Human Security Dynamics on the Borderlands: A Comparative Study of Jammu and Kashmir in India and 'Azad Jammu and Kashmir' in Pakistan

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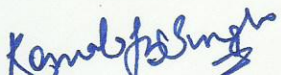
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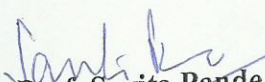**2014**

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DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation entitled, "HUMAN SECURITY DYNAMICS IN THE BORDERLANDS: A COMPARTIVE STUDY OF STATE OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR IN INDIA, AND 'AZAD JAMMU AND KASHMIR' IN PAKISTAN" submitted by me in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of a degree of MASTERS OF PHILOSOPHY of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. This dissertation has not been submitted to any other degree of this University or any University. I have undertaken a plagiarization check and found the dissertation to be in order.

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CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this thesis be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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DEDICATED TO

My parents and Shelly

Kashmir Region

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ABBERIVATIONS

'AJ&K' 'Azad Jammu and Kashmir'

ACCORD Austrian Centre for Country of Origin and Asylum Research and Documentation

AFSPA Armed Forces Special Powers Act

ALRC Asian Legal resource Centre

APDP Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons

ARJK Association for the Rights of People of Jammu and Kashmir

BBC British Broadcasting Corporation

CCJ Citizen's Council of Justice

CCPR International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

CDR Centre for Dialogue and Reconciliation

CESCR Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

HINAR Child Nurture and Relief

CHS Commission on Human Security

CPDR Centre for Peace, Development and Reforms

CRY Child Rights and Youth

ECSR European Committee of Social Rights

ERRA Earthquake Reconstruction & Rehabilitation Agency

FHR Freedom House Report

HDR Human Development Report

HIS Human Security Index

HRW Human Rights Watch

HWOH Humanity Welfare Organization Helpline

ICCPR International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

ICESCR International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

ICG   International Crisis Group

ICISS   International Commission on Intervention and State & Sovereignty

ICRC   International Committee of the Red Cross

IFT   Insan Foundation Trust

IHK   Indian Held Kashmir

IPTK   International People's Tribunal on Human Rights and Justice In Indian-Administered Kashmir

IRF   Indus Research Foundation

J&K   Jammu and Kashmir

JKCCS   Jammu and Kashmir Coalition of Civil Society

JKLF   Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Force

JKLL   Jammu and Kashmir Liberation League

JKNC   Jammu and Kashmir National Conference

KDF   Kashmir Development Foundation

KIRF   Kashmir International Relief Fund

KK   Khwendo Kor

KPDRC   Kashmir Peace, Development and Reforms Centre'

KYP   Kashmir Youth Project

LOC   Line of Control

MC   Muslim conference

MESP   Mirpur Education Sponsorship Program

MSF   Medecins Sans Frontieres/ Doctor Without Borders

NATO   North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

OCHA   United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

PAK   Pakistan Administered Kashmir

PHD	Progress Harmony Development
POK	Pakistan Occupied Kashmir
PRCS	Pakistan Red Crescent Society
PSA	Public Safety Act
RAF	Research and Advocacy Fund
SERRA	State Earthquake Reconstruction & Rehabilitation Agency
SHEP	Society for Human Rights & Environment Protection
UDHR	United Declaration of Human Rights
UNCIP	United Nation Commission for India and Pakistan
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNMOGIP	United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan
WAPN	Women Action For Peace and Non-Violence
WDR	World Development Report
WHO	World Health Organization
WISCOMP	Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace
WWOP	Women Welfare Organization Poonch
ZF	Zakat Foundation of America

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Introduction

Jammu and Kashmir was divided in 1947 between India and Pakistan. The line of division first known as Ceasefire Line was later renamed as Line of Control. It not only divides the territory but the families on both sides of the line. Like the Berlin Wall which divided East and West Germany, this 740 km long border line across Kashmir is considered to be 'Berlin Wall of Asia'.

Pained with this tragedy, the famous poet of Kashmir, Agha Shahid Ali writes:

"So what is separation's geography?
Everything is just that mystery.
Everything is this roar that deafens:
This stream has branched off from the Indus,
in little Tibet, just to find itself where Porus Miles down (there it will join the Jhelum)
Lost to Greeks, it will become, in Pakistan, the Indus again.
Leaning against the Himalayas (the mountains here are never in the distance),

wine glass in hand, I see evening come on.
It is two months since you left us. So this is separation?"

The part governed by India is called Jammu and Kashmir while the part governed by Pakistan is called 'Azad Jammu and Kashmir'. Since then the Indian side of Jammu and Kashmir is considered to be as one of the state and called as J&K and Pakistan has termed it as "Azad Jammu and Kashmir''.

This division and the consequent animosities and hostilities between India and Pakistan were a direct result of the logic of partition. In other words, the formation of India and Pakistan out of British India had heavy cost for the political future of Jammu and Kashmir. Both the nation-states began to use the logic of partition to justify their claim over Jammu and Kashmir. While India claims that Kashmir is its *Atoot Ang* (integral part) Pakistan claims that it is her *Shah Rag* (jugular vein).

All this has resulted in three wars between India and Pakistan. It has unleashed huge miseries to the people of Jammu and Kashmir. It has consumed huge resources (human as well as economic) of both the countries. Much worse, it still persists as a real threat to the stability and peace in South Asia.

Debate over the Nomenclature

Since the partition of the former princely state, the area of Jammu and Kashmir is widely contested. India and Pakistan fought almost three wars over it. 'Azad Kashmir' and 'Northern Areas' of Pakistan is called as Pakistan Occupied Kashmir in India. Jammu and Kashmir (Jammu, Ladakh and Kashmir) is considered to be one of the states and called as Jammu and Kashmir while in Pakistan it is called Indian Occupied Kashmir. Aksai Chin and Shaksam valley is under Chinese Occupation. The India claims that the area under Pakistan is forceful occupation and terms it as 'Pakistan Occupied Kashmir' while Pakistan officially has termed it as 'Azad Jammu and Kashmir'. On the other hand, Pakistan has termed Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir as 'India Occupied Kashmir' while India has maintained it as state as like other states in the country. The international media sometimes abstain itself from calling it as occupation at the same time terms it as Indian and Pakistan administered Kashmir.

In this study to avoid the contestation over the nomenclature, official term of the two countries has been used. The Indian side of Jammu and Kashmir is called as the State of Jammu and Kashmir whereas 'Azad Jammu and Kashmir' has been used for the Pakistan side of Kashmir (Bose 2003: 2-3).

Definition, Rationale and Scope of the Study

The proposed study has tried to draw a comparative analysis of human security dynamics in two regions of Kashmir. This study is an attempt to highlight the human misery in conflict zones and other critical human security issues that relate to environmental and livelihood security, disasters and their management and vulnerabilities. As Human Security as an approach

offers exciting opportunities to look at the existing conflict. In this study the various challenges across the Line of Control has been analysed. Here it has used UNDP propounded Human Development Report of 1994 where seven indicators economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political security. Thus it is an attempt to understand the broad network of securities and the challenges thereof. It tries to look at the two regions from an angle of securities available to people and thus shifting away the focus on Jammu and Kashmir as a territory only claimed by two states. Indian state of Kashmir is considered to be one of the most highly militarized zones in the world. The international organizations like UNHRC, Red Cross and Amnesty International have come out with many reports where human suffering of common Kashmiri people have been being highlighted which has increased since insurgency broke in this region. However, very less is known about the 'Azad Kashmir' in Pakistan which is no better than Indian part. Though the region has been given the independent status and is being called as 'Azad Kashmir' but the Human rights watch report of 2006 and Baroness Emma Nicholson report of 2007 has equally highlighted how 'Azad Kashmir' though being called as Azad (free) is far away Azad (freedom). (HRW 2006a, Nicholson 2008).

The present discourse of human security problems in both regions is confined in relative terms of who is killed more than others. The proposed research will try to explore the idea of how people caught in the power politics of respective countries are subjugated and disempowered. It further makes an attempt to look at the idea of how basic rights are denied by respective government under different regimes. It has tried even to explore the multiple challenges to human security for instances environmental` disaster, lack of good governance which makes the livelihood vulnerable. It will make an effort to highlight how human security is being undermined before national security. As it is experienced through such a long conflict that no matter one is under the democratic or military rule, each side of Kashmiri people has faced the brunt of being Kashmiri. The world's most volatile regions study is worth to be explored (HRW 2006b).

Research Questions

There are several research questions that this study will look into. The key research questions are as follows.

To study concept of human security and analyse whether there can be an alternative model of security.

What are the traditional and non traditional threats to human security in 'Azad Kashmir' and India state of Jammu and Kashmir?

To investigate whether human security model can improve relations between India and Pakistan and solve the dispute of Jammu and Kashmir?

To examine the structural and institutional mechanisms that promote human security.

To assess the role of non-governmental organizations and civil society institutions in both highlighting and tackling the human security.

HYPOTHESES

The two major hypotheses that this study will test are as follows.

States play a major role in bringing the conditions of human insecurity in both the regions.

Human security approach could mitigate the mutual enmity between India and Pakistan.

Research Methodology

The case study method is used to understand and interpret specific situation. The primary sources like Government reports,; Jammu and Kashmir archives reports , UNHRC Reports, Human Rights Watch report, UNDP Reports, National Human rights Commission Reports of India and Pakistan, including Newspaper reports are also studied . The secondary sources comprise previous research findings, books, articles, research papers from periodicals, journals and other documents. The information retrieved from the electronic domain has also been used

along with the information retrieved from quantitative data and statistics.. It has emphasised on the contextual based analysis.

The following chapters are divided into three. In Chapter 1, the conceptual framework of Human Security is discussed. This chapter focuses on the evolution of human security as a concept. It discusses the relation of human security with rights and development. The different major schools of thoughts have also been discussed. In Chapter 2, the history of Kashmir from ancient to modern times is being examined. The formation of Jammu and Kashmir as political entity in the Dogra Regime is discussed and subsequently the freedom movement against Dogra Rule is examined. In the later portion, the human security challenges in both Jammu and Kashmir and 'Azad Jammu and Kashmir' have been discussed with special reference to culture, ethnicity and geography. In last part of the chapter, the human security challenges are measured through human development indictors like health, education, literacy and sex ratio.

 In Chapter 3, the different response to Human Security issues by the civil society, state and international institutions and their role in managing various facets and aspects of human security related issues in both the Kashmir's are discussed and evaluated.

Chapter 1

Human Security: A Conceptual Framework

"Human history is a history of human sufferings"

(Nishikawa Yukiko, 2010:2)

"Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final   sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed .This world in arms is in not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, and the hopes of its children."

Dwight D. Eisenhower[1]

Introduction

Human Security is a new concept that tries to redefine the meaning of security. Before describing how it enhances and redefines concept of security, the pertinent way to begin is to have a rudimentary understanding of security. In popular realm it is understood as some sort of guarantees that can ensure a better and healthy life. Oxford dictionary defines it as 'the state of being free from danger or threat' (Oxford Dictionary, 2010:1610). Cicero defines it as the absence of the anxiety upon which the fulfilled life depends (Liotta and Owen, 2006:4). Both these definitions link the idea of security to the absence or removal of the threats or anxieties that hinder the life of the people.

Myriad threats and anxieties have been present in the human societies that have always destroyed and worsened the value of lives of the people. Be it Greeks, Romans or other

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[1] Dwight D.Eisenhower was American President from 1953-61, Eisenhower: "Address "The Chance for Peace" Delivered before the American Society of Newspaper Editors." April 16, 1953. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project* [online: access] URL:http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=9819 Accessed on 2/7/2014.

civilizations, poverty, hunger and wars have been ruining the lives of people. Though there has been progress in the world and efforts have been made to protect and empower people by providing them security. The rise of modern nation state is one such example which tried to define the notion of sovereignty and protect people from external aggressions in a defined territory. It was created through The Peace Treaty of Westphalia signed in 1648[2]. It brought peace resolution in Europe through various settlements. Under this treaty the sovereignty over the defined territories was decided. It formally recognized state system by defining the rights and duties of states and brought end to prolonged religious war (Okhonmina 2010:1).Thus, the rise of modern nation state due to the Westphalia Treaty of 1648 was seen as a new institution that can protect and secure the lives of citizens and had the exclusive role to protect the security of its citizen in its particular given territory.

Such normative explanation about the origin of the state in political philosophy has been justified by 'social contract theory'[3] particularly Thomas Hobbes, one of the classical realists who argued that the presence of individual insecurity leads to the emergence of the state for the protection of the individual rights. (Liotta and Owen 2006:5). In other words, Hobbes links the idea of security or peace to state which means that state emerges to protect people from aggression and secure peace. This protection by the state was mainly understood as physical protection and the state was identified with military power or its physical capability to deter an external aggression or internal armed attack. Such an understanding of the security is considered as a traditional understanding of security and was, as Booth says dominated by three elements; military threats and to have strong counters, status quo oriented and centered on states (Booth 1991:318).

The above traditional understanding of security was later challenged on its own terms when the definition of insecurity was made comprehensive. It was understood that security is a multidimensional term; it can be threatened in different ways by different factors. Simply, threats to security have economic, social, political, psychological and other reason. As Ullman describes that the defining national security merely in military terms creates a false

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[2] Encyclopedia Britannica, *Peace of Westphalia* [online: web] URL
http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/641170/Peace-of-Westphalia accessed on 31/6/2014.
[3] Social contract theory was propounded by Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau and others which talks about the agreement between the individuals for the formation of the state.

image of reality as it enhances global insecurities through constant militarization (Ullman 1983:2). The Copenhagen School led by Buzan, Waever, Wilde and others also argued for widening of security. Buzan regarded that earlier concept of security is "too narrowly founded" so he proposed a much broader framework of defining security but he related the security of individual to state and the international system (Buzan 1983). Buzan identifies that threats originates from political, societal, economic, environmental, military sectors (Buzan et.al 1998). Similarly Beaton has also supported the need for the expansion of security from parochial national security and to include a range of systematic considerations (Beaton 1972:7-9).

Non-traditional security issues like terrorism, transitional crimes, disaster, climate change and many others became the prominent security issues. The attack on World Trade Centre in September 2001 in America exemplifies that how threats can go beyond any defined borderline. Globalization which leads to growing interconnectedness of the world has brought much insecurity through its porous borders. Globalization connects the different regions of the world which includes cultural to criminal, financial to environmental (Held 1999:484). Thus the broadening of security was seen from national to regional, international and global security. In 1950s only military threats and national territory was considered to be more important for 'Security' however today it includes the individuals risk (Daase 2010:26).

According to the Report of the Commission on Global Governance, 'Our Global Neighborhood', between 1945 and 1989 there were 138 wars, which led to 23 million deaths; the Korean and Vietnam War caused 3 million and 2 million respectively moreover the most astonishing fact was that all three wars were fought in third world. The source of threat changed and threats arises 'from support systems, extreme economic deprivation, the proliferation of conventional small arms, the terrorizing of civilian populations by domestic factions, and gross violations of human rights' (Commission on Global Governance)[4].

Every year around 1.6 million people lose their lives to violence (WHO, 2002). In recent times the conflicts in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan led to death of 174,000 civilians; in

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[4] Commission on Global Governance [online: web] URL: http://www.gdrc.org/u-gov/global-neighbourhood/ accessed on December 13,2013

Afghanistan only 21,000 civilians have died because of the violent conflict[5]. As the terrorist attacks of 9/11 have shown, even small groups have gained the capacity to inflict disproportional damage and challenge states' security. That is the reason why the concept of security nowadays does not only refer to hostile states, but also non-state actors as source of military threats (Daase 2010:9).

> "Increasingly, new issues such as those related to human rights, the environment, trade, and equity jumped to the forefront of agendas, making strategic studies less relevant to an understanding of the world. The pursuit of national security under the umbrella of collective defence, centered on a single actor, the nation-state, in a bipolar world, has been replaced by the need for a very different kind of collective and cooperative security"(Nef 1999:20).

Redefining Security

> *"It is my deepest belief that human beings should be able to lead lives of creativity, without having their survival threatened or their dignity impaired."* Obuchi Keizo[6]

Human security provides a new theoretical framework for understanding 'security' apart from its traditional definitions and is increasingly important in the times when "there is rise of transnational problems, internal conflicts have increased and the security threats to people have become important concern for the state's security (Nishikawa 2010:13). As already stated traditionally, the notion of 'security' focussed on military balances and capabilities but Human security widened the definition of 'security' by incorporating in it the threats coming from poverty, hunger, disease and repression. The core of human security is about how to protect and empower people (Liotta and Owen 2006: 1).

> In ethical terms, human security is both a 'system' and a systemic practice that promotes and sustains stability, security, and progressive integration of individuals within their relationships to their states, societies, and regions. In abstract but

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[5] *Civilians Killed and Wounded,* Costofwar.org [online: access] URL http://www.costsofwar.org/article/civilians-killed-and-wounded accessed on 3/07/2014.

[6] Amartya Sen, *Why Human Security,* CHS on the Web [online: web] URL: http://www.unocha.org/humansecurity/chs/activities/outreach/Sen2000.html accessed on 4/6/2014.

understandable terms, human security allows individuals the pursuit of life, liberty,
and both happiness and justice (Liotta and Owen 2006:4).

From Traditional Security to Human Security

After Second World War the world was divided into a bipolar world, United States of America and Union of Soviet Socialist Republic claiming the leadership of capitalist and socialist bloc respectively. Even in this period popularly known as cold war, the national security became the prime objective of the countries and arms race to enhance military capabilities was the main focus of the states. In this regard, security was seen as 'protection from invading armies; protection by technical and military capabilities and wars were fought not on home soil but only through proxy wars' (Owen 2004:16).

However, later the growing threats and vulnerabilities started broadening of the security discourse from military capabilities to basic human necessities. For instance during the 1970's oil crises the economic vulnerabilities led to economic security to become the basic issue.Civil wars in Afghanistan, Srilanka, armed conflict all raised issues that insecurity not only rise from outside the territory but from within also. The rising poverty, human rights, environmental disasters all pressed the states to broaden the definition of security. The various independent commissions also influenced the need of broadening the concept of security. For example, *Common security*[7] by Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security put forward the idea that the security can be achieved only when it is shared by all. The word 'common security' was coined by the Palme Commission (1982)[8] which discussed about the arms control and security issues. The main idea was the joint survival of all. The 'comprehensive security' idea developed that attempted to include environmental threats and natural catastrophes to the security paradigm.

Thus, hunger, poverty, health and environment were seen as essential components of security and in fact as they affect people in their everyday life. Such understanding apart from the commissions was given prominence by Human Development Report of 1994. It focused on

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[7] The Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues, *Common Security: A Blueprint for Survival* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982), p. xv and p. 172, respectively
[8] The historical evolution of the security through various commissions has been elaborated by Bajpai 2000.

the various insecurities which arise from daily life about having food, job, victim of state violence or gender violence cause much worry to people(HDR 1994:1). Thus it made Individual as the prime referent of the Security unlike state or community. However, human security by no means made the traditional discourse irrelevant (Nishikawa 2010:1). In fact it added value to the already existing concept on security and made it comprehensive by relating it other forms of threats. It emphasized that threats transcend national defense to encompass political, economic and social issues consequently shifting the focus from state to person and thus made it clear that attempts to address security related matters need to be broad based in on consultation with others actors (Hussein, Gnisci and Wanjiru 2004:13).

Table 1.1 Traditional and Human Securities

Type of Security	Referent Object	Responsibility to Protect	Possible Threats
Traditional Security	The State	The Integrity of the State	Interstate War, Nuclear Proliferation, Revolution
Human Security	The Individual	The Integrity of the Individual	Disease, Poverty, Natural Disaster, Violence, Landmines, Human Rights Abuses

Source: Model adopted from Taylor Owen, "Challenges and Opportunities for Defining and   Measuring Human Security," *Disarmament Forum* 3 (June 2004): 17.

The table 1.1 above summarizes the redefinition of security by human security concept that shifted focus of security from state as referent object to the individual considering integrity of individual as important which can be protected and empowered through elimination of the threats from disease, hunger and other forms of violence. In short, empowerment of an individual can enhance the security in the real sense. In other words, human security broadens the concept

of security by extending it downward where it transcends security of nations into security of groups and individuals and at the same moving it upward to protect environment and other areas essential to life. As Rothschild describes that the security extends in the following ways: "extended downwards from nations to individuals; it extends from nations security to the international system or supranational physical environment where it is extended upwards from the nation to biosphere; the concept of security horizontally extends from military to political, economic, social, environmental or human security and finally the security is diffused in all directions from upward movement from national states to international, downward to local and regional governments and sideways to all sorts of nongovernmental organizations" (Rothschild 1995:55) .

