedom movement and is giving money to the participants who are involved or taking part in anti-India protests. Money is being given to the local stone pelters and especially to the local unemployed youth²³² and not only youths but also the local militants participated in stone-pelting and are in reward paid rupees 400 for pelting stones and raging anti-India agitations.²³³ Besides this allegation, the party and its allies have been suffering from tremendous criticism for raising and spreading the anti-poll spectrum. All the fractions of the amalgam are not in favour and do not believe in a democratic setup. The hardline group along with the moderate faction of the all parties Hurriyat conference has from time to time given calls on the poll boycott. *“Geelani has been giving election boycott calls for the last several years arguing that India has been holding elections in the Valley using the power of the gun and so such an exercise is not legitimate.”*²³⁴ Despite the frequent and massive anti-poll calls, the people of the Jammu and Kashmir did not care about the boycott call, and they broke a history of past twenty-five years and more than 65% polling percentage was recorded and thus leaving a severe setback²³⁵ for the separatist organisations.²³⁶ Now slowly and steadily and with the advent of time, these boycott calls are getting low importance, and the people voted mostly in the recent assembly elections. The All Parties Hurriyat Conference and its allies have been busy always in issuing poll boycott calls, and they have used seminars, religious processions, media-print and electronic and other sources like pamphlets, booklets etc. to influence the people and to make less percentage polling at the time of elections and for the same, the top brass Hurriyat dignitaries have been seen active in this.

Due to the recent massive poll percentage, there has started a controversy on the issue of local elections in the State and that of the parliamentary elections. The parliamentary elections are totally considered as Indian political participation, while the local elections in the State are seen with a moderate view now. What has been observed in all the elections that lees

²³² Rediff News Dated: (2010, February 8).

²³³ [Hurriyat paid Rs 400 for J&K stone-pelting, LeT terrorist participated](#). (2010, December 27). Zee News. Accessed on: 20th November 2019.

²³⁴ [Syed Ali Shah Geelani's J&K election boycott call resonates in his hometown Sopore](#). (2014, December 3). News18. Accessed on: 11th November 2019.

²³⁵ Smith, P. (2014, December 5). “High Voter Turnout in Jammu & Kashmir Assembly Elections: A Debilitating Blow to Separatists and Resilient Boost for Indian Democracy,” published in monthly magazine of EP today (European Parliament).

²³⁶ [J&K assembly polls: Voters defy separatists election boycott call, 71.28% turnout in the first phase](#). (2014, November 25). The Times of India. Accessed on 12th November 2019.

percentage of polling whether in parliamentary or assembly elections is mainly and particularly confined to the valley of Kashmir and the other two regions of the State never followed separatist parties? The election is the fundamental right of people and through this right people elect their representatives for a limited period, and no one has right to steal this constitutional right from the citizens, and if anyone does this, he is out of the jurisdiction of law, and legal action must be initiated against the culprit. Poll boycott warnings not only from the activists of the All Parties Hurriyat Conference have been given on a regular basis, but there has also been strong and sharp criticism from the armed militants of the State who are actively involved and acting to Hurriyat leaders as an extremist and most aggressive second line of decisive force. The frequent poll boycott calls could encourage the militant outfits to rage terror strikes, and they can also attack polling booths, the ex-director general of police Ashok Prasad had said that *“Militants always pose threats whenever there are elections in Kashmir, they did the same during the recently held Panchayat polls, and they will certainly do the same in the coming time”*,²³⁷ and these terror outfits have worked continuously as factors of terror. The separatist parties and their allies have been charged and accused from time to time for hatching anti-democratic and anti-poll policies, and there has been a sharp criticism on this drastic action, which has resulted in the weakening of the strong democratically institution. Now slowly and steadily, people are becoming more responsive and have recently come out in the assembly elections on a large and massive scale and thereby have left a severe challenge before the separatist parties.

The association of the all parties Hurriyat conference, its aids and other active activists including religious-based or the non-religious based have been actively involved and indulged in various activities which may be or may not be fruitful to the society from time to time and from sphere to sphere, but indirectly they have resulted in the degradation of the society, like that of those who are always busy in making their career and life successful in other parts of the world and other parts of India and are leading their life more in a successful manner and while taking into consideration those aspects of the same society against those more than one FIR's are registered in the local police stations and still are involved in the many criminal proceedings, and their life has been more than hell due to the criminal proceeding of that cases. Those youth who are involved in these anti-governmental operations and are acting as big hands of these separatist movements and parties have usually suffered both a lot from all spheres of life. Their stability of life has been eroded, and they have to remain so busy either

²³⁷ Kashmir Dispatch. (2013, November 25). (www.kashmirdispatch.com).

in court cases or subject to police cases. According to the police sources 451 FIR's registered against a lump sum of 4013²³⁸ Kashmiri youth were registered during the 2010 famous Kashmir unrest and what is essential is that the senior superintendent of the Jammu and Kashmir police Syed Ashiq Hussain Bukhari revealed that *"We have conducted our own survey about the 1000 youth arrested for stone-pelting in Srinagar district. We found that 72% have a background of broken families. Some are orphans, and some have other problems. Majority of them if not all also have a history of drug addiction."*²³⁹ This story of the society is revealing something from this angle and based on the facts it can be said that there is some instability in the society that makes all the involved sections of the society aggressive and which later results into the disorder in the society. All these mixes and sharp criticisms have been credited into the all parties Hurriyat conference's account, and it is this Kashmir freedom activist party which has been blamed by different sections of the society. Due to the all parties freedom movement activism, the civil society of Kashmir has been directly or indirectly involved or has got affected in some other ways, the frequent strike calls, anti-poll boycott call agitations and anti-India slogans have resulted in the weakening of the society both politically and economically and have created a substantial marginalised society in the State. All these challenges and aspects which the community is suffering from or have been rampant in the society should be tackled at first sight and on a priority basis. For the same, the grievances and sufferings that are challenging the common community and notably the weaker and the downtrodden sections of the society should be granted swift benefits and on regular and frequent basis, so that the society becomes evil free and comes on a sound and healthy track like the Jammu and Ladakh regions of the State, which have been considered as more developed than the violence-hit Kashmir division of the State. All the walks in the society, whether political or non-political, separatists or social activists along with all other non-governmental organisations should come forward jointly against this menace and should try their best to make this Kashmir extraordinarily a heaven on earth, which is the most beautiful part of this universe.

Hurriyat and its other secessionist parties are losing their emergence day by day and their claim of representing the State is losing its charm.²⁴⁰ There may be internal or as well as external disputes that are responsible for losing their ground, but on the other hand, it is obvious

²³⁸ Greater Kashmir a leading and top newspaper of the state. (2012, June 25). Retrieved from (<https://www.greaterkashmir.com/>).

²³⁹ [Stone-pelting in Kashmir was a 'joint' exercise](#). (2011, February 10). DNA India. Accessed on: 7th November 2019.

²⁴⁰ Gupta, M. D. (2019, March 3). [Separatist Hurriyat Conference has lost ground in Kashmir, but not its relevance](#). Retrieved from The Print at <https://theprint.in/> Accessed on: 18th December 2019.

that their children and relatives are well settled even on Indian and foreign soils. While analysing the same from the respondents, it was found that a majority of people, i.e., 409 (53.3%) believe in the government of India rather than the government of the State of Hurriyat leaders. Form the tested data; it can be said that they have already lost their charm in the affairs of the State. Different expressions expressed by tested samples are provided in Table 5.5:

Table 5.5: Expressions Expressed by Respondents whom they Believe most

Whom do you believe most?		
	Frequency	Percent
Government of India	409	53.3
Government of Jammu and Kashmir	106	13.8
Hurriyat and Militants	114	14.8
None of the Above	139	18.1
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

The separatist group and its other allied parties which are only active in Kashmir valley and have been able to establish their different locations in parts of Srinagar whom they call offices have become successful in expanding their influence in the valley only. They by dint of their programmes policies and other tactics try to influence and mobilise the more masses in the community. Their ideological belief which ranges from moderatism to extremism is always changing the atmosphere in the State, and now in the contemporary era, they are openly advocating new forms of extremism like in the form of armed militants. A new twist which has also been there in the State is the influence of local religious representatives. These separatist forces always try to mobilise more people against the State, and they are even instructing influential religious leaders to mobilise the people of the State. Hence it can be said that as long as the presence of these extremist and separatist forces will prevail there, peace in the Kashmir region is impossible, in addition to this role of the influential religious leaders need to be checked while delivering lecture or sermons so that stability and peace will prevail in the valley.

III. Concluding Remarks

Tehreek-e-Hurriyat Jammu and Kashmir or popularly known as Hurriyat or Hurriyat conference holds an important and significant role while studying or analysing the Kashmir conflict. The party is known by dint of its massive separatist activities, and anti-India policies besides pro-Pakistani favour are making it a highly active secessionist party. The rise and emergence of the Hurriyat can be traced to the pre-partition period. The party firstly came up

for the religious activities but later got itself activated into secessionist and anti-India activities. The party is a combination of various socio-religious and socio-political organisations that makes it an umbrella of organisations. The organisation possesses both extremist and moderate ideologies. Hurriyat faction led by the Syed Ali Shah Geelani believes in a hardline approach and considers extremist ideology as the primary source for resolving any issue or dispute. While on the other hand, Mirwaiz Molvi Umar Farooq led Hurriyat fraction believes in moderate ideology. The fractions of Hurriyat or divided and disputes are always there in their ideologies besides the presence of several conflicts and issues. These pro-Pakistani secessionist movements have various ideological disputes besides the presence of disfavours from the majority of the areas of the State. The current fractions of the Hurriyat are limited to Kashmir valley only, and there is a total or complete absence of these separatist forces from the two significant regions of the State viz., Jammu and Ladakh. The limitedness, abundant availability of local support along with extremist militant support, religious superiority, strong backing both by internal and external forces besides the presence of supreme religious nationalism is making it more valuable and conflict-prone in the region. Hurriyat's official records flash that there are three main reasons that are responsible for the growth of such organisation and they stand as Islam, Azadi (Freedom) and Ittihad-e-Millat (Fraternity). From the three main targets and motives of the Hurriyat, it clearly depicts religious superiority (*Islam*) beside exit from the Indian union (*Azadi/Freedom*).

Programmes, policies, poll boycott and mobilisation, are some of the most popular tactics that are used by Hurriyat to disengage the general masses from the electoral processes and despite the fact that they themselves have fought Indian elections and have held MLA positions along with the receipt of the exclusive benefits and allowances from the government of India. They are always favouring the poll boycott, and it was also verified by testing a sample size of 768, in which 593 (77.2%) of tested samples acknowledged that election boycott calls that are issued by the separatist forces of the State should be banned. Besides this, 444 (57.8%) number of calculated samples out of the total 768 evaluated samples acknowledged that Hurriyat is divide into various small and big fractions in order to gain self-benefits separately for themselves. In addition to that, 161 (21.0%) tested samples out of the total 768 samples that were evaluated for the analysis had certified that there is a strong presence of ideological difference within the separatist camps.

Hence based on the facts and after the assumption of verified data, it can be argued that Hurriyat is nothing but a presence of local dominant force along with the presence of substantial local support only in parts of Kashmir valley besides presence of strong backing by Pakistan

which has grown only in some parts of the State and tries to establish the religious identity and separate nationalism by virtue of various secessionist activities which are anti-India mainly and pro-Pakistani especially. In addition to this, these separatist forces are the mix of various broken ideologies which work separately under various organisational heads. Albeit, the presence of local support and the religious majority are adding more tastes to it in fully restoring its secessionist activities. Therefore, it can be claimed that as long as there is a strong presence of these separatist forces in the valley, problems like unrest, strikes, radicalisation, turbulence, electoral malfunctioning and instability besides growth in armed insurgency will keep on growing in the State with full zeal.

Chapter 6

Identity, Politics and Unrest in Kashmir: A Perspective from Below

I. Sampling and Sample size

Studying, exploring and researching the Kashmir conflict is dependent on the utilisation of various methodologies and tactics, and for the disposal of the same, a separate fieldwork chapter with designated questions was set beside some descriptive questions that were aimed to explore the problem entirely. The State of Jammu and Kashmir is geographically divided into three main regions as Jammu, Ladakh and Kashmir (Kashmir Valley) with different Culture, Geography, Climate and Identity etc. Based on the three regions and from the past history of the State it is found that two regions are peaceful and there is no unrest or conflict in the other two regions of the Kashmir, except the cease firing violations by Pakistan.²⁴¹ Of the three regions in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the most disturbing area remains the Kashmir valley²⁴² portion and also if we can compare previous data on Kashmir unrest it has been observed that Kashmir is the only region among the three regions which always stands number one in armed insurgency and disturbance. Kashmir itself has also been further divided into three different regions or zones itself, viz., Central Kashmir, North Kashmir and South Kashmir.²⁴³

Central Kashmir Comprises the district of Budgam, Ganderbal and Srinagar, while the north Kashmir comprises the districts of Bandipora, Baramullah and Kupwara, The South Kashmir comprises the districts like Anantnag, Kulgam, Pulwama and Shopian.²⁴⁴

²⁴¹ Ganaie, N. A. (2018). Kashmir from Barriers of Discomfort to Hope: A Case of Hurriyat Conference. *World Journal of Social Science Research*, 5(3), 258.

²⁴² Ibid, (2017). Instability and Unrest in Kashmir: A Case from Barriers of Optimism to Pellets. *International Journal of Modern Social Sciences*, 6(1), 51-93.

²⁴³ Ibid, (2018). Modernizing Extremism: A Case of New Age Militancy in Kashmir. *Advances in Politics and Economics*, 1(1), 61.

²⁴⁴ [North Zone Cultural Centre-Jammu & Kashmir](https://www.culturenorthindia.com/). (n.d.). Culture North India. Retrieved from <https://www.culturenorthindia.com/> Accessed on: 16th December 2019.

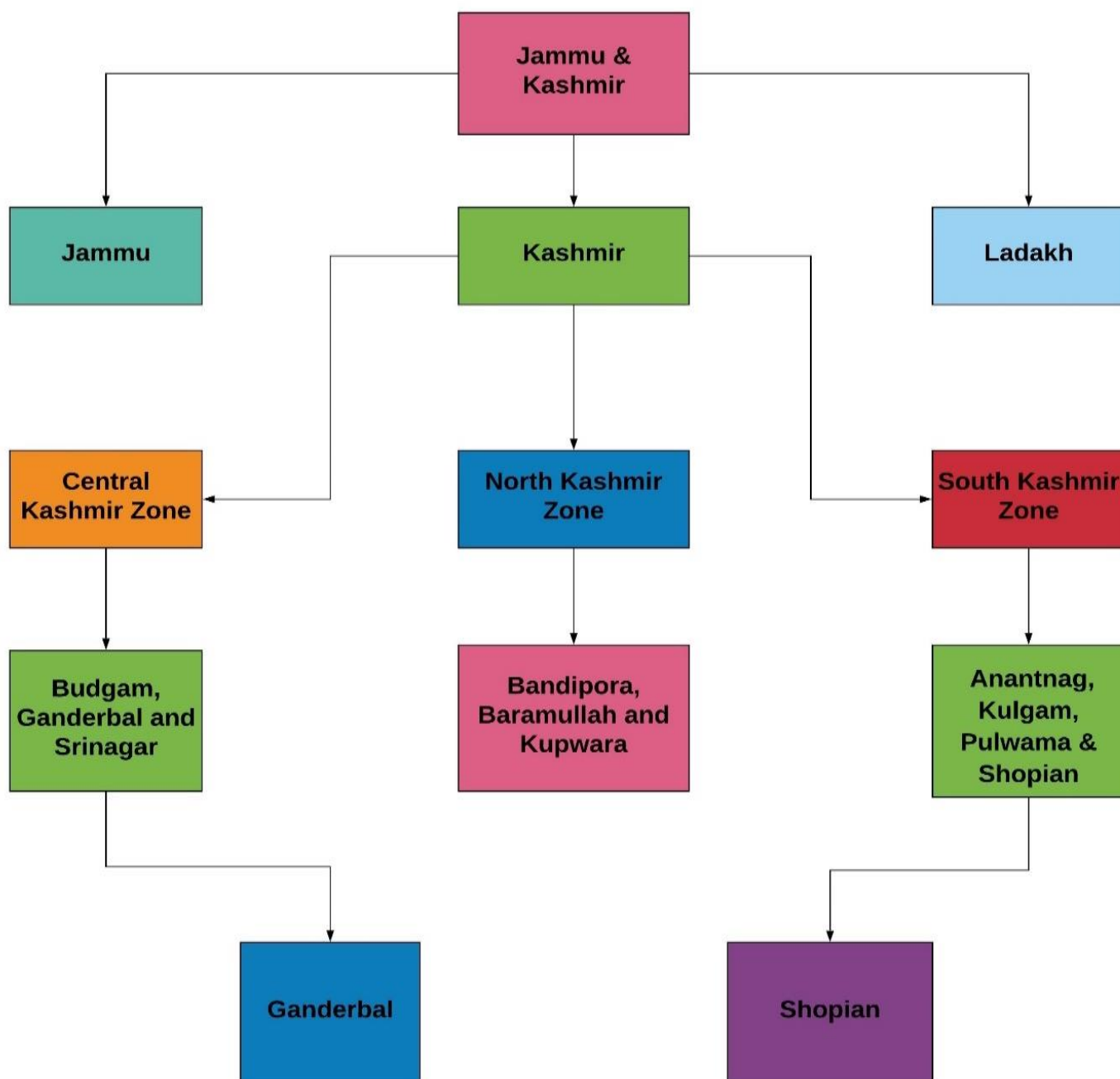


Figure 6.1: Administrative Configuration of Kashmir Valley

If we will look at the important data of the previous decades, it has been found that of the three zones in Kashmir, South Kashmir Zone is the epicentre of all the unrests, disturbances and militancy-related activities in the State. It has become the hotbed of Kashmir unrest and also in the south Kashmir two to three district like Shopian and Pulwama are more sensitive and act as primary sources for the Kashmir unrest that mostly grows from here.

Two districts from the Kashmir valley were selected for studying from three zones and out of these two districts one is hugely affected one by the unrest and the second one is less

affected one or mostly remains peaceful. The most affected district from the conflict-prone area has been taken from the south Kashmir zone, and least affected one was studied from the Central Kashmir Zone. Of the two zones, one district is more involved in unrest, and while the other one is the opposite of this. The distribution of districts that contain the three different zones of Kashmir is listed in Table 6.1:

Table 6.1: Composition of Zones in Kashmir

Name of the Zone	Districts in Zone
Central Kashmir	Budgam, <i>Ganderbal</i> and Srinagar
North Kashmir	Bandipora, Baramullah and Kupwara
South Kashmir	Anantnag, Kulgam, Pulwama and <i>Shopian</i>

Shopian district of south Kashmir as per the data is the most affected one in the Kashmir valley out of the three zones in the State and Ganderbal district of the central Kashmir zone is the least affected one as per the government data and available research data. The analysis of the Shopian and the Ganderbal district will be analysed, and a study will be carried out with purposive sampling. The questionnaires were distributed among politicians, separatists, army officers, police officers, postgraduate students, government employees, social activists, NGO's and the local businessmen in Kashmir. The sample size was selected from the districts of Shopian and Ganderbal, and the selected sample size was derived from the two said districts and the total eligible population of the two districts who are eligible to vote were selected as known sample size. The sample size was derived from the total electoral population present in the district, and purposive sampling was used to analyse the results which are given in Figure 6.2:

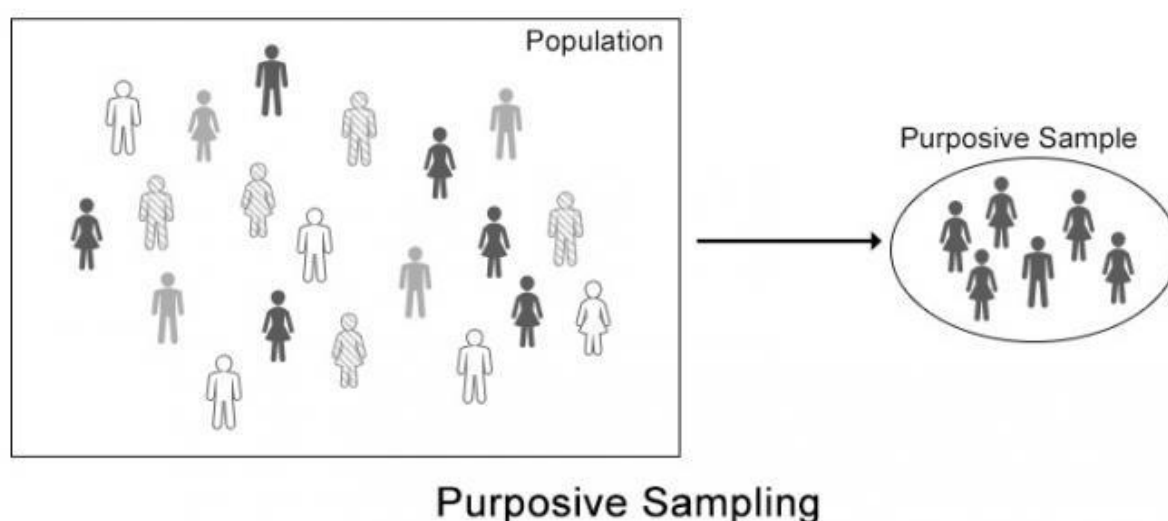


Figure 6.2: Purposive Sampling (Source of Figure: Google).

Kashmir unrest which is mostly south Kashmir centric besides huge presence and dominance from the south Kashmir zone of the district. Frequent protests, stone-pelting incidents and terrorist incidents have a more substantial presence in this zone of the valley, and mostly these incidents rise and result in the violent clashes with the security forces and end up finally with the civilian fatalities. The number of persons who have lost their lives district wise during the most the violent year of 2016 is given in Figure 6.3:

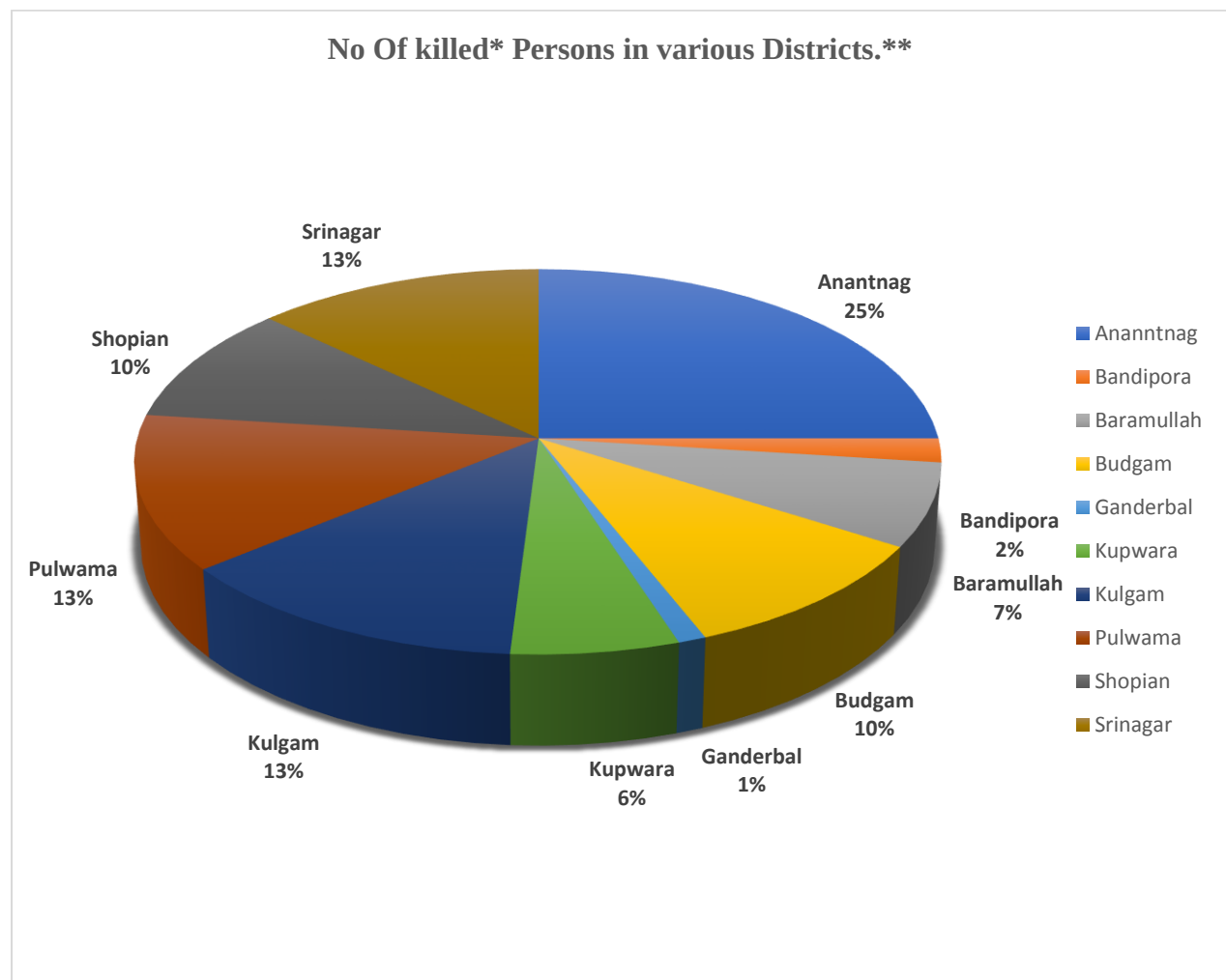


Figure 6.3: No. of killed Persons in various Districts of Kashmir during 2016 unrest

* **Data Source:** Ganaie, Nasir Ahmad. (2017). Instability and Unrest in Kashmir: A Case from Barriers of Optimism to Pellets. International Journal of Modern Social Sciences, 6(1), 51-93.

** Civilian casualties during the past 100 days from 08th July 2016 in various districts of the Valley.

From the above Figure 6.3, it can be claimed that the unrest and most of the civilian fatalities that resulted during the violent phase in the year belonged to the districts of south Kashmir zone, and it can also be claimed on the basis of data in the below Table 6.2, which also reflects south Kashmir as the most insurgency-hit zone besides proving that central Kashmir zone is least affected one in the valley. Districts like Anantnag, Kulgam, Pulwama

and Shopian of the South Kashmir zone are contributing most of the violence and extremism, while districts like Budgam, Ganderbal, Kupwara and Srinagar have been less active as compared to their south Kashmir districts. So, it can be argued that two zones of Kashmir are producing two types of atmospheres in the valley. The number of injured persons who sustained various types of injuries during the 2016 unrest while indulging in extremist violence with security forces of the State is listed district wise in Table 6.2:

Table 6.2: No. of Injured Persons and types of Injuries Sustained*

Name of District	No. of Injuries**		Type of Injuries***		
	Cumulative	Bullet Injuries	Pellet Injuries	PAVA Shell	Other Injuries
	injuries up to 2 nd	up to 02-11-	up to 02-11-	injuries up to	up to 02-11-
	November 2016	2016	2016	02-11-2016	2016
Anantnag	1411	80	860	0	471
Bandipora	756	6	183	0	567
Baramullah	1286	18	1078	0	190
Budgam	257	28	167	0	62
Ganderbal	137	2	36	0	99
Kulgam	1384	117	1029	4	234
Kupwara	989	20	888	0	81
Pulwama	1571	64	1041	0	466
Shopian	1002	27	808	0	167
Srinagar	203	3	110	0	90
Total	8996	365	6200	4	2427

* **Data Source:** Health and Medical Education Department, Government of Jammu and Kashmir.

** Data published in Rising Kashmir. Dated: 4th November 2016.

*** Injuries sustained by protesters from 8th July 2016 up to 02 November 2016.

Data Source: Ganaie, Nasir Ahmad. (2017). Instability and Unrest in Kashmir: A Case from Barriers of Optimism to Pellets. International Journal of Modern Social Sciences, 6(1), 51-93.

1. Kashmir Unrest of 2016: South Kashmir Centric

As it has been claimed that the most recent violent unrest in the valley has been the south Kashmir centric as compared to Central and North Kashmir zones of the valley. As claimed by Ganaie (2017) in his article it was found that south Kashmir is mostly the epicentre

and heart of all unrests in the valley.²⁴⁵ An analysis below in Figure 6.4 clearly displays that unrest and violence mostly originate from the south Kashmir zone as compared to other zones of the state who are less active as compared to south Kashmir zone whose districts stand number one in producing violence and extremist incidents. The analysis between these two districts can be studied further in Figure 6.4:

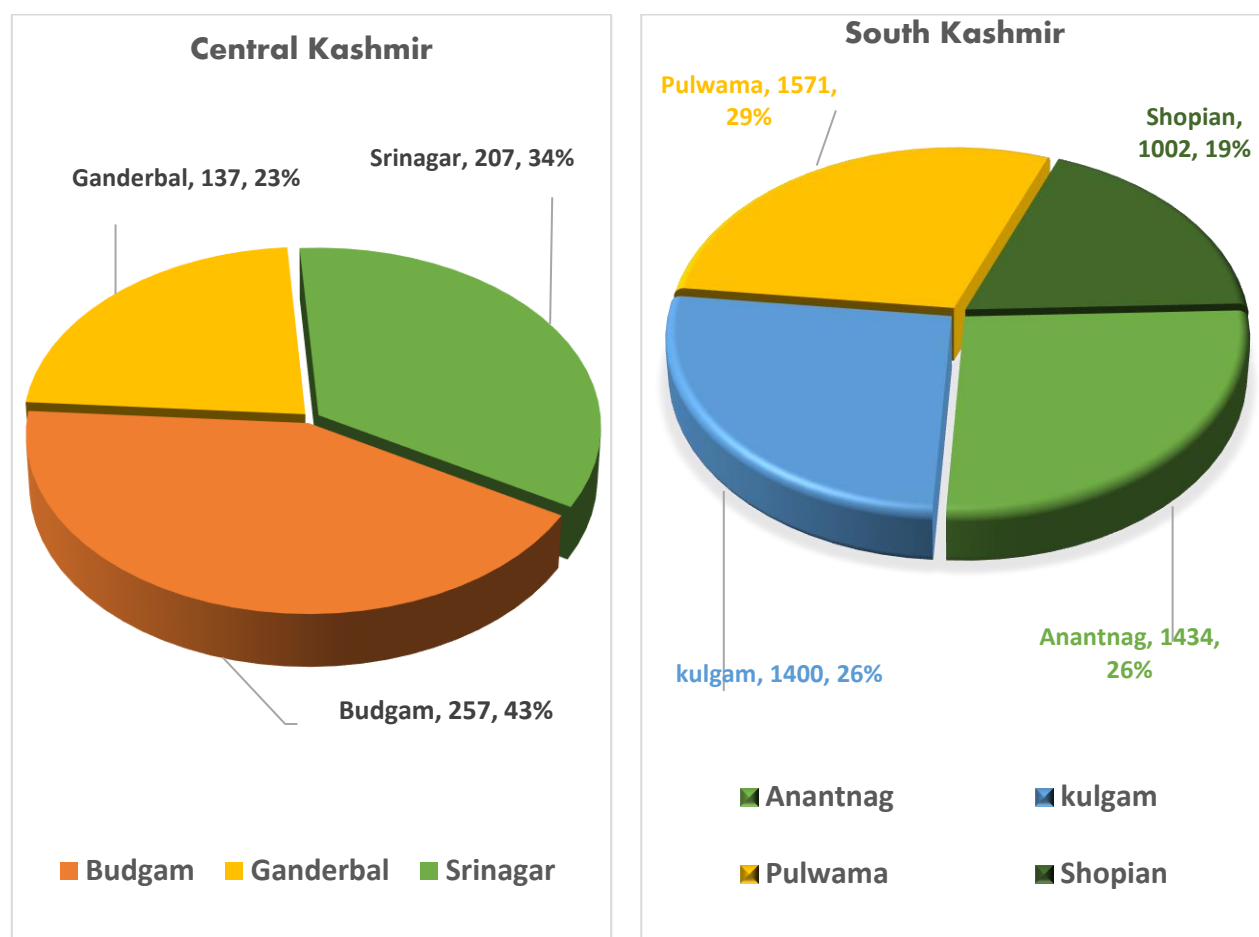


Figure 6.4: Injuries sustained in Central and South Kashmir zones of Kashmir during 2016 turmoil.
Data Source: Ganaie, N. A. (2017).

The analysis of the Shopian district of South Kashmir zone and Ganderbal district of central Kashmir zone were studied for the research analysis. The total Population of the Shopian as per the 2011 census is figured at 265960 while as the total population of the Ganderbal district stands at 297446. Total Electoral population of both the districts was selected in configuring the sample size. The electoral of the Shopian district as per the 2014 assembly election data stands at 161573 and that of the Ganderbal district stands at 160074. The sample size was selected among the eligible electorates of the two said districts. 161573

²⁴⁵ Ganaie, N. A. (2017). Instability and Unrest in Kashmir: A Case from Barriers of Optimism to Pellets. *International Journal of Modern Social Sciences*, 6(1), 51-93.

electorates were taken for selecting the sample size from Shopian district with a margin of 5% error with a confidence level of 95%. The total selected sample size stood at 384 from this district.

From the Ganderbal district, a population size of 160074 was selected for the final selection of the sample size from that district. The electoral population of the district as per the 2014 assembly election data figured at 160074 and a sample size of 384 was selected from this peaceful district also with a margin of 5% error with a confidence level of 95%.

As 384 sample was studied from both the districts and the sample size was further divided into three categories viz., Administration, General Public and Hurriyat leaders constituting 35%, 60% and 5% of the total selected sample size. The total population and the total electoral configuration of both the districts are listed in Table 6.3:

Table 6.3: Total Population and Total Electoral Configuration of Ganderbal and Shopian

	Total Population	Total Electorates	Sample Size
Ganderbal	2,97,446	1,60,074	384
Shopian	2,65,960	1,61,573	384

Source for Data: Election Commission of India (ECI), State Assembly Elections, 2014

Sample selected for studying from both the districts was divided into three different categories viz., Administration which consisted of Civil Officers like IAS & IPS, Government employs, Army Men, Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) Police, Lawyers, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's), Business Men, Media and Other Organizations or Intellectuals, besides two other relevant categories of General Public and Hurriyat were also considered for analysing the research problem. 35% sample size out of the total selected samples size of 384 was selected for Administration Category, 60% out of the total selected sample size of 384 was studied and distributed among the General public category and 5% out of the total selected sample size was studied among the Secessionist or Hurriyat parties which constituted all the groups of these separatist forces.²⁴⁶ One hundred thirty-four samples were studied under Administration category, 231 under general public and 19 respondents were selected for studying among the Hurriyat people in the State.²⁴⁷ Larger number of samples were selected from the General public category due to its greater importance and significance in exploring the kashmir problem, which was followed by the Administration category. Less samples were selected from the Hurriyat category due to their tiny population as compared to two other

²⁴⁶ Sample Distribution and Selection was based on the basis of Purposive Sampling Methodology.

