

SWOT Analysis of J&K with Special Reference to Kashmir

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The Centre for Land Warfare Studies (CLAWS), New Delhi, is an independent think-tank dealing with national security and conceptual aspects of land warfare, including conventional and sub-conventional conflicts and terrorism. CLAWS conducts research that is futuristic in outlook and policy-oriented in approach.

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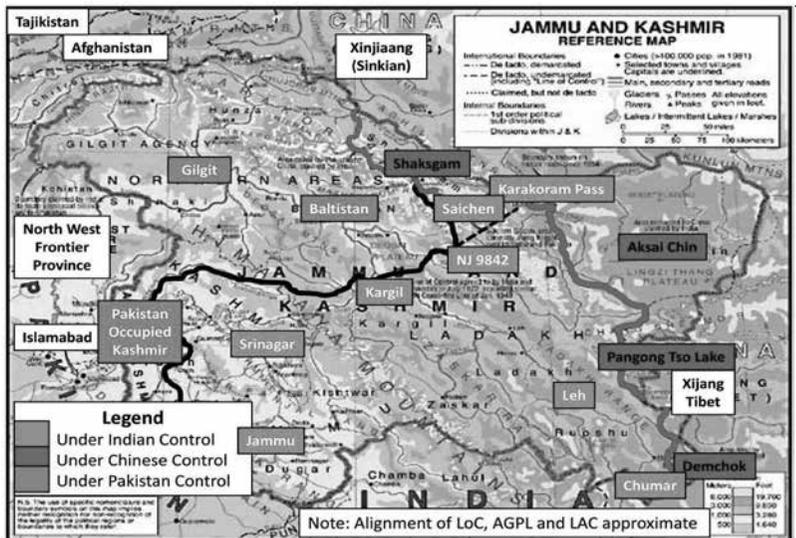
Introduction

The state of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) comprises three regions, namely Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh. The state is further divided into 22 districts, 2 in Ladakh, 10 each in J&K. The number of tehsils and Community development blocks is 82 and 142, respectively. There are as many as 6652 villages and 68 urban areas besides 7 urban agglomerations.¹

Geography

Only a small portion of the total area of J&K, approximately 85,000 square miles (220,000 square km) is well suited to human settlement. Of particular note is the fertile Valley of Kashmir, a valley roughly 80 miles long and up to 35 miles wide (130 × 55 km) astride the upper Jhelum River. It supports an economy based on tourism, handicraft industries and intensive agriculture. Two other favourable areas are of note: the foothills of the Himalayas, together with a narrow strip of the adjoining plain, in southern Jammu; and the northwestern extension of that region, comprising the greater part of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (POK). These are mainly agricultural areas which are all relatively well-irrigated and, where not cleared for cultivation, support rich coniferous forest. Between southern Jammu and POK on the one hand and the Valley on the other is the Pir Panjal mountain range, which, despite its rugged nature, supports a moderately dense and partially migratory population dependent on largely terraced agriculture, pastoralism and forestry. Through these mountains must pass the overland traffic connecting the Valley with the plains of India. In the immediate aftermath of the partition of the state in 1947/48, this traffic was funnelled through the Banihal Pass, which, at an elevation of 9290 ft (2830 m), was often closed by winter snows. This problem has been mitigated, however, though not entirely eliminated, by the construction of the Jawaharlal Nehru Tunnel at a significantly lower elevation, and by increasing reliance on air transportation. A much easier and formerly much more heavily utilised route to and from the Valley ran through the Baramulla gap by which the Jhelum River flows to what are now POK and Pakistan. Along the northeastern flank of the Valley runs

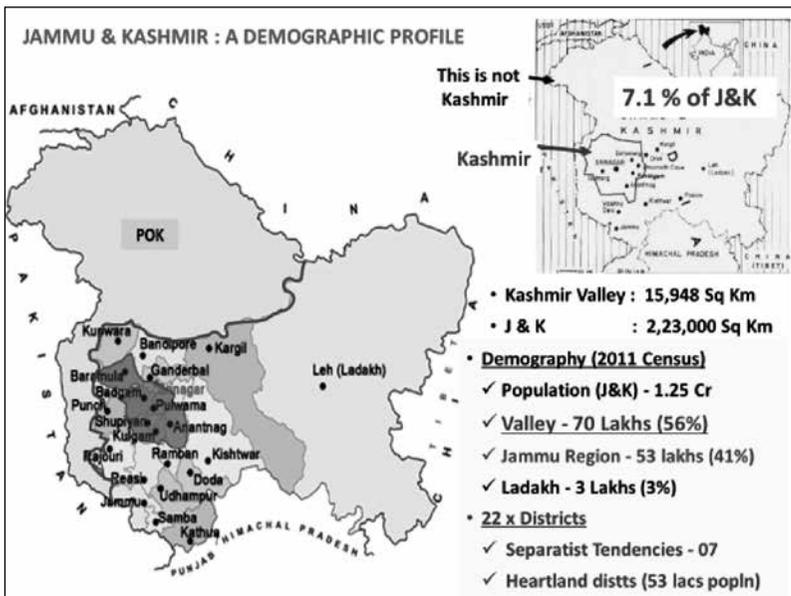
the main range of the Himalayas. This enormous mountain chain extends from the eastern border region of the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan southeastward to and well beyond the southern border of J&K. Forested on their windward southwestern flanks, the Himalayas present a dramatically different, largely barren, aspect to the northeast. The terrain there gives way to the high, arid regions of Pakistan-occupied Baltistan, administered as a part of the Northern Areas, and Ladakh. These two thinly populated regions, comprising well over half the total area of the state, form a western extension of the Plateau of Tibet and are compartmentalised by a series of mountain ranges, generally paralleling the main crest of the Himalayas. They support scattered patches of agriculture, largely dependent on small-scale irrigation works, along with sheep, goat and yak-based pastoralism. An even more barren area, further to the northeast, is known as the Aksai Chin (White Stone Desert), which is held by China since the 1960s.²

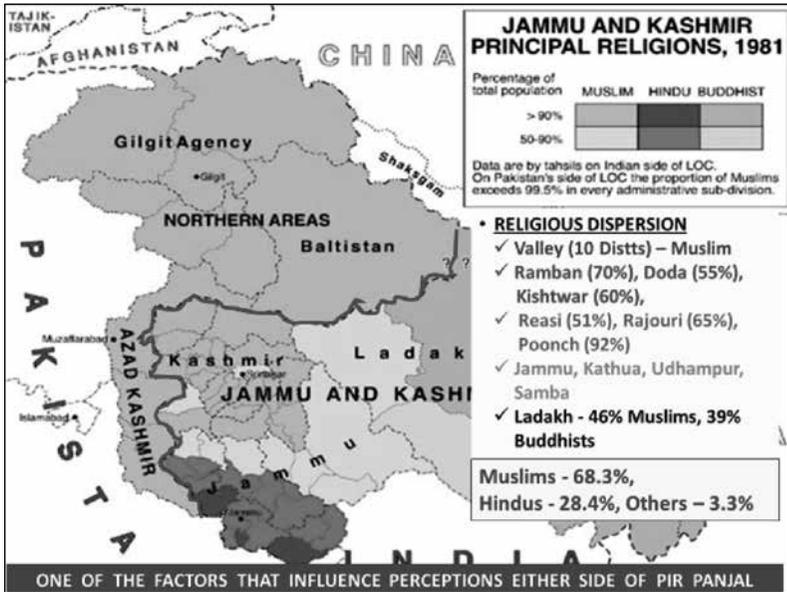


Demography

J&K has a Muslim majority population. As per 2011 census, though Islam is practiced by about 67 percent of the population of the state and by 97 percent of the population of the Kashmir valley, the state has large communities of Buddhists, Hindus (inclusive of *Megh Bhagats*) and Sikhs. In Jammu, Hindus constitute 65 percent of the population, Muslims 31 percent and Sikhs, 4 percent. In Ladakh, Buddhists constitute about 46 percent of the population, the remaining being Muslims. The people of

Ladakh are of Indo-Tibetan origin, while the southern area of Jammu includes many communities tracing their ancestry to the nearby Indian states. In totality, the Muslims constitute 67 percent of the population, the Hindus about 30 percent, the Buddhists 1 percent and the Sikhs 2 percent of the population. Buddhists, Hindus, Sikhs and a few Christian, Jain and Zoroastrian communities were once natives and made up a vast majority of the whole Kashmir province, but economic changes, riots, political tension, military involvement and foreign extremists resulted in a vast majority of the followers of these religions to settle in the growing and advancing neighbouring regions and major cities in India over the years. Hindu Pandits were specifically affected in this region due to their status in the local society. Approximately 95 percent of the total population of 160,000–170,000 of Kashmiri Pandits (i.e. approximately 150,000–160,000) left the Kashmir Valley in 1990 as militancy engulfed the state and are settled as internally displaced people in Jammu, Delhi and other parts of the country due to the ongoing violence.