Similarly Christopher Dass in Figure 1.1 below has traced the conceptual change in security by referring to what are the referent objects (whose security has to be granted). He further analyzed the shift of basic referent object from state security outmoded by society and later society by individual. The broadening of security from national to regional and international is discussed. Finally Daase evaluates that 'security policy has shifted from the defense against threats via reduction of vulnerabilities to the management of risks' (Daase 2010:24).
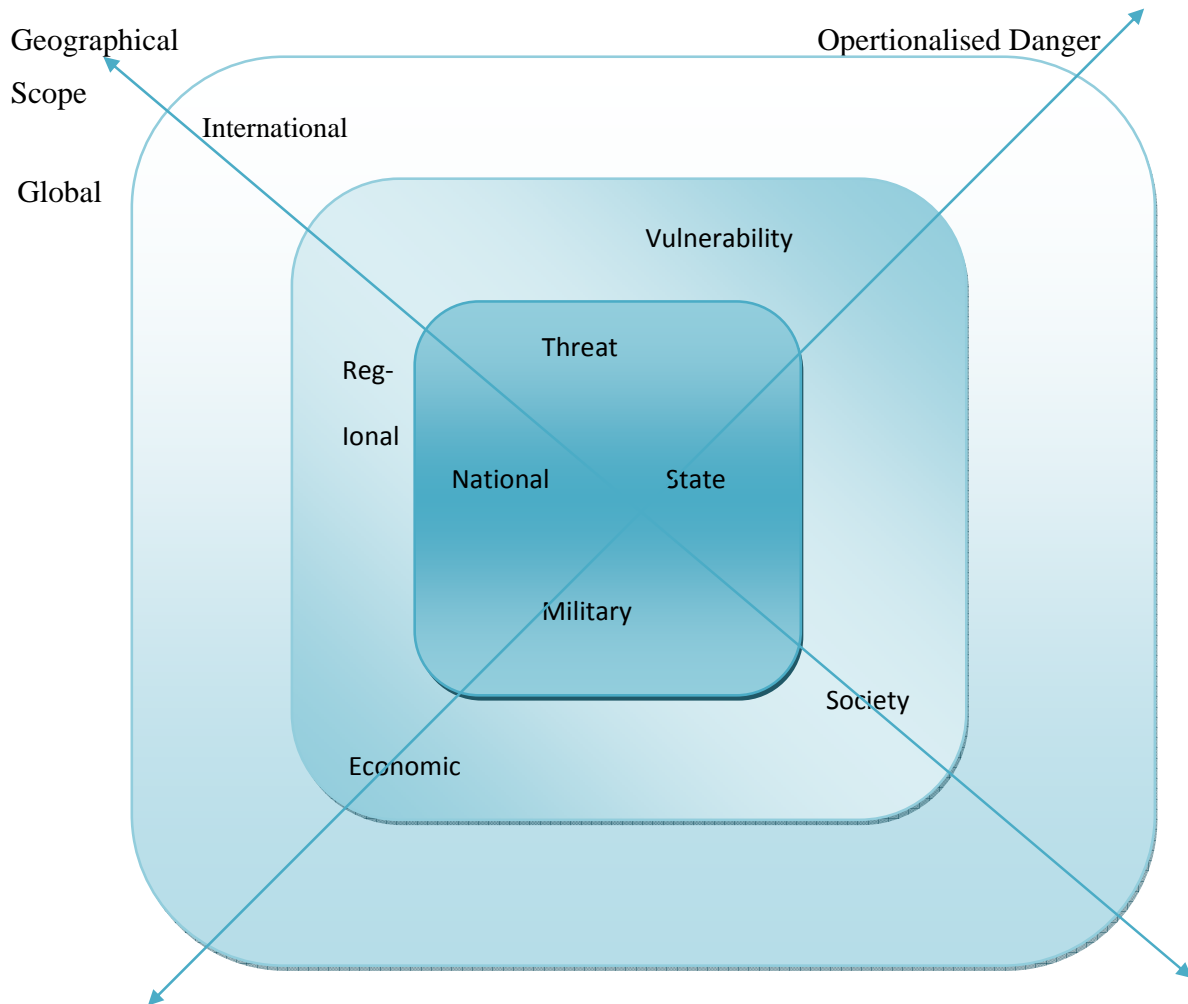
Figure 1.1 Four Dimensions of Security

Source: Model adopted from Daase, 2010:24.

In the same way Amitav Acharya traces the history of human security. He laid down four phases through which human security emanated:

➢ The growing incidence of civil wars, intra-state conflicts which are far more than traditional interstate conflicts.

➢ The increasing democratization of states in international system.

➢ The advent of the humanitarian intervention.

➢ The 1990's economic crisis which were blamed to be result of globalization (Acharya, 2001:10).

In short the essence of human security in all the explanations lays two ideas: firstly, protection of individual is the concern of the state and international security; and secondly, security conditions for people are more than traditional security and it encompasses political, social and economic issues. (Hussein, Gnisci and Wanjiru 2004:10). But Paul Heinbecker puts forward that the components of the human security are not new as the history has witnessed it from long. What is new is that in globalization, lethality of conventional war and the fact that the great majority of wars are now intra-state. Ninety per cent of casualties are civilians and predominantly women and children (Heinbecker 1999:1).

Debates on Human security

"Human security is certainly not new wine in an old bottle" (Acharya 2001:10).

There is within Human Security approach difference over the connotation of security. Realists considered that security extend downwards from nations to individuals and stable state extended upwards in its relationship to other states to influence the security of the international system furthermore the right of states has never been challenged in regard to protect themselves under "national security" and through traditional instruments of power (Liotta and Owen 2006:4). The policies at the international and domestic level were considered to be different, it was in this sense the 'sovereignty of the state was represented in territorial integrity (Lama 2010:4).The role of state was seen beyond protection of people from external attacks. The state attained the role of welfare state. Similarly human security made humans as referent object of security where it talks not only protection but also the empowerment of the people. The prime referent of security in human security is individual however this does not ignore the state security; state is provider of the security as Bajpai said 'the state is an instrument, a key instrument, in the protection of individuals'. (Bajpai 2000:38)

Neo-realist theoretical framework basically emphasized the domination of state in promoting human security. "Realists believe that security necessarily extends downwards from nations to individuals; conversely, the stable state extended upwards in its relationship to other states to influence the security of the international system" (Liotta and Owen 2006:4) Whereas this traditional role of the state being the sole protector of individual has been largely supported, it at the same time faces lot of opposition. For instance, Buzan argues that state is a necessary condition as it provides security to individual and in the absence of state there is no other agency capable of protecting people (Buzan 2001:589).

However, there are others who think that earlier the problems were considered inter-state however; in present times the state which earlier was the protector has become the reason for the human sufferings. According to R.J Rummel approximately 174 million people have been killed by their own government (Cited in lee 2004:15). Similarly Mack Mack states that "in theory states are responsible for protecting their citizens; in reality, they often violently repress them. Indeed, in the last one hundred years, far more people have died at the hands of their own governments than have been killed by foreign armies"(Mack 2004:2). Booth seconds Mack when he emphasized that the people are 'threatened by the policies and inadequacies of their own government than by the Napoleonic ambition of their neighbor's (Booth 1991:318).

Apart from the opposing views on the role of state in human security there are some who take a positive stand. For example, Commission on Human Security acknowledged that human security and state security as complementary to each other and help in enchasing rights and developments (CHS 2003:2). It means that human security though take precedence over the state security but it nevertheless lessens the role of state in providing security. As Ogata remarks that human security does not seek to replace rather it compliments state security (Ogata 2005:12).

*Broad definition***:**

Whatever the record of the states in human security calendar, there is other side of security that looks at it in a broad and narrow way. The broad definition of human security primarily focuses on "freedom from want"[9]. The United Nations Development Programme Report of 1994 first time laid down the most comprehensive definition of the human security. It states:

> "Human security is a child who did not die, a disease that did not spread, a job that was not cut, an ethnic tension that did not explode in violence, a dissident who was not silenced. Human security is not a concern with weapons - it is a concern with human life and dignity" (UNDP 1994:22).

Broadly the UNDP definition is composed of two aspects. At first, safety from chronic threats (hunger, disease) and second, it means protection from sudden disturbance (homes, job) and many others (HDR 1994:2). The lists of threats identified by UNDP are broadly categorized into seven categories:

➤ Economic Security: to have assured basic income from productive and remunerative work.

➤ Food security: to have physical and economic access to basic food.

➤ Health security: to have proper health care facilities at affordable price for everyone.

➤ Environmental security: to have healthy physical environment from environmental degradation, pollution, floods, earthquakes, and disasters.

➤ Personal Security: security of the people from the physical violence which includes physical torture, war, ethnic conflicts, gender based violence, child abuse etc.

➤ Community Security: security for the family, community, racial or ethnic group.

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[9] The categorization of the human security is widely done into narrow and broad depending on the perusing the issues see Liotta and Owen: 2006.

- Political Security: to have security from political repression, human rights protection this also includes detentions, imprisonment, torture or even state repressions (HDR 1994: 4-11).

Apart from it United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and Commission on Human Security supports the broader way of defining the security. While the former defines human security as a concept which emphasizes on the protection of the people and it comprises everything that empowers individual including human, social and cultural rights etc (UNESCO 2008:28).

Besides, the concept of 'vital core' was laid down by the independent Commission on Human Security established by the Government of Japan. It focuses on the protection of the 'vital core' which harms people so it stresses to include protecting people from critical and pervasive threats, in short building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity. (CHS 2003:4).

Jorge Nef, another major proponent of the broad conception of human security talks about defining the security on the terms on 'risk reduction'. Based on analyses of the world system he has categorized number of issues into five major categories:

- Environmental, personal and physical security: the right of people to have healthy life and to possess the sustainable environment.

- Economic security: it means basic access to resources to have good life and to access to have employment.

- Social security: freedom from discrimination (gender, age, ethnicity etc). To have access to "safety nets"[10].

- Political security: the right to the representation, participation. It also includes the legal-juridical security.

- Cultural security: to have ability to control uncertainty and fear (Nef et al.1989).

Likewise Leaning and Alkire broadens the definitions by including social, psychological, political, economic aspects (leaning and Alkire 2000). Thakur also supports the broad conception

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[10] By the term 'safety nets' Jorge Nef meant to have proper access to knowledge and information

and he states that 'anything which degrades the quality of life' is a security threat (Thakur 2004:348).Thus Leaning, Alkire, Thakur, Bajpai, Hampson, Winslow and Eriksen all suggest that human security means something more than the only protection from the violent threats (Owen 2004:4). In all that the idea is that life has many aspects and needs a broader approach to facilitate its well being.

Narrow Definitions

The critics of the human security considered this concept too broad which sometimes makes it meaningless. As Ronald Paris argued over the ambiguity of the definition of human security as "Human security is like sustainable development –everyone is for it, but few people have a clear idea what it means" (Paris 2001:88).Similarly the broad definition of human security which encompass every threat makes the concept vague. "Is it not the case that, from the human security perspective, every threat to the well-being of every individual in every state is a security issue? Ironically, in making all individual a priority, none actually benefits" (Khong 2001:3). Barry Buzan being criticized the human security as it neglects the role of the state as provider of the security as Buzan himself regards state as a necessary condition for the individual security (Buzan 2001:589).Krause also supports narrow definition of human security and limited it to freedom from fear while terming broad conception as 'laundry of bad things that can happen' (Krause 2004:367).

Simply, the narrow definition of the human security focuses on the violent threats which people face in their everyday life. Thus, human security meant protection from the violent conflict. Such idea is also called as The Canadian approach of human security stress that the violent threats as essential to define the conception of human security (Heinbecker 2011). The Human Security Centre also takes this stand of interoperating human security in the narrow way by focusing on the protection of individuals and communities from violence[11].The International Commission on Intervention and state sovereignty, 'A Responsibility to Protect' also defends the

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[11] Human Security Report: War and Peace in the 21st century (2005) [online: web] URL: http://www.ligi.ubc.ca/?p2=modules/liu/publications/view.jsp&id=19 accessed on 25th May,2014

narrow version of the human security. "The fundamental component of human security-the security of people against threats to life, health, livelihood, personal safety and human dignity-can be put at risk by external aggression, but also by factors within a country, including 'security' forces (ICISS 2001:31).

Major schools of thought in human security:
Human Security Approaches

Human security approach has been incorporated by many states in the world in the present times. The pioneer among them is Canada and Japan. Canada has in fact incorporated human security into its foreign policy. Canada has followed the UNDP model to a large extent however it tends to differ in many ways as shown in table (1.2).

Table 1.2
Comparison of the UNDP and Canadian Schools of Thought

	UNDP	Canadian School
Security for whom	Primarily the individual	Individual along with state security
Security of what values	Individual freedom, Personal safety and well being	Individual freedom, Personal safety and well being
Security from what threats	Direct and indirect threats; emphasis more on indirect violence (economic, environmental)	Direct and indirect threats; emphasis more on direct violence at national and international level

| Security by what means | Promotion of human developments | Promotion of political development |

Source: chart adapted from Bajpai 2000: 36

From Table 1.2 it becomes clear that both UNDP and Canadian school of thought make individual as a referent object of the state. The individual freedom which includes the personal safety and well being of the people are major values for both these approaches. Both these school regards the direct as well as indirect threat as the major threats for the people. The direct threats includes violent crime, child and women abuse which further includes government repression, genocide however Canada lists various direct violence like personal safety and refers to the transnational crimes (Bajpai 2000:25). While UNDP finally laid down the values for the human development and considered it as most important aspect on the other hand the Canadian school stresses on the political development, however both 'obverse national security view'(Bajpai 2000:30).

Third school of thought is represented by the Japanese view of human security. They stress the role of individuals and non state actors and emphasis on establishing human security through 'national strategies' (Leaning and Arie 2000:9). Japanese government concentrated on the protection from threats which people face in their everyday life which includes the livelihood and self empowerment in that regard they established 'Commission on Human Security'. The Japanese government laid down the human security based on 'Asian values' and give greater emphasizes on 'Freedom from want' (Tadjbaksh and Chenoy 2009:29). The Asian monetary crisis if 1997 made Japan to realize that it has to play important role in stabilizing the regional economy and Article 9 of the constitution prohibits the use of the force to solve the issue (Tadjbaksh and Chenoy 2009:30). According to Japanese foreign policy:

> "Human security comprehensively covers all the menaces that threaten human survival, daily life and dignity—for example, environmental degradation, violation of human rights, transnational organized crimes, illicit drugs, refugees, poverty, anti-personnel landmines and other infectious diseases such as Aids—and strengthens efforts to confront these threats.(cited in King and Murray 2001-02:7).

Moreover, Shin-wha Lee has defined human security into maximum and minimum .The minimum includes the freedom from fear, want and discrimination; in short protection of individual from poverty and structural violence. The maximum human security includes the right to enjoy life to the fullest by empowerment, thus finally putting down that unless minimum security as basic requirement to achieve is achieved maximum security (Lee 2004: 20). The well being of the people is prime objective of this approach. The security is seen beyond state and both of them consider that a threat goes beyond traditional threats. Therefore, different interpretation of the security should not actually devalue the actual idea of empowering people. Though the different interpretations of the human security create ground for controversy and suspicion, the differences in connotations are crucial to any meaningful effort to opertionalised the concept and make human security as the instrument of a just and secure world (Acharya, 2001:1-2).

One can therefore, conclude that the broadening of the security at conceptual level is horizontal (non-military aspects such as environment, economic, demographic, health etc) and vertical (individuals, local communities groups, religious or ideological communities etc). Human security is therefore the combination of the non-military and non-state referent objects (Prezelj 2008:3).

Critiques and Counter- critiques

There are sceptics and critics of the human security concept. One of the major critique states that human security in general as a concept lacks a coherent and definite definition. On the one hand, it has been associated with rights of the people and on the other hand, it also connotes wider development concept. Paris, points out the vagueness over the coherent definition of human security as:

> Human security is like "sustainable development"- everyone is for it, but few people
> have a clear idea of what it means. Existing definitions of human security tend to be
> extraordinarily expansive and vague, encompassing everything from physical security
> to psychological well-being (Paris 2001:3).

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Similarly Mack remains skeptical and criticizes broad concept by stating that "a concept that aspires to explain almost everything in reality explains nothing" (Mack 2004:3). The armed violence and structural violence led the threat not to focus on the immediate violent threats which affect the people. The human security is most important thing for the well- being of the individuals. War-exacerbated disease and malnutrition caused more deaths than missiles, bombs and bullets do in most of today's armed conflicts (Mack 2005: 7).Thus, human security is also about the conditions of people's daily living. Even in the absence of actual physical violence, people continue to suffer from fear. Mack points out that people are ruled by fear in highly authoritarian states, emphasizing the increasing level of state repression in half of the developing world over the last 20 years (Mack 2005: 7).

Others like Acharya emphasize that this approach is important but it shall be understood in Asia quite differently in comparison to the West. While 'East Asia understanding of security if cultural specificity' and sometimes looked as an instrument of the West to impose the liberal values and political institutions on non western societies (Acharya 2001:3). This opposition is rooted back to Asian approach of human rights which was all about 'universalism versus cultural relativism'[12].

Despite these criticisms, it comes out quite clearly that human security has a humane way of looking at people. The critics cannot ignore the concern that this approach has propounded. It tries to empower people by providing them security or by eliminating insecurities that retard their livelihood and lives.

Dimensions and Measures of Human Security

There are several indicators to measure various aspects of human security. The UNDP mentions seven indicators: environment, economic, personal, health, community, food and political. However, different proponents have mentioned different indictors. These indicators are classified on the basis of how they can affect the security of the people. For some political

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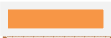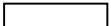
[12] In 1990s the Asian governments urged to defines human rights in context to Asia. The prime focus was to include the history and cultural context to understand the rights discourse.

security is most important rather than food or health security whereas some considered economic security most important. On the basis of this they are marked as strong, weak and medium.

Table 1.3

Human Security indicators

UNDP	Environment	Economic	Personal	Health	Community	Food	Political
Sadako Ogata	Environment	Economic	Personal	Health	Community	Food	Political
Kanti Bajpai	Personal	Health	Environment	Political	Food	Economic	
Japan	Health	Personal	Food	Economic	Environment		
Jorge Nef	Environment	Economic	Political	Community			
King and Murray	Political	Health	Community	Economic			
Astri Surke	Personal	Economic	Environment				
Caroline Thomas	Food	Community	Health				
Canada	Personal	Political					
Human Security Report	Personal						

Source: chart adapted from Liotta and Owen 2006:14

Strong	▬
Med	▬
Weak	☐

However, the real question is how much these aspects can be brought into the actual measurement in qualitative terms (Lama 2010:13). Though to actually evaluate the basic quality

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of life is 'relative and subjective' however to improve the basic quality life of the people by economic growth and political and social empowerment is the essence to determine human security (Lama 2010:13).

Besides, there are other ways to measure human security:

❖ UNDP presents a broad conception of human security by linking human security with human development. Through seven indictors it tries to measure the security.

❖ King and Murray define human security in terms of 'generalized concept of poverty' and they include only those domain of well-being which are important. They propose three measures to evaluate the human security; first is the 'Years of Individual Human Security' (YIHS) as the years spent outside poverty second is 'Individual Human Security' (HIS)and Population Years of Human security(King and Murray 2001-02).

❖ Bajpai presented the 'Human Security Audit' where he defines the direct and indirect threats and the capacity to deal with the threats (Bajpai 2000).

❖ Human Security Index (HIS) focuses on Economic Fabric index which includes GDP per capita income etc; Environmental Fabric Index which comprised of vulnerability, sustainability; Social fabric which includes health, education, food, governance security[13].On the border level to measure human security index there are four major components; Protection of, and benefiting from diversity, Peace, Environmental protection, freedom from corruption, Information empowerment[14].

Human Security and Rights

Human security and human rights are related. Ramcharan believes that it is human rights norms define the human security (Ramcharan 2002:9). Human rights have a long history starting with the documentation of individual rights in seen in the Magna Carta (1215), the French Declarations Rights of Man and Citizens (1789), US Constitution Bill of Rights (1791)[15]. The modern declaration of human rights was done was United Nations on December 10, 1948 when

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[13] Human Security Index [online: web] URL:http://www.humansecurityindex.org/?page_id=2 accessed on Dec 5,2014
[14] Human Security Index [online: web] URL:http://www.humansecurityindex.org/?p=73 accessed on Dec 5,2014

[15] Bill of Rights of the United States of America [online: web] URL: http://billofrightsinstitute.org/founding-documents/bill-of-rights/ accessed on 15th May, 2014.

The United Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was adopted. Despite more than six decades of UDHR remains the most important statement on human rights, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) are among the most important treaties (Evan, 2001:19). All these declarations have intrinsic relation with human security. For instance as shown in (Table 1.3), personal rights like rights to life, protection before law is closely related to personal security propounded by HDR of 1994; civil liberties which talks for the freedom of thought and participation of elections is related to political security which is a component of human security; economic rights which includes right to work, leisure overlaps with the economic security (Tadjbaksh and Chenoy 2009:124). Thus, a clear overlap of the concepts is evidently visible where '*freedom from fear* and civil and political rights are related; *freedom from want* is linked to social and economic rights and lastly cultural and collective rights corresponds to the right to development, health, environment (Tadjbaksh and Chenoy 2009:126).

> "Respecting human rights is at the core of protecting human security. The 1993 Vienna Declaration of Human Rights stresses the universality and interdependence of the human rights of all people. Those rights have to be upheld comprehensively—civil and political, as well as economic and social—as proclaimed in the legally binding conventions and protocols that derive from the 1948 Universal Declaration on Human Rights" (CHS 2003:10).

Besides, for both human security and human rights individual is the referent point. To pursue freedom and to live dignified life is the basis of both. As Amartya Sen stated that the rights and freedom is the vital core of human life[16] and to pursue freedom is the core of both human security and human rights. "Human rights was developed in response to violation of human dignity, human security emerged from threats to human rights" (Tadjbaksh and Chenoy 2009:126).

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[16] Amartya sen describes the relation between the human rights and human security by emphasizing their common relation in identifying the insecurities and freedom (CHS 2003:9).