²⁴⁷ For Details See Appendices-I.

categories. The distribution of the selected samples for examining the research problem from the districts of Ganderbal and Shopian into various categories and their selection can be further understood, which is listed in Table 6.4:

Table 6.4: Various Categories of Samples from Ganderbal & Shopian besides its Distribution

Sample Distribution					
					Total
Ganderbal	1. Administration	35% of Selected Sample Size	35% of 384= 134		134
	(Civil Officers like IAS & IPS, Govt. employs, Army Men, J&K Police, Lawyers, NGO's, Business Men, Media and Other Organizations.				
	2. General Public	60% of Selected Sample Size	60% of 384= 231		231
	3. Hurriyat	5% of Selected Sample size	5% of 384= 19		19
Total					384
Shopian	1. Administration	35% of Selected Sample Size	35% of 384= 134		134
	(Civil Officers like IAS & IPS, Govt. employs, Army Men, J&K Police, Lawyers, NGO's, Business Men, Media and Other Organisations.				
	1. General Public	60% of Selected Sample Size	60% of 384= 231		231
	2. Hurriyat	5% of Selected Sample Size	5% of 384= 19		19
	Total				
					384

384 Samples were studied in both the districts of the Kashmir valley because the total known population is almost equal and there is hardly a difference of one thousand. The selected sample size of both the districts were further distributed into three different categories in which the General public constituted 60% of the total selected sample size, Intellectuals belonging to various administrative services and NGO's stand at 35% of the total selected sample size and while as the third constituent Hurriyat was studied at 5% sample size from the total selected sample size out of the two districts.

2. Demographic Configuration of Ganderbal District

Ganderbal district one of the most peaceful and beautiful districts of Kashmir valley as per the 2011 census report of the government of India has a total population of 297, 446 as compared to 217, 907 provided by the previous census report of 2001 by the government of India. Out of the total population, as reported by the census report of 2011, Males constituted

158, 720 as compared to 138, 726 female population. There was an increase of 36.50% in total population as compared to the previous 2001 census. The overall literacy rate of the district was 58.4% in which male literacy rate was 68.85%, and female literacy rate constituted 45.71%. A total number of literates in the district were 143, 276, and out of them, male literates were 90, 581 and female literates were 52, 695. The density of the district was 1148 per km² with a sex ratio of 874. The demographic composition of the Ganderbal district as per the 2011 government of India census is figured in Table 6.5:

Table 6.5: Demographic Distribution of Ganderbal²⁴⁸ as per 2001 and 2011 Census Data

Description	2011	2001
Population	2.97 Lakhs	2.18 Lakhs
Actual Population	297,446	217,907
Male	158,720	113,643
Female	138,726	104,264
Population Growth	36.50%	29.59%
Area Sq. Km	259	259
Density/km2	1,148	845
Proportion to Jammu and Kashmir Population	2.37%	2.15%
Sex Ratio (Per 1000)	874	917
Child Sex Ratio (0-6 Age)	863	863
Average Literacy	58.04	40.46
Male Literacy	68.85	52.14
Female Literacy	45.71	27.50
Total Child Population (0-6 Age)	50,594	50,594
Male Population (0-6 Age)	27,159	27,159
Female Population (0-6 Age)	23,435	23,435
Literates	143,276	0
Male Literates	90,581	0
Female Literates	52,695	0
Child Proportion (0-6 Age)	17.01%	23.22%
Boys Proportion (0-6 Age)	17.11%	23.90%
Girls Proportion (0-6 Age)	16.89%	22.48%
ST Population	20.5% ²⁴⁹	NA
SC Population	0.0% ²⁵⁰	NA

Source for Data: [Census 2011](#)

²⁴⁸ Ganderbal District: Census 2011 Data. <http://www.census2011.co.in/census/district/629-ganderbal.html>
Retrieved on: 31st July 2019.

²⁴⁹ Data Source as per Elementary Education report card 2016-17.
http://udise.in/Downloads/Publications/Documents/District_Report_Cards-2016-17-Vol-I.pdf Accessed on:
12th September 2019.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

3. Administrative Format of Ganderbal District²⁵¹

The administrative facilities in Ganderbal district as compared to Shopian district are far better, and well-improved facilities are provided by the district administration and as we all are aware that they are always responsible for good governance. The administrative composition of the district consists of 4 Community Development (CD) Blocks, 3 Tehsils, 5 Naibats and 136 villages. Below Poverty Line (BPL) populations of the district stands at 56873 persons who constitute 24.23% of the total population and needs to be checked down in order to strengthen the district further. The percentage of the people living under BPL category needs attention, and its reduction will increase the overall prosperity of the district. The administrative composition of the Ganderbal district is listed in Table 6.6:

Table 6.6: Administrative Classification of Ganderbal District

Administrative Composition	Total
CD Blocks	04
Tehsils	03
Naibats	05
Villages	136
Road length ending 2010-11	453 km
Road length per 100 Sq. km of area	37.99 km
BPL Population (in Nos)	56873*
BPL % age of the total population	24.23%**

Source: Department of School Education and Government of Jammu and Kashmir

*As per 2007-08 data provided by Directorate of Economics & Statistics, J&K

**Total BPL percentage includes Rural + Urban

4. Educational and Infrastructural composition of Ganderbal

Educational and infrastructural development is always responsible for the growth of the economy, and always it yields suitable employment generation methods. 309 Primary schools, 140 Middle Schools, 23 High schools and 13 Higher Secondary schools are there in Ganderbal district which teach and impart education there. Besides this, it has one central university (Central University of Kashmir), 1 Degree college, 1 Physical Education Training College and 2 Industrial Training Institutes (ITI). In addition to this district has 16 Primary Health Centres (PHCs), 2 Sub-district Hospitals, 1 Community Health Centre (CHC) and 53 sub-centres. The

²⁵¹ Department of School Education and Government of Jammu and Kashmir.
<http://jkeducation.gov.in/ganderbaldistrict.php?link=profile> Accessed on: 01st August 2019

district is also in possession of 1 Hydro Electric project. The various facilities available in Ganderbal are listed in Table 6.7:

Table 6.7: Educational & other Infrastructural Composition of [Ganderbal](#) District²⁵²

School Education	
Primary Schools	309
Middle Schools	140
High Schools	23
Higher Sec. Schools	13
Higher & Technical Education	
University	01 (Central University of Kashmir)
Colleges	01
Physical Education Training College	01
ITI	02
Health Infrastructure	
PHC	16
Sub District Hospital	02
CHC	01
Sub Centres	53
Other Infrastructure	
Hydel Project	01(Upper Sind)

Source of Data: <http://jkeducation.gov.in/ganderbaldistrict.php?link=profile>.

5. Demographic Configuration of Shopian District

Shopian district of Jammu Kashmir falling in south Kashmir zone ranks 537th in India and 17th in the state as per the available area. As per the government of India data of 2011 census, its total population is 266,215, and out of the total population males constituted 136, 480 and female population figured at 129, 735. There was an increase of 26.39% (2.11 to 2.66 lakhs) to its population as compared to the previous census of 2001. The overall literacy rate of the district was 60.76% as compared to its previous literacy rate of 44.67, which was very low. Out of the total literacy rate, the male literacy rate was 70.27% as compared to 50.90% of females. The total literate persons in the district were 136, 500 and out of the total literate persons, Males constituted 80, 355 as compared to 56, 145 female literate persons. The density

²⁵² <http://jkeducation.gov.in/ganderbaldistrict.php?link=profile> Retrieved on: 01st August 2019.

of the district stood at 853 per km² with a sex ratio of 951 per 1000 as per the 2011 census data report. The various components of the district are listed in Table 6.8:

Table 6.8: Demographic Distribution of Shopian District²⁵³

Description	2011	2001
Population	2.66 Lakhs	2.11 Lakhs
Actual Population	266,215	211,332
Male	136,480	108,356
Female	129,735	102,976
Population Growth	25.97%	26.39%
Area Sq. Km	312	312
Density/km ²	853	677
Proportion to Jammu and Kashmir Population	2.12%	2.08%
Sex Ratio (Per 1000)	951	950
Child Sex Ratio (0-6 Age)	878	878
Average Literacy	60.76	44.67
Male Literacy	70.27	54.38
Female Literacy	50.90	34.34
Total Child Population (0-6 Age)	41,547	41,547
Male Population (0-6 Age)	22,121	22,121
Female Population (0-6 Age)	19,426	19,426
Literates	136,500	0
Male Literates	80,355	0
Female Literates	56,145	0
Child Proportion (0-6 Age)	15.61%	19.66%
Boys Proportion (0-6 Age)	16.21%	20.42%
Girls Proportion (0-6 Age)	14.97%	18.86%
ST Population	8.2%*	NA
SC Population	0.0%*	NA

Data Source: Census 2011 (<http://www.census2011.co.in/census/district/631-shupiyan.html>)

* Data Source as per Elementary Education Report card 2016-17²⁵⁴

6. Land classification of Shopian

Shopian called 'Apple Town' and holding economically most stable and sound positions among all the district of Kashmir valley is known for its superb Apple, Walnut, Apricot, Cherries, Almonds along with other unlimited agricultural productions is one of the beautiful districts whose climate during winters is always in minus degrees along with heavy snowfall. The primary source of income is the fruit industry along with dry fruit industry. The district is a source of employment for the unlimited local and surrounding or neighbouring districts along with various non-local Kashmiris who work here continuously. As per the annual survey report of 2016-17, the district has a reporting area of 60772 Sq. Km and out of which 412 Sq. Km

²⁵³ [Shopian District: Census 2011 Data](http://www.census2011.co.in/census/district/631-%20%20%20%20%20%20%20shupiyan.html). Retrieved from <http://www.census2011.co.in/census/district/631-%20%20%20%20%20%20%20shupiyan.html>. Accessed on 19th July 2019.

²⁵⁴ http://udise.in/Downloads/Publications/Documents/District_Report_Cards-2016-17-Vol-I.pdf Accessed on: 11th November 2019.

area is under forest, 8387 Sq. Km area is put for non-agricultural use; cultivated wasteland stands at 3617 Sq. Km and 5953 Sq. Km is meant for permanent pastures along with grazing land. The cataloguing of land in Shopian district as per the 2016-17 annual survey report is listed in Table 6.9:

Table 6.9: Land Classification of Shopian District

Classification of Land (As Per Annual Survey Report of 2016-17)	
Particulars	Number (Sq. Km)
Reporting area	60772
Area under forests	412
Area put to non-agriculture use	8387
Un-cultivated land	2542
Permanent pastures and other grazing lands	5953
The area under Misc. tree crops	1102
Cultivated wasteland	3617
Fallow other than current fallow	191
Current fallows	6368
Sown Net area	32292

Data Source: Shopian District official Website (<https://shopian.nic.in/demography/>)

7. Educational Structure of Shopian

Shopian district of south Kashmir has been divided into four educational zones viz., Shopian, Imam Sahab, Keegam and Vehil. There is a total of 127 schools in Shopian, out of them, 78 are primary schools, 35 are Middle, 11 High Schools and 3 Higher Secondary Schools. In Imam Sahab out of 145 schools, 85 are primary, 47 Middle, 11 High Schools and 3 Higher Secondary School institutions. In Keegam out of the total 137 sanctioned schools, 94 are primary schools, 32 Middle, 8 High Schools along with the presence of 3 Higher Secondary Schools. In Vehil zone of the total 100 allocated schools, 58 constitute primary schools, 30 Middle, 8 High Schools besides with 4 Higher Secondary school institutions. The classification of the government-aided schools in the Shopian are listed in Table 6.10:

Table 6.10: Distribution of Government Schools in Shopian District

Number of Government Schools as per Different Zones of Shopian					
Zone	Primary	Middle	High School	Higher Secondary School	Total
Shopian	78	35	11	3	127
Imam Sahab	85	47	10	3	145
Keegam	94	32	8	3	137
Vehil	58	30	8	4	100

Data Source: Shopian District Official Website (<https://shopian.nic.in/education/>)

In addition to this educational system in this district is not only limited to government-aided schools; rather, it is also dependent on the functioning of the private-run schools like in other parts of the country. The different four educationally divided zones of the district

represent a different number of schools that are privately run and administered. Shopian constitutes 39 private schools, and Imam Sahab has 56 private schools, Keegam figures at 19 schools and Vehil holds 30 private schools whose educational status ranges from primary up to higher secondary levels. The composition of various private schools in Shopian district are listed in Table 6.11:

Table 6.11: Distribution of Private Schools in Shopian District

Number of Private Schools as per Zones of Shopian					
Zone	Primary	Middle	High School	Higher Secondary School	Total
Shopian	4	24	8	3	39
Imam Sahab	9	22	25	2	56
Keegam	1	12	6	0	19
Vehil	9	11	10	0	30

Data Source: Shopian District Official Website (<https://shopian.nic.in/education/>)

8. Administrative Set up of Shopian

The administrative setup of the Shopian in the form of Tehsil, Naibayat, Community Development Block and other agencies are always contributing to the development of the district. Presently it consists of 231 villages with Below Poverty Line (BPL) persons figuring at 38277 persons who constitute 16.42% of the total population as per the 2007-08 data published by the Directorate of economics and statistics, Government of Jammu and Kashmir which is quite low as compared with the Ganderbal district. The district is economically sound and productive with less dependent on other districts or external supplies. The composition of the various administrative units of the district is given in Table 6.12:

Table 6.12: Composition of Administrative Setup in Shopian District²⁵⁵

Type of Administrative Facility	Total
No. of CD Blocks	01 ½ (One & half)
No. of Tehsils	01
No. of Niabats	05
No. of Villages	231
Road length ending 2007-08	509 Km
Road length per 100 Sq. Km of area	163.14 Km
BPL Population (in No.)	38277* (16.42%) **

Source: Department of School Education, Government of Jammu and Kashmir

*As per 2007-08 data provided by Directorate of Economics & Statistics J&K

** Total BPL percentage including Rural + Urban

²⁵⁵ Department of School Education, Government of Jammu and Kashmir.
<http://jkeducation.gov.in/shopiandistrict.php?link=profile> Accessed on. 3rd November 2019.

9. Educational and Healthcare Infrastructure of Shopian

Quality, availability and infrastructure of the educational institutions are directly responsible for the development of any place or area and here in Shopian district where we have multiple educational and infrastructural institutes that are meant to train and develop the people in this area. It currently has 251 Primary schools, 77 Middle schools, 17 High schools and 10 Higher Secondary institutes. Besides this, the district has 1 Degree college and 1 Industrial Training Institute (ITI) to train and develop the youth for various industrial jobs. Education and health sectors are two essential aspects that can develop and maintain the standard of its people, and here in case of Shopian district, it has 3 Community Health Centres (CHCs), one district hospital, 9 Primary Health Centres (PHCs). In addition to this, it has also 6 Allopathic Dispensary (AD) units, 8 Medical Aid Centres (MACs) along with 53 Sub-centres in the district for regulating any health issues in the State. The classification and categorisation of various facilities available in Shopian district are figured in Table. 6.13:

Table 6.13: Educational, Healthcare and other infrastructural facilities of Shopian

Type of Facility	
School Education	Total
Primary Schools	251
Middle Schools	77
High Schools	17
Higher Secondary Schools	
Higher & Technical Education	10
College	01
ITI	
Healthcare Infrastructure	01
CHC	03
Distt Hospital	01
PHC	09
AD	06
MAC	08
Sub Centres	53

Source for Data: Department of School Education, Government of Jammu and Kashmir

10. Data Analysis of Ganderbal

Ganderbal district, which was selected as the most peaceful district for analysing the research problem was also studied for tracing out the research result. Three hundred eighty-four samples were selected from this district, which consisted of total electorates 1,60,074 (as per 2014 assembly elections) and its total population was 2,97,446 as per the previous census. A sample size of 384 was selected with a margin of 5% error with a confidence level of 95%.

The selected samples were distributed among three categories viz. The administration which consisted of Civil Officers like IAS & IPS, Government employs, Army Men, JK Police,

Lawyers, NGO's, Business Men, Media and Other Organizations. 35% (134 out of 384) of the total sample size was selected for the study under this category. The second most important category for studying the research problem was of General Public, which constituted 60% of the total sample size, and under this category, 231 samples were selected for the final analysis. The third category, which was selected for studying the research problem was Hurriyat which constituted the 5% of the total sample size and under this category, 19 samples, were selected for finding the research problem.

11. Age of the Respondents

Age group or composition of the samples selected for studying the research problem is of greater importance and scope. Age of the respondents plays an essential role in exploring the data. Out of the 384 selected samples, 105 (27.3%) samples belonged to the age group of 18-28 years, 145 (37.8%) belonged to age group of 29-39 years, 63 (16.4%) belonged to age group of 40-50 years, 45 (11.7%) belonged to age group of 51-61 years, 21 (5.5%) belonged to age group of 62-72 years, and 5 (1.3%) belonged to the age group with age equal to or greater than 73 years. It is interesting to find that people from the age groups of 18-28 years and 29-39 years were seen most active and exciting in discussing or filling the research data. The age distribution of the respondents can be easily understood in Table 6.14:

Table 6.14: Age Group of Various Tested Samples of Ganderbal District

Age of Respondent		
	Frequency	Percent
18-28	105	27.3
29-39	145	37.8
40-50	63	16.4
51-61	45	11.7
62-72	21	5.5
73 & Above	5	1.3
Total	384	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork²⁵⁶

12. Gender Distribution of the Samples

The selected samples were distributed in three categories viz., Female, Male and Transgender. 83 (21.6%) samples constituted females, 299 (77.9%) constituted as males, and

²⁵⁶ All the 'Data Tables' that are depicting 'Fieldwork' as a source of 'Data' have been designed on the basis of inputs received from the Fieldwork which was conducted from 5th March 2018 to 5th November 2018 by virtue of the intended 'Questionnaire.' For details, see Appendix-I.

2 (0.5%) constituted the transgender category out of the total selected sample size. The distribution of the samples in term of their gender can also be examined in Table 6.15:

Table 6.15: Gender Composition of Respondents in Ganderbal District

Sex		
	Frequency	Percent
Female	83	21.6
Male	299	77.9
Transgender	2	.5
Total	384	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

13. Educational Status of the Calculated Respondents

Educational level or status is the most important level in any analysis, and here for getting the desired results, their educational background was distributed into various categories from primary to post-graduation and above levels. Of the total sample size of 384, the educational level of the respondents, i.e., 6 (1.6%) samples belonged to educational background up to primary level, 2 (0.5%) had studied up to Middle level, 12 (3.1%) respondents had said their educational level up to Matric, 40 (10.4%) respondents had studied up to Intermediate level, 132 (34.4%) were graduates, and 192 (50.0%) were the ones whose qualification was post-graduation or above. It is evident from the data Table 6.16 that a large number 192 (50.0%) of respondents belonged the highest group of education level with equal to or greater than post-graduation. The distribution of the education level of various categories of respondents is given in data Table 6.16:

Table 6.16: Educational Configuration of Respondents from Ganderbal

Educational Level		
	Frequency	Percent
Primary	6	1.6
Middle	2	.5
Matric	12	3.1
Intermediate	40	10.4
Graduation	132	34.4
Post-Graduation and Above	192	50.0
Total	384	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

14. Occupation of Respondents

Occupational status of the respondents was divided into three categories viz., Business, Employed and Not Employed. Of the tested samples, 79 (20.6%) samples were engaged with business activities, 219 (57.0%) were employed with government or private sector, and 86

(22.4%) were not employed. The occupational distribution of the selected samples can be further studied in Table 6.17:

Table 6.17: Occupational Status of Ganderbal Respondents

Occupation		
	Frequency	Percent
Business	79	20.6
Employed	219	57.0
Not Employed	86	22.4
Total	384	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

15. Marital Status of the Respondents

The marital status of respondents or selected sample size was divided into four different categories like married, unmarried, widowed and divorced. Of the total sample size, 279 (77.3%) respondents were married, 83 (21.6%) were unmarried ones, 3 (0.8%) were widows, and 1 (0.3%) was a divorced respondent. From the data Table 6.18, it can be seen that majority of the sample size is married, which stood at 297 (77.3%). The marital ratio of the respondents is given in Table 6.18:

Table 6.18: Marital Status of Ganderbal Respondents

Marital Status		
	Frequency	Percent
Married	297	77.3
Unmarried	83	21.6
Widowed	3	.8
Divorced	1	.3
Total	384	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

16. Data Analysis of Shopian District

District Shopian which is tagged as '*Apple Town*' is known as heart and epicentre of all the problems and unrests in the south Kashmir area was one of the selected for studying as the most conflict-ridden district for analysing the research problem that was selected and studied for tracing out the research result. Three hundred eighty-four samples were selected from this district, which consisted of total electorates 1,61,573 (as per 2014 assembly elections) and its total population is 2,65,960. A sample size of 384 was selected with a margin of 5% error and a confidence level of 95%.

The selected samples were distributed among three categories viz. The administration which consisted of Civil Officers like IAS & IPS, Govt. employs, Army Men, JK Police, Lawyers, NGO's, Business Men, Media and Other Organizations. 35% (134 out of 384) of the

total sample size was selected for the study under this category. The second most important category for studying the research problem was of General Public, which constituted 60% of the total sample size, and under this category 231 samples were selected for the final analysis. The third category which was selected for studying the research problem was Hurriyat which constituted the 5% of the total sample size and under this category 19 samples were selected for finding the research problem and for analysing the research output. The data analysis of the collected samples is as:

17. Age of Respondents

Out of the 384 Samples in Shopian 103 samples belonged to the age group of 18-28 years, 142 belonged to 29-39 years, 62 to 40-50 years, 52 to 51-61 years, 22 to 62-72 years and 3 belonged to the age group 73 years and above. The highest number of samples studied were from the age group of 29-39, which constituted 37.0% out of the total calculated sample size. The composition of the age among the samples can be further studied in Table 6.19:

Table 6.19: Age Group of Tested Samples of Shopian District

Age of Respondent		
	Frequency	Percent
18-28	103	26.8
29-39	142	37.0
40-50	62	16.1
51-61	52	13.5
62-72	22	5.7
73 & Above	3	.8
Total	384	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

18. Gender of Respondents

Of the total selected sample size, 309 were males, 74 were females along with 1 sample of transgender. The majority of the samples belonged to the male category, and it was also observed during the fieldwork that female participants were seen as reluctant in sharing any data. The distribution of gender is given in Table 6.20:

Table 6.20: Gender Description of Shopian Respondents

Sex		
	Frequency	Percent
Female	74	19.3
Male	309	80.5
Transgender	1	.3
Total	384	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

19. Educational Composition of the Samples of Shopian District

The educational background and the composition of the selected samples in the Shopian district were studied, and their educational data was collected by dint of the questionnaire that was supposed to get the desired data for the research analysis. The educational background was divided into seven different categories in which 5 respondents belonged to the educational level up to Primary, 6 responded has studied up to Middle, 12 calculated samples had studied up to matric level, and 39, 122 and 200 respondents had studied up to the Intermediate, Graduation and Post-Graduation or above level. The highest number of respondents belonging to the two groups had come from graduation and post-graduation or above levels. The breakup of the respondents among various distributed categories can be judged in Table 6.21:

Table 6.21: Educational Status of Respondents Belonging to Shopian		
Educational Level		
	Frequency	Percent
Primary	5	1.3
Middle	6	1.6
Matric	12	3.1
Intermediate	39	10.2
Graduation	122	31.8
Post-Graduation and Above	200	52.1
Total	384	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

20. Occupation of the Respondents

Occupation and educational level of the selected samples considered for studying the research problem is of great importance and scope. The occupation of the samples was thus considered for the analysis which consisted of the 20.6% samples which were associated with the Business profession, 56.8% samples were employed, and 22.7% of the samples analysed were not employed. The occupational status of the samples is given in Table 6.22:

Table 6.22: Occupational Composition of Respondents from Shopian		
Occupation		
	Frequency	Percent
Business	79	20.6
Employed	218	56.8
Not Employed	87	22.7
Total	384	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

21. Marital Status of the Respondents

The marital status of the samples was also studied in which the majority of 76% of the tested samples were married, 23.4% were unmarried, 0.3% each belonged to widowed and divorced categories. The marital status of the samples is given in Table 6.23:

Table 6.23: Marital Status of Tested Samples from Shopian

Marital Status		
	Frequency	Percent
Married	292	76.0
Unmarried	90	23.4
Widowed	1	.3
Divorced	1	.3
Total	384	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

22. Sample Analysis of Ganderbal and Shopian Districts

Shopian from South Kashmir and Ganderbal from Central Kashmir zones were selected for studying the research problem. These two districts considered for studying the proposed research problem have two different aspects. One is more conflict-prone, and the other is the most peaceful district, and both the districts are opposite in terms of peace and unrest. Shopian is known for most frequent unrest, while Ganderbal is known for its excellent and peaceful atmosphere. Three hundred eighty-four samples were taken for studying the research gap from both the districts and the responses of respondents were recorded with the help of a proposed questionnaire. A total of 768 samples from both the districts were analysed for suggested output.

23. Age of Respondents

From both the districts a total of 768 samples were analysed and their age groups were categorised into six different categories in which 208 (27.1%) respondents belonged to the age group of 18-28 years, 287 (37.4%) respondents belonged to the age group 29-39 years, 125 (16.3%) respondents belonged to the age group 40-50 years, 97 (12.6%) respondents had declared their age from 51-61 years, 43 (5.6%) respondents belonged to age group 62-72 years and 8 (1.0%) respondents belonged to the age group of 73 and above. It is evident from the data that a large number of respondents 287 (37.4%) belonged to the age group 29-39 years followed by 208 (27.1%) were the respondents whose age belonged to the youngest age group

from 18-28 years. The composition of age among different categories is given in data Table 6.24:

Table 6.24: Age Classification of Ganderbal and Shopian District Respondents

Age of Respondent		
	Frequency	Percent
18-28	208	27.1
29-39	287	37.4
40-50	125	16.3
51-61	97	12.6
62-72	43	5.6
73 & Above	8	1.0
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

24. Gender Composition

The composition of the gender of the respondents of both the district was divided into three categories viz., Females, Males and Transgenders. 157 (20.4%) respondents were Females, 608 (79.2%) respondents were Males, and 3 (0.4%) respondents belonged to the transgender category. A large number of 608 (79.2%) respondents were males who were more willing to sharing the information and data than their female colleagues. The distribution of gender of collected samples is given in Table 6.25:

Table 6.25: Gender Categorization of Ganderbal and Shopian

Sex		
	Frequency	Percent
Female	157	20.4
Male	608	79.2
Transgender	3	.4
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

25. Educational Status

Educational status or level of respondents is of great importance and significance for analysing or finding out any research problem. The education status of the respondents was divided into various categories, from illiterate to post-graduation or above levels. Out of the total 768 samples, 11 (1.4%) respondents had studied up to primary level, 8 (1.0%) respondents were middle pass, 24 (3.1%) respondents were matric pass, 79 (10.3%) respondents had studied up to intermediate level, 254 (33.1%) respondents were graduates, and 392 (51.0%) respondents had stated that they have studied up to post-graduation level or above that. From the data, it has been stated that majority of the respondents, i.e., 392 (51.0%), were

postgraduates or above that. The distribution of the educational status of the respondents is given in Table 6.26:

Table 6.26: Education Status of Respondents

Educational Level		
	Frequency	Percent
Primary	11	1.4
Middle	8	1.0
Matric	24	3.1
Intermediate	79	10.3
Graduation	254	33.1
Post-Graduation and Above	392	51.0
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

26. Occupational Status of Calculated Respondents

Occupation of respondents has a significant role, and it is one of the essential aspects for analysing the collected data. Employment status of the respondents is most important in conflict-ridden areas because it is believed that less employed means more unrest and more employed means less unrest. Hence it can be claimed that more the working culture is there, less are the chances of civil unrest in the society. The professional status of the respondents was divided into three main categories for investigating the research gap, and it was categorised into three viz., business, employed and not employed. Of the three categories, 158 (20.6%) respondent had stated that they are either associated with the business or doing their own business, 437 (56.9%) respondents had stated that they are employed either with government sector or private sector, and 173 (22.5%) respondents had declared that they are not employed. The distribution of their professions is given in Table 6.27:

Table 6.27: Professional Composition of Respondents

Occupation		
	Frequency	Percent
Business	158	20.6
Employed	437	56.9
Not Employed	173	22.5
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

27. Marital Status Composition of Analysed Samples

The marital status of the 768 respondents was divided into four different categories viz., married, unmarried, widowed and divorced. 589 (76.7%) respondents were married, 173 (22.5%) respondents were unmarried, 4 (0.5%) respondents were widowed and 2 (0.3%)

respondents were divorced ones. Out of the total respondents, the majority (76.7%) of them were married. The marital status of the various tested respondents is given in Table 6.28:

Table 6.28: Marital Distribution of Respondents

Marital Status		
	Frequency	Percent
Married	589	76.7
Unmarried	173	22.5
Widowed	4	.5
Divorced	2	.3
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

28. Comparative Data Analysis of Ganderbal & Shopian

The instrument of accession that was signed by the then ruler Maharaja Hari Sing on 26th October 1947 with the union of India declared officially through the instrument the accession of the princely State of Jammu and Kashmir with the union of India. There are various opinions among the various categories of people in the State, and different people hold different opinions on account of this instrument of accession. Studying this aspect among the various sections of the society is of more enormous scope for finding out the role and opinion of people of the State. Of the total tested 768 samples from both the districts of Shopian and Ganderbal through proposed questionnaire it was found that majority of the respondents are of the view and opinion who are considering that the signing of the instrument of accession with the Union of India was a right decision. Of the tested samples, 549 (71.5%) are in support of it, while, 126 (16.4%) respondents are against the signing of it and 93 (12.1%) respondents out of the tested samples have no opinion about it. While the majority of the respondents were in favour of it and it was observed during fieldwork and data collection that; firstly, people who have good knowledge and are postgraduates or above that are totally in favour of it, and secondly, those people who are on top posts or have a job are supporting it. The distribution of the views expressed can be seen in Table 6.29:

Table 6.29: Views expressed by Respondents on Signing of the Instrument of Accession

Do you think that signing of the instrument of accession with the Union of India was the right decision?		
	Frequency	Percent
No	126	16.4
Yes	549	71.5
No Opinion	93	12.1
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork²⁵⁷

²⁵⁷ All the 'Data Tables' that are depicting 'Fieldwork' as a source of 'Data' have been designed on the basis of

Now the question here arises that if the majority of the respondents are highly educated and have even jobs, then why conflict is growing in Kashmir. There may be specific reasons, and among them, one of the essential reasons is Pakistan's support. Why there is less or no agitation in parts of Kashmir that are under Pakistan and China. Because in those areas there are no separatist forces currently running or there are very fewer active forces or organisations whose voices have been wiped by the forces or governments active there. Of the total, tested samples, the majority of them have stated that conflict in Kashmir is growing only due to Pakistan's support. 346 (45.1%) out of the total tested samples have stated that Pakistan is supporting the Kashmir issue and is making the issue more internationalised one. 72 (9.4%) samples have said that Muslims in Kashmir valley still believe in the two-nation theory, 256 (33.3%) of investigated samples credited the rising support of militancy and separatist forces in the valley. From the data, after analysing it thoroughly, it can be said that as long as there is a strong presence of growing outside and local support of extremist and militant forces, conflict in Kashmir will keep going. The distribution of the views expressed by different categories of the samples can be further studied in Table 6.30:

Table 6.30: Reasons Behind the Growing Conflict in Kashmir

Then, why conflict in Kashmir is still there?		
	Frequency	Percent
Pakistan is supporting Kashmir issue and is making the issue more internationalised one	346	45.1
Muslims in Kashmir valley still believe in Two Nation Theory	72	9.4
Support of militancy and separatist forces is always there in the valley	256	33.3
None of The Above	94	12.2
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

While studying the root causes of the conflict in Kashmir, different scholars express different views, and some are of the opinion that it is rooted to two national theory as propounded by the Jinnah while others are of the view that it is rooted to colonialism and colonial policies of the British. 596 (77.6%) respondents tested have stated that Kashmir conflict is rooted to the two-nation theory that was based on religious identity and it can be said that conflict in Kashmir is still going on the basis of religious identity and those favouring extremist forces, separatist parties and Pakistan see only religious identity as ultimate and final. While 92 (12.0%) respondents have expressed that they do not think that Kashmir conflict is

inputs received from the Fieldwork which was conducted from 5th March 2018 to 5th November 2018 by virtue of the intended 'Questionnaire.' For details, see Appendix-I.

not rooted in two-nation theory and 80 (10.4%) respondents expressed ‘No Opinion’ on this. The distribution of the views expressed by different sections of people can be examined and analysed in Table 6.31:

Table 6.31: Implications of the Two-Nation Theory on the Kashmir Conflict

Do you think that Kashmir conflict is rooted in the two-nation theory that was based on religious identity?		
	Frequency	Percent
No	92	12.0
Yes	596	77.6
No Opinion	80	10.4
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

History and Historical facts have a role to play, two-nation theory and colonial policies of the British lead to the division of India into two, Viz., India and Pakistan and this partition itself firstly was rooted to two-nation theory and colonial policy of the British. Historically we can also see the conflict in Kashmir as based on the religious identity and those favouring Pakistan see Islam as their link with Pakistan. For checking and measuring the views and opinions of the people, a question with four separate opinions was prepared, and it was measured that, majority of the samples are of the view that Kashmir conflict is rooted to two-nation theory followed by the growth of extremist forces like militancy and separatism in Kashmir. Out of the total tested samples, 371 (48.3%) samples had stated that historically Kashmir conflict is rooted to two-nation theory followed by 240 (31.3%) samples had expressed that the growth of extremist forces like militancy and separatism are the root causes of the Kashmir issue. 91 (11.8%) samples said that colonial policies of the British that were meant for dividing the territories on the basis of religion and identity are responsible for Kashmir issue and 66 (8.6%) had expressed ‘No Opinion’ for the historical root cause of the Kashmir issue. The views flashed by the various calculated samples are given in Table 6.32:

Table 6.32: Historical Genesis of Kashmir Issue as per the Views Expressed by Respondents

Historically Kashmir conflict is rooted to		
	Frequency	Percent
Two Nation Theory	371	48.3
Colonial policies of the British that were meant for dividing the territories on the basis of Religion and Identity	91	11.8
The growth of extremist forces like militancy and separatism	240	31.3
No Opinion	66	8.6
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

