

## **A Study on Jammu and Kashmir Present, Past and Views of Students on Article 370 Abrogation**

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**Abstract:** This paper looks at the issues faced by the students of Kashmir owing to ongoing armed conflict broke out nearly two years after holding of the state elections of 1987, which many believed were blatantly rigged to ensure defeat of candidates of the Muslim United Front so as to facilitate win of NC-Congress candidates. The conflict resulted in killings of more than one lakh people in J&K. The armed conflict resulted in regular curfews, crackdowns, search operations, arrest, torture, rape, custodial killings, and disappearances of youth, firing, pellet shelling and the execution of draconian laws like PSA, AFSPA and POTA which in turn gave birth to different kinds of violation. According to wire service, Kashmir News Observer, in an affidavit filed before the Supreme court of India, the Ministry of Home affairs has revealed that the highest number of incidents of violence were recorded in 1995 and lowest in 2003. In this paper, we chose 400 adolescent students using simple random sampling from Kashmir valley for examining the impact of armed conflict and abrogation of Article 370 on students life. Recently, Government of India bifurcated Jammu and Kashmir state into the Union Territories of Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh. A number of writ petitions were filed in Supreme court of India challenging the abrogation of Article 370. The study reveals that issues like joblessness, identity crises, mental stress etc., are all offshoots of violent conflict. The respondents under study in majority were against the abrogation of Article 370 and believed that it will increase the differences between the Government of India and the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The group discussion revealed many painful stories. The people in group discussion revealed that handful of corrupt people who had no sympathy with their mother land or people of the area spoiled the image of Kashmiri people for their personal benefits. The people in power were enjoying life because of their dual policy. The current study was based on Kashmir, it opens a broader debate of the impact of violent conflict on students worldwide.

**Keywords:** Conflict, Student, Kashmir, Academic Performance, Health, Statistics

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### **Introduction**

History of Kashmir, as a subject is very attractive. The name of Kashmir as per folk etymology, means 'desiccated land'. A great source of history of Kashmir, Rajatarangini, tells us that Kashmir valley was formerly a lake. The great Mauryan emperor Ashoka is often credited with having founded the city of Srinagar. The city of Jammu was founded by Raja Jamboolochan in 14<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Kashmir once a beautiful country, a great seat of learning was known to ancient Greeks and Romans. It was once known as paradise on Earth, borders with India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, USSR and China. The earliest known inhabitants of Kashmir were Nagas around 2000 B.C. The Khasas, Dars, Bhuttas, Damars, Nishadas etc appeared later. Kashmir was ruled by several dynasties, the first known king of Kashmir was Gonanda. His successors were weak. The more known rulers after Gonanda-II were: Ashoka (273-232 B.C.), Kushan dynasty (around 100 C.E.), Mihira-kula (515-550 C.E.), Karkota dynasty (631 C.E.), Lalitaditya (724-761 C.E.), Avantivarman (855-883 C.E.), Uptala (upto 939 C.E.), Vyasaskaradeva (939-949 C.E.), Parva Gupta (949 C.E.), Ksema Gupta (950-958 C.E.), Didda (958-1003 C.E.), Samgramaraja (1003-1028 C.E.), Ananta (1028-1063), Kalsa (1063-1089 C.E.), Harsa (1089-1101 C.E.), Uccale (1101-1111 C.E.), Jaya Simha (1128-1155 C.E.), Bopadeva (1171-1286), Damra dynasty (1286-1320 C.E.), Rinchana (1320-1323 C.E.), Shah Mir (1339-1342 C.E.), Shihab-ud-Din (1354-1373 C.E.), Qutub-ud-Din (1373-1389 C.E.), Sultan Sikander (1389-1413 C.E.), Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-1470 C.E.), Mirza Haider Daughlat (1541-1551 C.E.), Chak dynasty (1561-1586 C.E.), Mughals (1586-1753 C.E.), Afgan's (1753-1819 C.E.), Sikhs (1819-1846 C.E.), Dogras (1846-1947 C.E.).

### **Kashmir Conflict in brief**

Islam was introduced in Kashmir by a simple faqir or friar, named Bulbul Shah, whose simplicity and piety impressed the reigning sovereign of the time, Rinchan or Rinchana. The spread of Islam in Kashmir has been generally peaceful and was not introduced in Kashmir by any conqueror like Mahmud or Muhammad-bin-Qasim. Islam gradually became the dominant religion by 14<sup>th</sup> Century C.E. in Kashmir valley. The Muslims and Hindus lived in relative harmony and generally Musjids and temples were construct in neighbourhood. The Hindus and Muslims both were respecting the local saints and often visit together same shrines. A number of

