



## A Social and Psychological Approach to Conflict Management in Jammu and Kashmir



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People of the Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) region practiced Hinduism, Buddhism and Zoroastrianism at the time when Islam entered the region. One aspect that remained constant in Kashmir was that in spite of the arrival of foreign Sufi Saints such as Mir Sayed Ali Hamadani, Mir Jaamaluddin Bukhari and Sayed Ismail Shami from West and Central Asia, they did not disrespect the enshrined values of Kashmiri culture and faith of the people; rather they incorporated values of mystique culture of Kashmir and helped in development of indigenous Sufi order, and

Kashmir provides some of the clearest instances of shared religious and social identities, examples of which are to be found anywhere in the world. In the multi-cultural, multi-lingual and multi-religious society, clash of faith, culture and ethnicity did not take place in Kashmir till the 1990s. What has changed in the last three decades that the Kashmiri society has been fractured on religious and cultural ground? Is the root of the conflict in Kashmir hidden in historical, geographical and geopolitical faultiness; or is it a desire for political, social and economic assertiveness of the people over the entire state? If that be so, why there is no anger among the people of Jammu and Ladakh Divisions, as more than any other part of the state are in reality the victims of political discrimination?

The conflict in J&K has internal and external dimensions that are driving the agenda of separatists and Pakistan. Both these dimensions are linked to each other. When intra-state affairs appeared to be settling or on a path to reconciliation, the external dimensions take the centre stage. Line of Control (LOC) violence, infiltration, or provocation on religious or social sphere. One aspect that has remained constant is Pakistan's desire to destabilise the situation by cultural and physical violence. Geo-strategic significance of J&K is also one of the reasons of instability because of its geographic pivot that connects India with Pakistan, Afghanistan, Tibet Autonomous Region, and even the Xinjiang province of China. Key to prevent turbulence in 'Pakistan Occupied Kashmir' (PoK), since it will affect both Pakistan and China more than ever. China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), the flagship project of China that will give strategic communication linkages to the Xinjiang-Uighur Autonomous Region (TAR) could also get affected if there is reversal of threat or uprising in PoK including the Northern Areas. The conflict that is being projected

indigenous movement for self-determination in reality is a case of geo-strategic clash of interests, and people of J&K have failed to see against them by Pakistan and China. The political leadership of J&K is also responsible for providing fault-lines from time to time to Pakistan to give fillip to the instability.

Some other reasons of conflict in Kashmir are political disengagement and lack of institutional responsiveness. There is a difference between alienation and political disaffection. Political alienation is lack of faith in the ruling government and can be set right by voting out a defunct government that loses the trust of the people. But political disaffection is when people lose faith and trust in the democratic institutions of the State, and show no interest in political process since they see it as a tool of oppression. Kashmir was suffering till 1990 from political alienation; but it went into disaffection because none of the political alternatives showed any inclination to restore faith and trust among the people in democratic institutions after another the state institutions collapsed.

### Where are We Heading?

Conflict in Kashmir is caught in a social, psychological, economic and theological web. We need to ask some hard questions like as to why is this conflict? Protracted conflicts often create unbridgeable gap and close the avenues of reconciliation, compromises and concessions in Kashmir? If no, what are the reasons? Answers to these questions is that it is not a conflict that can be fought with weapons and seen as a conflict of mind and perceptions. It must be understood that ideology is important to a conflict. Shared beliefs create a sense of group identity, targets of hostility and enable coordinated actions. Understanding ideology is key to effective conflict resolution and management.<sup>3</sup>

Pakistan has created shared belief among the people of Valley that they are the victims of the Indian State. What we need to understand is that political war and people are the centre of gravity. No one may be defeated in this war, but none will be victorious if it continues to exist. The establishment should be to defeat the ideology and strategy of the separatists and the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI). At this stage, rather we are losing loyal constituency of right thinking population in Kashmir because we are unable to mobilise intellectual elites and create a social and psychological paradox. On the other side, Pakistan has been able to project and portray it as artificial scarcity of religious and political freedom in J&K. It has instilled collective religious and societal fear among the population from a Hindu majority nation. Proxies of Pakistan have created a sense of war between the government and the people. As a consequence, the conflict has spread from physical domain to cognitive domain. The impressionable mind of youths has become polluted. The tools that can deal with this kind of warfare are visible governance, grievance redressal, societal reconstruction through education and participation of intellectual elites to moderate the anger among the youth. For some reason, this has been left uncontested by the state.