Communicating and holding of various views and opinions on the continuous prevailing of the unrest or conflict in Kashmir are differently expressed by different field experts and scholars. As discussed above the majority of the people hold the view that it is only due to religious identity as propounded by the two-nation theory. Out of 768 samples tested, 183 (23.8%) samples had stated that conflict in Kashmir is still prevalent due to the unfulfilled promises made by the government of India, 32 (4.2%) had said that it is due to the autonomy and special status of the State, 259 (33.7%) had credited the support of Pakistan for continued unrest in Kashmir and 294 (38.3%) favoured religious identity as propounded by the two-nation theory for the continuous and growing conflict in Kashmir. From the data it has been observed, that majority of the tested sample are crediting unceasing support of Pakistan and religious identity as the leading root causes of constant unrest in Kashmir. The views of the tested samples are given in Table 6.33:

Table 6.33: Whys and wherefores Behind the Survival of Kashmir Conflict

Conflict in Kashmir is still prevalent due to		
	Frequency	Percent
Unfulfilled promises made by the government of India	183	23.8
Belief in religious identity as propounded due to two-nation theory	294	38.3
Autonomy and special status to the state of Jammu and Kashmir	32	4.2
Continued support by Pakistan	259	33.7
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

While estimating the root causes and main reasons behind the conflict that is continuously growing in Kashmir, various factors are measured and checked for identifying the problem. Various levels of measurement were used for detecting the leading causes behind it, and it was explored that Kashmir conflict has grown due to Pakistan's support in the form of Militancy or extremist forces and India's inability in solving the issues at the earliest. 347 (45.2%) tested samples had credited support of militancy, and extremist forces by the Pakistan and 295 (38.4%) samples had stated that Kashmir conflict has grown due to India's inability in solving the issues at the earliest. 14 (1.8%) had pointed at unemployment, and industrial backwardness and 112 (14.6%) respondents had said that, the radicalisation of Kashmiri youth towards the Muslim identity as the reasons behind the growing conflict in Kashmir. From the tested data, it has been analysed that there are only two main factors responsible for the growth

of conflict in Kashmir, which are Pakistan's support and religious identity. The views expressed by the respondents are listed in Table 6.34:

Table 6.34: Factors that are making the Kashmir issue more Prone & Complex

Kashmir conflict has grown due to		
	Frequency	Percent
India's inability to solving the issues at the earliest	295	38.4
Pakistan's support in the form of Militancy and Separatist forces	347	45.2
Unemployment and industrial backwardness of the State	14	1.8
The radicalisation of Kashmiri youth towards the Muslim identity	112	14.6
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

The Jammu and Kashmir State is divided into three main regions viz, Kashmir Valley (Kashmir) Jammu and Leh & Ladakh. Of the three regions, Kashmir is the only disturbed one, and it is always a challenge for the experts, policymakers and government why it is limited to Kashmir region only and how this issue can be erased. Conflict and unrest in the valley of Kashmir is limited particularly to south Kashmir districts. From the tested samples, it has been found that 442 (57.6%) number of respondents had stated that unrest in the State of Jammu and Kashmir is limited to Kashmir region only due to the presence of separatist forces in the Kashmir valley only. 172 (22.4%) had stated that it is only growing militancy and local support which are making it most favourable destiny in the region and 154 (20.1%) had expressed 'No opinion' on this aspect. From the data it has been found that presence of separatist forces along with growing militancy in the Kashmir region is the root cause this limited unrest and it can be said that as long as these forces are there in the valley, unrest and conflict in the region will continue. The data analysis of opinions expressed are given in Table 6.35:

Table 6.35: Why Limitedness of the Kashmir Unrest is limited to Kashmir Valley only

Unrest in the State of Jammu and Kashmir is limited to Kashmir region only, due to?		
	Frequency	Percent
Presence of Separatist forces in the Kashmir valley only	442	57.6
Growing Militancy and its local support	172	22.4
No Opinion	154	20.1
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

One of the most trending news always from Kashmir is of the people thronging to encounter sites, and they are always there to save the trapped militants who are caught or get

trapped at encounter sites by dint of Cardon and Search Operation (CASO). At that time, most of the people mostly youth pelt stones on security forces and try to disturb the CASO with an intention to help flee the trapped militants. For studying the root causes behind this problem, a question with specific options was inducted in questioner to test the samples and measure their views and opinions that will help to explore the main reason behind the people that are thronging to encounter sites. From the tested samples, it was found that there is abundant availability of local support which is working as nourishment for this reason. 584 (76.0%) samples acknowledged that people thronging to encounter sites is due to local support of militancy in Kashmir. 111 (14.5%) tested samples expressed that inefficiency of standard operating procedures and weak laws are the main reason for it and 73 (9.5%) samples had stated that it is only due to failure of anti-militancy operation tactics. From the tested samples it can be said that as long as local support prevails there people will come to encounter sites in growing numbers and from the analysed data it can be said that if the government want to check this menace and to make counter-insurgency operations more successful, it has to wipe out or check local support. The analysis of the reasons that are behind are given in Table 6.36:

Table 6.36: Why People in Kashmir are thronging to Encounter Sites

People thronging to encounter sites shows		
	Frequency	Percent
Local Support to militancy in Kashmir	584	76.0
The inefficiency of standard operating procedures and weak law	111	14.5
Failure of anti-militancy operation tactics	73	9.5
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

Two sides of the same coin, i.e., people thronging to encounter sites and the growth of new-age militancy in Kashmir are the two challenges which need to be checked for the normalisation of the atmosphere in Kashmir particularly south Kashmir. Growth in the new age militancy in Kashmir has been a new concept, particularly post 2016 period. From the tested samples, it was found that it is the availability of abundant local support which is flourishing the new militancy era. 456 (59.4%) tested respondents had acknowledged the existence of enough local support, which in turn is booming it. 113 (14.7%) respondents stated that influence of local militants is the main reason behind it, while 63 (8.2%) said that lack of jobs, development and counselling are behind it and 136 (17.7%) calculated samples said that it is due to the use of excessive force by security forces which is increasing the output of new-age militancy in Kashmir. From the tested samples and after proper analysis of the data it has been found that abundant availability of local support is the main reason behind the growth of

new-age militancy in Kashmir and for checking this menace, influential religious leaders can be of immense help if involved in proper counselling of youth. The views and opinions expressed by the respondents are given in Table 6.37:

Table 6.37: Reasons Behind the Growth of New Age Militancy in Kashmir

New Age Militancy in the Kashmir valley has grown due to		
	Frequency	Percent
Abundant availability of local support	456	59.4
Influence of local militants	113	14.7
Lack of jobs, development and counselling	63	8.2
Excessive use of force	136	17.7
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

Kashmir issue has been from the beginning based on blaming theories, and different experts are expressing different opinions, some are blaming Pakistan, while others blame, Separatist or Militant forces, external support and funding, both Indian and Pakistan etc., etc., from the tested samples of both the districts it has been found that majority (43.2%) of the respondents blamed Pakistan for the unrest in Kashmir. 129 (16.8%) tested samples had stated that Hurriyat or separatist parties are responsible for the unrest in Kashmir, 86 (11.2%) said that militants are responsible for that, 78 (10.2%) blamed India, 143 (18.6%) blamed both India and Pakistan and majority of the samples, i.e., 332 (43.2%) blamed Pakistan for fomenting trouble in Kashmir. From the data, it has been found Pakistan is mainly responsible for the unrest in Kashmir, and hence it can be easily analysed from the data that for stopping the unrest in Kashmir, Pakistan needs to be taken out of Kashmir issue and only after that peace in Kashmir can prevail. The views expressed by the different respondents are listed in Table 6.38:

Table 6.38: Major Blamed Parties who are Responsible for Kashmir Unrest

Whom do you blame for Kashmir unrest		
	Frequency	Percent
Hurriyat or Separatist Parties	129	16.8
Militants	86	11.2
India	78	10.2
Pakistan	332	43.2
Both India and Pakistan	143	18.6
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

Unrest in the State of Jammu and Kashmir is supported and backed form both internal and external agencies, while separatist forces, militancy, local support constitute as internal support while as support from Pakistan besides terror funding are acting as external supports. If there is no internal and external support, then we can say that there will be no unrest in

Kashmir. From the analysed data it has been found that majority of the tested samples, i.e., 419 (54.6%) respondents believe that Kashmir unrest is supported by separatist forces and backed by the extremist militant forces having origins in Pakistan. Hence it can be said after the analysis of the tested data that Kashmir unrest is directly proportionately with Separatist forces that are backed by extremist Militant forces having origins in Pakistan. Hence, we can say that more the separatist and extremist forces are there more the chances of unrest in Kashmir are there and vice versa. Thus, for a peaceful atmosphere in Kashmir, we have to weed out separatist forces and external support. The views expressed by different respondents are given in Table 6.39:

Table 6.39: Supporters Behind the Kashmir Issue and Major Provoking agents

Kashmir unrest is supported by whom and who is provoking people against the State?		
	Frequency	Percent
Kashmir unrest is supported by Separatist forces and backed by extremist Militant forces having origins in Pakistan	419	54.6
Separatist forces are misguiding the people and provoke them against the State	141	18.4
Do not Agree	208	27.1
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

Finding a solution to any issue is always a challenge, and it needs to be traced out that what are the factors and main reasons that are flourishing any concern or issue in any particular area and mostly the conflict-ridden areas or terrorism affected ones. For the areas or places which are conflict-ridden always need stable political structures, strong police forces and well-equipped armies. The views of the tested samples were analysed, and it was found that weak political structure is also one of the reasons behind the Kashmir issue. Of the tested samples, 386 (50.3%) respondents had acknowledged that weak political structure, heavy political meddling and interference from the government in police affairs is one of the main reasons behind the growing unrest in Kashmir. While 46 (6.0%) credited unsatisfactory rules and laws, 152 (19.8%) said local support of militancy and 184 (24.0%) tested respondents stated that support of Pakistan is the reason behind the growing turbulence in Kashmir valley. From the analysed data, it can be said that the State of Jammu and Kashmir needs a strong political structure which should be enough stable and reliable to deal with this issue. The analysis of the views expressed by the respondents are given in Table 6.40:

Table 6.40: Reasons Behind the Growing Conflict in Kashmir

Kashmir unrest is growing due to		
	Frequency	Percent
The weak political structure, heavy political meddling and interference from Government in police affairs	386	50.3
Unsatisfactory rules and laws	46	6.0
Local support for Militancy	152	19.8
Support of Pakistan	184	24.0
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

Disturbances, damages and unrests are some of the worrying challenges in conflict-ridden areas, and here in Kashmir valley same things prevail, and they are different in nature, but the final output is damage to the valley. There are various factors which have damaged the State from time to time, and they are militancy and outside support, separatist forces, counterinsurgency operations and political structure of the state which have damaged the state from time to time. Of the total tested samples, 448 (58.3%) credited militancy and outside extremist support and 54 (7.0%) said separatist forces, 90 (11.7%) said counterinsurgency operations and 176 (22.9) said that it is the political structure of the state which has damaged the State most. From the analysed data it has been found that majority of the tested samples, i.e., 58.3% followed by the 22.9% have blamed two main sources that are responsible for causing the most damage to the state and it can be said after analysing that state needs to be protected from the menace of militancy and outside extremist support besides growing a sound and healthy political structure. The views expressed by the respondents are in Table 6.41:

Table 6.41: Agencies that have Inflicted Majority of the Damages on J&K State

Of the following, who in your opinion has damaged the State of Jammu and Kashmir most?		
	Frequency	Percent
Militancy and outside extremist support	448	58.3
Separatist forces	54	7.0
Counterinsurgency operations	90	11.7
Political Structure of the State	176	22.9
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

Unrest and conflict in Kashmir are growing due to various reasons and in which its weak and unstable political structure is one of the main reasons. While trying to find an answer to this question it was found from the tested samples that conflict in Kashmir is growing only due to selfish and greedy politics of the State and in a majority of samples, i.e., 430 (56.0%)

had acknowledged it, and 225 (33.2%) are against this view and 83 (10.8%) had expressed ‘No Opinion’ to this. From the analysed data and information collected during the data collections period, it was found that people are frustrated by the weak and corrupt political structure of the State. It needs a healthy and stable political system which can focus on miseries and welfare of the people in spite of feeding themselves. The opinions expressed are given in Table 6.42:

Table 6.42: Growth in Kashmir Conflict due to Unruly Politics of the State

Conflict in Kashmir is growing only due to the selfish and greedy politics of the State.		
Do you agree?		
	Frequency	Percent
No	255	33.2
Yes	430	56.0
No Opinion	83	10.8
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

As already discussed in previous data analysis, the State needs a stable and corruption-free political structure. While measuring the level of satisfaction and dissatisfaction among the respondents, it was found that 291 (37.9%) of calculated sample sizes are totally dissatisfied with the work done by political leaders in the last two decades. 113 (14.7%) are the respondents who are thoroughly satisfied, while 224 (31.8%) are the ones who are somewhat satisfied and 120 (15.6%) are the sample sizes who are somewhat dissatisfied. If we will measure the rate of dissatisfaction and will include somewhat satisfied and somewhat dissatisfied in dissatisfaction category, we can say that a majority of respondents greater than 70% are dissatisfied. The views expressed are given in Table 6.43:

Table 6.43: Level of Work Satisfaction Expressed by Respondents

Are you satisfied with the work done by your Political Leaders in the last two decades?		
	Frequency	Percent
Fully satisfied	113	14.7
Somewhat satisfied	244	31.8
Somewhat dissatisfied	120	15.6
Fully dissatisfied	291	37.9
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

Political instability and a higher rate of political dissatisfaction among all the categories of the people in the Kashmir valley is of concern and while Comparing previous PDP-BJP government in Jammu and Kashmir with the former NC-Congress govt in the State and finding which government has been better so far, is really a worrying cause for the state. While testing the same, it was found that a majority of calculated respondents, i.e., 461 (60.0%) had stated that both the governments were terrible for the development of the State so far and in which

recent corruption charges and fraudulent selection by the PDP government²⁵⁸ is the best example and now after more than one year governor²⁵⁹ of the State Satya Pal Malik²⁶⁰ has cancelled the selection lists.²⁶¹ 60 (7.8%) tested sampled have said that PDP & BJP government has been best and 194 (25.3%) respondents claimed previous National Conference (NC) & Congress as best for the State so far, and 53 (6.9%) said that both are good. From the analysed data it can be said that majority of the respondents in the valley are not satisfied with any form of government and for the stability and the welfare of the State a political system should be there which must be respected by the people of the State. The views expressed by the respondents are listed in Table 6.44:

Table 6.44: Best Coalition Governance in the State so far

Comparing previous PDP-BJP government in J&K with the former NC-Congress govt in the State, which government, in your opinion, has been better so far?		
	Frequency	Percent
PDP-BJP government	60	7.8
Previous NC-Congress government	194	25.3
Both good	53	6.9
Both bad	461	60.0
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

Development of the State is always a big concern for the ruling, or governing subjects of the State and varied opinion are generated whether which political party has been better or best for the development of the State. From the analysed data and from the views expressed by the respondents, it has been configured that not all the political parties of the state are listed as better for the development of the state. It has been observed that 50 (6.5%) respondents are considering BJP as best party for the development of the State so far, 226 (29.4%) favoured Congress, 114 (14.8%) acknowledged National Conference, 30 (3.9%) voted for PDP and majority of tested samples, i.e., 348 (45.3%) have disfavoured all the political parties of the State. Form the analysed data it can be estimated that for the better development of the state, this mistrust needs to be strengthened and major political parties should tirelessly work for the

²⁵⁸ [Employment scam: J&K Governor urged to name BJP, PDP leaders](#). (2018, October 29). National Herald. Accessed on: 26th November 2019.

²⁵⁹ [J&K: Governor Satyapal Malik orders ACB probe into fraudulent land dealings](#). (2019, September 23). India Today. Accessed on: 26th November 2019.

²⁶⁰ [Governor Malik orders cancellation of 'fraudulent' appointments in Khadi Board](#). (2019, July 7). Brighter Kashmir. Accessed on: 26th November 2019.

²⁶¹ [Guv's KAS officer, J&K Bank's 'shady' recruitment comment creates furor](#). (2018, October 29). Rising Kashmir. Accessed on: 26th November 2019.

welfare of the people and the State. The views expressed by the respondents are listed in Table 6.45:

Table 6.45: Best Political Party of the State for Overall Development

In your opinion which major political party of Jammu and Kashmir has been best for the development of the State so far?		
	Frequency	Percent
BJP	50	6.5
Congress	226	29.4
NC	114	14.8
PDP	30	3.9
None	348	45.3
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

Considering the development of the state as the first agenda of the political parties, one more important aspect of the State political parties is reducing the regional disparities and working more successfully for the development of the State. 113 (14.7%) respondents said that regional disparities have been less during the reign of Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP) while, 221 (28.8%) have said during congress it remained less, 78 (10.2%) favoured National Conference, 17 (2.2%) listed People's Democratic Party (PDP) and a majority of respondents, i.e., 339 (44.1%) said that so far none of the active political parties has been able to reduce the regional disparity in the State so far. Loopholes in the political spectrum of the State whether from best governance to reducing regional disparities in the State have always been an issue and from the data analysis or from the views and opinions expressed by the respondents it has been found that State needs a clean, healthy, and stable political system which should work for the development of the State and welfare of its subjects first rather than making regional disparities or other issues. The views voiced by the respondents are listed in Table 6.46:

Table 6.46: Less Regional Disparities in the state

Reducing regional disparities in the State of Jammu and Kashmir has been less during the reign of which party?		
	Frequency	Percent
BJP	113	14.7
Congress	221	28.8
NC	78	10.2
PDP	17	2.2
None	339	44.1
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

Stone pelting has been one of the worst forms of expressing aggression and revolting against the State and its forces. This dangerous menace is currently resulting in the enormous

losses to both civilian and security forces, and it is not limited only to this, but it is also causing destruction to the public properties and even leads to fatalities. This form of resistance is a neglected burden on the Kashmir valley, and by dint of this violent method, the State gets affected. Who in Kashmir is not aware of stone-pelting and there are various reports that claim that they are paid agents of some anti-social elements, and this question needs to be crosschecked whether they are paid or not for pelting stones during different times of unrest in Kashmir? A question with the desired option was presented before the respondents and in which the majority of the respondents claimed that they are paid, agents. Of the total tested samples, it was found that 304 (39.6%) respondents said that they are not paid agents while 336 (43.8%) of sample size acknowledged that they are paid agents or are paid for pelting stones. 128 (16.7%) respondents expressed that they do not have any opinion regarding it. Stone pelting as a paid profession and a tool for fermenting trouble in the valley as a question needed to be analysed and from the analysed data it can be said that they are paid agents of some anti-social elements who always want trouble and conflict in the valley for their self-benefits. The views expressed by the tested samples are given in Table 6.47:

Table 6.47: Stone Pelters in Kashmir are Paid or Unpaid Agents

There are always, news, government reports and allegations that stone Pelters in Kashmir are paid agents, what is your view?		
	Frequency	Percent
No, they are not paid, agents	304	39.6
Yes, they are paid, agents	336	43.8
No Opinion	128	16.7
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

This is not limited only to this question whether they are paid or not paid agents, but there is a lot of criticism regarding the stone pelting and not only by other parties or government agencies, but there is a severe criticism with the Kashmiri society also, not all but most of the people are disavowing it, and they consider it as hindrance for the growth of people and sound economic system of the state. Majority of the people are against it, and they are totally disavowing it. From the tested samples it has been found that a considerable majority of the samples, i.e., 590 (76.8%) have said that we do not believe in stone-pelting and called it a futile exercise that ruins the life and career of hundreds of the people of the society. A very smaller number of samples, i.e., 62 (8.1%) have said that it is the best form of violence and helps a lot in waging war against the State. From the tested data it has been found that majority of the samples are disavowing it and the majority of the people in the State are well aware of it, and it is the role of very few anti-social elements which are fuelling it for self-benefits to dislike it

also for the peaceful and sound atmosphere in the valley. The views expressed by different samples on account of stone-pelting are listed in Table 6.48:

Table 6.48: Belief of Respondents in Stone Pelting

Do you believe in stone-pelting?		
	Frequency	Percent
Stone Pelting is the best form of violence and helps a lot in waging war against State Government	62	8.1
No, Stone Pelting is futile and ruins the life and career of hundreds	590	76.8
Do not Agree	116	15.1
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

Pakistan has retained some parts of Kashmir, and some part of it has been gifted to China by Pakistan, and it is crucial to know the ground reality of the people what they want to do with the retained parts of Kashmir by Pakistan and China. From the tested samples it was found that majority of the tested samples, i.e., 452 (58.9%) are of the opinion that parts of Kashmir that are retained by Pakistan and China should be merged back to Kashmir. While 77 (10.0%) respondents are of the view that they should be left there with Pakistan and China and 239 (31.1%) are of the view that referendum should be held there. Hence, from the analysed data, it can be said that majority of the respondents want parts of Kashmir back, which are retained by Pakistan and China. The opinions expressed by respondents are in listed in Table 6.49:

Table 6.49: Views of Respondents related to retained parts of Kashmir by China & Pakistan

Parts of Kashmir retained by Pakistan and China should be merged back to Kashmir or not?		
	Frequency	Percent
Should be merged back fully with Jammu and Kashmir	452	58.9
Should be left there with Pakistan and China as they are	77	10.0
A referendum should be held there	239	31.1
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

From the tested samples, it has been found that 288 (37.5%) said that they are considering the elected government of Jammu and Kashmir as their representatives, while 290 (37.8%) tested samples are considering influential religious leaders as their representatives. 68 (8.9%) respondents are considering separatist and militants as their representatives and 122 (15.9%) samples are not accepting any representatives from the listed options. From the tested data it has been found that government and influential religious leaders have a significant role in representing the people of the State and from the fieldwork while getting proposed data it was found that people who are employed or are doing government jobs or have relations with

the government sector are considering government and its agencies as their representatives, while on the other hand, other people believe in religious leaders who are influential in nature and consider them as their representatives. Hence, it can be said after analysing the data that religion has a significant role to play in the affairs and the management of the state. The views expressed by the tested sample regarding their representative, which clearly depicts the religious superiority as listed in Table 6.50:

Table 6.50: Representatives of the Kashmir people as per Respondents

Whom do you consider as a representative of Kashmiri people?		
	Frequency	Percent
Elected Government of Jammu and Kashmir	288	37.5
Influential Religious Leaders	290	37.8
Separatists and Militants	68	8.9
None of the Above	122	15.9
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

While testing the belief of people whom they believe most, it has been found that majority of the respondents believe in the government of India as compared to the government of Jammu and Kashmir. From the analysed data it was found that 409 (53.3%) of the tested samples are considering the government of India and 106 (13.8%) respondents believe in government of Jammu and Kashmir as compared to others. 114 (14.8%) respondents are the ones who believe more in Hurriyat or militants. From the tested sample, it has been detected that people believe more on the government of India rather than the government of the State. It was found and analysed during the data collection and fieldwork that the people in the State hate government of the State more than anything else. The opinions and views expressed by the respondents are given in Table 6.51:

Table 6.51: Belief of Respondents as Expressed

Whom do you believe most?		
	Frequency	Percent
Government of India	409	53.3
Government of Jammu and Kashmir	106	13.8
Hurriyat and Militants	114	14.8
None of the Above	139	18.1
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

People hold different views regarding their choices of stay and here the most important aspect of this thing is that majority of the respondents have stated and acknowledged that they would like to stay with India if the choice is given to them. Of the total tested samples, 530 (69.0%) respondents have acknowledged that if choice is given to them, they will like to stay

will India, 83 (10.8%) respondents have said that they will like to stay with Pakistan if choice will be given to them and 155 (20.2%) respondents have expressed their willingness to stay independent if choice will be provided to them. It was observed during the data collection and fieldwork process that more the educated people in Kashmir know the situation of people in parts of Kashmir that are currently under the administration of Pakistan. The tested samples had expressed the following listed choices in terms of preference for staying, and they are listed in Table 6.52:

Table 6.52: Choice of Staying Country in Case of Referendum

If the choice will be given to you and with whom you will like to stay?		
	Frequency	Percent
India	530	69.0
Pakistan	83	10.8
Independent	155	20.2
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

Instigating of cross border firing has always been a debatable one by different think tanks and experts, and different opinions are expressed by different groups while blaming each other. From the tested samples, it was found that the majority of the samples, i.e., 436 (56.8%) people are of the view that both countries should be blamed for instigating cross border firing. 265 (34.5%) samples said that Pakistan mostly instigates, while a very a smaller number of respondents, i.e., 20 (2.6%) respondents said that India mostly instigates. Hence, from the tested data, it can be said that both countries are to blame, and they both should jointly work to check the menace of cross border firing by announcing a complete ceasefire. The opinions expressed by the respondents are listed in Table 6.53:

Table 6.53: Opinions Expressed on Instigating Cross Border Firing

Some people are of the opinion that mostly Pakistan instigates firing from across the border, while others are of the opinion that India is the one which mostly instigates it. What is your opinion on that?		
	Frequency	Percent
Pakistan mostly instigates	265	34.5
India mostly instigates	20	2.6
Both countries are to blame	436	56.8
No Opinion	47	6.1
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

Different field experts and thinktanks are expressing different opinions regarding the Kashmir issue, and some are of the view that Kashmir should be left free, some say it should be left there as it is, while some are of the view that referendum should be held there. For the

disposal of Same, the views of the samples were collected through designated questionnaire and after analysis, it was found that majority of the tested samples, i.e., 63.8% have stated that Kashmir should remain with India as it is. 81 (10.5%) tested samples have said that Kashmir should stay with India but must be given more autonomy and a very smaller number of respondents, i.e., 28 (3.6%) have said that Kashmir should become part of Pakistan. From the analysed data, it has been found that majority of the respondents want to stay with India as it is. The views expressed are listed in Table 6.54:

Table 6.54: Present Suitable Option for Kashmir

In the present situation, which of the following do you think will be the most suitable option for Kashmir?		
	Frequency	Percent
Kashmir should remain with India as it is	490	63.8
Kashmir should stay with India but must be given more autonomy	81	10.5
Kashmir should become a part of Pakistan	28	3.6
Kashmir on both the sides of the border should be merged and made an independent country	169	22.0
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

Different opinions are expressed by different categories of the people while being asked by to whom are they comfortable with, like staying with India, Pakistan or independent. An interesting fact has been explored from the tested samples that, a considerable majority of them want to be part of India and not Pakistan. Of the total tested samples, 547 (71.2%) respondents have acknowledged that they will like to stay with India if Kashmir does not have an option of becoming a separate country and a very less number of respondents, i.e., 74 (9.6%) have stated that they will like to stay with Pakistan if Kashmir does not have an option of becoming a separate country. The views and expressions expressed by the respondents are listed in Table 6.55:

Table 6.55: With Whom Would You Like to Stay

If Kashmir does not have the option of becoming a separate country, then would you prefer going with India or Pakistan?		
	Frequency	Percent
India	547	71.2
Pakistan	74	9.6
No Opinion	147	19.1
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

It is not only limited to exercising the choices, but the majority of the tested samples have stated that Jammu and Kashmir should stay with India but must be given more autonomy.

From the tested data it has been found that 258 (33.6%) respondents said that Jammu and Kashmir should stay with India but must be given more autonomy and 259 (33.7%) tested samples have said that parts of Jammu and Kashmir retained by Pakistan and China should be merged back with Kashmir. From the analysed data it has been found that majority of the people in Jammu and Kashmir want to be the part of India with more autonomy and want parts of Kashmir back that are retained by Pakistan and China. The views expressed by different respondents are listed in Table 6.56:

Table 6.56: Suggestions on Improving Kashmir Situation

Different people are holding different suggestions that are supposed to improve the situation in Jammu and Kashmir. Tell me which suggestion will be best, according to your opinion?		
	Frequency	Percent
Jammu & Kashmir should stay with India but must be given more autonomy	258	33.6
Jammu and Kashmir should stay with India but should be divided into three different States	72	9.4
Parts of Jammu Kashmir retained by Pakistan and China should be merged back with Kashmir	259	33.7
There should be a plebiscite to solve the Kashmir issue	179	23.3
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

Participation in the frequent protest programs in Kashmir is of exceptional value, and it has always been a frequent one. From the analysed data, it has been found that majority of the people in Kashmir are active in protest programs which are there for achieving several reasons or aims. Of the total tested samples, it has been found that 476 (62.0%) respondents have taken part or are active in the protest movements in last three decades and 292 (38.0%) respondents have said that they do not have participated in any of the protest programmes in the last three decades. The data is given in Table 6.57:

Table 6.57: Participation in Protest Demonstration during last three Years

Have you taken part in any protest demonstration programme in the last three decades?		
	Frequency	Percent
No	292	38.0
Yes	476	62.0
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

As stated, and said in the previous Table 6.57 regarding the active participation of the respondents in the frequent protest programs, it has been found that 169 (22.0%) respondents have taken part in protest programs on account of general public issue and it can be an issue directly or indirectly related with the public. 181 (23.6%) respondents have protested for government service inefficiency, 76 (9.9%) have staged protest for other issues, and very a

smaller number of respondents, i.e., 58 (7.6%) have taken part in protest programme for the Kashmir issue. From the analysed data, it can be said that respondents are more active in protest programmes, and the reasons are varied from government service to the general public issue. The reasons for protesting in various protest programmes by respondents are listed in data Table 6.58:

Table 6.58: Different Reasons Responsible for Taking Part in Protests

What was the reason for the protest?		
	Frequency	Percent
General Public Issue	169	22.0
Government Service Inefficiency	181	23.6
Kashmir Issue	58	7.6
Other Issue	76	9.9
Total	484	63.0
System Missing	284	37.0
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

Armed Forces Special Powers Act or abbreviated as AFSPA is an act of the Indian parliament that currently it confers special powers to the Indian armed forces for sustaining peace and public order in the disturbed areas.²⁶²

It equips armed forces with the exceptional power for managing and maintaining public order in the disturbed areas, and they are empowered to prevent any gathering of five or more than persons in that area. They can capture a person without any warrant and can frisk any suspicious activity, and by dint of this power, they can open fire after delivering a due warning. In the conflict-ridden State of Jammu and Kashmir, it is always a controversial one, and different opinions are expressed by the different communities of the society about the revocation of this Act of parliament. From the tested data and from the analysis generated after calculating the data it was found that majority of the tested samples, i.e., 436 (56.8%) respondents have revealed that AFSPA should be completely or entirely repealed. 270 (35.2%) respondents have said that it should continue but with some amendments and 14 (1.8%) respondents have said that it should continue as it is while 48 (6.3%) respondents have expressed 'No opinion.' From the data analysis and as per the shreds of evidence from the fieldwork and also even during the data collection it has been observed that majority of the people want AFSPA to be repealed entirely and it is also evident from the data analysis and the

²⁶² A disturbed area is one which is listed by notification under section 3 of the AFSPA. A region can be disturbed or disordered because of contradictions or disagreements between individuals from diverse religious, racial, language or territorial groups. The Central Government or the Governor of the State or head of the Union Territory can announce the entire or part of the State or Union Territory a disputed area.

opinions expressed by the majority of the respondents. The views and opinions expressed about the AFSPA by different groups of respondents are listed in Table 6.59:

Table 6.59: AFSPA Should be Repealed or not

Armed Forces Special Powers Act should be repealed completely or not. What is your opinion regarding AFSPA?		
	Frequency	Percent
Should be repealed entirely	436	56.8
Should continue but with some amendments	270	35.2
Should continue as it is	14	1.8
No Opinion	48	6.3
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

One of the worst forms that is frequently hitting the peaceful atmosphere of the state and it is leaving no stone unturned in making the economy of the state a handicapped one, are the programmes and policies of the separatist forces which have damaged the State most and they by dint of these frequent strike calls and protest programmes and other tactics that are meant for mobilising the people of the State for generating the unrest and turbulence in the valley is the most deadliest and hated practice of the separatist forces. These separatist forces having main headquarters in Srinagar issue frequently protest programs and strike calls that are making the economy of the State more vulnerable, and it mostly affects the livelihood of the ordinary people who are dependent on daily earnings. A question with intended objectives was put before the respondents, and it was found that majority of the calculated samples, i.e., 418 (54.4%) acknowledged that these programmes of the separatist forces should not be there and 242 (31.5%) respondents have said that if these programmes are not according to law, then they will ruin our state directly or indirectly. Hence, we can find from the calculated samples that these programmes should be totally wiped out, and a complete ban on them should be there. The views expressed by the respondents are in Table 6.60:

Table 6.60: Strike Calls and other Protest Programmes Should be there or Not

Strike calls, protest programmes and other forms of protesting tactics should be there or not?		
	Frequency	Percent
Strike calls and protest programmes that are deterring civil society and the general public mostly should be there	108	14.1
No, these programmes should not be there	418	54.4
Frequent strikes and protest programs that are not according to the law are ruining our state and economy	242	31.5
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

While enquiring about knowledge on protest calls issued by the separatist parties or extremist militant forces, it was found that a massive majority of tested samples, i.e., 739 (96.2%) have acknowledged that they are aware of the calls issued by the separatist forces which were meant for the boycott of elections. From the analysed data, it has been found that a considerable majority of respondents are aware of it, and these calls are common there. Thus, from the analysed data it can be said that these calls are main hindrances in the successful working of democratic institutions and on the basis of data it can be said that they need to be banned permanently. The acknowledgement of the respondents is given in Table 6.61:

Table 6.61: Are you Aware of Strike Calls and other Protest tactics

Do you know or are you aware of any calls issued by the separatists which were meant for the boycott of elections in your area?		
	Frequency	Percent
Know	739	96.2
Do not Know	29	3.8
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

Now the question here arises that, who is sponsoring these protest calls and what are the agencies and parties which are mainly responsible for that. After the analysis of the collected data in SPSS, it was found that both separatist parties and militant organisations are responsible for that and 467 (60.8%) tested samples have acknowledged that 192 (25.0%) respondents have blamed Separatist organisations and 105 (13.7%) have blamed Militant outfits for the poll boycott calls. From the data analysis, it has been found that there are only two parties (Separatist and Militants) who are always responsible for the low voter turnout. For better voter turnout these poll boycott calls need to be declared totally illegal and strict action needs to be brought into action. During the fieldwork and data analysis, it was found that most of the people are willing to exercise their democratic right but are unable due to pressure from separatists and militants. The views expressed by respondents are listed in Table 6.62:

Table 6.62: Responsible Agents for Issuing Strike Calls

Who had given that call?		
	Frequency	Percent
Separatists	192	25.0
Militants	105	13.7
Both Separatists and Militants	467	60.8
Religious leaders	4	.5
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