Kashmiri rulers, such as Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Zain-ul-Abidin (1423-1474 C.E.), were tolerant of all religions in a manner, comparable to the great Mughal ruler Akbar. The Kashmir upheaval goes back to 1585 when the last Independent Kashmir ruler Yusuf Shah Chak was invited by the Mughal Emperor Akbar to Delhi. The Mughals arrested him and forced him to live a life of solitary confinement at a remote village in Bihar (India), where he ate his heart away in sole distress and breathed his last. Akbar after facing two times defeat in the battle field, cheated the King of Kashmir and killed a very pious King of Kashmir mercilessly, took over the charge of Kashmir and extended his kingdom to the plains of Himalayas. In 1886 C.E. Kashmir lost its independence. It is unfortunate that many times when the natives (Kashmiri) falling foul with their rulers invited the neighbouring Kings to sit on the throne of Kashmir. This character of Kashmiri people has caused a great damage to Kashmiri's itself (people who helped them later on crushed them). Since 1586 people of Kashmir, Muslims and Non-Muslims launched movement of Quit Kashmir under different names. Mughals ruled Kashmir from 1586-1753 C.E. After Mughals Sikhs ruled Kashmir from 1819-1846 C.E.. With the decline of Mughal Empire in India and the advent of British rule, J&K also came under the rule of British before that it was ruled by Sikhs (1819-1846 C.E.). When Punjab and other states including J&K was taken by the British, they made Gulab Singh the Maharaja of J&K and gave it to Dogras on lease for the period of 90 years i.e., from 1846-1936 C.E. and in turn charged the sum of rupees 40 lakhs to the Dogras. It should be noted that Gulab Singh did not buy or own J&K but he was dependent on British Government as records suggest (Treaty of Amritsar, March 14, 1946). British Government would declare the next King in Kashmir as that was their policy in the early conquest of India (Doctrine of Lapse). This shows J&K was indirectly under the occupation of British. In the year 1925 C.E., Maharaja Hari Singh become the ruler of J&K state and introduced a series of reforms in the field of education, economy and social infrastructure. Kashmiri people especially Kashmiri Pandits launched a movement known as 'Kashmir For Kashmiris'. Due to result of this movement, Raja Hari Singh passed a Law on 31 January, 1927 known as 'STATE SUBJECT LAW' imposing restrictions on the entry of non-Kashmiris in government services, and on the sale of agricultural land to them. The contentious issue of Kashmir has been a constant in India-Pakistan relations since the independence and partition of British India in 1947. There were riots in 1947 in India. The modern states of India and Pakistan resulted from the division of the British Indian Empire in 1947, left a bitter rivalry and hostility. At the time of Independence, the Princes ruling the 560-some Indian states were given the choice of joining India or Pakistan. Most Princes quickly decided based on their geographic location and the religious majority. India ended up with a Hindu majority and Pakistan with Muslim majority. Pakistan's predominately Muslim population was physically separated by 1,000 miles of India between West Pakistan and East Pakistan. The state of Jammu and Kashmir was a problem at the time of partition of India in 1947 as its Muslim, Hindu and Buddhist communities lived in relatively distant areas, with the Muslims inhabiting the Kashmir valley adjacent to Western Pakistan. No doubt it is nearly impossible to divide any country into two parts on the basis of religion. The problem of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) is actually created by the British. The Maharaja (Hari Singh) who ruled J&K at the time of partition wanted full independence, but British refused to allow the independence of J&K or its partition. The Maharaja of J&K with an area of J&K 222236 sq km and whose boundaries touch China (East and North East), Pakistan (West), Afganistan (North West), Himachal Pradesh and Punjab (India) on South, with a Muslim majority signed a one-year 'stand still' agreement with India and Pakistan to maintain the status quo. On October 15, 1947 M.C. Mahajan was appointed as Prime Minister of J&K and Raja Hari Singh offers friendship to India and Pakistan. On October 20, 1947 Bakshi Tek Chand, retired Judge of Punjab High Court was appointed to frame the constitution of the independent J&K State. Soon, the tribal people of Pakistan called Qabalis entered Kashmir to capture J&K. They were 10 kms away in the area of Shalteng from capturing the city Srinagar. Maharaja left the Kashmir and sought timely help from India to throw out Pakistani Qabalis from Kashmir. India didn't offer him help and asked that the leader of the state should give permission. The prominent leader of Kashmir at that time was Sheikh Abdullah (founder of National Conference) and he waved the green flag to Indian Army to enter Kashmir. Maharaja Hari Singh and Sheikh Abdullah the popular Muslim leader of Kashmir at that time ask Nehru (Prime Minister of India) for Military Assistance. The instrument of Accession for the state of J&K was signed by Maharaja Hari Singh on 26<sup>th</sup> October 1947 but inserted a clause into the agreement to ensure Indian Jurisdiction remain confined to defense, external affairs and communications. It was reported that these clauses were meant to safeguard to his own sovereignty (Akbar: 135) as Maharaja had to deal with Pandit Nehru, Prime minister of India and Sheikh Abdullah, who consistently opposed him for over twenty years (Schofield, 2010). On 27<sup>th</sup> October, 1947 Indian troops landed in Kashmir and the deal was based on Accession, Autonomy, and Plebiscite. In response to Maharajas request Indian troops entered J&K and sparking the first India-Pakistan war (1947-48). The war ended after the intervention of United Nation. In 1948 ceasefire line was established following war. Kashmir was broken into different parts due to this war (IAK (Indian Administered Kashmir), PAK (Pakistan Administered Kashmir)). The Area under PAK (Pakistan Administered Kashmir); 78, 932 sq.km., Area illegally handed over to China by PAK; 5,180 and Area under illegal occupation

of China (occupied in 1962 war); 37, 555 sq.km. The conflicts turned one of the beautiful place in the world into hell. The map is shown as under:



The people of IAK were given assurance that their will be Plebiscite once there is peace, Article 370 was Employed and people of Jammu and Kashmir were given autonomous state having their own constitution, flag and prime minister. The article 370 of the Indian constitution after opposition of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was drafted by Gopaldaswami Ayyangar, trusted by Shri Pandit Nehru and Maharaja Hari Singh (Thapliyal 2011). The special status governing J&K state was due to the special conditions of its accession to India coupled with military conflict that had overtaken it immediately argued by Gopaldaswami Ayyangar. The history of J&K revealed that the Constitution of J&K cannot be amended in respect of the provisions of Article 370 by the state legislature and Centre cannot revoke Article 370 without the recommendations of the J&K's Constituent Assembly. The Constituent Assembly of J&K ceased to exist in 1957 hence the revocation of Article 370 cannot be done without an amendment of the Constitution of India. The veracity of a special status was being heatedly debated within India and Kashmir. Infact, the gradual erosion of Article 370 by a series of Presidential orders had left only a shadow of the original article till its abrogation on 5<sup>th</sup> August, 2019. The main political figures who are linked with Kashmir dispute are Maharaja Hari Singh, Lord Mount Batin, Ali Muhammad Jinnah, Pandil J.L. Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah.

The United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) made three visits between 1948 and 1949 to the subcontinent, trying to find a solution agreeable to both India and Pakistan. The United Nation brokered a cease-fire on 11 January 1949. The cease-fire agreement called for the withdrawal of all Pakistani forces and most Indian forces prior to United Nation (UN) sponsored plebiscite on the future of Jammu and Kashmir. A UN peace keeping force deployed to the area where it remains today. The people of Jammu and Kashmir want the Indian-Pakistan dispute over their land settled justly by considering the wishes of the people of J&K.

India and Pakistan fought number of wars directly or indirectly over Kashmir (1948, 1965, and 1971). The Line of Control was re-established after 1971 Bangladesh war. The armed conflict in Kashmir started in 1989. The

Kashmir conflict is linked with 1999 Kargil war, Riots 1992, 1993, 2002, 2006 etc. The Kashmir conflict not only deteriorated the social setup, mental health (Monidipa Banerjee et al., 2014) but also the economic conditions (Sehgal, 2011). According to a latest report since January 1989; 95, 238 Kashmiris, including 7,120 in custody, were killed, 11,107 women molested or disgraced, 109, 191 residential houses and other structures damaged, at least 8, 000 people disappeared in custody, the eyesight of over 2,830 youth including girls has been partially or completely damaged due to the pellet firing by armed forces. Jammu and Kashmir has nurtured a long conflict which entered into an armed phase in 1989, creating a culture of violence. Jammu and Kashmir has been a flash point between India and Pakistan for more than seventy years and it is one of the most dangerous disputes in the world; in the worst-case scenario, it could trigger a nuclear conflict. War is a costly endeavour, whether external or internal. Kashmir for the last 30 years, has fallen into a near civil war situation. Daily protests on streets with tens of thousands people marching, calling for independence have now long been the order of the day in Kashmir. The survey conducted by international humanitarian organization MSF reports that almost half of the population of Kashmir valley is mentally ill. In presence of laws like PSA, AFSPA etc there is increase in Human Rights violations. Thousands booked on different charges because of conflict. The conflict in Kashmir resulted at fast rate Family breakdown, family conflicts, unemployment, late marriages, orphanage culture, etc. There is increase in anti- social activities like drugs use among youth of Kashmir. Jammu and Kashmir is still the Crux of the rivalry between India and Pakistan as both countries spend huge amount of their budget on their defense.



### **Literature Review**

In this paper, the literature review focused in two parts; positive development of youth and affects of conflict on youth.

Quinn, 1995, reported that there is a need for proper atmosphere for academic achievements.

Robertson, 1997, reported that Youth with good physical and mental status can donate strongly to the progress of their nation, rather than those with troubles or at high risk.

Naqshbandi, 2011, reported that conflict has increased the number of orphans and many of such orphans left their schools at primary or middle school level to fetch their family needs in Kashmir.

Sofiya, 2012, reported that conflict bring the enormity of loss and suffering to description in cold statistics, conflict in any form especially armed conflict always affect the youth.

Grove et al., 2005, reported that there are cases of psychological and social unhealthy behavior of youth in areas affected with conflict.

Dar, 2011, reported that many youth are lying in jails and many are still missing, which resulted to the depression of their family members and sufferings too. In the light of above studies, we conducted the present study with the following objectives:

- To examine the Kashmir conflict in historical context
- To examine the attitude of students towards Importance of Article 370 and its Revocation
- To examine the psychological and other issues pertaining to students due to conflict.

### **Materials and Methods**

In this paper, a well-designed interview schedules were used to collect the data from 400 students selected randomly from different higher educational Institutions of Kashmir valley to assess the impact of ongoing conflict on attitude of students. The intention and process of the study undertaken was explained to the students to get their approval. The interview schedule was developed after intensive literature review, referring of previous interview schedules and questionnaires and discussion with scholars. Additional research was conducted by group discussion, telephone, email and in meetings with NGOs and Government officials. In

order to shield victims and others who might face reprisals by any side for talking against them, names and information that may identify them were held. The data was collected using primary as well as secondary data and analyzed using appropriate statistical tools. The results were presented on the basis of the information collected from the students and group discussion in fair manner as much as possible without any bias.