Table 1.4

Relations between Human Security and Human Rights

Human Development ;.Report 1994 components	Human Rights	Human Rights articles in international treaties
Economic Security	Social and economic rights	UDHR-Art 17(right to property),22 (social security),23(right to work),26(right to education) CESCR-Art 6(right to work),9 (social security),10(protection of the family),13-14(right to education)
Food Security	Right to food	UDHR-Art 25(food, housing etc), CESCR- Art 11(right to food, adequate life)
Health Security	Right to health	UDHR-Art 25(food, housing etc), CESCR- Art 12(right to highest standard of health)
Environmental Security	Right to a healthy environment	CESCR-Art 12(right to highest standard of health)
Personal Security	Civil rights	UDHR-Art 3(right to life),4(prohibition of slavery),7(equality before law),13(freedom of movement),19(freedom of opinion), CCPR-Art 2(equal

		protection of the law),7(right to life),8(prohibition of slavery),9(right to liberty and security),17(protection of privacy),22(freedom of association),26(prohibition of discrimination) etc…..
Community Security	Cultural rights	UDHR-Art 1(equality between man and woman),2(prohibition of discrimination),16(equal rights in marriage),22(right to participate in cultural life)
		CCPR-Art 2(prohibition of discrimination),3(equality between man and woman
		CESCR-Art 3(equality between man and woman),15(right to participate in cultural life)
Political Security	Political rights and democracy	UDHR-Art 21(right to political participation)
		CCPR-Art1(right to self determination),25(political participation)
		ECSR-Art 1(right of self determination)

Source: chart adapted from Tadjbaksh and Chenoy 2009:129

As shown in Table 1.4 human rights and human security are intrinsically linked together and are not opposite to each other. In fact they go correspondingly with each other. However, in terms of enforcement and legal implication human rights take precedence over human security. As human rights is a relatively older concept and it has defined legal charter in form of UDHR while human security is still new. Also, human rights and human security discourse face the challenge from 'East Asian' values. Asian countries[17] since 1993 in Bangkok conference articulated their own approach. Human Security is looked as "another attempt by the west to impose its liberal values and political institutions on non-western societies (Acharya 2001:443). The various proponents of the human security criticize this concept as it lacks 'cultural relativism'. However many look it as the extension of comprehensive and cooperative security. Human Security has roots in Asia also Acharya argues that it has 'Asian pedigree because of contribution by scholars like Haq and Sen (cited in Tadjbaksh and Chenoy 2009:138).

Human Security and Human Development

The traditional view of the security was outcome of the Vienna 1815, Versailles 1919 and World War II, which resulted in bringing peace and security. The post 1945 settlements aimed to link the peace, security and development (Busumtwi, 2002:4, 5). In human development growth was looked in terms of equity which means in terms of commodity. However, the late 1990's Asian crisis gives the glimpse of how the downturn risks[18] can wipe out all the growth.

Haq was the pioneer in drawing relation between human security and development. Since 1994, the various 'Human Development Reports' by UNDP (Lama 2010:17) have presented inclusion of human development as a basic parameter to define human security. This approach widely focuses on the well being of the people by widening their choices and improving their lives, not just for one part but for all (HDR 1995:11). On the similar lines human security aims at facilitating these choices as it is considered that human security is not about the safety in violent

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[17] Asian countries argued that the existing human security framework lacks cultural values which are important for East Asian countries.

[18] Downturn risks are related to negative growth where the risk to vulnerabilities increases.

conflicts but achieving the development, it's about exercising choices human development (UNDP, 1994).

Amartya sen in CHS Report, 2003 emphasized on, how human development pays attention to the 'downside risks'. Here by 'downside risks' he meant the insecurities which people face in their everyday life for instance, discrimination against men and women, economic crisis which has led to deprivation and can increase vulnerability (CHS 2003:8). Further Sen, doesn't see any difference between human security and human development however while former focuses on the 'downturns with security' later laid emphasizes on 'growth with equity'. Sen broadens human development with 'securing human capabilities' (CHS 2003:9). By capabilities he meant 'doings and beings' that is to identify individual's ability to pursue his interest as Sen said in his *Idea of Justice* "The focus here is on the freedom that a person actually has to do this or be that-things that he or she may value doing or being*"[19]*.

> Human security and human development are both fundamentally concerned with the lives of human beings—longevity, education, opportunities for participation. Both are concerned with the basic freedoms that people enjoy. But they look out on shared goals with different scope (CHS, 2003:10).

The 1990s human centric approach with development approach as it core component led to a "marriage between a philosopher (Sen) and practitioner (Haq)" (Tadjbaksh and Chenoy 2009:103)0.The idea of human security has brought the security, rights and development altogether. To attain the well-being and to establish security, stability is the prime necessity of this concept. Human Security and development both these concepts aim at providing education, opportunities and participation and make people to enjoy basic freedom (CHS 2003:10). As Thomas argues that though to achieve the material sufficiency is core of human security, however, to achieve basic the human dignity is also essential which includes personal autonomy, participation(Thomas 2001 :162). In short, human development emphasize that there is a

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[19] Sen, *Idea of Justice* cited in Alkire (23), *the capability Approach and Human Development* (OPHI) [online: web] URL: www.ophi.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/SS13-CA-Intro.pdf accessed on 5th Nov,2013.

quantitative as well as qualitative aspect of life and both shall be enhanced and addressed. In this way through human development securities can be enhanced.

Human Security and Conflict

The basis of human security as already stated is empowerment of people. It will in the meantime bring peace by eliminating the sources of conflict. The idea is that conflicts are also rooted in insecurities of the people ranging from unemployment to religious persecution. As the World Development Report 2011 by World Bank has warned that in 21st century the greatest threats to the development comes from criminal and political violence[20]. For instance, West Africa is one of the most poorest and unstable region. The cost of conflict for citizens, countries are enormous. It has social and economic implication in the form of loss of life, destruction, displacement etc. The violence affected areas are prone to more insecurity. It affects the basic infrastructure like destroying schools, looting of poor people in war. Violence affects the development also. The sexual and gender based violence, displacement, stress and trauma leading to high suicides rates increases in the conflicts and violence. 'Fifteen out of the 20 poorest countries have a major conflict in past 20 years' (Tadjbaksh and Chenoy 2009:143).

One can say that there is a complementary relation between security and conflicts which means that if securities are provided, conflicts will diminish. Conflicts are about development issues as the bottom line of security is survival and range of concerns about the conditions of existence (Buzan 1991:432). Also, the state repression of human rights, economic breakdown and can create instability at the domestic level which can further led to the inter-state conflict, for instance Lebanon and Kashmir (Booth 1991:318).

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[20] World Development Report 2011 [online: web] URL http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTDEC/EXTRESEARCH/EXTWDRS/0,,contentMDK:23256432~pagePK:478093~piPK:477627~theSitePK:477624,00.html accessed on 6th Feb,2014.

Chapter 2

Human Security and Human Development:

A Comparison of Jammu and Kashmir in India and 'Azad Jammu and Kashmir' in Pakistan

In this chapter human security approach is used to understand and analyze Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) and 'Azad Jammu and Kashmir' (AJ&K). The Chapter has been divided into three parts. In the first part the history of undivided Jammu and Kashmir has been traced. In the second culture, ethnicity, geography of 'Azad Jammu and Kashmir' and State of Jammu and Kashmir has been discussed. In third, Human Development Indicators are used to assess the situation of human securities in both the regions.

> Who has not heard of the Vale of Cashmere?
>
> With its roses the brightest that earth ever gave,
>
> Its temples and grottos, and fountains as clear
>
> As the love-lightened eyes that hang over the wave?[21]

Colonialism, Partition and Division: Two Kashmir's'

Jammu and Kashmir is a mountainous region having mountains on the north and plains on the south. By its strategic position it touches the borders of Russia, Pakistan and China as it stands an old trade route between central Asia and Indian plains (Bamzai 1973:1). It lies in North-Western part of Indian subcontinent. Bounded on Northeast by the Tibet, it is surrounded

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[21] This quotation is written by Thomas Moore, Lalla Rookh, London, 1986, cited in Schofield, 2003.

by the Indian states of Himachel Pradesh and Punjab on the South; on the Northwest by Afghanistan and on the West by Pakistan. However, soon after the partition the former princely state saw a major demographic and geographic change. The territory of the former princely state was divided between India and Pakistan.

The area which is administered by India is officially called as the State of Jammu and Kashmir and area under Pakistan is called "Azad Jammu and Kashmir". The state of Jammu and Kashmir consists of three distinct regions; Jammu, Kashmir Valley and Ladakh[22]. The 'Azad Jammu and Kashmir' was divided into 'Azad Jammu and Kashmir' and Northern areas comprised of Gilgit-Baltistan. The 'Azad Jammu and Kashmir' consists of area Mirpur, Poonch and Muzaffarbad is its capital[23].

Jammu and Kashmir has a history of 6000 years, intermittently ruled by outsiders. The history of Kashmir is mainly divided into four periods: the early period of Hindu and Buddhist Kings chronicled in the famous 'Rajatarangini'[24]; the medieval period that was ruled by the Muslims is known as 'Salateen-i-Kashmir' (1310-1585); the period of the Mughals, known as the 'Padshahi-i-Chagatai' or 'Shahan-i-Mughlia' (1585-1718); and the period of the Pathans known as the 'Shahan-i-Durani' (1718-1819) (Lawrence 2002:179). It was in 1819 AD when Kashmir passed onto the hands of new masters - the Sikhs.

The word Kashmir implies "land desiccated from water", in Sanskrit Puranas Kashmir is called Greek (hill) as it is situated in hills; the ancients Greeks in Herodotus called it as 'Kaspeiria' while Heun Tsiang who visited Kashmir in 631 A.D called it as 'Kia-shi-mi-lo' (Bamzai 1973:4). According to the legend mentioned in Rajatarangini and Nilamat-Purana[25] the valley was a big lake and water was drained by Kashyapa Rishi, the gorge through which water was drained is in Baramulla (Bamzai1973:16).The legend of the Kashmir history dates back to

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[22]. Srinagar is the summer capital and Jammu is the winter capital of the State. Kashmir Valley is known as 'Paradise on Earth' is famous for its beautiful mountainous landscape. Jammu's numerous shrines attract thousands of Hindu pilgrims every year. Ladakh, also known as 'Little Tibet' is known for its remote mountainous beauty and Buddhist culture

[23] This area is also known for its scenic beauty, as the capital Muzaffarbad lies on the bank of Jhelum and Neelum River. The Neelam valley and Leepa valley are its major tourist destination.

[24] Rajatarangini (Chronicle of Kings) is regarded as one of most authentic historical accounts written in Indian history. It was written by Kalhana in A.D 1148-49. It gives the glimpse of the chronology of the rulers who have ruled Kashmir.

[25] Nilamat-Purana is refereed by Kalhana as one of the major source for the ancient history of Kashmir

5000 B.C. Kalhana[26] the famous Kashmiri historian suggested that Kashmiri political history originated with King Gonanda while other believes that history of the Kashmir dated back to the Ashoka Rule (Brecher 1953:5).

From many centuries Kashmiris have lived under a succession of foreign rule Pandava, Maurya, Kushan, Gonda, Karkota, Utpala and Lohara and one common thing in all this rule was the suppression and oppression (Korbel 1954:10). In order to highlight the misery of people of Jammu and Kashmir, Korbel remarks:

> Centuries of hard life have taught him to be reconciled to the strange role of living in a paradise that treats him poorly, forgotten by all, helped by none. Obediently and stolidly he accepts the status of the forgotten man in an undiscovered nation"……. "Only those who have visited Kashmir can see this cruel contrast between the nostalgic beauty and power of its scenery and the frightened dark eyes of its countless poor. Such visitors are few, and the country and its people have remained, to most of the world, obscure (Korbel, 1954:5).

Kalhana begins the chronicle with King Gonda I; however the firm historical record begins with the rule of Ashoka who rein Kashmir for 232 B.C for almost forty years. Later it was ruled by Indo-Greek, King Kanishka, Naga tribe and Huns. It was through Kashmir the Buddhist doctrine was spread to Qandahar, Kabul (Bamzai 1973). Ashoka got hold of this country in 260 B.C and Buddhism was introduced. However soon after his death there was strong counter by Brahmans; the clash of ideals gave rise to a fusion and thus Shaivism[27] (Trika philosophy) was born (Bazaz 1967:10).

The Muslim rule in Kashmir begins with Shah Mir in 1339 A.D. Zain-ul-abidin called as Bud shah was most benevolent. Later Kashmir was under the Mughals rule as Akbar conquered it in 1586. Mughals rule lasted for 166 years. Thus Kashmir became empire of Delhi and it was ruled through governors appointed by Delhi (Bazaz 1967:8). After Aurangzeb's death Ahmed Shah Abdali conquered Kashmir in 1752 thus Kashmir saw the beginning of the Afghan rule. Soon after it Sikhs conquered Kashmir in 1819 under Ranjit Singh. The Sikh rule lasted till 1846 as Sikhs lost Kashmir to British and later Dogra rule began. Dogra's got valley as gift from

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[27] Shaivism was founded by Vasugupta in 8th century A.D (Bazaz 1967:10).

Britishers in recognition of service they rendered in Anglo-Sikh war (Bazaz 1967:10).The Sikh ruled over Kashmir for 27 years (1819-1846) and Dogra rule began (1846-1947) under the treaty of Amritsar.

"Kashmir is nothing but a melancholy tale of perpetual misgovernment by monarchs and their underlings" (Bazaz, 1967:4). Buddhist, Hindu, Afghan, Mughals and Sikhs have ruled this state. However, surprisingly the different rules in this isolated valley bring cultural uniformity due to geographic distinctiveness (Mayfield 1995:2).Three religions have dominated the Kashmir history- Buddhism, Brahmanism and Mohammedanism.

Making of Jammu and Kashmir

The Dogra Rule

The Treaty of Amritsar occupies significant position in the political history of Jammu and Kashmir as it shaped the present Jammu and Kashmir as a political unit. The Treaty of Amritsar was signed between the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu. This treaty consisted of 10 Articles; Article 3 stated that "Maharaja Gulab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of seventy-five lakh of Rupees(Nanukshahee),fifty lakhs to be paid on ratification of this Treaty, and twenty-five lakhs on or before the first October of the current year,A.D.1846"(Singh 1996:50). In return the Maharaja Gulab Singh accepted the "supremacy of the British Government and agreed to pay annually one perfect shawl goats of approved breed (six male and six female) and three pairs of Cashmere shawls" (Singh 1996:51).

Thus, with this treaty the Dogra rule began in Jammu and Kashmir which was feudal in character. Under Dogras the majority community in the state, Muslims, were discriminated. Their share in the representation was far less than what actually they deserved. The Revenue Department that had dealings with the Muslim masses was, from top to bottom, monopolized by the non-Muslims (Lawrence 2002:400-01). Politically, the Muslims were deprived of all basic rights and civil liberties. The right to freedom of speech, freedom of press and freedom of

association were made unlawful. Even holding of a private meeting or religious meeting was prohibited (Khan 1931-40:121). Bazaz mentioned on the nature of the Dogra Raj:

> Speaking generally and from the bourgeois point of view, the Dogra rule has been a Hindu Raj. Muslims have not been treated fairly by which I mean as fairly as the Hindus. Firstly, because contrary to the professions of treating all classes equally, it must be candidly admitted, that Muslims were dealt severely in certain respects only because they were Muslims (Bazaz 1941:250).

Barring the oppressive nature of Dogra rule, they unified the state politically and brought area of Kashmir and Gilgit area under one umbrella and thus made Jammu and Kashmir as a political entity. However, this region was not homogenous in nature. According to the "British Census of 1947, it had 77 percent Muslim, 20 percent Hindu, and 3 percent others (Sikhs and Buddhist)" (Bose 2003:16). Consequently here the majority population was Muslim and ruler was Hindu. On the same line in Junagadh and Hyderabad, Muslims ruler was ruling over the Hindu Majority community.

Birth of Kashmiri Nationalist Struggle

The oppression under the Dogra rule saw continuous resistance however it was suppressed from time to time. The socio-political movements led by people outside Kashmir influenced the youth who had gone outside for education. They established Reading Room Party[28] at Fateh Kadal and elected Mr. Mohammad Rajab as president and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah[29] as its secretary (Hassnain 2002:36).

The 1931 year is regarded as the important event in the freedom struggle of Muslims against the Dogra ruler. This uprising was followed by five important incidents (Yusuf, 2005:361). Firstly, a leading landlord in Udhampur embraced Islam causing unrest among Dogras in the state; second incident took place in Jammu, when a police officer forbade the *Eid*

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[28] *Reading Room Party* was the first platform for the freedom struggle started in Kashmir. It was established in September 1930 by young graduates of Aligarh Muslim University in Fateh Kadal Srinagar, Quoted in '*Kashmir Issue-A Historical Perspective*', by Mattu, Abdul Majeed, M/S Ali Mohammad & Sons, (Srinagar, 2002), p.19

[29] Sheikh Abdullah was one of several young Kashmiri Muslims educated in British India who, upon return to Kashmir Valley in early 1930s, launched a struggle to free their people from the despotic rule of Dogra State.

prayers to be held in a particular ground; third incident took place on April 29, 1931 in Jammu when a Hindu sub-inspector of police, tried to stop the Imam, Moulvi Ataullah Shah Bukhari, from reading *'Khutba'* in which the Imam spoke of Pharaoh as a cruel and tyrant king; fourth incident took place in Srinagar on June 20, 1931 when pages of the Holy Quran were found in a public latrine, the fifth incident took place in the Central Jail Jammu on July 4, 1931, a head constable of Maharaja's police who was Hindu got enraged over some issue with another Muslim constable and in all this a copy of *Punj-Sura* (A collection of five chapters of Holy Quran) fell upon the ground (Yusuf 2005:362-3). These incidents roused the religious sentiments of the Maharaja's Muslim subjects. These incidences led to some protests, demonstrations in Jammu province and when the news of the jail incident reached Srinagar, it further inflamed the public sentiment (Yusuf 2005:366).These pretentious events of Jammu led to uprising in valley also. Abdul Qadir made inflammatory speech where he condemned Dogra rule later he was jailed for this. The police fired on gathering which had come to protest his prosecution Maharaja's Governor ordered the armed police to open fire in which some twenty two demonstrators were killed and hundreds others were injured. The day July 31, 1931 became the 'Martyrs Day' in the Kashmir history, the official beginning of a struggle for independence against autocratic rule of Dogras (Abdullah 1995).

Sheikh Abdullah became the main voice of the freedom struggle. He along with others formed the Muslim conference; however in 1939 he changed the name of the Muslim conference into National conference. The Muslim Conference led the movement from 1932 to1939 which constitutes a very vital period in the annals of the freedom struggle in the state. It was Muslim by nomenclature but not strictly in character. Speaking on the political character of the movement, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah said, "Our movement is not directed against the minorities. I assure all my countrymen, be they Hindus or Sikhs that we shall always try to redress their grievances but they must also respect our just rights" (Abdullah 1995:188-9). Besides it, the policy of state to create division among the leaders and rank and file of the Muslim Conference, the desire of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah to widen the social base of the party also played role in the formation of National Conference. This resulted in the conversion of the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference into the 'Jammu and Kashmir National Conference' (JKNC) on June 11, 1939(Verma 1994:18). For doing this, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was characterized as a communalist in Kashmir, a communist in Jammu and a nationalist in India (Verma

1994:20). Some even alleged that *"Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah would exploit anybody for his personal ends but was never anybody's man, not was ever dependable and he could shift and re-shift his loyalties in no time"* (Korbel 1954:107).

The drift was created while Muslim conference changed itself to National conference. In this Gohar Rehman was given the responsibility to revive the Muslim conference. Thus they became two parties. While Muslim conference had full faith on Muslim league and Jinnah, on the other hand Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah decided to go close with the congress by inviting Nehru to Kashmir. The communist influence over the National conference and its leader was constant. Several close associates and party colleagues of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah notably, G. M. Sadiq, D. P. Dhar and G. L. Dogra had communist leanings (Birdwood 2005:266). National Conference under this communist influence issued its most revolutionary manifesto titled 'Naya Kashmir[30]' or 'New Kashmir' in 1944. Later in 1946, National conference launched the "Quit Kashmir Movement" on the same lines of "Quit India Movement".

Partition and Division:

British colonialism ended with a sad division of their colony, India. The division known as partition led to the creation of Pakistan and India. Lord Mountbatten was appointed as viceroy and he was assigned the task of transferring the power between the two dominions. The partition plan was based on 'two nation theory'. The Northern western areas which comprised mainly Muslims were merged to create the dominion of Pakistan and the other part comprised mainly of Hindu population together formed Indian dominion (Menon 1995:80). Thus the division was done on the communal allegiance; the predominated Hindu areas formed India and the Muslim areas formed Pakistan (Korbel 1954:44). On the other hand this partition scheme was not applicable to the five hundred sixty five (565) Princely states among them was Jammu and Kashmir. While Hyderabad and Junagadh were states were ruled by Muslim ruler having majority non-Muslim population. On the other hand Jammu and Kashmir was Muslim majority state ruled by non-Muslim. Later, India ruled by Congress Government forcefully integrated both

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[30] It is considered to be most important document in the history of Kashmir; it talks about the decentralised governance, monarch to be reduced to be titular head. It further talks about to abolish landlordism and land reforms, (Bose, 2003:25).

Hyderabad and Junagadh states in to the Indian Union (Wirsing 2000:172). However, in case of Jammu and Kashmir Maharaja Hari Singh, did not accede either India or Pakistan rather choose to sign the 'Standstill Agreement'. Later in the northern part (Poonch Jagir) of Jammu district armed uprising against the administration broke out. In response it almost two thousand armed tribesmen, entered Muzafarabad under the military command of Major Khurshid Anwar (Throner 1949: 23). It was on the fourth day of the invasion the Pakistan newspapers reported that Azad Kashmir government has been formed in larger part of the state territory (Throner 1949: 23). After taking the town of Muzaffarabad, the raiders headed straight for Srinagar, the heart of Kashmir Valley. Almost meeting no resistance from the Maharaja's forces they rapidly captured the town of Baramullah (Bose 2003: 35).

There was complete chaos and the situation in the valley was horrible. This made Maharaja to conclude that he was in serious trouble. In his autobiography, his son, Dr. Karan Singh has recalled what happened:

> On that fateful day I was virtually alone in the palace while my father and members of the staff were attending the Darbar in the beautiful hall at the city palace on the Jhelum with its richly decorated peppier mashie ceiling he… Suddenly the lights went out- the invaders had captured and destroyed the only power house. . . After a few minutes the eerie silence was broken by the sudden blood-chilling howl of Jackals. Weirdly the cacophony hen rose and fell, then rose again into mad crescendo. Death and destruction were fast approaching Srinagar; our smug world had collapsed around us" (Mattu 2004:47)

Under these circumstances on 27, October the instrument of accession was signed. The Governor-General of India while conveying the acceptance of the Instrument of Accession to the Maharaja said:

> In consistence with our policy that in case of any state where the issue of accession has been the subject of dispute, the question of the accession should be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people of the state. It is my Government's wish that as soon as the law and order has been restored in Kashmir and her soil cleared of the invaders, the question of the state's accession should be settled by a reference to the people"(Lakhanpal 1995:57).