The above maps show the demographical profile as per the 2011 Census and were also presented in the system analysis study conducted by the College of Defence Management, Secunderabad during the National Seminar on Mapping of Perceptions in J&K—The Way Ahead on August 18, 2018.

While the issue of Kashmir appears to be rather simple on the face of it, the multidimensional nature of the problem and the sheer number of actors, many of them hidden, with stakes of some form or the other have ensured that this problem takes on the character of the proverbial 'Gordian knot'. It is increasingly being understood that merely 'eliminating' poster boys and dreaded terrorists will not take the situation to a logical and favourable conclusion and, therefore, much more and in a more coherent form needs to be done. Towards this end, a need was felt that an SWOT analysis be carried out to identify and implement short-term strategies to commence the process of stabilisation.

SWOT analysis (or SWOT matrix) is a strategic planning technique used to help an organisation identify the *Strengths*, *Weaknesses*, *Opportunities* and *Threats* related to competition or project planning. It is intended to specify the objectives of the business venture or project and identify the internal and external factors that are favourable and unfavourable to achieving those objectives. Users of an SWOT analysis often ask and answer questions to generate meaningful information for each category to make the tool useful and identify their competitive advantage. The following needs to be understood before further reading:

- Strengths and Weakness are frequently internally related, while Opportunities and Threats commonly focus on environmental placement.
- *Strength* Existence of a competency and the ability of the state to successfully apply it or exploit a critical factor to develop competitiveness.
- *Weakness* The absence of a specific competency or inability of the state to apply the same successfully or nonexploitation of a critical factor that diminishes its competitiveness.
- *Opportunity* An opportunity is an external condition that could positively impact the state's critical performance parameters and improve competitive advantage, provided positive action is taken in time.
- *Threat* A threat is an external condition that could negatively impact the state's critical performance parameters and diminish competitive advantage, provided positive action is not taken in time.

Steps Undertaken for This Analysis

Step 1—Identifying Strengths and Weaknesses of J&K

- Identifying the environment analysis problem,
- identifying drivers that influence the relevant internal environment,
- discussing and evaluating the drivers,
- determining whether the driver is strength or a weakness,
- establishing performances and ranking them to establish priority,
- establishing the importance/impact of each driver and
- calculating cumulative values.

Step 2—Identifying External Opportunities and Threats

- Identifying drivers that influence the relevant external environment,
- discussing and evaluating the drivers to establish trends over the time horizon of the scan,
- determining whether the driver is a threat or an opportunity,
- establish the magnitude and impact of these drivers and rank them to establish priority,
- establish the probability of occurrence of threat/opportunity and
- calculate cumulative values.

Step 3—Preparation of SWOT Summary

Enter the rank ordered list of Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats and thereafter, develop the SWOT matrix.

Step 4—Use SWOT Analysis to Identify Possible Strategies

- Build on Strengths,
- resolve Weaknesses,
- exploit Opportunities,
- avoid Threats.

ANALYSIS OF STRENGTHS

Strengths

Geostrategic Location

J&K is located in the northern part of the Indian subcontinent in the vicinity of the Karakoram and western mountain ranges. It falls in the great northwestern complex of the Himalayan Ranges with marked relief variation, snow-capped summits, antecedent drainage, complex geological structure and rich temperate flora and fauna. Its location at the confluence of India, Tibet, Afghanistan, Pakistan and the Central Asian Republics makes it one of the most geostrategically important regions of the world. Major rivers which irrigate the northwestern parts of the Indian subcontinent, namely the Indus, Jhelum (including Kishanganga) and Chenab, pass through the state. The state lies on the old silk route between ancient China and Central Asian Republics. Its vicinity to the China–Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), the flagship project for China’s Belt Road Initiative (BRI), also enhances its geostrategic potential. This is the only Indian state which provides the opportunity to Pakistan and China to employ concentrated forces together as a collusive threat. Due to its deep mystic moderate Islam culture, it has the potential of reversing the cultural Jehadi threat to the Uyghur region of China in the north.

Growing Economy/Gross State Domestic Product

J&K will show a growth of 8.49 percent in the Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP) in the last fiscal, said State Economic Survey Report 2017.⁶ The report which was tabled by the Minister for Finance, Haseeb Drabu, in the State Legislative Council said, GSDP at constant (2011/12) prices for 2017/18 is estimated at Rs 109,136.52 crore as against the estimate of Rs 100,597.57 crore for 2016/17, indicating a growth of 8.49 percent in the last fiscal.

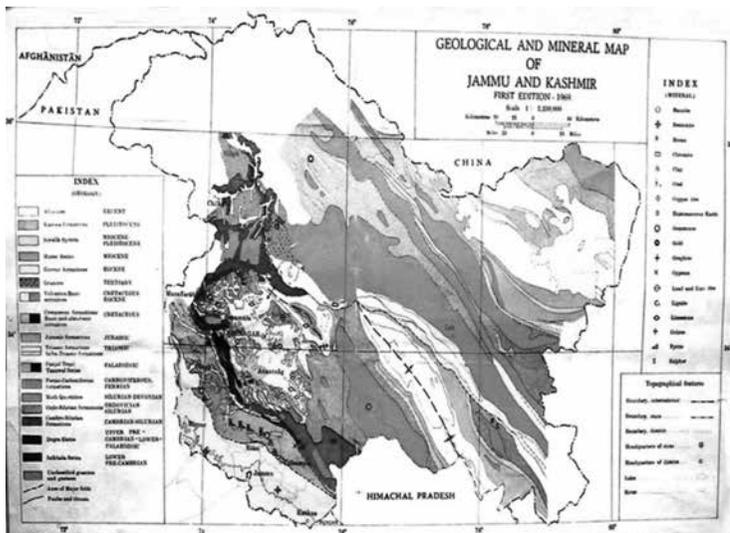
Water Resources with Hydropower Potential

The state of J&K is bestowed with significant hydel potential which when exploited fully will provide a strong impetus for the growth of the state’s economy. The development of this potential would need huge resources, technical expertise, administrative reforms, congenial environment, proper

regulation and management, besides competitive marketing, policy formation and private participation. The optimal exploitation of the available hydel resources in the state would not only meet the state's demand but also will supply power to the Northern grid to boost the overall development of the state. The estimated hydropower potential of the state is 20,000 MW, of which about 16,480 MW have been identified. Out of the identified potential, only 2693.45 MW (16 percent of identified potential) has been exploited so far.⁷

Availability of Minerals

The mountains surrounding the different valleys of the state of J&K have varied mineral wealth.⁸ However, the economic viability of mining these resources remains a problem.



Lignite

It is an inferior quality of coal which is found in the valley of Kashmir at Nicha Hama, Baramulla, Handwara, Chowkibal, Ferozepur Nullah, Nagbal, Tangmarg, Raithan, Badgam tehsil, Laligang and Lolab Valley. According to the report of the Geological Survey of India, there are lignite coal deposits of about 56,000,000 tons in the valley.

Limestone

All the three regions of the state have deposits of different ages and grades of limestone. The limestone of Kashmir is of high quality and is used in the manufacture of cement at Wuyan and Khrew. These deposits exist in Anantnag, Achhabal, Doru, Verinag, Biru, Sonamarg, Ajas, Wuyau, Khrew and Loduv.

Copper

Copper ores are found at Aishmuqam, Shubbar area (Anantnag), Lashtil hill spurs (Baramulla), Handwara, Sumbal, Kangan and Lolab valley in the province of Kashmir.

Iron ore

Deposits occur in Sharda (Karnah tehsil), Khrewa, Haral (Handwara), Uri tehsil, Garez (Sopore tehsil) and Lolab valley in Kashmir.

