

## RESISTANCE, RESILIENCE AND THE FEAR FACTOR: AN ANALYSIS OF KASHMIRIS' FIFTH-GENERATION FREEDOM STRUGGLE

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### Abstract

*This study draws a comparison between Intifada of post-2016 periods of resistance in Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK). The fifth generation of Kashmiris resistants are currently in play, born in post-1989. The pre-1989 actors of resistance against Indian occupation are entirely replaced by new breed of generation having highest degree of resilience. The study explores that excessive use of Indian military machine to dilute resistance is a now a key factor to augment the degree of hatred against Indian rule which gave birth to new phenomena of cycle of resistance. This phenomenon gave birth to three distinguishing features, revealed by this study. The ultimate quantum of fearlessness among the young has a linear relationship with ultimate use of excessive power. An ultimate faith as hope that augmented their degree of belief. Unabated use of the military machine by India keeps them on toes while prompting fearlessness to challenge the occupation. This bestowed resistance among them to rely upon indigenous available sources to continue the struggle. The study tested cause and effect relationship, therefore, until and unless the cause is not addressed to focus on the effects will not yield desired results of sustainable peace.*

**Keywords:** Resistance, fear factor, degree of hatred, resilience, freedom, Kashmir

### INTRODUCTION

The struggle for the right to self-determination has consumed, altered, and damaged the psychological state and social stability of the Kashmiris in the Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK). The IOK has become a war-zone today where the Indian government is practicing all sorts of war-crimes. However, the situation is tagged as an internal matter by India. In the Kashmir issue, there is an urgency to identify the targeted generation of Indian atrocities, the driving force of resistance, and the main reasons and the outcomes of post-1989 armed resistance which reflect sensitivities of Kashmiris.

It is worth studying the difference between the present generation of resistance with previous ones to better understand the nature of the existing Kashmir insurgency. The circumstances, timing, nature, and mode have transformed; thus, it demands better understanding under changing dynamics of the existing phase of the struggle for the right to self-determination for people of Kashmir.

### THE GENESIS AND EVOLUTION OF FREEDOM MOVEMENT

The process of evolution of struggling Kashmiris in IOK is divided into pre-1989 and post 1989 eras. The study takes different dynamics of hate, resistance, fearlessness struggles and retaliations

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of Kashmiris, especially the existing young generation which is exposed against the Indian brutalities, today. In 1989, the outbreak of violence signaled a full-fledged instability of the region. This natural event with greater intensity caused the final fracture of the internal identity concerns along the communitarian lines. The breakages caused to the internal identity also affected its expressions which took the shape of political violence between Indian state, Islamic fundamentalists and the civilian population (Hill, & Motwani, 2017).

These greater means which formulate the structure and interconnectivity of a Kashmiri society trailed into the birth of such causes that ensued in the bitter reality as per effectiveness. The value of identity, culture, and heritage of Kashmir met various challenges in the conflict, where the compromise of these factors sparks a rebellion. To suffer the right to self-determination of Kashmir, (a cause of rivalry between India and Pakistan), New Delhi's approach has been aimed at entirely penetrating Kashmir. This penetration aims to firm the control of the entire state by integrating into the plural constitutional framework of Kashmir (Hill & Motwani, 2017). In this way, the increased resistance met all kinds of complexities since the year 1989, a huge turn to cause the current tumult.

The demand of the Kashmiri people to the right of self-determination not only falls in the political parameters but also encompasses the basic human rights including the right to freedom, right to life, and the right to movement. The cause of the current scenario of Kashmir, itself, is an emergence of relationships that certain factors made along the trail of time, history, region, literature, and ethnicity. Thus, Kashmir dispute remains an unfinished business between India, Pakistan and the Kashmiris. This land has been a ready stage for all the tensions between India and Pakistan.