**Results and Discussion**

The data presented in Figure 1, shows the distribution of study population as per the characteristics Gender (Male=50%, Female=50%), Subject chosen (Arts=52.50%, Science=47.50%), Education Status (Pursuing Graduation=50%, Pursuing Post Graduation =50%), Residence (Urban=55%, Rural=45%) and Economic Status (Middle class=94.75%, Lower class =5.25%). Statistically, nonsignificant difference was observed in demographic variables under study ( $P>0.05$ ).

Table 1: General Information about the studied population

| S.No. | Characteristics  | Type                     | Frequency | %     |
|-------|------------------|--------------------------|-----------|-------|
| 1.    | Gender           | Male                     | 200       | 50.00 |
|       |                  | Female                   | 200       | 50.00 |
| 2.    | Subject          | Arts                     | 210       | 52.50 |
|       |                  | Science                  | 190       | 47.50 |
| 3.    | Education Status | Pursuing Graduation      | 200       | 50.00 |
|       |                  | Pursuing Post Graduation | 200       | 50.00 |
| 4.    | Residence        | Urban                    | 220       | 55.00 |
|       |                  | Rural                    | 180       | 45.00 |
| 5.    | Economic Status  | Middle class             | 379       | 94.75 |
|       |                  | Lower class              | 21        | 05.25 |

The data presented in Table 2, reveals that in response to statement 1, i.e., Are you fully aware of history of Kashmir, 94.0% male and 92% female respondents reported that they are aware, in response to statement 2, i.e., Are you aware of the fact that Kashmir was an independent country, 100% respondents male as well as female reported that they are aware, in response to statement 3, i.e., do you feel conflict in Kashmir has made youths life difficult to sustain in today’s world, 94.5% male and 95.5% female respondents reported that they are aware, in response to statement 4, i.e., do you feel youth living in conflict zone face identity crisis, 93.5% male and 91.75% female respondents reported that they are aware and in response to statement 5, i.e., do you feel prevailing situation in Kashmir has negative impact on youth, 96.5% male and 97.5% female respondents reported that they are aware. Statistically, nonsignificant difference was observed in responses of male and female respondents with respect to all statements ( $P>0.05$ ).

Table 2: Awareness about history of Kashmir and present Kashmir conflict

| S.No. | Statement   | Gender | Yes (%)    | No (%)  | No idea (%) | Chisquare | P-value |
|-------|---|--------|------------|---------|-------------|-----------|---------|
| 1.    | Are you fully aware of history of Kashmir?  | Male   | 188 (94)   | 8 (4)   | 4 (2)       | 0.843     | >0.05   |
|       |   | Female | 184 (92)   | 12 (6)  | 4 (2)       |           |         |
| 2.    | Are you aware of the fact that Kashmir was an independent country?                          | Male   | 200 (100)  | 0(0)    | 0(0)        | NA        | >0.05   |
|       |   | Female | 200 (100)  | 0(0)    | 0(0)        |           |         |
| 3.    | Do you feel conflict in Kashmir has made youths life difficult to sustain in today’s world? | Male   | 189 (94.5) | 7 (3.5) | 4 (2)       | 0.230     | >0.05   |
|       |   | Female | 191 (95.5) | 6 (3)   | 3(1.5)      |           |         |
| 4.    | Do you feel youth living in conflict zone face identity crisis?                             | Male   | 187(93.5)  | 4 (2)   | 9(4.5)      | 1.273     | >0.05   |
|       |   | Female | 183(91.5)  | 3(1.5)  | 14(7)       |           |         |

|    |   |        |            |         |         |       |       |
|----|---|--------|------------|---------|---------|-------|-------|
| 5. | Do you feel prevailing situation in Kashmir has negative impact on youth? | Male   | 193 (96.5) | 3 (1.5) | 4 (2)   | 0.353 | >0.05 |
|    |   | Female | 195(97.5)  | 2 (1)   | 3 (1.5) |       |       |

The data presented in Table 3, reveals that in response to statement 1, i.e., Are you in favour of Revocation of Article 370, 97% male and 94% female respondents reported that they are against it, in response to statement 2, i.e., can Revocation of Article 370 change status of Kashmir issue, 94.5% male and 93.5% female respondents reported that they are against removal of article 370, in response to statement 3, i.e., Do you feel Jammu and Kashmir will develop after Revocation of Article 370, 92% male and 90.5% female respondents reported that they are aware, in response to statement 4, i.e., do you feel Jammu and Kashmir leadership is responsible for the present situation in Kashmir, 89.5% male and 91% female respondents reported that they feel poor leadership is responsible for present crisis and in response to statement 5, i.e., Do you feel Revocation of Article 370 will increase armed conflict, 90.5% male and 77.5% female respondents reported feel it will increase armed conflict. Statistically, nonsignificant difference was observed in responses of male and female respondents with respect to all statements except statement 5. The reason may be women folk of Kashmir in majority do not take much interest in politics.