When people are fully aware of these calls and the question here unanswered is then who is supporting them. From the analysed data, 576 (75.0%) respondents have stated that they

totally do not support these calls and protest programmes that are issued by the Hurriyat or separatist parties. Now the big question here arises is that, when majority nearly 75% of respondents are against these calls, then why there is a low voter turnout despite that great support? During the interaction with the respondents at the time of fieldwork and data collection stages, it was found that it is the Militant or Gun pressure which is mainly responsible for low voter turnout. After the proper analysis of data collected and views expressed, it is suggested that secret voting along with compulsory voting should be there so that there is an increase in it. The opinions generated from the analysed data are in Table 6.63:

Table 6.63: Views Regarding the Support of Strike Calls

Do you support strike calls and protest programs that are issued by Hurriyat or Separatists?		
	Frequency	Percent
No	576	75.0
Yes	110	14.3
No Opinion	82	10.7
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

As suggested in the above paragraph about the complete ban on these calls and programme tactics that are used by separatist forces and militant outfits, it has been found from the analysed data that a vast majority of samples tested were favouring a complete ban on these calls. From the tested respondents, 593 (77.2%) are against the election boycott calls that are issued by separatist forces of the State and small percentage, i.e., 175 (22.8%) are against the ban. From the analysed data, it is suggested that there should be a complete ban on these and those supporting it should be severely punished. The views and opinions expressed by the respondents are given in Table 6.64:

Table 6.64: Views Related to Election Boycott

Election boycott calls issued by Separatist forces of the State should be totally banned or not?		
	Frequency	Percent
No	175	22.8
Yes	593	77.2
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

As discussed thoroughly above and from data analysis, it can be easily said that how much impact on the society is there due to these calls and nearly 91 (11.8%) respondents have stated that they were not able to vote due to these calls. While 87 (11.3%) had stated that they would not vote. During the fieldwork and data collection stage, it was observed that

respondents are willing to vote but were raising the question of how to defy protest calls. The analysed data and opinions expressed are listed in Table 6.65:

Table 6.65: Ability and Willingness to Vote

While talking and discussing with people about the elections in the State of Jammu and Kashmir during my pilot study from 01st June 2018 to 04th July 2018, I have found that some people did not vote or will not vote. What about you? Were you able to vote		
	Frequency	Percent
Not able to vote	91	11.8
Will not vote	87	11.3
Able to vote and will vote	566	73.7
Do not Know	24	3.1
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

From the analysed data that it is found that people here in Kashmir want electoral participation but have to face certain limitations like poll boycott calls, etc., etc. most of the respondents were seen politically active despite these restrictions, and it was observed during the fieldwork that employed youth do not have any problem in casting votes while not employed persons or those who are not working or affiliated with any government agency were the biggest victims of this poll boycott. Those employed can easily vote because most of them are on poll duties or they are monitoring these works. Security issue always remains there for common people, and that is also the main reason for low voter turnout. From the tested samples, it was found that a small number of respondents, i.e., 28 (3.6%) were the electorates who had cast their votes first time and 562 (73.2%) respondents had voted more than one times. The number of times the electorates have voted is given in Table 6.66:

Table 6.66: Presence in Electoral Participation

Is it the first time you have voted in the elections?		
	Frequency	Percent
No	562	73.2
Yes	28	3.6
Do not Know	178	23.2
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

Participation in electoral politics is an assertion for the support of the Indian State and democracy because by participating in electoral politics the participant is accepting the constitution and acknowledges to be a good citizen and follower of the law of the land. While testing the same phenomenon, it was found that a whopping number of 498 (64.8%) respondents had acknowledged that participation in electoral politics is an assertion of support for the Indian State and democracy and 270 (35.2%) tested samples had stated that voting in

the elections has nothing to do with support for the Indian state and democracy as it is only for local issues. The views listed by the respondents have been assumed in Table 6.67:

Table 6.67: Electoral participation as an assertion of Support for India

Is participation in electoral politics an assertion of support for the Indian State and Democracy		
	Frequency	Percent
Voting in the elections is an assertion of support for the Indian State and Democracy	498	64.8
Voting in elections has nothing to do with support for the Indian State and Democracy, and it is only for local issues	270	35.2
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

All Parties Hurriyat Conference (APHC) or Hurriyat is an association of various socio-religious and socio-political parties with two main divisions, one group works as an extremist group which is led by Syed Ali Shah Geelani and the other group is operating as moderate one and Umar Farooq leads this fraction. Hurriyat is divided currently into multi fractions with a large number of organisations and groups with various ideologies spreading from moderate to the extremist font. While analysing the fact and reasons behind the division of Hurriyat in multi fractions and parties, it was found from the analysed data that they want to gain the benefits separately for themselves. 444 (57.8%) respondents blamed Hurriyat's self-benefit for the division in their organisation and 161 (21.0%) tested samples blamed their ideology which is responsible for their division. 52 (6.8%) said that they are missing centralised leadership and 111 (14.5%) said that by dint of various divisions they want to raise the cause more effectively. Hence from the analysed data, it has been found that they want self-benefits for themselves separately besides broken ideology. The views expressed by the respondents are listed in Table 6.68:

Table 6.68: Reasons for Division in Hurriyat

Hurriyat is divided into multi fractions and groups because		
	Frequency	Percent
They want to gain the benefits separately for themselves	444	57.8
They are missing the centralised leadership	52	6.8
Their Ideology has disputes within themselves	161	21.0
To raise their cause more effectively	111	14.5
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

Regional political parties are focussing for self-benefits because when they are in power, they neglect Hurriyat and when not in power they consider them as suitable party for the induction in dialogue process and same is the case with different experts they are considering Hurriyat as a dialogue partner and even Hurriyat itself it is declaring itself as the

sole running representative front of the State. For the same issue, a questionnaire with intended options was put before the respondents, and after the analysis of the data, it has been found that majority of the respondents, i.e., 424 (55.2%) are of the firm view who do not believe in the induction of Hurriyat leaders in dialogue process and 344 (44.8%) are favouring Hurriyat people for considering them as a partner in dialogue process. From the data analysis and experiences from the fieldwork, it has been found that Hurriyat should not be included in the dialogue process, and they should not be considered as a party for dialogue on Kashmir. The views expressed of the respondents are in Table 6.69:

Table 6.69: Hurriyat as part of dialogue Process

Do you believe that Hurriyat Leaders should be included in the dialogue process?		
	Frequency	Percent
No, they should not be included	424	55.2
Yes, they should be included	344	44.8
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

Separatist forces are the ones who are waging against the Indian State and are the ones who are operating on Indian soils and enjoying unlimited benefits and besides holding Indian passports. They are enjoying unlimited perks, security cover, travel and medical allowances from both the governments of Jammu and Kashmir and also from the government of India. Now the question here is that whether Perks, incentives and security cover provided to separatist parties should be revoked because they do not believe in democratic institutions of the State? This question of removing perks to them was put before the respondents and a majority samples, i.e., 592 (77.1%) are of the view that these perks and incentives provided to them should be revoked. 48 (6.3%) had said no to it, and 128 (16.7%) of the respondents had expressed 'No Opinion.' From the analysed data, it can be said that perks and incentives to these anti-state elements should be wiped out. The opinions of tested samples are in Table 6.70:

Table 6.70: Suspension of Perks, Incentives and Security Cover to Hurriyat

Perks, incentives and security cover provided to separatist parties should be revoked because they do not believe in democratic institutions of the State?		
	Frequency	Percent
No	48	6.3
Yes	592	77.1
No Opinion	128	16.7
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

Article 370 of the Indian constitution is an article that empowers the State of Jammu and Kashmir with autonomous status, and this provision of the constitution is enlisted in Part

XXI (Part XXI of Constitution: Temporary, Transitional and Special Provisions). Besides conferring autonomous and special status to the state of Jammu and Kashmir, it also restricts powers of the Indian parliament for making laws regarding the State. Article 35A authorises the State assembly to determine ‘permanent residents’ for offering exclusive rights and privileges on them. There are different opinions that are expressed differently by the different sections of the society about Article 370, and it has always been in news and media. Possessing knowledge about it is of immense scope, and it is also evident from the data analysis that, 748 (97.4%) of the respondents acknowledged that they are aware of the Article 370 of the Indian constitution and it was observed during the fieldwork that they have either heard about it through reading or by dint of press, media and other active, influential leaders. A fewer percentage of respondents, i.e., 20 (2.6%) said that they are not aware of it or have not heard about it. The calculated samples had expressed different views regarding the knowledge about Art. 370 of the Indian constitution and they are listed in Table 6.71:

Table 6.71: Knowledgeable Regarding article 370

Have you heard or read about Article 370 of the Indian Constitution?		
	Frequency	Percent
Heard	748	97.4
Not Heard	20	2.6
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

There is and always are controversies about the abrogation of Article 370 and its abrogation was also listed in the BJP’s agenda or election manifesto. Different sections of society from politicians to bureaucrats and from policymakers to policy executors, from the general public to influential leaders there have varied opinions on the abrogation of the Article 370 which is known to be the reasons behind the State’s backwardness and lack of industrial growth rate. During the fieldwork and at the different stages of data collection it was found that unemployed youth mostly who are educated ones firmly hold the view that it (Article 370) should be abrogated and according to them it is this article which is mainly responsible for the less economic growth of the State. After the full data analysis, it was also found that majority of the calculated samples, i.e., 415 (54.0%) are of the firm view that it should be abolished and 305 (39.7%) respondents have said that it should be retained, while 48 (6.3%) have expressed

‘No Opinion.’ The views and opinions expressed by the different respondents are listed in Table 6.72:

Table 6.72: Views on Revocation of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution

Do you think that Article 370 should remain in force or should it be repealed?		
	Frequency	Percent
Should be retained	305	39.7
Should be abolished	415	54.0
No Opinion	48	6.3
Total	768	100.0

Source: The Data in Table has been Constructed on the Basis of Fieldwork

II. Issues and Challenges in Tackling Kashmir Conflict

Conflict in the valley of Kashmir and its limitlessness to that region of the State according to the analysis of the fieldwork and case studies have been pointed out due to the presence and occurrence of certain elements which are only surviving in that region of the State and their absence in other two parts of the State viz., Jammu and Ladakh are making the Kashmir valley incomparable one. They may be tagged as same sides of the coin but with different and unique identities. One side is known by dint of its armed insurgency movements, separatism, abundant availability of local support for militancy and influence of religious identity as propounded by Jinnah’s two-nation theory. While on the other hand, the same side of this coin, i.e., Jammu and Ladakh are totally opposite to these all concepts and there is a total absence of local support, armed militancy and separatist forces on their soils, and they totally disfavour them. The limitlessness of the Kashmir conflict has been credited to the presence of these forces and elements which are only available and surviving in this part of the State. In the following section, an attempt was explored to highlight the significant issues and prominent challenges that have made the Kashmir issue more complicated and prominent in the region.

1. Growth of Separatism and Militant Extremism

State of Jammu and Kashmir which currently comprises of three dissimilar regions namely Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh and these three regions of the State have been acknowledged even though constitutionally. Of the three regions in the valley, Kashmir region known as a heavenly body by dint of its beauty, unique troposphere, abundant availability of natural resources and growth of enormous quantity and quality of fresh fruits besides known

for its unique production of dry fruits. In addition to this, the valley is known for its unique cultivation of certain valuable and precious herbs and spices which are known throughout the world for their medicinal value. Kashmir valley is known for its agricultural production, and the State's economy is the primary beneficiary by dint of these natural resources and products. Although beauty and abundant production in the valley makes it separate and unique out of the three regions in the State, at the same time there are some uncertain elements available in the valley which have made it further introduced to the outer world. Growth of Separatism, Militancy, abundant availability of local support, Pakistan sponsored extremist militancy etc. are some of the unique features that are making it more vulnerable and isolated out of the total regions attached with the State. Growth of separatism, extremist militant insurgent forces, local support are some of the elements which are growing only in the Kashmir valley and are not valid or active in Jammu and Ladakh areas of the State. Hence it can be said that Kashmir valley is recognised separately by virtue of its armed militant insurgency movement and extensive growth in separatism besides the presence of local support that is making it most favourable and suitable destiny for the armed insurgency and unrest. Jammu and Ladakh are most peaceful and developed ones only due to the absence of these elements, and these two regions do not support these extremist movements or organisations.

2. Unstable, Corrupt and Deceive Political System

Conflict ridden zones are always drama fields for the political parties and they by virtue of their political propagandas or dramas always try to inflict on people their folly and corrupt policies. Political parties do not have to search for new dramas in conflict-ridden areas, but their propaganda and misleading policies and are always there to deceive the innocent subjects of the State. Same in the case of Jammu and Kashmir which has become a victim of the Pakistan sponsored terrorism and people in the Kashmir valley only still are focussing on religious identity as the basis of nationalism have been the biggest victims of political follies besides armed insurgency. People of the State have always been deceived, misrepresented and victimised abundantly by the political parties of the State and they are always pro Indian when in power and become automatically pro Pakistani when not in power.²⁶³ Always inappropriate steps are followed that are meant to please the trouble makers in the State. Political parties in power are advocating new and different approaches while dealing with the separatist forces, stone pelters and other available unwanted trouble makers in the valley. They are to some

²⁶³ [CM Mufti Sayeed credits Pakistan, militant outfits for peaceful polls in J&K, Opposition hits out at PM Modi.](#) (2015, March 1). The Indian Express. Accessed on: 10th November 2019.

extent, dealt strictly, but at the same time, they are advocated by the same political party when not in power. Public Safety Act thrashed by the ruling political party on any anti-social element is strongly disfavoured by the opposition parties and vice versa. Political instability, corrupt and unclassified political system has always been prevalent in the valley from a long ago, during the electioneering process or at the pre-election phase different political propagandas and promises are flashed before the people that are only meant to convince the voters, but after the successful closure of the election period, they are always victimised, neglected and mislead by the ruling parties. The stable and honest political system needs to be installed in the State along with the healthy and robust electoral participation so that all unwanted elements are rooted out from the valley like other two regions of the State and development will automatically surround the valley.

3. Unemployment, Lack of Privatization and Industrialization

Heavenly and beautiful State of Jammu and Kashmir has been not always frequently in the news for its conflict and armed insurgency movements but has always been a debatable one for its local issues and governance problems. Unemployment, lack of privatisation, industrialisation and special constitutional status have always been there and are considered as critical challenges and hindrances for the development of the State. In the current context, unemployment and lack of industrialisation besides privatisation have been one of the biggest impediments in the state's overall development and prosperity. Comparing the State of Jammu and Kashmir with its neighbouring states like Delhi, Haryana, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh, it holds the highest rate of the unemployment rate as compared to them. The unemployment rate in Jammu and Kashmir Stands at 4.9% as compared with its neighbouring states like Delhi which figures at 4.7% and at the same time its rate stands in the States of Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, and Punjab at 3.2%, 2.0% and 2.8%²⁶⁴ respectively (Ganaie, 2018).

The limitlessness of unemployment does not cease here, but there are other specific factors which are directly or indirectly responsible for the States low employment rate and they are like in the form of enormous lack of privatisation and industrialisation. Various policymakers and subject experts are hitting at the States special status which is constitutionally acknowledged through the article 370 of the Indian constitution, and the special status of the State is believed to be mainly responsible for the massive lack of privatisation and industrialisation which further is indirectly responsible for the high growing unemployment

²⁶⁴ Ganaie, N. A. (2018). Kashmir from Barriers of Discomfort to Hope: A Case of Hurriyat Conference. World Journal of Social Science Research, 5(3), 258-281.

rate in the State because the youth of the state have become mostly dependent on government jobs and outside firms are mostly unable to establish their units here or cannot purchase lands needed for the establishment of their industrial units. The highest rate of employment along with the stable and sound development in the state is possible only if privatisation and establishment of various factories and industries are established here in the state because it will attract skilled unemployed youth of the State and will bestow them with jobs and earning hands. In addition to this special status of the state is directly or indirectly becoming an impediment in its development and establishment of new industrial and business units. The special status of the State needs to be modified, or it should be entirely abrogated so that new opportunities and massive developments will occur in the state and will make it to the outer world as employment generator hub.

4. Religious Superiority, Identity and Regionalism

Partition of the country happened soon after the British left it, and there was only one cause for the partition of the country, and it was the widespread belief in the religious identity besides strong presence of the religious superiority as propounded by the Jinnah's popular two-nation theory which distributes the brother of Hindus and Muslims into two separate nations. Two nation theory has always been the popular belief of the masses while choosing and selecting their nationalism or nation and same here in the case of Kashmir, and it did the same. Out of the three popular regions of the state of Jammu and Kashmir viz., Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh, Kashmir region in the state is the only Muslim dominated region which still considers Jinnah's two-nation theory as their basis for nationalism. Various masses in the Kashmir valley still believe in the two-nation theory, and it mainly formulates the religious identity as a separate basis. Unrest, conflict and turbulence in the Kashmir valley are only due to the religious identity, and once this belief in the religious identity starts diminishing or outlook of the state subjects regarding the religious identity get changed, unrest and conflict in the valley will also start diminishing. Religion cannot be the basis for the formation of the new nation, and it has been proved in the contemporary era how the combination of various religions is flourishing and growing in the world's top and developed nations like Canada, Germany, U.K. and USA. For the speedy and healthy growth of any nation, it needs the contribution of various members of the society, and they are in the form of Hindus, Muslims, Christians and so on and so forth.

On the other hand, regionalism is one of the biggest threats in the development of any State, and no State or nation cannot prosper in the presence of the strong regionalism. Kashmir

valley particularly out of the three regions has been the victims of regionalism, and people in this part of the State are considering other religious dominant regions as a threat. Growth of the strong regionalism has been dominant in the valley in the current context, and it needs to be reduced down for prosperity and development of the State. Welfare states cannot grow in the presence of some elements like regionalism and religious identity because they always become hindrances in the development and misrepresent the masses at each and every stage of the governance. For the welfare and prosperity of the State, it needs the absence of religious identity and regionalism.

5. Lack of Democratic Dominance

Democratic dominance and healthy electoral participation always play an essential role in the successful working of democratic institutions besides it generates a successful implementation of the welfare schemes launched by the government. It has been observed that more the electoral participation is there, more the chances of good governance are there. Compulsory voting in some countries of the world has always been there, and some other nations are having a responsible size of voters who are either more educated and know the value of their votes or democratic participation. In our country India there has been a challenge from the very beginning on the issues of the good electoral participation, and we have been the victims of low voter turnout in both parliamentary and assembly elections. Low voter turnout in the State of Jammu and Kashmir has always been a debatable one, and there are various kinds of literature available on the low voter turnout, and importantly it is mostly due to the presence of the separatist forces and extremist militant forces that are always available in the State and they at the time of elections always issue poll boycott calls,²⁶⁵ and even militant extremist forces of the State are threatening the general public (voters) by killing them or pouring acid²⁶⁶ in their eyes.²⁶⁷ There are various reasons associated with the low voter turnout in the valley of Kashmir as compared to Jammu and Ladakh, which are having relatively high voter turnout during any type of elections. In Kashmir valley reasons like the influence of the separatist forces, armed militant insurgency, radicalisation, security issues while casting votes and hatred towards the participation in the electoral process are some of the main issues which need to be tackled while generating a high percentage of voter turnout. Two main forces, like

²⁶⁵ [J&K civic polls tomorrow, even as shadow of threats, boycott calls loom large](#). (2017, October 7). India Today. Accessed on: 11th November 2019.

²⁶⁶ [Hizb-ul Mujahideen, in audio clip, threaten to pour acid into eyes of panchayat poll candidates](#). (2018, November 20). India Today. Accessed on: 13th November 2019.

²⁶⁷ [Elections are haram': Kashmiri militant groups ask voters to stay away from Lok Sabha polls](#). (2019, April 8). The Print. Accessed on: 15th November 2019.

armed militants and the presence of the separatist or Hurriyat parties, are always acting as main threats in the successful working of the democratic institutions.

No society or state in the absence of healthy electoral participation will progress despite the fact that good democratic institutions are established there. Peace, progress, prosperity, reasonable and transparent governance are only possible by dint of the healthy electoral participation and same in the case of Kashmir prosperity, justice and equality will prevail only once the sound, and fair electoral participation is established there in the region. Those institutions or organisation that are disfavours the electoral participation of the general public need to be dealt strictly according to the law and mass movements, and campaigns need to be launched in order to educate the general public about the consequences of the poll boycott.²⁶⁸ Role of the influential religious leaders in sound and healthy electoral participation cannot also be neglected, and their influence is of essential scope and value for the establishment of free and fair democratic institutions.

6. Unsatisfactory Implementation of laws, Injustice and usage of Brutal Force

Conflict ridden zones in any part of the world are always dissimilar with other parts of the same territories whose boundaries are governed, administered and ruled by the same nation. State of Jammu and Kashmir holding the privileges of the special status under the union of India under the Article 370 of the constitution is among one of the few states that comes under the jurisdiction of some harsh laws that are meant to treat the armed insurgencies especially there. As we all are aware that there are always pros and cons of that also. If in certain situations it is dealing with the armed militancy and gun culture strictly, but there are some junctures that these special laws are misused at some time.²⁶⁹ Special laws like AFSPA (Armed Forces Special Powers Act), PSA (Public Safety Act) and POTA (Prevention of Terrorism Act) are some of the laws framed to deal with the terrorism, and separatist forces have been fully or partially applicable in the State of Jammu and Kashmir along with States in the northeast. There are some stages or phases through the misuse of these laws have been carried out by some personals associated with the security forces.²⁷⁰ These special laws meant to tackle the hindrances of the terrorist, and extremist groups need to implemented and authenticated

²⁶⁸ [Hurriyat's Syed Ali Geelani calls for boycott of 2014 polls](#). (2013, November 2). *India Today*. Accessed on: 16th November 2019.

²⁶⁹ [Fear of consequences, needed to stop AFSPA misuse](#). (2014, March 8). *The Economic Times*. Accessed on: 17th November 2019.

²⁷⁰ [Jammu & Kashmir tops list on rights abuses under AFSPA, Assam second](#). (2017, July 29). *Live Mint*. Web Accessed on: 17th November 2019.

judiciously so that less harm is done to the public or general masses in order to keep their trust intact in democratic and government institutions. Thorough implementation and strict procedures need to be followed while dealing with any terrorist activity through these laws, and public order needs to be given top priority for the welfare of the State and State subjects.

Unrest and public disbelief are not in addition to this limited to the successful implementation of the special laws, but there are some other brutalities or usage of extensive force that is committed against the general public while dealing with the insurgency movements. Standards Operating Procedures (SOPs) need to be followed and implemented thoroughly. Utmost stress and care need to be laid, or less, least or no damage to the public properties should be there on top priority while dealing with any armed militant insurgency incident. Proper and fair implementation of special laws should be kept in mind and focus should always be there to restrain least or less damage to the general masses, and public safety along with their welfare should be the supreme choice of the government and their forces while tackling any untoward incident of terrorism. If special focus and priority are brought in place with less or no harsh brutalities and harassments are inflicted on the people, trust on the government and government forces will be preserved, and it will also reduce the percentage of the extremism in the valley. During the fieldwork it was observed that some of the active stone pelters complained of harsh forces committed against them and later they are waging war against the security forces by pelting stones on them, thereby making the issue more complicated. Hence it can be said that the percentage of the unrest and extremism can be reduced in Kashmir valley in near future if the stated above points are taken into consideration while tackling with the armed insurgency and separatist movements in the region.

7. Mobilisation and Radicalization

Mobilisation and radicalisation are two worst factors that can spoil any society, community or administrative unit in the State. These two unwanted elements need to be checked while countering any unrest and conflict in any party of the world. First, the important question here is that how mobilisation and radicalisation of any community happens and secondly who are responsible or associated parties that help communities in mass radicalisation and mobilisation? In the conflict-ridden Kashmir, these two are main aspects which have swallowed the Kashmir issue and have made the issue more complicated and challengeable for the government and its security agencies. Mass mobilisation in Kashmir happens due to the frequent usage of the programs and policies by the separatist and militant forces, and now in the contemporary era, it has been even generated through the usage of the social media. Usage

of the social platforms for the recruiting, radicalisation, party objectives, announcements and militant joining announcement are some of the new trends while using social media for the terrorist activities. This platform is used by the militants who are tagged as tech-savvy militants (Ganaie, 2018) to the outer world are using this platform for their terror-related activities. Social Media platforms are always easily accessible and safe for the militant groups for mobilising the youth of the state and there stand fewer chances of tracing them. Usage of the social media platform in the state has been a new trend post-Burhan period (Popular Militant), who was called the mastermind behind the usage of social media for mobilising the militant activities along with the youth of the State (Ibid, 2017).

On the other hand, radicalisation has been another most extreme challenge before the security forces and government agencies of the State while encountering with the armed militant extremism in the State. There are various agencies that are associated with the radicalisation of the extremist movements in the state and notable among them are Separatists, Militants, Influential religious leaders and Over Ground Workers (OGWs) of the militant parties. Their role in radicalising the youth of the State has been of outstanding significance, and they are the only active parties that are radicalising the subjects of the State through various illegal methods like conferences, seminars, protest programs, poll boycotts, pamphlets, brochures, leaflets etc., etc. Role of the separatist parties along with the influential religious leaders is mainly responsible in radicalising and mobilising the masses of the State towards unrest. Separatist parties are even advising influential religious leaders to use the Friday Sermons for educating the people of the State against the brutalities committed against them by the government and governmental agencies. These two tactics used for spreading the power of the separatist forces along with expanding the militancy size needs to be brought down at the earliest for the welfare of the State and its subjects. For the speedy development and reduction in the presence of extremist forces these two discussed elements need to be dissociated from the Kashmir valley so that there is a reduction in the percentage of the growing extremism and that automatically later will reduce the percentage of extremist violence in the valley.

8. Disturbed Educational System

Education is called the transformation tool for any society, and modern societies and States cannot prosper or flourish without education. It is the only tool through which our societies can develop, and economies can grow, the outlook of life can expand, equality and Justice can prevail, modern well-equipped healthcare facilities will grow, industrialisation and

privatisation will enhance and living of standard will get enhanced only through the means of the modern and advanced education. In brief and short, it can be claimed that modern States cannot survive without education, and their overall development is totally dependent on the educational system which that State or region is governing. Education has a crucial role in transforming the lives of the people and developed countries where education rate is highly developed and advanced always suffer a lot from crimes, unrests or corruptions. The educational system is always responsible for branding the citizens of any State or Nation and more the educated ones are there more the percentage of responsible citizens will be there.

State of Jammu and Kashmir which has 67.16%²⁷¹ of literacy rate as per 2011 population census is the only state in the union of India with the most disturbing educational system and which always remains closed or affected due to the presence of the frequent unrests in the valley. Protest calls and other Bandh (Strike) calls propagated by the separatist parties are always there to ruin the educational system of the State. During the popular unrest periods in the Kashmir valley only and excluding the other two regions it always suffers a massive disruption in educational system, and even some damages are inflicted upon the properties of the educational system like burning of the Schools and damaging school buses by pelting stones on them which even sometimes resulted in the injuries to the students.²⁷² Educational or school system in the Kashmir valley only has suffered a lot due to these unrests, and even sometimes half of the school syllabus or curriculum was cut down to proceed for the final exams successfully. Classwork always remains suspended during these unrest periods, and it always becomes difficult for the State admin to manage the educational system.

For the benefit, prosperity and overall wellbeing of the State, it needs a vibrant educational system free from all anti-social elements or evils so that the State can develop at faster rate and radicalisation, extremism, separatism and mobilisation will automatically come to a halt besides providing a reliable and sound democratic participation. It is the only tool through which the electoral process can be transfigured. Our state needs free and fair education system, which should be free from all evils and disruptions so that new destiny is configured for our State.

²⁷¹ [Jammu and Kashmir Population 2011](#). Census Data 2011. Web Link Accessed on: 16th November 2019.

²⁷² [In Kashmir, hundreds of pellet gun victims face a hazy future](#). (2019, June 10). The Hindu. Link Accessed on: 18th November 2019.

III. Case Studies

The above essential and significant issues and challenges that are prevalent in tackling Kashmir conflict have been extracted from the case studies that were based on interviews and discussions with various associated stakeholders who are either directly or indirectly involved with the Kashmir issue or on the other hand hold an important key role while studying and analysing Kashmir issue. The case studies that were taken into consideration for analysing the research problem are discussed below:

- **Case Study 1**

I (Shabnum Ara, Name Changed) do not know much about the root cause of insurgency movements in Kashmir. Let me express my views, and my view is that Kashmiris may suffer as an independent State or country, and it will be impossible for it to retain significant powers like defence, finance and administration due to the fact that it is a landlocked country with bad neighbours like China and Pakistan.

Separatist forces in the valley have been busy in brainwashing the people, and always they are trying to prevent people from going to army schools, avoid goodwill programs run by the army, boycott the elections. These separatist parties prevent the general public from democratic processes, and the fact is that their own wards receive an excellent education in other parts of the country or outside and their relatives are mostly foreign settled ones. Lack of quality education and usage of brutal forces, draconian laws like Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA) and Public Safety Act (PSA) along with the misguidance by the separatist forces of the State are responsible for the youth picking up arms and revolting against the oppression that are committed against them by forces. Separatist parties of the state are cheating the people of the state by avoiding elections despite the fact that they also have fought elections and have occupied MLA (Member Legislature Assembly) positions previously.

Strikes, protest programs and other tactics that are used by the separatist forces of the always weaken and ruin our societies because they always affect the general public and mostly poor of the poorest are the affected ones. Poll boycott, mobilising of youth by the Hurriyat and strike calls should be totally banned in our state for the welfare of the ordinary people.

- **Case Study 2**

I (Danish Bahar, Name Changed) does not consider Kashmir issue as unrest but is a struggle for self-determination. Kashmiris support the referendum while other parts of State

like Jammu and Ladakh regions are fine with the Indian union. Conflict in Kashmir valley is limited to Kashmir valley only due to the presence of the separatist forces, militancy and local support which is mostly grown on in this part of the State. While the other two regions of the State do not have the presence of the two forces.

Article 370 of the Indian constitution is considered as an identity proof of the state, and it should not be repealed at any cost taking into mind the trust of the Muslim majority which they had seen in India by joining it after the partition of the county on the basis of religious identity. Repealing, it will bring into action mass agitation and violence. The state needs special status and more autonomy rather than militancy and separatist forces for always being the best unit of the union of India. Educated youths of the State who are hailing from wealthy family backgrounds continuously are joining the militant ranks is a total waste, and it is and will not be the solution at any cost. Injustice and excessive usage of forces against them need to be checked so that they do not join those unwanted ranks which are highly dangerous for every stakeholder in the society. I had even several times tried to join these militant ranks or intentions in my mind were growing up at high speed when a barrel of the gun was placed on my head during crackdown (Anti Militancy Operation), and at that time the mind of anyone can freeze and later can join any militant rank.

In my opinion conflict in the valley is due to the failed policies of both India and Pakistan and for me, they both are responsible for it and tormenting the trouble further. No one is trying to be on the table, nor they are trying to initiate a dialogue process. Unemployment is not the only single issue in Kashmir, but it is also a challengeable one at the national level also. In my view, Pakistan does not have any role to play in resolving the Kashmir issue, and the parts which are retained by China and Pakistan should be merged back to the Kashmir and occupation, in any case, should never be encouraged. Strikes, protest programs and other tactics used by separatist parties always disturb the general masses in the State, particularly the poor of the poorest.

Separatist leaders like Syed Ali Shah Geelani has fought several elections and has been elected MLA and representative of the people, it, in my opinion, was aimed at finding out what is happening in the system, because when you are not in the system you do not know what is happening in it and one becomes idealess without understanding the system correctly without even being a part of it. Perhaps, in my opinion, the rigged elections were the main reasons behind the pulling out from the mainstem politics by the modern-day Hurriyat.

- **Case Study 3**

I (Farooq Hussain Dar, Name Changed) considers the unrest in the valley due to the bad governmental policies and draconian laws like AFSPA, PSA and POTA along with unknown killings as the main reasons behind the unrest in the valley. In addition to this, the biasing of the government is another factor responsible for it and further in addition to this granting aid to which religious sentiments are linked is of also worrying cause. Before some years ago, people in the valley believed more and more on Hurriyat rather than political parties, but after the 2016 unrest period, that trend changed. People in the state, in my opinion, are now observing everything keenly and carefully so that they involve themselves instead of other parties.

Unemployment, lack of opportunities and other atrocities against the families of militants are forcing the more youth to pick up arms. In my opinion, it is not the fault of a family that makes people particularly young to join the militant ranks. Regarding the special status of the state through article 370 of the Indian constitution, it should not be repealed but should be preserved. As far as India and Pakistan are concerned, both the countries are blamed equally for fomenting unrest in Kashmir and are making the conflict more prone. Both countries are blaming each other and cross border terrorism, and cross border firing needs to be eliminated for the welfare and peace of the State.

In my opinion, the role of Pakistan is of greater importance and significance, and they are always raising the Kashmir issue at every international forum. Pakistan being a Muslim dominated country, sees Muslim religious identity as the most ultimate one. They believe in two-nation theory as propounded by the Jinnah, which considers Muslim religious identity as its separate and unique identity.

For me growing and rise in militancy is only due to the unemployment, corruption, bad policies, corrupt political parties, selfish rulers, hatred things, usage of excessive force, local support and other some of the elements which are responsible for the rise in militancy. So many educated youths have joined militant ranks due to the frequent atrocities and injustices done with them. For me strikes, poll boycott calls and protest programs always weaken our state, and they ruin our economies, and these programmes should not be there. I am doing business, and during severe unrest, my business has witnessed enough loss and even during some unrests, some of my perishable goods got damaged due to the curfew or stone-pelting. During the transportation process of our goods, our vehicles are suffering from damage threats and are caught in stone-pelting and or pelted with stones if they are plying on roads during the '*Bandh*'

(Strike) period. We are without insurance, and the government is not protecting our properties, machinery and other goods during the unrest days but we have to pay our vehicle drivers which is also a significant loss for our business.

- **Case Study 4**

I (Ghulam Mohammad Najar, Name Changed) working in Jammu and Kashmir police am of the opinion that unrest is mostly confined to the Kashmir region only out of the three regions of the state due to the existence of Muslim majority firstly and secondly it is rooted to two-nation theory and both the two factors are invoking separate nationalism. Further political views against India and resistance against Indian oppression is latent in the other two regions of the State. Frankly speaking, it can be said that the presence of extremist forces like separatism and militancy is only surviving here in Kashmir valley, and this also makes the issue more complicated. During the unrest days, it has been found that religious leaders are propagating religious identity and supporting the Islamic nationalism.

During stone-pelting incidents or while countering anti-militancy operations it is observed that most youth who pelt stones on security forces and when they are caught later by the security forces it has been found that majority of them are illiterate, unemployed, without any work, ex-militants, over ground workers and ex recipients of Public Safety Act. In my opinion when all the forms of resistance of against oppressions and brutal forces are used youth become more radicalised towards the militancy, and it is always Pakistan which is continuously sowing the seeds of extremism in Kashmir. Youth are radicalised, and they are left with fewer options, and finally, they embrace militancy. For me, Pakistan is not a party to Kashmir issue, but it has to stop all its forms of support to Kashmir whether it is funding from it or from Islamic countries organisation, besides this Pakistan has to cease the support of Jihadi extremists in Kashmir valley.