The terminology of Kashmiriyat demands separate attention that allows the understanding to be made possible via socio-political discourses. Therefore, it sets an inquiry upon the lengths that run along with the ethos of being a Kashmiri (Aggarwal, 2008). The case of Kashmiri Pandits' *ethnic cleansing* is used and circulated based on their departure when the situation in the valley got out of hands in the 1990s. Since then the Indian brutalities upon Kashmiri Muslims reached far beyond. It remains a question that how upon the return of Kashmiri Pandits; would there be a peaceful multicultural community in the valley (Evans, 2002)? Some defined parameters explain the tensions of residing Kashmiris of the valley, as being discussed below:

#### **Domestic:**

There existed exploitation of the ruling elite, Brahmans and Dogra Shahi, in the pre-1948 period. In the 1940 census, the population of the princely state of Kashmir was 2,905,578. Of these, 2,154,695 were Muslims, 689,073 Hindus, 25,828 Sikhs, and 35,047 Buddhists. The Hindus were found mainly in Jammu, where they constituted less than 50% of the population.

Sheikh Abdullah had the art to handle and exploit the sentiments of Kashmiris. He was cashing religion and Pakistan in Kashmir and simultaneously secularism in India. He succeeded to preserve the definite balance during his lifetime and raised Kashmir issue merely in hollow slogans before masses in Kashmir. He was lured with power up to 1953 and then returned to power after 20 years in 1974 when he was 70 years old at the cost of surrendering the position of IOK's prime minister as chief minister and president with governor along with some provisions of autonomy from concurrent list guaranteed under article 370 of Indian constitution. Bazaz (2007) observed that the

years between 1977 and 1983 witnessed the domination of the National Conference in the electoral politics in Jammu and Kashmir. Yet, the overall branding declined which was inflamed by the angry youth for the deceit and collaboration. Such fears were based on the events of 1975 when Sheikh Abdullah conciliated his opponents that the idea to the right to self-determination is purposeless. Only according to Rahmani (1988), the concept of plebiscite in the hearts and minds of Kashmiris of IOK had gone hand in hand with the popular slogans like *Azadi ya maut* (freedom or death). It was added through the texts, i.e. books, novels, etc. which criticized Abdullah's politics and his decision of signing the accord with India (Faheem, 2016). The concern was deep inside the people of Jammu and Kashmir that NC consisted only of a bunch of puppets who acted solely under the wishes and demands of New Delhi.

### **Faith Factor and Political Paradigm**

The absolute majority comprised Muslims ruled by Dogra minority and elite Brahmans. But to observe the concept of Kashmiriyat in all these communities, (Puri 2003; Aggarwal 2008) found that some Indians believed it to be devoid of religious connotations, while Kashmir and Kashmiriyat were incomplete without the Kashmiri Pandits and their segregation from the Muslim brethren was impossible (Pandit 2003).

The pro-Pakistan sentiment was even kept alive by pro-Indian leaders including Sheikh Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beigh, who exploited this trend during the assembly elections. During vagrancy, Sheikh Abdullah demanded the right to self-determination for the people of Jammu and Kashmir. This point was well reported by his second in command, Beigh. It was only in 1975 when Abdullah joined - mainstream politics after his several culminated meetings with Indra Gandhi. He began to argue for not challenging the accession of the state with the Indian union (Punjabi, 2011). The absolute inclination to join with Pakistan driven by religion was in-focus and it was truly natural being Muslims in the majority as Pakistan came into existence based on Two Nation Theory.

On the other hand, aside from the violence and armed struggles that tied the founder of Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), Yasin Malik, were the literary thoughts. These literary thoughts were a signifier of the word Kashmiriyat under the soulful domain of Sufism. According to Mir, JKLF represented Sufi thoughts, culture and the ethos of Kashmiris (Gangahar, 2013). The literature of Jamaat e Islami (JI) and its student wing kept this religious factor alive followed by People's League (PL) in the eighties as there was no third option or slogan till 1989. It was exported from Pakistan's controlled Azad Jammu Kashmir (AJK) in the post-1989 period in the name of JKLF as they introduced the Kolesnikov and emerged as a hoagie on the vista. The novels of Naseem Hijazi which ignited the taste to fight and the heroism of mujahid were also most popular among the youth.