Table 3: Attitude of students towards Importance of Article 370 and its Abrogation

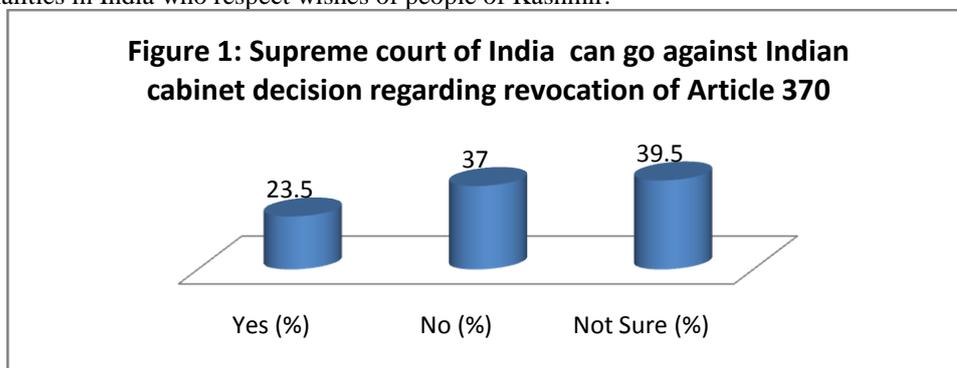
| S.No. | Characteristics   | Variable | Yes (%)    | No (%)     | No idea (%) | Chisquare | P-value |
|-------|---|----------|------------|------------|-------------|-----------|---------|
| 1.    | Are you in favour of Revocation of Article 370?   | Male     | 2 (1)      | 194 (97)   | 4 (2)       | 2.217     | >0.05   |
|       |   | Female   | 3 (1.5)    | 188 (94)   | 9 (4.5)     |           |         |
| 2.    | Can Revocation of Article 370 change status of Kashmir issue?                                 | Male     | 7(3.5)     | 189 (94.5) | 4(2)        | 0.683     | >0.05   |
|       |   | Female   | 10(5)      | 187(93.5)  | 3(1.5)      |           |         |
| 3.    | Do you feel Jammu and Kashmir will develop after Abrogation of Article 370?                   | Male     | 8(4)       | 184(92)    | 8(4)        | 0.891     | >0.05   |
|       |   | Female   | 7(3.5)     | 181(90.5)  | 12(6.0)     |           |         |
| 4.    | Do you feel Jammu and Kashmir leadership is responsible for the present situation in Kashmir? | Male     | 179(89.5)  | 17(8.5)    | 4(2)        | 0.293     | >0.05   |
|       |   | Female   | 182 (91)   | 15 (7.5)   | 3(1.5)      |           |         |
| 5.    | Do you feel Revocation of Article 370 will increase armed conflict?                           | Male     | 181 (90.5) | 11 (5.5)   | 8(4)        | 15.936    | <0.01   |
|       |   | Female   | 155 (77.5) | 14 (7)     | 31(15.5)    |           |         |

The data presented in Table 4, reveals that majority of the respondents (54.75%) reported that Kashmir conflict result in killing of our any family member or relative, 86.5% respondents reported that life and honour of people is unsafe due to ongoing conflict in Kashmir, 40.75% respondents reported that we or any of our family member was tortured or humiliated, 80.25% respondents reported that they have witnessed encounter, 61.75% respondents reported that they are worried about their future in Kashmir and 96.75% respondents reported that they feel armed conflict in Kashmir had effected health of people. According to the survey (2015) conducted by international humanitarian organisation Médecins Sans Frontières or Doctors Without Borders (MSF), 1.8 million adults in the Valley show symptoms of significant mental distress and women in the Valley are more afflicted by mental distress than men. The conflict also resulted in increase in drug addiction and at present more than 70 thousand is involved in drug abuse out of these drug addicts around 26% are women folk.

**Table 4: Impact of Kashmir conflict on people of Jammu and Kashmir**

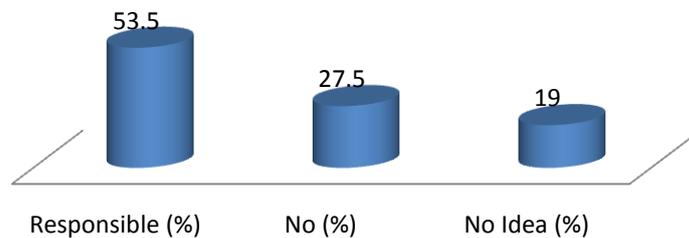
| S.No. | Characteristics  | Response    |             |             |
|-------|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|
|       |  | Yes (%)     | No (%)      | No idea (%) |
| 1.    | Does Kashmir conflict result in killing of your any family member or relative? | 219 (54.75) | 144 (36.00) | 37 (9.25)   |
| 2.    | Do you feel life and honour of people is unsafe due to on going conflict?      | 346 (86.50) | 13 (3.25)   | 41 (10.25)  |
| 3.    | Do you remember you or any of your family member tortured or humiliated?       | 163 (40.75) | 121 (30.25) | 116 (29.0)  |
| 4.    | Have you witnessed any encounter?  | 321 (80.25) | 72 (18.0)   | 7 (1.75)    |
| 5.    | Are you worried about your future in Kashmir?                                  | 247 (61.75) | 41 (10.25)  | 112 (28.0)  |
| 6.    | Do you feel armed conflict had effected health of people?                      | 387 (96.75) | 8 (2.0)     | 5 (1.25)    |

The data presented in Figure 1, reveals that 23.5% respondents believe that Supreme Court of India can give decision against cabinet decision regarding revocation of Article 370, 37% reported against it and 39.5% respondents were not sure. In group discussion, a good percentage of people still trust that there are great personalities in India who respect wishes of people of Kashmir.