Gypsum

It is used for making plaster of Paris and chalk sticks. The Kashmir province has gypsum deposits at Lachhipora, Baramulla, Anantnag, Liddipora and Kathia Nullah (Uri). There is a total reserve of about 4 million tons of gypsum in the state.

Ochre

It is used in paints, varnishes and so forth. There are extensive deposits of ochre in Nur Khan, Ratasar and Jhaggi in the Uri tehsil. About 4 lakh tons of ochre has been found in the state so far.

Sulphur

It is found in Pagga Valley in Ladakh as also Anantnag and Khrewa. The estimated deposits of sulphur in the state are 200,000 tons.

Marble

Large deposits of marble have been found at Drugmalla, Zirahama, Oura and Trehgam in Kupwara district of Kashmir. This is light brown to dirty grey in colour. This is being used commonly in buildings these days.

Zinc and nickel are also found at Buniyar (Baramulla). Fuller's earth is used in the manufacture of country soap and for filling paper. It is found in Rampur near Baramulla. Slate stone is found in abundance in the valley of Kashmir. Graphite is used in the manufacture of lead pencils and is found in Bararipora, Uri, Karnah, Malogam, and Piran in the province of Kashmir.

Natural/Local Resources

J&K is richly endowed with natural wealth such as forests, water bodies, rivers with rich hydroelectric potential, minerals, climate and natural beauty. Extreme cold climate and natural air-conditioning all year long is a big plus for many industries. J&K's forest and tree cover has increased marginally by 253 square km over the last 2 years. The increase, based on satellite data

and subsequent 'ground truthing', has put the total green cover at 23,241 square km which is 10.46 percent of the total 222,236 square km of state's geographical area, India State of Forest Report-2017 by Forest Survey of India has revealed. In 2015, the state's forest cover was reported to be 22,988 square km.¹⁰

Democratic Government Set-up

J&K like all other states of India is governed by a democratically elected government. The state of J&K retains a special status within the union government of India. Unlike the rest of the states, which are bound by the Indian constitution, J&K follows a modified version of that constitution—as delineated in the Constitution (Application to J&K) Order, 1954—which affirms the integrity of the state within the Republic of India. The union government has direct legislative powers in the matters of defence, foreign policy and communications within the state and has indirect influence in matters of citizenship, Supreme Court jurisdiction and emergency powers. Under the constitution of J&K, the Governor, who is head of state, is appointed by the President of India and is aided and advised by an elected chief minister and a council of ministers. J&K is the only state in India which enjoys special autonomy under Article 370 of the Constitution of India, according to which no law enacted by the Parliament of India, except for those in the field of defence, communication and foreign policy, will be extendable in J&K unless it is ratified by the state legislature of J&K. Subsequently, the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of India over J&K has been extended. J&K is the only Indian state that has its own official flag and constitution, and Indians from other states cannot purchase land or property in the state.

High Teledensity

At teledensity of 94.34/square km,¹¹ J&K betters a number of states in India. In a survey conducted by Centre for Land Warfare Studies (CLAWS) recently through Tata Institute of Social Sciences, it has come to light that nearly 80 percent youth of the state are using social media on their mobile phones.

Handicraft Industry

Handicraft activities occupy an important position in the economic structure of J&K state. Being environment-friendly, these activities are best suited to the state as they are more labour-intensive and less capital-intensive in nature, therefore having scope for employment generation at a large scale.¹² The Kashmir handicraft products have earned worldwide fame for their attractive designs, functional utility and high-quality craftsmanship. In the absence of other manufacturing industries in the state, handicrafts remained

a key economic activity from time immemorial. The artistic imagination and craftsmanship of artisans, reflected through a wide range of products, has delighted the connoisseurs world over for centuries. Crafts such as shawls, crewel, Namdha, chain stitch, wood carving, *papier-mâché*, costume jewellery, Kani Shawls and Carpets hold a significant share in the overall production and export of the state. Silken carpets, in particular, constitute a speciality having no parallel in quality and design at the national level and, therefore, occupy an important position in the international market. The handicraft sector of the state has great contribution in the foreign exchange earnings to the state and country in particular. Total revenue generated from this sector was Rs 2650 crore with Rs 1151 crore being earnings from exports.¹³ This is just the tip of an iceberg as compared to the huge potential and demand for these products worldwide.

Kashmiriyat

It is the ethnonational and social consciousness and cultural values of the Kashmiri people. Emerging around the 16th century, it is characterised by religious and cultural harmony, patriotism and pride for their mountainous homeland of Kashmir.

Origin

Kashmir has historically been an important centre for Hinduism and Buddhism. Islam was introduced in the medieval centuries, and Sikhism also spread to the region under the rule of the Sikh Empire in the 18th and 19th centuries. Kashmir has a significant place in the mythology and history of all four religions. The region is home to many legendary Hindu and Buddhist monuments and institutions. The Hazratbal Shrine houses a relic that is believed to be the hair of Muhammad, the prophet of Islam. In his journeys seeking religious enlightenment, Guru Nanak travelled to Kashmir. *Kashmiriyat* is believed to have developed under the rule of Muslim Governor Zain-ul-Abedin and the Mughal emperor Akbar, both of whom gave equal protection, importance and patronage to Kashmir's different religious communities.

Philosophy

Kashmir's existence is characterised by its insular Himalayan geography, harsh winter climate and isolation in economic and political terms. The region has also seen political turmoil and foreign invasions. *Kashmiriyat* is believed to be an expression of solidarity, resilience and patriotism regardless of religious differences. It is believed to embody an ethos of harmony and a determination of survival of the people and their heritage.

This culture embraces Sufi Islam propagated by the likes of Bulleh Shah and Shah Hamadani in the 14th Century. To many Kashmiris, *Kashmiriyat* demanded religious and social harmony and brotherhood. It has been strongly influenced by Kashmir Shaivism, Buddhism and Sufism, carrying a long-standing conviction that any and every religion will lead to the same divine goal. However, the impact and importance of *Kashmiriyat* have been concentrated in the Vale of Kashmir only, which is the real historical Kashmir. The farther regions of Gilgit, Baltistan, Jammu and Ladakh have not been influenced by this philosophy as these regions are not Kashmiri in terms of culture, language or ethnicity. Conscious efforts to revive *Kashmiriyat* have been made by various communities of Muslims and Hindus through united opposition to violence in the state. Efforts to promote *Kashmiriyat* through cultural activities, social programmes and literature have increased throughout J&K and among expatriate Kashmiri communities. In a 2007 poll conducted by the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies in New Delhi, 84 percent of people in Srinagar wanted to see the return of Kashmiri Pandits.¹⁴ However, in a survey conducted by Tata Institute of Social Sciences for CLAWS and projected in the National Seminar on Mapping of 'Perceptions in J&K—The Way Ahead', only 50 percent of the college students in the age group of 18–27 years wanted the Kashmiri Pandits to come back, thus showing a deterioration in the trend.

Low Population Density

In 2011, population density for J&K was 124 people/square km of land area.¹⁵ The population density of J&K increased from 59 people/square km of land area in 1981 to 124 people/square km of land area in 2011, growing at an average annual rate of 28.13 percent. This is very low as compared to the national average of 382 persons/square km.

Well-Established Security Forces

The security forces (SF) structure in the state consists of the state police, the Central Armed Police Forces, Indian Army deployed on the Line of Control (LoC) and the Line of Actual control, as well as the Rashtriya Rifles, the Counterterror force of the Indian Army, deployed in the state since 1993. Territorial Army battalions have also been raised within the state, which is based on the concept of Home and Hearth Battalions drawing their manpower from the local population. These are normally working in support of the counterterror network within the state.

All in all, the state has a balanced security structure both at the border as well as in the hinterland.

Reasonably High Literacy Rate

Considering the tough terrain and hinterland of the state, a literacy rate of 68.74 percent¹⁶ is reasonably high and needs to be tapped to full advantage.