### **Background of Armed Struggle**

The rigging of the 1987 elections was the main trigger or cause of provoking insurgency in which Farooq Abdullah of the National Conference won elections, while, Muhammad Yousef Shah from the Muslim United Front (MUF) was imprisoned. This result was perceived as everything which could be linked to anti-Kashmiriyat. For major surface reasons of the emerged insurgency in IOK, the rigging of elections was considered in some major events. It included the majority of voters to lose their faith in the democratic system, as the leader of People Conference, Abdul Ghani Lone said that the young generation had been prompted to allow the democratic process go to hell and initiated armed struggle (Rai, 2018).

It led to shutdowns, protests, and all forms of revenge which JKLF could bring. This in return consumed one-third of the working days in the year 1989. Furthermore, the main causes of fanaticism and fundamentalism towards such havoc and as a response of the government, even protestors of social and economic issues were subject to police violence during protests. According to Jagmohan, governance added to the burning ground of Kashmir. A major incident was marked on January 21, 1990, when Kashmiris carried a peaceful protest ignoring the curfew. The intent was to solely protest against the illegal searches and arrests which were ordered on January 19. Simply, the paramilitary forces brutally responded and with open gunfire killed about two hundred protestors, including children and already injured. It was the beginning of total insurgency which assimilated within the Kashmiri population to lead the struggle ahead of what was thought to be between the activists and the security forces Rai (2018).

### **Regional Factor**

The emergence of the Sikh rebellion in Indian Punjab also inspired the armed resistance in IOK. The roots Sikh rebellion can be traced back to the formation of the All India Sikh Student Federation (AISSF) in 1944. The intention to launch such an organization was to receive a separate homeland for the Sikhs and to promote Sikhism among the Sikh students. In the 1980s, this organization was banned as many of its members were linked to various militant ranks since 1981. Other primary reasons for provoking Sikh communities in Jammu and Kashmir were the lack of opportunities i.e. lack of employment and education thus giving rise to alienation (UNHCR, 2007).

The success of Afghan resistance against Russian occupation forces in Afghanistan played a catalyst. Thus, from 1993 until 2003, the insurgency was driven first by Afghan and then Lashkar-e-Toiba, representing the uncompromising Islamic fundamentalist forces (UNHCR, 2007). However, the report ignored the historical freedom movement of Kashmiris representing indigenous inspirations of freedom while highlighting factors impacting the insurgency. The extreme path of resistance, i.e. armed struggle in Kashmir against Indian occupation that began in 1989, faded in 2002. The extreme position was influenced by historic, geographic, political, religious, domestic, regional and international factors (Stein, 1900). After 2003, there was no cross-LoC movement between AJK and IOK.

### **The Genesis of the Fifth Generation Resistance**

Today's resistive actor is youth which was not only born after 1989 but after seven years of armed resistance came to an end especially when Pakistan declared the ceasefire along LoC in 2003. This is the fifth generation of the resistance driven by Indian repression itself, which is nowadays the primary vehicle to lift the rake of the resistance while Kashmir's young generation has opted for a die-hard struggle against brutal Indian occupation. The quantum of suffering is very high. There would be hardly any family in Kashmir not having any person in blood relation, acquaintance, neighbor or classmate martyred by Indian forces.

Killings, rape, burning of property and torture as methods adopted by the Indian army for excessive use have not only backfired to Indian war machine to defeat the resistance by force but, its consequences brought Kashmiri youth at an ultimate degree of vulnerability to be martyred and there would be a serious generation gap between the remaining Kashmiris. Each killing by forces brings masses on roads. The huge participation in funerals to decorate their heroes whom India dubs terrorists adds gravity of situation multi-folds. The indiscriminate use of excessive power raised the pitch of mass movement of the right to self-determination. On the whole, all chaos is

relatively an occurrence of Kashmiris, who struggle in the vast, ranging parameters of the right of life up to the rightful acknowledgment for the right of exemption. In several intractable paired-minority conflicts, it cannot be determined wherein the domestic politics come to an end so the foreign policy would lead off. Kashmir dispute is as much of a clash between identities, imagination, and history like it is a clash of territory, resources, and people (Cohen, 2002).