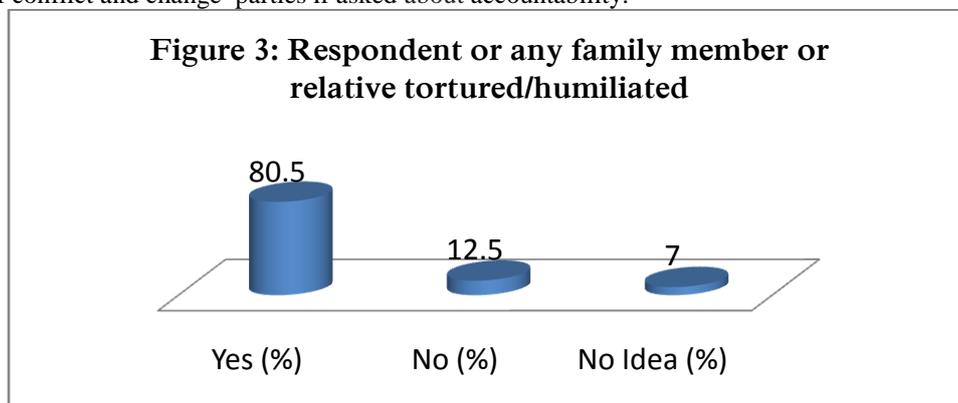
The data presented in Figure 2, reveals that majority (53.5%) of the respondents were of the opinion that leadership of Jammu and Kashmir is responsible for the present crisis, 27.5% respondents believed leaders of Jammu and Kashmir are not responsible and 19% respondents reported that they have no idea about work of leaders. The respondents reported that leaders in majority were involved in corruption and betrayed the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The study revealed that a number of so called leaders were affiliated with number of parties for personal benefits. Recently, the daughter of Ex CM of JK requested Govt to shift her to other place outside Jammu and Kashmir as in Kashmir it is very cold. On chair the same Ex CM was ignoring requests of helpless people who approach her against illegal detentions of their dear ones. It was permissible during her rule to book any family member in place of anyone. It was routine matter that in place of one brother other brother or in place of son father was kept in Jail/hostage on any charge. The respondents in one voice wanted end of exploitation of corrupt people. The respondents believe that few leaders may again betray society by changing their party.

