

IDENTIFYING THE PARAMETERS OF MILITARISATION IN KASHMIR VALLEY- LOCATING THROUGH THE PRISM OF HUMAN SECURITY APPROACH

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Abstract

The valley of Kashmir is marked with one of the most complex situation wherein on the one hand two nuclear powers i.e, India and Pakistan are involved, while, on the other hand, the people of the valley of Kashmir has developed alienation against the Indian federal rule. Also, the valley has witnessed intensive militarisation resulting in various issues of human security, however there are still difficulties to identities and lay down demarcation in precise manner. It's here theoretical nub to enter into comprehending and analysing these emerging phenomena. In this context, the study would tend to render our understanding of Kashmir valley and its challenges posed by intensive militarisation on the path of ability (or inability) to lead a life as one wish. The central concern of human life has been absence of violence that otherwise imposes severe restriction. But, the paradigm of militarisation prevailing in the valley of Kashmir allows the examination of the numerous challenges of human security. Within this framework, the paper would map the various parameters of Human Security challenges prevailing in the valley of Kashmir as well as try to examine the adequacy (or inadequacy) of the concept of Human Security in capturing the nuances of the Kashmir valley.

Keywords: Human Security, Kashmir, Militarisation, Violence, Freedom

Overview and Background

Militarisation is the process by which the approaches as well as the presence of the military are made normal but at the same time, the non-violent civilian methods to achieve economic and political ends are side-lined. It is thus a socio-political process by which the individuals or political systems either adopt militaristic beliefs, values and presumptions or become increasingly dependent upon, affected and controlled by the military (Repo 2006). The militarisation is a complex process that can exist at all levels of society i.e, between states, between communities and between people. For instance, the relations between two countries can be militarised, as during the Cold War between the two power blocs-US and the USSR (Venables 2013). The concept of militarisation is based on the belief that creating and maintaining of peace and order mainly depends upon it. At the global level, the agencies of the state i.e, the military and the police are duty-bound to secure and protect the lives and property of the citizens, continue to maintain the most significant control over all the modern means of violence. However, it generates the arms race that involves sacrificing of social welfare objectives in favour of defence expenditure as well as training of young people to risk lives vis-à-vis practice violence in the name of attaining the higher objectives (Repo 2006). On the other hand, the military poses a grave threat to the very citizens as they remain often involved in curbing the people's rights. As a result, the people either became victims or aggressors or both (Hook 1996).

After the end of Second World War and more particularly with the decline of colonial powers, the new nation-states began to emerge. During this period, the concept of state security mainly centred on the external threat that was assumed to be predominantly military in nature. It was mainly based on the realist paradigm under which states mainly relied on the military power to

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protect their political stability, territorial integrity and sovereignty (Goss 1999). Also, the states demanded the consolidation and possession of military forces in order to deter and resist attacks from rival powers. Under such circumstances, it became inevitable to develop, exercise and maintain the military power and thus the military power evolved to be an important constituent of national security.

However, after the end of cold war and bi-polar rivalry, the focus of attention shifted from the military centric notions of security to non-traditional security concerns and as such the conception of human security came into existence. The human security approach contends that the challenges and threats to security transcend national defence as well as law and order, to encompass all issues including political, social and economic that guarantee a life free from fear and risk. As such, the individuals attained prominence in security discourse (Hussein, Gnisci and Wanjiru 2004). But, this could not have profound implication for the countries of global south. Many Asian countries like India, China, North Korea, Iran and Pakistan still embarked on military and nuclear programmes (Bracken 1999). As compared to western countries, the domination on military lines in the global south was not exclusively commanded by the external threats but largely by the wide range of non-military factors.

Thus, the role of military in most of the states of global south are not limited only to external challenges but rather to neutralise the domestic challenges of such states. Although, the nature of these challenges are diverse but these states approach such challenges through military means rather than institutional and thereby gives military increasingly political role. The interference of military in the domestic matters is subjected to direct violence² against civilians as Kumar (2001) pointed out that “the very fabric of social life is tom by violence against civilians”. Thus, the presence of military in internal matters of state affect the social, economic and political set up of societies.