### Comparison between actors of resistance in Pre-1989 Period and Post-1989 Period

Pre - 1989	Post-1989
1) Little hope that Kashmir will be politically resolved as promised by mainstream leadership.	✓ No hope, mainstream leadership lost control over the masses.
2) Political space was available with the condition to take the oath under the Indian constitution	✓ No political space, particularly in post-1987 elections.
3) Law and order handled by J&K Police. Forces concentration less than 100,000 confined in Cantonments and frontline areas	✓ Military involvement- 15 <sup>th</sup> Core 13 <sup>th</sup> and 14 <sup>th</sup> fully operative. A heavy concentration of Indian troops exceeding 672 823 numbers.
4) Military limited to LoC and frontline areas.	✓ Forces away from cantonments with 1: 7 ratio
5) Less presence of the military in the age	✓ Weapons are a precious commodity
6) Have never confronted directly or physically with forces	✓ The heavy military in both urban and rural population
7) Less than 1% involved faced Indian aggression physically	✓ Confrontation with Army
8) The killing ratio by forces was comparatively less	✓ Entire Muslim Population involved
9) None was jailed outside of the state	✓ The majority faced Indian wrath
10) Women staying at home and Children were not involved	✓ Killing ratio was huge 1:80
11) Legal space	✓ The majority is shifted to outside jails
12) No missing persons, widows, orphans or separate graveyards or damage to civilians and property	✓ Woman and Children affected and directly involved
13) Motivated by political leadership	✓ No legal space as per PSA, POTA, and AFSPA
	✓ These factors in abundance and faced with an increase daily
	✓ Motivational factors are Indian suppression which they confront every day

### **The Cause and Effect Relationship**

The above comparison reveals that actors of resistance changed because of the modification of procedures that the Indian army had to deal with the Kashmiris. The cause had not been addressed by India, yet India attempted to address the effects of its suppression by inducing more suppression to plug the effects. This entire scenario added to the rough handling of civilians by the forces even in casual social matters. One of the main reasons was that the personals of forces like the police were not locals. They were foreign to Kashmiri language and civilization. Thus, the distant responses to the protests and resistance from the locals were perceived as an unwillingness to cooperate on behalf of Kashmiris which resulted in the communication gap which generated serious misunderstandings between the forces and the civilians. The consequences of civilian killings in Sopore town and Bijbihara town in 1993 were among various such examples (Jafa 2005). The continuous heat of the Indian war machine kept the situation boiling by putting more and more forces to heat it, instead of quenching the fire. This is against natural law as heating of water increases the temperature of its molecules and water boils if steam has no outlet, it blows up. In descriptive and correlation studies the causal agent of the event has a relationship with its effects.

The scenario can be better understood when causes are discussed as per their association to driving factors as well. The conflict situation of Kashmir can be fixed in two facets; the ascendancy of a gun in one hand and the political expression of separatism on the other. The relationship shown between the two has placed the people of Kashmir as victims of violence, criminals of conflict, separatists, militants, and their sympathizers, etc. Despite the ignition of hate and rebel, the government of India not only cut but also exposed a complete of their political will of offering autonomy to Kashmiris. This leads to raging Kashmiris to yell and fight only for Azaadi (freedom). So, it all goes to a great confrontation. Furthermore, Union Home Minister Rajnath Singh's declaration of the referendum as an outdated and irrelevant thought, in the parliament, clearly depicts the casualness upon the value of Kashmiris right. Furthermore, excitement is observed in the depths of the government when representatives like DG K Durga Prasad, Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), boldly claimed the continuous use of pellet guns along with the formal apologies for blinding youth in Kashmir (Navlakha 2016). India deployed more and more power. Three corps, 16<sup>th</sup> Corpus at Ngrotta, Jammu, 15<sup>th</sup> Corpus at Badami Bagh Srinagar and 14<sup>th</sup> Corpus at Nimrud Leh were strengthened with additional brigades. The intensity of the paramilitaries, police, and intelligence is in addition to it.

### **Resistance and Resilience**

Resistance, according to the English Oxford Living Dictionary means the “refusal to accept or comply with something;” or the “use of force or violence to oppose something or someone;” It also refers to a “secret organization resisting authority, especially in the occupied country.” Resistance is a phenomenon discovered by one or more individuals when they are focused to protect the exposure of “self.”