Youth Bulge

Today, over 70 percent of J&K's population is estimated to be under 35. If this huge demographic potential is utilised fruitfully, it could become a great source of strength.¹⁷

Reasonable Human Development Index and Low Poverty

Human Development Index (HDI) makes use of four parameters for measuring and ranking countries/states according to their social and economic development which includes the life expectancy at birth, expected years of schooling, mean years of schooling and gross national/state income per capita. HDI scores range from 0 to 1, with 1 being the best possible score to attain. At present, the overall average HDI score of India is 0.6087 and J&K is at the 10th position within the Indian states at 0.649.¹⁸

Tourism

Tourism is not only a growth engine but also an export growth engine and employment generator. The sector has a capacity to create large-scale employment, both direct and indirect, for diverse sections of the society from the most specialised to the unspecialised workforce. J&K has a great promise for the development of tourism in view of its inherent potential. Availability of good quality and affordable hotel rooms plays an important role in boosting the growth of tourism. Presently, there are 1508 registered hotels and restaurants in the state apart from 84 tourist bungalows and huts. The government is taking all possible steps and making all efforts to develop world-class tourism infrastructure at tourist destinations and circuits. Development of national and internationally important destinations and circuits through three Mega Circuits that is, Buddhist Circuit for Leh, Sufi Circuit for Kashmir and Spiritual Circuit for Jammu agreed to by Ministry of Tourism, Government of India is a judicious mix of cultural, heritage, spiritual and ecotourism to give tourists a holistic view about J&K.

Cold Climate

The climate of the state varies from being moderate to extremely cold. Perched in the Himalayas, the state is endowed with winter temperatures ranging from 0°C to -60°C in areas perched on the Ladakh and the Karakoram ranges. This naturally available air-conditioned environment may become a boon for the industry which is particularly overdependent on air-conditioning/refrigeration.

Cold climate also acts as a defence line from traditional and nontraditional threats and is a source of tourism. History and culture of artisan wood, fabric and *papier-mâché* is also due to the cold climate where people in winters have plenty of time to utilise it as a source of livelihood.

ANALYSIS OF WEAKNESSES

Weaknesses

Geographical and Ethnically Distinct Regions/Conflicting Interests

The state of J&K comprises three geographically and ethnically distinct regions, namely, Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh, each one having its own dynamics and interests such as culture and religion, which are more often than not conflicting in nature. Each of the regions has a different majority religious belief system. The three regions of the state seem to be polarised on religious lines. The distribution on religious lines is given in the Introduction chapter.

Troubled History/Historical Baggage

Power equations have changed over a period of time and it is always the human behaviour of trying to be at the centre of power which has been the main reason for neglecting the aspirations of the state. Almost all the important leaders have played with the emotions of the people to achieve their objectives. Maharaja Hari Singh initially signed the standstill agreement with both countries because he wanted to retain power himself. Pandit Nehru in his exuberance and idealism philosophy agreed on a plebiscite.¹⁹ However, the Sher-e-Kashmir, Sheikh Abdullah whose ideas swayed between independence and amalgamation with India or Pakistan had a hidden agenda himself. So much so that Pandit Nehru, his one-time best friend and later foe seems to have started to distrust Sheikh on realising that the man himself nurtured feelings of ruling Kashmir if it became independent. There was no doubt that Sheikh with his enormous clout and an iconic image had coxswained the people of Kashmir into dreaming for Azadi. The seeds of separatism were thus sown during this period.²⁰ The propping up of parallel leaders to reduce the followings of the Sheikh also added to the confusion.²¹ The people were thus confused as to what they actually wanted and were generally influenced by the perception of leaders. Most of the political leaders barring a few had myopic views, had visions to suit their political agenda and were amenable to manipulation. The alleged blatant rigging of elections in 1987²² was yet another classical example of political parties trying all means to come to power. Finally, to add to the woes, Pakistan jumped into the fray

yet again with a well-laid-out proxy war to manipulate the situation created by our own undoing. Thus, over a period of the last 70 years, no state of the Indian Union has seen such a huge shift in the aspirations of the people from Azadi to becoming part of Pakistan to being part of India. Three totally different scenarios with the Awaam of Kashmir also swaying as the wind blew. Thus, dealing with a Kashmiri in the valley definitely needs a 'Kashmiri outlook' and cannot be compared with any other state.

Lack of Women Empowerment

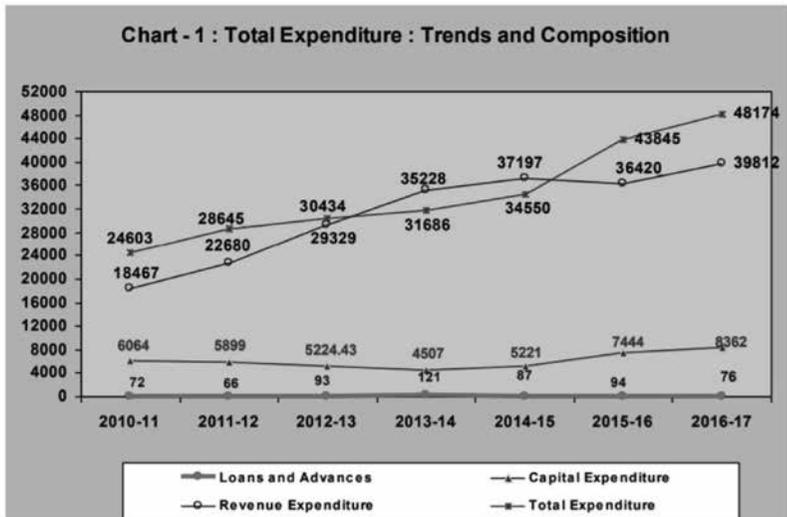
The main barriers to women empowerment in J&K²³ are:

- Violence against women,
- lack of decision-making authority,
- lack of participation in political affairs,
- poor and low status of women,
- lack of education,
- lack of awareness,
- inadequate and unorganised healthcare delivery system,
- under/unemployment leading to poverty.

Revenue Deficit²⁴

Growth and Composition of Expenditure

Chart – 1 depicts the trends in total expenditure both in terms of economic classification and expenditure by activities.



The total expenditure of the State increased by 9.87 % from Rs. 43845 crore in 2015-16 to Rs. 48174 crore in 2016-17. The revenue expenditure components has increased by 9.31 % and capital expenditure component has increased by 12.3 % during the same period.

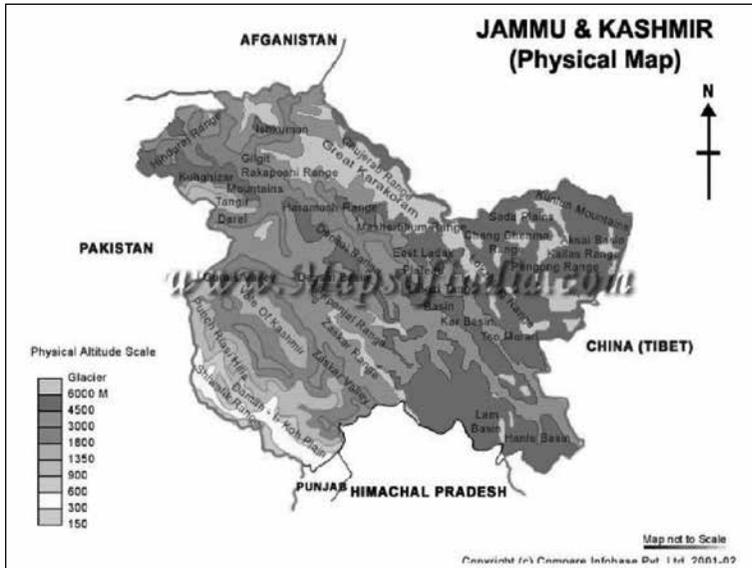
The paucity of resources and other limitation add to the severity of the issues which needs focused attention to make conditions conducive for the economic and social growth. The multipronged strategy for mobilisation of additional resources, improvement in tax and nontax collections, cost recovery of user charges, expenditure compression, particularly establishment related and increase in efficiency levels shall be of prime importance. The major areas of concern are put forth as under:

- There is a steep rise in salary and pension bills, administrative costs, burgeoning hidden subsidies including power deficit, rising interest liabilities and loan repayments, deficit on account of nontax revenue, increased interest payments outgo.
- Revenue expenditure has increased unabated. The major reason being a periodic increase in salaries, regularisation/appointment of new employees, power revenue deficit, interest liability and subsidies.
- Revenue generation from both the tax and nontax sources have not recorded impressive jump commensurate to our demands and requirements.
- Dependence on borrowings is more indicative now to maintain at least constant level of Capital spending. Major borrowings are through open-market and negotiated loans apart from a public account.
- Financing of Capital spending in the wake of the ever-expanding revenue expenditure and squeezed resources is another challenge to handle.
- The degradation of infrastructure created due to the absence of adequate maintenance grants is another area of concern and needs to be addressed by way of providing adequate funds in the capital/revenue expenditure whichever is applicable on a fixed basis.