In the context of India, it primarily rejected the normative icons of militarisation and committed itself to the principles of peace and disarmament. But, the military defeat in 1962 at the hands of China gave a severe blow to Indian political elites which make them to realise that military power was of utmost importance and could not be sacrificed for other interests or concerns. Under these circumstances, India enhanced its military capabilities with an objective to project India as a militarily powerful nation. Apart from this, the attempt to unite India around secularism, progress and modernity had created many insurgencies in India like the Khalistan movement, Naxalism, Maoism, Kashmir issue etc. To counter with these problems, India deployed its military within the civilian areas. As Cohen (2004) pointed out that in 1984, there were around 40 million civilians living under military rule, if not under military law and thereby making India as one of the world’s largest military dominated states. Also, the Indian armed forces remain the busiest peacetime army fighting internal wars besides no wars from past more than fifteen years. Nearly one-third of the Indian army is engaged in countering insurgency operations and if paramilitary forces are added to this, there will be around fifty percent of the armed forces deployed against civilians (Navlakha 2000).

The valley of Kashmir witnessed militarisation for external defence as well as the use of the armed forces for domestic repression that has transformed the valley into a source of deep insecurity for the people which had largely undermined the democratic ethos. However, the valley observed an extensive militarisation in the early 1990’s due to the rise of militancy which mainly evolved by the political failure on the part of Indian government. As against this,

²Direct violence by the military against civilians include arbitrary arrest and detention, extra-judicial killing, enforced disappearance, sexual harassment, torture and custodial death.

the Indian state responded by categorising the valley as a 'disturbed region' and administered it through a legal provision of special laws like the Disturbed Areas Act, Public Safety Act (PSA) and the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA). These special provisions authorise the Indian state to deploy a massive apparatus of over 700,000 military, paramilitary and police personnel. Presently, the militant phase of the struggle has passed away as there are only few hundred militants active in the valley as per the state officials but still the security forces (military) are stationed with the mission of maintaining law and order and thereby creating insecurities in everyday life in the valley. The presence of high ratio of troops to civilians makes the valley as one of the most militarized places in the world and producing an everyday experience of embattlement, of living life under siege and under occupation (Hoffmana & Duschinski 2013).

On the other hand, the conception of human security evolved in 1994 with the publication of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Report presents a paradigm shift in the discipline of security studies, which goes beyond the traditional or state-centric national security and drawing attention to human lives and human freedom from fear and want (Fakiolas 2011). The analysis of Human security intends to look at threats to fulfilment of basic values in the lives of people. It aims to reorient the use of the prioritizing concept 'security' towards providing and securing basic needs of ordinary people (Gasper and Gomez 2015). The idea of Human security was embraced by some of the middle powers like Japan, Canada and Norway as a guiding principle of their foreign policies. After the 9/11 attacks and the War on Terror, the conception of human security has been clearly acknowledged as an option in the rhetoric of the major powers (Gomez 2012).

In Asia, the conception of human security gained momentum in the mid-1990s and more particularly after the Asian financial crisis in 1997, the concept appears to have taken an impetus of its own. It has become a part of the security lexicon in the region, and some of the regional organizations like the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) have started adopting the concept of human security in their official statements. Also, it has been used to frame many of the complex security issues challenging the region, mostly non-traditional security issues like food security, resource scarcity, health security, energy security, climatic change and migration. This kind of development is very significant especially with the type of climate prevailed in the region (Anthony 2015).

In the context of India, two Human Security projects were developed with the purpose of providing specific tools that enable policy makers to address Human Security challenges, one was in 2007- 2008 in India's northeast region regarding conflict and development. The other was in 2008-09 in Orissa on the growing naxalite insurgency. Both studies have been undertaken in the context of development and conflict relation, given the fact both areas are conflicted ridden (Acharya 2011). As human security concerns are more apparent in conflict ridden areas, therefore the valley of Kashmir provides an ample ground to look over these concerns. Also, the Kashmir valley remained as a contentious issue between India and Pakistan on the one hand and also witnessed the uncertainty in terms of social, political and economic factors since its merger with India in 1947 on the other hand.