Resilience refers to, according to English Oxford Living Dictionary, the “capacity to recover quickly from difficulties; toughness,” or it means the “ability to substance or object to spring back into shape; elasticity.” One inclines to go ahead in an attempt to continue the efforts to maintain the developmental positions of life. Resilience is understood in one’s ability to remain optimistic, regulate emotions and realize the reason for any failure well enough to move forward.

In the year 2016, the uprising of Kashmiris in the valley and Indian brutalities upon them is the subject matter of studying the metaphors that render the language of politically grieving Kashmiris. As the paradox of normalcy remains unresolved many future uprisings of youth in Kashmir point towards the upcoming episodes of the future.

This paves the way to the struggles which attain the shape of resilience i.e. a path onward through all the suppressions, the elasticity to move ahead. In the conflict-ridden Kashmir region, adolescents maintain a higher grade of certain values of hedonism, valor, self-direction, universalism, and benevolence as compared to other regions (Majied 2015).

### **The Parameters of Understanding Resistance and Resilience**

- In the *fifth-generation instincts*, the degree of commitment, devotion, and determination driven by *hatred* against India is augmented by *faith*.
- 1989 was the year of commencement of the armed resistance against Indian occupation.
- The pioneers of freedom struggle fitted to the age group of 20-35 years at that time; they are currently all above 50 to 60 of age. Among this 98 % with the absolute majority by now are martyred, imprisoned, married, migrated and small faction is involved in the political struggle for freedom.
- The child who was 10 years old in 1989 is now 40 years old, this age group has also faced all types of suppression but their interests are meager.
- The Child who was 5 years old in 1989 is now 35 years old.
- The child who was born in 1989, during the excessive hours of the resistance is now 29 years old.
- 1992-1994 were the years of the peak of the armed resistance and the present slot of the freedom fighters were born in the same period; Burhan Wani, Manan Wani, and so on.

### **Age group**

The Factors of resistance changed from time to time. However, Kashmiris gave a chance to every peace-venture. Kashmiris relied on Sheikh Abdullah up to 1984 until his death. Regrettably, India used him as a puppet to manage its incentives towards Kashmiri Muslims to the highest exploitation. Kashmir waited for the promises made by the first Indian Prime Minister, Jawahar-Lal Nehru. Kashmiris waited for implementation of UNSC's resolution, which was lingering for over 40 years till 1989.

### **Methodology**

The methodology of the study is comprised of the mixed approach, i.e. the qualitative and the quantitative divide. The qualitative data was gathered through interviews from youth in IOK enabling to set the basis of the questionnaire through email for the assembling of the quantitative data. The sample size included 3000 males and females, while the distribution of the questionnaire was made possible via emails and resource persons. The collected feedback through questionnaires became a sample size of approximately 1030. Some questions were noted to be bluntly filled and some remained unanswered or were having the missing values.

### **Tests:**

The responses were correlated in the framework of emotional, as well as other factors of faith, resistance and resilience. The cross-tabulation methods to correlate the answers of relevant variables and the predictions relying upon them by correlation analysis methods enabled to catch

the proper direction of events. Thus, it would not be incorrect to mention that the report consists of extracts of opinions and answers which are carried with a fearless approach to convey the pain of some among many Kashmiris, despite hurdles and limitations both for the organization and its audience.

### **Instrument**

The questioner was distributed using the Likert scale and Quantitative data from the Collation of the Civil Society.

### **The Experiment**

The workshop named, Youth Initiative series -1, titled, "Resistance, Resilience and the Faith Factor: The Birth of a New Actor as A Driver of The Right to Self-Determination of Kashmir and Role of Media" was an effort to explain the conflict of Kashmir. The participants, in the strength of about 100, were the students from the University of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. They belonged to different disciplines but it was their particular interest which brought them to one platform of research and approach from a neutral perspective.

### **Analysis and Results**

#### **Understanding the Approach**

In this scientific approach of the survey, it was to be inferred that the societal and psychological elements cause such heavy resistance which comprised of the following facts.