- **Case Study 5**

I (Bashir Ahmad Naikoo, Name Changed) am of the opinion that Kashmir unrest is only because of the confusion among the people and people of Kashmir are not fully aware of what is going on and what actually is the reason of this dispute. Kashmir region among the three divisions of the state is most disturbed or has become the core of the conflict is due to the innocence either or due to the ignorance that its people accept it blindly.

Regarding article 370 of the Indian constitution, in my opinion, New Delhi or the government of India is making a fool out of the Jammu and Kashmir. Article 370 is temporary

in the Indian constitution, but it has been permanently infused in the constitution. It should be repealed altogether.

I am doing a government job, and during the '*Bandh*' (Strike) period it is difficult to reach the working destination due to the absence of the private transport facilities, and it becomes tougher when stone-pelting is going there. Our Identity Cards are checked by the protesting mobs who always close the roads and, attack private and public vehicles by stone-pelting or other throwable items on them. Harassment is always there even from these protesting mobs.

One of my friends who joined militant ranks was twice slapped with PSA on charges of stone-pelting and fermenting unrest in the State. Strikes, Protest programs and other tactics aimed at mobilising the youth of the state used by separatist parties of the state should be banned, and it is not the general public but government employees who are also suffering during these closures. Hindrance to life in the form of medical and financial are the two main demerits of the protest programs or during Bandh (Strike) and it is mostly the poor of the poorest who suffer the more during those hard days.

- **Case Study 6**

I (Talha Farooq, Name Changed) is a frequent and among one of the active stone pelters on security forces because the house which we own had been damaged by the security forces several times during the nocturnal raids and even resulted in my arrest due to the lame excuse and reason that my brother is a militant. Can government and government forces answer my question of what mistake it is ours? No parent, no brother or sister can encourage their blood relators to join the militant ranks, but those joining these ranks join on their own or through their own circles. Families always remain out from this, and the government should advise security forces to behave appropriately, and no family member or their belongings should never be damaged at any cost. The most precise and specific procedures should be followed while tackling anti-militancy operations.

Kashmir unrest, in my opinion, is unusual for other people of the world but for the Kashmiris, it is the struggle that they are fighting against the daily oppressions, draconian laws, illegal detentions, harassments, unnecessary frisking, crackdowns etc., In my opinion, if the above-listed evils will vanish from Kashmir peace will automatically surround the valley again. Regarding Hurriyat and their programs and policies of mobilising youth towards extremism, I totally disfavour them and criticise them. They are currently doing the biggest injustice with the people of the State. They and their relatives are well settled, their kids are in top educational

institutions, fought elections and at the same time are provoking people against the State and advise them to remain away from governmental benefits and services.

- **Case Study 7**

I (Shabir Ahmad Palla, Name Changed) during 2016 unrest and turbulence in Kashmir valley was travelling to Srinagar via Pulwama from Shopian district to meet the doctor there for my medical treatment. I was travelling through my personal vehicle, and public transport was totally off from the roads and whole areas were covered by the thick blanket of security cover by security forces and at those places where it was missing it was covered by the protesting mobs and all the roads leading to the Srinagar were blocked by the protesting mobs and they were harassing and inquiring every public vehicle. Unluckily after crossing the Murran Chowk of Pulwama district my vehicle Maruti Suzuki Alto 800 came under heavy stone-pelting, and severe damages occurred to my vehicle in the form of losing my windscreen and other dents caused by the heavy stone-pelting. I got frightened, and somehow, I managed to move forward and tried to reach a safe location. I stopped my vehicle and came out of it to access the severity of the damage caused to it. The loss did not end here, but sadly I have to say that there was a sudden shouting among the people there who had gathered to pelt stones on security forces. I quickly entered the car again and tried to switch its ignition on to start my vehicle to move forward swiftly, but unluckily again at the same time one Rakshak²⁷³ (Bullet Proof Vehicle) came from behind and people heavily pelted stones on it. Security forces loaded in Rakshak fired several rounds in the air to disperse the protesters, but unluckily it failed, and they had to fire Pellets towards the protesting mobs to disperse them immediately, and by that crowd control tool they ran away. After the incidents of firing and stone-pelting security personals sitting inside the Rakshak vehicle came out and started beating innocent people who were stuck there like me. They started hitting stranded vehicles by their arms, and when they arrived nearer to me, they did the same and broke my back-window screen completely. Harassments and usage of excessive forces should not be there, and proper instructions and severe punishments need to be authenticated against those security force personals who try to misuse their positions and allotted special powers through AFSPA. Proper coordination and sound follow up of the Standard Operating Procedures (SOP's) need to be taken in order to

²⁷³ The Mahindra Rakshak is an armoured military light utility vehicle which is manufactured by Mahindra Defense Systems. It was designed to be used in counter-insurgency and anti-terrorism operations. Source: Wikipedia.

prevent the unnecessary losses and casualties during these sudden unrests or turbulences in the valley.

- **Case Study 8**

I (Danish Farooq, Name Changed) was thrilled and waiting for a day that will make me the best citizen of my country by participating in the electoral process of the State. I was entering 18 years old age group before the 2014 legislative assembly elections, got enrolled in voter list and received very good-looking voter ID card made of plastic which was similar to ATM card. The poll schedule was announced, and campaigning was in its last peak. It was last day of campaigning and during the last night before the voting could begin terrorists entered our village and threatened us along with by issuing letters on mosque notice boards to boycott the elections and it was clearly written in the notice that they would shoot those who will vote or participate in assembly elections. The poll boycott was totally there in our village due to that threat of killing by militant forces. This was not only limited to those extremist militants, but leaders of various separatist parties like Syed Ali Shah Geelani and Yaseen Malik had also advised people to boycott elections and refrain themselves from voting.

I was also unable to vote like other voters who were willing to participate in the electoral process by exercising their voting power. My dream of voting scattered and I am not blaming militant ranks or Hurriyat people, but I am blaming my government and security agencies why they failed in providing proper security to the voters and how can militants enter village a day before the voting, isn't it the most significant security lapse or negligence. My question mark will not end here, but again I am questioning my responsible government and forces how announcements made by the Hurriyat for a poll boycott were announced and circulated by media agencies. Poll boycott calls issued by any anti-social elements whether they are Hurriyat people or recruits of militant ranks should be totally ignored and avoided, and they should not be further circulated by media in order to have sound electoral participation.

- **Case Study 9**

I (Altaf Naikoo, Name Changed) by profession is a Tata Sumo driver and driving it from the past five years. I belong to a low-income family, and my sources of agricultural income are below one lakh rupees per annum. From the past seven years, I had managed to save around one lakh and sixty-five thousand rupees somehow. Now, I was planning to fulfil my dream by purchasing my own Tata Sumo through Jammu and Kashmir Bank finance scheme. My down payment was one lakh and sixty thousand, and the rest amount was financed by Jammu and Kashmir Bank. My balance loan amount that was required got approved and

disbursed from the bank too swiftly, and in the meantime, I was able to drive my own vehicle. I was very happy for almost six months and earning a good source of income from it along with paying its monthly instalments. Unluckily it was sad for me and for my other co-drivers who had also drawn their vehicles sanctioned through bank loans. It was during the 2016 unrest which came after the killing of the Burhan Wani who was a popular Militant and after his killing by security forces everything in the valley was closed, and we were the biggest sufferers during the period. Our EMIs (Easy Monthly Instalments) was going on, our accounts were empty, the internet was closed, calling was blocked, cables were off, banks were closed, and public transport was off during that entire period. My vehicle was parked for almost four months without earning a single penny, but at the same time, I had to pay my bank EMI and interest rate incurred on it on time. I missed all the EMI's during that period of unrest, and even EMI dishonour fee was charged on my account along with interest rate. No one from the government sector listened to our worries, and bank people totally neglected us. We did not receive any rebate or compensation on interest or charges levied on missing EMI's on our availed car loans. We are always neglected on these issues every time, and for earning our daily livelihood needs, we always face a lot of problems. If we (Drivers) are plying during the unrest days or when it is closed outside it is the public transport which gets mostly damaged or severely attacked by the stone pelters. We are always losers, and our earning capabilities are mostly shattered during the unrest days.

- **Case Study 10**

I (Farooq Ahmad Dar, Name Changed) belong to Below Poverty Line (BPL) category. My family is too weak, and we are without any agricultural land. I have four daughters and two sons. I am the sole bread earner for my family. I do not have any business or job, but I am merely earning some money by selling bananas daily through the various number of streets of the market by wandering along with my 'Banana Redi' (Banana Cart). Daily my earning ranges from Rupees 230-350 and by this, I am able to run my daily food needs with poor nutritional foods. My son has also started this work to support the family instead of education. We are too weak and needy, but during those days when there is any encounter, unrest, stone pelting, Hartal (Strike) or Curfew our life and daily earning of livelihood makes me and my family totally handicapped. During those days we are unable to earn anything because markets and people are always off and nobody comes here. Our daily earnings come down from Rupees 300 to Rs. 100. We suffer a lot, and we left with fewer opportunities and possibilities of earning. Our families suffer a lot, and we have to struggle with managing our daily food items. We do

not think of education for our children due to severe poverty. Our government should work for our welfare, and there should be any financial assistance or grant for us during those worst days of unrest so that we can also live happily along with other families in our society. The government should take care of our children's education, and even free books should be given to them so that their future becomes bright like other children surviving in our societies. Some fruit sellers selling seasonal fruits are the most affected ones, and they mostly belong to poor of the most impoverished families. Our government should support our children and us during those days of worst unrest so that we also can live happily like others.

- **Case Study 11**

I (Salman Khursheed, Name Changed) by profession is a principal of Model High School (name changed) Shopian. Our school has more than five hundred students enrolled in co-education facilities. There was an improvement in our annual results every year from the year 2010 onwards. Our teaching and non-teaching staff worked hard along with the cooperation of parents and only after that, we were able to get our top desired results.

However, unfortunately, we have become the most significant sufferers, and our school showed a decline in our results along with course incompleteness at the end of the academic year closing November-December each year. During unrest, turbulence, Strikes, Curfews, encounters and the stone-pelting incidents in Kashmir valley, our education department is the most affected one among all. Schools remain closed for months, nobody joins schools our children cannot study, teachers remain off from duties sometimes, and this results in the disturbance of our academic session which always stands crucial and vital for the children who are supposed to be the bright future of this society. During the year 2009, our overall pass percentage was 90%, followed by 76 pass percentage in the year of 2010's unrest. Similarly, during 2016 unrest our pass percentage was 78% followed by the 94 pass percentage in the year 2017, which was peaceful and ended with an excellent academic session along with course completion.

Similarly, in the year 2018, we had a good pass percentage as compared to previous years which have been the victims of disturbance or unrest. We can assume that more the peaceful atmosphere prevails here bright the chances of good academic session are there. There are many anti-social elements prevailing in our society who always try to threaten the school admin to close their institutions during the unrest and turbulence days. Role of religious leaders and other influential leaders of the society is of great importance, and even they can motivate school admin and parents in successfully running the school academic works, but they are

always doing opposite of this. Its limitlessness does not finish here, but there are also security concerns and issues along with damages like burning of schools who reopen during those unrest days in which 2016 unrest is the best example.²⁷⁴ Government bodies, Parents, Agitators, and other members of society should know and measure the value and scope of education, and they all have to work jointly for the smooth working of the schools and should not disturb education department. This is not limited to this, but stone pelters and protesters should also not harm or damage the school properties and buses by pelting stones on them. They should admit and acknowledge that it is our own loss and loss of the poor of the poorest, mainly. Wealthy families are educating their wards outside and in good schools where disturbance is less and also which Hurriyat leader's children are studying here in Kashmir, particularly in turbulence districts of the State. Their grown children are well settled and in branded schools, and it is the ordinary people whose wards or children suffer the most. We should not disturb the educational sector, and only it is due to the excellent education of our wards that poor of the poorest people in our state will prosper.

- **Case Study 12**

I (Ghulam Hassan Mir, Name Changed) by profession is working in public sector bank and am of the opinion that Kashmir unrest is a result of series of violent protests in Kashmir and it is actually how the growth of militancy and radicalisation of Kashmiri Muslim population grows at an alarming speed due to some of the neglected reasons. In my opinion, the reasons behind the growth of extreme violence is the absence of a political dialogue, but at the same time it is filled with excessive militarisation, usage of excessive force, repeated human rights violations, extrajudicial killings, tortures, rapes, draconian laws and other sorts of violence that are directly or indirectly responsible for the surge in harassments against the general masses in the valley at a large scale. I am of a strong view that less the harassments against the people more the chances of peace prevailing among masses will be there in the valley and vice versa. It is not a problem of one or two but a concern of all which we have to check in broader terms while dealing with the Kashmir turbulence.

Regarding the allegations levied against the Hurriyat people I am of a reliable and robust view that they are accurate and it is the role of the separatist forces which is always responsible for the radicalisation of the Kashmiri youth towards the insurgency and extremism. They themselves are in right positions, earning great sources from funding in the name of the

²⁷⁴ [Kashmir Unrest: 32 School Buildings Destroyed in Fire in Past 3 Months](#). (2016, November 5). News18. Accessed on: 21st November 2019.

charity, their wards are in good schools, and their youngsters are in good jobs or are well settled. They are mobilising the youth towards extremism and misleading them by declaring themselves as the sole representatives of the State. They issue poll boycott calls, but they have fought and held positions in democratic processes. Their belief is that Pakistan is their identity on the basis of Muslim majority country and at the same time they are not acknowledging the fact that Pakistan is equal to one Indian state and how Muslims in India are living with the Hindu majority community equally with equal chances of survival and better governance policies.

My opinion regarding the Article 370 of the Indian constitution which is empowering special status to the state of the Jammu and Kashmir should be kept there as it is and it should not be repealed taking into consideration the more significant aspects of the people. Regarding the growth of the extremism and new-age militancy in the valley it is only in my opinion due to the usage of the brutal or cruel forces but not due to the unemployment and poverty. Also, political uncertainty in the state is also responsible for the Kashmir unrest because no one can attain best or peace is impossible when there is an unstable government along with the corrupt and fake politicians. For the development of the state, it needs the first stable political regime with honest officers and clean politicians. In addition to this, the State is also suffering through the rise of separatism and abundant availability of the local support for the militant extremism, which all needs to be checked down for the prosperity and welfare of the State.

- **Case Study 13**

I (Zeeshan Rasool Dar, Name Changed) by profession I am an Apple Businessman and have been associated with this business from the past two decades. My annual business ranges from Seventy-Five lakh Rupees to one Crore Rupees depending on the input and output of the business value and in addition to this, it is also dependent on the quality and quantity of the fruit production followed by the market demand which signifies its final price. With the inflation reaching its time high and the price of the various raw materials have gone up along with the labour charges. Apple picking business is not easy, and it needs time, support and various efforts from production level to marketing. Transportation and grading charges have also seen an upward trend.

I am thoroughly associated with this business, and I have seen so many of my co-business partners sinking due the frequent unrests, closure of markets and attacks on the vehicle carrying fruit products from one place to another. Our vehicles have been inflicted with the damages many times, and we have always been neglected by the government from time to

time. During the closure days and when it is stone-pelting outside, we observe heavy losses in our properties and business. Our profit-earning percentage declines if there is closure and mostly when phone services or internet is snatched from us due to the unrest. We suffer from two losses firstly through the violent agitators who always try to harm our business units and transport system and secondly due to the absence of the insurance and compensation if any during the frequent unrests. Fruit business always has its own challenges and demerits, and one among them is that it is categorised as the perishable good and the second problem is the absence of the cold storage rooms which we are highly needed for this. Our business will get boosted if the add on programs for our fruit business like insurance, accessible transportation, the cheap raw material (used from picking to grading), special concession on chemicals & fertilisers and cold storage issues are sorted out at the earliest. Last but not the least violent mobs should always try to respect our vehicles, and they should allow us to move safely from one place to another one instead of creating hurdles during the transportation process.

- **Case Study 14**

I (Ghafoor Hussian Malla, Name changed) by profession a doctor is of the opinion that Kashmir unrest is simmering manifold, it has its historical and political background, and it is confined only to the Kashmir region only due to the economic disparity and influence of separatist and militant organisations. In case of the limitedness of the unrest to the Kashmir region only it is firstly due to the Hurriyat organisations which are always provoking and initiating it, the frustration and the saga that has taken people in and is mostly orchestrated by political authority. Regarding the article 370 of the Indian constitution, which is granting special status to the state needs to be checked down by the expert committee. This article has its pros and cons.

On the one hand, it empowers special status to the state, but on the other hand, it makes it handicapped in terms of parallel implementation of laws, central government benefits along with privatisation and industrial development. I think that its removal will increase development, and in its absence, privatisation and industrialisation will surround the State and more employment generation methods will be created. Its abrogation will make the State more industrialised and developed one with a sound economy and development that will benefit all and not the one. 370's special status is misused, and political parties of the state are using it as a political tool and provoking innocent ones by this; hence, it should go.

In my opinion regarding the young and the educated youths who are joining militant ranks are mostly driven by their emotions and sentiments, and at the same time for me, their

manners are profoundly ill-conceived when their exploits are brought to dead-end instead, they should have thought of consistently. Extremism is not the final end, it is, in my opinion, the political structure of the state which is responsible for the Kashmir unrest, they (Politicians) have looted and betrayed people from time to time for the pursuit of their vested interests.

Unrest in the valley is not limited to this, but there are other specific factors which are responsible for it. Role of Pakistan is crucial and most damaging. They always use Kashmir for their gains and self-interest. Their role is only self-centric, and they seem more obsessed with continuing unrest than looking for a way out. Retained territories by china and Pakistan shows nothing but, in my view, it is a policy of realism and an approach of extracting resources, territories at the cost of the value of the liberal democracies.

Pakistan and its supported separatist forces have been suffering from an enormous crisis of their own, and it will be better if they will work for the welfare of their own people rather than thinking of the Kashmiri people.

- **Case Study 15**

I (Ishfaq Hussian Dar, Name Changed) am of the opinion that Kashmir unrest is both politically and socially connected. None of the governments has done anything good for the welfare of the Jammu and Kashmir people. There is much corruption among the State machinery, and general masses have become victims of it. Usage of draconian laws and the growth of extremist militant forces in the valley have become mainly responsible for this. It is only due to the abundant availability of local support which has flourished the growth of the militant forces in the valley.

I am of a strong view that political leadership is responsible for the unrest and if you visualise the whole thing, it may be clear that the flopped and bogus policies of the government are mainly responsible for that, and it is the political system of the State which works for their own welfare rather than the people of the State.

Regarding the youth of the State who are educated and most valuable assets for the State are always helpless and jobless, and this makes them more restless. In my opinion the cruel policies of the Hurriyat in the form of poll boycott, strikes and radicalisation need to be brought down and in history of Kashmir which militant killed so far belonged to Hurriyat. They are provoking people against the Indian state and misleading them in all spheres of life. They participated in the electoral process and now are advising State subjects to boycott that. In brief and nutshell, I am saying that growth of extremist forces, separatism, local support and

radicalisation need to be replaced through development, able government, education, counselling, deradicalisation etc. for the wellbeing of the State and its people.

- **Case Study 16**

I (Basit Rasool Dar, Name Changed) by profession is working as a government teacher and have been associated with the teaching profession from the past sixteen years. I have seen many challenges during my tenure, and it becomes shocking for a teacher if some or any of his students join militancy and adopts the path of extremism. One of my students during the year 2010 joined militancy, and I was teaching him from the past ten years. It was during his matric examination, which brought up the militancy for him, and he was always lying in a friend circle which was of the extremist ideology. He was advised many times, and counselling for him was held by various teachers to skip that wrong friend circle but all those efforts wasted.

I know him personally and being his teacher, it was easy for me to diagnose his problems. During the year beginning and when he landed in 10th standard, I came to know that it was poverty first, which was making him restless, and I was always mediating in their family disputes. Issues had swept their family through poverty and hardships suffered to their lives by sustaining their survival. They were very poor, and it was only due to that poverty which later converted him to militant from the student. His knowing of frustration was unknown and not measurable due to the reason that one of his sisters was ill always, and they were unable to offer her proper medical treatment. I am of a strong view that extremism and low militant joining will reduce once the government of the state brings into action poverty alleviation methods, free education, free medical, proper counselling and other beneficial programs which will be helpful for the development of the State along with the prosperity of all the individuals.

- **Case Study 17**

I (Tufail Hussian Sheikh, Name Changed) is running a hotel from the past eight years, and it is the only source of income for my family and me. I am without other sources of income especially the agricultural income, and whatever I am earning from this hotel, I am spending it on my family expenditures and also bearing the education of my children also from it. Kashmir unrest and unpredictability has damaged the business of this sector, and during those days when it is closed outside, and tourists avoid the Kashmir, it is our business which gets most affected. Our business output is totally dependent on the peaceful atmosphere, and we see heavy losses during the days of unrest. During closures and road blockages, we do not get the essential material that is used for preparing various vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes, and we have to shut our units during those worst days. As we all know that our State is not producing a

luxurious stock of foods, including fresh and other non-vegetarian food nourishments and we mainly rely on the supplies from the rest of the country. We need abundant stocks of poultry, and they are coming mostly from the outside of the valley. Our earnings and business losses are more during those unrest days. Our government should try to utilise all the available resources to make the State self-reliant and self-sufficient in all the sectors of life, and our dependence should be checked. Industrialisation, Modernization, privatisation and usage of the modern equipment and technology in food generation methods should be used to produce the abundant stocks of the food supplies. Moreover, the government should try to reduce the unrest in State and in addition to these frequent strike programmes of the Hurriyat need to be banned in the State.

- **Case Study 18**

I (Javid Ahmad Gilkar, Name Changed) am of the opinion that corrupt and unstable government in the state needs to be cleanly wiped out and brought down as it is more than the extremism and separatism which have swallowed the State more after that political insurgency which I am calling. Political instability, corrupt officials, corrupt and fake politicians, unable officers, misuse of schemes and development funds need to be brought down so that the stability and harmony among the subjects of the State are restored and maintained. I am happy with the governor rule rather than the elected government, and I am frankly admitting that how fake and illegal appointments were made by the PDP government or by paying a considerable amount of money and creating the injustice with the able and suitable candidates.

Corruption is one of the deadliest diseases which has surrounded the State more than the deadliest disease. For example, for driving licence, you have to pay five thousand to ten thousand for light motor vehicle and similarly for getting the benefits under the Indra Awas Yoghna and Swacha Bharat Abhiyan through which houses and toilets for the poor of the poorest are made through government funding one to pay even for those government-sponsored schemes. Rupees two thousand to three thousand corruption for constructing toilets and ten thousand to twenty thousand for getting construction of the house approved. The corruption is from primary to the secondary level, and this corruption is not limited to this, but it has also encircled the revenue department mostly. In short and brief no governmental work in the valley is possible without paying a bribe so that the work is done swiftly.

Stability, corruption-free State, the stable and honest government need to be installed in the State as soon as possible for the development and prosperity of the State, and public trust

needs to be inducted at every level so that people will believe in democratic values rather than hating it.

- **Case Study 19**

I (Basharat Hussian Mir, Name Changed) by profession an apple fruit businessman and am associated with this business from the past two decades. I am among the businessmen who had availed a loan for doing apple business. The loan disbursal is very swift and very beneficial for developing such business, but the main hindrance in the successful working of this business is frequent closure and the incidents of stone-pelting which sometimes are used to damage our vehicles. As we all are aware that our business is the provider of jobs and acts as the main source of earning for the various poor of the poorest people in the valley. There are some anti-social elements who always try to harm our business functioning and act as constant sources of tension for our industry and employees. General public and protestors should value and respect our business units, and government of the State should also induct loan schemes for our raw materials and unique concessionary material that is used in manufacturing apple boxes which are used during this business, steps should be taken to protect our units and other properties that are utilised to transport fruits from one place to another. We need a healthy and peaceful atmosphere for the sound economic development of the State.

- **Case Study 20**

I (Javeed Geelani, Name Changed) a social activist and human rights organisation member is of the view that turbulence and unrest in the valley of Kashmir region is only due to the below stated reasons in my opinion:

Hurriyat: Emergence of the separatism both in the forms of extremism and moderatism in the valley of Kashmir only in my opinion is firstly due to the bad luck of those people who are surviving there. Secondly, it is due to the failed policies of the government of India along with the State government and thirdly due to the Muslim majority of the region which still believes in religious identity as propounded by the Jinnah's Two-Nation theory. Growth of separatism, extremism and armed militancy has grown up due to the presence of the local support along with the provocations and the radicalisation of the more youth by the Hurriyat or the separatist activists residing in the valley.

As we all are aware that Hurriyat or the parties of the separatist groups are divided ideologically, and they are trying to represent the people of the State through various propagandas. They are utilising several unlawful activities to mobilise the more youth and

mislead them at various levels. Frequent strike calls, poll boycott and hatred for India are commonly used by them despite the fact that they are operating on Indian soils, using Indian passports and doing Indian jobs. They are only misleading people and misrepresenting the State subjects to collect fundings for their separatist activities. The funding ranges from the local level to the international level. At local level funds in the name of charity are blindly collected from people by its party agents along with funding from the organisation of the Islamic countries and later these funds are used for subversive activities in Kashmir valley against India. Controversies with and within the Hurriyat have made the issue more debateable ones and in which the division of the Hurriyat is most significant and controversial one. Currently, the separatist party is divided into more than thirty Social, Political and Religious parties with a member of ideologies. They are divided into various ideologies for self-benefits only and nothing else.

Abundant Availability of Local Support: Unrest, turbulence and even political instability in the valley of Kashmir is due to the presence and the availability of the local support. It is only due to the local support, which is nourishing the separatism, growth of extremist militancy and radicalisation of more youth towards these factors that are only available in this part of the State. In which other region is this sort of support available and that is the only reason which is significantly responsible for the discomfort in the valley of the State and for peace it needs to be free from these evils like other two regions of the state.

Misleading Policies and Strategies: Hurriyat and its allied separatist parties are known for their misleading policies, strategies and tactics that are used to mislead the youth and the common people of the state. Poll Boycott, Stone Pelting, Protest Programs, Boycotting of Army Public or Goodwill Schools are some of the main tactics that are used to deceive and deprive the ordinary people of the State. Poll boycott for others except for them despite the fact that they have fought elections and held MLA positions and are restricting the sending of the common people's wards to army public schools despite the fact that their own children are in branded schools and are well settled. They are provoking State subjects by various methods of radicalisation, but which ward of the Hurriyat leader has joined militancy so far. They are only cheap and selfish leaders who are only active for their selfish needs and their presence in the State is only due to the failed policy of the State government. Hurriyat is nothing but a sort of decisive force which is always there for the State instability, and they are surviving for their own benefits and needs. Their policies and strategies, along with the ideological base, need to

be totally wiped out from the region for the welfare of the common citizens so that peace and prosperity will remain here for all.

- **Case Study 21**

I (Rizwan Khan, Name Changed) tried to cast my vote during the assembly elections of 2014 and lastly during the parliamentary elections of the year 2019 and unluckily during both the times I failed to exercise my voting right. During the 2014 assembly elections even I tried twice to cast my vote but in the lastly concluded parliamentary elections, I along with other lots of people even did not come out of their houses to exercise our voting rights. During both the elections poll boycott calls were there and even the State's active extremist militant forces had threatened people of severe consequences if they went to exercise their voting rights. Who in Kashmir valley is not aware of the poll boycott calls and deaths threats before the polling? Poll boycott announcements regularly from Hurriyat leaders or the separatist parties of the State along with militant activists, are always frequently-issued during the elections. These have impacted our democratic values and are becoming later significant threats in the successful working of democracy due to the incompetent and unable political leaders. It is finally the common community of the State who severely suffers later due to these poll boycotts because after the post-election period we are missing the able and brave leaders who can rule and led our State to prosperity. We should know the value and scope of the able and honest political leaders who later can ably transform our region into a developed one like the Jammu region of the State. For example, a political leader getting 3-5% of vote share is declared as winner in Kashmir valley as compared to the opposition candidate in Jammu region of the State who gets 25-30% of the vote share get declared as the loser from the Jammu region. This is the power of the democratic exercise, and the people of the Jammu are more active in electoral processes as compared to Kashmir voters. Less percentage here in Kashmir is due to these poll boycott calls, and a higher percentage of votes shows that Jammu regions are highly involved in functional democratic exercises and later people from Kashmir valley blame others for the development of Jammu and give it the concept of regionalism. I am of the firm view, and opinion that poll boycott calls in the Kashmir valley should be totally declared unlawful and culprits whether Hurriyat or any other separatist force should be booked for carrying out this illegal activity which not only ruins the State's democratic institution but indirectly makes the State undeveloped and corrupted one. In addition to these elaborative poll arrangements along with the high tightened security needs to be installed during the electioneering. Besides this, compulsory voting needs to be installed here so that the standard of the democratic institution

is highly maintained and regulated, which later indirectly will transform our State in a developed and self-sufficient one.

- **Case Study 22**

I (Faheem Chouhan, Name Changed) by profession a contractor and I am frequently associated with the top State administrators or other officers of the State government. I am working as a contractor from the past ten years, and I am frequently associated or in touch with reputable officers in the State directly or indirectly. During my interaction and getting bills cleared I have come to conclusion that there is a presence of enormous corruption in the State system and every time we have to pay while clearing bills from clerk to upper levels and in addition to this there is a lack of coordination among the government employees and induction of people-friendly officers need to be installed there. However, this sort of corruption was less during the governor's rule, which the State is currently reeling under as compared to previous governments of PDP and NC. I am of the strong suggestion that State needs transparent and efficient governance whose priority should be people's grievances, and they should try to listen to them instead of neglecting them. Hearing of public cases in all the district of the State should be there so that efficient and able administration along with transparent governance, is maintained at all the levels of the State.

- **Case Study 23**

I (Waseem Ahmad, Name Changed) during the 2016 turbulence after the killing of the Burhan Wani was one of the victims who was caught during that unrest. My father is on essential lifesaving drugs along with this; he is also suffering from diabetes. We were urgently in need of life-saving drugs, but we have to motivate agitators and stone-pelters, which always are harassing the movement of the needy patients and those who need urgent medical attention. It was challenging for me to start travel, and finally, I got the guts to travel in order to get the needy lifesaving drugs for my father. On my way, I was not checked by the security forces but was checked by the stone pelters and other extremist agitators, and they thoroughly checked my identity cards and medicines as proof. All the leading roads were totally blocked by the wooden blocks and big stones and only after the proper frisking of the needy patients, they were allowed to move forward for purchasing the medical equipment and emergencies. Frequent frisking and checking of identity proofs by the agitators were totally harassing for me, and this type of harassment is intolerable one. Failed government of the State is unable to clear the roads only due to the greedy politics of theirs. I am of the strong view and suggestion

that these protestors should be strictly booked and harassment cases need to be lodged against them for disrupting the public order.

IV. Concluding Remarks

Studying, exploring and researching the Kashmir conflict is dependent on the utilisation of various methodologies and tactics, and for the disposal of the same, a separate fieldwork chapter with designated questions was set beside some descriptive questions that were aimed to explore the problem entirely. Two districts were selected for studying belonging to Kashmir region only in which one was most peaceful and another was most disruptive or conflict-ridden. The sample size was derived from the total electorates present in these two districts. A sample size of 384 was selected for studying from both the districts. Two districts (Ganderbal and Shopian) were selected for analysing the outputs. Ganderbal which is most peaceful district belonging to the central Kashmir zone with the total population of 2, 97, 446 populaces as per the 2011 census possessed an electoral population of 1, 60, 074 as per the 2014 assembly elections electoral data. A sample size of 384 was selected for study, which was derived from the total electoral population.

On the other hand, Shopian which is hub of conflict and mostly conflict-ridden belonging to South Kashmir zone and declared as the hilly and backward district consists of 2, 65, 960 populaces as per the government of India 2011 census has an electoral population of 1, 61, 572 as per the 2014 assembly election data. A sample of 384 was also selected for studying the problem because the electoral population of both the districts stands almost equal with a small difference of 1499 electorates. A sample size of 384 was derived from the total electoral population of both the districts with a margin of 5% error and a confidence level of 95%. Purposive sampling was used to investigate the research problem further. After the data analysis which was done in SPSS (Statistics Package for Social Sciences), it was found that majority of the tested respondents, i.e., 549 (71.5%) out of the total calculated sample size of 768 claimed that they are considering the signing of the instrument of accession with the Union of India as a right decision.

Similarly, 596 (77.6%) out of the total calculated sample size of 768 configured that Kashmir conflict is rooted in the two-nation theory that favours religious identity and superiority. Furthermore, 259 (33.7%) tested respondents out of the total calculated sample size of 768 acknowledged that Kashmir conflict is still prevalent there due to the continued support by Pakistan. In addition to that, 442 (57.6%) evaluated samples out of the total 768 selected

samples confirmed that the limitedness of the conflict is mainly limited to the Kashmir region only due to the presence and the growth of the separatist forces in the valley only. Further presence of new-age militancy and a massive surge in an armed insurgency in the valley is due to the presence of the abundant availability of the local support which was confirmed by 456 (59.4%) tested samples out of the total 768 calculated sample size. Besides these findings, it was also explored that people are fully disavowing the article 370 of the Indian constitution which empowers State with special status and it was confirmed by 415 (54.0%) evaluated samples out of the total 768 selected samples that article 370 of the Indian constitution should be abrogated.

After the thorough analysis of the data, it was found that growth of separatism, rise in militant extremism, unstable and corrupt political system, unemployment and lack of privatisation or industrialisation, enormous presence of religious identity and regionalism, lack of democratic dominance, unsatisfactory implementation and utilisation of laws and justice, usage of harsh forces, mobilisation and radicalisation along with disturbed educational system have mainly swallowed the State and are pushing it towards conflict or extremism. Besides presence of secessionist forces, armed insurgencies are making the region more conflict-prone and unstable, because all these forces are present only in this part of the State (Kashmir Valley) and there is a total or complete absence of these factors in other two regions of the State (Jammu and Ladakh) who always strongly disavow and dislike all these elements. Hence based on the facts, findings and outputs from the analysed data, it can be argued that conflict in Kashmir will continue as long as there is a presence of these forces along with the extreme support from the external agencies. For the peace, stability, development, prosperity and welfare of the State, these elements need to be completely wiped out from this region.