Who is fighting this war and who is the enemy of the state? If people are not the enemy then who is the enemy? The crux of the conflict resolution lies here. No nation can win a war of perception by defeating its own people. In the ultimate analysis, people should win. The ideology of fracture should be defeated. While India is fighting and eliminating terrorists, Pakistan is eliminating the idea of India in Kashmir. One of the operational gaps in response is that India may have retained the geographical expanse, but it is fast losing demographic expanse. This highlights the inadequacy in understanding conflict in Kashmir and docketing it as a case of Pak sponsored terrorism. Terrorism is only a creation of space for war of perception.

Why people of Kashmir are behaving irrationally? The Kashmiri society has been under stress for the last 300 years. They felt betrayed when Yousuf Shah Chak was imprisoned in Agra, and subsequently by the Dogra rulers. Sheikh Abdulla sold the dreams of a life better than the present, especially after Government of India accepted the Article 370 and a sense of entitlement and 'why not me first' crept in the minds of even the youth. When the aspirations did not meet the actions of newly formed state, it led to a sense of betrayal and sowed the seeds of disaffection, and Pakistan took the hilt. From being a privileged society, Kashmiris were made to believe by the polity of Kashmir and Pakistan as victims of the political process. As the society is under stress and under perceived threat of losing exclusive identity, it loses the sense of belonging to the state.

Pakistan was aware that Sufism, shrine, *Kashmiriyat* and the intellectual elite of Kashmir were the biggest impediments in the path of terrorism. The biggest harm that Pakistan did to Kashmir was that it destroyed the intellectual elites that often gave course correction to Kashmiri society. Physical threat, coercion, and a narrative build that shaped an opinion that India had created a self-serving intellectual elite who are against Islam in Kashmir. With no elite able to steer the society out of this mess, Kashmir went into the hands of the Wahhabi and *Jamaat* ideologues. Liberal Sufi Islam, democracy and enshrined values of *Thus* a conflict between the people and the state was triggered with theological manipulation.

Success of the government in anti-terrorist operations is not in elimination of terrorists and their modules, but to dry out the pipeline of violence by cutting up arms. The task to prevent or dry the supply line of potential terrorists and the support system is in fact the responsibility of the state, including political leadership, administration, society and robust law and order system. Even if a single youth joins the terror rank, it is in a system which has lost faith of the people. Thus most important task at this stage is to dissuade youth to join terror ranks.

Political disaffection among the masses comes when the feeling of powerlessness, cynicism and lack of confidence in the political process takes root in the public psychology. It takes root when politicians and democratic institutions refuse to interact or be answerable to the citizens of the state. Such a situation in Kashmir has come primarily due to the political disengagement. Disaffection will continue to rise unless political engagement and people become centre of gravity for conflict resolution. There is a danger that anger could become ideology, and political bankruptcy could become rallying point for complete civil disobedience.

### Way Ahead

It took Pakistan three decades to destroy whatever belonged to the people and society in terms of cultural and historical heritage in Kashmir. It is a miscalculation to expect that situation can be reversed in a couple of years by handing over the problem to the security forces. First issue is to restore faith in the political process.

reverse order to assess what has been lost in Kashmir and to work on a recovery plan. Second, if loss is in social, cultural and psychological, application of military power as a lead agency would be an incorrect strategy.

Pakistan's Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR) has managed to carry out human terrain mapping in the Kashmir valley. To create it has been applying coercion, gratification, religious affiliation, and deterrence to manipulate perception of the people. The big question is that the parties can make use of social engineering and Artificial Intelligence to influence vote bank, why is it that Government has failed to carry out mapping of people of J&K till now? There is an urgent need to carry out ideological, political and communal mapping of citizens of conflict. In the absence of such a data, it is not possible for security forces, perception management experts and interlocutors to carry out meaningful deal with the separatists and proxies. No tangible results will be forthcoming if such modern tools are not used to counter the Pakistani machinery. It will be disastrous if we continue to work with outdated methodology of word of mouth and experience without even digital happening in the dark web and how perceptions of people are being manipulated? The dated approach is unlikely to find a way ahead because things are changing at a rapid pace. Those who were at the helm of affairs yesterday have no political or public space left today. If Russia could win without going to a war, why can't India win war of perception in J&K? If Estonia could fight back state-on-state cyber and information war, why can't India do the same to Pakistan in J&K? It's the time for India to look at technology to fight the Kashmir war with modern tools, not systems largely dependent on human intelligence and past experience.