Inhospitable Terrain

The territory of the state is divided into seven different challenging physiographic zones closely associated with the structural components of the Western Himalayas. Infrastructure challenges to bridge the zones are immense. Although the terrain provides protection from our adversaries to a large extent, the sense of isolation it also creates within the people of geographically distinct regions far outweigh the advantages. The seven zones include:

- *The Plains* The plains of the Jammu region are characterised by interlocking sandy alluvial fans.
- *The Foothills* Rising from 2000 to 7000 ft, the foothills form the outer and inner zones.
- *The Lesser Himalayas* The Pir Panjal constitutes the first mountain rampart comprising the westernmost part of the Lesser Himalayas.



- *The Greater Himalayas* This contains ranges reaching more than 20,013 ft (6100 m) in altitude.
- *Valley of Kashmir* Between the Pir Panjal and the western end of the Great Himalayan ranges lies a deep asymmetrical basin called the Valley of Kashmir.
- *The Upper Indus Valley* The valley of the upper Indus River follows the geological strike (structural trend) westwards from the Tibetan border to the point in the Pakistani sector where it rounds the great mountainous mass of Nanga Parbat to run southwards in deep gorges cut across the strike. In its upper reaches, gravel terraces flank the river; each tributary builds an alluvial fan out into the main valley. The town of Leh stands on such a fan, 11,483 ft (3500 m) above sea level.
- *The Karakoram Range* The Karakoram region contains some of the world's highest peaks. As the altitude rises very much and majestic peaks appear, K2 (Godwin Austin), the second highest peak in the world (28,264 ft or 8615 m), occupies the most important position.

Fragile Internal Security (IS) Situation

The number of terrorists operating in the valley has gradually reduced and as per the latest estimate, approximately 300 are only left, but the face and modus operandi too has undergone a transformation. Technology is being exploited to the hilt and there are no more gun-tottering jihadis on the

streets. The terrorists nowadays rely on surgical, swift and silent attacks on unsuspecting security personnel. These are timed to coincide with an important event and mainly aimed at disrupting any peace initiative. Post Burhan Wani agitation dynamics in 2016 and its exploitation by the terrorist organisations have enhanced the challenges for the SF manifolds. In the assessment of most of the security experts, 2019 is going to be a very crucial year for the future of J&K. Effect of the Trump doctrine, Parliament/State(?) elections and the internal dynamics of Pakistan will have an overbearing effect on the emerging situation.

Political Unpredictability and Varying Ideologies

J&K is a unique state and has been politically volatile right from independence. Reason for four Indo-Pak conflicts, the state has been in turmoil for the last 29 years. Compulsions of collation and regional aspirations will always be a hindrance in good governance and solution to the deadlock. A school of thought in the state is of the view that the prime cause of failure to break the deadlock in the state is that all suggested solutions are based on the misguided notion that the 2000 square km Kashmir Valley represents the entire state of J&K; that the political aspirations of all the people in the state are identical or nearly identical and that the contradictions among them, if any, can be easily reconciled. None of these formulations enjoys any universal support in Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh. The two prime factors are:

- The state of J&K houses a number of religious and ethnic groups.
- The political aspirations and needs of the people of Jammu and Ladakh—who constitute almost half of the state's population and inhabit about 90 percent of the state's land area—and Kashmiri Pandits and Muslims are conflicting.²⁵

Poor Governance

The constitutional exclusivity guaranteed by Article 370 impinges on the administration and governance in the region,²⁶ which is essential to maintain peace, prosperity and tranquillity in the state. Several social welfare legislations passed by the parliament are not adopted by the J&K legislature. In some cases, they are adopted in a watered-down form that undermines the effectiveness of social and economic transformation envisaged by the policy. This is further compounded by the dysfunctional district administration, which has led to abysmally low levels of education, employment and economic activity in the region. Instability in Kashmir is also due to the subversion of institutions of governance, including democratic institutions, lack of deliverance of governance and abdication of responsibility of society.

Corruption

The Centre for Media Studies (CMS) in its annual corruption study—CMS India Corruption Study 2017—has placed J&K along with Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh as most corrupt among 20 surveyed states. Further, the study says that more than 33 percent respondents stated that the state government is not ‘committed at all’ towards reducing corruption in public services.²⁷

Rising Fundamentalism

Militancy has dramatically transformed Sufism and *Kashmiriyat* influenced people of Kashmir into a fractured and radically influenced society which, in turn, has given rise to religious fundamentalism. This has affected all aspects of the society including Kashmiri institutions such as political parties, government and nongovernment organisations, militant groups, educational institutions, self-help groups and many other such organisations within and outside Kashmir Valley. The rise of fundamentalism also signifies a transformation in the mindset of Kashmiri people from being an accommodative and tolerant society to a more static, traditional and conservative society which is not averse to use of violence and advocates extremist outlook.

Lack of Industrial Base and Infrastructure

The state of J&K located far away from the market, and the major raw material source base, has historically remained isolated from the major industrial development action happening in the plains. The geographical isolation has restricted the state’s industrial activity to a selected few sectors in which it either had an impressive expertise or had raw material locally available. At one point of time, forests were the main wealth-making resources till the sector was nationalised and new conservation norms took over.

Lack of Private Investment

Under the Make in India programme, new initiatives have been taken in ‘Ease of Doing Business’ to facilitate the investors to boost industrial sector in the state and create employment opportunities for the unemployed youth of the state, both skilled and unskilled. Employment generation being another focus area of Make in India programme, the Industrial Policy 2016 targets to create 15,000–20,000 employment opportunities per year as compared to an average of 5000 in the last decade²⁸ for the skilled and unskilled youth. However, in spite of various sops, there is strong resistance by the private industry to invest in areas of the state other than the ones which are close to railheads and good markets.

Unemployment

Currently, youth unemployment is one of the major challenges faced by the state of J&K. With the number of educated unemployed youth running in lakhs,²⁹ the need for employment creation through youth entrepreneurship is undeniable. While hindered by the overall employment situations in the state, this challenge has its own specific dimensions and therefore requires specifically targeted responses.

Growing Agitational Dynamics

Although the word 'agitational terrorism' was first coined in 2009,³⁰ the effect of it has been seen mainly since the Burhan Wani incident wherein organised stone pelting mobs stopping the proceedings by SF at an encounter spot have become almost a norm. The Organisational tools of Finance and Alienation through radicalisation have a deep connect for successfully employing this operational tool.³¹

Fragile Geology

Composed of varied regions and rock types, the geology of J&K is fragile and prone to degradation in case utilisation of the natural resources is not regulated. Recent cases of destruction caused due to floods, cloudbursts could be a direct result of overutilisation of resources.

Poor Connectivity with Mainland

Although we have come a long way from the days of Partition, where all surface connectivity to the state was from the newly formed Pakistan, a lot still needs to be done to improve the surface (road and rail), air and data connectivity to the state from the Indian mainland.

Over-ground Workers and Fence Sitters Activities

Over-ground workers (OGWs) have always been the mainstay for an insurgency movement. Previously, OGWs were primarily involved in logistics support and intelligence gathering. The comparative freedom of movement available to terrorists due to limited resource control measures has emboldened them to change their strategy of trying to mix up with the population. Thus, OGWs are merging as a potent force and need to be given equal weightage while dealing with them. As per the Pakistani strategy of targeting the Cognitive domain of the population, the OGWs are playing an increasing role in radicalisation and creating a perception of hopelessness among the youth, thereby acting as recruiters. These OGWs and fence sitters would continue remaining actively involved in assisting the cause of the militants.

ANALYSIS OF OPPORTUNITIES

Opportunities

The opportunities emerged from the *internal scan* as pertaining to J&K. These are listed below.

Divided Families across Line of Control

The Centre for Dialogue and Reconciliation's *Living on the Margins—Complex Narrative of People Living on the LoC*³² aims to add an alternative, humanist angle to the discourse on borders, which are often simply seen as a stage for wartime theatrics or as symbolic communication channels—and which ignore the communities that live alongside them. The study focuses on the overall problems faced by people on both sides of the 758-km LoC, including divided families, and offers recommendations to underscore these concerns. The core of the study is to help 'make a shift from mutual distrust and hostility to mutual trust and friendship with a holistic approach'. By bringing the borderlanders to the centre stage and humanising the discourse on the LoC, the study seeks to include their residents in the process of encouraging peaceful negotiations to resolve cross-border issues between the two countries.