Chapter 7

Finding, Suggestions, Limitations and Conclusion

I. Findings

- 346 (45.1%) out of the total (768) tested samples have stated that Pakistan is supporting the Kashmir issue and is making the issue more internationalised one and 256 (33.3%) of investigated samples confirmed that the rising support of militancy and separatist forces in the valley is responsible for the unrest. From the analysed data and after scrutinising it thoroughly it can be said that as long as there is growing outside and local support of extremist and militant forces, conflict in Kashmir valley will keep going.
- 596 (77.6%) respondents tested have stated that Kashmir conflict is rooted to the two-nation theory that was based on religious identity and it can be said that conflict in Kashmir is still going due to the religious identity and extremist forces. Besides this, separatist parties and Pakistan see only religious identity as ultimate and final. While checking the historical root cause of the Kashmir issue, it was also found that; 371 (48.3%) samples had stated that historically Kashmir conflict is rooted to two-nation theory followed by 240 (31.3%) samples who had expressed that the growth of extremist forces like militancy and separatism are the root causes of the Kashmir issue.
- 347 (45.2%) tested samples had credited support of militancy, and extremist forces by the Pakistan and 295 (38.4%) samples had stated that Kashmir conflict has grown due to India's inability in solving the issues at the earliest. 14 (1.8%) had pointed at unemployment, and industrial backwardness and 112 (14.6%) respondents had said that, the radicalisation of Kashmiri youth towards the Muslim identity as the reasons behind the growing conflict in Kashmir. From the tested data, it has been analysed that there are only two main factors responsible for the growth of conflict in Kashmir, which are Pakistan's support and religious identity.
- From the tested samples, it has been found that 442 (57.6%) number of respondents had stated that unrest in the state of Jammu and Kashmir is limited to Kashmir region only due

to the presence of separatist forces in the Kashmir valley only. 172 (22.4%) had stated that it is only growing militancy and local support which are making it most favourable destiny in the region and 154 (20.1%) had expressed 'No opinion' on this aspect. From the data it has been found that presence of separatist forces along with growing militancy in the Kashmir region is the root cause for this limited unrest and it can be said that as long as these forces are there in the valley, unrest and conflict in the region will continue.

- 584 (76.0%) samples acknowledged that people thronging to encounter sites is due to local support of militancy in Kashmir. 111 (14.5%) tested samples expressed that inefficiency of standard operating procedures and weak laws are the main reason for it and 73 (9.5%) samples had stated that it is only due to failure of anti-militancy operation tactics. From the tested samples it can be said that as long as local support prevails there people will come to encounter sites in growing numbers and from the analysed data it can be said that if the government want to check this menace and to make counter-insurgency operations more successful, it has to wipe out or check local support.
- From the tested samples, it was found that it is the availability of abundant local support which is flourishing the new militancy era. 456 (59.4%) tested respondents had acknowledged the existence of enough local support, which in turn is booming it. 113 (14.7%) respondents stated that influence of local militants is the main reason behind it, while 63 (8.2%) said that lack of jobs, development and counselling are behind it and 136 (17.7%) calculated samples said that it is due to the use of excessive force by security forces which is increasing the output of new-age militancy in Kashmir. From the tested samples and after proper analysis of the data it has been found that abundant availability of local support is the main reason behind the growth of new-age militancy in Kashmir and for checking this menace, influential religious leaders can be of immense help if involved in proper counselling of youth.
- Majority of the samples, i.e., 332 (43.2%) blamed Pakistan for fomenting trouble in Kashmir. From the data, it has been found Pakistan is mainly responsible for the unrest in Kashmir, and hence it can be easily analysed from the data that for stopping the unrest in Kashmir, Pakistan needs to be taken out of Kashmir issue and only then peace in Kashmir can prevail.
- 386 (50.3%) respondents had acknowledged that weak political structure, heavy political meddling and interference from the government in police affairs is one of the main reasons behind the growing unrest in Kashmir.

- 448 (58.3%) tested samples acknowledged that it is militancy and outside extremist support which damaged the State of Jammu and Kashmir most and regarding the stone pelters, it was found that 304 (39.6%) respondents said that they are not paid agents while 336 (43.8%) of total calculated sample size acknowledged that they are paid agents or are paid for pelting stones on government forces. 128 (16.7%) respondents expressed that they do not have any opinion regarding it. Stone pelting as a paid profession and a tool for fermenting trouble in the valley as a question needed to be analysed and from the analysed data it can be said that they are paid agents of some anti-social elements who always want trouble and conflict in the valley for their self-benefits.
- Majority of the tested samples, i.e., 452 (58.9%) are of the opinion that parts of Kashmir that are retained by Pakistan and China should be merged back to Kashmir. While 77 (10.0%) respondents are of the view that they should be left there with Pakistan and China and 239 (31.1%) are of the view that referendum should be held there.
- 288 (37.5%) said that they are considering the elected government of Jammu and Kashmir as their representatives, while 290 (37.8%) tested samples are considering influential religious leaders as their representatives and it has been found that government and influential religious leaders have a significant role in representing the people of the state and from the fieldwork while getting proposed data it was found that people who are employed or are doing government jobs or have relations with the government sector are considering government and its agencies as their representatives, while on the other hand, other people believe in religious leaders who are influential in nature and consider them as their representatives. Hence, it can be said after analysing the data that religion has a significant role to play in the affairs and the management of the State.
- 409 (53.3%) of the tested samples are considering the government of India and 106 (13.8%) respondents believe in the government of Jammu and Kashmir as compared to others. 114 (14.8%) respondents are the ones who believe more in Hurriyat or militants. From the tested sample, it has been detected that people believe more on the government of India rather than the government of the State. It was found and analysed during the data collection and fieldwork that the people in the State hate government of the State more than anything else.
- Majority of the respondents have stated and acknowledged that they will like to stay with India if choice will be given to them and 530 (69.0%) respondents have acknowledged that if choice is given to them, they will like to stay with India, 83 (10.8%) respondents have said that they will like to stay with Pakistan if choice will be given to them and 155 (20.2%)

tested respondents have expressed their willingness to stay independent if choice is provided to them.

- From the tested samples, it was found that the majority of the samples, i.e., 436 (56.8%) people are of the view that both countries should be blamed for instigating cross border firing. 265 (34.5%) calculated samples said that Pakistan mostly instigates, while a very smaller number of respondents, i.e., 20 (2.6%) respondents said that India mostly instigates. Hence, from the tested data, it can be said that both countries are to blame, and they both should jointly work to check the menace of cross border firing by announcing a complete ceasefire.
- An interesting fact has been explored from the tested samples that, a considerable majority of them want to be part of India and not Pakistan. Of the total tested samples, 547 (71.2%) respondents have acknowledged that they will like to stay with India if Kashmir does not have an option of becoming a separate country and a very less number of respondents, i.e., 74 (9.6%) have stated that they will like to stay with Pakistan if Kashmir does not have an option of becoming a separate country and majority of the tested samples, i.e., 63.8% have stated that Kashmir should remain with India as it is in order to reduce the conflict.
- It has been found that majority of the people in Kashmir are active in protest programs which are there for achieving several reasons or aims. Of the total tested samples, it has been found that 476 (62.0%) respondents have taken part or are active in the protest movements in the last three decades. From the analysed data it can be said that respondents are more active in protest programmes and the reasons are varied from government service to a general public issue, and all the protest programmes are not for raising Kashmir issue but are there to check the government services and their inefficiencies.
- 436 (56.8%) respondents have revealed that AFSPA (Armed Forces Special Powers Act) should be completely or entirely repealed. From the data analysis and as per the shreds of evidence from the fieldwork and also even during the data collection it has been observed that majority of the people want AFSPA to be repealed entirely and it is also evident from the data analysis and the opinions expressed by the majority of the respondents.
- From the tested samples it has been found that a considerable majority of the samples, i.e., 590 (76.8%) have said that we do not believe in stone-pelting and called it a futile exercise that ruins the life and career of hundreds of the people of the society.
- From the analysed data it has been found that majority of the tested samples, i.e., 419 (54.6%) respondents believe that Kashmir unrest is supported by separatist forces and

backed by the extremist militant forces having origins in Pakistan. Hence it can be said after the analysis of the tested data that Kashmir unrest is directly proportional with Separatist forces that are backed by extremist Militant forces having origins in Pakistan. Hence, it can be assumed that more the separatist and extremist forces are there more the chances of unrest in Kashmir are there and vice versa. Thus, for a peaceful atmosphere in Kashmir, we have to weed out separatist forces and external support.

- 418 (54.4%) acknowledged that these programmes of the separatist forces should not be there and 242 (31.5%) respondents have said that if these programmes are not according to law, then they will ruin our state directly or indirectly. Hence, we can find from the calculated samples that these programmes should be totally wiped out, and a complete ban on them should be there.
- From the tested data it has been found that 258 (33.6%) respondents said that Jammu and Kashmir should stay with India but must be given more autonomy and 259 (33.7%) tested samples have said that parts of Jammu and Kashmir retained by Pakistan and China should be merged back with Kashmir. From the analysed data it has been found that majority of the people in Jammu and Kashmir want to be the part of India with more autonomy and want parts of Kashmir back that are retained by Pakistan and China.
- While analysing the fact and reasons behind the division of Hurriyat in multi fractions and parties, it was found from the analysed data that they want to gain the benefits separately for themselves and it is evident that 444 (57.8%) respondents blamed Hurriyat's self-benefit for the division in their organisation and 161 (21.0%) tested samples blamed their ideology which is responsible for their division. Hence from the analysed data, it has been found that they want self-benefits for themselves separately besides broken ideology.
- While enquiring about knowledge on protest calls issued by the separatist parties or extremist militant forces, it was found that a massive majority of tested samples, i.e., 739 (96.2%) have acknowledged that they are aware of the calls issued by the separatist forces which were meant for the boycott of elections.
- From the analysed data, 576 (75.0%) respondents have stated that they totally do not support these calls and protest programmes that are issued by the Hurriyat or separatist parties. Now the big question here arises is that, when majority nearly 75% of respondents are against these calls, then why there is a low voter turnout despite that significant support? During the interaction with the respondents at the time of fieldwork and data collection stages, it was found that it is the Militant or Gun pressure which is mainly responsible for

low voter turnout. After the proper analysis of data collected and views expressed, it is suggested that secret voting along with compulsory voting should be there so that there is an increase in it.

- From the tested respondents, 593 (77.2%) are against the election boycott calls that are issued by separatist forces of the state and small percentage, i.e., 175 (22.8%) are against the ban and from the analysed data it is suggested that there should be a complete ban on these and those supporting it should be severely punished.
- From the analysed data that it is found that people here in Kashmir want electoral participation but have to face certain limitations like poll boycott calls, etc., etc. most of the respondents were seen politically active despite these restrictions, and it was observed during the fieldwork that employed youth do not have any problem in casting votes while not employed or those who are not working or affiliated with any government agency were the biggest victims of this poll boycott. Those who are employed can easily vote because most of them are on poll duties or they are monitoring these works. Security issue always remains there for ordinary people, and that is also the main reason for low voter turnout. From the tested samples, it was found that a small number of respondents, i.e., 28 (3.6%) were the electorates who had cast their votes first time and 562 (73.2%) respondents had voted more than one times.
- Participation in electoral politics is an assertion for the support of the Indian State and democracy because by participating in electoral politics the participant is accepting the constitution and acknowledges to be a good citizen and follower of the law of the land. While testing the same phenomenon, it was found that a whopping number of 498 (64.8%) respondents had acknowledged that participation in electoral politics is an assertion of support for the Indian State and democracy.
- After the analysis of the data it has been found that majority of the respondents, i.e., 424 (55.2%) are of the firm view who do not believe in the induction of Hurriyat leaders in the dialogue process. From the data analysis and experiences from the fieldwork, it has been found that Hurriyat should not be included in the dialogue process, and they should not be considered as a party for dialogue on Kashmir.
- Separatist forces are the ones who are waging against the Indian State and are the ones who are operating on Indian soils and enjoying unlimited benefits and besides holding Indian passports. They are enjoying unlimited perks, security cover, travel and medical allowances from both the government of Jammu and Kashmir and also from the government of India.

592 (77.1%) are of the view that these perks and incentives provided to them should be revoked. From the analysed, it can be said that perks and incentives to these anti-state elements should be wiped out.

- 291 (37.9%) of calculates sample sizes are totally dissatisfied with the work done by political leaders in the last two decades. 113 (14.7%) are the respondents who are thoroughly satisfied, while 224 (31.8%) are the ones who are somewhat satisfied and 120 (15.6%) are the sample sizes who are somewhat dissatisfied. If we will measure the rate of dissatisfaction and will include somewhat satisfied and somewhat dissatisfied in dissatisfaction category, we can say that a majority of respondents greater than 70% are dissatisfied.
- During the fieldwork and at the different stages of data collection it was found that unemployed youth mostly who are educated ones who firmly hold the view that it (Article 370) should be abrogated and according to them it is this article which is mainly responsible for the less economic growth of the State. After the full data analysis, it was also found that majority of the calculated samples, i.e., 415 (54.0%) are of the firm view that it should be abolished and 305 (39.7%) respondents have said that it should be retained.
- While testing level of the satisfaction associated with the performance of political parties or political governance particularly of the two previous coalitions led governments of NC-Congress and PDP-BJP, it was found after testing the calculated samples that majority of the respondents, i.e., 461 (60.0%) had stated that both the governments were terrible for the development of the State so far and in which recent corruption charges and fraudulent selection by the PDP government is the best example and now after more than one year governor of the State Satya Pal Malik has cancelled the selection lists. From the analysed data it can be said that majority of the respondents in the valley are not satisfied with any form of government and for the stability and the welfare of the state a political system should be there which must be respected by the people of the State.
- 348 (45.3%) have disfavoured all the political parties of the State, which can be considered best for the development of the State. Form the analysed data it can be estimated that for the better development of the State, this mistrust needs to be strengthened and major political parties should tirelessly work for the welfare of the people and the state.
- Majority of respondents, i.e., 339 (44.1%) said that so far none of the active political parties has been able to reduce the regional disparity in the State and 113 (14.7%) respondents said that regional disparities have been less during the reign of Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP) while,

221 (28.8%) have said during congress it remained less, 78 (10.2%) favoured National Conference, 17 (2.2%) listed Peoples Democratic Party (PDP).

- Loopholes in the political spectrum of the State whether from best governance to reducing regional disparities in the state have always been an issue and from the data analysis or the views and opinions expressed by the respondents it has been found that State needs a clean, healthy, and stable political system which should work for the development of the state and welfare of its subjects first rather than making regional disparities or other issues.

II. Suggestions

- Growing militancy, outside support of extremist and militant forces besides abundant availability of local support for militancy in the valley needs to be checked.
- Growth of extremist forces like militancy and separatism are the root causes of the Kashmir issue, and also Kashmir conflict has been traced to the two-nation theory which is based on religious identity and it can be said that conflict in Kashmir will come to an end once this religious identity propounded by two nations theory comes to an end.
- 442 (57.6%) number of respondents had stated that unrest in the state of Jammu and Kashmir is limited to Kashmir region only due to the presence of separatist forces, militancy and local support in the Kashmir valley only and this unrest will be wiped off once these separatist forces, militancy and local support is checked and it can be said that as long as these forces are there in the valley, unrest and conflict will continue.
- People thronging to encounter sites can be rectified only once the abundant availability of local support for militancy in Kashmir is brought down, and standard of operating procedures and anti-militancy operation tactics are strengthened and influential religious leaders can be of immense help if involved in proper counselling of youth.
- Pakistan is directly or indirectly responsible for fomenting trouble in Kashmir and discontinuing the unrest in Kashmir, Pakistan needs to be taken out of Kashmir issue, and only then peace in Kashmir can prevail. Kashmir unrest is supported by separatist forces and backed by the extremist militant forces having origins in Pakistan and these forces need to be checked down.
- The weak and unstable political structure, heavy political meddling and interference from the government in police affairs is one of the main reasons behind the growing unrest in

Kashmir, and they need to be strengthened. Besides this, police forces of the State need more autonomous powers while dealing with the unrest.

- 336 (43.8%) of sample size acknowledged that stone pelters are paid agents or are paid for pelting stones on security forces. Stone pelting is one of the worst forms of violence that needs to be crashed, and funding of it needs to be checked down, and those anti-social elements found supporting it need to be cracked down.
- Most people believe in religious leaders who are influential in nature and consider them as their representatives rather than the representatives of the concerned areas or the government of the State. Hence, it is strongly suggested to bring the majority of the people in the State under the democratic process and flourish stable and good governance. Government of the State needs to be strengthened, and it needs it to be indulged in welfare works rather than playing dirty politics.
- 530 (69.0%) respondents have acknowledged that if the choice is given to them, they will like to stay will India, but certain elements are existing in the State which needs to be checked for maintaining the peace and order. It has been found that both countries should be blamed for instigating cross border firing and they both should jointly work to check this menace of cross border firing by announcing complete ceasefire so that peace will exist on both sides of the State.
- People in Kashmir valley are more active in protest programmes, and the growth rate of these programmes should be brought down.
- 436 (56.8%) respondents have revealed that AFSPA should be completely or entirely repealed. From the data analysis and as per the shreds of evidence from the fieldwork and also even during the data collection it has been observed that majority of the people want AFSPA to be repealed entirely and hence it should be repealed.
- 590 (76.8%) have said that they do not believe in stone-pelting and they call it as a futile exercise that ruins the life and career of hundreds of the people of the society and thus stone-pelting needs to be banned and shall be declared illegal activity.
- Majority of tested samples, i.e., 739 (96.2%) have acknowledged that they are aware of the calls issued by the separatist forces which were meant for boycott of elections and hence it is strongly recommended that protest programmes, electoral boycott calls and protest programmes issued by the separatist forces of the State should be totally wiped out and complete ban on them should be there under special law.

- People here in Kashmir want electoral participation but have to face certain limitations like poll boycott calls and security issues always remain there for the ordinary people, and this is also the main reason for low voter turnout; hence online voting is strongly recommended.
- Separatist parties and their extremist forces should not be included in the dialogue process and perks, incentives and other expenditure like Medical, travel, hotel and security allotted to them should be taken away immediately. Political stability, reducing regional imbalances, and corruption-free governance needs to be inducted in the state.

III. Limitations and Recommendations for Future Studies

Limitations: Each research and study whether scholarly or non-scholastic, has its own impediments and specific confinements, other than giving future recommendations for cutting edge future investigations. This investigation went through specific constraints and proposals other than this, and it presents some future recommendations also. The research met with specific confinements, and it tends to be guaranteed that without those restrictions, the study would have been exceptionally well. A portion of the confinements which were looked during the research period is recorded beneath.

Limited Access: The access to data is, for the most part, constrained and especially with regards to sharing of the information identified with stone pelters, separatist forces and militants. The police department of the State has its own requirements and restrictions and they, for the most part, need to comply with the requests from their higher specialists, and they are for the most part hesitant to give any information. Notwithstanding that political parties of the state should be increasingly capable and reliable in sharing their information, particularly for the situation where group conversations and interviews are of critical scope and worth.

Restricted Data: The data collection was confined to two districts only of Kashmir, in which one was most peaceful, and the other one was most disturbed. The sample size selected for studying the research problem comprised of 768 samples in which 384 were from Ganderbal and 384 were from Shopian. The tested sample size is not proportional to the entire population of the state. Therefore, research studies with much larger sample size would be required to ensure appropriate generalisation of the findings for the study.

Narrow Sample Size: Limitations and narrowness in the sample size are one of the most significant issues while researching any issue of more importance. The result may vary from

population to population or from though sample size also. The study carried out in selected districts may not match with other districts were not carried out, and there may be some variation in finding and analysis.

Conflicts Merging from Religious Identity: Consideration of the religious identity as the most form of supreme forms of Nationalism has been one of the main issues while exploring the research problem and during the fieldwork, it was found that religious supremacy was evident in most of the cases which were supposed to express their views and ideas while studying the conflict in Kashmir.

Time Constraints: Every research problem needs several techniques and tactics so that it can be fully explored in a reasonable amount of time. Studying, exploring and examining the genesis of the decades-long conflict is not a work of one to two years, but it needs enough time for fully exploring it. In the case of exploring the Kashmir issue more in terms of accuracy, it needs a sufficient amount of time and other resources.

Growing Extremism and Armed Insurgency: With the surge in the forms of extremism by dint of the growing armed insurgency and issuance of the frequent protest programs besides launching of the strike programs that are mostly issued by the separatist forces of the State, it sometimes becomes too difficult to move around and access the data, interview the audience, meet the people besides accessing other necessary resources due to the massive unrest, strikes, stone-pelting incidents and also through other disturbances that are there dominant in the state from the past two decades mostly.

IV. Recommendations for Future Studies

Access of Data: Enormous access to the Data should be there so that the root cause of the problem is estimated. Data related to stone pelters, separatists, militants should be easily accessible, and there should be not any problem in accessing it.

Exploring More Data: For future studies, it is highly recommended to study the districts of the South Kashmir zone, which are Anantnag, Kulgam, Pulwama and Shopian. Out of the entire district of the zone two districts, Pulwama and Shopian are constituting the unrest in Kashmir, and they stood as the backbones of the unrest. Considering the volatility and the intensity of

the unrest, it is therefore highly recommended to study these four districts instead of districts from other zones that are North and Central Kashmir Zones.

Lack of Data: Lack of available and reliable data is there despite the fact that there is a presence of vast and enormous data on the Kashmir issue, but they are only trying to raise the Kashmir issue besides strengthening it historically. There are very less critical analyses on Kashmir and very few studies which try to find the root causes. For future studies, it is recommended to explore the research problem from the below perspectives by studying the narratives of the peoples and not of the elites or the ruling class. In addition to that, there is an enormous lack of reliable and available data related to those who mostly incite the violence on Kashmir; hence it is recommended that there should be the presence of enough reliable and available data on violence mongers.

V. Conclusion

Jammu and Kashmir an Indian State popularly tagged as Kashmir and known by virtue of its beauty besides being called as a heavenly body on this planet has been a victim of two oppressive colonial forces under the different regimes of the Dogras and the Britishers. In the current context, it has been mostly now a conflict-ridden one due to the frequent and continuous support from Pakistan through various channels of armed insurgencies which have made the area more conflict-prone. Instability, unrest and armed turbulence in Kashmir has been mostly there from the 1990 period with the massive armed uprising that mostly came up in the year 1989 through an extensive military and logistic support from Pakistan. Kashmir dispute is multidimensional in nature which is fought between various parties and in addition to those parties it fought between India and Kashmiris over the right to self-determination, besides between India and religious militants who are waging jihad to create theocratic State (Tavares, 2008). The unrest and conflict in the valley of Kashmir is one of the most protracted pending issues which needs to be sorted out at the earliest for the welfare the development of the State although it can be argued that this unresolved issue is modest in historical perspective and needs a serious look from the Indian side.

Studying, examining and researching Kashmir issue needs several methodologies besides the usage of various tactics. For studying the issue, a theoretical approach was also used to explore the historical grounds and root causes behind the conflict. Implications of the two-nation theory that was propounded by Mohammad Ali Jinnah besides the root causes of the Kashmir conflict was also explored by studying the theory of colonialism. Evaluating the

religious, ideological presence of the Kashmir strife it was explored that majority of the tested samples, i.e., 596 (77.6%) out of the total calculated sample size of 768 acknowledged that the long unending conflict of Kashmir has been unresolved and is growing mainly due to the influential and supreme religious identity that was flushed out by the Jinnah's two-nation theory. It was also explored that the limitedness of the strife is only limited to Kashmir valley due to the majority of the populace which still believes in two-nation theory and are considering it supreme in deciding or choosing Nationalism. On the other hand, while considering and measuring the historical validity of the Kashmir conflict, it was observed that the strife is directly or indirectly being there due to the colonial and oppressive regimes that have swallowed the State through massive economical loots and human crushing especially those belonging to or associated with the religious sentiments. From the total 768 calculated samples, it was acknowledged by 90 (11.8%) respondents that historically Kashmir conflict is rooted to colonial policies of the British that were meant for dividing the territories on the basis of religion and identity while 371 (48.3%) of the calculated samples out of 768 selected samples acknowledged that historically Kashmir conflict is rooted in two-nation theory.

Hence based on the data analysis and after studying the implications of the Kashmir conflict that became thrown out after thoroughly examining this strife, therefore it can be argued that there is a presence and occurrence of the flopped ideology that is making the Kashmir issue more complicated. Directly or indirectly Kashmir conflict is mostly due to the two-nation theory and in addition to that due to the presence of the strong roots that were sworn by the colonial policies. Thus, it was explored that conflict is still a beneficiary of these theories.

The State of Jammu and Kashmir, which has become a bone of contention besides a destiny of uncomfortable place from the very beginning and was fought by colonial forces since its inception. The State came under the union of India through an officially signed instrument of accession between the ruler of the Jammu and Kashmir with the Union of India. Through that instrument of accession, this princely State merged with the Union of India like other States that too were princely in nature but later had merged with India. From the very beginning, the State had a strong presence of unique and separate identity, which was also acknowledged by the granting of constitutionally special status under Article 370 of the Indian Constitution. Presence of Separate constitution, Flag and other important signs like Bird, Animal and Tree are making the State more unique and special. In addition to these recognitions, the State was known by dint of its conflict strife, for instance, presence of armed insurgency movements, separatism, human rights violations and terrorism besides the presence

of various hot issues that are making the State more intricate and unique. Presence of vibrant separatist forces and flourishing of armed insurgency movements that are fully backed and supported by Pakistan have made the State more vulnerable and have indirectly tried to construct its separate identity besides the growth of separate Nationalism.

State's earliest and prominent political party National Conference's (Converted from Muslim Conference) role in reshaping and reconstructing State's unique and separate identity is of significant value besides the growth of the separatist forces are inserting in the populace of the State a Strong sentiment of separate Nationalism by mostly utilising the ideology of the Two-Nation theory. Implications of the religious identity, growth of separatism besides highly growing armed insurgency movements have always tried or reshaped the identity of the State. In addition to these unruly movements, the State's identity has also got reshaped by the active and dominant rules of some other elements like Human rights issues, pandit settlement issues, militancy besides the dominant and leading role of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) which has been stressing mainly on self-rule and greater autonomy and these have also resulted in constructing a separate and robust identity besides promoting growth of separate Nationalism. Growth of the separatist movements even at the national level or in parts of India has motivated and influenced the separatist and religious identities even in Kashmir. The dominance of religious identity and separatism have helped Kashmiri identity to grow at a comparable level. For instance 'Quit India Movement' launched by the Mahatama Gandhi was aimed to flush out the Britishers from India and due to the dominance of that movement it motivated the leaders of the Jammu and Kashmir to initiate and launch a movement namely 'Quit Kashmir' in order to flush out the colonial Dogra regime of the State and this movement was aimed to make Kashmir free from Dogra rule. Hence it can be argued that alarming growth of separatism and armed insurgency movement in parts of India or especially in parts of North East have become the role models for shaping separate identities besides constructing a strong demand for Nationalism.

The emergence, growth and development of the reform movements which were mainly religious and political in nature came up there in the society firstly due to oppressive and colonial rules or the British and the Dogras; secondly, their emergence came up due to the impact of the modern educational system in the society. The State was a victim of the oppressive rules, and the presence of enormous social evils was dominating the state through wrong impressions. The emergence and growth of the social and political movements whose motive was to make the State free from colonial forces, getting rid of oppressive rules and to fully erase and wipe out all the social evils from the State. Most of the movements at the

beginning were religious reform movements and later due to the advancement of the society due to the modern education they became political in nature for the welfare of the society and State. Some of the religious reform movements who were politically active later became the founding stones for the growth of separatism. Reform movements like 'Khalistan Movement' and 'Jamaat-I-Islami' became the idols for the surge in separatism. Jamaat-I-Islami, which was mainly focussing the religious reform activities, became the epicentre for the growth of the separatism or Hurriyat forces in the valley.

Similarly, 'Khalistan Movement' working and focussing for the welfare, upliftment and modernisation of Sikhs became a popular separatist movement demanding a separate homeland for the Sikhs of the State. Hence there is a deep link between the growth of religious reform movements and separatism in the State. Growth of separatism, armed insurgencies, religious superiority and nationalism based on religious supremacy has been the product of these religious reform movements who are considering religion as a separate factor in determining the National identity or Nationalism.

Assessing the Grassroot Perceptions form the Below

The residents of the conflict-ridden areas have some deficiencies or other predicaments which always remain there in the state like harsh laws and strict rules that according to the government agenesis and security forces are meant to tackle the disorder problems in the concerned zones. The ordinary citizens of the states always face some hardships, and it was necessary to investigate the root cause of the fundamental issues which mostly begins from the most below categories in the society. While focussing on the same issue, it was necessary to figure out the problems which the ordinary citizens of the state are suffering from and not the elite or the ruling class of the state. For the disposal of the same issue, it was necessary to examine the problems facing the state at the primary level, and from the analysed data and after the evaluation of the views that there expressed by the 768 sample of the Ganderbal and Shopian districts it was found that there are some severe challenges before the ordinary people of the state which is making their life more challengeable as compared to the other classes. Hence based on the fieldwork data, it can be claimed that problems like harsh laws, frequent strike calls, communication gags, extremist violence's, harassments and human rights abuses etc. need to be brought down while dealing with the law and order problems in the state.

From the tested samples, it was found that majority of the evaluated samples are disfavoursing the harsh laws that have been prevalent in this conflict-ridden area in which the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) is one of them. Majority of the tested samples said

that AFSPA should be entirely repealed as it was also acknowledged by 436 respondents (56.8%) out of the total calculated sample size of 768, besides some 270 samples which constitute 35.2% from the total evaluated samples which were of the opinion that some amendments should be there. The view expressed by the various evaluated samples can also be analysed by seeing Table 6.59.

One more problem which the Kashmir community at the most below level suffers during the different phases of the unrest is of the frequent strike programmes which are being issued and managed by the Hurriyat administration directly or indirectly through various channels and sources. While evaluating the consequence so these strike programmes on the ordinary citizens of the state it was found that majority of the people are opposing it due to the fact that, it mostly affects the poor of the poorest of the state and not the elites or separatist of the state while measuring the views of the selected samples, it was found the 418 samples (54.4%) out of the total 768 calculated samples were of the view that these programmes should be banned or should not be there in our society. The views and opinions communicated by the different tested samples can further be studied in Table 6.60.

Although the problem has surrounded our society, there are some elements or agencies which are mostly responsible for instigating these protest programmes. While measuring the same from the selected sample size, it was found that both militants and separatist forces of the state are responsible for instigating people through these protest tactics. From the total tested sample size of 768 who were selected from both the districts of the state, it was acknowledged by 467 (60.8%) samples out of the total calculated samples that both Hurriyat parties and Militants organisations are mostly responsible for indulging ordinary citizens into these protest programmes which can be further studied by analysing Table 6.62.

Election boycott as one of the most tactics to produce the low voter turnout has been the tool not only of separatist parties but it has been used as a weapon in the state to wipe out the people of the state from the robust democratic processes. Armed militant outfit besides separatist extremist and moderate parties of these groups are always disfavours the elections and they from time to time are utilising various tactics to produce the low voter turnout. While evaluating the same from the respondents perspectives, it was found that majority of the calculated samples out of the total measured samples said that election boycott calls issued by the separatist forces of the state should be entirely banned in order to generate a healthy electoral participation in the state as it was acknowledged by 593 (77.2%) out of the total evaluated sample size of 768 and it can be further examined in Table 6.64.

In the state of Jammu and Kashmir and particularly in the Kashmir valley region, there is always a low voter turnout due to the presence of the various factors. While measuring the people's perception regarding that, it was found that majority of the tested samples out of the calculated samples size are of the strong and firm belief that who are considering the electoral participation as a healthy step in establishing the free and fair electoral institution which was also acknowledged by 556 (73.7%) number of calculated samples out of the 768 tested samples who had flashed their willingness to vote in the democratic processes of the state.

Hence based on the evidence, facts explored based on fieldwork and after the evaluation of the tested samples from both the district it can be claimed based on the tested data that people of the state want equal democratic participation as compared with the other citizens of the country. Still, there is a presence of certain elements that are disfavoursing their democratic exercises.

Kashmir Unrest

346 (45.1%) out of the total (768) tested samples have stated that Pakistan is supporting the Kashmir issue and is making the issue more internationalised one and 256 (33.3%) of investigated samples confirmed that the rising support of militancy and separatist forces in the valley is responsible for the unrest. 596 (77.6%) out of 768 calculated respondents have stated that Kashmir conflict is rooted in the two-nation theory that was based on religious identity. While checking the historical root cause of the Kashmir issue, it was also found that; 371 (48.3%) samples had stated that historically Kashmir conflict is rooted to two-nation theory followed by 240 (31.3%) samples had expressed that the growth of extremist forces like militancy and separatism are the root causes of the Kashmir issue. 347 (45.2%) tested samples had stated that support of militancy and extremist forces by the Pakistan and 295 (38.4%) samples said that Kashmir conflict has grown due to India's inability in solving the issues at the earliest while, on the other hand, we cannot even also neglect unemployment and industrial backwardness of the state. The radicalisation of Kashmiri youth towards Muslim identity is one of the biggest reasons behind the growing conflict in Kashmir and the two most important factors, i.e., Pakistan's support and religious identity. Majority of the people in Jammu and Kashmir are considering the government of India as their representative head rather than the government of the State, and this was also acknowledged by a majority of respondents, i.e., 530 (69.0%) who would like to stay with India if the choice is given to them.

While considering the limitations of the unrest in the State of Jammu and Kashmir which is limited to Kashmir region only due to the presence of these separatist forces in the

Kashmir valley only and the growing militancy besides presence of tremendous local support are making it most favourable destination in the region and people thronging to encounter sites is only due to local support of this militancy in Kashmir. The presence of separatist forces along with growing militancy in the Kashmir region is the root cause for this limited unrest. It can be said that as long as these forces are there in the valley, unrest and conflict in the region will continue. On the other hand, lack of jobs, development, counselling and use of excessive force by security forces is also increasing the output of new-age militancy in Kashmir. Besides this, inefficiency in standard operating procedures and weak laws can also be one of the most significant issues, along with the failure of anti-militancy operation tactics in this disturbed area. The mechanisms of all the tactics which are meant for dealing with the situations during unrest need to be strengthened.

Political Instability

Weak political structure, heavy political meddling and interference from government in police affairs is one of the main reasons behind the growing unrest in Kashmir besides growing outside extremist support has also damaged the valley most, and it is limited to this region of the State only, the biggest problem the valley is facing is of the stone pelters who are supposed to be paid agents, or they have been tagged as paid agents for pelting stones. Stone pelting as a paid profession and a tool for fermenting trouble in the valley as a question needed to be analysed and from the analysed data it was found that they are paid agents of some anti-social elements who always want trouble and conflict in the valley for their self-benefits.