Conceptual Understanding of Human Security

The concept of human security makes a paradigm shift in the study of security studies by placing the security of individuals at its centre and not the states. It shifts the focus of security away from the nation-state level and beyond armed conflict to emphasis on other threats affecting human life and survival. A human security approach intends to emancipate the communities as well as individuals from security priorities imposed from outside either by the

state or non-state actors, by permitting various actors to identify the reasons of insecurity and demand them to be addressed. The conception of human security came into prominence in the 1994 with the UNDP Report (Mcduie-Ra 2009). It is broadly associated with the security of people- their physical safety, their economic and social well-being, respect for their dignity and worth as human beings, and the protection of their human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The UNDP Report also pointed out few aspects of Human Security domains such as economic, political, environment, community, food and health security. Human Security embraces not only the threat of life in the course of war and conflict but also the political liberty, economic opportunities as well (UNDP Report 1994). Among the international organisations, the United Nations has been at the forefront of this debate, according to which: "Human security must stress of people, not only of nations..... The concept of security must change - from an exclusive stress on national security to a much greater stress on people's security, from security through armaments to security through human development, from territorial security to food, employment and environmental security" (Waisova 2003). Thus, the ultimate objective of Human Security is to safeguard the vital core of all human lives from critical pervasive threats, in a way that is consistent with long term human fulfilment. Human Security takes its shape from the human being; the vital core that is to be protected (Alkire 2003).

The conception of Human Security is broadly based on two notions i.e, freedom from fear and freedom from want. The former view propounded by Canada stresses on the safety of people from both violent and non-violent threats, freedom from pervasive threats to people's rights, their safety or even their rights (Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy 2007). The later view articulated by Japan focuses on the security designed to protect people from threats to their livelihood and dignity such as poverty, diseases and environmental degradation. These two countries have proclaimed it the guiding principle of their foreign policy (Ibid).

The significance of human security can be understood in three ways. Firstly, human security takes away the referent object of security from the state to scrutinise insecurities arising at various areas as well as among various groups within and across the national boundaries. It highlights that narrow conceptions of security may hide several forms of insecurity faced by different groups at various levels. Secondly, it acts a staunch critique of orthodox conceptualisations of security. It suggests that secure the states can contain insecure peoples, vis-à-vis the narrow conceptions of security can generate insecurity themselves. Therefore, the notion of human security challenges orthodox approaches as well as calls for a reconsideration of what constitutes security. Finally, human security creates an opportunity as well as possibility for local and smaller actors to define what constitutes a security threat, by which the alternative conceptions of security can be articulated from the 'bottom up'. Thus, it is only through the human security approach that the agency of civil society actors is essential for making insecurities visible to other actors with the capacity of addressing them (Mcduie-Ra 2009).

The meaning and implications of the conception of human security can be broadly understood under three approaches. The first approach to human security is rights-based approach also called as rule of law/ human rights approach focuses on legal rights and rule of law. Its focus of concern is the promotion of rule of law, democratic system of governance as well as securing of fundamental human rights. The second approach called safety of people approach (sometimes described as freedom from fear) is centred on the protection of people from violent threats and also in viewing economic despair, social injustice and political instability. It primarily focuses on securing the moral and legal rights of citizens in times of violent conflicts and war. It considers war as the greatest threat to human security. The last approach to human security is termed as sustainable human development approach (also referred as freedom from want) is

associated with the UNDP Report of 1994 and includes within its ambit a wide range of security issues like economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political security (Hampson and Daudelin 2002). The mentioned approaches makes it clear that the focus of attention and concern of human security is the individual, rather than the state.

In contemporary times, the advocates of human security approach illustrate three important aspects of the debate. First and foremost, the human security should be understood as an 'instrument' of national strategic priorities as it provides the way of reducing the human costs of violent conflict. Secondly, it should be treated as a 'strategy' to enable governments to address basic human needs as well as to balance the inequalities of globalisation. Finally, it offers a 'framework' to address vulnerabilities and risks by providing social securities to people living in deprived conditions vis-à-vis to those who experience severe and sudden economic crises.

Militarisation and Human Security in Kashmir Valley

Since India's independence in 1947, one of the major region namely Kashmir valley has been the conflict prone area within national boundary as well as at the international level, leading to four conventional wars. Conventionally, Kashmir has been viewed from bringing peace through military intervention. It is estimated that in 2004 around 500, 000 to 700, 000 military personals were stationed in the valley with roughly one soldier for every ten civilians and approximately 57 soldiers per square mile. The presence of such a huge armed forces make the Kashmir as the most militarised and dangerous place in the world (Kazi 2007). The stationing of the Indian military and paramilitary forces in the valley of Kashmir has worsened the situation as it is the security personnel who often becomes the root cause of the problem. The key features of militarisation include human rights violations, economic stagnation, administrative failure, educational backwardness, police brutality, identity politics and so on. Also, the military personnel have no sympathy as well as real understanding of the local culture or for local religious sentiments, thereby leading towards more complexities (Mukherjee 2014). As Roland Simbulan points out that militarisation is the process of using the military to suppress the people's just demands for a humane society. It logically connotes human rights violations by the physical presence or even saturation of soldiers, a situation which, to the general perception, implies and results in coercion. The main pretext of militarisation is the achievement or maintenance of political stability, national security or other similar goals but whose real purpose is the maintenance of the regime in power (Kazi 2007).