1. The pioneers of the freedom fighting movement of 1989 are now old, martyred, or jailed. Therefore, their role in the current freedom struggle is limited.
2. The current struggling Kashmiri youth belongs to an age group that was experiencing their childhood at that time of continuous violence. Today, all sorts of attitudes towards the Indian military are a case of reaction to Indian state oppression.
3. Those suppressions included all sorts of unchecked brutality i.e. forced disappearances, tortures, and several other injustices towards the victimized Kashmiri civilians. The youth after 1989 have been witnessing intensified violence of the Indian Army since their birth.
4. There is a driver instinct today i.e. hate which does not let the struggle come to an end. This will motivate youth today to become the champions of their struggle.
5. Understanding the common tool of media not just as the most vital one, but as well as the capacity holder of fifth-generation warfare and the relative portrayal of the Kashmiri struggle with it.

These particularly form a framework for the observation which enabled the development of a questionnaire and presentation upon it.

#### **Data interpretation**

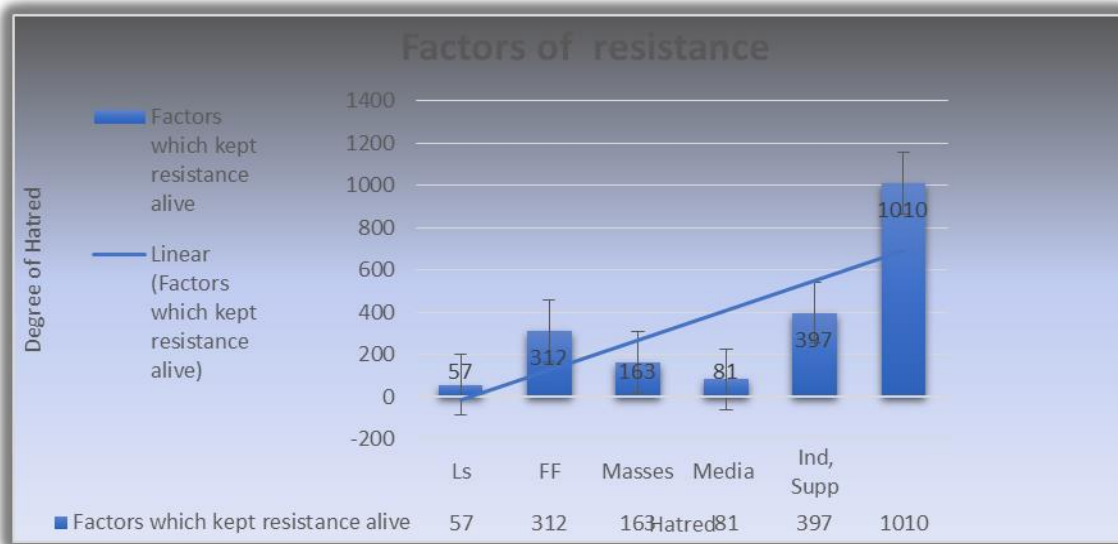
The variables most prominent to show the resistance, resilience and the fear factor in its evolution till today, have laid the theoretical account of cause and effect relationship. The cause is the groups that are the freedom fighters and the effects are the emotional attitudes that run in persistent resistance against the Indian army in IOK. For explanation two graphs with salient features are shared below.

In the case of Kashmir, it emerges as the main reason for Indian brutalities and tyranny which results in revenge for the victimized Kashmiris. The cause of Kashmiri revolt in the basic was the