Divided and Dwindling Hurriyat

Awam is getting more and more disillusioned and All Parties Hurriyat Conference is losing its sway in the valley. As per general perception, lack of ability to lead people led to this factionalism and the difference in these pro-freedom leaders adversely affected the united cause. The meaningless basis of identity crisis parted them from the public too. The recent split in Hurriyat Conference (M) has, on one hand, disappointed the people of Kashmir and on the other hand, has let the cat out of the bag. Kashmiris are demanding accountability from these leaders who claim to be representing the mass aspiration.³³ Geelani's age is also an issue of concern with no formidable leader to step in his shoes.

Indo-Pak Trade

The dormant trade potential between the two countries and the sincere exchanges possible across the LoC is a major opportunity for the people of both the regions.

Indo-China Relations

Indo-China relations though out of the cool box of the 1960s to the 1980s decades have gone through a roller coaster ride in the recent past, especially

in the Doklam case. The CPEC through POK remains a bone of contention and China's support to Pakistan whether it is on the issue of Nuclear Suppliers Group membership or the issue of nomination of global terrorists borders on collusivity. In spite of the upheavals, there is a sense of maturity and outreach at the leadership level which should turn out to be a great opportunity.

Education and Job Opportunities in Other States

Due to various reasons ranging from lack of raw materials to the security situation in the state, the number of private education institutes as well as industrialists has not invested in the state, which forces the youth of the state to look outwards to the rest of India. Going out of the state and exploring new avenues widens the horizon and thinking of the people towards national integration.

Semblance of Stability in IS Situation

In spite of the ups and downs over the years, the present state of security in the state can be at best narrated as one of unease and mistrust, that is to say that there is a sense of functionality where the security situation in the state is bordering on the line between militancy and a law and order situation. This semblance, whenever it is achieved, is the biggest opportunity for other coherent efforts to establish peace and prosperity in the state. Unfortunately, this state, whenever it has been achieved in the past, has not been fully exploited as it has not been seen in the light of conflict resolution theory.

Ease of Doing Business/E-Technology/Governance

Ease of Doing Business is an index published by the World Bank and it is an aggregate figure that includes different parameters which define the Ease of Doing Business. Out of the total 372 recommendations of the Business Reform Action Plan, J&K state has successfully implemented 270 recommendations and uploaded 262 replies. As per the dynamic ranking by the Department of Industrial Policy and Promotion, J&K stands 22nd.³⁴ The advent of e-technology in every sphere of life and governance world over is a huge opportunity to further improve the ease of doing business and, in turn, the quality of life of the people of J&K.

Central Government Schemes and Programmes

The central government has launched a number of schemes for skill development, micro-financing, electricity for all, cooking gas for all, women empowerment, employment generation schemes, housing for all and so

forth. There lies a huge opportunity for the people of the state to participate in the schemes to achieve prosperity for all.

Deteriorating US–Pak Relations

For years together, the United States has propped up Pakistan for serving their own interests in the region so much so that they have even offered a blind eye to Pakistan-orchestrated terrorist attacks in India. The Trump doctrine has showered in a hope of change in support and aid to Pakistan. In February this year, the United States has asked Pakistan to act against the Haqqani network and other militant groups and address the international community's concerns about terror financing. Deputy Assistant to the President and the US National Security Council's Senior Director for South and Central Asia, Lisa Curtis, made the remarks during her meetings with Foreign Secretary Tehmina Janjua, Interior Minister Ahsan Iqbal and Chief of the General Staff Lt Gen Bilal Akbar.³⁵ Although it seems that the United States is addressing its concerns in Afghanistan, the rhetoric also suggests that Pakistan has been asked to rein in or face the consequences. The developing story could yield dividends for India in terms of new opportunities.

ANALYSIS OF THREATS

Threats

The threats emerged from the *external environmental scan* as pertaining to J&K. These are listed below.

Radicalisation of Society

Militancy has dramatically transformed Sufism and *Kashmiriyat*. It has influenced people of Kashmir into a fractured and radically influenced society which, in turn, has given rise to religious fundamentalism. This has affected all aspects of the society, including Kashmiri institutions such as political parties, government and nongovernment organisations, militant groups, educational institutions, self-help groups and many other such organisations within and outside the Kashmir Valley.³⁶ Radicalisation is different from disaffection and is due to ideological manipulation of an individual or society, while dissent or disaffection is due to hopelessness, frustration and anger. The rise of fundamentalism also signifies a transformation in the mindset of Kashmiri people from being an accommodative and tolerant society to a more static, traditional and conservative society which is not averse to use of violence and advocates an extremist outlook. Slowly but steadily, Islamic schools and madrasas have gained importance among the valley population. As madrasas focus

on the Islamic identity, they weaken the concept of *Kashmiriyat*. Many of the madrasas, which are affiliated to the Salafia Trust, Jamaat-e-Islami and Deobandi School of thought, are focusing on establishing orthodox Islam thoughts and practices which, in turn, erode the core values of Sufism. Sharia traditions as advocated by orthodox Islam, advocate shunning of local traditions such as shrine worship and advocate strict 'Purdah' by women. Reducing the influence of Shia maulvis is another motivating factor for the fundamentalists. Around the year 2007, many Kashmiri Muslims saw the Indian Government's moves to increase cooperation with the United States and Israel as a proof that it is a part of a global anti-Muslim axis. This was overplayed by communication networks. These networks also spread fundamentalist ideas propagated by Tablighi Jamaat and Ahl-e-Hadith.³⁷ The Tablighi Jamaat acted as the pull for even secular Sufi Muslim youth of Kashmir as it urges the Muslims to invite (dawah) the ways of a good Muslim (deen) in their own lives so that other nonbelievers can join their ranks. Religious scholars in Kashmir point out that Ahl-e-Hadith has four sub-schools—Jamiat-ul-Ahl-e-Hadith (puritan), *Difai* (ultra-puritan), *Guraba* (religio-political ultra-puritan) and Sout-ul-Haq, represented by Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) where a nonconformist is 'wajib-ul-qatl' (eligible for murder).³⁸ Radicalisation is the biggest threat to Kashmiri society today.

Pakistan Proxy War and Obsession with Kashmir

Kashmir is an integral part of India as defined in the constitution, but the state is in turmoil due to Pakistan's cross-border terrorism and proxy war. Pakistan, on the other hand, insists that Kashmir is a disputed territory and that it is merely providing moral and diplomatic support for an indigenous freedom struggle in Kashmir. Pakistan's obsession with Kashmir has led to four conflicts and has the potential of a nuclear standoff.

Pak-Taliban Relations

The fall of the Najibullah government in 1992, and the subsequent 4 years of chaos set the stage for the rise of the Taliban in 1996 and created an opportunity for Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) to emerge as Taliban's financier, organiser and principal patron. The Taliban, in turn, gave Pakistan's ISI an unprecedented opportunity to exert its control over Afghanistan and its government, an opportunity that Pakistan's government has pursued for the last 20 years. Spillover of these battle-hardened radicalised fighters from Afghanistan to J&K is a threat in being, especially if the Taliban rules the roost in a given scenario in Afghanistan.

Pan-Islamic Wave

Although the rise of the Islamic caliphate of the ISIS has been nipped in the bud, the idea is still at large and remnants of its militant organs have migrated to many provinces of Afghanistan. There is a school of thought that suggests Pakistani jihadi elements such as the Jaish-e-Mohammad, Harkat-ul-Mujahideen and the Lashkar-e-Taiba are not likely to involve the ISIS and loose nationalistic space in Kashmir, but history suggests that they have no inhibitions in utilising foreign mercenaries in Kashmir as force multipliers and therefore, the day is not far when we see some of these mercenary elements of ISIS in Kashmir if steps to the contrary are not taken now.³⁹

Unsettled Borders with Pakistan and China

An unsettled border with both Pakistan and China in a time when the CPEC is being constructed through disputed territory has made the two brothers in arms come even closer to each other. It is in China's interest for the J&K dispute to continue and for India and Pakistan to be at loggerheads with each other. This fulfils the primary agenda of preventing any new independent state in the region that may have a domino effect on Uyghur Muslims and Tibetans and the secondary agenda of keeping India, the only possible competitor to China in Asia, tied down in South Asia through a permanent rivalry with Pakistan. China will not allow Pakistan to weaken further, one of the reasons is to prevent more Uyghur separatists getting radicalised and trained in Pakistani territories and the other of course is the CPEC. It has put all its eggs in one basket, that is, the CPEC as far as the BRI is concerned and therefore, it needs to create space around it, in order to allow it to succeed.