**Figure 2: Leadership of Jammu and Kashmir is responsible for present crisis**

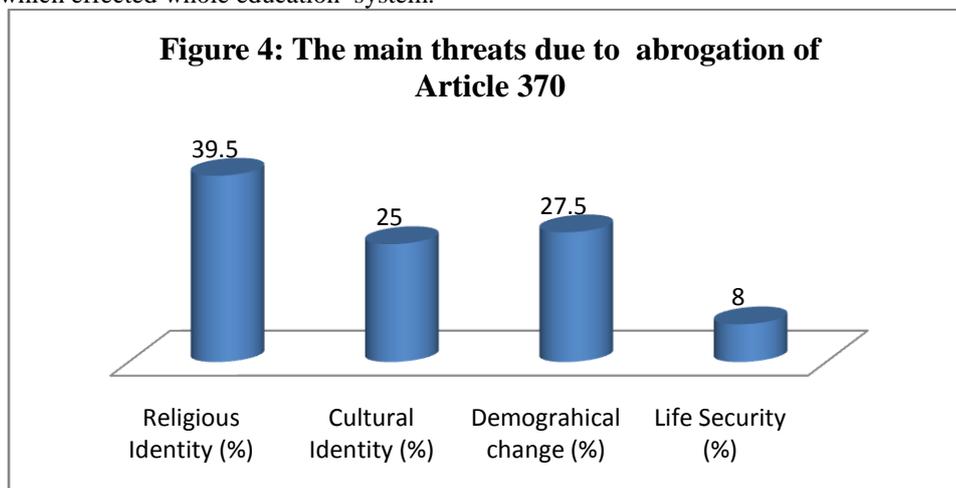


The data presented in Figure 3, reveals that majority (80.5%) of the respondents reported that they or any of their family member or relative were forced to tolerate torture/humiliation simply for being resident of conflict zone, 12.5% respondents reported they were not tortured and 7% reported that they have no idea about torture of their family or any relative. The respondents reported that in general every person living in Kashmir faced torture/humiliation. It is very important to report that goons made life of common people hell as they had links with powerful people. Even goons using self designed Sharia courts and other goons centers to crush helpless people. This can be verified from courts of Kashmir where a number of cases exist because of fraud futwaas issued by so called Ullemas/Mufties who are working with goons and double cross people. The self styled grand mufti Naser as per google was enjoying life in foreign countries without beard upto 50 years now enjoying support of some politicians and so called Hurriyat supporters, double cross people like Inam (P.A. of Engr Rashid, Indian politician presently in Jail for terror funding case) son of G. Nabi (worker of Mirwaiz) issuing futwaas of his choice to show dominance. The said self styled grand Mufti even hire goons of his locality and use them as witness to defend his false futwaas. The fact can be verified from the courts of Kashmir valley where a number of cases because of him are listed daily for hearing. In various sweet names like Fallah committee etc a number of goons especially retired Govt employees, few among them even never entered Musjid for prayer during their youth, enjoy creating fuss in the society using their old contacts. In one group discussion it was reported that a person (Hamid Khan, alongwith retired teacher (Bashir Master), retired JK Bank Manager (Shola Sahb), Irfan etc of Srinagar), member of some fraud committee were involved in more than 60 divorce cases using goons and even using their children's as false witness to create fuss between families for money or for their madness. In group discussion people in majority want end of false courts from Kashmir that exist in the name of religion and people also wish the punishment of fraud people under relevant sections of law who disturbed society and forced innocent peoples to courts under false cases. The people of downtown area living anywhere presently link themselves with Awami Action Committee (AAC) to show dominance without having any idea about the life of founder of this Committee (Shaheed Mirwaiz Farooq), who never succumbed to any pressure, intimidation, or threats. Mirwaiz Muhammad Yousuf Shah, uncle of Moulvi Muhammad Farooq had to migrate to Pakistan after few years of the birth of Mirwaiz Moulvi Muhammad Farooq (December 14, 1944). Mirwaiz Muhammad Yousuf Shah was a simple great scholar, an honest sober person, never accepted gifts from his followers or supported any corrupt. People still respect Mirwaiz family because of their enormous contributions to Muslims, in general, and Kashmiri people, in particular. A great Islamic scholar once told me Mirwaiz Muhammad Yousuf Shah never touched any unknown women and once he refused to take part in marriage when unknown women's throw sweets on him. He was following Sharia in practical life and never encouraged anyone who was not following it. Imam Hai who is leading the prayer in Jamia Musjid Srinagar and whose family has been leading the prayers in Jamia Masjid since Budshah's times shared many stories about Mirwaiz Muhammad Farooq and his son present Mirwaiz in an interview which in detail is out of context here. Syed Sahib is all praise for Mirwaiz, Moulana Farooq Sahib. He refuses to compare Mirwaiz Umer Farooq to his father. "There is simply no comparison. Umar Sahib has to go a long way to achieve that stature," he said. The divine leadership is not for transgressors and tyrants but it is for righteous and just people. There are numerous sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) that teach us to obey the men of piety and virtuosity. Muslims are guided by Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) not to accept tyrants, corrupt people and evil-doers as their leaders or rulers. The Islamic democracy, which is based on freedom, equality, peace, progress, justice and piety and is enacted through general elections means the election of pious, honest and just people. The modern Islamic scholars on leadership reject nomination and support elections. In group discussion people in majority wish end of fraud futwaa centers, and double cross

people, the real enemies of Kashmir. The criminals link themselves with self designed committees taking advantage of Kashmir dispute and force innocent people to accept their dictates. The author share his personal experience that few Mullas of Kashmir earn lakhs of rupees by issuing fraud futwaas or by creating fuss in the society. The big example is that of self styled grand mufti of Kashmir who associate himself to various parties for personal benefits. Recently, he hide his board of supreme court which he was using alongwith goons to misguide public in the name of religion. In group discussion it was also reported that goons (male as well as female) are given so much of freedom that they even dared to sell Musjids on their choice and adjust people from other countries in Govt departments of Jammu and Kashmir. The group discussion revealed many stories which shows politicians in power were ignoring law of the state. Illiterates who were their party workers were gifted with Govt jobs. The group discussion also revealed that people in power enjoying stay in Posh colonies of Srinagar since decades, still earning jobs on backward certificates. The land to tiller policy created havoc as people possessing virtually nothing are now holding hundreds of Kanals of land and enjoy in dominating people of city, the real owners. Sheikh Abdullah was popular among villagers because he supported land to tiller policy. It is noticed that few trusts/NGOs spend crores of rupees on building of Musjids or houses of poor or helping victims but the criteria of choosing people for financial support and availability of amount of funds to these agencies is a mystery. It is important here to mention about the qualities of a Muslim leader. The great Muslim leader Abubakr (R.A.) in his first address as head of the Islamic state, told the Ummah: I have been chosen to rule over you, though I am not the best among you. Help me if I am right; correct me if I am wrong. There should be accountability, the great Muslim leader Abubakr (R.A) further stated that "Obey me as long as I obey Allah and His prophet; if I do not obey them, you owe me no obedience". In Kashmir leaders take advantage of conflict and change parties if asked about accountability.



The data presented in Figure 4 revealed that as per students understudy the main threats due to abrogation of article 370 are religious identity (39.5%), demographical change (27.5%), cultural identity (25%) and life security (8%). The students in majority feel that life in Kashmir will be tough in future than earlier. The decades of conflict in Kashmir effect academic performance of students and it will be difficult for students of Kashmir to compete students of other states of India for job. In Kashmir we observe frequent strikes, curfews and e-curfew which effected whole education system.