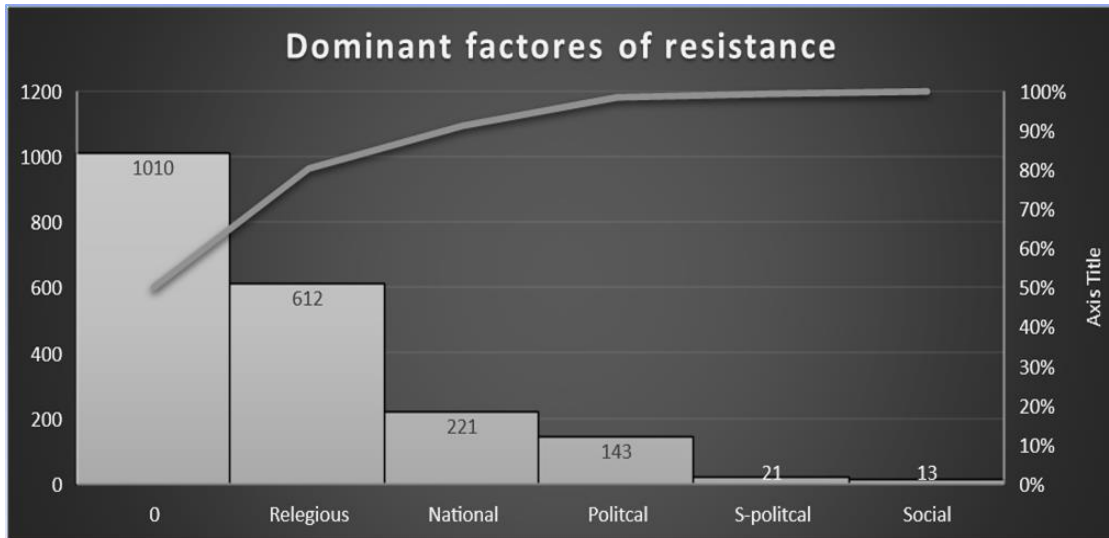
absolute alienation of Kashmiri Muslims from India which included the erosion of their ethnic identity, denial of their political rights, and the unemployment of educated Muslim youth. This is why the concept of azaadi (freedom) is in actual existence within the Indian union and non-interference in their culture, administration, and politics (and ultimately independence from India). That is why the resentful Kashmiris demand their right of a plebiscite to identify, the true status they deserve, yet undecided in the UN. The populace feels harassed by the forces which cause them to not to cooperate with forces. The brutal use of force simply depicts unskilled policing in professional terms (Jafa 2005).

The hatred factor is analyzed to realize and grasp hatred as the agent of the resistance which would exist among several groups of striving Kashmiris in IOK. The hatred as a result, among the five categories in IOK, is as follows: Leadership (Ls), freedom fighters (FF), masses, media, and Indian suppression.



### Salient features

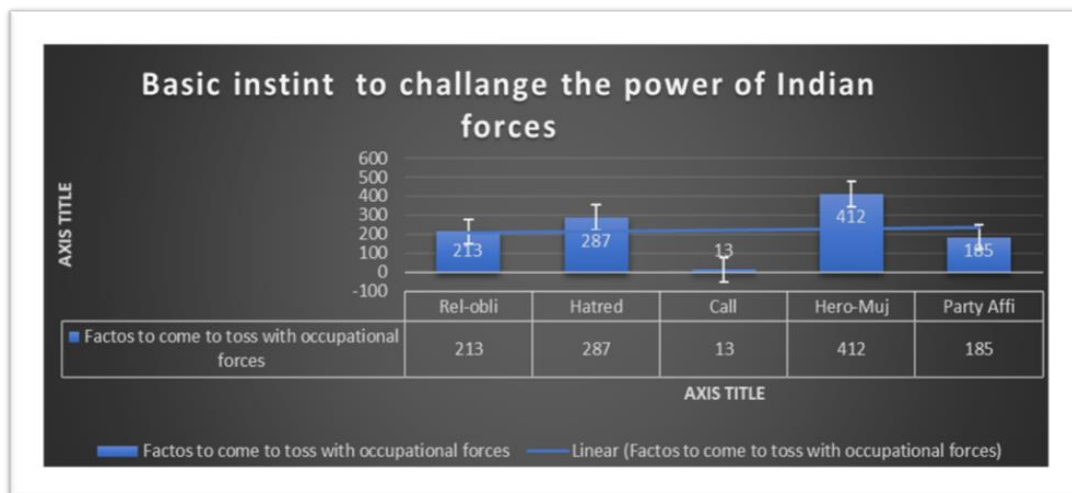
- Hatred takes birth from leadership values.
  - It extends to the core soul of freedom fighters.
- Masses, media, and Indian suppression are among other factors that significantly contribute towards the cause of hatred.
- 1) To understand the dominant factors of resistance, it is important to locate the position of those components. Under the positioning theory, the framework of irrationality can explain the religiously constructed the notion, whereby beliefs and motives are the strategic structures (Moghaddam, Harre, & Lee 2008; Vance-Cheng, 2011).