In response to it Prime Minster Nehru remarked in his broadcast on All India Radio on November 2, 1947 announced:

> We have decided that the fate of Kashmir is ultimately to be decided by the people. The pledge we have given and the Maharaja has supported it, not only to the people of Kashmir but to the world, we will not and cannot back out of it. We are prepared when peace and law and order have been established, to have a referendum held under international auspices like the U.N. We want it to be a fair and just reference to the people and we shall accept their verdict." (Menon 1995:406)

The Maharaja signed 'Instrument of Accession' paving the way for the Indian army to land in Kashmir. Since the accession, Jammu and Kashmir has become a bone of contention between the India and Pakistan. While for India, the accession is legal and constitutional on the other hand Pakistan considered it as an act based on 'fraud and violence' and therefore, not 'bonafide'(Schofield 2004:61).

Later the Kashmir dispute got international recognition when India took this case to United Nation's Security Council. The UN passed resolution and declared ceasefire and called for plebiscite. Since 1949, "the ceasefire line has been monitored by a small force of the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP)" (Schofield 2003:12). In January 1948, the Security Council adopted resolution 39(1948) which established United Nation Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) was created to look into this case[31]. Since than many resolutions have passed which directed for holding the Plebiscite in this region, later directed them to maintain ceasefire on Line of Control[32]. India rejected the resolution on the ground that it raised doubts about the legality of accession. Neither Indian nor Pakistan forces accepted the withdrawal of forces from the respective regions as it was the pre-requisite for the plebiscite to be held. Since then, Kashmir has become the unresolved dispute of this sub-continent.

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[31] Official Website of UNMOGIP (United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan [online: web] URL : http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unmogip/background.shtml accessed on 20th July,2014.

[32] Resolution 47(1948) recommended Indian and Pakistan to maintain ceasefire on Line of Control. In 1951 UNCIP was terminated and Security Council by its Resolution 91(1951) decided that UNMOGIP should supervise the ceasefire line. All these resolutions are available on Official Website of UNMOGIP [online: web] URL: http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unmogip/background.shtml accessed on 20th July, 2014.

India and Pakistan accepted the ceasefire proposed by United Nation and declared the ceasefire line as Line of Control (LOC). This ceasefire line divides the state into Indian administered and Pakistan administered. While India calls it as *'Atoot Ang'* (Integral part) whereas, Pakistan calls it '*Shah Rag*' (jugular vein).reference

Though it is more than six decades now but the nature of the international conflict over Kashmir has remained unchanged. The Kashmir conflict remains both a struggle for land as well as about the rights of people to determine their future' (Schofield 2003:16). Today one-third of the former Princely state is administered by Pakistan, which is known as 'Azad Jammu and Kashmir', two-thirds by India (Schofield 2003:12). Since October the 1947, the state of Jammu and Kashmir was spilt in between two parts. The Azad Kashmir consists of western and northern part adjacent to Pakistan along with Gilgit, Baltistan. The Indian part consists of valley of Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh. Since then the two sides of the Kashmir have been governed by their respective governments. The ceasefire left with the Indians with the bulk of Jammu and Kashmir territory (approximately 63 percent) consisting of Kashmir valley, Ladakh and Jammu; Pakistanis were left with long strip land which constitutes North West Frontier Province (Azad Jammu and Kashmir), Skardu and Gilgit- Baltistan (the northern areas) (Bose 2003:41).

Two Kashmirs' on the Borders: Constitution Making, Rights and Challenges

'Azad Jammu and Kashmir' ('AJK') and Pakistan

The "AJ&K" covers area of around 5134 squares miles (HRW 2006:15). Muzaffarbad is its capital. "AJ&K" is divided into three divisions (Muzaffarabad, Poonch & Mirpur) and ten administrative districts with Muzaffarabad as the capital of the State. The total number of Divisions are 2, Districts 10, sub Divisions 32.two three major administrative divisions which

has 8 districts, 22 Sub-divisions,182 Union Councils,1646 Village,13 Town Committees, 5 Development Authorities, 10 Municipal Committees[33].

.*Geography of AJK*

AJK is a mountainous region with sub-tropical temperature and lot of natural beauty and thick forest. Jhelum, Neelum and Poonch are the three major rivers. It lies in between 730 to 750 longitudes and 330 to 360 latitude. The region receives 1300mm rainfall on average. The elevation from sea level ranges from 360 meters in the south to 6325 meters in the north and the snow line in winter is around 1200 meters above sea level while in summer, it rises to 3300 meters[34].

Culture and Ethnicity

AJK consists of majority Muslim population and around two per cent of minority (Korbel 1954:199). Tribal clan (Biradari) is prominent in this region. Among them two Biradari which have been historically most influential are Sudhans and Rajputs and most of the politicians and leaders come from these groups. The culture of AJK is very close to that of Punjab province. The prominent local dialects are Pahari, Urdu and Potwari. However, Urdu is the official language of this region. Apart from Gujjars who are around 8 lakh, are possibly the largest such group, Mirpuris who are approximately 300 hundred have gained lot of importance as they have migrated to the Britain and have brought lot of remittances (HRW 2006).

Administrative Structure

The President is the constitutional head while the Prime Minister is the chief executive and supported by council of Ministers. The adult franchise was introduced in 1970 under the presidential form of government. The Legislative Assembly comprised of 49 members (41 directly elected and 8 indirectly).The total distribution is done in the following way:

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[33] 'AJ&K', AT A Glance 2013 report available on 'Azad Govt. Of the State of Jammu and Kashmir' Planning &Development Department, Official Website [online: web] URL: http://pndajk.gov.pk/glance.asp Accessed on 20th June,2014

[34] on 'Azad Govt. Of the State of Jammu and Kashmir' Planning &Development Department, Official Website [online: web] URL: http://pndajk.gov.pk/glance.asp Accessed on 20th June,2014

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Table 2.1

Legislative Assembly composition of 'AJ&K' Structure

Azad Jammu & Kashmir	**29**
Refugees settled in Pakistan	12
Ladies	05
Ulama and Mashaikh	01
Overseas Kashmiris	01
Technocrats	01
Total	**49**

Source: Official Website of 'AJ&K' [online: web] URL:

http://www.ajk.gov.pk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=23&Itemid=7 accessed on 20th June, 2014

However, under the current constitutional dispensation, twelve seats in the Legislative Assembly are reserved for Kashmiri refugees[35] from Indian Jammu and Kashmir settled across Pakistan (HRW, 2006:17). Besides this it has the Supreme Court and High Court which means dual judicial system. These courts also include Islamic judges dispensing 'sharia' law and they don't necessarily need law degree (HRW 2006:17).

Constitutional History of AJK and its relation with Pakistan

The 'AJK' is ruled under the Interim Constitution Act of 1974. There is Parliamentary form of government where the President is the constitutional head and Prime Minister is the chief executive. The Azad Kashmir government is run through Ministry of Kashmir affairs under the Karachi agreement of 1949. The area was further divided into Northern area (Gilgit-Baltistan) and "AJK". The area is governed through the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs and Northern area established in 1952[36].

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[35] The people who went to AJK are treated as Kashmiri refugees
[36] Kashmir council after 1974 interim constitution consists of 13 members with AZK President as vice chairman, among which the six members could be nominated by Pakistan. Further the 'AJK government in Muzaffarbad and Kashmir Council in Islamabad.

The "AJK" came into existence in 1947 through the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs of Pakistan. The first cabinet was nominated in 1947 under the leadership of Sardar Ibrahim. The Karachi agreement signed on April 28, 1949 gave recognition to the President and Prime Minister. The major party in the region is Muslim Conference since 1946 and the party has been run by nominated office bearers and the fraction[37] between the two major leaders like Sardar Ibrahim (President of AJK government) and Chowdhary Ghulam Abbas (Muslim conference) led to the intervention by the Pakistan government (Bahadur 2007:4).

In 1958 Ayub Khan Government brought down the democratically elected government in Pakistan and martial law was imposed. Ayub Khan introduced the idea of "basic democracies" act of 1960 under which the President and the AJK Council were to be indirectly elected by various members. In October 1958, Ayub Khan banned all political activity in AJK and dismissed Sardar Ibrahim Khan (1957-59) government and appointed K.H Khurshid as the new President. The basic democracy was extended to AJK through Basic Democracies Act of 1960 under which the Azad Kashmir Council and President elected the various other members.

In 1961, Khurshid was elected President and he demanded that the Pakistan government to legally recognize the region however, the Ayub government opposed this idea completely. As a result, Khurshid along with others formed Jammu and Kashmir Liberation League (JKLL). It was in 1974 the interim constitution was promulgated and under this the Prime Minister of Pakistan was made executive head instead of the President of the POK (Bahadur 2007:5, 6). It was in 1974 that Azad Kashmir got its first constitution which provided two executive forums: the azad Kashmir government in Muzaffarbad and Azad Kashmir council in Islamabad; the council consists of PM of Pakistan and sox federal minster including –the PM of Azad Kashmir and six Azad Kashmir members elected by its assembly and the minister of the Kashmir affairs."(Behera 2006:19).

1.3 State of Jammu and Kashmir

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[37] Ghulam Abbaas in 1949 became the head of the Muslim Conference. He as the head was enthroned with lot of powers which included the power to appoint President and other Council of Ministers. Later he sacked the Ibrahim government.[online: web] URL: http://ips.org.pk/education/1115-status-of-ajk-in-political-milieu
 accessed on 20th June,2014

The state of Jammu and Kashmir is located in north of the Indian sub-continent. It lies in the belt of the Himalayan ranges consisting of snow capped mountains with beautiful flora and fauna. Jammu and Kashmir is a multi-lingual, multi religious and multi-racial state geographically divided by three mountain ranges. The famous Pir Panjal range separates Jammu and Kashmir. The state comprises of three major regions; Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh. All three regions are marked by different geography, history and culture. Infact, the present state of this province is considered to be a colonial construct.

Geography of Jammu and Kashmir

The Jammu and Kashmir[38] comprises of three regions; Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh. The summer capital of the state is Srinagar and winter capital is Jammu. The three regions of this state represents three different topographies while Kashmir is valley situated in between the Himalayas and Pir Panjal range; Ladakh is famous for being one the coldest desert in the world; Jammu on the south of the state represents the Plains. The total geographical area is 2, 222, 36 sq.kms[39].

Culture and Ethnicity

The ethnicity of the people of the Jammu and Kashmir is very complex. There is great variation among the people here for instance Ladakhis, Dards[40], Gujjars, Pahari's in the southeast have closely influenced the existing ethnicity of the people. The immigrants from territories of, Tazakistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Azerbaijan (USSR), Turkey, Iraq and Afghanistan

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[38] Jammu and Kashmir is enclosed by lofty mountains from all sides. It has many glaciers and rivers lie Jhelum, Indus, Tawi, Ravi and Chenab which flow through this state. The valuable trees like Chinar, Deodar, Poplar, Fir, Walnut along with many herbal medicinal plants are found

[39] The official site of the Jammu and Kashmir planning and development states that the total area of the state is 2,222,36 sq.km which also includes 78,114 sq.kms under POK and 37,555 sq.kms under China and 5180 sq.kms illegally handed over by Pakistan to China in 1963. Sino-Pak Boundary agreement, [online: web] URL:http://jandkplanning.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=12&Itemid=20 Accessed on 27th June,2014

[40] They have history dated back to Aryan. Their main concentration lies in Sardi and Gurez.

influenced the racial composition of the state. Overall Kashmiris[41], Dogras[42], Dardas, Ladakhi[43], Gujjar and Bakarwals[44] and Hanjis[45] are of common ethnicity.

Administrative Divisions

Jammu and Kashmir has three divisions[46]viz Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh. The state is further divided into 22 districts, two in Ladakh, 10 each in Jammu and Kashmir, further there are 82 Tehsils and 6652 villages[47].

Constitutional Relation with India

The Part XXI (Article 369-392) of Indian constitution titled as the Temporary, Transitional and Special Provisions contains 370 which grant special status to State of Jammu and Kashmir. Article 370 mentions:

(1) Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution,-

(a) the provisions of article 238 shall not apply in relation to the State of Jammu and Kashmir;

(b) the power of Parliament to make laws for the said State shall be limited to-

(i) those matters in the Union List and the Concurrent List which, in consultation with the Government of the State, are declared by the President to correspond to matters specified in the Instrument of Accession governing the accession of the State to the Dominion of India as the matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make laws for that State; and

(ii) such other matters in the said Lists as, with the concurrence of the Government of the State, the President may by order specify.

Explanation.-For the purposes of this article, the Government of the State means the person for the time being recognised by the President as the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir acting on the advice of the Council of Ministers for the time being in office under the Maharaja's Proclamation dated the fifth day of March, 1948;

(c) the provisions of article 1 and of this article shall apply in relation to that State;

(d) such of the other provisions of this Constitution shall apply in relation to that State subject to such exceptions and modifications as the President may by order 358 specify:

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[41] Immigrants from turkey, Iran, central Asia settled in valley, closely to Indo-Aryans.

[42] They belong Aryan race and manily concentrated in Jammu and speak Dogri language.

[43] They are mixture of Mongoloid and Aryans.

[44] They are nomadic in character.

[45] Constitutes significant group in Kashmir confined to the Dal, Jehlum.

[46] It should be noted that the divisions in J&k rather than political unit are natural due to the geoprgaphy.

[47] Divisional Commissioner heads the administration of each division, the two districts of Ladakh region Leh and Kargil are part of the Kashmir administration.

Provided that no such order which relates to the matters specified in the Instrument of Accession of the State referred to in paragraph (i) of sub-clause (b) shall be issued except in consultation with the Government of the State:

Provided further that no such order which relates to matters other than those referred to in the last preceding proviso shall be issued except with the concurrence of that Government.

(2) If the concurrence of the Government of the State referred to in paragraph (ii) of sub-clause (b) of clause (1) or in the second proviso to sub-clause (d) of that clause be given before the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of framing the Constitution of the State is convened, it shall be placed before such Assembly for such decision as it may take thereon.

(3) Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing provisions of this article, the President may, by public notification, declare that this article shall cease to be operative or shall be operative only with such exceptions and modifications and from such date as he may specify:

Provided that the recommendation of the Constituent Assembly of the State referred to in clause (2) shall be necessary before the President issues such a notification"[48].

In short the special provision granted by the Indian Constitution laid down separate Constitution for Jammu and Kashmir and some of the powers that the State legislative Assembly included that all amendments can be carried out by the state legislative assembly, Article 352 (Internal Emergency) cannot be imposed without the state concurrence, special rights for the 'permanent residents' (Basu 2007:262-63).

By virtue of this constitutional arrangement between Indian Union and State of Jammu and Kashmir, later had its own flag, *Wazir-a-azam* (Prime Minister) and *sadar-a-riyasat* (President) instead of Governor as head of the state (Behera 2000:51). Also, the constitution of Jammu and Kashmir was made on the lines of Constitution of India. The "Constituent Assembly of the state completed its work in November 1956 and on 17th November; the draft of the Constitution was finally approved by the Assembly" (Teng *et.al* 1977:210) . The Preamble of the J&K Constitution states that the "seventeen day of November,1956,do HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE OURSELVES THIS CONSITUTION"(Singh 1996:246) Urdu was made as official language of the state and hereditary monarchy was abolished. "In this way the sentiments of the Kashmiris were respected and their fear of being absorbed by Hindu majority of India allayed; their identity was preserved; their individuality left undiminished" (Bazaz 1967:45).

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[48] Constitution of India [online: web] URL http://www.constitution.org/cons/india/p21370.html accessed on 15th July,2014.

In October 1951, elections were held and Sheikh Abdullah won the election. In 1952 the Dogra monarchy was abolished and Karan Singh (heir of Hari Singh) was made Sadar-e-Riyasat[49]. Sheikh Abdullah introduced the most revolutionary land reforms in July, 1950. "Around 2.2 million acres land was owned by 396 big landlords and 2,347 intermediate landlords" (Das Gupta 189 cited in Bose 2003:26). It is believed that in between 1950-1952, 700,000 landless peasants mostly Muslims (including 250,000 lower caste Hindus) got the land (Bose, 2003:27). "The landlord was allowed to keep not more than 160 kanals (20acres) of agriculture land,8 kanal (1acre) of land for vegetable gardening, 4 kanals (1/2 acres) for residential site and 10 kanals (1.25 acres) of orchards altogether 182 kanals (22.75 acres)"(Bamzai 1973:788).Thus the tillers became the landowners.

> Kashmir's special position was further cemented by the Delhi Agreement of 1952, which abolished hereditary ruler ship, vested residuary powers in the state, continued special citizenship rights for "state subjects," permitted the state to fly a separate flag alongside the national flag, and, subject to certain restrictions and limitations, extended to Kashmir provisions of India's constitution regarding fundamental rights, emergency powers of the president, and jurisdiction of the Supreme Court"(Behera 2006:51).

In all these constitutional arrangement and the social and political changes, Abdullah was the main voice. He enjoyed the popularity and was the unopposed leader negotiating for greater autonomy with Indian state. He was increasingly seen as a threat to the national integrity given his insistence on Delhi agreement and in August 1953, was arrested in Kashmir conspiracy case. Ghulam Mohd. Bakshi was installed in his place; he was amenable and helped in securing the integration of Kashmir and thereby compromising on its autonomy and at the same time securing the ratification of the accession by constituent assembly. All these political machinations led to the abrogation of the autonomy of the state and a gradual dismantling of Article 370 and stifling of its democratic aspirations" (Behera 2006: 54).

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[49] It is urdu term which literary means head of the state.

Measuring Human Security through Human Development

As mentioned in Chapter 1 Human Security and Human Development are related. In fact Human Development is the yardstick with which securities can be measured. Such a development index consisting of seven indicators as put forward by the UNDP report of 1994 shall be used to make a comparative study of these two regions viz., 'AJ&K' and J &K in India. In this study particularly five indicators of economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, and political security to understand the infrastructure and progress achieved in the above securities while at the same time bring out the failures and hurdles in promoting such securities.

'Azad Jammu and Kashmir'

Economic Security

'AJ&K' has agricultural economy which meant that land is the main source or means of production in this region. The major economic development started after 1970's in 'AJ&K'. The region's economic position can be understood from following parameters:

1. *Physical Infrastructure*

'Azad Jammu and Kashmir' lacked infrastructure in 1947. However, during last six decades a lot of improvement and developments have been done. As a mountainous region, road connectivity is the only major linking source between the 'AJK' and Pakistan. As per the data available on the official site of 'AJK' Planning and Development, Table 2.1 Road Lengths (Kms)

Table 2.2 Roads length in 'AJ&K'

	1947	2013
Metalled	100	8429.32
Fair-weather	165	6847470
Total	265	15276.32
Road Density (Km Per Sq.km)	0.008	0.63

Source: Report 'AJ&K on Glance 2013[online: web] URL: http://pndajk.gov.pk/ajk_glance2007.asp accessed on 5th May,2014.

Beside roads, The 'AJK' has two small airports one at capital and other at Rawalakot[50].

2. Hydroelectricity

AJ&K' is a great assist to the Pakistan economy as it is the great hub for the hydro power generation. It has total capacity of 8134.82 megawatts (*The Nation,* 2013). The Present grid capacity is 647.30 MVA around 25308 km transmission lines have been extended to 1670 villages out of total 1771 villages and 4.111 million population has been provided electricity[51].

3. Drinking Water

Around 70% of the urban population and 50.7% of the rural population has been provided with piped water; out of 1771 villages only 1032 have been provided water supply facility[52].

4.Employment, Population, Literacy

The table 2.3 below shows that the unemployment rate is more than the National Average of Pakistan. Similarly, the population growth is more but literacy rate is 12% more than the national

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[50] It's a huge paradox that there is no international airport despite that 1.5 million people of 'AJK' are living abroad whose remittance constitutes as one of the major source of the economy Report 'AJ&K on Glance 2013'[online: web] URL: http://pndajk.gov.pk/ajk_glance2007.asp accessed on 5th May,2014.

[51] Report 'AJ&K on Glance 2013[online: web] URL: http://pndajk.gov.pk/ajk_glance2007.asp accessed on 5th May,2014

[52] *Ibid*

average. More striking the population growth is more than the national average which has been but regulated since 1990. It was highest during 1970's as shown in Table 2.4.

Table 2.3

VITAL STATISTICS OF 'AJ&K'AND PAKISTAN (2013)

Descriptions	AJK	Pakistan
Area (Sq.km)	13,297	796,096
Cultivated land (%)	13	22.10
Villages	1771	48344
Population (projected in millions)	4.257	184.35
Population Growth Rate (%)	2.41	2.03
Unemployment Rate per Annum (%)	13	5.9
Literacy (%)	70	58
Enrolment rate Primary Boys (%)	98	97
Enrolment rate Primary Girls (%)	90	85
Road density (km/sq. km)	0.36	0.33
Infant mortality (per 1000)	62	59
Population per hospital bed	1368	1786
Population per doctor	4799	1127

MMR	201	260
Immunization Coverage (%)	94	53
Per capita power availability (KWH)	348	368
Rural/Urban ratio	88:12	67:33
Pop. Density per sq. Km.	320	232
Per capita income (per annum) US$	1368	1368

Source: - i. Federal Bureau of Statistics, Islamabad.

ii. Depts. of Health, Education & Public Works-Muzaffarabad.

iii. Economic Survey of Pakistan 2012-13[53]

Table 2.4 Population trends in 'AJ&K'

Description	1951	1961	1972	1981	1998
Population (Thousand)	886	1065	1573	1983.47	2972.50
Average annual Growth rate (Percent)		1.87	3.43	2.74	2.41

 Source: Report 'AJ&K on Glance 2013[online: web] URL: http://pndajk.gov.pk/ajk_glance2007.asp
accessed on 5th May, 2014

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[53]Report 'AJ&K on Glance 2013[online: web] URL: http://pndajk.gov.pk/ajk_glance2007.asp accessed on 5th May,2014

Accordingly the density of the region has also increased. As per the 1998 census it was 258 persons per sq.km while in 2013 it is 320 per. sq km. The growth rate is 2.41% and literary rate is 70 percent Projected population of 'AJ&K' is 4.257 million where the sex ratio is 101(number of males per 100 females)[54].