Very less percentage of the people in the valley are considering their elected representatives as their representatives, besides majority of them are considering influential religious leaders as their representatives and it has been found that influential religious leaders have a significant role in representing the people of the State and from the fieldwork while getting proposed data it was found that people who are employed or are doing government jobs or have relations with the government sector are considering government and its agencies as their representatives, while on the other hand other people who believe in religious leaders and who are influential in nature are considering them as their representatives and there is no denial in the fact that religion has a significant role to play in the affairs and the management of the State administration. Most of the people in Kashmir are struck in between levels of dissatisfaction and somewhat satisfied in terms of the services offered by their political leaders. 113 (14.7%) are the respondents who are fully satisfied, while 224 (31.8%) are the ones who are somewhat satisfied ones and 120 (15.6%) are the samples which are somewhat dissatisfied.

If we will measure the rate of dissatisfaction and will include somewhat satisfied and somewhat dissatisfied in dissatisfaction category, it can be said that the majority of respondents greater than 70% are dissatisfied.

Regarding the article 370 of the Indian constitution, most of the youth in the valley are considering it as a tool which is used for political benefits, and it is somewhat responsible for the underdevelopment of the State. During the fieldwork and at the different stages of data collection it was found that unemployed youth mostly who are educated ones firmly hold the view that it (Article 370) should be abrogated and according to them, this article which is mainly responsible for the less economic growth of the State. After the full data analysis, it was also found that the majority of the calculated samples, i.e., 415 (54.0%) are of the firm view that it should be abolished.

Loopholes in the political spectrum of the state whether from best governance to reducing regional disparities in the state have always been an issue and from the data analysis or the views and opinions expressed by the respondents it has been found that State needs a clean, healthy, and stable political system which should work for the development of the state and welfare of its subjects first rather than making regional disparities or other issues.

Hurriyat

Tehreek-e-Hurriyat Jammu and Kashmir or popularly known as Hurriyat or Hurriyat conference holds an important and significant role while studying or analysing the Kashmir conflict. The party is known by dint of its massive separatist activities, and anti-India policies besides pro-Pakistani favour are making it a highly active secessionist party. The rise and emergence of the Hurriyat can be traced to the pre-partition period. The party firstly came up for the religious activities but later got itself activated into secessionist and anti-India activities. The party is a combination of various socio-religious and socio-political organisations that makes it an umbrella of organisations. The organisation possesses both extremist and moderate ideologies. Hurriyat faction led by the Syed Ali Shah Geelani believes in a hardline approach and considers extremist ideology as the primary source for resolving any issue or dispute. While on the other hand, Mirwaiz Molvi Umar Farooq led Hurriyat fraction believes in moderate ideology. The fractions of Hurriyat or divided and disputes are always there in their ideologies besides the presence of several conflicts and issues. These pro-Pakistani secessionist movements have various ideological disputes besides the presence of disfavours from the majority of the areas of the State. The current fractions of the Hurriyat are limited to Kashmir valley only, and there is a total or complete absence of these separatist forces from the two

significant regions of the State viz., Jammu and Ladakh. The limitedness, abundant availability of local support along with extremist militant support, religious superiority, strong backing both by internal and external forces besides the presence of supreme religious nationalism is making it more valuable and conflict-prone in the region. Hurriyat's official records flash that three main reasons are responsible for the growth of such organisation and they stand as Islam, Azadi (*Freedom*) and Ittihad-e-Millat (*Fraternity*). From the three main targets and motives of the Hurriyat, it clearly depicts religious superiority (*Islam*) beside exit from the Indian union (*Azadi/Freedom*).

Programmes, policies, poll boycott and mobilisation, are some of the most popular tactics that are used by Hurriyat to disengage the general masses from the electoral processes and despite the fact that, they themselves have fought Indian elections and have held MLA positions along with the receipt of the exclusive benefits and allowances from the government of India. They are always favouring the poll boycott, and it was also verified by testing a sample size of 768, in which 593 (77.2%) of tested samples acknowledged that election boycott calls that are issued by the separatist forces of the State should be banned. Besides this, 444 (57.8%) number of calculated samples out of the total 768 evaluated samples acknowledged that Hurriyat is divided into various small and big fractions in order to gain self-benefits separately for themselves. In addition to that, 161 (21.0%) tested samples out of the total 768 samples that were evaluated for the analysis had certified that there is a strong presence of ideological difference within the separatist camps.

The role of Hurriyat and its allied parties is of greater importance and it along with local support needs to be brought down for curbing the unrest in the valley. While tracing the facts and reasons behind the division of Hurriyat in multi fractions and parties, it was found from the analysed data that they want to gain the benefits separately for themselves and it is evident that 444 (57.8%) respondents blamed Hurriyat's self-benefit for the division in their organisation and 161 (21.0%) tested samples blamed their ideology which is responsible for their division. It is a party with multi organisations and multiple divisions. They are using enormous tactics besides several programmes and policies for fomenting trouble in the valley. They by dint of these frequent protest calls are making the issues more complex, and this was also acknowledged by the majority of the respondents. 418 (54.4%) respondents acknowledged that the protest programmes of the separatist forces should not be there. If these programmes are not according to law, then they will ruin the state directly or indirectly. Almost all the people in the valley are aware of their protest programmes, and the majority of them do not support these calls and protest programmes that are issued by the Hurriyat or separatist parties.

Hence, we can find from the calculated samples that these programmes should be wiped out, and a complete ban on them should be there.

Most of the people in the valley are of the firm view who do not believe in the induction of Hurriyat leaders in the dialogue process. From the data analysis and experiences from the fieldwork, it has been found that Hurriyat should not be included in any future dialogue process and they should not be considered as party for dialogue on Kashmir because Separatist forces are the ones who are waging against the Indian state and are the ones who are operating on Indian soils and enjoying unlimited benefits and besides holding Indian passports. They are enjoying unlimited perks, security cover, travel and medical allowances from both the government of Jammu and Kashmir and also from the government of India. 592 (77.1%) of the total calculated samples are of the view that these perks and incentives provided to them should be revoked. Hence, perks and incentives to these anti-state elements should be wiped out.

Jammu and Kashmir should stay with India but must be given more autonomy and 259 (33.7%) tested samples have said that parts of Jammu and Kashmir retained by Pakistan and China should be merged back with Kashmir. Majority of the people in Jammu and Kashmir want to be the part of India with more autonomy and want parts of Kashmir back that are retained by Pakistan and China. People here in Kashmir want electoral participation but have to face certain limitations like poll boycott calls, etc., etc. most of the respondents were seen politically activate despite these restrictions and it was observed during the fieldwork that employed youth do not have any problem in casting votes while not employed or those who are not working or affiliated with any government agency were the biggest victims of this poll boycott. Those employed can easily vote because most of them are on poll duties or they are monitoring these works. Security issue always remains there for ordinary people, and that is also the main reason for low voter turnout. Participation in electoral politics is an assertion for the support of the Indian state and democracy because by participating in electoral politics the participant is accepting the constitution and acknowledges to be a good citizen and follower of the law of land and this was also acknowledged by the whopping number of 498 (64.8%) respondents, who are of the firm view that participation in electoral process is an assertion of support for the Indian state and democracy.

After the thorough analysis of the data, it was found that growth of separatism, rise in militant extremism, unstable and corrupt political system, unemployment and lack of privatisation or industrialisation, enormous presence religious identity and regionalism, lack of democratic dominance, unsatisfactory implementation and utilisation of laws and justice, usage of harsh forces, mobilisation and radicalisation along with disturbed educational system have

mainly swallowed the State and are pushing it towards conflict or extremism. Besides presence of secessionist forces, armed insurgencies are making the region more conflict-prone and unstable, because all these forces are present only in this part of the State (*Kashmir Valley*) and there is a total or complete absence of these factors in other two regions of the State (*Jammu and Ladakh*) who always strongly disfavour and dislike all these elements. Hence based on the facts, findings and outputs from the analysed data, it can be argued that conflict in Kashmir will continue as long as there is a presence of these forces along with the extreme support from the external agencies. For the peace, stability, development, prosperity and welfare of the State, these elements need to be completely wiped out from this region.

Hence based on the facts and after the assumption of verified data, it can be argued that Hurriyat is nothing but a presence of local dominant force along with the presence of substantial local support only in parts of Kashmir valley besides presence of strong backing by Pakistan which has grown only in some parts of the State and tries to establish the religious identity and separate nationalism by virtue of its various secessionist activities which are anti-India mainly and pro-Pakistani especially. In addition to this, these separatist forces are the mix of various broken ideologies which work separately under various organisational heads. Albeit, the presence of local support and the religious majority are adding more tastes to it in fully restoring its secessionist activities. Therefore, it can be claimed that as long as there is a strong presence of these separatist forces in the valley unrest, turbulence and instability besides growth in armed insurgency will keep on growing in the State with full zeal.

Bibliography

I. Primary Sources

A. Archival Records

- Foreign Department Proceedings, (1846-1947).
- Jammu and Kashmir Archives. File No. 115 of 1920.
- Jammu and Kashmir Archives. File No. 261/28-C of 1917.
- Jammu and Kashmir Archives. File No. J-88 of the year 1924.
- Jammu and Kashmir Archives. File No. 169/N-189 C of the year 1910.
- Jammu and Kashmir Archives. File No. J-88 of the year 1924.
- National Archives of India, Home Department, Political, December 1914, File No. 31.
- Jammu and Kashmir Archives, proceedings of the meetings of the State of Jammu & Kashmir state council held on 19th August 1922.
- Political Department proceedings (1846-1947).
- Records available in the National Archives of India.
- Minister for Education to Chief Minister, 16/08/1918, J&K Archives Department. File No. 240/P-136 of the year 1918.
- Minister of Education to chief Minister, 16/08/1918, J&K Archives. File No. 240/P-136 of the year 1918.
- National Archives of India, Home Department, Political, November 1917, No.7, fortnightly report of the second half of October 1917.
- Old English Records, Government of Jammu and Kashmir available in the Jammu and Kashmir State Archives Repositories, Srinagar and Jammu, (1846-1947).

B. Official Documents

- Administrative Reports of Jammu and Kashmir State (1900-1947).
- Census Reports of India. (1891-1947).
- Census Report of India, 2011, Government of Jammu and Kashmir.
- Census Report of India, 1931, p. 297.
- Jammu and Kashmir Government Gazette, (1931-1947).
- Booklets of Hurriyat and JKLF.
- Text of Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir.
- Text of Constitution of Muslim United Front.

- Text Constitution of Jamaat-I-Islami.
- Text Constitution of All Parties Hurriyat Conference.
- Text of Instrument of Accession.

C. Personal & Private Documents

- All India States Peoples Conference Papers, File No. 14 Part-II.
- Letter from Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad to the General Secretary, Reception Committee, All India States Peoples Conference, Ludhiana.
- Letters from Prem Nath Bazaz to Balwant Raj Mehta, General Secretary, All India States Peoples Conference, Bombay No. 19/9/C/38, Dated May 3, 1938.
- All India States Peoples Conference Papers, File No. 14 Part-II.
- Telegram from the President of Kashmir Hindu progressive party to Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru.
- Telegram from the President of Young Men's Association, Jammu to Pandit Jawahar Lai Nehru.
- Letter from P. N. Bazaz to M. N. Roy, May 27, 1938.
- Letter from S. B. Moonji to Maharaja Sahib, August 19, 1931.
- Letter from S. B. Moonji to Maharaja Sahib, May 27, 1932.
- Letter from S. B. Moonji to B. J. Glancy, March 9, 1934.
- Personal Dairy of Mohammad Shams-ul-Rahman, 1930-47.
- Personal Dairy of Altaf Ahmad (APHC-G), 1930-60.

D. Documents of Political Parties

- All Jammu and Kashmir Muslims Conference, Welcome Address compiled by Mirza Shafiq Hussain in his book *Kashmiri Mussalmanan-Ki-Siyasi-Jadu-Jahad Kay Muntakhib Dastawaizat*.
- All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, welcome addresses delivered in the annual sessions of the Conference, published by the General Secretary National Conference.
- All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, presidential addresses delivered in the annual sessions of the Conference, published by the General Secretary National Conference
- Kashmiri Muslims Representatives, a memorial of grievances presented to His Highness, the Maharaja Bahadur on August 15, 1931.
- Draft of Demands issued by the Kashmiri leadership in 1938.
- Memorial containing Demands of Kashmiri Muslims presented to His Highness, the Maharaja; Bahadur of Jammu and Kashmir on October 19, 1931.
- Adhoc Committee of Kashmiri Pandit Nationalists, a statement issued by the Adhoc Committee appointed by the Pandit Kashmiri Nationalists.

- Majlis-i-Ahrar-Islam, Manifesto of Demands issued on August 18, 1931, Lahore.
- Naya Kashmir Manifesto, Published in 1944.
- Official Documents of PDP (Pamphlets and Other Booklets).
- Official Documents of National Conference including Pamphlets, Leaflets and Brochures.

II. Secondary Sources

A. Books

- Ali, T. (2011). *Kashmir: the case for freedom*. London: Verso Books.
- Aggarwal, R. (2004). *Beyond lines of control: performance and politics on the disputed borders of Ladakh, India*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Ali, S. & Ripley, S. D. (1980). *Handbook of the Birds of India and Pakistan*. Oxford University Press.
- Ambedkar, B. R. (1940). *Pakistan or the Partition of India*. Bombay: Thackers Publishers.
- Abbas, C. G. (2001). *Kashmakash*, Srinagar: Kashmir Studies Foundation.
- Abdullah, F. (1985). *My Dismissal*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishers.
- Abdullah, S. M. (1945). *Our Path to Freedom and New Kashmir*, Srinagar: All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference Publication.
- Abdullah, S. M. (1958). *Rai Shumari Kaun*. Srinagar: Plebiscite Front publication.
- Abdullah, S. M. (1985). *Atish-i-Chinar*. Srinagar: Chaudhari Academy.
- Akbar, M. J. (1985). *India: The Siege within Challenges to a Nation's Unity*. England: Penguin.
- Akbar, M. J. (1991). *Kashmir: Behind the Vale*. London: Viking.
- Akhter, S. (1991). *Uprising in Indian held Jammu and Kashmir*. Islamabad: Institute of Regional Studies.
- Anand, A. S. (1994). *The Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir, its Developments and Comments*. Delhi: Universal Book Traders.
- Banerjee, A. C. (1981). *Two Nations: The Philosophy of Muslim Nationalism*. Concept Publishing Company.
- Barash, D. P. and Webel, C. P. (2009). *Peace and Conflict Studies*. London: Sage Publications.
- Behera, N. C. (2000). *State, Identity & Violence: Jammu, Kashmir, and Ladakh*. New Delhi: Manohar Publications.
- Behera, N. C. (2007). *Demystifying Kashmir*. Washington, D. C: Brookings Institution Press.
- Bose, S. (2007). *Contested Lands: Israel-Palestine, Kashmir, Bosnia, Cyprus, and Sri Lanka*. Harvard University Press.

- Bose, S. (2003). *Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace*. Harvard University Press.
- Bamzai, P. N. K. (1962). *A History of Kashmir*. Delhi: Metropolitan Book Company.
- Ibid, (1966). *Kashmir and Power Politics*. Delhi: Metropolitan Book Company.
- Ibid, (1994). *Cultural and Political History of Kashmir*. New Delhi: M.D. Publications.
- Bazaz, P. N. (1950). *The truth about Kashmir*. Delhi: The Kashmir Democratic Union.
- Ibid, (1954). *The History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*. New Delhi: Kashmir Publishing Company.
- Biscoe, T. (1951). *Autobiography*, London: Seeley.
- Bose, J. C. (1889). *Cashmere and its Prince*. Calcutta.
- Bose, S. (2003). *Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Paths of Peace*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Chari, P. R; Cheema, P. I. & Cohen, S. P. (2003). *Perception, Politics and Security in South Asia: The Compound Crisis of 1990*. Routledge: London.
- Chaku, A. N. & Chaku, I. K. (2016). *The Kashmir Story: Through the Ages*. New Delhi: Vitasta Publishing Pvt. Ltd.
- Chandra, B. & others (2000). *India after Independence 1947-2000*, New Delhi: Penguin Books.
- Choudhary, Z. (2015). *Kashmir Conflict and Muslims of Jammu*. Gulshan Books: Srinagar.
- Chopra, P. N. (1988). *Indian Muslims in Freedom Struggle*. New Delhi: Criterion Publications.
- Chopra, V. D. (1990). *Genesis of Indo-Pakistan Conflict on Kashmir*. New Delhi: Patriot Publishers.
- Crenshaw, M. (1995). *Terrorism in Context*, Pennsylvania State University.
- Dasgupta, C. (2002). *War and diplomacy in Kashmir 1947-48*. Sage Publications: New Delhi.
- Danaher, G., Schirato, T. and Webb, J. (2000). *Understanding Foucault*. London: Allen & Unwin, Sage Publications Ltd.
- Dholakia, A. (2005). *The Role of Mediation in Resolving India-Pakistan Conflict: Parameters and Possibilities*. Manohar Publications: New Delhi.
- Dossani, R. and Rowen, H. S. (2005). *Prospects for Peace in South Asia*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Dixit, J. N. (2002). *India-Pakistan in war and peace*. Books Today: New Delhi.
- Douie, J. M. (2008). *The Panjab, North-West Frontier Province, and Kashmir*. Seema Publications: New Delhi.
- Fazili, M. A. (1980). *Socialist ideas and movements in Kashmir*. New Delhi: Eureka Publications.

- Foucault, M. (1975). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Random House.
- Ganguly, S. (1997). *The Crisis in Kashmir: Portents of War, Hopes of Peace*. Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Cambridge University Press.
- Ganai, A. J. (1984). *Kashmir and National Conference and Politics*. Srinagar: Gulsan.
- Gandhi, M. K. (1941). *The Indian States Problem*. Ahmedabad: Navajivan Press.
- Ganjoo, S. (1990). *Kashmir Politics*. Anmol Pubs, New Delhi.
- Gellner, E. (1987). *Culture, Identity, and Politics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Ganguly, S. (1977). *The Crisis in Kashmir: Portents of War, Hopes of Peace*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Geelani, S. A. (2004). *Tehreek-e-Hurriyat Ke teen Ahadab (Three Targets of Hurriyat)*. Central Publishing Department of Hurriyat Conference.
- Hampson, F. O. and Malone, D. M. (2002). *From Reaction to Conflict Prevention-Opportunities for the UN system*. London: Lynne Rienne Publishers.
- Howard B. S. (2009). *The Limits of Influence: America's Role in Kashmir*. Brookings Institution Press.
- Iffat, S. M. (2002). *Kashmir: Domestic Insurgency, International Dispute*. Oxford University Press.
- Jalal, A. (1995). *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia-A comparative and historical perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jinnah, A. M. (1992). *Problem of India's Future Constitution, and Allied Articles*. Minerva Book Shop: Anarkali, Lahore.
- Khan, G. H. (1980). *Freedom Movement in Kashmir 1931-40*. New Delhi: Light and Life Publishers.
- Khan, G. H. (2009). *Government and Politics of Jammu and Kashmir*. Srinagar: Gulshan.
- Khan, G. M. (2000). *Ideological Foundation of Freedom Movement in Jammu and Kashmir 1931-1947*. Delhi: Bhavana Prakashan.
- Khan, N. A. (2012). *The parchment of Kashmir: history, society, and polity*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kaul, A. (2011). *Kashmir: Contested Identity-closed system, open choices*. Rawat publications: Jaipur.
- Khan, L. A. (1940). *Pakistan: The Heart of Asia*. Thacker & Co. Ltd.
- Khurshid, S. (1994). *Beyond terrorism-New hope for Kashmir*. UBS Publishers Distributors ltd., New Delhi.

- Krepon, M. (ed.). (2004). *Nuclear Risk Reduction in South Asia*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Kumar, R. (2005). *Making Peace with Partition*. Penguin: New Delhi.
- Kazi, S. (2017). *Law, Gender and Governance in Kashmir in Chitralkha Zutshi (ed.). Kashmir: History, Politics, Representation*. Cambridge University Press.
- Lamb, A. (1992). *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy 1846-1990*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Lamb, A. (1996). *Crisis in Kashmir 1947 to 1996*. London: Routledge
- Mac, G. and Roger. (2008). *No War, No Peace: The Rejuvenation of Stalled Peace Processes and Peace Accords*. Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Margolis, E. (2004). *War at the Top of the World: The Struggle for Afghanistan, Kashmir and Tibet*. Routledge.
- Mridu, R. (2004). *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects: Islam, Rights, and the History of Kashmir*.
- Majumdar, R. C. (1961). *Three phases of India's struggle for freedom*. Bombay, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.
- Nyla, A. K. (2012). *The Parchment of Kashmir*. Palgrave and Macmillan Press: New York, USA
- Pandita, R. (2014). *Our moon has blood clots: A memoir of a lost Home in Kashmir*. Random publishing House: India.
- Paul, T. V. (2005). *The India Pakistan Conflict: An Enduring Rivalry*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Parthasarthy, G. & Kumar, R. (2006). *Frameworks for a Kashmir Settlement*. Delhi Policy Group: New Delhi.
- Peer, B. (2009). *Curfewed Night*: Random Publishing House, India.
- Prem, S. J. (1996). *Kashmir, 1947: Rival Versions of History*. Oxford University Press.
- Pruthi, R. (2004). *Sikhism and Indian Civilization*, Discovery Publishing House.
- Rizwan, Z. & Chandran, S. (2005). *Indo-Pak Conflicts: Ripe to Resolve*. Manohar Publishers: New Delhi.
- Rodney, W. (1972). *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. Black Classic Press.
- Rudolph, L. I. and Rudolph, S. H. (2008). *Making US Foreign Policy Towards South Asia-Regional Imperatives and the Imperial Presidency*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Sagar, D. (2015). *Jammu and Kashmir- A victim (a victim of personal ambitions of some and mishandling and mishandling by the core Indian leadership)*. Ocean Books Pvt. Ltd.: New Delhi.
- Sagan, S. D. (2003). *The spread of nuclear weapons: a debate renewed: with new sections on India and Pakistan, terrorism, and missile defence*. London: W. W. Norton.
- Simons, J. (1995). *Foucault & the political*. New York: Routledge.

- Sten, W. (2006). *Kashmir in Comparative Perspective: Democracy and Violent Separatism in India*. Oxford University Press.
- Singh, N. (1992). *Political Awakening in Kashmir*. H. K. Publications: Delhi.
- Singh, T. (1995). *Kashmir: A Tragedy of Errors*. Viking Penguin India.
- Schofield, V. (2002). *Kashmir in Conflict*. New Delhi: Viva Books.
- Siraj, M. A. (1997). *Kashmir: Disolation or Peace*. Minvera Press Publishers Ltd: London.
- Swami, P. (2007). *India, Pakistan and the Secret Jihad*. Routledge: Oxford.
- Saigol, R. (1995). *Knowledge and identity: Articulation of Gender in Educational Discourse in Pakistan*. ASR Publications.
- Varma, B. (1988). *Insurgency and Counter-Terrorism*. Uppal Publishing House: New Delhi.
- Verma, P. S. (1994). *Jammu & Kashmir at the Political Crossroads*. Vikas Publications: New Delhi.
- Victoria S. (2003). *Kashmir in Conflict: India, Pakistan and the Unending War*. Palgrave & Macmillan Press: New York, USA.
- Schofield, V. (2003). *Kashmir in Conflict*. London and New York: I. B. Taurus & Co.
- Chitkara, M. G. (2003). *Kashmir: LoC*. APH Publishing.
- Veracini, L. (2010). *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wani, G. M. (1993). *Kashmir Politics: Problems and Prospects*. Ashish Pub House: New Delhi.
- Wallensteen, P. (2007). *Understanding Conflict Resolution*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Warikoo, K. (1996). *Jammu, Kashmir, and Ladakh - Linguistic Predicament*. New Delhi: Himalayan Research & Cultural Foundation.
- Waklu, K. and Waklu, O.N. (1992). *Kashmir; Behind the White Curtain*. New Delhi: Konarak Publishers.
- Wani, G. M. (1996). *Kashmir from Autonomy to Azadi*. Srinagar: Valley Book House.
- Ibid, (1993). *Kashmir politics: problems and prospects*. New Delhi: Ashish Pub. House.
- Wani, A. A. (2019). *What happened to governance in Kashmir?* New Delhi, India: Oxford University Press.
- Widmalm, S. (2015). *Kashmir in comparative perspective: democracy and violent separatism in India*. London: Routledge.
- Wirsing, R. G. (1994). *India, Pakistan, and the Kashmir Dispute on Regional Conflict and Its Resolutions*. London: MacMillan Press Ltd.

- Zutshi, V. K. (1986). *Emergence of Political Awakening in Kashmir*. New Delhi: Manohar Publications.
- Zutshi, C. (2004). *Languages of Belonging: Islam, Regional Identity and the Making of Kashmir*. London: Hurst and Company.

B. Articles from Journals, Magazines and Periodicals

- Aggarwal, N. (2008). Kashmiriyat As Empty Signifier. *Interventions*, 10(2), 222-235.
- Ahmed, M. (1998). Confidence-building measures between Pakistan and India: An argument for change. *Contemporary South Asia*, 7(2), 137-145.
- Ahmar, M. (1994). The applicability of the Helsinki model for the task of confidence-building and conflict resolution in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. *Contemporary South Asia*, 3(3), 237-256.
- Ali, N. (2009). The making of Kashmiri identity. *South Asian Diaspora*, 1(2), 181-192.
- Anant, A. (2009). Identity and Conflict: Perspectives from the Kashmir Valley. *Strategic Analysis*, 33(5), 760-773.
- Bartal, D. (2000). From Intractable Conflict Through Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation: Psychological Analysis. *Political Psychology*, 21(2), 351-365.
- Behera, N. C. (2002). Kashmir: A testing ground. *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 25(3), 343-364.
- Bhatt, S. (2003). State Terrorism vs Jihad in Kashmir. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 33(2), 215-224.
- Bhat, A. (2018). Kashmir: history, politics, representation. *Contemporary South Asia*, 26(3), 367-368.
- Bhan, M., Duschinski, H., & Zia, A. (2018). Introduction. Rebels of the Streets: Violence, Protest, and Freedom in Kashmir. *Resisting Occupation in Kashmir*, 1-41.
- Bhatia, M. (2017). Beyond the 'Kashmir' Meta-Narrative: Caste, Identities and the Politics of Conflict in Jammu and Kashmir. *Kashmir*, 199-219.
- Bose, S. (1999). Kashmir: Sources of Conflict, Dimensions of Peace. *Survival*, 41(3), 149-171.
- Blank, J. (1999). Kashmir: Fundamentalism Takes Root. *Foreign Affairs*, 78(6), 36-53.
- Bose, S. (1999). Kashmir: Sources of Conflict, Dimensions of Peace. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 34(13), 762-768.
- Chari, P. R. (2005). Strategic stability in South Asia: the role of confidence-building and threat reduction measures. *Contemporary South Asia*, 14(2), 211-217.

- Chiriyankandath, J. (1993). Human rights in India: Concepts and contexts. *Contemporary South Asia*, 2(3), 245-263.
- Cohen, S. P. (2002). India, Pakistan and Kashmir. *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 25(4), 32-60.
- Desmond, E. (1995). The insurgency in Kashmir (1989–1991). *Contemporary South Asia*, 4(1), 5-16.
- Devotta, N. (2003). Is India over-extended? When domestic disorder precludes regional intervention. *Contemporary South Asia*, 12(3), 365-380.
- Ellis, P. and Z. Khan (2003). Kashmiri displacement and the impact on Kashmiriyat. *Contemporary South Asia*, 12(4), 523-538.
- Evans, A. (2000). The Kashmir insurgency: As bad as it gets. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 11(1), 69-81.
- Evans, A. (2002) A departure from history: Kashmiri Pandits, 1990-2001. *Contemporary South Asia*, 11(1), 19-37.
- Evans, A. (2005). Kashmir: a tale of two valleys. *Asian Affairs*, 36(1), 35-47.
- Galtung, J. (1985). Twenty-five years of peace research: ten challenges and some responses. *Journal of Peace Research*, 2(22), 141-158.
- Ganie, M. T. (2019). Metaphors in the Political Narratives of Kashmiri Youth. *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 42(2), 278-300.
- Galtung, J. (1990). Cultural Violence. *Journal of Peace Research*, 3(27), 291-305.
- Ganaie, N. A. (2015). Naya Kashmir, land reforms and colonialism in Jammu and Kashmir, a study of national conference and its implications on the identity of State. *International Journal of Applied Research*, 1(13), 565-569.
- Ganguly, S. (2006). Will Kashmir Stop India's Rise. *Foreign Affairs*, 85(4).
- Garner, G. (2013). Chechnya and Kashmir: The Jihadist Evolution of Nationalism to Jihad and Beyond. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 25(3), 419-434.
- Ganaie, N. A. (2015). Sikh Socio-Religious Reform Movements in Jammu and Kashmir from 1900-1947. *International Journal of Interdisciplinary and Multidisciplinary Studies*, 2(8), 12-16.
- Gahlaut, B. (2014). Jammu and Kashmir: legal position, Security Council mediation and future prospect. *Commonwealth Law Bulletin*, 40(1), 17-31.
- Ganaie, N. A. (2015). Socio-Religious Reform Movements of Muslims in J & K from 1900-1947. *International Journal of Innovative Research & Development*, 4(6), 294-298.

- Ibid, (2015). Hindu Socio-Religious Reform Movements in Jammu and Kashmir: Pre-independence phase. *Asian Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies*, 3(7), 94-99.
- Ibid, (2017). Instability and Unrest in Kashmir: A Case from Barriers of Optimism to Pellets. *International Journal of Modern Social Sciences*, 6(1), 51-93.
- Ibid, & Rupavath, R. (2017). Impact of Kissan Credit Cards on the Socio-Economic Life of People in Jammu and Kashmir. *International Journal of Modern Social Sciences*, 6(1), 1-21.
- Ganaie, N. A. (2018). Drama of Separatism. *Urban Studies and Public Administration*, 1(2), 320-327.
- Ibid, (2018). Kashmir from Barriers of Discomfort to Hope: A Case of Hurriyat Conference. *World Journal of Social Science Research*, 5(3), 258-281.
- Ibid, (2018). Modernising Extremism: A Case of New Age Militancy in Kashmir. *Advances in Politics and Economics*, 1(1), 61-68.
- Gregory, S. and C. C. Fair (2008). The cohesion and stability of Pakistan: an introduction to the special issue. *Contemporary South Asia*, 16(1), 3-9.
- Hill, M. and N. Motwani (2017). Language, Identity and (In)Security in India–Pakistan Relations: The Case of Kashmir. *Journal of South Asian Studies*, 40(1), 123-145.
- Hoyt, T. (2003). Politics, proximity and paranoia: the evolution of Kashmir as a nuclear flashpoint. *India Review*, 2(3), 117-144.
- Jafa, Y. S. (2005). Defeating Terrorism: A Study of Operational Strategy and Tactics of Police Forces in Jammu & Kashmir (India). *Police Practice and Research*, 6(2), 141-164.
- Jabri, V. (1995). Agency, Structure, and the Question of Power in Conflict Resolution. *Paradigms*, 9(2). 53-70.
- James, C. C. and Ozdamar, O. (2005). Religion as a Factor in Ethnic Conflict: Kashmir and Indian Foreign Policy. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 17(3), 447-467.
- Jones, S. (2008). India, Pakistan, and counterinsurgency operations in Jammu and Kashmir. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 19(1), 1-22.
- Kanwal, G. (1999). Proxy war in Kashmir: Jihad or state-sponsored terrorism? *Strategic Analysis*, 23(1), 55-83.
- Kilcullen, D. (2006). Counter-insurgency Redux. *Survival*, 48(4), 111-113.
- Lamb, A. (1994). The Indian claim to Jammu & Kashmir: Conditional accession, plebiscites and the reference to the United Nations. *Contemporary South Asia*, 3(1), 67-72.
- Lyon, P. (1992). South Asia and the geostrategics of the 1990s. *Contemporary South Asia*, 1(1), 25-39.

- Maley, W. (2003). The War against Terrorism in South Asia. *Contemporary South Asia*, 12(2), 203-217.
- Malik, I. H. (1992). Ethnicity and contemporary South Asian politics. *The Round Table*, 81(322), 203-214.
- Malik, I. H. (2019). The Kashmir Dispute: A Cul-de-Sac in Indo-Pakistan Relations? *Perspectives on Kashmir*, 299-318.
- Mattoo, A. (2003). India's potential endgame in Kashmir. *India Review*, 2(3), 14-33.
- Mukherjee, K. (2014). The Kashmir conflict in South Asia: voices from Srinagar. *Defense & Security Analysis*, 30(1), 44-54.
- Mohan, T. (2002). Elections in Kashmir: Challenges and opportunities. *Strategic Analysis*, 26(3), 447-454.
- Martin-Lucas, B. (2013). The Beauties of Kashmir: Nila Gupta's Representations of War from a Distance. *Women: A Cultural Review*, 24(1), 45-61.
- Mohan, A. (1992). The historical roots of the Kashmir conflict. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 15(4), 283-308.
- Munshi, M. U. D. (1995). A Kashmiri Perspective-I. *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, 22(1), 20-27.
- Munshi, S. (2013). Analysis of Conflict Within A contested land: The Case of Kashmir. *Defence and Peace Economics*, 24(3), 261-292.
- Noorani, A. G. (2000). Questions about the Kashmir Ceasefire. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 35(45), 3949-3958.
- Palit, P. S. (2001). The Kashmir policy of the United States: A study of the perceptions, conflicts and dilemmas. *Strategic Analysis*, 25(6), 781-803.
- Prakash, S. (2000). The political economy of Kashmir since 1947. *Contemporary South Asia*, 9(3), 315-337.
- Punjabi, R. (1995). Kashmir imbroglio: The socio-political roots. *Contemporary South Asia*, 4(1), 39-53.
- Puri, B. (1995). Kashmiriyat: The vitality of Kashmiri identity. *Contemporary South Asia*, 4(1), 55-63.
- Rupavath, R. (2019). Tribal Alienation and Conflict in India: A Perspective from Below. *Contemporary Voice of Dalit*, 1-16.
- Rizvi, G. (1995). Nehru and the Indo-Pakistan rivalry over Kashmir 1947-64. *Contemporary South Asia*, 4(1), 17-37.