**Salient Features**

- Religious reason or faith is the core initiative.
- It is an ideological cause and extends to the national level.
- Ideology serves to shape politics.
- The last is the societal and socio-political cause which remains adjacent and consequently, it would affect Kashmiris shortly.

2) Instinct is the basic driving force is utilized best with the identification of hate and heroism which have mutually evolved from the triggering religious belief in the above graphs. Here heroism and faith are very closely related. For Kashmiris to fight against the Indian occupation, faith in religion is the driver. The reason is that religious rituals are a means to convey the collective ideals, for it produces a sense of binding like family and community (Bellah, 1975). So, as the implicit religious notions become explicit and alive, there rises a certain faith that whatever happens is the will of Allah Almighty. This notion is the best vast spread, particularly when there is no external aid. The belief includes Shahadat of innocent people as a process and the liquidation of all only by the Will of Allah (Malik 2010).



**Salient Features:**

- The urge to struggle for freedom emerges from religious obligations, i.e. right to live freely itself.
- This extends to the hatred caused by suppression.
- The most highlighted result is observed as the rise of heroism for jihad. This main driver is the youth as seen from previous graphs as they come under the effects.

**CONCLUSION: FINDINGS & RECOMMENDATIONS**

Kashmiris have done what they could do domestically based on huge human investment to keep the struggle alive. They bear no arms since 2003, therefore, they cannot defeat 13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> core including the mountain division and a huge concentration of paramilitary forces militarily nor an Indian war machine can kill entire habitats in the name of its much egoistic and media backed narrative on “terrorism” because the resistance has overwhelmingly huge public support. Kashmiris can keep resistance and sentiment domestically alive. To vow international support is the domain of the state because non-state actors have remote access through the ECOSOC status confined to the human rights situation.

The fifth-generation of Kashmir is in play. The resistance of Kashmir is purely driven by youth aged 18-25. This age group is physically bruised as compared to the previous one which was politically motivated. The sad saga fortified youth with the highest point of resistance which prompted them to take up the aggression, but it equally brings them the temptation to directly confront the state war machine without giving any heed to global implications. Routine forceful relations with the Indian military boosted the level of bravery among Kashmiris. This fearlessness has some positive and negative connotations. A Kashmiri is susceptible to cross any limit.

The point of resilience has a direct relationship with the time factor and loss of relatives, friends, kiths, and kins in the hands of Indian troops. The Indian suppression is nowadays the main driver of the resistance or it can be concluded empirically that India itself drives the resistance. The more the Indian use of power, the more is the youth distanced from India but it is a heavy cost of the existence of the Kashmiri community. Youth has no political control, nevertheless, the resistance has great existence in the fifth generation of Kashmir.

We can conclude that; 1) Indian highest concentration of troops and aggression is a trigger of unrest; 2) Present youth is born, brought up in Indian subjugation and it never crossed LoC, and; 3) Present resistance is *entirely indigenous*, however, India will keep tagging Pakistan with it to get the mileage that resistance is externally sponsored.

**Recommendations**

The resistance of Kashmir needs to be re-visited in the post-2016 phenomena which gave the resistance the mass outlook, therefore, its indigenous character demands more attention by national and international media to advance this special form. The sentiment is driven by social media having direct access in all situations, but it causes some side effects as well which demands a separate study.

The war does not answer, but the warlike situation always brought Kashmir dispute on the international radar. Homework is required to practice it as leverage. Diaspora can play a critical role in promoting the Kashmir issue internationally, demanding special attention.

The women and children related issues shall be highlighted in a human rights perspective because youth is easily labeled as terrorists.

Pakistan as a legal actor cannot stop the Anantapur like episodes, therefore; more studies with broader populations will be a milestone to target the policy foundations to realize the changing dynamics of Kashmir issue having the leaner relationship with Doval doctrine. The target of convincing the friendly countries must be to get support for the OHCHR report to depute the commission to IOK to probe massive human rights violations.

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