Table 2.5

Status of Education in 'AJ&K'

(Age 3- 5) in Pre-school	47.2
Access (Age 6-16)	
Out-of-schools	7.4
Out-of-schools (Girls)	3.7
In private school	35.0
Attending paid tuition (Govt.& Pvt.schools)	13.5

Source: Annual Status of Education Report ASER-Pakistan 2012 [online: web] URL: www.**aser**pakistan.org/document/**aser**/**2012**/**reports**/.../National**2012**.pdf accessed 21st July, 2014

Moreover, the lowest percentage of out-of-school of children in Pakistan was in 'AJ&K' where only 8% of school-aged children did not attend any form of schooling[55].'AJ&K' Government spends almost 26% of its total recurring budget besides 8% of the total development budget is allocated to this sector, so the literary rate was 64%   (95% for boys and 88% for girls between the age of 5- 9 years[56]. Presently in 2013 the literacy rate is 70% while National Literacy Rate is 58% in which the enrollment of Primary Boys is 98% and girls is 90%[57].The

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[54] Report 'AJ&K on Glance 2013[online: web] URL: http://pndajk.gov.pk/ajk_glance2007.asp accessed on 5th May, 2014

[55] Annual Status of Education Report ASER-Pakistan 2012 [online: web] URL: www.**aser**pakistan.org/document/**aser**/**2012**/**reports**/.../National**2012**.pdf accessed 21st July, 2014

[56] 'AJ&K' Planning and Development Official Website [online: web] URL http://pndajk.gov.pk/ajk_glance2007.asp , accessed on 21st July,2014.

[57] Report 'AJ&K on Glance 2013[online: web] URL: http://pndajk.gov.pk/ajk_glance2007.asp accessed on 5th May, 2014

structure of education is 5 years of primary level after pre-school; 3 years of middle; 2 years of secondary; and finally 2 years of higher secondary[58].

Table 2.6

Government Institutions by Level (Year 2012-13)[59]

Schools	**Mosque**	**1152**
	Primary	3009
	Middle	1008
	High	723
	Higher Secondary	53
	Industrial School	04
	Literacy centre	04
	Village workshop	10
	Total	5963
Colleges	Intermediate	96
	Degree	57
	Post Graduate	11
	College of Education	02
	Poly Technique	01
	Total	167

Health Security

Health indicators of the 'AJ&K' show that the infrastructure is very inadequate. The total numbers of beds in hospital is 3111 which means one bed per 1368 people, total number of

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[58] 'AJK' Skills Development Policy Strategy and Action Plan, UNESCO 2009
[59] 'AJK'at a Glance Report 2012

Doctors(including Administrative Doctors, Health Managers & dentists is 887 out of which 762 are Medical Officers,69 Dental Surgeons and 56 Health managers. The overall average is 0.0208 per 1000 population in respect to Doctors, 0.178 per 1000 in respect to Medical Officers,0.016 per 1000 in respect to Dentists and 0.013 per 1000 in respect to Health Managers.

Table 2.7

Health Infrastructure

Health Managers	56
Medical Officers/Specialists	762
Dental Surgeons	69
Nurses	371
Population per Hospital Bed	1368
Population per Doctor	47999
Population per Dental Surgeon	61696
Bed Occupancy Rate	64%
Primary Health Care's Services	64%

Source: Source: Report 'AJ&K on Glance 2013[online: web] URL:

http://pndajk.gov.pk/ajk_glance2007.asp accessed on 5th May,2014.

Maternal Mortality Ratio (MMR) is 276 per 100,000 live births in Pakistan, in urban areas it is 175, and 319 in rural settings; in Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) the MMR is 210 per 100,000 live births[60]. In National Nutrition Survey conducted in 2012 it was recorded that malnutrition in at least 31.7 per cent in children less than 5 years of age around '57.1 per cent of the households in AJK were food-insecure – meaning that they lacked access to adequate quantity of food and as a result, more than one fourth of the children in AJK were underweight and the situation for children in rural areas was worse'

Food Security

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[60]Research & Advocacy Fund and Child First Report, 2012 [online: web] URL: www.rafpakistan.org/.../Summary%20report%20for%20Web%20upload accessed on 5th May,2014.

The food availability is determined by three factors viz., production, stocks and net trade. Pakistan government has introduced different programs under the National Food Policy (NFP). 'AJ&K' is considered to be one of the most food insecure regions. Poverty deprives even people to access the basic food. Like any other developing countries, Pakistan also ranks very low in food security[61].

Table 2.8 Food availability

	Net food availability	Food consumption	Kcal per day per capita
'AJ&K'	540	1,452	-912

Source: Hussain and Routray, *Status and Factors of food Security in Pakistan* [online: web] URL: http://www.emeraldinsight.com/journals.htm?articleid=17041973 accessed on 10th June, 2014

According to the survey 'AJ&K' is among the least producing units that is able to supply only 20 percent of the local requirements. Thus the food consumption of 'AJ&K' is much higher than the availability. The less production is because of the less cultivable area. The food deficit is one of the prime factors for dependence on Pakistan .According to the Economic Survey of Pakistan 2006-07[62], the total cultivable area is around 166433 hectares, which is almost 13% of the total Geographical area out of which 92% of the cultivable area is rain-fed.

Though, 87% households have small land holding between one to two acres[63]which means that only small percent of total population did not own land. The cultivable Area per Family is 0.64 hectares and cultivable Area Per Capita is 0.08[64]. The poor soil and low productivity are major reason for food deficiency that makes it dependent on Pakistan

Political Security

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[61] Hussain and Routray, *Status and Factors of food Security in Pakistan* [online: web] URL: http://www.emeraldinsight.com/journals.htm?articleid=17041973 accessed on 10th June, 2014.
[62] Official Website, 'AJ&K' Planning and Development Department [online: web] URL: http://pndajk.gov.pk/ajk_glance2007.asp, accessed on 21st July, 2014.
[63] ibid
[64] 'AJK' at Glance Report 2012

The Karachi Agreement of April 1949 divides Pakistani-administered Kashmir into two distinct entities—Azad (Free) Kashmir and the Northern Areas (Freedom House Report 2010). Though the name of region is 'Azad' which in literary terms means 'Free' however its status was never defined in legal terms by Pakistan government not even by the United Nations (Behera 2006:172). According to the 1948 United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan, "Azad Kashmir is neither a sovereign state nor a province of Pakistan but rather a local authority with the responsibility over the area assigned to it under the ceasefire agreement"(Rose 1992:236).

The biggest hurdle in 'AJ&K' remains that despite having an autonomous status, this region remains under the tight control of Pakistan establishment. For instance, for all appointments of government job or judiciary 'to express loyalty to the concept of Kashmir's accession to Pakistan' is mandatory (HRW 2006:34). Similarly in the 'Azad Jammu and Kashmir' Interim Constitution Act, 1974, Article 7(2) states that 'no person or political part in Azad Jammu and Kashmir shall be permitted to propagate against, or take part in activities prejudicial or detrimental to, the ideology of the State's accession to Pakistan'[65]. The political parties which do not support the 'AJ&K' accession to Pakistan were barred from contesting elections in 2001 and 2006 elections(HRW 2006:43).

International Crisis Group (ICG) in 2012 reports that the 'AJ&K' remain "heavily militarized" area (ICG 2012:18). The Pakistan Inter-Services Intelligence agency is claimed to have 'extensive surveillance' for pro-independence groups (Freedom House 2011). The pro-freedom group are being targeted and killed. Islamist militant groups backed by Pakistan military are expanding their influence in 'AJ&K' including the establishment of new religious schools (Freedom House 2011).

There are also many reports of the disappearance and detentions. According to Asian Legal resource Centre (ALRC) in its 2010 report states that "dozens of people are missing after their arrest by the intelligence agencies in Pakistan-held Kashmir-Azad Kashmir" (ALRC 2010).Many Kashmiris are detained by military agencies in secret detention facilities in 'AJ&K' and there is lack of respect for international due process (HRW 2006:52-4). Also, in 1989 when

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[65] 'Azad Jammu and Kashmir' Interim Constitution Act, 1974 [online: web] URL:
http://www.ajkassembly.gok.pk/ajkinterimconstitutionact1974.html accessed on 26 May,2014.

the situation in J&K changed[66] many Kashmiri crossed the territory. According to the Human Rights Watch Report (2006) these refuges are persecuted for their pro-freedom[67] stance by the ISI- backed militant groups. As per the 'AJ&K' Rehabilitation Department, there are 29,932 registered refugees who crossed J&k in 1989; many of them have experienced abuse including arbitrary arrest and ill-treatment (HRW 2006:62).

Environmental Security

'AJ&K' falls within the Himalayan belt. According to the 'AJ&K' Panning and Development Department report of 2012, soil erosions are common in 'AJ&K' that causes nutrient depletion and has lowered water table.

Also, the region is seismic. The 2005 earthquake which measured around 7.6 on Richter scale caused unprecedented damage in 'AJ&K'. Around 47,321 people were killed, 33,136 seriously injured, 2578 education institutions and 334 health facilities were destroyed[68]. In response to it, the Government of 'AJ&K' established State Earthquake Reconstruction & Rehabilitation Agency (SERRA) and the Government of Pakistan established Earthquake Reconstruction & Rehabilitation Agency (ERRA) (Snedden 2013:178).In 2005 earthquake hit 'AJ&K' it left more than 7,000 schools and educational institution were partially destroyed; around 18,000 school children and 900 teachers lost their lives[69]. The children who survived were deeply traumatized. These kind of massive disaster can disrupt the whole the relief operations also. The constant aftershocks and landslides delayed the relief operation also. This disaster destroyed the whole education and school infrastructure. However, the international agencies came forward immediately and started the relief and rehabilitation process which

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[66] The 1989 period saw the counter insurgency and insurgency period. The movement was between pro-freedom group and pro-Pakistan accession group against the Indian establishment. Many Kashmiri's crossed border and shifted to that side in 1989.

[67] Pro-freedom stand here meant to unite the divided territory of J&K and making it as independent region. The Kashmiri's generally considered pro –freedom as their nationalist movement.

[68] State EarthQuake Reconstruction & Rehabilitation Agency(SERRA), 'Azad Jammu and Kashmir' [online: web] URL: http://www.serra.gov.pk/ accessed on 23 May,2014.

[69] UNESCO, Rehabilitation of Education System [online: web] URL: http://unesco.org.pk/eedrmu/resineaa/index.html accessed on 23 June,2014.

actually saved the lives of thousand people. In these kinds of insecurities the Government alone cannot carry the rehabilitation process and role of international agency is enhanced.

According to Earthquake Reconstruction & Rehabilitation Agency (ERRA) the total estimate of damages and losses in 'AJ&K' were:

Table 2.9

Earthquake Damages

'AJ&K' (Rs. Billion)	Direct Damages	Indirect Losses	Total Losses
Livestock	8.3	3.6	11.9
Crop	4.3	0.3	4.6
Irrigation	0.2	0.0	0.2
Total	12.8	3.9	16.7

Source: Earthquake Reconstruction & Rehabilitation Agency (ERRA) [online: web] URL: www.**erra**.pk/Reports/**Livelihood_%20strategy**111206.pdf accessed on 5th June,2014.

Jammu and Kashmir

Jammu and Kashmir is located in northern part of the India. The state of Jammu and Kashmir is a 'microcosm of India, given its diversity of ethnicity, language, culture and religion' (Habibullah, 2004:5). The people living in valley speak Kashmiri language. Around 5.4 million people live in Kashmir valley, 4.4 million(60 percent Hindu) are in Jammu among which 30 percent of Muslim population is present in three districts; Ladakh largest in area has two districts Kargil and Leh dominated by Muslim and Buddhist population respectively (Habibullah,2004:5). According to 2011 Census of India total population of Jammu and Kashmir is 1.25 crores approximately and 12,541,302 actual[70].

Economic Security

Physical Infrastructure:

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[70] Census of India, 2011 [online: web] URL: http://www.census2011.co.in/census/state/jammu+and+kashmir.html accessed on 22, July, 2014.

Infrastructure is key element for the economic growth and development. According to the Jammu and Kashmir Economic Survey 2012-13 the road connectivity within the state is as:

Table 2.10

Types of Roads

Total Length maintained by R&B Department	27778 Kms
Metalled road	4464 Kms
Fair weather	1502 Kms
Black topped	13422Kms
Others	2757 Kms

Source: J&K Economic Survey 2012-13 [online : web] URL
http://www.jandkplanning.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2307&Itemid=295&lang=en accessed on 22 July 2014

Being a mountainous region having rough terrain, the road connectivity and accessibility remains a big problem. Roads remain a measure lifeline for the state as it connects the state with the rest part of the country. Though railway links have been established till Jammu and recently in 2011-13 other parts of the state are also tried to get connected. However, despite all roads remains the only major source for the connectivity of the people. In Table 2.11 the road connectivity through national highway and within districts links are given.

Table 2.11

Total Road lengths in Jammu and Kashmir (in Kms)

Jammu and Kashmir is a mountainous region and it has very rough terrain. The Public Works	Length in Kms

Department (PWD) maintains the roads. The road infrastructure is as ahead Category of road	
National Highway	1245
State Highway	688
Major districts roads	7671
Other districts roads	3372
Total	12976

Source: Progress Harmony Development (PHD CHAMBER) 2011 [online: web] URL:
www.**phd**cci.in/admin/userfiles/file/Research.../**JAMMU-KASHMIR**.pdf accessed on 22 Jul. 14

Road lengths have increased from 18368 Kms in 2007-08 to 26700 Kms during 2013-14(ending Nov., 2013), the surfaced road length has increased from 15560 Kms to 23600 Kms[71]

Employment

Apart from roads, employment is essential to economic growth as well as stability of the state. The state has an alarming unemployment rate but   according to the National Sample Survey Office NSSO unemployment rate has come down from 5.3% to 4.9% during the period 2009 to 2012[72].

Education

Jammu and Kashmir has developed educationally to great extent. The infrastructure is reasonable for all levels of education as shown in Table 2.12 the education infrastructure is as

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[71] J&K Economic Survey 2013-14.
[72] Ministry of Statistics & Programme Implementation, Governmnet of India [online: web] URL
http://mail.mospi.gov.in/index.php/catalog/143 accessed on 22th July 2014

given below. However, all universities are located in Jammu and Kashmir and no university is yet established in Ladakh region.

Table 2.12

Education Infrastructure

Basic/secondary education	
Schools/Colleges	23120
Number of Students	19.30 lakhs
Higher Education	
Higher Education institutes	2687
Degree/ PG colleges	72
Central universities	2
State universities	6
Vocational and Technical Education	
Industrial Training Institutes	47
Polytechnics	12
Educ. Training Colleges	12

Source: Progress Harmony Development (PHD CHAMBER) 2011 [online: web] URL: www.**phd**cci.in/admin/userfiles/file/Research.../**JAMMU-KASHMIR**.pdf accessed on 22 Jul. 14

As shown in the table 2.13 the population growth has declined and literacy rate has increased. But it is sad that the sex ratio has declined. Also, the female literacy rate is far below than the average and with respect to males.

Table 2.13

Population, Sex ratio and Literacy

	2011	2001
Approximate population	1.25 crores	1.01 crores

Male Population	6,640,662	5,360,926
Female Population	5,900,640	4,782,774
Population Growth	23.64%	29.04%
Sex Ratio	889	900
Density/km2	56	46
Child sex ratio)	862	964
Literacy	67.16%	55.52%
Male Literacy	76.75%	66.60%
Female Literacy	49.12%	42.22%

Source: Census of India 2011 [online: web] URL:

http://www.census2011.co.in/census/state/jammu+and+kashmir.html accessed on 22 July 2014

. The table 2.14 shows the sex ratio trends since 1901. The trends show that the sex ratio has not improved in fact it gradually increased since 1947 but declined after 2001.

Table 2.14

Sex ratio trend since 1901-2011

State/ District	SEX - RATIO (NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1000 MALES											
	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
J&K	882	876	870	865	869	873	878	878	892	892	892	883

Source: Census of India 2011 [online: web] URL: http://censusindia.gov.in/2011-prov-results/prov_data_products_J&K.html accessed on 8th June, 2014.

Health Security

Health is most important for the well being of the people. The health profile of J&K shows that the state is very under developed and people lack basic access to health facility. In table (2.15)

the health profile of the state can be analyzed by the drawing a comparison with the national level.

Table 2.15

Demographic, Socio-economic and Health profile of

J&K as compared to India

Indicator	J&K	India
Total population (Census 2011)	10.14 crores	1028.61crores
Decadal Growth % Census 2011	31.42	21.54
Crude Birth Rate (SRS 2011)	17.8	21.8
Crude Death Rate (SRS 2011)	5.5	7.1
Maternal Mortality Rate (SRS 2007-09)	NA	254
Total Fertility Rate (SRS 2011)	1.9	2.4

Source: National Health Mission, Ministry of Health & Family Welfare, Govt. of India [online: web] URL: http://nrhm.gov.in/nrhm-in-state/state-wise-information/jammu-kasmir.html accessed on 22 July 2014

The above table shows that State of Jammu and Kashmir is doing well in reducing crude birth rate, death rate and fertility rate. This has been achieved with a good health infrastructure. The table 2.16 gives a detailed account of health centers and other health related facilities. It shows that there is huge shortfall of health centre in state. The health security which is considered basic for the development for one's being seems lacking behind, thus making people more vulnerable.

Table 2.16

Health Infrastructure of Jammu and Kashmir

Particulars	Required	In position	Shortfall
Sub-centre	3044	1907	1137
Primary Health Centre(PHCs)	456	396	60
Community Health Centre (CHCs)	114	84	30
Doctor at PHCs	375	451	--
Health Assistant (Female) PHCs	375	27	348
Health Assistant (Male) at PHCs	375	89	286
Physicians at CHCs	85	44	41
Total specialists at CHCs	340	135	205
Nurse/Midwife	970	403	567

Source: National Health Mission, Ministry of Health & Family Welfare, Govt. of India [online: web]
URL: http://nrhm.gov.in/nrhm-in-state/state-wise-information/jammu-kasmir.html accessed on 22 July 2014

Food Security

In Jammu and Kashmir 70% of the population is dependent on the Agriculture and allied sectors. The three regions of the State, viz Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh have different agriculture patterns. Since 73% of the total population of the state resides in the rural areas[73]. According to the Jammu and Kashmir economic Survey there is decline in the Food security and the contribution of Agriculture towards Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP) due to the low productivity, yield stagnation, low seed replacement rate, small size land holdings, lack of adequate irrigation facility (58% of the net area sown in rain fed). The table 2.17 shows that how

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[73] Government of Jammu and Kashmir, Economic Survey of Jammu and Kashmir 2013-14.

there are decline in the agriculture and allied sectors. These trends have major implication for the people of J&K as more than half of the population is dependent on agriculture.

Table 2.17 Agriculture and allied sectors

The Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP) is decreasing.

Agriculture and allied sector	21.9% in 2011-12	28.06% in 2004-05
Growth in Agriculture and Allied Sectors (10th Five Year Plan)	2.24% and 2.16% respectively.	28.06% in 2004-05

Source: Planning and Development Department, J&K Government, J&K Economic Survey 2012-13 [online: web] URL:

http://www.jandkplanning.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2307&Itemid=295&lang=en accessed 22 July 2014

To meet the demands of the growing population of the people the government needs to take the immediate measures and should adopt various techniques for production. In the above report it was also mention that of the 1223.00 thousand hectares of gross Area Sown during the year 2011-12 only 527.00 thousand hectares (43.09%) was irrigated. The annual food-grain production was 18 million tones whereas the requirement is 24 million tones, a gap of around 0.6 million tones (25 percent)[74].

The net sown area (NSA) of 7.35 lakh ha (2009-10) is 35 per cent whereas the national average is 46 per cent; the average size of holding is very small 0.545 ha/holding as compared to 1.66 ha at the national level. The arable land is 18% of the total geographical area whereas the

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[74] Kashmir Images [online: web] URL: http://www.dailykashmirimages.com/news-food-scarcity-stares-in-the-face-of-food-deficit-jk-62043.aspx accessed 22 July 2014

net sown is only 7%. As per the report state still imports about 40% to 20% of food grains and vegetables respectively[75].

Political Security

The people of Jammu and Kashmir have undergone have faced the worst turmoil in past few years. It began in 1988 when pro-independence group called Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Force (JKLF) launched armed campaign against India (Evans 2007:3).

During the insurgency period, exceptional and draconian laws like Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) were imposed in the state that led to violation of human rights and suppression of freedom of speech and expression(Chandhoke 2005:19-20). Armed Forces (J&K) Special Powers Act, 1990 provides special power and immunity to the armed forces operating in J&K. Under Armed Forces (J&K) Special Powers Act of 1990, J&K Disturbed Areas Act of 1990(JKDAS) and Public Safety Act gives wide-ranging powers to the police and security forces to commit human atrocities (HRLN 2009).More than 500 members of India's armed forces are accused of human rights abuses in Kashmir[76]. According to official data around 43,460 people have been killed out of which 21,323 are militants, 13,226 civilians killed by militants, 3642 civilians killed by security forces, 5369 policemen killed by militants,21 323 militants were killed in operations by security forces[77].The local organizations like Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons (APDP) claims that around 8000-10,000 people have been disappeared[78] .