- Rao, A. (1999). The many sources of identity: an example of changing affiliations in rural Jammu and Kashmir. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(1): 56-91.
- Rose, L. E. (2019). The Politics of Azad Kashmir. *Perspectives on Kashmir*, 235-253.
- Sazawal, V. K. (1995). A Kashmiri Perspective-II. *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, 22(1), 28-32.
- Schofield, V. (2008). Kashmiri separatism and Pakistan in the current global environment. *Contemporary South Asia*, 16(1), 83-92.
- Schild, P. (2015). Local politics of reconstruction along and across Azad Kashmir's border with Pakistan. *Contemporary South Asia*, 23(3), 292-313.
- Schofield, V. (2015). Why Kashmir Is Still Important. *Asian Affairs*, 46(1), 18-31.
- Shubh, M. (2016). *The Human Toll of the Kashmir Conflict: Grief and Courage in a South Asian Borderland*. Palgrave Macmillan: US.
- Sokefeld, M. (2015). Jammu and Kashmir: boundaries and movements. *Contemporary South Asia*, 23(3), 251-265.
- Swami, P. (2003). Terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir in theory and practice. *India Review*, 2(3), 55-88.
- Tavares, R. (2008). Resolving the Kashmir Conflict: Pakistan, India, Kashmiris and Religious Militants. *Asian Journal of Political Science*, 16(3), 276-302.
- Thomas, R. G. C. (1993). The struggle for Kashmir: Alternative interpretations and solutions. *Contemporary South Asia*, 2(2), 199-215.
- Tremblay, R. C. (1995). Kashmir: The valley's political dynamics. *Contemporary South Asia*, 4(1), 79-101.
- Varshney, A. (2019). Three Compromised Nationalisms: Why Kashmir has been a Problem. *Perspectives on Kashmir*, 191-234.
- Wani, A. A. (2013). Ethnic identities and the dynamics of regional and sub-regional assertions in Jammu and Kashmir. *Asian Ethnicity*, 14(3), 309-341.
- Wani, A. A. (2014). Article 370: a constitutional history of Jammu and Kashmir. *Race & Class*, 56(2), 93-95.
- Webb, M. J. (2005). Political change and prospects for peace in Jammu and Kashmir: The 2002 state election and recent electoral trends in India. *Journal of South Asian Studies*, 28(1), 0087-0111.
- Webb, M. J. (2014). Grievance and the Kashmiri diaspora. *Defense & Security Analysis*, 30(3), 254-265.

- Weiner, M. (1971). The Macedonian Syndrome: An Historical Model of International Relations and Political. *World Politics*, 23(4), 665-683.
- Wills, D. B., & Moore, C. (2010). The terrorism of the other: towards a contrapuntal reading of terrorism in India. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 3(3), 383-402.
- Yasmeen, S. (2003). Pakistan's Kashmir policy: voices of moderation. *Contemporary South Asia*, 12(2), 187-202.
- Zutshi, C. (2015). An ongoing partition: histories, borders, and the politics of vivisection in Jammu and Kashmir. *Contemporary South Asia*, 23(3), 266-275.

III. Newspapers

- As Valley kids suffer, separatist's wards thrive in safe havens. (2010, September 18). *The Tribune*. Retrieved from <https://www.tribuneindia.com/2010/20100919/main2.htm>
- Artist in Residency (AIR) Exchange Program. (2014, March 18). *Archive Jewish Agency*. Retrieved from <http://archive.jewishagency.org/western-galilee-and-central-region/program/12156>
- Article 370 a closed chapter, no power can abrogate it. (2014, May 31). *The Economic Times*. Retrieved from <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/article-370-a-closed-chapter-no-power-can-abrogate-it-jk-congress-chief-saifuddin-soz/articleshow/35802442.cms?from=mdr>
- Brien O., Cruise C. (1988, August). Holy War Against India. *The Atlantic Monthly*. Retrieved from <https://www.theatlantic.com/past/docs/issues/88aug/obrien.htm>
- Ban on cutting Chinar trees in Kashmir. (2009, March 5). *The Times of India*. Retrieved from <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Ban-on-cutting-Chinar-trees-in-Kashmir/articleshow/4227201.cms>
- Bhallesi, Z. M. (2015, March 14). Respecting the flag. *Greater Kashmir*. Retrieved from <https://www.greaterkashmir.com/news/opinion/respecting-the-flag-2/>
- Chandra, S. (2017, February 10). The myth of 200 years of British rule in India. Retrieved from <https://nationalinterest.in/the-myth-of-200-years-of-british-rule-in-india-db74e183f5fb>
- CM Mufti Sayeed credits Pakistan, militant outfits for peaceful polls in J&K, Opposition hits out at PM Modi. (2015, March 1). *The Indian Express*. Retrieved from <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/politics/cm-mufti-mohammad-sayeed-credits-pakistan-militant-outfits-for-peaceful-elections-in-kashmir/>
- Dalrymple, W. (2015, March 4). The East India Company: The original corporate raiders. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/04/east-india-company-original-corporate-raiders>
- Deutsche, W. (n.d.). Why calls for independence are getting louder in Pakistani Kashmir. Retrieved from <https://www.dw.com/en/why-calls-for-independence-are-getting-louder-in-pakistani-kashmir/a-50949454>

- Dubey, A. K. (2017, July 26). Machhil fake encounter case: Military court suspends life sentence to five Army personnel. *India Today*. Retrieved from <https://www.indiatoday.in/mail-today/story/machhil-fake-encounter-case-armed-forces-tribunal-kashmir-1026287-2017-07-26>
- Elections are haram: Kashmiri militant groups ask voters to stay away from Lok Sabha polls. (2019, April 8). *The Print*. Retrieved from <https://theprint.in/politics/elections-are-haram-kashmiri-militant-groups-ask-voters-to-stay-away-from-lok-sabha-polls/218662/>
- Employment scam: J&K Governor urged to name BJP, PDP leaders. (2018, October 29). *National Herald*. Retrieved from <https://www.nationalheraldindia.com/india/employment-scam-jandk-governor-urged-to-name-bjp-pdp-leaders>
- Endangered Hangul spotted in many parts of Kashmir. (2008, May 5). *The Times of India*. Retrieved from <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/home/environment/flora-fauna/Endangered-Hangul-spotted-in-many-parts-of-Kashmir/articleshow/3011133.cms>
- For the first family of militancy, a troubled road. (2015, March 15). *The Times of India*. Retrieved from <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/home/sunday-times/deep-focus/For-the-first-family-of-militancy-a-troubled-road/articleshow/46571622.cms>
- Fear of consequences, needed to stop AFSPA misuse. (2014, March 8). *The Economic Times*. Retrieved from <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/fear-of-consequences-needed-to-stop-afspa-misuse-omar-abdullah/articleshow/31664571.cms?from=mdr>
- Governor Malik orders cancellation of ‘fraudulent’ appointments in Khadi Board. (2019, July 7). *Brighter Kashmir*. Retrieved from <http://brighterkashmir.com/governor-malik-orders-cancellation-of-fraudulent-appointments-in-khadi-board->
- Guv’s KAS officer, J&K Bank’s ‘shady’ recruitment comment creates furore. (2018, October 29). *Rising Kashmir*. Retrieved from <http://risingkashmir.com/news/guvs-kas-officer-jk-banks-shady-recruitment-comment-creates-furore-336480.html>
- Hassan on Bose. Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Pathways to Peace. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://networks.h-net.org/node/3180/reviews/6302/hassan-bose-kashmir-roots-conflict-pathways-peace>
- Home Minister Rajnath Singh hints at going ahead with plans to rehabilitate Kashmiri Pandits. (2019, April 9). *The Economic Times*. Retrieved from <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/home-minister-rajnath-singh-hints-at-going-ahead-with-plans-to-rehabilitate-kashmiri-pandits/articleshow/46862781.cms>
- Hurriyat’s Syed Ali Geelani calls for boycott of 2014 polls. (2013, November 2). *India Today*. Retrieved from <https://www.indiatoday.in/elections/story/syed-ali-geelani-2014-polls-kashmir-polls-national-conference-peoples-democratic-party-216280-2013-11-02>

- Hurriyat's Syed Ali Geelani calls for boycott of 2014 polls. (2013, November 2). *India Today*. Retrieved from <https://www.indiatoday.in/elections/story/syed-ali-geelani-2014-polls-kashmir-polls-national-conference-peoples-democratic-party-216280-2013-11-02>
- Hardline Hurriyat calls for a boycott of panchayat polls in Jammu and Kashmir. (2010, August 24). *DNA India*. Retrieved from <https://www.dnaindia.com/india/report-hardline-hurriyat-calls-for-boycott-of-panchayat-polls-in-jammu-and-kashmir-1428276>
- Hurriyat U-Turn, now calls for poll boycott. (2009, April 24). *NDTV*. Retrieved from <https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/hurriyat-u-turn-now-calls-for-poll-boycott-392630>
- Hurriyat Claims victory as Centre Rules out Townships for Kashmiri Pandits. (May 7). *The Citizen*. Retrieved from <https://www.thecitizen.in/index.php/en/NewsDetail/index/1/3500/Hurriyat-Claims-victory-as-Centre-Rules-out-Townships-for-Kashmiri-Pandits>
- Hurriyat paid Rs 400 for J&K stone-pelting, LeT terrorist participated. (2010, December 27). *Zee News*. Retrieved from https://zeenews.india.com/news/jammu-and-kashmir/hurriyat-paid-rs-400-for-jandk-stone-pelting-let-terrorist-participated_677068.html
- Hizb-ul Mujahideen, in audio clip, threaten to pour acid into eyes of panchayat poll candidates. (2018, November 20). *India Today*. Retrieved from <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/hizb-ul-mujahideen-in-audio-clip-threaten-to-pour-acid-into-eyes-of-panchayat-poll-candidates-1392702-2018-11-20>
- Ideological Basis of the Moderate-Extremist divide in the Indian National Congress. (n.d.). IAS Planner. Retrieved from <http://www.iasplanner.com/civilservices/ias-main/gs-model-answer-ideological-basis-moderate-extremist-divide-in-indian-national-congress>
- International Crisis Group, (2010). Steps towards Peace: Putting Kashmiris First. Asia Briefing No.1063. Retrieved From <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/asia/south-asia/kashmir/B106-steps-towards-peace-putting-kashmiris-first.aspx>
- International Crisis Group, (2006). India, Pakistan and Kashmir: Stabilizing a Cold Peace. Asia Briefing No. 51. Retrieved from <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/asia/south-asia/kashmir/B051-india-pakistan-and-kashmir-stabilising-a-cold-peace.aspx>
- International Crisis Group, (2005, June 24). India/Pakistan Relations and Kashmir: Steps toward Peace. Asia Report No. 79. Retrieved from <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/asia/south-asia/kashmir/079-india-pakistan-relations-and-kashmir-steps-toward-peace.aspx>
- In Kashmir, hundreds of pellet gun victims face a hazy future. (2019, June 1). *The Hindu*. Retrieved from <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/in-kashmir-hundreds-of-pellet-gun-victims-face-a-hazy-future/article27401702.ece>

- Irfan, S. (2015, January 16). Damage to JK's Muslim Identity Will Not be Allowed. Kashmir Life. Retrieved from <https://kashmirlife.net/damage-to-jks-muslim-identity-will-not-be-allowed-hurriyat-g-71819/>
- J&K assembly polls: Voters defy separatists election boycott call, 71.28% turnout in the first phase. (2014, November 25). *The Times of India*. Retrieved from <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/home/specials/2014-assembly-elections/jammu-kashmir-news/JK-assembly-polls-Voters-defy-separatists-election-boycott-call-71-28-turnout-in-first-phase/articleshow/45273423.cms>
- J&K: Governor Satyapal Malik orders ACB probe into fraudulent land dealings. (2019, September 23). *India Today*. Retrieved from <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/j-k-governor-satyapal-malik-acb-probe-fraudulent-land-dealings-1598962-2019-09-13>
- Jammu & Kashmir tops list on rights abuses under AFSPA, Assam second. (2017, July 29). *Live Mint*. Retrieved from <https://www.livemint.com/Politics/CcFJoIMR39wtQwiIofI3O/Jammu--Kashmir-tops-list-on-rights-abuses-under-AFSPA-Assa.html>
- J&K civic polls tomorrow, even as shadow of threats, boycott calls loom large. (2017 October 7). *India Today*. Retrieved from <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/j-k-civic-polls-tomorrow-even-as-shadow-of-threats-boycott-calls-loom-large-1357715-2018-10-07>
- Kashmiris principal party to Kashmir dispute. (2015, April 16). *Dawn*. Retrieved from <http://www.dawn.com/news/1176214>
- Kashmir Militant Extremists. (2009, July 9). *Council on Foreign Relations*. Retrieved from <https://www.cfr.org/backgroundunder/kashmir-militant-extremists>
- Kashmir Unrest: 32 School Buildings Destroyed in Fire in Past 3 Months. (2016, November 5). *News18*. Retrieved from <https://www.news18.com/news/india/kashmir-unrest-32-school-buildings-destroyed-in-fire-in-past-3-months-1308473.html>
- Kotru, M. (2013, July 17). Book review: Salman Khurshid's Beyond Terrorism-New Hope for Kashmir. *India Today*. Retrieved from <https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/society-the-arts/books/story/19941115-book-review-beyond-terrorism-new-hope-for-kashmir-by-salman-khurshid-809961-1994-11-15>
- Making Britain. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://web.archive.org/web/20180623193852/http://www.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/makingbritain/content/1942-quit-india-movement>
- Mallah, S. (2007, November 11). Two-Nation Theory Exists. *Pakistan Times*. Retrieved from <https://web.archive.org/web/20071111023629/http://www.pakistantimes.net/2007/04/03/oped2.htm>
- MBA books. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://www.scribd.com/doc/74612962/MBA-books>
- Majumder, & Debolina. (1970, January 1). Footnotes to a conflict? Rethinking questions of class and the State in post-accession Jammu and Kashmir. Retrieved from <https://open.library.ubc.ca/cIRcle/collections/ubctheses/24/items/1.0354455>

- Mehta, P. B. (2016, August 26). What is Kashmiriyat. *Indian Express*. Retrieved from <https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/kashmir-unrest-burhan-wani-aftermath-mehbooba-mufti-kashmir-curfew-what-is-kashmiriyat-2998136/>
- Mirwaiz gets OIC invite. (2013, January 31). *Hindustan Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india/mirwaiz-gets-oic-invite-hurriyat/story-gBeeMZqUZ7B4WtqlqdVPcO.html>
- Mirwaiz Mohammad Yusuf Shah. (2002, September 8). *Hindustan Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india/mirwaiz-mohammad-yusuf-shah/story-tWhoyJ5Qlsayihkftxk5XK.html>
- Mirwaiz Mohammad Yusuf Shah. (2002, September 8). *Hindustan Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india/mirwaiz-mohammad-yusuf-shah/story-tWhoyJ5Qlsayihkftxk5XK.html>
- Mass graves found in North Kashmir containing 2,900 unmarked bodies. (2009, December 3). *The Hindu*. Retrieved from <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/Mass-graves-found-in-North-Kashmir-containing-2900-unmarked-bodies/article16851202.ece>
- North Zone Cultural Centre: Jammu & Kashmir. (n.d.). *Culture North India*. Retrieved from <https://www.culturenorthindia.com/>
- (n.d.). Sangeet Natak. Retrieved from <https://sangeetnatak.gov.in/sna/introduction.php>
- OIC reaffirms support to Kashmir cause. (2011, June 30). *Kashmir Dispatch*. Retrieved from <http://kashmirdispatch.com/2011/06/30/oic-reaffirms-support-to-kashmir-cause-hurriyat-m/104307/>
- Protest against ‘biased’ reporting on human rights in Kashmir. (2008, January 14). *The Hindu*. Retrieved from <https://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-national/tp-newdelhi/Protest-against-lsquobiasedrsquo-reporting-on-human-rights-in-Kashmir/article15144001.ece>
- Pakistan: Activities of JKLF in Jammu and Kashmir. (2003, August 7). *Refworld*. Retrieved from <http://www.refworld.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/rwmain?page=topic&tocid=463af2212&toid=469f2dcf2&docid=485ba87419&skip=0>
- Patelkhana, R. (2019, April 2). Congress Manifesto is dangerous; an agenda for India’s balkanization. Retrieved from <https://in.news.yahoo.com/congressmanifesto-dangerous-agenda-indias-balkanization-131824479.html>
- Polgreen, Lydia, (2010). Indian Forces Face Broader Revolt in Kashmir. *New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/13/world/asia/13kashmir.html?pagewanted=2&_r=2
- Rashid, A. (2016, January 21). House of Mirwaiz. *Kashmir Scan*. Retrieved from <http://kashmirscan.com/house-mirwaiz/>
- Sameer A. (2014, November 22). History of electoral fraud has lessons for BJP in J&K. *Times of India*. Retrieved from <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/blogs/gray-areas/history-of-electoral-fraud-has-lessons-for-bjp-in-jk/>
- Shri Amarnath Ji Shrine Board. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.shriamarnathjishrine.com/>

- SI sponsors terror activities in Kashmir, FBI tells US court. (2011, July 21). *FirstPost*. Retrieved from <https://www.firstpost.com/politics/isi-sponsors-terror-activities-in-kashmir-fbi-tells-us-court-46038.html>
- Sharath, L. (2010, January 24). An ode to the crane. *The Hindu*. Retrieved from <https://www.thehindu.com/features/metroplus/An-ode-to-the-crane/article16839409.ece>
- Split, yet again. (2014, February 7). *Frontline*. Retrieved from <https://frontline.thehindu.com/politics/split-yet-again/article5601415.ece>
- Syed Ali Shah Geelani's J&K election boycott call resonates in his hometown Sopore. (2014, December 3). *News18*. Retrieved from <https://www.news18.com/news/politics/syed-ali-shah-geelani-jk-election-boycott-call-resonates-in-his-hometown-sopore-729436.html>
- Stone-pelting in Kashmir was a 'joint' exercise. (2011, February 10). *DNA India*. Retrieved from <https://www.dnaindia.com/india/report-stone-pelting-in-kashmir-was-a-joint-exercise-1505671>
- Temples in Jammu City. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.jammu.com/jammu/city-temples.php>
- The Land That Lost Its History. (2001, August 20). *Time*. Retrieved from <https://web.archive.org/web/20010913013711/http://www.time.com/time/asia/features/journey2001/india.html>
- The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2015, December 15). *Non-Cooperation movement*. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/event/noncooperation-movement>
- The Ahmadi Muslim Community, who are they? (2008, May 27). *The Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/faith/>
- Umer Farooq Mirwaiz calls for a boycott of LS polls, brands it a futile exercise. (2014, April 9). *Zee News*. Retrieved from https://zeenews.india.com/news/general-elections-2014/umer-farooq-mirwaiz-calls-for-boycott-of-ls-polls-brands-it-a-futile-exercise_923403.html
- US exposes ISI subversion of Kashmir issue; FBI arrests US-based lobbyist. (2011, July 20). *The Times of India*. Retrieved from <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/us/US-exposes-ISI-subversion-of-Kashmir-issue-FBI-arrests-US-based-lobbyist/articleshow/9294830.cms>
- Zones for Pandits will turn Valley into Palestine. (2015, April 9). *The Hindu*. Retrieved from <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/zones-for-pandits-will-turn-valley-into-palestine-hurriyat/article7082275.ece>
- 26th October 1947: Maharaja Hari Singh agrees to the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India. (2013, October 26). *Maps of India*. Accessed on: 13th December 2019. <https://www.mapsofindia.com/on-this-day/26th-october-1947-maharaja-hari-singh-agrees-to-the-accession-of-jammu-and-kashmir-to-india>

Appendices



University of Hyderabad

(A Central University established by an Act of Parliament)

Prof. C. R. Rao Road, CUC, Gachibowli, P.O Central University, Hyderabad, Telengana
500046, India.

www.uohyd.ac.in

Department of Political Science

School of Social Sciences

Central University of Hyderabad

Ph.D. Thesis Title

'Identity Politics and Unrest in Kashmir: A case Study of All Parties Hurriyat Conference.'

Introduction

My name is **Nasir Ahmad Ganaie**, and I have come from the **Department of Political Science**, School of Social Sciences, **Central University of Hyderabad, Telengana, India**. I am doing my Ph.D. on **"Identity Politics and Unrest in Kashmir: A Case Study of All Parties Hurriyat Conference."** As part of my Ph.D. thesis, I am supposed to interview and discuss with the people, leaders and organisations who will be beneficial for my thesis in order to analyse their attitudes and opinions on unrest in Kashmir and to explore the emergence of various separatist forces in the State. The findings of this Research will be used for my research thesis.

Statement of Informed Consent

I promise you that confidentiality of the opinions collected will be maintained and this research is not connected to any political party or government agency. Whatever info you provide will be kept strictly confidential. Participation in this research analysis is voluntary, and it is entirely up to you to answer or not answer any question that I ask. I hope that you will take part in this research questionnaire since your participation is essential. It usually takes 15-25 minutes to complete this questionnaire. Please spare some time and help me in completing my Ph.D. thesis.

I. Respondents Personal Profile

Date _____ Respondent No. _____

Name of the Respondent _____

Age

a. 18-28-1	b. 29-39-2	c. 40-50-3	d. 51-61-4	e. 62-72-5	f. 73 & Above-6
------------	------------	------------	------------	------------	-----------------

Sex

a. Female-1	b. Male-2	c. Transgender-3
-------------	-----------	------------------

Education Level

a. Illiterate-1	b. Primary-2	c. Middle-3	d. Matric-4	e. Intermediate-5
f. Graduation-6	g. Post-Graduation and Above-7			

Occupation

a. Business-1	b. Employed-2	c. Not employed-3
---------------	---------------	-------------------

Marital Status

a. Married-1	b. Unmarried-2	c. Widowed-3	d. Divorced-4	e. Others-5
--------------	----------------	--------------	---------------	-------------

Address: _____

Cell No. _____ E-Mail ID: _____

Consent to Share information: **No** _____ **Yes** _____

Note: The information in this study will be used only for research purposes and your personal data if any will not be revealed to anyone nor the data that identifies you will not be shared or made public under any conditions.

II. Historical perspective of the Kashmir issue

- Q1. The Instrument of Accession is a legal document that was executed by the then ruler of the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir Maharaja Hari Singh on 26th October 1947. By executing this document under the provisions of the Indian Independence Act 1947, Maharaja Hari Singh agreed to accede to the Dominion of India. Do you think that signing of the instrument of accession with the Union of India was the right decision?
- a. No
 - b. Yes
 - c. No Opinion
- Q2. *(If Yes in case of Q1.)* Then, why conflict in Kashmir is still there?
- a. Pakistan is supporting Kashmir issue and is making the problem more internationalised one
 - b. Muslims in Kashmir valley still believe in Two Nation Theory
 - c. Support of militancy and separatist forces is always there in the valley
 - d. None of the Above
- Q3. In August 1947 when the Indian subcontinent became independent from Britain, all the rulers of the 565 princely states, whose lands comprised two-fifths of India and consisted a population 99 million, had to decide which of the two new dominions to join, India or Pakistan. Do you think that Kashmir conflict is rooted in the two-nation theory that was based on religious identity?
- a. No
 - b. Yes
 - c. No Opinion
- Q4. On 25th November 1947, Nehru informed the Indian parliament “We have suggested that when people of Kashmir are given a chance to decide their future, this should be done under the supervision of an impartial tribunal such as United Nations Organization”. Do you think that referendum should be done and let people decide fate as per Nehru’s promise so that the issue is resolved as soon as possible?
- a. No
 - b. Yes
 - c. No Opinion

- Q5. Before the partition of India in 1947, 564 princely states that were also called the Native States existed in India and Jammu and Kashmir was also one among them. Do you think that merging of Jammu and Kashmir with the Union of India was the right decision?
- No
 - Yes
 - No Opinion
- Q6. Article 370 of the Indian constitution drafted in Part XXI is an article that gives autonomous status to the state of Jammu and Kashmir. This provision provided by the constitution of India to the state of Jammu and Kashmir should be there so that the regional identity, autonomy and special status of the country is preserved
- No
 - Yes
 - No Opinion
- Q7. Historically Kashmir conflict is rooted to
- Two Nation Theory
 - Colonial policies of the British that were meant for dividing the territories based on Religion and Identity
 - The growth of extremist forces like militancy and separatism
 - No Opinion
- Q8. Conflict in Kashmir is still prevalent due to
- Unfulfilled promises made by the government of India
 - Belief in religious identity as propounded due to two-nation theory
 - autonomy and special status to the state of Jammu and Kashmir
 - Continued support by Pakistan
- Q9. Kashmir conflict has grown due to
- India's inability in solving the issues at the earliest
 - Pakistan's support in the form of Militancy and Separatist forces
 - Unemployment and industrial backwardness of the State
 - The radicalisation of Kashmiri youth towards the Muslim identity

III. Kashmir Issue

- Q10. Unrest in the State of Jammu and Kashmir is limited to Kashmir region only due to?
- Presence of Separatist forces in the Kashmir valley only

- b. Growing Militancy and its local support
 - c. No Opinion
- Q11. People thronging to encounter sites shows
 - a. Local Support to militancy in Kashmir
 - b. The inefficiency of standard operating procedures and weak law
 - c. Failure of anti-militancy operation tactics
- Q12. New Age Militancy in the Kashmir has grown due to
 - a. Abundant availability of local support
 - b. Influence of local militants
 - c. Lack of jobs, development and counselling
 - d. Excessive use of force
- Q13. Whom do you blame for Kashmir unrest?
 - a. Hurriyat/Separatist Parties
 - b. Militants
 - c. India
 - d. Pakistan
 - e. Both India and Pakistan
- Q14. Kashmir unrest is growing due to
 - a. The weak political structure, heavy political meddling and interference from Government in police affairs
 - b. Unsatisfactory rules and laws
 - c. Local support for Militancy
 - d. Support of Pakistan
- Q15. Of the following, who in your opinion who has damaged the State of Jammu and Kashmir most?
 - a. Militancy and outside extremist support
 - b. Separatist forces
 - c. Counterinsurgency operations
 - d. Political Structure of the State
- Q16. There are always news, government reports and allegations that stone Pelters in Kashmir are paid agents, what is your view?
 - a. No, they are paid, agents.
 - b. Yes, they are not paid, agents

- c. No Opinion
- Q17. Parts of Kashmir retained by Pakistan and China should be merged back to Kashmir or not?
- a. Should be merged back fully with Jammu and Kashmir
 - b. Should be left there with Pakistan and China as they are
 - c. The referendum should be held there
- Q18. Whom do you consider as a representative of Kashmiri people?
- a. Elected Government of Jammu and Kashmir
 - b. Influential Religious Leaders
 - c. Separatists and Militants
 - d. None of the Above
- Q19. Whom do you believe most?
- a. Government of India
 - b. Government of Jammu and Kashmir
 - c. Hurriyat/Militants
 - d. None of the Above
- Q20. If the choice will be given to you and with whom you will like to stay?
- a. India
 - b. Pakistan
 - c. Independent
- Q21. Some people are of the opinion that mostly Pakistan instigates firing from across the border, while others are of the idea that India is the one which mostly prompts it. What is your opinion on that?
- a. Pakistan mostly instigates
 - b. India mostly instigates
 - c. Both countries are to blame
 - d. No Opinion
- Q22. In the present situation, which of the following do you think will be the most suitable option for Kashmir?
- a. Kashmir should remain with India as it is.
 - b. Kashmir should stay with India but must be given more autonomy.
 - c. Kashmir should become a part of Pakistan.
 - d. Kashmir on both the sides of the border should be merged and made an independent country.

- Q23. If Kashmir does not have the option of becoming a separate country, then would you prefer going with India or Pakistan?
- India
 - Pakistan
 - No Opinion
- Q24. Have you taken part in any protest demonstration programme in the last two to three decades?
- No
 - Yes
- Q25. *(If yes to Q24.)* What was the reason for the protest?
- General Public Issue
 - Government Service Inefficiency
 - Kashmir Issue
 - Other Issue
- Q26. People hold different thoughts and express dynamic views about AFSPA (Armed Forces Special Powers Act). Some say that AFSPA should be repealed entirely, while others are of the view that it should continue but with some amendments. Others say that it should remain as it is. What is your opinion regarding AFSPA?
- Should be repealed entirely
 - Should continue but with some amendments
 - Should continue as it is
 - No Opinion
- Q27. There are two statements. Please tell me if you agree with the first one or the second one.
- Statement 1:** Stone Pelting is the best form of violence and helps a lot in waging war against the State Government.
- Statement 2:** No, Stone Pelting is futile and ruins the life and career of hundreds.
- Which of these two statements do you agree with?
- Agree with Statement 1
 - Agree with Statement 2
 - Do not Agree with any of the above statements
- Q28. Below are the two statements. Please tell me if you agree with the first one or the second one.
- Statement 1:** Kashmir unrest is supported by Separatist forces and backed by extremist Militant forces having origins in Pakistan.
- Statement 2:** Separatist forces are misguiding the people and provoke them against the State.

Which of these two statements do you agree with?

- a. Agree with Statement 1
- b. Agree with Statement 2
- c. Do not Agree with any of the above statements

Q29. Three statements Viz., Statement 1, Statement 2 and Statement 3 are given, please tell me with which statement do you agree?

Statement 1: Strike calls, protest programmes and other forms of protesting tactics that are deterring civil society and the general public mostly should be there

Statement 2: No, these programmes should not be there.

Statement 3: Frequent strikes and protest programs that are not according to the law are ruining our State, economy and poor of the poorest most.

- a. Agree with statement 1
- b. Agree with Statement 2
- c. Agree with Statement 3

Q30. Different people are holding various suggestions that are supposed to improve the situation in Jammu and Kashmir. Tell me which suggestion will be best, according to your opinion?

- a. Jammu & Kashmir should stay with India but must be given more autonomy.
- b. Jammu and Kashmir should stay with India but should be divided into three different States.
- c. Parts of Jammu Kashmir retained by Pakistan and China should be merged back with Kashmir.
- d. There should be a referendum to solve the Kashmir issue.

IV. Hurriyat

Q31. Hurriyat is divided into multi fractions and groups because

- a. They want to gain the benefits separately for themselves
- b. They are missing the centralised leadership
- c. Their Ideology has disputes within themselves
- d. To raise their cause more effectively

Q32. Do separatists use strikes calls and other forms of boycott agendas to?

- a. Pressurise the Government
- b. Gain the self-benefits
- c. To provoke the people against the State

- d. Raise the voice
- Q33. Do you know or are you aware of any calls issued by the separatists which were meant for the boycott of elections in your area?
 - a. Know
 - b. Do not know of any such call
- Q34. (*If Know in case of Q33.*) Who had given that call?
 - a. Separatists
 - b. Militants
 - c. Both Separatists and Militants
 - d. Religious leaders
- Q35. Do you support strike calls and protest Programs that are issued by Hurriyat or separatists?
 - a. No
 - b. Yes
 - c. No Opinion
- Q36. Election boycott calls issued by Separatist forces of the State should be totally banned because they are affecting the democratic institutions in the State and are weakening the democratic values that are necessary for the successful running of democratic institutions. Do you agree?
 - a. No
 - b. Yes
- Q37. Do you believe that Hurriyat Leaders should be included in the dialogue process?
 - a. No, they should not be included
 - b. Yes, they should be included
- Q38. Perks, incentives and security cover provided to separatist parties should be revoked because they do not believe in democratic institutions of the State?
 - a. No
 - b. Yes
 - c. No Opinion

V. Politics

- Q39. Conflict in Kashmir is growing only due to the selfish and greedy politics of the State. Do you agree?
 - a. No
 - b. Yes

- c. No Opinion
- Q40. Are you satisfied with the work done by your Political Leaders in the last two decades?
- a. Fully satisfied
 - b. Somewhat satisfied
 - c. Somewhat dissatisfied
 - d. Fully dissatisfied
- Q41. Have you heard or read about Article 370 of the Indian Constitution?
- a. Heard
 - b. Not heard
- Q42. (If heard in case of Q41.) Do you think this article should remain in force, or should it be repealed?
- a. Should be retained
 - b. Should be abolished
 - c. No opinion
- Q43. Comparing previous PDP-BJP government in Jammu and Kashmir with the former NC-Congress govt in the State, which government, in your opinion, has been better so far?
- a. PDP-BJP government
 - b. Previous NC-Cong government
 - c. Both good
 - d. Both bad
- Q44. While talking and discussing with people about the elections in the State of Jammu and Kashmir during my pilot study from 01st June 2018 to 04th July 2018, I have found that some people did not vote or will not vote. What about you? Were you able to vote or you too will also not vote?
- a. Not able to vote
 - b. Will not vote
 - c. Able to vote and will vote
 - d. Do not Know
- Q45. *(If you have Voted)* Is it the first time you have voted in the elections?
- a. No
 - b. Yes
 - c. Do Not know
- Q46. Two statements are there. Please tell me if you agree with the first one or the second.

Statement 1. Apart from concern for local issues, voting in the elections is an assertion of support for the Indian State and Democracy.

Statement 2. Voting in elections has nothing to do with support for the Indian State and Democracy, and it is only for local issues.

Which of these two statements do you agree with?

- a. Agree with Statement 1
- b. Agree with Statement 2

Q47. In your opinion, which major political party of Jammu and Kashmir has been best for the development of the State so far?

- a. BJP
- b. Congress
- c. NC
- d. PDP
- e. None of the Above

Q48. Reducing regional disparities in the State of Jammu and Kashmir has been less during the reign of which party?

- a. BJP
- b. Congress
- c. NC
- d. PDP
- e. None of the Above

VI. Conceptual

Q49. What are your views on Kashmir unrest and why it is confined to the Kashmir region only?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Q50. There have been allegations that Hurriyat is invoking the innocent people of Kashmir and they are spreading the Kashmir unrest, what is your view about it?

.....

.....

.....
.....
.....

Q51. What are your views on Article 370 of the Indian constitution? Should it be repealed or not?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Q52. What is your viewpoint on young and educated youths who are joining the Militant ranks?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Q53. Who is responsible for Kashmir unrest, and what are your views on growing unemployment in Kashmir?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Q54. How would you credit the role of Pakistan in Kashmir unrest?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Q55. What is your stand on the Illegal occupation of major parts of Kashmir by Pakistan and China?

.....
.....
.....
.....

.....

Q56. Strikes, protest programs and other tactics used by separatist parties often weaken our society, because it is only poor of the poorest people who are affected by these tactics. What are your views on this issue?

.....

.....

.....

.....

Q57. The separatist leader like Syed Ali Shah Geelani has fought several elections and has been elected as MLA thrice. What are your views on issuing poll boycott calls by him despite the fact that he has himself fought elections and has been a part of Indian democratic system?

.....

.....

.....

.....

Q58. What according to you will be the best solution for ending the unrest in Kashmir?

.....

.....

.....

.....

Thank you for your valuable time and support.

Regards,
Nasir Ahmad Ganaie
(Senior Research Fellow)
Ph.D. Research Scholar
Department of Political Science
School of Social Science
Central University of Hyderabad, Telangana, India.
Cell: +91 8500094500 E-Mail ID: nasir@uohyd.ac.in