The parameters of militarisation in the valley of Kashmir are established by a series of emergency provisions like the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA), Public Safety Act (PSA), Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Act (TADA), Disturbed Areas Act (DAA) and the Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA). As a result of these special powers and the impunity granted under these acts, thousands of people were killed and migrated, the livelihoods were destroyed and the people were forced to live in an atmosphere of uncertainty and fear (Qutab 2012). Under the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Act of 1987, a person is denied from basic rights such as the right of the accused to be informed of the charges against him. The act also permits even low ranking officers in the civilian security forces the right to use violence without the permission of higher authorities (Jones 2008).

Apart from TADA, the most controversial law prevailing is the AFSPA which grants the armed forces some extraordinary powers like the power to arrest and enter property without warrant and to fire upon or otherwise use force, even to the causing of death, against any person who acts contrary of any law or order if the armed personnel believes it necessary for the maintenance of public order. The intensive militarisation in the valley of Kashmir authorised by

the AFSPA establishes conditions of a legal civil war against civilians and in practice dominates the administration of everyday life in the state. Also, the military ethos and values through this act have become dominant throughout various structures and institutions of the state like the judicial process, law enforcement and civil society. Under the AFSPA, the Kashmiris live in a state of constant fear of arbitrary arrests, sexual harassment, enforced disappearances, torture, and custodial deaths vis-à-vis have become the permanent prisoners of the state. By the prevalence of these cruel atrocities, the Kashmiris refer to their homeland as an occupied zone, a garrisoned state, a bunkered territory, and not an occupied territory (Duschinski 2009). In addition, the PSA which is only applicable to the state of Jammu and Kashmir and under which a person can be detained for the period of two years without any trail vis-a-vis the detaining authority does not disclose the facts of detention. Under this act, estimates of the number of detainees in the last two decades could range from 8000- 20000 (Singh 2011).

With the intensive militarisation as well as in the presence of these acts, it is estimated that over the past two decades, a death toll of over 70,000; detention of more than 60,000 civilians; torture of nearly 20,000 detainees and enforced disappearance of 8,000 have been witnessed in the Kashmir valley (Navlakha 2008). Also, there are around 63 interrogation centres in Kashmir run by the military and para-military forces where torture has been carried out. The army camps, hotels and several other buildings have been taken over by the armed forces as detention centres (Schofield 2000) vis-à-vis continues to occupy civil buildings like the migrant houses, hotels, office buildings, industrial areas, cinemas, college hostels and so on. These interrogation centres remain beyond the judicial scrutiny and thereby making it nearly impossible for the Kashmiri people to ascertain the whereabouts or welfare of those who have been in custody or have simply disappeared (Kazi 2007).

The militarisation in the valley has also resulted in forced disappearances in order to pressurise men suspected to be militants to surrender, to discourage people from giving aid and shelter to the militants, to intimidate men from joining militancy or simply because they are the only male members at home during crackdowns. But, whatsoever the reasons are, the disappearances left behind a large numbers of indigents, children and most particularly women struggling for survival. There is an estimate that there are around 20, 000 widows of the armed conflict and most of them were very young. However, besides the growing number of widows, the armed conflict has also given rise to many half-widows³. The Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons (APDP)⁴ have claimed that the valley of Kashmir have witnessed more than 10,000 cases of forced disappearances and have been mostly picked up by the Indian military. Between 2000 and 2005, majority of the disappeared persons, were married males and as a result, there are more than 1,000 half widows in the valley (Qutab 2012).

To sum up, it may be assessed that the militant phase of the struggle has passed as the officials of the state currently estimate only few hundred militants in the valley but the intensive militarisation still prevails in the valley and thereby having profound implications on the everyday life of Kashmiri people.