Environment Security

Jammu and Kashmir which lies in Himalaya belt with huge reserves of flora and fauna. It has India's largest fresh water lake known as Wular Lake. As per the London based Kashmir

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[75] Government of Jammu and Kashmir, Agriculture Production Department, Draft Agriculture Policy For J&K State-2013 [online: web] URL : http://www.jkapd.nic.in/ accessed on 4th July,2014

[76] BBC [online: web] URL:http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-20624798 accessed 4th May,2014

[77] Times of India Jun 20,2011 [online : web] URL: http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/State-data-refutes-claim-of-1-lakh-killed-in-Kashmir/articleshow/8918214.cms accessed on 5th March,2014.

[78] APDP Official Website [online: web] URL: http://www.disappearancesinkashmir.org/about.html accessed on 8th Feb,2014.

Environment Watch Association, 'due to siltation, expanding human settlements, ineffective water policy and night curfews this 202sq.km lake is reduced to just 74sq.km. In three decades"[79]. The Dal Lake around which the Srinagar city is situated is already dying and it has been major source of livelihood for the people. The political tensions in the state have often overlooked the environment issues which are the greatest threat to the people of the state, one such instance is Kolahoi glacier which is lifeline of the Jhelum River[80].

The construction is carried in Sonamarg which is situated between the Kolhoi and Machoi Glacier was done without even understanding its impact on the environment. This kind of development is a threat to the ecology of this region[81]. Few studies have been done on the environmental impact assessments. Though the state attracts thousands of tourists every year but there is no concrete planning done about the construction process. The growing tourism and a concrete plan to maintain the ecology is not done so far.

The 70 per cent of the total population in Jammu and Kashmir lives in rural area. Around 59% of the geographical area of the state is under snow cover area. The past few decades have seen the growth in population and development activities. Some illegal developments have affected the eco system by reducing the forest area of this region and reduced the forest area[82]. The forest area is 20230sq.km which constitutes 19.95% of the geographical area of the state, the forest cover has been reducing for instance the forest cover of the state as per state of Forest Report 2003 issues by the Forest Survey of India is 24214 sq kms which is 110 sq km less than the 2001 assessment[83]. There are around 4 National Parks and 16 Wildlife Sanctuaries in Jammu and Kashmir[84]. Due to ongoing conflict for such a long time the environment concerns were never taken into consideration. Infact in 2012 the Comptroller and Auditor General of India pulled the J&K government for allotting 1,883 hectares if the forest area for non-forest purpose,

[79] Ramasubramanian(2004), *Can Environmental Security Bring Peace to Jammu and Kashmir* [online: web] URL: http://www.ipcs.org/article/jammu-kashmir/can-environmental-security-bring-peace-to-jammu-and-kashmir-i-1407.html accessed on 24th July 24, 2014

[80] The Economist [online: web] URL: http://www.economist.com/node/12480378 accessed on 16th April, 2014.

[81] Rising Kashmir [online: April] URL: http://www.risingkashmir.com/land-mafia-at-work-in-sonamarg-iii-constructions-on-without-carrying-environment-impact-study/ accessed on 1st July,2014.

[82] Jammu and Kashmir State Forest Policy 2011[online: web] URL: http://jkforestadm.nic.in/pdfs/FOREST%20POLICY%2019-JAN-2011.pdf accessed on 4th April,2014.

[83] Jammu and Kashmir Forest Department [online : web] URL: http://jkforest.com/jkforest/files/geography.html accessed on 20th May,2014.

[84] FAO Corporate Document Repository [online: web] URL http://www.fao.org/docrep/w7716e/w7716e06.htm accessed on 29th MAy,2014.

further records showed that 1883.23 hectares of forest land had been diverted for non-forest purposes between 1991-92 to 2010-11 period in Jammu district[85]. All this shows the record of protecting environment in the region is grim.

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[85] The Times of India (Oct 22,2012) [online: web] URL:
http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/JK-govt-diverted-1883-hectares-of-forestland-in-Jammu-CAG/articleshow/16913511.cms accessed on15th July,2014.

Chapter 3

Responses to Human Security Issues:

The Role of State, Civil Society and International Institutions

In this chapter role of state, civil society and international institutions in promotion of human security shall be analyzed. For that it is divided in three parts. In the first part of the chapter the role of state in promoting human security is analysed. It is further divided into two parts; Role of state of J&K and Role of 'AJ&K' respectively. In the second part of the chapter the role of civil society is analysed in 'AJ&K' and J&K respectively. And in third portion the responses of international organizations in J&K and 'AJ&K' are explored.

State and Human Security

1.1 Role of State in Promotion of Human Security in State of Jammu and Kashmir

State has an important significance in promotion of human security. It not only protects people from external invasions but has also assumed the role of social welfare. The 'Responsibility to Protect' report states that, 'the responsibility to protect resides first and foremost with the state whose people are directly affected' (ICISS 2001: Par2.30).State provides the safety net by providing social and economic welfare policies. As Keohane and Nye say, 'order requires rules, rules require authority and authority is exercised on behalf of people by states' (Keohane and Nye 1998:81-92). In other words state derives its power from people and in return has the responsibility to protect and empower people. The state does so through welfare schemes to eliminate different insecurities among the people. In this way state becomes an agent of human Security and builds a protective infrastructure which shields people's lives from threats

The state of Jammu and Kashmir has improved the lives of people to a considerable extent. Unlike India which inherited the useful assets from British rule, the state of Jammu and

Kashmir inherited poor economy at the time of accession to India. In 1950-51 the per capita income was $38 and in 1959-60 it was $48; the annual food production prior to 1951 was 0.3 million tonnes; the electivity produced before 1951 was 4,360 kilowatts per year[86]. The state has improved the economy and helped in the betterment of lives of people. The reconstruction of the state economy was done in 'Naya Kashmir' manifesto in 1944 on socialist lines. The Land to Tillers' Policy was formed and it abolished the landlordism under the leadership of the Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. It is considered to be the most revolutionary land reforms in which land was given to the tiller. Accordingly by 1953, 188,775 acres land was transferred to 153, 99 tillers in which each peasant received around 1.230 acres of land thus the 'The feudal system was abolished, landlordism disappeared and thousands of peasants living before in virtual slavery became landholders' (Korbel 1954:212).

For the promotion of the education programmes were launched under the Sarva Shiksha Abiyan scheme under the 10th and 11th five year Plan .The literacy rate has increased from 26.67% in 1981(as per 1981 census) to 55.50% as per 2001 census. Even the literacy rate has increased to 68.74 in 2011 Census, in which 78.26% are males and 58.01% females. It shows the growth of 13.21% since 2001 census and reduction in gender disparity[87].

Table 3.1

Gender gap literacy 1961-2011

S.NO	Census year	Male literacy rate	Increase of %age in preceding years census year	Female literacy rate	Increase of %age in preceding years census year	Gender gap in literacy
1	1961	16.97	----	4.26	----	12.71

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[86] Aggarwal and Aggrawal (1995), *Modern History of Jammu and Kashmir: Ancient times to Shimla Agreement*, Ashok Kumar Mittal, New Delhi, p.297

[87] The main aim of this program was universalisation of Elementary education is center governmental plan under Ujala Society.

2	1971	26.75	9.78	9.28	5.02	17.47
3	1981	36.29	9.54	15.88	6.60	20.41
4	2001	66.60	30.31	43.00	27.12	23.60
5	2011 (Provisional)	78.26	11.66	58.01	15.01	20.25

Source: J&K Economic Survey 2013-14.

Despite this that the state is caught in conflict the literacy rate has shown a great increase. The access to Higher Education which is measured in terms of Gross Enrolment ratio has also shown upward and improve trend, for instance Gross Enrolment ratio(GER) for J&K was 10.36% in 2007-08 which was increased to 18.2%(provisional) in 2011-12 which is higher than National GER which was 15%[88].

The gender disparities though have not changed to a much extent but have shown improvement in the passing years. The Government of J&K along with the Government of India has launched many development programmes and policies. The Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), Mid Day Meal Scheme(MDMS) , 'Beti Anmol' scheme in which cash amount of Rs.5000/- is given as an incentive to the girl child who pass matriculation examination, all have contributed to the increase of education and decline in dropout rate to 11% in 2012-13 is an example of it[89].

Moreover, under SSA the right to basic education between the ages of 6-14 years is granted. Another programme Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan (RMSA) was launched to provide education to people in March 2009 with the objective to enhance access to secondary education[90]

Besides, government has also launched many schemes for the development and welfare of rural areas. Some of them are 'Sampooran Grameen Rozgar Yojana' in which district wise allocation of funds and food grains, 'Indra Awas Yojana (IAY)', 'Swaranjayanti Gram Yojana',

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[88] J&K Economic Survey 2013-14.

[89] J&K Economic Survey 2013-14

[90] Department of School Education & Literacy, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India [online: web] URL: http://mhrd.gov.in/rashtriya_madhyamik_shiksha_abhiyan accessed on 9th May, 2014.

Central Sector Schemes like PMGSY, National Rural Health mission (NRHM), Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, National Rural Drinking Water Programme, Rural Housing , and Local Area Development Schemes [91].

Table 3.2

Trends in Expenditure in J&K

	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13
General Services	5739	5431	6684	8235	10119	11262
Social Services	3969	4287	5884	6756	7861	8507
Economic Services	6198	7293	8990	9540	10599	10572
Loans and Advances	38	42	49	72	66	93
Total expenditure	15944	17053	21607	24603	28645	30434

Source: Economic Survey, J&K 2013-14:8

Also, the expenditure on social services, general and economic services has increased on the part of the state which allowed it to promote welfare. As shown in Table (3.2) the expenditure on the above mentioned services has increased steadily in the last five years.

Apart from land reforms and literacy, state has also harnessed the hydroelectric potential of the region as water is one of the prime resources of Jammu and Kashmir. The state has the potential of generating hydro-electricity of up to 20,000Megawatts, of which of which about 16480MW has been identified i.e. only 16 per cent has been explored till now[92]. Given this potential of water, state has failed to address the needs of the people. According to Census of 2011 the total number of rural household were 1497920 out of which 1208527 were electrified and 289393 were un-electrified[93].The proper exploration of hydro-electricity would have improved economy of the state. Even though the state is the hub of so many rivers even than the

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[91] Jammu and Kashmir Economic Survey 2013-14.
[92] Ibid
[93] Ibid

66% consume contaminated water in J&K more than five lakhs households get untreated contaminated water[94]

Moreover, the record of the state in promotion of personal and political security has been grim. This has been mainly due to the regions troubled history which generated lot of mistrust between the people and government. It started in 1953 when Sheikh was removed and held in Kashmir conspiracy case[95]. In this case Sheikh Abdullah was charged of criminal conspiracy under Section 121 of the Ranbir Penal Code along with five other including Mirza Afzal Beg (Swami 2006:38). But things got worse after the elections of 1987 which is widely considered to be rigged. It led to insurgency and the central government poured aid as appeasement policy however, the ruling class in the state utilised the money for their benefits which led to the loss of faith of common people in governance, rampant corruption (Kumar, 2010)[96]. The insurgency period affected people as human rights were regularly violated. According to Human Rights Watch Report(2006) around twenty thousand Kashmiri civilians have been killed, ten thousands have been injured, hundreds of thousands have been internally displaced (including three hundred thousand Hindu Kashmiris and approximately thirty thousand Muslim Kashmiris have fled to Pakistan as refugees[97] . It led to the huge loss of lives and mental torture for the entire people. The Kashmiri pundit community migrated and exceptional laws like AFSPA and PSA allowed the state to crackdown on people and deny them any political assertion.

To address the alienation in the state has started policies like rehabilitation of surrendered militants, rehabilitation of Kashmiri Pandits and Displaced people. The state government in 2004 started the Rehabilitation policy for the surrender militants. According to the Government of Jammu and Kashmir Home Department 'Rehabilitation Policy' was for all those people who have undergone a change for heart and wants to renounce violence[98].The immediate grant of

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[94] Daily Excelsior [online: web] URL: http://www.dailyexcelsior.com/66-consume-contaminated-water-in-jk/ accessed on May 25, 2014.

[95] In Kashmir conspiracy case J&K police authorities filed case against Abdullah. He was blamed to devise plan to overthrow state Government and making it as a part of Pakistan(Swami 2006:38)

[96] Kumar.Narender, *Jammu and Kashmir: The Emerging Contours and the way Ahead,* Manekshaw Paper no.21,2010, Centre for Land Warfare Studies (CLAWS), New Delhi

[97] HRW (2006)"Everyone Lives in Fear" Patterns of Impunity in Jammu and Kashmir [online: web] accessed on 12th

[98] Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs [online: web] URL: http://www.mha.nic.in/more3 accessed on 23rd June,2014.

Rs.1.50 lakh in shape FDR in a bank was kept for three years which can be drawn only after the completion for three years which is further subject to good behaviour. Rs.2000/- monthly stipend for three years was also given. Around 4,081 militants have surrendered since 1990's...... As many as 210 terrorists are provided with monetary incentives[99].

The gateways through which former militants can surrender are Poonch-Rawalkote route in Jammu, Uri-Muzaffarabad in Kashmir, Wagah border in Punjab and the IGI airport in New Delhi. J&K Chief Minister Omar Abdullah informed the state Assembly that 277 persons along with their 578 family members had returned home via Nepal. The CM had also said that the state had received 1,171 applications on behalf of the former militants for consideration under the rehabilitation policy[100].

Also, The Ministry of Home Affairs of India has started the return and rehabilitation policy for the Kashmiri Pandits[101]. Some of the main features of this policy are:

- One time compensation of Rs.5 lakh to the families of the victims was given in lieu of employment Assistance @ Rs. 7.5 lakh per family for repair/reconstruction for fully or partially damaged houses.
- Assistance @ Rs. 2.00 lakh per family for dilapidated/ unused houses.
- Assistance @ Rs. 7.5 lakh per family for purchase/construction of a house in Group Housing Societies for those who have sold their properties during the period after 1989 and before the enactment of "The J&K Migrant Immovable Property (Preservation, Protection and Restraint of Distress Sale) Act, 1997" on May 30, 1997[102].

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[99]First Post [online: web] URL: http://www.firstpost.com/india/over-4000-militants-surrendered-in-jk-since-1990-omar-675748.html accessed on 9th May,2014.

[100] Sunday Guardian [online: web] URL: http://www.sunday-guardian.com/news/ex-militant-rehab-policy-raises-concern-in-army accessed on 3rd June,2014.

[101] It must be noted that in 1990's most of the Hindu community got displaced because of the growing insurgency in the valley.
[102] Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs [online: web] URL:http://www.mha.nic.in/more3#e accessed on 25th may,2014.

Thus, the state has tried to address the alienation by securing the return of people who resorted to violence and had also tried to secure the return of people particularly Hindus who migrated during insurgency. Though these attempts are good but the alienation continues because the human rights are consistently violated and state is not ready to scrap the laws like AFSPA which are seen as an antithesis of democracy.

Environment issues are big threat to the people of J&K. The area is also identified as seismic zone, thus prone to earthquakes and natural disasters. The state government has established respective departments like Department of Ecology & Remote Sensing J&K[103] in 1987 to identify areas of environmental concerns, sustainable environmental protection. Though Jammu and Kashmir has passed the Wildlife Protection Act in 1978 to conserve the wild species however, in tiny Dachigam national park there is decrease of Hangul[104]. J&K around 70% of the population is dependent on agriculture and allied sectors. J&K import large amount of food grains and is food deficit. The continue growing population is great threat to the already food deficit state. In this order in 2014 the Government of J&K has tabled and Government trying to pass and implement it. The bill will entitle every family to receive five kilograms of rice per person at the rate of Rs 3 per kg[105].

Defining the role of the state in 'Azad Jammu and Kashmir'

The 'Azad Jammu and Kashmir' holds an autonomous status. The state is ruled under the 1974 Interim Constitution. The role of state here can be divided in two ways; Pakistan government and 'Azad Jammu and Kashmir' government. The relation between the both is determined through the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs in Islamabad.

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[103] Department of Ecology Environment & Remote Sensing J&K [online: web] URL: http://www.jkdears.com/eers/files/about.asp accessed on 4th June,2014.
[104] The Pioneer [online: web] URL: http://www.dailypioneer.com/columnists/oped/jandks-pride-faces-extinction.html accessed on 3rd June,2014.
[105] Rising Kashmir [online: web] URL: http://www.risingkashmir.com/jk-all-set-to-implement-food-security-bill/ accessed on 9th May, 2014.

The 'AJ&K' government is spending good amount of budget on the various programmes. According to the different Budget Plans[106] following picture can be drawn out:

Table 3.3

Budget of 'AJ&K'

Budget:	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14
Social Sectors (Rs.Million)	**1404.000**	**1900.699**	**1656.306**
Civil defence	32.000	33.000	36.000
Education	635.000	887.017	879.306
Environment	15.000	15.000	25.000
Health	266.000	587.080	300.000
Information Technology/Media Dev.	216.000	130.000	130.000
Research & Development	75.000	80.583	100.000
Social Welfare &Women dev.	25.000	28.019	31.000
Sports	140.000	140.000	155.000
Infrastructure	**4858.000**	**5544.000**	**6526.694**
Development Authority's	135.000	135.000	150.000
Physical Planning & Housing	613.000	722.000	690.000
Local Govt. & Rural Development	800.000	770.000	850.000
Rehabilitation/ Resettlement			110.000
Transport & Communication	3310.000	3917.000	4726.694
Productive	**1723.000**	**1954.000**	**2167.000**
Agriculture/Livestock	118.000	215.000	237.000
Forest/Wild Life/Fisheries	287.000	317.000	350.000
Industries/ Minerals	143.000	186.000	195.000
Power	1050.000	1130.000	1245.00
Tourism	125.000	106.000	115.000
Transport			25.000
Foreign Aided Projects	**299.000**	**148.3337**	**150.000**

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[106] Government of 'AJ&K',official website [online: web]
URL:http://ajk.gov.pk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=470&Itemid=203 accessed on 25th May,2014.

As the table 3.3 shows the state has increased expenditure on different sectors to promote the security of the people. The expenditure on education has increased which has allowed the state attain a good literacy rate. According to the 'AJ&K' Planning and Development Department report of 2013, the present literacy rate is 70 per cent whereas the national literacy rate is 58 per cent[107]. It has increased the literacy by establishing educational institutions and other infrastructure needed. Soon after the formation of Pakistan, the 'AJ&K' has Oriental College at Muzaffarabad,12 high schools,37 middle schools 492 elementary schools along with it 8 hospitals, 22 dispensaries,6 mobile medical unit along with that Pakistan red cross operates 6 hospitals in Azad Kashmir (Korbel,1954:201). The 'AJ&K' followed different policies and programmes and at present the total numbers of educational institutions in 2012-13 are: Mosque 1152, Primary schools 3003, Higher Secondary 53 and including Middle, High, industrial school, Literacy centre, village workshop are 5963 whereas total numbers of colleges are 167[108].

In promoting the economic security the AJ&K' depends mainly on Pakistan through Ministry of Kashmir Affairs and Gilgit Baltistan.The unemployment ranges from 9.0 to 13% while is far higher than the National level which is 5.9[109].The region needs around 300,000 jobs for its unempolyed youths however as per the present situtation the state can't even cater 3000 jobs as private sector is not allowed to develop (PILDAT 2011)[110].

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[107] 'AJ&K Planning and Development Department 'AJ&K on Glance 2013'[online: web] URL: http://pndajk.gov.pk/ajk_glance2007.asp accessed on 5th May,2014.

[108] ibid

[109] AJ&K Planning and Development Department 'AJ&K on Glance 2013'[online: web] URL: http://pndajk.gov.pk/ajk_glance2007.asp accessed on 5th May,2014.

[110] PILDAT, Pakistan-AJ&K Political-legal conflict [online: web] URL: http://www.pildat.org/events_2011.asp accessed on 16th April, 2014.

Since the the region has rich source of water it is boon for the development of this region. This region is rich in mineral source and because of the scenic beauty its prefect for the tourism also. There are around 967 small, medim and large scale industries in this region which include woodwork & Furniture House, Baleries, Textile, cosmetics, Rice Mills, Rubeer and steel factorie, hotels etc[111]. The Government of 'AJ&K' has adopted the Industrial Policy of Govt. of Pakistan in which all indutries expect these industries all others are allowed Arms and Ammunition, Explosive material, Security Printing, Radioactive material. The government exempts Industrial products from sales tax, local tax for five years, loans avaliabilty. The tarditional Kashmiri handicrafts[112] are also encouraged. To encourage this the Azad Kashmir Small Industries corporation (AKSIC) was established in 1992. Presence of rich mineral sources in this region led to the National Mineral Policy of 1995 established department of Mineral Resources in 2002[113].

The 'AJ&K' is a mounatneous region with many rivers with diffcult terrain. The agricutlure is not so productive because of the poor soil, it has very less industries because of the dearth of raw material,so it lacked empolyment. Out of 13,297sq.km total area only 13% is cultivable whereas at tha National(Pakistan) level it is 22.10 per cent[114].

Making Border Irrelevant

India and Pakistan fought almost three wars over Kashmir and two countries have continuously blamed each other for violating the ceasefire declaration. However, in 2005 India and Pakistan government started the peace building process keeping aside the political conflict. The two Governments have realised that peace building is the necessity of the hour. This decision was path breaking decision for the people on both sides of LOC as it was first time in the history of Jammu and Kashmir people-to people contact was initiated. The cross-LOC interaction was started. The peace-building through economic measures was the way ahead for the upliftment of the people whose basic human security is every day undermine.