Misuse of Media

The vernacular press in the Valley is the focus of attention of the militant groups. Facing the gun, it has little choice except to publish distorted and exaggerated stories. The people in the Valley, who would rather believe what is printed in the local press rather than the news put out by All India Radio and Doordarshan, get worked up by the provocative militant-inspired writings and often come out in the streets to stage protest demonstrations. The foreign media which often have a problem understanding the nuances and background then project the demonstrations as a reflection of the spontaneous support of the people for the militants and secession. This chain reaction is sought to be achieved. The diabolical hand of Pakistan is behind this orchestrated campaign against India. Disinformation, false reports and rumours are floated by militants and these are forced on the local media.

Drugs and Hawala Money

Due to squeeze in international funding, very little is available with Pakistan to fund the proxy war in J&K. As per reports, Pakistan is extensively using funds generated through illegal drug trade to support this agenda. Pakistani narcotic smugglers, who are controlled by ISI, are reportedly getting \$2.5 billion from illegal narcotic trade. Hawala route is also being used by ISI as well as Islamic Fundamentalist groups based in the Middle East. Legitimate businesses are being used as fronts to deliver money to J&K terrorist organisations.

Dependence on Central Aid

Grant-in-aid represents the significant component from the union government in the budgetary resource base of the state government. The grant-in-aid from union government in absolute terms has remained 49 percent in 2016/17 vis-à-vis total revenue receipts and 42.75 percent vis-à-vis total expenditure.⁴⁰ This huge dependence on Central aid does not inspire confidence among the investors in the state machinery.

Terrorist Activities Spilling to Other Regions

Separatists are making all out efforts to spill over the instability to South of the Pir Panjal Ranges as well as east of Zoji La. The vulnerable areas that can be targeted by the ISI and separatists are in the Chenab Valley, Poonch–Rajouri and Kargil. The government should ensure that these areas are not alienated and should be paid due dividends for ensuring peace. Any effort of communal disharmony needs to be curtailed with iron hands and politicisation of issues, such as juvenile rape case of Kathua, should not be allowed to communalise the entire region. Such opportunities should not be handed over to the separatists and the ISI to reignite instability in the areas that are comparatively peaceful.⁴¹

China's Increased Involvement in Pakistan-Occupied Kashmir and Gilgit–Baltistan

China is increasingly becoming a major stakeholder in the conflict due to its high-value investments in the CPEC. It is in China's interest for the dispute to continue and for India and Pakistan to be at loggerheads with each other. This fulfils the primary agenda of preventing any new independent state in the region that may have a domino effect on Uyghur Muslims and Tibetans and the secondary agenda of keeping India, the only possible competitor to China in Asia, tied down in South Asia through a permanent rivalry with Pakistan. China will not allow Pakistan to weaken further, one of the reasons is to prevent more Uyghur separatists getting radicalised and trained in Pakistani

territories and the other of course is the CPEC. It has put all its eggs in one basket that is, the CPEC as far as the BRI is concerned and therefore, it needs to create space around it, in order to allow it to succeed. This can only be done in case the focus continues to be on Afghanistan on one flank and Kashmir on the other.

Rank Ordering of SWOTs

The *strengths and weaknesses* were duly analysed as per their *importance and likely impact* they would have on the state of J&K. For this purpose, the interviews taken to establish the fields in the Analytical Hierarchy Process during the Net Assessment study of the state of J&K, carried out by College of Defence Management in 2014, were taken as the base which was further reinforced by the views taken by the youth social leaders from J&K who had participated in the National Seminar on Mapping of Perceptions in J&K—The Way Ahead, recently conducted by CLAWS. These were given a value of importance as well as the value of impact on a scale of 1–9 and a comprehensive figure arrived at by multiplying both these values for rank ordering them. The tables indicating the above methodology are as given below.

Analysis of Strengths Vis-À-Vis Importance

Ser. No	Factors	Strengths										Importance/Impact									Cum Value
		Maj			Med			Minor				High			Med			Low			
		9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1		
1	Geostrategic location				X										X					36	
2	Growing economy/Gross State Domestic Product						X								X					35	
3	Water resources with hydropower potential			X										X						64	
4	Availability of minerals					X									X					36	
5	Natural/local resources			X										X						56	
6	Democratic government set-up	X												X						72	

Comparison of Threats Vis-À-Vis Probability of Occurrence

Ser No	Factors	Threats																		Cum Value	
		Probability of occurrence																			
		Maj			Med			Minor			High			Med			Low				
		9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.1		
1	Radicalisation of society	X										X									0.72
2	Pakistan proxy war	X										X									0.72
3	Pak-Taliban relations			X									X								0.49
4	Pan-Islamic wave	X													X						0.45
5	Unsettled borders with Pakistan and China			X										X							0.42
6	Misuse of media		X									X									0.64
7	Drugs and hawala money ingress		X								X										0.72
8	Dependence on central aid				X											X					0.3
9.	China's increased involvement		X										X								0.56
9	Spilling of terrorist acts		X											X							0.48

After doing the above exercise, the strengths/weaknesses and opportunities/threats were rank ordered for all values above 48 and 0.45, respectively. This rank ordered SWOT is given in the following table:

Rank Ordered Swot			
Strengths		Weaknesses	
1	Democratic government set-up	1	Political unpredictability and varying ideologies
2	Well-established SF	2	Fragile IS situation
3	Youth bulge	3	Poor governance
4	Water resources	4	OGW and fence sitter activities
5	Cold climate	5	Troubled history
6	Tourism	6	Unemployment
7	Natural/local resources	7	Growing agitational dynamics
8	<i>Kashmiriyat</i>	8	Political unpredictability and varying ideologies
9	Handicraft industry	9	Geographical distinct regions
		10	Rising fundamentalism
		11	Lack of industrial base and infrastructure
		12	Lack of private investment
Opportunities		Threats	
1	Semblance of stability—IS situation	1	Radicalisation of society
2	Deteriorating US–Pak relations	2	Pakistan proxy war
3	Divide and dwindling Hurriyat	3	Drugs and hawala money ingress
4	Indo-Pak/Afghanistan trade	4	Misuse of media
5	e-Governance/e-technology	5	Increased involvement of China
6	Central government schemes and programmes	6	Pak-Taliban relations
7	Education and job opportunities in other states	7	Pan-Islamic wave

Strategies and Recommendations from SWOT Analysis

The various strategies (namely, the Strength–Opportunity, Weakness–Opportunity, Strength–Threat, Weakness–Threat and Mandatory Strategies) that have been worked out based on SWOT analysis are given in the subsequent paragraphs.

Strength–Opportunity (SO) Strategies

- To leverage the well-established SF through Governor's office till an elected government is formed, for improving governance and create an environment for improving the Centre–State relationship and reaping benefits of central government schemes.
- Utilise the democratic set-up of the country to conduct the Panchayat elections, empower the Panchayats to reduce the impact of fundamentalist organisations.
- Educated youth bulge must be given assistance and help by public and private players to exploit education/job opportunities in other states by establishing a special set-up and close monitoring.
- Exploit the situation after relative normalcy to harness the tourism potential of the state by conducting tourism fests at various locations with major involvement from the local educated youth thereby generating revenues and employment opportunities.
- State/Central governments to harness hydroelectric potential by bringing in private players through lucrative schemes for generation of employment opportunities for the locals.
- Exploit potential of handicraft/horticulture industries of J&K through Indo-Pak trade improving revenue deficit and generating employment.
- Exploit the cold climate regions of the state to establish servers, data storage and mining for the e-technology industry which requires huge air-conditioning plants in case done in hot climate areas.