Impact of Militarisation on the Human Security in Kashmir Valley

Since early 1990s, the valley of Kashmir has been the site of a vicious conflict between the Muslim insurgents either demanding independence or accession to Pakistan and the Indian security forces. The Indian forces with their efforts to crush the insurgency have been engaged

³Half-widows are those women whose husbands are missing or have disappeared in the armed conflict and often presumed dead, even though there is no proof of their death.

⁴ It is an organisation established by the relatives of people who have been disappeared after custody.

in massive human rights violations like the extrajudicial executions, torture, rape and deliberate assaults on health care workers. Quoting Hoffmana and Duschinski (2013), the post-1990 conditions of conflict, militarization, curfew and surveillance, the Kashmiri youth are frustrated by the militarization of their society, the fictionalization of their political leadership, and the lack of economic possibilities in their future. More than that, the intensive militarisation has serious impacts on all aspects of day to day life i.e, political, economic and socio-cultural and thereby makes it difficult to live a secure life. It has also transformed the social landscape into an arena of repression and violence.

The presence of high ratio of Indian troops in the Kashmir valley have resulted in massive human rights abuses in the form of disappearances, custodial killings, torture, rape and molestation of women. These violations committed by the Indian forces have been well documented by several human rights organisations such as Amnesty international, Asia watch, People's Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR), People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) and so on. From 1989 onwards, the valley of Kashmir had witnessed over more than 70,000 deaths and 119,789 arrests of civilians. Out of these arrests made by armed forces, 6989 civilians have been killed in the custodians (Tabassum 2012). Although, there is no state of emergency in the valley but still there are around seven lack Indian forces stationed in the state mainly in the valley (Mohiuddin 1997).

The militarisation in the valley of Kashmir has not only resulted in gross human rights violations, but also has set serious setbacks on the educational system. The presence of security forces within and around the schools generates a sense of insecurity among the school going children. It is estimated that seventy nine percent of schools were at a distance of less than one kilometre from the nearest military bunker/camp (Ahmed 2013). Also, the security threats, strikes and arrest of teachers have left the process of educational performance paralyzed in the valley (Rather 2013). During the turmoil years, a student on an average day had to face many hardships in his day today life like sightings of soldiers, military checkpoints and barracks located all around the valley (Habibullah 2008). All this had negative implications on the overall educational system of the valley. Moreover, the violent conflict has resulted in burning of more than 1,000 school buildings vis-à-vis out of a total of five hundred and eighty-five schools in the Valley, two hundred and sixty-two are either occupied by the military or converted into centres for torture and interrogation (Kazi 2007).

The other component of human security i.e, health has been also adversely affected by the militarisation and the ongoing violence prevailing in the valley. Due to the constant threat of violence and chaotic environment, the local people found themselves trapped in a multitude of stresses, disorders like anxiety and post-traumatic as well as high amounts of psychosocial problems. The mental health experts in the valley have pointed out that that there has been a tremendous increase in the number of stress and trauma related cases and the persistence of these psychological problems have in turn given rise to general health problems like cardiac diseases, diabetes and hypertension (Hassan and Shafi 2013). Also, the armed violence has resulted in the loss of thousands of lives or limbs and orphans in the valley. It is estimated that the conflict has caused around 100,000 as orphans (Mcgivering 2000). In addition, the health infrastructure was heavily damaged due to the military-militant confrontations which was already inadequate further added to the miseries and thereby making people vulnerable to health related issues (Amin and Khan 2009).

The heavy militarisation in the valley since the beginning of armed conflict has also usurped agricultural lands and residential areas as well as has taken a heavy toll of the forests. The presence of military and paramilitary forces have established their camps in forests in order to target militants hiding in the area in which the wildlife is becoming target of the combat. Thus,

the human encroachments and operations launched by the military forces led to the destruction of these forests by which state gets deprived of many plants having the medicinal value. In addition, the armed conflict has greatly troubled the flora and fauna of the region due to the huge pressure of the armed forces on the glaciers. Moreover, the Indian forces have often occupied and established their camps nearby the water bodies in the valley. The combined effects of deforestation and destruction of water resources has led to soil erosion which is responsible for frequent flash floods now visible in the state of Jammu and Kashmir (Rehman 2009). Not only the deforestation but the valley has also lost the vast wildlife reserves that provided habitat for some of the rare and endangered species like the snow leopard, antelope, Hangul, blue sheep, black bear and musk deer. In addition to this, it is estimated that over hundred varieties of birds such as quills, eagles, kites, pheasants etc. have been virtually disappeared due to the loss of natural habitat. Similarly, the wetlands, springs, lakes (like Dal Lake, Wular Lake) and water bodies (like Jehlum) have become the victims of apathy (Mahapatra and Shekhawat 2008).