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[111] Investment opportunities in Azad Kashmir (Pakistan) Department of Industries & Commerce, Azad Govt. of the state of Jammu and Kashmir Muzaffarbad http://www.tobb.org.tr/UlkeRehberi/Documents/Ulkeler/pakistan

[112] These includes carpets, embroidery garments, Paper Machie, Shawls, wood craft etc

[113] AJ&K Planning and Development Department 'AJ&K on Glance 2013'[online: web] URL: http://pndajk.gov.pk/ajk_glance2007.asp accessed on 5th May,2014

[114] &K Planning and Development Department 'AJ&K on Glance 2013'[online: web] URL: http://pndajk.gov.pk/ajk_glance2007.asp accessed on 4th May,2014

For such cooperation, in April 2005 the bus service was started between Srinagar and Muzaffarabad. Later in 2006 Bus service linking Poonch and Rawalakot was started (Rizvi and Chari 2008:6). The opening of five foot –crossings on the LOC for relief operations 2005 earthquake by two Governments across the border was the greatest humanitarian step (Rizvi and Chari 2008:7). In 2008 on the recommendation of Joint Working Group on Cross-LOC confidence Building Measures (CBMs) the two government finalised the terms and condition for trade in which 21 items[115] were allowed duty-free[116]. The WORKING GROUP II[117] on Strengthening Relations across the line of Control issued following recommendations:

- Though the travel facility is available to people having relations across the border but it should also extend to persons visits to religious places, tourism, and medical aid. Measures should be taken to simplify procedures to facilitate travel across the Line of Control.

- Exchange programs between the universities should be done. The grant of admission in certain specific courses in 'AJ&K' and J&K should be considered. The telephone calls both landline and mobile should be allowed across the LOC.

- Opening up of the additional routes was recommended. Kargil-Skardu; Jammu-Sialkote; Turtuk-Khapulu; Chhamb-Jorian to Mirpur; Gurez-Astoor-Gilgit; Titwal-Chilhan; Jhangar-Mirpur and Kotli

One of the best developments of all initiative taken in 2008 was the formation of the Jammu and Kashmir Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Joint Chamber), the first formal joint establishment across the Line of Control though it is still in its infancy stage (Yusuf 2009).

Trends of Trade: between 2008 to 2013

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[115] The 21 items approved for import and export included: carpets, shawls,namdas,gabas, embroidery items,fruits,vegetables,dry fruits,saffron,imli,rajmash,kashmiri species, foam mattresses,medical herbs,jahanmaz,tusbies,precious stones,peshawari chapple,maize,maize products,honey and rice.
[116] Jammu and Kashmir, Trade Across the Line of Control, Conciliation Resources 2010 [online: web] URL: cpdr.org.pk/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/Trade_report_WEB.pdf   accessed on 16 June, 2014.
[117] J&K Government Planning and Development Department [onlyne: web] URL: http://www.jandkplanning.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2177%3Aworking-groups-ii&catid=927%3Apms-working-groups&Itemid=172&lang=en accessed on 3rd June, 2014.

Table 3.4

Uri- Muzaffarabad Trade[118]

Year	Export to AJ&K			Import from AJ&K		
	No. Of trucks	Quantity in qtls	Value in crores (ind .Rs.)	Quantity	Quantity in qtls	Value in crores(Pak Rs.)
2008-09	180	3987.31	1.3625	219	7293.39	-
2009-10	1830	119004.75	71.8046	2662	193221.06	92.4149
2010-11	3650	247235.20	156.4756	2413	159907.58	260.4339
2011-12	4406	350079.81	244.35443	2960	201376.71	407.7228
2012-13	6070	498081.77	275.5556	2880	200186.43	456.3789
Total	16136	1218388	749.55	11134	761985	1216.95

Table 3.5

Poonch route trade[119]

Year	Export to AJ&K			Import from AJ&K		
	No. Of trucks	Quantity in qtls	Value in crores (ind .Rs.)	Quantity	Quantity in qtls	Value in crores(Pak Rs.)
2008-09	42	1534.76	0.39	23	185.50	0.6066
2009-10	1492	142921.76	67.17	1560	59196.53	127.0719
2010-11	1836	133443.72	88.76	1626	113377.36	171.3454
2011-12	2020	115192.60	75.83	1255	167158.46	123.5179
2012-13	969	94011.52	33.7282	591	462979.65	58.4878
Total	6359	487104	265.9	5055	802897	481

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[118] Unpublished work report to publish in process, Masood-ur-Rehman, *In depth analysis of By Road Trade between AJK and IHK across LOC, Issues and Way forward, Kashmir Perspective,* shared via email on 6th june,2014
[119] Ibid

Poonch route trade

Trade is vital element for any cooperation and development of society. Trade across the LOC can help people in making their lives better. The trade between India and Pakistan can help people across the border. However, despite so many measures taken there many short coming in the cross LOC trade. For example the barter system is followed according to which the transactions takes place in form of goods and services rather than money, no telephonic communication, paralyzed banking facilities, information gap between the business communities[120]. Thus the economic peace building through trade can help people reduce the insecurity among the people. It can help in reducing trust-deficit between the 'AJ&K' and J&K. For instance the trade has created employment opportunities for 10000 people whereas average weekly trade is 20 crore[121].

2. Civil Society and Human Security

The concept of civil society was developed by individuals against unresponsive and authoritarian states through peaceful, non-violent method (Chandhoke, 2007)[122]. 'Tocqueville says civil society limits the state; Hegel defines civil society as a necessary stage in the formation of the state; Marx considered Civil Society as source of the power of the state and Gramsci considered civil society as the space in which the state constructs the hegemony with the dominant classes'(Chandhoke,2007:609). The dominance of the state over the citizens led to the development of these groups for the demand of the rights and liberty. In short, 'Civil society is regarded as an instrument by citizens to protect their freedom and to save itself from the state on the one hand and the market on the other' (Lahiry, 2005)[123].

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[120] Unpublished work, Masood-ur-Rehman, *In depth analysis of By Road Trade between AJK and IHK across LOC, Issues and Way forward, Kashmir Perspective,* shared via email on 6th june,2014.
[121] *Ibid*
[122] Chandhoke.Neera, *Civil society*, Development in Practice, Vol. 17, No. 4/5 (Aug., 2007), pp. 607-614, Taylor & Francis, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25548259 .Accessed: 13/06/2014 04:29
[123] Lahiry.Surjit, Civil Society Redefined, The Indian Journal of Political Science, Vol. 66, No. 1 (Jan.-March, 2005), pp. 29-50

Civil Society refers to social movements, associations, media; it aims at participation of individual into public process. They are non-governmental groups, voluntary groups. The major types of civil society organizations (CSOS) are[124]:

• Humanitarian, (short-term relief to prevent death)

• Development, (long-term efforts to improve quality of life in economic, political and social sectors)

• Human rights (efforts to create supportive political environment)

• Peace building (works specifically to address conflict

Civil society has access to areas where even government cannot reach and they hold the trust of the common people. However in all this they face many major challenges like in conflict zones they are targeted and killed. Even then their role is increased in these situations because of their neutrality and impartiality. They are the major source of the peace-building. They achieve such by generating public debates, preventing violence and militarisation and hence as actors to promote the better understanding between the security and democracy[125].

2.1 Role of Civil Society in Jammu and Kashmir

Civil society has played an important role in the State of Jammu and Kashmir in promoting human security. It has been particularly active since 1990's when insurgency broke in Kashmir valley. As this period witnessed the worst form of violence that led to creation of vulnerable groups like orphans, widows, disappeared, rape victims, women empowerment and so on, many groups both indigenous and international, came up to address such issues. Some of the prominent groups are:

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[124] 3P of Human Security [online: web] URL:http://3phumansecurity.org/site/component/content/article/34-projects/117-services accessed on 28th May,2014.
[125] Alexandra Abello Colak, Abello Colak, A., 2010, 'Civil Society and Security Transformation in Medellin: Challenges and Opportunities', New Voices Series no. 2, Global Consortium on Security Transformation (GCST), Santiago, Chile. http://www.ssrnetwork.net/document_library/detail/5723/civil-society-and-security-transformation-in-medellin-challenges-and-opportunities

- The most prominent indigenous groups are Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons (APDP)[126] came into existence by a group of people whose family members went missing in 1994. It was led by Praveena Ahanger[127], uneducated women whose son went missing. The members of this group meet each other on 10th of each month to hold protest. Presently it has family members of one thousand victims.

- Jammu and Kashmir Coalition of Civil Society (JKCCS) is another major civil society group. In July 2011JKCCS and APDP together came up with the report 'Half Widows Half Wives' in 2011. According to the report there are around 1,500 half widows[128] in Kashmir. The women group atrocities are also highlighted in this report. JKCCS also came up with report the buried evidences in which more than 2000 unmarked graves were identified in the different regions of valley.

- The long insurgency has witness thousands of Orphans throughout the state. Child Nurture and Relief (CHINAR) focuses on the impact of the violent conflict on children in valley. It was established in 2002. It helps the children from different remote villages (including Orphans) to have access to basic education[129].

- Child Rights and Youth (CRY) also identify the victims of landmines or weapons and now they run around 20 physically challenged school[130].

- Humanity Welfare Organization Helpline (HWOH)[131] was established by Javed Ahmed Take who was shot in the spine in 1999 since than he is paraplegic. Initially he started teaching Orphans and marginalised children and later it becomes one of the basic organizations helping people.

- The women have faced the huge brunt of the violent turmoil in the region. Many organizations now have come forward for the empowerment and upliftment of the

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[126] Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons, [online: web] URL:http://www.disappearancesinkashmir.org/about.html accessed on 6th May,2014.

[127] Parveena Ahanger is the face of APDP, she was awarded with Presidential Award By J&K high court bar association in 1998 and in 2005 nominated for Noble Peace Prize.

[128] Half Widows here referred to the women whose Husbands are subjected to enforced disappearance.

[129] Child Nurture And Relief (CHINAR) [online: web] URL: http://www.chinarinternational.org/ accessed on 28th May,2014.

[130] Children Rights And You (CRY) [online: web] URL: http://www.cry.org/about-cry/projects/JKASW-Jammu-Kashmir-Association-of-Social-Workers.html accessed on 28th May,2014.

[131] Children Rights And You (CRY) [online: web] URL: http://www.cry.org/about-cry/projects/humanity-welfare-organisation-helpline-hwoh.html accessed on 29th May,2014.

women cause. Among many of them organizations like Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace (WISCOMP)[132]: founded in 1999 by the Foundation for Universal Responsibility of his holiness- Dalai Lama. The basic aim is to promote women position in peace, security and international affairs. They launched 'Athwaas'[133] programme for the promotion of peace and for social change. Their initiative led to Peace Building Diploma Programme in Lady Shri Ram College to set up the peace building.

- Another Yakjah Reconciliation and Development Network[134] are based on Kashmiri word which means 'Together'. This initiative was started in 2002 by Hindu and Muslim Kashmiris in Delhi. They raise funds, charities to organise festivals to involve young people. They use theatre, films to understand the differences.

- Jammu & Kashmir State Women`s Development Corporation was incorporated in the year 1991 under the Companies Act 1956 but started functioning w.e.f. 1994[135]. The Corporation is implementing a number of Developmental Schemes for Socio-Economic Upliftment of Women with a special focus on the families living Below Poverty Line (BPL) & Women belonging to Minorities, Backward & Other Classes.

- Many groups have started the peace building process across the border. Centre for Dialogue and Reconciliation (CDR)[136] focussed on the peace through dialogue and discourse. It had many conferences which include Indo-Pak Lawyers, Youth Dialogue, intra-Kashmir cross loc women Dialogue, Intra- Kashmir Cross-Loc Dialogue and many more.

- Natrang Theatre Group[137] was established by the Balwant Thakur in 1983 and it has performed almost 500 shows. It has started the theatre as tool for peace building.

Thus, there have been a number of groups that have not only highlighted the human rights violations of people of Kashmir but have also fought for the rights of these groups.

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[132] WISCOMP [online: web] URL: http://www.wiscomp.org/ accessed on 26th May,2014.
[133] Athwaas is a kashmiri word which means handshake. This programme was started in 2001 for peace building among the diverse women from different religious communities.
[134] YRDN [online: web] URL http://www.insightonconflict.org/conflicts/kashmir/peacebuilding-organisations/yakjah/ accessed on 25th May,2014.
[135] Jammu and Kashmir State Women Development Corporation [online: web] URL: http://www.jkwdc.com/ accessed on 6th June,2014.
[136] Centre for Dialogue Reconciliation [online: web] URL: http://www.cdr-india.org/ accessed on 4th June,2014.
[137] Natrang Theatre Group [online: web] URL: http://www.insightonconflict.org/conflicts/kashmir/peacebuilding-organisations/natrang/ accessed on 16th May,2014.

Civil groups have also fought for the protection of environment in Jammu and Kashmir. The state is famous for its scenic beauty especially Kashmir valley. Many environmental groups have come up to save environment by educating people and pressurizing the government to do something about it. Some of the important ones are:

- Save Dal Campaign was started by charled Goschen. Later the civil society groups particularly the English Newspaper 'Greater Kashmir' highlighted this issue[138].Dal Lake bears the brunt of human activities as it has 600 houseboats[139] .

- Wular Lake in Kashmir is the largest fresh water lake in India. According to the London-based Kashmir Environment Watch Association[140], "due to siltation, expanding human settlement, ineffective water policy and night curfews this 202sq.km lake is reduced to just 74sq.km in three decades".

- Green Hopes[141] was started in 1997 GREEN HOPES is currently a partner of " CLEAN UP THE WORLD " campaign, which is supported by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). They have started many programmes about the environmental conservation, degradation, food insecurity and about the growing pollution of lakes. This organization has raised different issues related to growing environmental issues in one of its report on Dal Lake, they have raised issues of how ten nallah which are important for the sustenance of Dal Lake are polluted, they have collected the field data of how different Lakes are polluted and no proper government response is there[142].

- Ladakh is famous for being one of the beautiful coldest deserts in world. Ladakh Ecological Development Group(LEDeG) works for the underprivileged people precisely focusing more on sustainable development. LEDeG has been as associated with the

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[138] Greater Kashmir 2012 [online: web] URL: http://www.greaterkashmir.com/news/2012/Dec/10/stakeholders-launch-save-dal-campaign-58.asp accessed on 22nd May,2014.
[139] These floating houseboats have toilets which are polluting the famous lake [online: web] URL: https://www.chinadialogue.net/article/show/single/en/4948-Pollution-in-paradise accessed on 15th may 2014.

[140] Ramasubramanian 2004 [online: web] URL:http://www.ipcs.org/article/jammu-kashmir/can-environmental-security-bring-peace-to-jammu-and-kashmir-i-1407.html accessed on 4th April,2014

[141] Green Hopes [online: web] URL: http://www.greenhopes.in/?page_id=147 accessed 25th June,2014.
[142] Green Hopes, *Nigeen Lake gasping for breath* [online :web] URL: http://www.greenhopes.in/?p=18 accessed on 24th May,2014.

government for the implementation of the watershed programmes from 1993 in 12 villages in Nyoma Block and between the years 1999-2005 they have developed 149 hectares of waste land. Ladakh has harsh winter where temperature dips around minus twenty degree therefore this organisation has focussed more on the Community Based Services (CBS). Along with it on their recommendation Solar photovoltaic Energy(SPV) have been installed in Durbuck block in Leh district with the collaboration of India Canada Environment Facility(ICEF), Ministry of New Renewable Energy(MNRE) and Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council (LAHDC)[143].

- Centre for Environment Education (CEE)[144] was established in 2002 focuses on fragile ecosystem of Indian Himalayan region and focuses on awareness about the environment and sustainable development. They have started conservation of snow leopard in Ladakh, Dal Lake conservation with Union Ministry of Human Resource Development and many others.

Role of Civil society in 'Azad Jammu and Kashmir'

Civil society 'Azad Jammu and Kashmir' has been active at various levels to promote social welfare of the people and empowerment of the vulnerable groups. It has also agitated for constitutional empowerment of the region.

The organisations working for the empowerment of children, women and other vulnerable sections are:

- The Children First is non profit organization focussed on marginalised community, children youth and women. It works in 'AJ&K', South Punjab, Khyber Pakhtonkhwa. Children first (CF) along with Research and Advocacy Fund (RAF) launched project on social mobility of Midwives (CMWs) to identify the barriers of mobility in rural

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[143] Ladakh Ecological Development Group (LEDeG) [online: web] URL: http://www.ledeg.org/ accessed on 1st June,2014.
[144] Centre for Environment Education (CEE) [online: web] URL: http://www.ceeindia.org/cee/jammu-kashmir.html accessed on 28th May 2014.

population[145]. Since the maternal mortality rate is 210 per 100,000 live births (276 in Pakistan) is due to lack of skilled care, so this organization is working to train Community Midwives. Children first along with *World Food Programme* [146] started reconstruction plan *Early recovery of Flood affected areas* in 2011. It also included household and community level activities like land rehabilitation, field terracing, tree plantation, kitchen gardening, soil stabilization construction of roads, mountains, foot bridges, water channels.

- Women groups like '*Women Action For Peace and Non-Violence'* (WAPN) is national project for three years (2011-13) conglomerating with Insan Foundation Trust(IFT)[147] and Khwendo Kor(KK). It aimed at protection of women from sexual, gender based violence and enchasing their role in peace building.

- It was civil society group initiative in February, 2013 Kashmiri women across the Loc joined hand under 'Building bridges: Bringing women's voice into peace building in Kashmir'. The AJK Women for Peace organization (AJKWFPO) organised this event[148].

- The Centre for Dialogue and Reconciliation (CDR) along with women's group organised dialogues in 2007 in Srinagar and 2011 in Gulmarg. Nighat Shafi Pandit from Srinagar is leading projects on rehabilitating victims especially widows, half widows.

- Hissar Foundation[149] : women support Programme (WSP) developed from Hissar Foundation started relief and rehabilitation campaign of November 2005- April 2006. WSP has provided kitchen gardening training and supplies to 129 women and micro-credit training to 119 women to develop their micro-entrepreneurial skills.

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[145] Children first [online: web] URL: http://www.childrenfirst.org.pk/linkc/newscont/84 accessed on 8th May,2014.

[146]Children first [online: web] URL: http://www.childrenfirst.org.p0k/linkc/viewallpap accessed on 8th May,2014

[147] Insan Foundation Trust [online: web] URL: http://www.insanfoundationtrust.org/projects.htm accessed on 18th May,2014/

[148] http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-14-158598-Kashmiri-women-join-hands-across-the-LoC

[149]Hissar Foundation [online: web] URL: http://hisaar.org/women-support-programme-in-azad-jammu-and-kashmir/

- Kashmir International Relief Fund (KIRF) was found young Kashmiris in London to offer relief service to internally displaced Kashmiris across Line of Control.[150] It is a UK registered charity and the largest NGO in Pakistan Administered Kashmir. KIRF believes in development of men and women but specially focussing on women development. Self help was taught by training them how to make washing soap, detergent powder and cleaning powder, jam jelly making was also taught to them. Apart from them projects on schools building, medical camps and emergency relief fund is also their priority[151].

- Women Welfare Organization Poonch (WWOP)[152] is non government, non-profit welfare organization. It basically educates people about their basic rights in rural 'Azad Kashmir. It has undertaken projects like Drinking Water Supply Scheme. Besides this Society for Human Rights & Environment Protection (SHEP) is Karachi based organization which focuses on Environment, Health, Education, Human Rights, Legal Aid & Child labour[153].

- Kashmir Education Foundation[154] is an educational trust in Pakistan, Azad Kashmir. Basic aim is to make quality education available to talented girls and boys and emphasising the female education role.

- Mirpur Education Sponsorship Program (MESP) is a voluntary organization striving to provide quality education to poor and deserving segments of the society. . It was started in 2007 with the aim of targeting deserving and talented students. At present MESP is sponsoring around 472 males and females in 14 different schools and colleges[155]. Apart from that Zakat Foundation of America (ZF) is an international charity organization. It

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[151] KIRF Organisation [online: web] URL: http://www.kirf.org/programmes/4578241630 accessed on 21st May,2014
[152] Women Welfare organization Poonch (WWOP) [online: web] URL:
[153] My Islamabad.Net [online: web] URL:http://www.myislamabad.net/listing_details.aspx?bid=1693 accessed on 17th May,2014.
[154] Kashmir Education Foundation [online: web] URL: http://kef.org.pk/ accessed on 30th April,2014
[155] Mirpur Education sponsorship Program [online: web] URL:
http://www.mesp.org.pk/students/govt._girls_school_f-1/index4.htm accessed on 17th May,2014

helps the poor communities to establish long term development projects that ensure individual and community growth[156].

- Kashmir Charitable Trust[157] is UK based trust established in 1995. It works under the slogan "aapneyian nal mili the aapneyian waste kam karo" (Join your own and work for your own). The objective of the slogan is for the local community to get involved, be an integral part of the projects and help their own. Just after the earthquake in 2005 the KCT team reached and saved the precious books from the National Library, Jalalabad. Relief aid, education, livelihood support as people got increasingly dependent on the foreign aid only. Disasters Preparedness, regeneration of the handicrafts factories.

- Kashmir Youth Project (KYP)[158] is working in partnership with Manchester College to deliver the Skills Support for the Workforce programme, funded by the SFA and the ESF, to people within Greater Manchester who are currently working or engaged in voluntary work. This exciting new project also aims to support SME businesses to up-skill their workforce, enabling them to provide better services to their customer and clients.

- Our voice Society[159] for the Special persons was established in 2007 by the disabled to make themselves useful member of society. The organization particularly works with disadvantaged segments of society by adapting multi-sectoral area development approach to bring about such positive changes which ultimately improve and learning environment of marginalized community, especially with Persons with disability. Provided more than 500 wheel chairs, white canes and artificial limbs.

- Japan Social Development Funds and local donors in Muzaffarabad, Hattain Bala, Bagh , Dheer kot and Mirpur Provided skilled development training of candle making to 70

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[156] Zakat Foundation of America [online: web] URL:http://www.zakat.org/country/azad-kashmir/ accessed on 28th April,2014.

[157] Kashmir Charitable Trust [online: web] URL: http://www.kct-uk.org/en/ accessed on 28 April,2014
[158] Kashmir Youth Project [online: web] URL: http://www.kyp.org.uk/contact-us accessed on 20 April,2014
[159] Our Voice Society for the special Persons [online: web] URL: http://www.ourvoiceajk.org/about-us.html accessed on 29th April,2014.

Disabled men and women of cross disabilities[160].'Kashmir Peace, Development and Reforms Centre' (KPDRC) was held in Islamabad. The purpose was to look into one of the most crucial reform that could make the 'Azad Jammu and Kashmir' (AJK) government more autonomous.[161]

The above mentioned organisations, thus, have done a commendable effort to work for vulnerable sections of society ranging from children to disabled.