India should fight war of perception and narrative in PoK and in Pakistan, and not just in the Kashmir Valley. Psychological, cyber and intelligence, not pure military operations, and if this capability is not leveraged in time, state will continue to react to Pakistan sponsored non-state actors. Government has equipped the military to possess such capabilities, nor have the professionals in intelligence and bureaucracy geared up to the concept and potential of hybrid war. Rather than just devoting its entire energy on kinetic or conventional force to gain temporary tactical victory, having any impact on cognitive domain and public conscience, the military should add focus on non-kinetic military operations to defeat hybrid war.

The endeavour should be to fight against the root causes of terrorism and not the symptoms of terrorism. Most terrorists in J&K are ill-educated. In fact, the majority come from middle class and ordinary backgrounds.<sup>5</sup> As in many West Asian Nations, the problem in Kashmir mosque is the only outlet for mass politics, the outcome is often Islamisation of dissent.<sup>6</sup> Terrorism has multiple causes. Attempts to develop a typology of terrorism or generic profiles for terrorists are often misleading. An ideal breeding ground for recruitment emerges when various economic, political, and psychological factors come together.<sup>7</sup> Thus it is vital that instead of fighting terrorism, state must find ways to counter radicalism with human development<sup>8</sup>.

## Conclusion

Edward Luttwak had said, "Insurgents and terrorists do not always win, actually they usually lose. But their defeats can rarely be attributed to insurgency warfare".<sup>9</sup> Irony is that political leadership employs military as a desperate endeavour to stay in control of geography rather than effort to gain control of demography. The conflict in Kashmir is non-linear and there are multiple forces at work simultaneously. Therefore, treating it as a conflict driven by single factor is a miscalculation because that is what the enemy state and non-state actors want us to believe. Society, tracing the roots of enlightened values of *Kashmiriyat* and upholding religious tolerance in Kashmir assume greater significance. We must appease but reconcile; don't suppress anger but convert it into energy to involve in reconstruction of state; create space for debate, and then reconstruction.

## Endnotes

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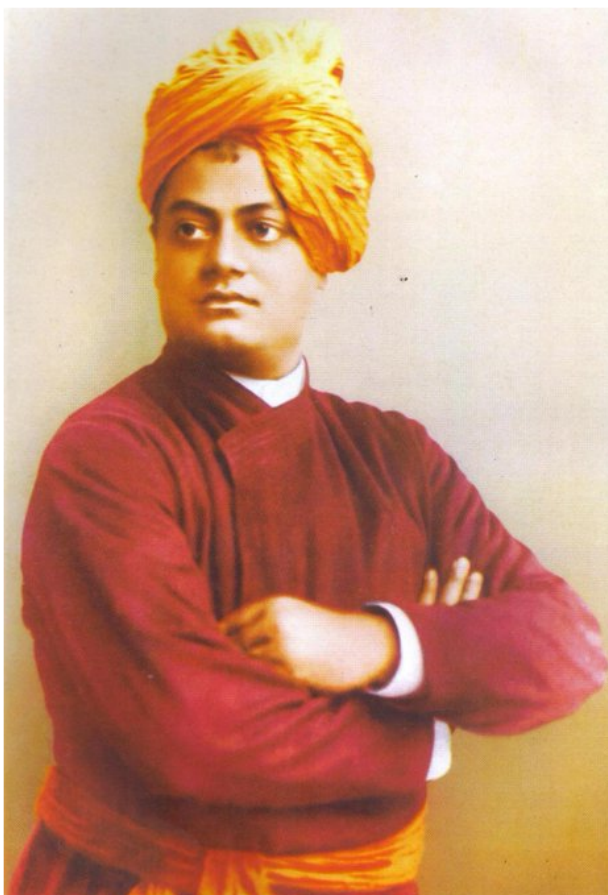


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