The presence of violent environment in the valley of Kashmir has affected the development by discouraging private investment and thereby pushing the economy towards stagnation. It had also created obstacles in effective implementation of the developmental policies initiated by public authorities. Also, the state is unable to generate its own resource mechanisms leading to further underdevelopment. Moreover, the existence of heavy militarisation under the occupation of vast agricultural lands added nuances to the development and prosperity of the region. Furthermore, it becomes a hurdle in the process of market access. In absence of any developed industrial setup, agricultural sector as being the major source of livelihood for the majority of the people also remained poor and underdeveloped. The lack of progress towards the agricultural sector is mainly because of unorganised marketing facilities and absence of export markets vis-à-vis inefficiency of state government to implement such policies that would have boost this sector.

The valley of Kashmir is having a disadvantageous position in terms of industrial growth and progress and the major industries namely the tourism and handicraft suffered heavy setbacks by the armed conflict in general and intensive militarisation in particular. The tourist spots located in the valley were either partially or totally encroached by army pickets and camps. Also, many of the important historical sites were occupied by Indian military and paramilitary forces including the world famous Mughal gardens. The tourist spots under the occupation of the Indian forces have kept away the local tourists from visiting such destinations. In addition, the tourists were also targeted by various militancy related incidents. Prior to violence, tourism accounted for nearly ten percent of the state's income but during the years of unrest, tourism contributed virtually nothing to the state's economy (Shah, Wani and Mustafa 2013). Also, during 1989-2002, it is estimated that the state mainly the valley lost 27 million tourists leading to tremendous tourism revenue loss (Mahapatra and Shekhawat 2008).

Another important industry in the Kashmir valley is handicrafts providing employment to more than three lakh people but this sector also lost its pace by the chaotic and violent environment in the valley. However, the day to day curfews, hartals and the confrontations between the armed forces and militants has greatly discouraged the growth of this industry. It is evident from the fact that the production of handicrafts in the valley of Kashmir has deteriorated from Rs 1614 crores in 2007 to only Rs 325 crores in 2010 (Ahamed and Yasmeen 2012). Recently, the World Bank has ranked the state of J and K at 30th position while evaluating the performance of economic reforms (Hassan 2016).

The intensive militarisation and the armed conflict in the valley had also increased the poverty leading towards malnutrition and hunger, thereby, creating issues of food security. According to the official estimates, the total estimated Below Poverty Line (BPL) population ratio in the valley is nearly 13 lack people i.e, 21.37 Percent in 2012 (J and K Economic Survey 2012-13). In addition to the poverty, the valley is facing from acute unemployment problems as there are 3, 21,526 unemployed youth in the year 2012-13 (Kathju 2013). This unemployment further resulted in un-meeting of normal social life pushing towards further poverty. Also, thousands of low level educated students with little or no hope for a job drive themselves into terror groups while as thousands of local boys due to the hardships created by military forces turned to militant training across the border (Islam 2014). Moreover, the valley lags behind in terms of the literacy rate as it ranks to the 30th position at the national level.

In addition to the employment problems, the militarisation and the militant-military dichotomy has resulted in extensive damage to the infrastructure of the valley. The basic infrastructure of the valley i.e. roads, communication system, regular power supply and drinking water facilities remained poor in Kashmir (Mahapatra and Shekhwat 2008). The very little or inadequate infrastructure facilities created further nuances to lead a secure life. It is estimate that from 1989 to 2002, over 10729 private houses, 1053 shops, more than 1151 government buildings, over 643 educational buildings, 337 bridges and 11 hospitals have been gutted in some 5268 attacks on infrastructure (Ibid). Also, as per the survey findings, the road length per 100 km in Kashmiris is 35.71 km as against 104.64 km in the country. Comparatively, the communication facility is also inadequate as is evident that there is one post office for a 60 sq. area to the national average of 20 sq. km. The valley of Kashmir is also suffering from acute safe drinking water facilities as it is not available to 45% people in rural areas and 4% in urban area areas (Ahamed& Yasmeen 2012).