For political empowerment of the region following organisations and groups have pressurised the govt:

- Kashmir Civil society Forum, Kashmir One Secretariat has advocated many programmes for good governance. The Centre for Peace and Development reforms (CPDR)[162] has proposed for the political empowerment of 'AJ&K'. They demand that the constitutional debate should start in which the amendment should take place in consonance with the aspiration of the people, for instance all executive and legislative powers should revert to 'AJ&K' Government, appointment of independent election commission, representation of the Kashmiri refugees

- The Association for the Rights of People of Jammu and Kashmir (ARJK) headed by former chief justice of AJK Supreme Court has called for constitutional empowerment of this region and Pakistan should treat 'AJ&K' like other province in terms of giving rights[163].

- Centre for Peace, Development and Reforms (CPDR) is a non profit, nongovernmental civil society dedicated to dialogue and reconciliation founded in 2010 on January 14, 2012 demanded empowerment of AJK, demanded election commission for fair and impartial elections. The 1974 Act created a new body called 'AJK' council headed by

[160] Our Voice Society for the special Persons [online: web] URL: http://www.ourvoiceajk.org/about-us.html accessed on 29th April,2014.http://www.ourvoiceajk.org/about-us.html

[161] Kashmir Watch [online: web] URL:http://kashmirwatch.com/opinions.php/2012/01/21/azad-kashmir-civil-society-democracy-and-empowerment.html accessed on 5th June,2014.

[162] Centre for Peace, Development and Reforms (CPDR) 2011, 'AJ&K' [online: web] URL: cpdr.org.pk/wp-content/uploads/.../2011_CPDR_Kashmir_Report.pdf accessed on 13th May,2014.

[163] http://kdfajk.blogspot.co.uk/2012/03/empowering-azad-kashmir-by-javaid-hayat.html

Prime Minister of Pakistan, in this act 52 subjects including the appointment of the judges of High Court and Supreme court was taken away from the 'AJK' Government. Apart from the social and constitutional empowerment of the people, civil society groups have also fought for the political rights of the people.

3. International organizations and Human Security

Traditionally state has played major role in promoting human security. However in the present era of globalization, threats go beyond state territories. So the role of international organizations becomes significant. As discussed in chapter one[164] sometime state itself becomes the reason for generating insecurity in people. It has been seen that in last few decades more people have been killed in the hands of their own government. In this situation where the citizens are threatened by their own government the role of international organization becomes increasingly important.

Conflict and peace building is another important activity that international organizations do. Reducing poverty and developing community based programmes helps people in taking out the fear from their minds. During 1990s the number of people killed in armed conflicts was 200,000[165]. All international organizations are now trying to challenge the 'culture of impunity' through international criminal courts so in the process trying to address the root cause of the political violence[166]. In the 1990s decade alone, approximately 5.5 million people were killed in almost 100 armed conflicts[167].

State of Jammu and Kashmir and 'Azad Jammu and Kashmir', and International Organisations

In Jammu and Kashmir the international organizations assume more important role because of its history; it became a dispute between Indian and Pakistan since 1947. Both the countries have fought wars over it and tried to influence international institutions to further their

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[164] See 'Role of State' in chapter one page no 12,13
[165] http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/publication-type/speeches/2004/conflict-prevention-and-resolution-the-role-of-the-international-crisis-group.aspx
[166] http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/publication-type/speeches/2004/conflict-prevention-and-resolution-the-role-of-the-international-crisis-group.aspx
[167] http://www.icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/misc/57jqq2.htm

own national international interests. But international organisations have tried to solve the dispute and at the same protect the people caught in this disputed region.

Role of United Nation

In 1948, the Security Council adopted resolution 39 (1948) which established United Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP). Later ceasefire was called in 1949 and nucleus group United Nations Military Observer Groups in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) were established (Schofield 2003:12). Again in 1965 the Security Council called for resolution 209 (1965) to observe the ceasefire again. Later United Nations India-Pakistan Observation Mission (UNIPOM) was given the responsibility for supervising the ceasefire along the India-Pakistan border outside the state of Jammu and Kashmir[168].

In almost all popular uprising in Jammu and Kashmir people have submitted memoranda in UNMOGIP office for the United Nation Intervention in Kashmir issue[169]. Various other organizations of United Nation like UNICEF are putting light on the different issues in Kashmir. On the other side in 'AJ&K' UNICEF opened 16 primary schools in Muzaffarabad[170]

Human Rights

Since 1990 the state of Jammu and Kashmir has seen the largest turmoil. The beginning of insurgency saw worst kind of human rights violation of people in the hands of the insurgents and counter insurgents. The everyday security of the people was challenged. The fear of life devastated the basic freedom of the life of common people. To address such challenges many international organisations have reported human rights violations and criticized the government. Among them important are:

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[168] UNMOGIP [online: web] URL:http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unipombackgr.html accessed on 8th Feb,2014.

[169] Kashmir and the United Nations [online: web] URL: http://www.countercurrents.org/ahmad270808.htm accessed on 22 May, 2014.

[170] The Tribune, May 26, 2011 [online: web] URL: http://tribune.com.pk/story/176113/improving-education-unicef-opens-16-schools-in-azad-kashmir/ accessed on 23rd May, 2014.

- Amnesty International has produced many reports on Human Rights Violations in Jammu and Kashmir. They have produced many reports which highlight the deep crisis in the state. They have criticised AFSPA (Armed Forces Special Powers Act) which gives impunity to the soldiers. The Unlawful detentions in J&K under Public Safety Act 1978 which authorities person to be detained without trial for up to 2 years has been also criticized[171]. Such criticism has been brought in reports like '*A Lawless Law-Detentions under the Jammu and Kashmir Public Safety Act*' *in 2011.* According to this report around 600 PSA detentions were issued in between 2003 and 2010. Around 35,000 persons have been detained since 1989[172].

- International Crisis Group[173] keeps keen eye on the line of control across the border. Through its various reports it has highlighted that to end the cross border militants. They are taking up the issues of the extra-judicial killing, opening up of the Line of Control.(Mention the Report briefly)

- Human Rights Watch kept raising the voice about the various human rights issues in the state. Their reports like 'Rape In Kashmir'[174] was conducted by Asian Watch which us division of Human Rights and Physicians for Human Rights (PHR) documented the rapes in Kashmir since 1992 by security forces and paramilitary forces and recommended that people should be prosecuted for this crime. Another report 'A Pattern of Impunity'[175] describes the serious human right crisis in Kashmir and recommends the application of the International Law in these cases.

- Among the foreign organizations 'Medecins Sans Frontieres/ Doctors Without Borders' is working on the mental health of the people. They have collaborated with many hospitals in Jammu and Kashmir. But since curfews are big problem for the people so

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[171] Amnesty International [online: web] URL:http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/ASA20/032/2013/en accessed on 15th Dec,2013.
[172] India Today [online: web] URL:http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/amnesty-says-public-security-act-in-jammu-and-kashmir-violates-human-rights/1/133055.html accessed on 19th Jan,2014.

[173] International Crisis Group [online: web] URL: http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/asia/south-asia/kashmir/B106-steps-towards-peace-putting-kashmiris-first.aspx accessed on 4th April,2014.
[174] HRW, Rape In Kashmir [online: web] URL: www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/**reports**/INDIA935.PDF accessed on 4th April,2014.
[175] HRW(2006), Everyone lives in Fear: Pattern of Impunity in Jammu and Kashmir [online: web] URL: www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/india0906web.pdf *accessed on 29 th March,2014.*

they preferred telephone counselling also for the patients who are trapped at home. The radio show 'Alaw Baya Alaw' (Hello Brother) started in 2009 and is treating 5,800 people and and provided consultation to 20,500 people[176].

In 'Azad Jammu and Kashmir', international organisations have highlighted the status of human rights and criticized the government as being repressive. For example, Human Rights Watch[177] report 'With Friends Like these" human rights violations have been brought to public notice. The constitutional anomaly over the 'AJ&K', the continue intervention from Pakistan Government in the internally affairs of the 'AJ&K', water dispute over building of Mangla Dam, suppression of freedom of expression, print media are some of the key findings of the report which highlights the various kinds of insecurities which people face in 'AJ&K'. Other than this report , Austrian Red Cross ACCORD in 2012 complied report on Pakistan-administered Kashmir (Azad Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan) on the similarly raises basic concerns of the people of 'AJ&K. The recruitment of children's and students by terrorist organization for various purposes are done for instance in 2010, 25- year old University student in Muzaffarabad joined militant group after attending the sermons given by preachers (BBC 2010 cited in ACCORD 2012:52). Detentions, denial of basic rights to minorities like Ahmadiyas are common norms throughout the 'AJ&K' Other religious communities like Christians were protected by special measures as the terrorist attacks were taking place (ACCORD 2012:75-80). The killing of the Ahmadiyas while protecting other community should be understood in the light of 'AJ&K' being Islamic region. Another break through report was presented by Baroness Nicholson (Rapporteur for Kashmir)[178] in 2007, which was passed by majority of members in European Parliament. The report throws light on the earthquake which caused millions of people to get displaced, however this report brings out how prior to earthquake there was huge under development in the region and this earthquake just opened the window to this part of Kashmir which was always ignored.

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[176] http://www.doctorswithoutborders.org/article/msf-resumes-activities-jammu-and-kashmir

[177] HRW (2006), With Friends Like These [online: web] URL: *www.**hrw**.org/reports/2006/pakistan0906/2.htm accessed on 23rd November,2014*

[178] Shabir Choudhary (2006), *Emma Nicholson and EU Kashmir report,* Asian Tribune [online: web] URL: http://www.asiantribune.com/index.php?q=node/3652 accessed on 19th May,2014.

International Agencies after 2005 Earthquake

On October 8, 2005 earthquake with the magnitude of 7.5 on Richter scale struck the capital of the Azad Jammu and Kashmir. It had major implication on the Indian side also. Muzaffarbad was reduced to ruins. Around 47,321 people were killed, 33,136 seriously injured, 2578 education institutions and 334 health facilities were destroyed[179]. Another report claims that around 70,000 were dead and 74,000 were injured in 'AJ&K, thus making around 3 million people homeless (Schaffer 2005:30).

To help people recover from the devastation caused by the earthquake a number of international organisations helped. Among them ICRC[180] played vital role in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the earthquakes areas in Pakistan Administered Kashmir. The provided helicopter operation and supplied emergency aid and supply to the people. The bitter cold made the situation more badly. The Red Cross medical team all over the world came up. The people were flown by helicopters. The situation was desperate. ICRC reached to the remote villages, artificial limbs were provided, around $5.2 million fund was raised to help the victim[181]. The health care was managed by the staff from Japanese and Finish Red Cross societies along with German Red cross[182]. The Pakistan Red Crescent Society (PRCS)[183] led 'Karwan-e-Muhabbat' (convoy of love).

On the Indian side of LOC the losses were comparatively very less. Almost 1,300 people were killed and 30,000 families were displaced[184]

International response in this earthquake was immense. According to IRIN humanitarian news and analysis, Saudi Arabia announced emergency package of US $133m for infrastructure

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[179] State EarthQuake Reconstruction & Rehabilitation Agency(SERRA), 'Azad Jammu and Kashmir' [online: web] URL: http://www.serra.gov.pk/ accessed on 23 May,2014.

[180] ICRC, Saving Lives [online: video] URL: http://www.icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/audiovisuals/video/00890-pakistan-saving-lives-kashmir-video-2005.htm accessed on 19th Feb,2014.

[181] http://www.icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/audiovisuals/video/00890-pakistan-saving-lives-kashmir-video-2005.htm ,Saving lives in Kashmir

[182] http://www.icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/feature/2005/pakistan-stories-261005.htm

[183] Pakistan Red Cross Society [online: web] URL: http://prcs.org.pk/prcs/?p=867 accessed on 19th Feb,2014.

[184] The New York Times [online: web] URL: http://www.nytimes.com/2005/10/19/international/asia/19quake.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0 accessed on 22 March, 2014.

projects in Pakistan; it was the largest donations. Britain Department for International Development (DIFD) raised around US $130m for reconstruction, Disaster Emergency Committee (DEC), UK- based organizations generated huge amount of aid for this. Moreover NATO completed its first disaster relief operation involving ground troops for 90 days, France contributed Airbus with 41 of France's emergency medical agency (SAMU) personnel as relief aid.UK based NGO Oxfam, Action Aid with many local NGO were providing relief to the people UK based NGO Oxfam, Action Aid with many local NGO were providing relief to the people[185].

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[185] IRIN humanitarian news and analysis [online: web] URL:http://www.irinnews.org/in-depth/34377/6/pakistan-a-chronology-of-response-to-the-south-asian-earthquake accessed on 28th Febuary,2014.

Conclusion

Human Security is an approach that looks at security in a comprehensive way. In the study it has been shown that human security understands security as amenities or guarantees that are necessary for the well being of people. From all the debates and definitions of security it has been settled that security is related with many dimensions of society. Even the so called national security can be enhanced and improved if 'security' is given a human touch in real sense of the term. It does so and adds dimensions to foreign policy and national security at four levels:

❖ Protection of the most vulnerable segments of a population;

❖ Achieving global security;

❖ Addressing threats from both military and non-military sources;

❖ Recognizing the role of the non-state actors (Heinbecker 2000:3)

Human Security is a unique framework that includes all the dimensions of security; it includes the traditional meaning of security while at the same time emphasizing the recent threats like terrorism from non-state actors. Besides it treats welfare as an important part of governance and thus rights, development, affirmative action, and people to people contact is inherent in its conception. It particularly is important in understanding and resolving conflicts with which this study is particularly concerned. As largely conflicts result from the failure to achieve an egalitarian order, human security provides an interesting opportunity to resolve them by addressing the securities of people and making notions like sovereignty, borders, regional imbalance and so on as obsolete.

In order to complete such a project, in this study, two regions are taken as case study to analyze various challenges across the Line of Control. The actual situation of securities on ground is understood along with the historical and political factors that shaped these regions are analyzed. It has been found that a number of insecurities are prevalent and less has been achieved in terms of Human Security Index. The region has been particularly caught in insurgency and counter insurgency situation particularly in Kashmir Valley which has seen the worst of it. In short following observations and conclusions can be drawn from the study:

Threats to Political Security

People across the border live in fear and rights are denied particularly civil rights. For example in Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir exceptional laws like AFSPA have led to human rights violation and rights like freedom of expression and association has been limited and abrogated. Similarly Azad Kashmir has become a haven for counterinsurgents and freedom of expression that tries to show disaffection towards Pakistan has been denied or curbed. Besides the areas near the borders has been particularly the worst hit. People on the borders on both sides are affected by the skirmishes. They live under heavy military presence

The insurgency period in Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir has been particularly cruel to people; it has resulted in the enforced and involuntary disappearances, around 8,000, around 70,000 deaths, fake encounters and custodial deaths (IPTK, 2009:37). But in 'AJ&K' similar sort of problems were reported by Human Rights Watch Report of 2006. The Intelligence agencies commit torture with impunity. Many Kashmiri[186] detainees are tortured every day. According to the Azad Kashmir Rehabilitation Department, there are 29,932 registered refugees who crossed over from Jammu and Kashmir State in India in 1989-91[187]. These refugees were welcomed by Pakistan government at the time on the pretext that there is serious human rights violation in J&K but at last they themselves ended up violating the basic rights of the people[188]. Besides there are also Disappearances in Pakistani-held Kashmir: Reports indicate that dozens of people are missing after their arrest by the intelligence agencies operating in Pakistani-held Kashmir - Azad Kashmir. Persons are arrested and disappeared if they refuse to join or try to leave the forces engaged in the "Jihad" inside Indian-held Kashmir or don't provide information to the intelligence agencies about the movements of people across the border control line*[189]*.

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[186] Here the Kashmiri referred to all those Kashmiris' who have crossed border in 1989 and they hold the refugee status even till now.

[187] Official figure provided by the office of the rehabilitation commissioner, AJK government, to Human Rights Watch, August 2005

[188] For further see , the Human Rights Watch Report of 2006, "*With Friends like these who needs Enemy*" along with it the BBC Urdu has documented the list of disappeared people available at http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-21614733.

[189] http://www.alrc.net/doc/mainfile.php/hrc15/636/

Under Development

Both sides of Kashmir are very underdeveloped. There are quite large variation in the infrastructure and development. The J&K has three airports at all three main regions; Jammu, Leh and Srinagar. However, the Srinagar airport was upgraded to international airport while 'AJ&K' has only two domestic airports whereas there is dire need of international airport. Health care infrastructure in both the region is very deficient. 'AJ&K' population is one bed per 1327 people whereas in Jammu and Kashmir it is 868[190]. During insurgency period around 828[191] schools were destroyed and this sense of the insecurity affects the health of the people so is high rate of suicides and psychological disorders.

The unemployment rate is very high in both J&K and 'AJ&K'. The physical infrastructures in both these regions remain inadequate to cater the needs of the people. The hospitals infrastructure is very weak. The insurgency period in J&K lead to destruction of many schools in valley. The military spending across the region remains higher, thus less is spend on the general services.

The literacy rate in both the regions have improved while recent census of 2011 states the total literacy rate of J&K is 67.16% (India's average is 74.04%) whereas in 'AJ&K' as per 2012 it is 65% (Pakistan average is 58%). J&k is the only state in India where education is free at all levels despite this the average literacy rate is less than national level. Thus in literacy rate 'AJ&K' is doing much better than literacy rate at the national level, while on the Indian side of state of Jammu and Kashmir the region is not at par with the National level.

The water remains to be the major boon for the prosperity and development of these regions. However, it still remains an unexplored area. . The hydro electric power generation is the greatest capability of these regions, however it remains unharnessed. 'AJ&K' has total capacity of almost of 8134.82 megawatts whereas only 647.30 MW is explored. J&K is potential of generating 20,000 MW hydro powers but only 10% (16480MWs) has being exploited. Thus the power generating infrastructure remained insufficient in both regions. Though both regions

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[190] see, "National Human Development Report 2001", Planning commission, Government of India,p.259, http://planningcommission.nic.in
[191] this figure is available at that jammukashmir.nic.in/govt/edu.htm

have capacity to generate hydro-electricity which can cater the need of the India's and Pakistan but it still remains unexplored.

Community Security (Threats to Minorities)

In the state of Jammu and Kashmir the insurgency period led to displacement of minority community of Hindus. The growth of Islamic radicalization along with the selective killings of prominent people from the minority community inculcated fear, thus leading permanent displacement of the people. In 2000, 35 Sikhs were killed in Chittisinghpora village, Kashmir Valley. It has been fourteen years now, no one knows who killed them.

Women in any conflict face the highest brunt of the conflict. The Kunan Poshpora mass women rape by one battalion in 1991 and till recently 2008 Shopian rape case are just few instances of violence against women. In this study it was found that while many rapes are documented, however many of them remain un-reported. The armed men and terrorist organizations took the advantage of the conflict and led thousands of women as half-widow and thousand children as orphans.

In 'Azad Jammu and Kashmir' constitutionally Islam has been formalized as Islamic region, thus giving very less space for other communities. Article 3 of the 'AJ&K' Interim Constitution Act of 1974 has declared Islam to be the state religion and disqualified the non-Muslims to contest elections. Besides, when Mangla Dam was constructed thousands of people were displaced and they were also not compensated properly. Such decision led to uproar in Mirpuris community, who constitute important role through their remittance. The Kashmiris or people who crossed the LOC in 1990's from valley are in miserable condition as they have been granted the refugee status and are not considered at par with the local citizen. Freedom house report of 2007 disclose that 88,000 people died and 100,000 were injured in this massive earthquake, the two government were accusing use each other over the territorial sensitivities rather than cooperating for relief in this difficult terrain.

Environmental Insecurity

The ongoing conflict often has overshadowed other important issues. The conflict has equally affected the environment. In state of Jammu and Kashmir there are world famous fresh water lakes including Wular Lake which is Asia's largest fresh water lake. There are reports of pollution and other threats. Similarly, the famous Dal Lake around the Srinagar city is on the verge of extinction. The raw sewage from houseboats and hostels around Dal Lake has polluted it. In recent years under the pressures of various civil society groups the J&K High court has issued directions for the state assembly. The wildlife which include the famous Kashmir stag or Hangul along with many other wild animals has declined in recent years due to deforestation by the locals or by encroachment by military forces for building camps.

It's unfortunate that the famous Srinagar city which is surrounded by lakes, rivers, springs but local people even lack the access clean water. Likewise in 'AJ&K' people don't have proper access to water. The corruption and nepotism on these Border States makes the life of the common people vulnerable and miserable.

As one of the region in the Himalayas it is considered to be one of the most seismic regions prone to all natural disaster which makes its population very vulnerable. The 2005 earthquake led to killing of thousands of people across the border. Probably it seems that disaster have tendency to make even border irrelevant.

Food Insecurity

J&K is deficit in production of food grains to cater the growing need of the population. Similarly Azad Jammu and Kashmir is deficient in food, The 'AJ&K' ranks very low in food security, region is considered to be among the most insecure regions. On the other hand the J&K is though not doing well but relatively in the Indian context it is considered to be moderate zone.

Given all the kinds of insecurities present in both Kashmir's one cannot deny the progress made in improving the lives of people. One can but argue that the division of the formerly princely cut it from it's from traditional economic destinations that it was linked to; that is it historically carried the trade with the Central Asia through the Silk route. The line of control disrupted the organic ties both economic and emotional of the two regions. However, of late the

Cross LOC trade has been started though in a very restricted manner. There are about 21 items in which trade is carried and the system of exchange is barter; currency is not used. The bus service has been started in 2005 under Man Mohan Singh Govt. All these are positive initiatives to help the region develop and reduce the enmities between the two nation states. But all this shall be done to address the developmental needs of the people. Such an approach has a tendency to prompt the two states to arrive at some solution to the region and stop the cycle of violence.

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