### **Conclusion**

Jammu and Kashmir remained the center of conflict between Pakistan and India since 1947 who fought three wars over Kashmir. The nature of Kashmir conflict was different until 1989, with the downfall of the Soviet Union, India as its closest associates got affected and in 1989 uprising in Kashmir forced India to install huge armed personals in the civilian areas of Kashmir valley, this move made civilians helpless and many lost their lives, became disabled psychologically as well as physically (Sehgal, 2011). The research shows that there are almost 81 Indian soldiers for every square mile of the contested region, including in school areas, and 95 percent of the soldiers are neither Kashmiri nor Muslim, thus harboring “hardly” any sympathy for Kashmiri youth. The population of Jammu and Kashmir forms only 1.04 percent of India as per census 2011. Conflict effects students especially girls who have experienced the largest rates of dropouts. The youth enroll themselves into armed conflict due to political disturbance, ideological, social, community or family reasons, peer pressure, love for freedom and revenge. The Kashmir conflict has affected in every aspect of life, hundreds of youth lost their lives, their beloved ones and many youth are languishing in different jails inside the state or outside the state, detention centers and so many youth became psychological and physically disabled due to the use of excessive force. It is also observed that conflict broke down tradition community structure, disintegrated cultural norms and coping mechanism. Conflict gave birth to hundreds of goons (double cross people) who work together as vulture team to crush common people. The research summing up with an urgent need to develop a comprehensive, integrated and decentralised mental health programme in the Kashmir Valley aiming at both, prevention and treatment. Seminars and Group discussion among students in educational institutes can help in understanding the problem and peaceful ways of solving this issue. The central Indian Government must ratify the International Convention for the protection of all persons. In group discussion all respondents in one voice wish peaceful solution of Kashmir issue and support return of Kashmiri Pandits to their home land without any condition as they are part of Kashmir history and culture. Since last three years the drop out students after 10<sup>th</sup> showed increasing trend and students from poor families are suffering in academics due to conflict. The students are paying heavy price in this conflict zones, education gets affected by the day to day curfews, restrictions and bandhs. Students get less number of working days and their syllabus and other assignments doesn't get completed in the stipulated time. Lot of children have lost their vision due to pellet injuries, some total loss of vision and some have been affected partially. Our economy, our tourism and other developmental activities are suffering due to conflict. It takes a heavy toll on our human resource and our young generations especially our young boys and students, professors, engineers, and others get killed either by taking extreme step by picking gun or in a cross fire or some encounter. The people of Jammu and Kashmir state showed maturity after revocation of Article 370 as they protested against this decision peacefully and believed Supreme Court of India will support them. In Kashmir since August 5, 2019 due to protests and e-curfew businessman and students suffered most. Jamiat Ullemai Hind and Shiv Sena Chief Mohan Bagat were of the opinion that revocation of Article 370 against the wishes of Kashmiri people is not good. In general the good people of India and Pakistan respect the wishes of people of Kashmir and want peaceful solution of Kashmir issue which is important for the development of this region.

### **Suggestions for Policy Implication**

- The suggestions given will aid to improve lives of youth in the conflict hit zones in general, and also will help out to build peace and safeguard to women and children.
- Conflicts must be avoided at first place, for that matter resolution of conflict via peaceful discussion should be preferred.
- The United Nations declarations and all the international treaties must be appreciated by the nations in the large concern of human beings who come under it.
- In conflict zones, the economic security should be provided to the citizens so that their fundamental needs can be fulfilled.
- Human rights law prohibits extrajudicial executions, torture and enforced disappearances. In conflict zone children and women folk should be given due respect and safety by Government and Non-Government agencies. The goons and double cross people should not be given any freedom to attack helpless people.

- Proper counseling should be done to the children by their elders, teachers time to time about various social issues, so that their chances falling prey of conflict can be reduced.
- In conflict zones, trainings of various vocational skills should be provided to youth so that in difficult times they find it easy to earn their bread and butter.
- In conflict hit zones people should be freely permitted to perform their social, religious, cultural activities, so that feeling of belongingness can be formed.
- In conflict zone, people economically sound should be counseled to help needy as generally youth from poor families pay the huge prize for the conflict.
- The state of education in Jammu and Kashmir, due to the decades of conflict, is in a state of dismay. A main priority for Indian and Pakistani governments should be ensuring safe access to education, alongside the de-escalation of the conflict and the banning of explosive weapons, pellets etc.
- The researchers suggest prioritizing primary healthcare during and after conflicts and training healthcare professionals to focus on both the cheapest and effective ways to prevent heart disease as living in a war zone are associated with an increased risk of heart attack and stroke among civilians.

### **Limitation of Study**

The sample size in view of the heterogeneity of the population was small for the present study. The respondents in majority were afraid of filling the questionnaire and a good number of students withdraw their name from the study.

### **End notes**

On Kashmir conflict much has been printed. In addition to reports, journalistic columns, documentaries and films, the list of books is a never-ending one. For a selective reading, one can look at *The Struggle for Kashmir* (1953) by Michael Brecher (New York: Oxford University Press), *The Kashmir Problem: A Historical Survey* (1966) by Alastair Lamb (New York: Praeger) and *India and Pakistan: Continued Conflict Or Cooperation* (2010) by Stanley Wolpert (Berkeley: University of California Press).

**Acknowledgement:** The author's appreciative students for taking keen interest in present study and providing their feedback. Further, the author thank Ms. Nusrat, IMFA, University of Kashmir, Mr. Rehmatullah Khan and Mr. S.A. Zargar for sharing their knowledge related to topic under study.

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