The entrenchment of militarisation, conflict and violence in the valley of Kashmir has also deeply affected the human resource. The human resource suffered enormously in the valley of Kashmir due to large displacement of Kashmiri Pandits and Sikhs from the valley as around 55000 Kashmiri Pandits families flee their homes and took shelter in Jammu and elsewhere in the country (Singh 2011). However, the migration of this community which changed their sociological and ecological setting had multiplicity of effects on their living conditions and survival (Dhingra and Arora 2005). Thus, while assessing human security challenges prevailing in the valley, it becomes evident that the intensive militarisation and the violent conflict overtly or covertly has been the dominant factor behind such challenges.

Conclusion

Looking back to the human security in Kashmir valley, no one would claim that the prospect and the condition of human life are under their control. Indeed, numerous challenges and hardships are imposed upon human life; these are not figment of our imagination. So, the key variables –namely education and poverty, of human security are having in the worse record. For instance, the poverty in the valley has not been somehow able to improve; similarly the education, even though one would claim crude measurement, namely Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER), is not as good as other states of India; many times the on-going conflict and militarism has destroyed the school buildings or for months schools are closed. Besides, the major human development indicators (e.g. namely poverty, or unemployment) are not encouraging either, and number of factors would be operating. On poverty level, the valley has large number of people in BPL category in comparison to national average as well as Jammu region. Similarly, the unemployment in the valley has, somehow, been caused by the on-going conflict and disruption. For instance, the geographical location of valley gives edge over other area in term

of developing tourism industries but the conflict and its consequences did not allow developing this sector. Needless to mention, tourism is, usually, understood to be major sector in which large number of employment is being created. But the educated unemployed could not get job due to lack of job prospect. Further, the inadequate infrastructure, e.g. road and so on, has partly accounted for non-development of market. Hence, the economic prospect of state is not as good as it might be supposed.

The major indicator of human security is sense of safety and political liberty but the on-going conflict and militarism has made it hard by unnecessary prison, torture in jail, sexual assaults and many times the rape of women by military forces has become the common feature of the valley, especially after 1990s. As many reports and daily newspapers make it clear, the conflict has been resulted in psychological trauma and pain due to losses of near and dear in the region even many children has been living in orphan; thus the life and its surrounded fear in the valley is paramount and culminated in curtailing the political freedom, e.g. right to protest. Hence it would not be exaggeration to claim that multiplicity of underdevelopment of valley is caused by on-going conflict and heavy imposition of many acts add the wounded the valley.

Throughout the subcontinent's postcolonial history, Indian rule in Kashmir has included militarization, repression, economic deprivation, and indiscriminate violence, including, at various times, the denial of democratic processes, the manipulation of elections, and the jailing of political leaders, most notably Sheikh Abdullah, the "Lion of Kashmir" who dominated regional politics for over thirty years until his death in 1982 (Behera 2000, Bose 2003). Patterns of sustained disenfranchisement and marginalization have entrenched Kashmiri collective feelings of alienation from the Indian state. Kashmiris today use the language of self-determination as a way of demanding an opportunity to express their collective will in relation to their own political future.

Hence, the multi-facet challenges of Kashmir Valley that goes to the core of political realm make human security conception somehow obsolete in the term of state vis-a-vis society at large in which one is overpowered over other. Also, how the flourishing of person could be evaluated in the light of these realities. Since any exercise of evaluation must be difficult task especially if that rest with some of reality in which the shadow of state apparatus is visible. Hence, it is in deeper trap to gauges the process through which people's life unfold in term of opportunity (or flourishing); more so, if one takes the present scenario of human development in valley of Kashmir, it is easy to testify, e.g. the presence of heavy number of unemployed (or underemployed) youth. Needless to mention, the political freedom demand to nurture the countervailing power of other institution of society of which one could be civil society yet the beneath is hollowed by the constant human rights violations and so on. Thus, the paradox of the applicability of human security in the valley of Kashmir becomes apparent.

As most of the solutions offered so far failed to look beyond the interest of both the nations involved, the Human security approach brings a fresh air to the conflict prone region by relocating the security from people's perspective. In this context the human security approach can be used as a tool to understand and offer solutions to the issues of militarised regions across the world in general and the valley of Kashmir in particular.

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