Weakness–Opportunity (WO) Strategies

- When stabilised, exploit the IS situation in the state, initiate the process of meaningful devolution of powers at the various lower levels, namely, regional, districts and Panchayat levels to reduce the effect of fundamentalists, thus bringing in political stability.
- Leverage technology and high internet penetration in the state to exploit the potential of e-governance to overcome rampant corruption and bring in transparency in administration.
- To contain the fragile IS situation to present levels by maintaining a balanced presence and nonintrusive posturing of Indian Army, ensuring control over IS situation.
- Boost Indo-Pak/Afghanistan trade through tax concessions/loans so as to reduce unemployment.
- The state government machinery to bring in more transparency and accountability of its governance by exploiting e-governance to check corruption and poor governance.

- SF to maintain a balance between restraining and firm handling of a situation so as to avoid giving trigger to the local population for any antigovernment agitations turning to IS instabilities.
- Well-established SF and state government to work in a synergised manner to ensure stable/controlled IS situation remains so and its fragile character is not exploited by fundamentalists and terrorists.
- Leverage deteriorating US–Pak relations to force Pakistan to stop providing material and psychological support to agitational dynamics and OGWs in the state.
- Leverage the idea of *Kashmiriyat* and family values to negate the Pan-Islamic wave of radical Islam.

Strength–Threat (ST) Strategies

- The state government to preserve and give a boost to the idea of *Kashmiriyat* by effective use of all sorts of media, wherein the Kashmiris retain their identity and cultural cohesion to counter the spread of radicalisation in the state.
- The democratic government once reelected, along with established SF, to be proactive and transparent in media handling to avoid misuse by the fundamentalists/terrorists.
- The well-established Indian Army's Anti Infiltration Obstacle System (AIOS) to be further strengthened with the use of technology to further reduce infiltration and foil Pakistan's proxy war designs in the Valley.
- Well-established SF to strengthen police forces and National Investigation Agency to put effective mechanisms in place to check the spread of drugs and hawala money in the state.
- Leverage the idea of *Kashmiriyat* to resettle willing Kashmiri Pandits back in the valley by providing them concentric security arrangements, along with opportunities of employment through the private industry in the outer perimeter. This can then become the meeting point with other communities of young job seekers in the valley, thereby reducing the threat of a radicalised society.

Weakness–Threat (WT) Strategies

- To exploit the IS situation in the state on stabilisation to strengthen the administrative mechanism, improve governance and enhance transparency in public funds spent in order to create a positive public perception about the elected governing body.
- To harness the availability of local and natural resources to set up small-scale industries by providing suitable concessions to private industries and generate employment.

- Exploit democratic set-up to ensure balanced allocation of resources for the growth of regions in consonance to peculiarities and requirement of same. This will take care of the negative sentiment generated by geographically separated regions.
- Ensure transparency and fairness in the electoral process (to start within the Panchayat elections) and functioning of same to avoid any political crisis/uncertainties.
- Strengthen government education mechanism by placing trusted personalities at the helm of affairs and bring in free education to counter radicalisation.
- To work out modalities for time-bound transfer of control of IS situation in the hinterland from the Indian Army to state and central police forces.
- Promote investment in horticulture industry by private and government agencies through tax holidays/waivers to generate employment and engage educated youth.
- Improve private investments and infrastructure in the state to counter the threat of increased Chinese influence by the construction of CPEC.
- Create infrastructure to develop additional tourist hubs/centres other than traditional locations to generate employment and more revenue.

Mandatory Strategies

- Maintain IS situation stable/controlled by synergised actions of army, police and civil administration at all hierarchal levels.
- Make a sustained effort to capture and indict OGWs with appropriate proof of their nefarious activities which are stealing the future of the youth of the state.
- Army to insure the effectiveness of AIOS and LoC management to keep infiltration under check such as to foil Pak's proxy war plans.
- Bring in more transparency and accountability of governance through the use of technology and strictness such as to build its credibility among the local populace.
- Fairness and transparency to be ensured in the electoral process and media reporting by administration and army.
- Strengthen state police forces through well-established SF to check drugs and hawala money and also to maintain present stable/controlled IS situation as law and order situation.
- Reduce the presence of army from hinterland (South of Banihal to start with) through time-bound, well-planned, coordinated effort such as IS situation is managed and controlled by police forces in the hinterland.
- Strengthen education and health mechanism in the state to check radicalisation and weaning away of youth from the mainstream.

- Generate employment for educated youth by building up an industrial base through public sector undertaking and bringing in private investors.
- Engage Pakistan through multitrack diplomacy, Indo-Pak trade and boost the handicraft/agriculture/horticulture industry of the state.
- Pace up infrastructure development for generating employment and also allowing the flow of commodities, thus boosting states economy as well.
- RRG is an acronym for the Religious Rehabilitation Group.⁴² Formed and officially launched on April 23, 2003, RRG is a voluntary group consisting of individual ulama and a community of *asatizah* (Islamic scholars and teachers) in Singapore. Initially, RRG's primary objective was to rehabilitate detained Jemaah Islamiyah members and their families through counselling. However, it has since broadened its scope to include misinterpretations promoted by self-radicalised individuals and those in support of ISIS. A similar arrangement could be worked out with the participation of the local religious ulama so that the effect of radicalisation is reduced/removed through religious counselling.
- Carry out social empowerment through interaction with community leaders and programmes in order to wean people away from radicalisation.
- Utilise trained specialists to carry out psychological and social rehabilitation of radicalised elements of society.

Recommendations

It is strongly recommended that the short-term strategies derived from SWOT analysis be studied in consonance with the coherent mid-term and long-term 'whole of the government' strategies of the government so that there is a holistic and continuous approach to the problem at hand. We cannot afford that today's solutions become fixes that fail in the overall context of the issue at hand.

Conclusion

Decades of militancy and support from across the border has resulted in the state of J&K becoming one of the poorest in terms of governance. The vacuum created by this lack of governance is being filled up either by efforts by the Army, which again is being perceived negatively of late or by the terrorists/OGWs who are implementing a well-laid-out Pakistani subversion plan. A relook at governance in a more comprehensive manner needs to be carried out which will assist in creating positive perceptions among the Awaam.

The turmoil since 2016 resulted in unending clashes between people and SF, caused killing and injuring of civilians, burning of government property, and tremendous loss of industrial production and services coupled with the halt in economic activities in the backdrop of long spells

of curfews and hartals. The tourism subsector and industrial/business activity which is the backbone of Kashmir economy came to a grinding halt during the period. With regular cycles of unrest since 2008, disrupting the social life and hitting the economy hard, the biggest challenge for the government is two-fold:

- To prevent reoccurrence of such events.
- To calibrate the economic and social policy to what in the short run is the 'new normal'.

Political turmoil, misplaced priorities, one-upmanship, rampant corruption and a total sense of insecurity may have led the central government to break the alliance in J&K and consider Governor's rule. At this juncture announcement of Governor's rule, when the Awaam was probably fed up with ineffective governance and a general sense of despondency, this could be a blessing in disguise for the troubled state.

Although it is accepted that many of the above-mentioned strategies derived through scientific analysis may already being pursued, this SWOT analysis could form a basis for the present disposition in the state as well as for the elected representatives of the state as and when the present situation is resolved, to form a holistic response.

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SWOT analysis of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) is an academic strategic planning technique used to identify the *Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats* related to competition in J&K with special reference to Kashmir. It is a part of a larger Net Assessment study as it intends to identify the internal and external factors that are favourable and unfavourable to achieving objectives. Strengths and Weakness of J&K discussed in this paper are internally related, while Opportunities and Threats focus on environmental placement of the state. The existence of a competency and ability of the State to successfully apply it or exploit a critical factor to develop competitiveness has been classified as strength. The absence of a specific competency or inability of the State to apply the same successfully or nonexploitation of a critical factor that diminishes its competitiveness has been discussed as a weakness in this paper.

An opportunity in this paper is an external condition that could positively impact the State's critical performance parameters and improve competitive advantage, provided positive action is taken in time. A threat is an external condition that could negatively impact the State's critical performance parameters and diminish competitive advantage, provided positive action is not taken on time. **Steps Undertaken for This Analysis** Step 1—Identifying Strengths and Weaknesses of J&K,

- Step 2—Identifying external opportunities and threats,
- Step 3—Preparation of SWOT Summary, Step 4—Use SWOT Analysis to Identify Possible Strategies,
 - ❖ Build on Strengths,
 - ❖ resolve Weaknesses,
 - ❖ exploit Opportunities,
 - ❖ avoid Threats.



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